



A LITERARY HISTORY OF MEDICINE

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

VOLUME 3-1 *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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Ignacio Sánchez and Geert Jan van Gelder

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`rihk 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‘iḥī 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-Khawālifī for his own use. [Sa (first seven folios) is partial copy of Version 2; Sb, partial copy of Version 3]

Earlier Editions

- Müller Ibn Abī 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

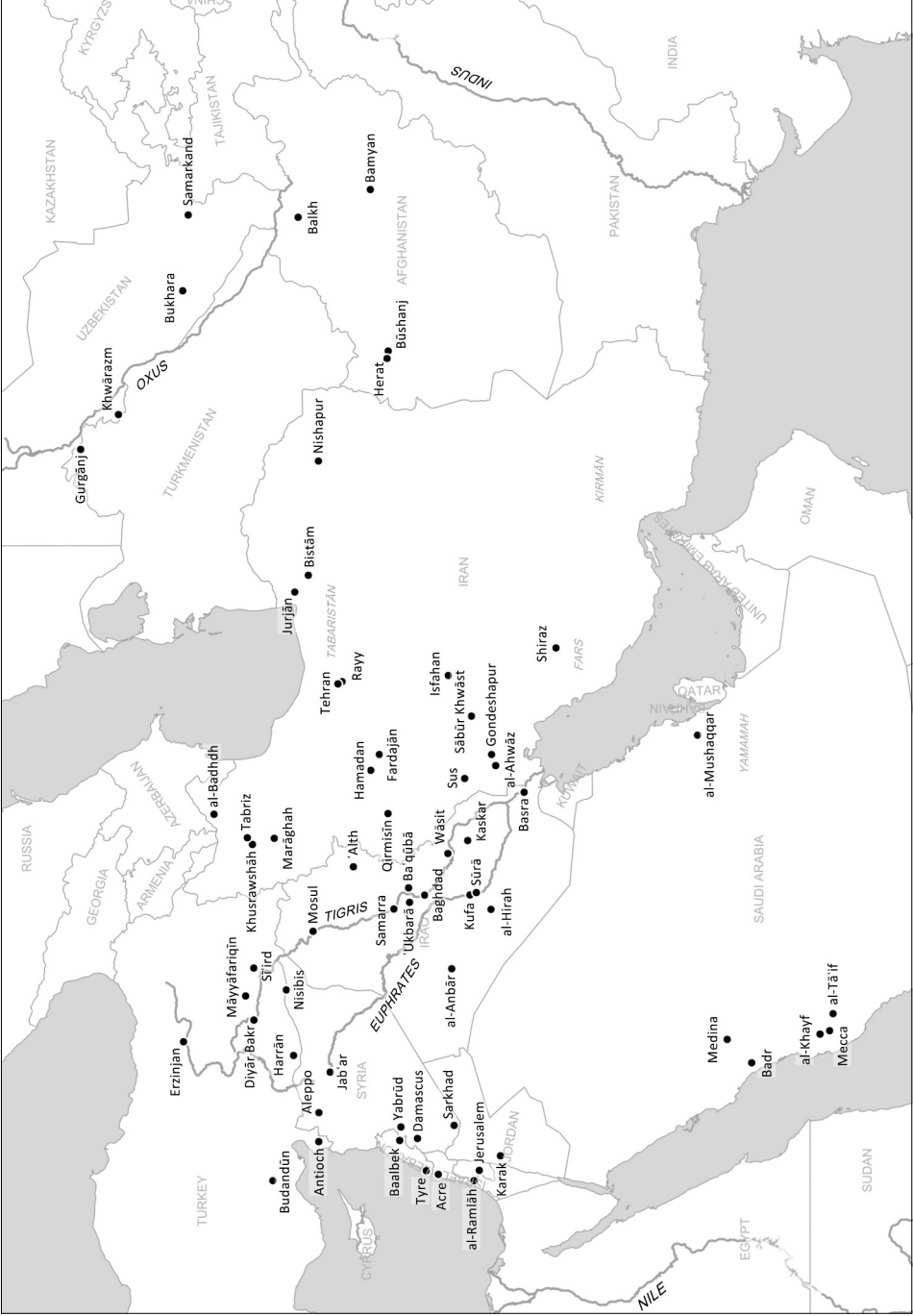
AII Appendix 2: Additional Marginalia

IAU Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah

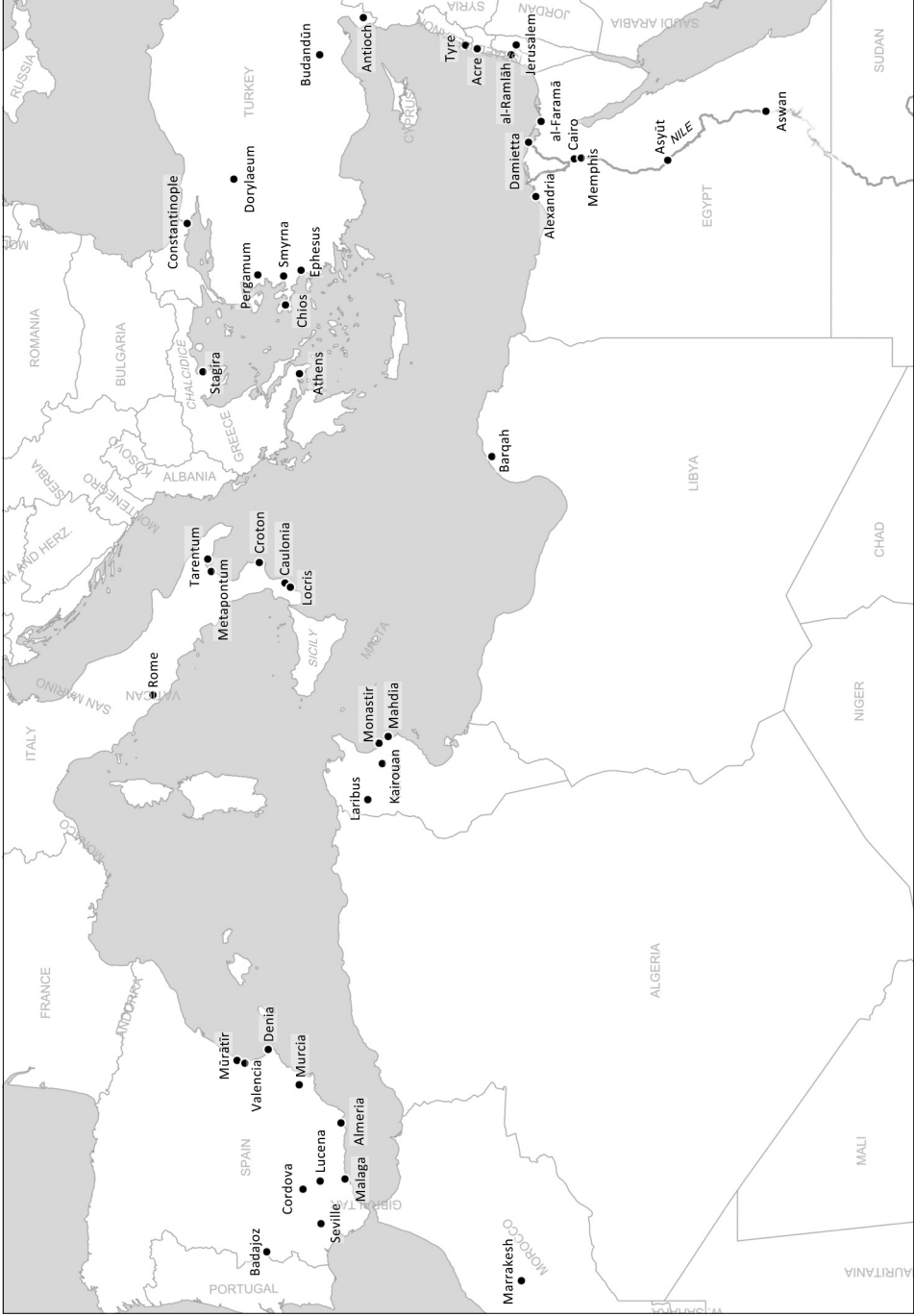
Ch.xx.xx Chapters within the *‘Uyūn* are designated by numbers 1 through 15, followed by the number of an individual biography within that chapter. A third set of numbers refers to a given subsection of a biography. Subsequent numbers in a given sequence refer to items within numbered lists, such as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

Preface

Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter

In the name of God, merciful and compassionate. None but He can grant me success.

Praised be God, He who has dispersed the world's peoples and will gather them at the Resurrection, the creator of life and healer of the sick, He who graciously bestows abundant blessings but warns those who disobey Him that painful punishment and retribution await them, He who with consummate art brings creatures into being out of nothingness, who ordains diseases and reveals remedies with the most perfect skill and utmost sagacity. I testify that God is one, speaking in all sincerity, as one who pays what is due, avoiding the sins that come of words lightly spoken and subsequently regretted. And I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle whom He sent to bring the divine message to all, Arab and non-Arab alike, and who dispelled the gloom of darkness with the shining light of his mission, destroyed the proud and tyrannical with his weapon of the miraculous Qur'an, and extirpated the disease of polytheism with the incontrovertible evidence of his prophethood. May God bless him and grant him peace forever, as long as the lightning flashes and the rain falls, together with all his exalted and noble house, his companions, who strove to follow his example, and his wives, the mothers of the believers, who are free from all blemish. May God favour them all with honour and dignity.

Turning to my subject, the art of medicine is among the noblest of professions and the most profitable of occupations. Its excellence is attested in scripture and the provisions of law, to such an extent that knowledge of the human body is deemed to be second in importance only to knowledge of religion.

Wise men have said that there are two types of aspiration: to what is good, and to what is pleasant. Now, a man cannot attain either of these unless he is in good health, for what is pleasant is obtained from this world, while what is good leads ultimately to our hope of Paradise; in both cases continuing good health and a robust constitution are essential, and those can be secured only through the art of medicine, for it maintains health and restores it when it has been lost.

Inevitably, then, since the art of medicine is such an exceptionally noble profession, and since there is such need for it everywhere and at all times, par-

ticularly great attention has always been paid to it, and there has always been the keenest and most intense interest in acquiring an understanding of its rules, both general and particular.

Consequently, from the time when the art of medicine first arose down to our own day, there have been many who have practised it and sought to investigate its fundamental principles and learn about it. These have included a number of very great physicians, men of the utmost skill and renown, whose excellence is proverbial and whose outstanding capacity and nobility have been recognized by successive generations, and whose compositions testify to their ability. To my knowledge, however, none of these masters of the art of medicine and no one with a thorough knowledge of that art has ever written a comprehensive book dealing with physicians through the ages and recounting their history in a coherent fashion.

I have therefore determined to relate in this volume a number of reports and accounts that are told of the most distinguished of the physicians, both in antiquity and in more recent times, with the information regarding them arranged sequentially in chronological order. I also propose to record some of the remarks attributed to them and stories about them that have come down to us, together with entertaining anecdotes about them and the discussions in which they engaged. Lastly, I shall list the titles of some of their books. I hope by this means to enable the reader to glean some understanding of the learning that Almighty God enabled these men to acquire and the copious natural talent and intelligence that He bestowed upon them. Many of them, though they lived long ago and their days are past, stand in much the same relation to us as a teacher does to his pupil, or a recipient of kindness to his benefactor, owing to the advantages that we derive from their written works and the benefits found in the material they gathered together in their books.

I have also included accounts of a number of wise men and philosophers who were interested in the art of medicine and gave attention to it. I have related the main events of their lives, giving anecdotes about them and listing the titles of their works. Each of these accounts appears in its appropriate place, depending on their time period and their eminence.

After dealing with the art of medicine, I propose to discuss great scholars in other fields of knowledge at some length, God willing, in another book to be entitled *The Outstanding Personalities of All Nations and Reports of Those Endowed with Wisdom*.¹

¹ *Kitāb Ma'ālim al-umam wa-akhbār dhawi l-ḥikam.*

For the time being, however, I determined that it would be desirable to compose the present work, which is entitled *The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians* and is divided into fifteen chapters. *It is a contribution to the library of the great, learned and just minister, the paragon of masters, lord of viziers, wisest of wise men, chief of learned men, glorious sun of religion, Amīn al-Dawlah Kamāl al-Dīn Sharaf al-Millāh Abu l-Ḥasan ibn Ghazāl ibn Abī Saīd, may God prolong his happiness and grant him his wishes in this world and the next.*² I pray to Almighty God for assistance and for success, for these are in His hand and are His to grant if He will.

The chapters are as follows:

- Chapter 1: *The Origin and First Appearance of the Art of Medicine*
- Chapter 2: *Physicians Who Perceived the Rudiments of the Art of Medicine and Initiated the Practice of That Art*
- Chapter 3: *Greek Physicians Descended from Asclepius*
- Chapter 4: *Greek Physicians to Whom Hippocrates Transmitted the Art of Medicine*
- Chapter 5: *Physicians from or after the Time of Galen*
- Chapter 6: *Alexandrian Physicians and Their Christian and Other Contemporaries*
- Chapter 7: *Arab and Other Physicians of the Earliest Islamic Period*
- Chapter 8: *Syriac Physicians of the Early Abbasid Period*
- Chapter 9: *Physicians Who Translated Works on Medicine and Other Subjects from Greek into Arabic, and their Patrons*
- Chapter 10: *Iraqi Physicians and the Physicians of al-Jazīrah and Diyār Bakr*
- Chapter 11: *Physicians in the Lands of the Persians (Bilād al-ʿajam)*
- Chapter 12: *Physicians of India*
- Chapter 13: *Physicians Who Were Prominent in the Western Lands and Settled There*
- Chapter 14: *Famous Physicians Amongst Those in Egypt*
- Chapter 15: *Famous Syrian Physicians*

² The italicized passage occurs only in Version 1. Amīn al-Dawlah's biography will be found in Ch. 15.49 with further information in the Addendum to Ch. 15.49.

The Origin and First Appearance of the Art of Medicine

Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter, Simon Swain and Emilie Savage-Smith

[1.1]¹

The investigation of this subject is difficult, for a number of reasons. In the first place, it is remote in time, and the study of antiquity – especially this particular aspect of it – is no easy matter. In the second place, we find that the Ancients, eminent authorities and persons of sound judgement, have not always agreed with one another in the matter, so that we cannot look to them for clear-cut, definitive conclusions on which we can rely. In the third place, those who have discussed the art of medicine have belonged to various sects and have differed markedly in their accounts, depending on the particular bias of each of them, and this complicates the task of determining which version is the true one.

Galen, in his commentary on Hippocrates' *Book of Oaths*,² stated that the task of determining which of the ancients first discovered the art of medicine was not an easy one. Let us³ begin by reviewing Galen's account, together with material we have adduced, in an effort to pin down these various divergent views.⁴

There are two basic schools of thought about the art of medicine: one that holds it to have existed from all eternity, and a second that holds it to have been

1 This chapter is found in all three versions of the book.

2 *Tafsīr li-Kitāb al-aymān li-Abuqrāt* (In *Hippocratis legem commentarius*); Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 390. Only fragments survive of this commentary, which is not by Galen but certainly Greek in origin and likely to date to the early Roman empire. They are translated and analysed by Franz Rosenthal; see Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary'. For Hippocrates' *Oath*, see Jouanna, *Hippocrates*, 401–402. Hippocrates forms the major subject of Ch. 4 and Galen is the focus of Ch. 5.

3 I.e. IAU; cf. Brentjes, 'Narratives', 91.

4 The rest of this first section of Ch. 1 is to be found (with some variations and omissions) also in the *Tarīkh al-aṭibbā'* by Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 298/310), but without an attribution to Galen's commentary on the *Oath* of Hippocrates and without the direct quotation from the commentary given at the end of this section; see Rosenthal, 'Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn', 62–64 and 73–75. The text as given here by IAU has been translated and analysed as Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', frag. 1.

created. The adherents of the latter school argue that, inasmuch as the bodies to which the art of medicine is applied are created, the art itself must also be created. The former school, in contrast, holds that the art of medicine is one of those entities that have always existed, like the creation of mankind.⁵

The proponents of the theory of the creation of medicine are divided in their turn into two schools of thought. One of these holds that the art of medicine must have been created at the same time as mankind, in view of the fact that it is beneficial to the human race.

The other school, which has the majority of adherents, holds that the art of medicine was invented later. Those who take this position are further subdivided into two factions. One of them considers that it was an inspiration from Almighty God to mankind. This, according to Galen, is the view taken by Hippocrates, all the Analogists,⁶ and the Greek poets.

The second faction considers that medicine is a human invention. This is the view held by the Empiricists⁷ and the Methodists,⁸ Thessalus the Misleader⁹ and Philinus.¹⁰ However, they disagree on the question of where and how it was invented. Some hold that it was the Egyptians who devised it, adducing as evidence the drug known in Greek as *helenion*,¹¹ that is, elecampane. Others believe

5 Rosenthal ('An Ancient Commentary', 55 n. 11) suggests that the phrase *mithla khalq al-insān* ('like the creation of mankind') is a repetition of a phrase in the following paragraph and should be deleted; the subsequent phrase, however, is *ma'a khalq al-insān* ('along with the creation of mankind').

6 *Aṣḥāb al-qiyās* 'people who use analogy' is an Arabic designation of 'Logical Physicians' or Dogmatists, ancient Greek physicians, usually adherents of Hippocrates, who were known for using reason and analogy in the establishment of causation; see Nutton, *Medicine*, 124–127.

7 *Aṣḥāb al-tajribah* ('people of experience') is the Arabic term for the Empiricists, the Greek school of physicians who rejected any investigation into the causes of disease and relied only on their own experience of effective treatment; see Nutton, *Medicine*, 148–150.

8 *Aṣḥāb al-ḥiyal* ('people of stratagems') were the adherents of the Methodist school of Greek medicine whose approach was more theoretical and arose in opposition to the Empiricists and the Dogmatists; Nutton, *Medicine*, 188–201.

9 Thessalus of Tralles (1st cent. AD), here called Thāssalus *al-mughālīṭ*, was an important figure in the development of the Methodist school of Greek medicine, much derided by Galen; see Nutton, *Medicine*, 189–193; Edelstein, 'The Methodists'. For a discussion of the designation *al-mughālīṭ*, see Rosenthal, 'An Ancient commentary', 56 n. 14. It may be an attempt to represent Greek *sophistēs*, but Thessalus is never called this in Greek (cf. however Galen, *De methodo medendi*, x:406 (Kühn ed.), 'Thessalus and his sophists perched on his high throne').

10 The name in the Arabic, *Philun*, is clearly a corruption of Philinus (of Cos; fl. c. 260 BC), one of the founders of the Empiricist school (e.g. Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', 56 n. 15) and thus paired here with Thessalus the Methodist.

11 Arabic *alānī*, Greek ἐλένιον. Tradition had it that the plant was named after Helen of Troy,

that Hermes¹² invented all the arts, philosophy, and medicine, while still others hold that it was the people of Kos¹³ who invented it from some drugs that a midwife applied to the king's wife, bringing about her recovery.

Others again hold that the art of medicine was originally devised by the people of Mysia¹⁴ and Phrygia,¹⁵ on the grounds that it was they who made music on reed-pipes¹⁶ and used musical airs and rhythms to cure the ailments of the soul, inasmuch as what cures the ailments of the soul also serves to treat the body.

Yet another view is that the art of medicine was invented by wise men of the inhabitants of Kos, the island that was the home of Hippocrates and his ancestors – that is to say, the Asclepiads.¹⁷

who (according to Homer in the *Odyssey*) was taught about effective drugs while she was in Egypt. The usual Arabic name, *rāsan*, is of Persian origin. It is a sunflower-like plant having bright yellow flowers in a flat-topped cluster with bitter aromatic leaves and roots (a variety of *Inula helenium* or related species). It had many uses as a medicinal plant, particularly for stomach disorders and as an antidote for poisonous bites and stings; it was also a popular flavouring agent. See Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 270 no. 108; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 403–405.

- 12 Hermes was a legendary Egyptian-Greek sage also known as Hermes the Wise or Hermes Trismegistus (Thrice-Great). For Hermes Trismegistus in the Arabic world, see van Bladel 2009; *EI Three* art. 'Hermes & Hermetica' (K. van Bladel).
- 13 A Greek island, one of the Dodecanese group, lying very close to the Turkish coast, often referred to by its Latin name Cos. The text actually reads *Fūlūs*, which is surely to be read as *Qūlūs* which equals Qū, the usual name for the island in Arabic; see Rosenthal, 'Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn', 74 n. 1 and Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', 57 n. 18. However, no story similar to that given here regarding Kos and the midwife is known elsewhere.
- 14 All manuscripts read *ahl Mūrṣiyā* ('the people of Mūrṣiyā'), but Mūrṣiyā is unidentified. Mysia, a region in the northwest part of ancient Asia Minor (now Turkey), bounded by Phrygia on the southeast, may be intended. On the other hand, given that the topic is the invention of musical instruments, Mūrṣiyā may be the Greek name Marsyas, the legendary Phrygian satyr known in mythology as a master player on the reed-pipe who made the mistake of taking on Apollo; he is not associated with medicine in any secure source; see Rosenthal 'An Ancient Commentary', 57 n. 19.
- 15 An ancient and in part mythical kingdom in the west central part of ancient Asia Minor.
- 16 The verbal noun *zamr* means making music on reed-pipes, a *zamr* being any instrument of the 'wood-wind' family of reed-pipes, also called a *mizmār*; see *EI*² art. 'mizmār' (H.G. Farmer). For a parallel text, see Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī, *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, 98, which reads *hum awwal man istakhraja l-mizmār*.
- 17 The Asclepiads (*Āl Asqalibiyūs*) were ancient Greek physicians claiming descent from or adherence to the Greek god of healing, Asclepius; see Edelstein, *Asclepius*.

Many authors of antiquity have asserted that medicine was first practised on three islands lying in the middle of the fourth 'clime':¹⁸ Rhodes, Knidos and Kos, the last-named of these being the native place of Hippocrates, as we have seen.¹⁹

Others have held that it was the Chaldaeans²⁰ who invented the art of medicine, others again that the credit belongs to sorcerers²¹ of the Yemen, while still others attribute its discovery to sorcerers of Babylon or Persia, or they hold that it arose among the people of India, or the Slavs,²² or the inhabitants of Crete, where dodder of thyme²³ comes from, or the people of Mount Sinai.²⁴

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- 18 Classical Greek geographers divided the known inhabited world into zones or 'climes' (Arabic *iq̄līm*, pl. *aq̄ālīm*), according to the length of the longest day in the central part of the zone. The middle, or fourth, 'clime' extended across the middle of the Mediterranean; see Rapoport & Savage-Smith, *Egyptian Guide*, 431–435.
- 19 This sentence regarding the islands in the fourth 'clime' is not found in the version of Galen's text given by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, nor are the Chaldaeans, the Yemen, Babylon, Crete or Mount Sinai, which are mentioned in the next paragraph.
- 20 The Chaldaeans (*Kaldāniyyūn*; Greek *Chaldaioi*) had their origins in Lower Mesopotamia in the mid-9th cent. BC; in Greco-Roman antiquity the name continued to be associated with this area and with Babylonians but signalled expertise in magic (cf. next note), astrology, divination and science. Arabic authors inherited these references and also confused the Chaldaeans with the Nabataeans; see below Ch. 1.5, and *ET*² art. 'Nabaṭ' (D.F. Graf & T. Fahd).
- 21 In this context, *saḥarah*, plural of *sāḥir*, means sorcerers, for Babel is always associated in Arabic with sorcery, not wisdom. As for the Yemen, Ibn Waḥshīyah in his treatise on Nabataean agriculture (of uncertain date and questionable authenticity) equates the sorcery of the people of Babel, proverbial in Arabic, with that of Yemen, which he says is proverbial among the Greeks (Ibn Waḥshīyah, *Filāḥah*, ed. Fahd, 1161).
- 22 In a correction of his original study of Galen's commentary on the Hippocratic oath, Rosenthal suggests that al-Ṣaqālibah must in this context refer to Scythians, i.e. the peoples of the Russian steppe (Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', additional notes p. 2). Greek does not know the term *Sklabos* till late antiquity but this could have entered the text later. Scythians feature prominently in the famous Hippocratic work *Airs Waters Places*.
- 23 *Afithimūn* (or *afithimūn*, Greek ἐπιθυμόν) is bindweed or dodder of thyme, a ubiquitous parasitic climbing plant of the genus *Cuscuta*. The best bindweed must have come from Crete, for Cretan bindweed (*al-afithimūn al-Iqrīṭī*) was specified by al-Kindī (d. 252/866) for use in two decoctions (Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 233–234) and the plant was imported from Crete into Egypt for medicinal use (Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 161–162).
- 24 Franz Rosenthal suggests that, although the text reads Mount Sinai, the original might have been Tyrsenia, the more literary form of Tyrrhenia (i.e. Etruria), since the Etruscans were another mysterious people imbued with special powers ('An Ancient Commentary', 59 n. 24). A marginal note in MS A reads: 'Note: the expression *tūr sīnā'* (Mount Sinai) is borrowed from Syriac. *Tūr* means "mountain", and *sīnya*, with the letters *nūn* and *yā'* transposed, means "boxthorn" (*'awsaj*). In the Arabized form of the word, the positions of those two letters are reversed, and thus it is that we say *tūr sīnā'*, that is, "Boxthorn

Among those who hold that the art of medicine comes from God, there are some who consider that it was inspired in dreams, alleging as evidence the fact that some people have dreamed of medicines which they subsequently used while awake and found that they cured serious ailments, not only in themselves but in others who used them.

There is a school of thought that maintains that God inspired the art of medicine by practical experience, and that it grew and developed further as time went on. By way of evidence, they relate that there was once a woman in Egypt who suffered from great sadness and anxiety, with outbursts of red-faced rage, and in addition was afflicted with weakness of the stomach, bad humours in the chest and retained menstruation. But it happened that she consumed elecampane on numerous occasions, feeling a craving for it, and soon she found that all her ills had vanished and that she had been restored to health. It subsequently appeared that patients with any of those symptoms also found relief by using elecampane. This led people to experiment with other remedies.

Those who hold that God created the art of medicine argue that human reason cannot possibly have devised so sublime a science. Galen held this view, as we read in his commentary on Hippocrates' *Book of Oaths*.



For my own part, I consider it most plausible and most fitting to hold that it was God, the blessed and exalted, who created the art of medicine and inspired man with it. For such a majestic science cannot have been conceived by the mind of man; it can only have been God, blessed and exalted is He, who was its author, for none but He had the power to create it. I take this view because I do not regard medicine as being inferior to philosophy, and it is generally accepted that philosophy originated from God, the blessed and exalted, who then inspired man with it.

Mountain". The Arabic *'awsaj* is a collective name for spiny bush species such as boxthorn, buckthorn (of species *Lycium* or *Rhammus*) and bramble (*Rubus* sp.); see Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 31.

[1.2]

I have read in a work by the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān,²⁵ entitled *The Garden of Physicians and Meadow of Intellectuals*,²⁶ a passage quoted from Abū Jābir al-Maghribī²⁷ which reads as follows:²⁸

The origin of the art of medicine was divine inspiration and revelation. The evidence for this is that that art is beneficial to human beings, either by restoring them to health when they are ill or by preserving their health when they are well, and it is impossible for the art of medicine to produce appropriate care by itself, without being linked to a knowledge of the condition of every individual concerned. It is clear that human beings must have had a beginning, for they exist in verifiable numbers, and anything that exists in verifiable numbers must necessarily have begun as a single entity which subsequently multiplied. Human beings cannot be infinite, for nothing that is infinite can have real existence.

Ibn al-Muṭrān comments here, ‘Not everything that cannot be counted is necessarily infinite, for it may have some end that cannot be determined.’ Continuing the quotation from Abū Jābir al-Maghribī:

If human beings, who are the sole *raison d’être* of this art, must necessarily have had a beginning, the art also must necessarily have had a beginning. Clearly, of the many persons who have been in need of that art, the very first was no less in need of it than those who have followed. Equally clearly, the art of medicine cannot have originated as an invention on the part of the person who first discovered knowledge of it, owing to the shortness of his life and the time required for the art.²⁹ Moreover, it is not possible that in the early period, after human beings had begun to proliferate,

25 Ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 578/1191) was a prominent Christian physician who served as personal physician to Saladin and was the teacher of IAU’s instructor in medicine, al-Dakhwār (Ch. 15.50). Ibn al-Muṭrān’s biography will be found at Ch. 15.23.

26 *Bustān al-aṭibbā’ wa-rawḍat al-alibbā’*.

27 This author is unidentified; he is certainly not to be identified with the alchemist Jābir ibn Ḥayyān (Geber), as did B.R. Sanguinetti (Sanguinetti, ‘Extraits’, iii (1854), 248 n. 2; rpr iii, 34).

28 The text that follows is found in Ibn al-Muṭrān, *Bustān* (facs), 360 line 11 to 365 line 1.

29 This last phrase (*li-qīṣar ‘umrihi wa-tūl al-ṣinā‘ah*) recalls the well-known first aphorism of Hippocrates, usually translated as ‘Life is short, the Art is long’ (*al-‘umr qaṣīr wa-l-ṣinā‘ah tawīlah*); see Rosenthal, “‘Life is short, the Art is long’” and Ch. 4.1.8.2 no. 33.

they joined forces to devise it collectively, for the art of medicine is a fine and admirably perfected thing, and nothing that is admirably perfected is ever devised by argument, but only by agreement. The people who lived in those days cannot have worked together to make something so wonderful, for individuals are not the same in all respects, including their opinions, and consequently it is not conceivable that their efforts should have been so harmoniously concerted as to achieve such a result.

Ibn al-Muṭrān comments:

If that were the case, we must suppose that the other arts and sciences must also have arisen from divine inspiration, for they too are admirably perfected. Furthermore, the assertion that a number of individuals could not have joined forces to produce something admirably perfected is not valid. On the contrary, their efforts would have been harmoniously concerted only with an admirably perfected result. Disagreement would not have arisen unless the result had been unsatisfactory.

Abū Jābir continues:

It has now become apparent that no individuals could have devised the art of medicine in remote antiquity. Nor could they have done so in a later age, owing to their fragmentation and dispersal and the appearance of divergent views amongst them. Anyone who doubts this may be challenged as follows:

Do you maintain that it is feasible for a single individual, or even a large number of individuals, to know where herbs and medicinal plants grow, where minerals are to be found and what their properties are, to be conversant with the properties, harmful effects and beneficial effects of all the parts of all animals, to be familiar with all ailments, and to know all lands and the constitutions of their inhabitants, however far-flung their dwelling-places? Or to know the effects of pharmaceutical compounds and the condition that every single one of them can counteract, to which particular temperament each of them is suited and to which it is not suited? And all the other aspects of the art of medicine?

If the adversary asserts that that is a simple matter and makes light of it, he is a liar, and if he concedes that it is indeed difficult for any one individual to possess such a mass of knowledge, I shall put it to him that so elaborate an art cannot have been invented. Now, since the art of medicine

must necessarily have originated either by invention or by divine inspiration, and since (as we have just seen) there is no way it can have been invented, we must conclude that it arose from divine inspiration.

Ibn al-Muṭrān comments:

This passage is muddled and entirely incoherent. It is true that Galen says, in his commentary on the *Book of Oaths*,³⁰ that this art was divinely inspired, and Plato, in *The Republic*,³¹ describes Asclepius³² as a man aided and inspired by God. Yet to maintain that the art of medicine could not have been devised by human intelligence is an error, for in that case, what of the intelligence of those who devised arts more lofty than medicine?

We may reasonably assume that at the very beginning of human history there was one person who was in need of the art of medicine, just as people are in need of it in our swarming, crowded world of the present day. Perhaps he felt bloated, his eyes were red, and, in general, he was experiencing the symptoms of an excess of blood. He did not know what to do, but something he ate brought on a nosebleed, whereupon he felt better. He took note of this, and when the condition recurred he gave himself a blow on the nose, brought on a flow of blood, and again was relieved. Having definitely established the efficacy of the treatment, he taught it to his offspring and their children. In the course of time, as the art of medicine became further refined,³³ thanks to intellectual effort and growing sensitivity, it came to be standard practice to let blood by opening a vein.

As regards that practice of bloodletting, we may reasonably assume that another person, who had the same symptoms, sustained a cut or blow that caused his blood to flow and recovered as a result, as just described. Intelligent people then refined the method and devised the technique of bleeding, which became a regular part of medical practice.

Another person ingested a surfeit of food and consequently suffered diarrhoea following nausea, distress, anxiousness, retching, abdominal pain, rumbling of the belly and flatulence. Finally he happened upon

30 Here, the title of Galen's commentary is given as *Tafsīr al-'ahd* (commentary on the covenant); for variant titles given to Galen's commentary, see Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', 53–55.

31 *Kitāb al-siyāṣah*.

32 Asclepius (Asqalibīyūs) is the subject of the next chapter, Ch. 2.1. Cf. (and contrast) Plato, *Republic* 408b–c.

33 *Latūfat ḥawāshī l-ṣinā'ah*, literally, 'the fringes of the art became finer (or 'more delicate').'

one of two methods of purging – either vomiting or suffering a bout of diarrhoea, as his nature dictated – and after this purging he felt better.

Some other individual who had absent-mindedly nibbled some spurge³⁴ subsequently suffered copious vomiting and diarrhoea. Realizing that it was the plant that had produced those effects and would therefore relieve the above-mentioned symptoms, he told the former person about it and suggested that he might use a little of it the next time he was experiencing those symptoms and was having difficulty vomiting or evacuating. The person tried it and found the treatment effective, for his symptoms were eased. Subsequently, as the art of medicine became further refined and developed,³⁵ interested persons experimented with similar plants to determine which of them would produce such effects and which would not, and which would produce those effects violently and which produce them more gently. Later still, some perspicacious savant examined the effective remedies to see what they tasted like and how they were perceived by the tongue initially and after a time. Taking this as his touchstone, he drew conclusions, putting theory into practice with the assistance of experience, which showed him when he had gone off the track and confirmed his conjectures when they were correct, until he was satisfied with his findings.

Now, let us suppose that there was once a man who was suffering from diarrhoea and did not know what medications or foods would be beneficial or harmful to him. By mere chance he ingested some sumac³⁶ with his food. Finding that it did him good, he took more of it, and was cured. He then wished to know how it had cured him, so he tasted it and found that it was both sour and astringent. This told him that it must be either the acidity or the astringent quality that had had the beneficial effect. He went on to taste another substance that was acidic without being astringent, and used it on a person who was suffering from the same condition, but it proved to be less beneficial. The next step was to try something that tasted astringent but was not sour. He administered that to the same

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- 34 *Yatū'* is a collective name for plant species that contain a milky sap (Les & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 30). This would include the spurge or milk-wort family (*Euphorbia* sp.) whose toxic juices were used as purgative substances; Lev & Amar, *Materia medica*, 487–488; Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 311.
- 35 Here the Arabic text reads *wa-laṭūfat al-ṣinā'ah wa-raqqat ḥawāshīha*, 'the art became finer and its fringes more delicate'.
- 36 *Summāq*, sumac, is a tall deciduous shrub (*Rhus coriaria* L. and related species) whose seeds, fruit and leaves were used in a variety of medical compounds; Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 285; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 490–492.

person, and it proved to be more effective than the acidic substance. From this experience, he learned that the astringent taste was the sign of effectiveness. He described the substance as having a binding effect, and declared that a binding medication was useful in relieving diarrhoea. Subsequently, as the art of medicine became further refined and developed, marvellously effective remedies were discovered and useful innovations developed for such cases. One person, finding that a predecessor had devised a remedy which he had tried and found valid, took note of that result, drew conclusions from it, and carried on, and so matters continued until the art of medicine reached a high degree of perfection. Doubtless some would disagree, but most, I think, would not. Where an earlier practitioner went wrong, he was corrected by someone who came after him, and if one generation fell short of the mark, a subsequent generation would be sure to hit it. It is so with all the arts. In my view, this sums up the process as it is most likely to have occurred.

Ḥubaysh al-A'sam³⁷ relates that there was once a man who bought some fresh liver from a butcher and took it home. Being obliged to leave for some errand, he placed the liver on some plant leaves that were spread out on the floor. When he returned for the liver after having completed his errand, he found that it had deliquesced and liquified into blood. He took the leaves and identified the plant, and then began to sell it as a lethal drug,³⁸ until he was found out and sentenced to death.³⁹

This incident occurred in the time of Galen, who states that that was the reason why the man was apprehended, haled before the judge and sentenced to death. 'In addition,' he adds, 'as the man was being taken out to be executed, I ordered him blindfolded, to ensure that he would not have an opportunity of glancing at that plant or pointing it out to someone else, who would then be able to identify it.' Galen relates this story in his *On Laxative Drugs*.⁴⁰

37 Ḥubaysh al-A'sam ibn Ḥasan al-Dimashqī was the nephew of the celebrated translator Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq and a gifted translator in his own right. The biographies of both Ḥunayn and Ḥubaysh will be found at Ch. 8.29 and Ch. 8.31 respectively, with additional shorter biographical entries at Chs. 9.2 and 9.4.

38 That is, a drug for killing people (*dawā' li-l-talaf*).

39 At this point the first extensive quotation from Ibn al-Muṭrān ends, at a point corresponding to Ibn al-Muṭrān, *Bustān* (facs.), 365 line 1.

40 *Fī l-adwiyah al-mus'hilah* (*De purgantium medicamentorum facultate*); Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 75. Cf. Ch. 5.37 no. 44. For the story in the Greek text, see Galen, Kuhn ed., xi:336–337.

[1.3.1]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have been informed by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Naqqāsh al-Si‘irdī⁴¹ that many kinds of herbs grow at the foot of the mountain on the other side of which the town of Si‘ird⁴² stands, near the esplanade. A poor elderly man from the town once came to that place and lay down amid the vegetation to have a nap. As he lay sleeping, a group of people came by and found him there. They noticed that there was blood under him, seeping from his nose and from the direction of his anus, and so they awakened him. All concerned were puzzled, until they realized that the bleeding was due to a plant on which the old man had been lying.

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Si‘irdī told me that he had gone to the place himself and seen the plant in question. He described it as similar to chicory,⁴³ but taller, and bitter to the taste. ‘I have often seen a person put it to his nose and sniff several times,’ he said, ‘and it produces bleeding from the nose immediately.’ Such was his account, but I have been unable to determine whether the plant in the case is the one referred to by Galen or a different one.

[1.3.2]

Reverting to Ibn al-Muṭrān’s narrative, he says,⁴⁴

In my view some gifted soul, some benefactor of humankind, considered what he had observed and reasoned that if the medication had produced that effect, there must necessarily be another type of medication that was beneficial for the organ concerned and counteracted the first one. Accordingly, he investigated by experimenting night and day on animals, administering the first medication and then the second, and if the latter reversed the harm caused by the former, he had attained his objective, while if it did not, he tried a different medication, and so on until he had found the one that he was seeking. It is the discovery of theriac that affords the best evidence for this theory, for theriac was originally

41 Not identified.

42 A town in southeastern Anatolia; see *EI*² art. ‘Si‘ird’ (C.E. Bosworth et al.). The name also appears as Si‘irt and Is‘ird and in modern Turkish in Siirt.

43 *Hindabā’* or *hundabā’* is endive or chicory (*Cichorium* sp), an annual herbaceous plant, erect and branching with hairy stems and leaves. Some writers distinguished two basic varieties, wild and cultivated; Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 342–343; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 164–166.

44 At this point another quotation from Ibn Muṭrān begins (Ibn al-Muṭrān, *Bustān* (facs.), 365 lines 7–15).

nothing but sweet bay seeds⁴⁵ and honey. Its subsequent development into a complex useful medication was not due to divine inspiration, but rather to reasoning by analogy and clarity of thought sustained over long periods of time. And if you ask, ‘How could anyone have known that for that medication there must have been an opposing medication?’, I invite you to consider the plant known as ‘The Killer of *Bīsh*’:⁴⁶ observation had shown that when that plant grew beside *Bīsh*, it would cause the latter to become desiccated and die, and intelligent men realized that the same might be true of other plants as well, so they looked for such antagonists. An intelligent man, a person of penetrating mind, can discover how to elucidate any matter, a little at a time, from the evidence available to him, if he investigates it in the manner that I have set forth here.

45 *Ḥabb al-ghār*, seeds of the sweet bay or laurel tree, an aromatic evergreen shrub or tree; see Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 308–309; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 141–142.

46 *Qātil al-bīsh*. *Bīsh* is the generally accepted name for the form of aconite originating from India. Aconite is a particularly deadly poison found in a plant root. The poison originating from plants in India – possibly *Aconitum ferox* – was considered deadlier than that of the Mediterranean variety. The yet milder European varieties are known by the common names of Monkshood and Wolf’s-bane, amongst others. See *ET*² art. ‘Aḳūniṭun’ (P. Johnstone).

The phrase *qātil al-bīsh* (the killer of *bīsh*) has not been found in other texts, nor has the plant that acts as a herbicide been identified. It may be the plant described by Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037) in an entry in the *Qānūn* which is headed by three Persian words: *Bīsh*, *mūsh* (mouse), and *būḥā* (zedoary). The entry reads: ‘*Bīsh mūsh būḥā*: As for *būḥā*, it is a herb (*ḥashishah*) growing alongside *bīsh*, and any *bīsh* that is adjacent to it will not bear fruit. It is an important antidote (theriac) for *bīsh* and it has all the benefits which are associated with *bīsh* in [the treatment of] leprosy (*al-baraṣ wa-l-judhām*). As for *bīsh mūsh* (*bīsh-mouse*), it is an animal living in the roots of *bīsh* like a mouse (*al-fārah*) and it is useful for leprosy and is a theriac for all poisons and vipers.’ See Ibn Sīnā, *Qānūn* (Būlāq), i:280 (*Kitāb* 2, *Qism* 2, *Faṣl* 2); for the biography of Ibn Sīnā, see Ch. 11.13

Steingass (*Persian-English dictionary*, 205) defines *būḥā* as zedoary, though the more common Persian term is *zadwār*. Zedoary, also known as white turmeric, is a perennial fragrant herb, *Curcuma zedoaria*, native to India and East Asia, whose edible dried rhizome is used today as a spice. The leaf shoots are long and fragrant, reaching a metre in height, while the rhizome is large and tuberous with many branches.

While Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248), whose biography can be found at Ch. 14.58, quotes Ibn Sīnā in an entry titled *Bīsh mūsh bīshā*, he omits the plant-name *būḥā* (Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Jāmi‘ li-mufradāt* (Būlāq), i:133). The explanation given by Ibn Sīnā (and repeated by Ibn al-Bayṭār) of the *bīsh-mūsh* or *bīsh-mouse* reflects the legend that the common mouse, as well as other species of small rodents such as shrews, had a supposed resistance to poison and could eat the roots of *bīsh* when insects were not available for food; see *ET*² art. ‘Fa’r’ (F. Viré). To that legend, Ibn Sīnā adds that, having eaten the poisonous roots, the mice then could act as antidotes to poison as well as assuming the beneficial properties of *bīsh* in the treatment of skin diseases.

Galen wrote a work on the invention of the various arts⁴⁷ and in essence says nothing more than I have.

[1.4]

The reason why I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah – have given an account of the assorted views outlined above in all their diversity and variety is that my purpose is to provide an adequate survey of the opinions held by the several factions. As we can see, there is a very large measure of divergence and disagreement, making our search for the origin of the art of medicine difficult in the extreme. However, if an intelligent man applies his wits to the matter, he will undoubtedly conclude that the origins of the art of medicine must have been, for the most part, broadly consistent with the above discussion.

At all events, I hold that the art of medicine is essential to human beings and is invariably a feature of their society wherever they are found. However, there may be differences among different societies, depending on where they live, how plentiful their food supply is, and how discriminating they are, so that one nation’s need for medical care may be greater than another’s. There are regions whose inhabitants may frequently fall prey to disorders, especially if they eat a varied diet and are particularly given to consuming fruit, for a regimen of that kind predisposes their bodies to disease to such an extent that some of them may be plagued by illness throughout their lives. Such people are more in need of the art of medicine than others who live in regions with healthier climates, have a less varied diet, and withal eat more sparingly.⁴⁸

Furthermore, some people surpass others in terms of their ability to reason logically, and consequently are more discriminating, more skilful at learning from life, endowed with superior judgement, better at retaining the lessons of experience, and so on. This enables them to treat a disease with the appropriate remedy and no other. If it should happen that the inhabitants of a particular region are frequently afflicted with illness but have among them a group of individuals of the kind just described, the latter will be able to apply their power of understanding, their intelligence and their experience to the task of treat-

47 *De constitutione artium*, in three books, of which the book on medicine survives as *De constitutione artis medicae*; see Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 6, 180. See Ch. 5.1.37 title no. 117 (*K. fi qiwām al-ṣinā‘āt*) and note.

48 A marginal note in MS R reads: ‘I [the scribe] say: this is what the author states, and the same happens to the people of Damascus, who love to diversify their dishes and are eager to praise them, and also have many kinds of fruits. They are always vulnerable to diseases and that is why there are so many physicians among them – but if they were few, God would grant them success.’

ing disease, and eventually the community will find itself in possession of a substantial store of medical knowledge.

At this point, I propose to proceed with a discussion of the origins of the art of medicine to the best of my ability.

[1.5]

In the first place, humanity may have obtained something of it from the prophets and friends of God, peace be upon them, owing to divine assistance granted to them by Almighty God.

Ibn ‘Abbās⁴⁹ relates that the Prophet, God bless him and keep him, said, ‘When Solomon, the son of David, prayed, he would see a tree growing in front of him, and would ask it, “What is your name?” If it was a crop tree, it would be planted, and if it was a medicinal tree,⁵⁰ the fact would be noted.’

Some Hebrews have said that God, mighty and glorious, revealed a book of remedies⁵¹ to Moses, peace be upon him.

The Sabians,⁵² for their part, claim that the art of healing came originally from their temples, having been obtained by their wise men⁵³ and pious forebears, partly through dreams and partly through inspiration from God. Some of them assert that it was found in their temples in writing, the writer being unknown. Others have said that a white hand used to appear with medical knowledge written upon it. They also have a tradition to the effect that Seth⁵⁴ revealed the art of medicine after having inherited it from Adam, blessings and peace be upon them both.

49 ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās, commonly called simply Ibn ‘Abbās, was a 1st/7th cent. Qur’anic exegete and soldier, a cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad’s, and son of the eponymous ancestor of the Abbasid caliphs; see *ET Three* art. ‘‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās’ (Cl. Gilliot). The quotation is found in al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, iv:318, 560 and in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* (Leiden), I, ii:594.

50 *Li-dawā’*, useful in drug remedies.

51 *Sifr al-ashfīyah*. It is unclear whether a specific treatise is intended or whether this is a general reference to the Hebrew wisdom literature. No similar statement has been identified.

52 The Sabians (*al-Ṣāb’īyah*) were adherents of a gnostic, Hellenized, star-worshipping cult in Ḥarrān (ancient Carrhae, northern Mesopotamia) that survived for several centuries in Islam, and to which several famous scholars belonged, among them Thābit ibn Qurrah, whose biography is to be found at Ch. 10.3. See *ET²* art. ‘Ṣābi’ (F.C. de Blois) and ‘Ṣābi’a’ (T. Fahd).

53 MS A has the following note in the right margin: ‘variant reading: “their priests”’.

54 Seth (Shīth) was the third son of Adam and Eve, regarded in Islamic lore as one of the first prophets. See *ET²* art. ‘Shīth’ (Cl. Huart & C.E. Bosworth).

The Zoroastrians⁵⁵ allege that Zarathustra,⁵⁶ whom they call their prophet, gave them twelve thousand volumes bound in buffalo hide dealing with four sciences, including one thousand that were devoted to the art of medicine.⁵⁷

However, the honour of having been the first to demonstrate the art of medicine has also been claimed for the Nabataeans of Iraq,⁵⁸ the Nabataeans of Syria,⁵⁹ the Chaldaeans, the Kasdaeans⁶⁰ and other ancient Nabataean peoples. 'Hermes of the Hermes', known as Trismegistus, or thrice great in wisdom,⁶¹ is said to have been one of them and to have been conversant with their sciences. He left their land and went to Egypt, where he propagated arts and sciences among the people and built the pyramids and the ancient Egyptian temples. Subsequently, learning diffused from the Egyptians to the Greeks.

The emir Abū l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik⁶² says in his book, *Choice Maxims and Best Sayings*,⁶³ that when Alexander the Great had conquered the kingdom of Darius⁶⁴ and made himself master of Persia, he burned the books of the Zoroastrian religion, but sought out works on astrology, medicine and philosophy, translated them into Greek, and sent the translated versions back to

55 The Zoroastrians (*al-Majūs*) were followers of an ancient Iranian religion; see *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Zoroastrianism'; and *EI*² art. 'Madjūs' (M. Morony).

56 Zarādusht, or Zoroaster.

57 The Arabic text of this passage is uncertain. The translation here follows the text as emended by Müller.

58 The Nabataeans of Iraq (Nabaṭ al-'Irāq), were considered by many early historians to be the native inhabitants of Mesopotamia before the Islamic conquest of Iraq. See *EI*² art. 'Nabaṭ' (D.F. Graf & T. Fahd).

59 Sūrāniyyūn, usually referred to as Nabaṭ al-Shām, were Nabataeans who occupied Petra towards the end of the Hellenistic imperial area and the beginning of the Roman one; they were to be distinguished from those in Iraq. See *EI*² art. 'Nabaṭ' (D.F. Graf & T. Fahd).

60 Kasdaeans (*Kasdāniyyūn*) is a dialectal differentiation between groups of Chaldaeans. See *EI*² art. 'Nabaṭ' (D.F. Graf & T. Fahd).

61 For the legendary Egyptian-Greek sage Hermes, here referred to as Hirmis al-Harāmishah as well as Hermes Trismegistus, see van Bladel 2009; *EI Three* art. 'Hermes & Hermetica' (K. van Bladel).

62 An eminent Egyptian scholar of the eleventh century whose biography is given in Ch. 14.23.

63 *Kitāb Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*, a popular book of sayings attributed to the ancient sages which was written in 440/1045 and later translated into Castilian under the title *Los Bocados de Oro* in the mid-13th cent. This version was the source of translations into several other European languages, ultimately becoming the first English text (*The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*) to be printed at William Caxton's press, in 1477. For this particular quotation, see Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 233.

64 Dārā is the Arabic form of the name of the Achaemenid king commonly known under the Hellenized form *Dareios* (Darius). See *EI*² art. 'Dārā, Dārāb' (B. Carra de Vaux & H. Massé).

his own country, burning the originals. The shaykh Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī⁶⁵ relates that ‘Ibn ‘Adī⁶⁶ informed me that there was much philosophical learning among the people of India, and that he had heard that the Greeks obtained learning from them. I do not know where he obtained that information.’

Some Israelite scholars have asserted that it was Jubal son of Lamech son of Methuselah⁶⁷ who invented the art of medicine.

[1.6]

In the second place, some portion of the art of medicine may have come to mankind through true dreams.⁶⁸ Galen relates in his work *On Bloodletting*⁶⁹ that he learned to open an artery from a dream. ‘Twice,’ he says, ‘I dreamed of being told to open the artery between the index finger and the thumb of my right hand. When I awoke, I did so, letting the blood flow until it stopped naturally, for so I had been instructed in the dream. The quantity of blood lost was less than a *ratl*,⁷⁰ and as a result, a long-standing pain that I had first felt as a youth, at the point where the liver touches the diaphragm, vanished at once.’ Galen adds, ‘A man of my acquaintance who lives in the city of Pergamon⁷¹ was cured by God of a chronic pain in his side when the artery in the palm of his hand was opened. He had been impelled to undergo that treatment by a dream that he had had.’

In the fourteenth book of his work *Method of Healing*, Galen says:⁷²

I once saw a patient whose tongue had become so large and swollen that he could not keep it within his mouth. The patient was a man of

65 The biography of Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī, known as al-Manṭiqī (the logician), an important Baghdadi philosopher who died in 375/985, will be found in Ch. 11.7.

66 Yahyā ibn ‘Adī (d. 363/974), the teacher of Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī in Baghdad, was a Christian Arab philosopher whose biography will be found in Ch. 10.22.

67 Yūfāl ibn Lāmakh ibn Matūshālakh; see Genesis 4:18–21.

68 For the role of dreams in Greek medicine and thought, see Edelstein, ‘Greek Medicine’, esp. 241–243; Lloyd, *Revolutions of Wisdom*, 30–37. For the Islamic world, see Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*.

69 *K. fī l-faṣd (De curandi ratione per venae sectionem)*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 73. For an English translation of the Greek behind this passage (Galen, Kühn ed., xi:314–315), see Brain, *Bloodletting*, 98–99. Galen gives examples of how, in some instances, benefit can arise from bleeding an artery rather than a vein.

70 See the Glossary of Weights & Measures.

71 A Greek city in the Aeolis region of western Asia Minor, Galen’s native place.

72 *K. Ḥīlat al-bur’ (De methodi medendi libri xiv)*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 69. The quotation is found in Galen, Kühn ed., x:971–972.

about 60 years of age who had never been bled. When I first saw him, it was about the tenth hour of the day. I judged it necessary to purge him with a pill of the usual type, consisting of aloe,⁷³ scammony⁷⁴ and colocynth pulp.⁷⁵ It was getting on for evening by the time I administered it to him. I then instructed him to place a cooling substance on the affected part, telling him that I wanted to see what effect it would have so as to be able to determine the appropriate treatment. Another physician who was attending the patient expressed disagreement with my approach, and consequently, although the patient had been willing to take the pill, the question of how the tongue itself should be treated was put off to the following day. We were all hoping that by the time the night was over the treatment that we were trying would have produced a beneficial effect and that the entire body would have purged itself, with the humour that was engorging the tongue having migrated downward. During the night, the patient had a very clear and vivid dream, and the next morning he was full of praise for my advice and was resolved to follow it. He had dreamed, he told us, that someone was instructing him to hold some lettuce juice⁷⁶ in his mouth. He proceeded to do so, and was completely cured, and he required no other treatment.

In his commentary on Hippocrates' *Book of Oaths*⁷⁷ Galen says, 'People have frequently reported that Almighty God, exalted is He, has inspired them in dreams and visions with medical information that has rescued them from serious illnesses. We find that countless people have been healed by God, some through the agency of Serapis,⁷⁸ others through that of Asclepius, in the cities of Epidaurus,⁷⁹ Kos and Pergamon, which is my own native city.'

73 *Şabr*, a species of aloe plant; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 94–97; Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 297.

74 *Saqamūniyā'*, scammony is also sometimes called Syrian bindweed (*Convolvulus scammonia* sp), and various types were used as purgatives; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 280–282.

75 *Şaḥm al-ḥanzāl*, pulp of colocynth, or bitter apple (*Citrullus colocynthis* L. or related species), a perennial herbaceous plant growing on sandy soil and producing a round, very bitter, fruit the size of an orange. See Lev & Avar, *Material Medica*, 385–387.

76 *Uṣārat al-khass*, juice made of the leaves of lettuce (*Lactuca sativa* and related species); Lev & Amar, *Material Medica*, 437–438.

77 For this fragment of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Book of Oaths*, see Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', 60.

78 Sārāfus, the Graeco-Egyptian god Serapis, to whom the art of healing was attributed.

79 Epidaurus, in the Peloponnese, was a major centre of the cult of Asclepius, the god of healing. Written as Qndārūs or Qndarūs in the Arabic manuscripts, the name must originally have been Afidārūs or Afidarūs but with time became Fīdārūs and then Qīndārūs.

In short, in all the temples of the Greeks and other peoples, we find that individuals have been cured of serious illnesses owing to advice that has come to them in dreams and visions.

[1.7]

Oribasius,⁸⁰ in his *Great Handbook*, tells of a man who had a large stone in his bladder. 'I treated him,' his account runs, 'with every type of medication that is deemed useful for breaking up bladder stones, but to no avail. He was near death. But then he had a dream in which a man approached him holding in his hand a small dead bird. "This is the bird called *ṣafrāghūn*,⁸¹ which frequents open land and marshy places," the man said. "Take it, burn it, and eat the ashes, and you will be cured of your ailment." When he awoke, he did as his nocturnal visitor had ordered, and the treatment caused the stone in his bladder to break up into tiny fragments like ashes, which were evacuated without difficulty. He was completely cured.'

Another example of a true dream of that kind is to be found in a story about one of the caliphs of the west,⁸² who had been afflicted with a long illness for which he had been treated with many kinds of medication, without success. But then one night he dreamed of the Prophet, God bless him and keep him.

80 Oribasius (Urībāsiyūs), d. c. 400 AD, was court physician to Julian the Apostate; cf. Ch. 5.2.1. He made use of Galen and other physicians to compose an encyclopaedic account of medicine, of which large parts survive in Greek; the encyclopaedia is here referred to as *al-Kunnāsh al-kabīr* (the Great Handbook); this passage is not found in Oribasius' extant works. See *DSB* art. 'Oribasius' (F. Kudlien), *Brill's New Pauly* art. 'Oribasius' (A. Touwaide), Ullmann, *Medizin*, 83–84; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 152–154.

81 In this context, *ṣafrāghūn* means a small bird such as a wren. Dozy (*Supplément*, i:836) gives the source of *ṣafrāghūn* as Dioscorides (2.58 Wellmann, Dioscorides), where the bird is called ὀσσεραγών 'bone-breaker' (Latin *ossifragus*), an ossifrage being either of two hawks: the osprey (also called 'sea hawk' or 'fish hawk' because it obtains fish by plunging feet first from considerable heights) or the lammergeier (also called 'bearded vulture'), which cracks large animal bones by dropping them from a height onto a rock to obtain the marrow.

Dozy, however, also cites Ibn al-Bayṭār's *Jāmi'*, where a different definition is found: *ṣafrāghūn*: *ism ṭā'ir yusammā bi-l-ifranjīyah hākadhā wa-huwa l-musammā ṭurughlūdīs* (Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Jāmi' li-mufradāt*, iii:113). *Ṭurughlūdīs* is a much smaller bird than the ossifrage; the *trogodytidae* ('cave-dwellers') are insectivores, such as the wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes*, the only Old World, Eurasian wren, the rest of the 88 species being confined to the New World). Under *ṭurughlūdīs*, Ibn al-Bayṭār (*Jāmi' li-mufradāt*, iii:137) cites al-Rāzī, *al-Kāfi*: 'uṣfūr ṣaḡhīr aṣḡhar min jamī' al-uṣāfir. The bird appears mostly during winter. It is grey-brown, its beak is thin, etc.: everything points to the wren.

82 Perhaps one of the Fatimids of Egypt (4th/10th–6th/12th cents) or the Umayyads of Cordova (4th/10th–5th/11th cents).

The caliph told him of his ailment, and the Prophet, God bless him and keep him, said to him, 'Anoint yourself with *neither* and eat of *nor*, and you will be cured.' When the caliph awoke, he recalled his dream with astonishment, but could not understand what it meant. He consulted experts in the interpretation of dreams, but none of them could explain it, except 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Qayrawānī,⁸³ who said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, the Prophet, God bless him and keep him, has instructed you to anoint yourself with olive oil and to eat olive oil in order to be cured.' When the caliph asked him, 'How did you know that?' he replied, 'From the words of God mighty and glorious in the Qur'an: «From a blessed tree, an olive neither of the east nor of the west whose oil would well-nigh give light even though no fire had touched it».'⁸⁴

The following account is taken from a copy of the commentary on Galen's work, *On Sects*,⁸⁵ by 'Alī ibn Riḍwān,⁸⁶ written in the author's own hand. 'I had suffered for years,' he says, 'from an excruciating headache resulting from an excess of blood in the blood vessels of my head. I bled myself, but with no result, even after I had repeated the treatment a number of times. Then I dreamed that Galen came to me and told me to read his *Method of Healing* to him, so I read seven chapters of it aloud. When I reached the end of the seventh chapter, he said, "You have forgotten your headache," and instructed me to have the back of my head⁸⁷ cupped. Then I awoke, and when I had myself cupped at that point, I was cured of my headache forthwith.'

'Abd al-Malik ibn Zuhr⁸⁸ says in his *Facilitation (of Treatment)*, 'My vision had been strained as a result of a critical bout of vomiting,⁸⁹ and subsequently my pupils suddenly became dilated. I was distressed because of this, but then I dreamed of a man who had been a medical practitioner during his life. He

83 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Qayrawānī was an early 5th/11th-century religious scholar of Kairouan who composed several books on dream interpretation, four of which are extant. See Lamoreaux, *Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*, 51–59.

84 Q *Nūr* 24:35.

85 *Fī firaq al-ṭibb (De sectis medicorum)*; Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 4.

86 Ibn Riḍwān (d. 453/1061 or 460/1068) was a self-taught Egyptian physician of considerable importance. His biography – and autobiography – will be found in Ch. 14.25.

87 The *qamaḥduwah* is the occiput or the lower part of the back of the head (Lane, *Lexicon*, 2562). For cupping in general, see *EI Three* art. 'Bloodletting and Cupping' (C. Álvarez-Millán).

88 The biography of Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abī l-'Alā' ibn Zuhr (d. 557/1161), a celebrated physician in al-Andalus, will be found in Ch. 13.62. In the West he was known as Avenzoar, and his *Facilitation of Treatment and Regimen (K. al-Taysīr fī l-mudāwāh wa-l-tadbīr; Liber Teisir sive Rectificatio medicationis et regiminis)* was very influential.

89 *Quyā' buḥrānī*.

told me, in my dream, to put rose syrup⁹⁰ into my eyes. At that time I was a student, and while I had learned a good deal about the art of medicine, I had had little practical experience. Accordingly, I consulted my father⁹¹ about the matter. He thought for some time, and finally said, “Do as you were told to do in your dream.” I did so, and the result was so satisfactory that as of the time of writing this book, I have continued to use that treatment as a means of strengthening patients’ eyesight.’

There have been many such examples of medical treatments that have been discovered in true dreams. It has sometimes happened that a person has dreamed of meeting someone who describes the ingredients of a remedy, and the remedy proves efficacious in curing his ailment, with the result that the use of it to treat the ailment in question has subsequently become part of regular medical practice.

[1.8]⁹²

In the third place, medical knowledge has sometimes been acquired by mere chance or serendipity. This was the case with Andromachus the Younger,⁹³ who discovered the virtues of viper’s flesh as an ingredient in theriac. There were three events that put the idea into his mind and thus led him, quite accidentally, to that discovery. In his own words:

The first experience involved some ploughmen who worked on one of my estates in the place known as Būrnūs.⁹⁴ Their task was to prepare the

90 *Sharāb al-ward*. Many varieties of the wild dog rose were used for medicinal purposes, and some were cultivated for that purpose; see Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 261–266; Levey, *Formulary*, 344–345.

91 His father, Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Zuhr, was also a prominent physician of al-Andalus, and his biography can be found in Ch. 13.61.

92 This section comes either from the anonymous *Kitāb al-diryāq* (The Book of Theriac) or from a common source. For the *Kitāb al-Diryāq*, see Kerner, ‘The *Kitāb al-diryāq* in text and image’ and sources cited there.

93 Andromachus the Younger (Andarūmākhūs al-thānī) was active in Rome and probably an imperial physician in the 1st cent. AD. It is his father, Andromachus the Elder, personal physician to the Emperor Nero, who is usually credited with having introduced viper’s flesh into the standard recipe for theriac (see Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 178–179). Andromachus the Younger wrote three monographs on theriac, but the extract quoted here does not survive anywhere in Greek. Galen used Andromachus the Younger as a major source; see Fabricius, *Galens Excerpte*, 185–189.

94 This place-name is not yet identified. Given that Andromachus the Elder was originally from Crete, the place-name intended may be that of Praesus, an ancient coastal town in eastern Crete. Müller (‘Lesarten’, 2) suggests Portus (the port of Rome).

ground for seeding. The estate in question was about two parasangs⁹⁵ distant from the place where I lived, and I would go out there every morning to oversee the work, returning home when the men had finished for the day. I made a habit of loading some food and drink for the men on the donkey that my slave-boy rode, in order to keep them in good heart and fit for their work. One day, going out there as usual, I brought them some wine in a big green earthenware jar, unopened, with its top sealed with clay, as well as some food. They ate the food, and then they turned to the jar of wine and opened it. One of them took a mug and dipped it into the wine to take a drink, and there in the jar was a viper the flesh of which had become macerated. The men would not drink the wine after that, 'but,' they said, 'here in this village there is a man who is a leper,⁹⁶ whose state is so terrible that he wishes to die. We shall give him some of this wine to drink, and he will die. That will be a meritorious thing to do, for we shall have released him from his suffering.' Accordingly, they went to his home with food and drink, and gave him some of the wine, quite sure that he would die before the day was out. At nightfall, his whole body became greatly swollen, remaining so until the morning. The outer skin then sloughed off, so that the red inner skin appeared; in due course it hardened, and he was cured. He lived for a long time after that, in excellent health, ultimately dying a natural death from cessation of the innate heat.

This showed me that viper's flesh is useful in treating cases of severe illnesses and long-standing bodily disorders.

The second experience involved my brother Apollonius,⁹⁷ who was a land surveyor in the king's service. His work frequently required him to be out in inclement weather conditions, winter and summer alike. One very hot day when he had travelled to a village some seven parasangs away, he

95 Parasang is an ancient Iranian unit of distance. *Farsakh* is the Arabic form of the Persian *farsang*, and it usually equalled three Arabic miles (*mīl*) or around 6 km. See Mercier 'Geodesy'; *EI*² art. 'Farsakh' (W. Hinz).

96 *Majdhūm*; for leprosy in medieval Islam, see Dols 'Leprosy'; Dols 'The Leper'; *EI*² art. 'Djudhām' (M. Dols).

97 There is no other record for the name of a brother to either Andromachus the Younger or the Elder, and there are a number of variants for the name given in the manuscripts (*Brk-wbyws*; *Brhwsws*; *Brkwšws*). It is likely that the letter *waw* was mistaken for a *rā*, and Apollonius appears the most reasonable interpretation. Müller, in his edition, read the name as Abūlūniyūs, or Apollonius, but then later ('Lesarten', 2) provided additional variants and proposed Procopius as the underlying Greek name; Procopius, however is unlikely before the 2nd/3rd cent. AD.

stopped to rest at the foot of a tree and fell asleep. As he slept, a viper came along and bit him on one of his hands, which from excessive weariness he had flung out, so that it lay on the ground. He awoke in alarm, realizing at once what had happened to him. He was too weak to stand up and kill the viper, and in anguish and feeling faint, he wrote a message, indicating his full name, the place where he lived and his professional title, and hung it on the tree, in the hope that when someone should come by after his death, the person would notice the message and would take it and read it and inform his family. Having done this, he composed himself for death.

As it happened, there was a pool of water nearby, and a little of it had overflowed into a hollow at the foot of the tree upon which he had hung his message. Feeling very thirsty, he drank deeply of the water. Hardly had it reached his stomach when the pain subsided, and the effect of the viper's bite vanished. He felt quite well again. Astonished at his recovery, he asked himself what there could have been in the water. However, he did not care to explore the pool with his hand, for fear of encountering something that would harm him. Accordingly, he cut a stick from the tree and began to root about with it, and found two vipers which had been fighting and had fallen together into the water, where their flesh had become macerated. My brother went home and remained sound and well for the remainder of his life. After his adventure, he gave up his former occupation and worked exclusively with me.

Here we have further evidence that viper's flesh is beneficial in cases of snakebite and wild animal bites.

My third example is as follows: King Yabūlūs⁹⁸ had a slave who was malicious, sharp-tongued, opinionated and annoying in every way to everyone but the king, who held him in high regard. As he had harmed many people, the ministers of state, army commanders and leading men conspired to have him killed, but found no way of doing so, owing to the fact that he enjoyed the king's favour. But then one of them thought of a stratagem: 'Go,' he said, 'and grind up two dirhams' weight of opium,⁹⁹ and give it to him in his food or drink. Sudden death is a frequent enough occurrence. When he is dead, you will carry the body, which will dis-

98 In most manuscripts the first letter, as well as sometimes the second letter, is undotted, and the reading of the name is uncertain. Euboulos is a common enough name, but no king of that name is recorded. Müller ('Lesarten', 2) suggests it might be Julius, but if so it would be an error for Nero.

99 *Afyūn*. For the uses of opium, see Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 231–233, and Tibi, *Medicinal Uses of Opium*.

play no wounds and no sign of disease, to the king.' Accordingly, they invited the man to a certain garden, and there, no opportunity of doctoring his food having presented itself, they slipped the opium into his drink, whereupon he died in short order. It then occurred to the conspirators that it would be advisable for them to leave the body in a nearby shed and lock the door securely, instructing some of the head gardener's workmen to stand by and keep watch, while they went to tell the king that his favourite had suddenly died, reasoning that the king would want to send some trusted attendants to verify the matter. After they had all left the scene, the workmen saw a viper crawl out from the trees and enter the shed where the body lay, but they were unable to follow it and kill it, because the door was locked. Barely an hour later they heard the slave's voice calling, 'Why have you locked me in? Help me, a viper has bitten me.' He pulled at the door from the inside, and the head gardener's men pushed from the outside, until by their united efforts they broke the door down, and out he came, quite unhurt.

This is additional evidence that viper's flesh can be beneficial in cases of persons who have swallowed lethal potions.

Here ends the passage quoted from Andromachus.

[1.9]

The following account is a further illustration of the same phenomenon – that is, the acquisition of medical knowledge by mere chance.¹⁰⁰ There was once a man in Basra who suffered from such a severe case of dropsy¹⁰¹ that his family despaired of his life. They had consulted doctors who had recommended many remedies, but to no avail, until finally they became convinced that his case was hopeless. He overheard them saying as much, and said to them, 'In that case,

100 The following story is also found in al-Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, iv: 210–212 and in his *Nishwār al-muḥāḍarah*, iii:161–163. In Ch. 10.62 IAU refers to the story again, and cites al-Tanūkhī as the source.

101 *Istisqā'*. The physician Ibn Hindū (d. 432/1032), whose biography can be found in Ch. 11.9, defined dropsy as follows: 'The term derives from the Arabic word *al-saqy* (watering). The condition takes three forms: *ziqqī* (like a water-bag), *lahmī* (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. The second is caused by a hard swelling on the liver whose harmful effect is felt throughout the body. The third results from the collection of a small amount of fluid and a large quantity of wind in the belly, so that when you hit it a drum-like sound is heard.' (Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 74).

you may as well let me indulge myself in the pleasures of life while I still can and eat whatever I like, instead of killing me with these diets!' 'As you wish,' they replied. Accordingly, he took to sitting by the door of the house, and whenever a food vendor came by, he would purchase and eat some of his wares.

One day a man selling fried locusts¹⁰² passed that way, and the patient bought a large quantity of them. When he had eaten them, he began to pass such copious quantities of yellow fluid that for three days he was near death. Finally, however, the flow stopped, and it was evident that the illness had left him. His strength returned, and he was cured, and he went about attending to his business, perfectly well. One of the physicians who had been consulted in the case happened to see him and, surprised at his recovery, asked him about it, so the former patient told him what had happened. 'Locusts on their own could not have had that effect,' said the physician, 'from whom did you buy them?' The man told him, and the doctor went to see the locust vendor and asked him where he had caught the locusts. The vendor took him to the place, and there they found locusts feeding amid a dense growth of the shrub known as *māzariyūn*.¹⁰³ This plant is an effective remedy for dropsy: the administration of one dirham's weight to the patient causes a copious flow of fluid that is virtually uncontrollable. However, the treatment is a risky one, and consequently it is seldom prescribed. Evidently the digestion of *māzariyūn* within the bodies of the locusts, combined with the subsequent cooking, had attenuated its effect, so that when the patient ate the fried locusts, he recovered.

The following account affords a similar example of the fortuitous acquisition of medical knowledge. A man named Philo,¹⁰⁴ who was a descendant of Asclepius, had a swelling on his arm that was hot to the touch and very painful. Feeling as though he were about to die and seeking distraction, he decided to

¹⁰² *Jarād maṭbūkh*.

¹⁰³ *Māzariyūn*, a variety of *Daphne mezereum* L, known in English as mezereon as well as dwarf bay, flowering spurge, spurge olive, or spurge laurel; see Levey & al-Khaledy, *Medical Formulary of Al-Samarqandi*, 226; Ibn al-Tilmīdh, *Dispensatory*, nos. 27, 39, and 40, where recipes are given including mezereon specifically for the treatment of dropsy.

¹⁰⁴ Philo of Tarsus was a 1st cent. druggist noted for a celebrated pain-killer which Galen elucidated in *De compos. medicament. sec. locos* (Galen, Kühn ed., xiii:269–276); see Brill's *New Pauly*, art. 'Philon, [13] Ph. of Tarsus, Pharmacologist' (A. Touwaide). The story is also mentioned in the biography of al-Rāzī in Ch. 11.5. In the Arabic text here, this name is given as *Aftwlln* (with variants). It is not known if he claimed descent from Asclepius, but his recipe was prescribed by the god according to the 2nd cent. sophist Aelius Aristides (Or. 49 [*Third Sacred Tale*] 29).

undertake an outing, and ordered his slaves to carry him to a nearby river-bank. In the place where they took him there were dense stands of the plant known as ‘livelong’,¹⁰⁵ amongst which he placed his arm in an effort to cool the swelling. Finding that the pain was eased, he left the arm among the plants for some time. He returned the following morning and did the same again, and before long was completely cured. When people saw how quickly he had recovered, they realized that the cure had been due to the plants. This is said to have been the first of all herbal remedies to be discovered.

There are many other examples of the same kind that could be mentioned.

[1.10]

In the fourth place, medical knowledge has sometimes been acquired from the observation of animals and imitation of them. Al-Rāzī,¹⁰⁶ in his work *On Occult Properties*,¹⁰⁷ gives as an example the swallow, which, upon finding its nestlings affected with jaundice, goes to look for a so-called ‘jaundice stone’,¹⁰⁸ a type of small white stone that it knows of. The bird brings back one of these stones and places it in its nest, whereupon the young birds recover. According to al-Rāzī, anyone requiring treatment for jaundice need only find some swallow nestlings and daub them with saffron. The parent bird, thinking its young are suffering from jaundice, flies off and returns with a stone. The patient then takes the stone and hangs it around his neck, thereby obtaining relief.

Another example is afforded by the female eagle, which sometimes has great difficulty laying her eggs, so much so that her life may be endangered. The male, seeing this, flies off in search of a stone known as the ‘rattle’, because when shaken it produces a rattling sound. He places it in the nest, where it facilitates the emergence of his mate’s eggs. These stones serve the same purpose for human women in cases of difficult childbirth. When one of them is broken, nothing is found inside it, but each fragment, when shaken, produces the same

105 *Ḥayy al-‘ālam*, a succulent herbaceous purple-flowered plant known in English as orpine or stone crop (*Sedum* sp or *Sempervivum* sp); see Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 459.

106 Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. c. 313/925), known in the West as Rhazes, was a physician and philosopher from Rayy, near modern-day Tehran. His biography will be found in Ch. 11.5.

107 *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ*.

108 *Ḥajar al-yaraqān* ‘the stone of jaundice’, has not been found in the published lists of Arabic medieval *materia medica* and has not been identified. However, in the Arabic literature of *mirabilia* (*‘ajā’ib*) there is mention of the swallow in whose nest a stone useful for jaundice can be found; see *ET Three* art. ‘Animals, 2.1’ (H. Eisenstein). Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, ii, 80 describes it as ‘a small stone, with red and black stripes’.

rattling sound as the original stone. They are commonly referred to as ‘eagle stones’,¹⁰⁹ because their beneficial effect was inferred from the behaviour of eagles.

A further instance is to be found in the behaviour of snakes, whose sight becomes weak due to their spending the winter in the darkness of underground burrows. When the weather turns warm and they emerge, they cannot see clearly. But they seek out the fennel plant¹¹⁰ and rub their eyes on it, whereupon their vision clears. When people observed this behaviour, they tried it, and found that fennel juice, if put into the eyes, possessed the property of improving defective eyesight.¹¹¹

Galen states in his treatise *On Enemas*,¹¹² giving Herodotus¹¹³ as his authority, that it was the bird known as the ibis¹¹⁴ that introduced humanity to

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- 109 *Ḥajar al-‘uqāb* has not been found in any published medieval list of Arabic *materia medica*. Al-Qazwīnī (*‘Ajā‘ib al-makhlūqāt* ed. Wüstenfeld, 220) says it is a stone that rattles and that it helps in childbirth. In early modern Europe, an ‘eagle stone’ was also called an aetites stone, which the *Oxford English Dictionary*, defines as ‘A hollow nodule or pebble of hydrated iron oxide containing a loose kernel that makes a noise when rattled, formerly regarded as having medicinal and magical properties’. *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* defines it as ‘a concretionary nodule of clay ironstone about the size of a walnut that the ancients believed an eagle takes to her nest to facilitate egg-laying’. See also *Er²* art. ‘Nasr’ (F. Viré).
- 110 *Rāzayānaj* or *Rāziyānaj*, a yellow-flowered, aromatic perennial with dark green feathery leaves and small oval seeds (a species of *Foeniculum*), for which there were many medicinal uses, including for weak eyesight. See Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 166–168, and Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 242.
- 111 This last sentence is found only in the second and third version of the *‘Uyūn*.
- 112 *K. fi l-ḥuqan* (*De chysteribus et colica*), a pseudo-Galenic work that has not been preserved in Greek; see Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 194, and below, in Ch. 5, no. 161 in the list of Galenic books (*M. fi l-ḥuqan wa-l-qawlanj*).
- 113 Herodotus (*Arūdūṭus*). Herodotus the historian (c. 485–424 BC), despite his interest in Egypt, does not in fact mention the story of the ibis and the enema. It is likely that Herodotus the physician was intended here. A Greek physician named Herodotus practised in Rome in the 1st/2nd cent. AD and worked particularly in therapeutics, mechanical remedies, and laxatives; see *Brill’s New Pauly* art. ‘Herodotus [3]’ (A. Touwaide).
- 114 Although the pseudo-Galenic treatise being quoted here has been lost in Greek, Galen does allude to the behaviour of the ‘Egyptian bird’ at *De venae sectione adversus Erasistratum* (Galen, Kühn ed., xi:168). A fuller version is told at the start of the pseudo-Galenic *Introductio sive medicus* in the account of the origin of medicine (Petit, *Galen, Le médecin, Introduction*). The well-known pseudo-Galenic *Introductio sive medicus* may have been IAU’s source, since the very next story in it begins, ‘The historian Herodotus again says ...’, although the topic is different. As noted above, Herodotus does not himself give the story of the ibis and the clyster. Pliny the Elder mentions the ibis as a pioneer of bowel cleansing (*Natural History*, 8.41.97: ‘with its hooked beak it washes itself through the part

enema treatment. According to him, that bird is an insatiable carnivore, and as a result it becomes constipated, owing to the quantity of bad humours that accumulate within it. When its condition has become sufficiently troublesome, it flies to the sea, and there it scoops up some seawater with its beak and inserts it into its hindpart. The effect of the water is to cause the humours confined within its body to be released. After treating itself in this way, the bird reverts to its regular dietary habits.

[1.11]

In the fifth place, some elements of medical knowledge may have been acquired through divinely implanted instinct, as we see in the case of many animals. The falcon,¹¹⁵ for example, is said to hunt a well-known bird, which the Greeks call the *dharīfūs*,¹¹⁶ and eat its liver whenever it has a pain in its abdomen. This causes the pain to subside immediately.

We also observe that cats¹¹⁷ eat 'catnip'¹¹⁸ in the springtime, and if they cannot find any, they will nibble the palm fronds of a broom.¹¹⁹ As everyone knows, that sort of thing is not what they usually eat, but they do it instinctively, for God has made this behaviour a source of good health for them. When they eat green stuff, they vomit up the various humours that have accumulated within their bodies. They go on doing this until they feel that their accustomed natural good health has returned, and then they revert to their usual diet.

Cats display similar behaviour whenever they have been bitten by a venomous animal or have eaten part of one: they seek out a lamp or some other source

where the heavy residues of food are excreted for the healthiest result'). See also al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, vii:32 (about a *ṭā'ir*, not further identified), and Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghādādi, *Mu'tabar*, ii:282.

115 The term *bāzī* covers all species of raptors, and not simply the falcon; see *EI Three* art. 'Animals, 2.3' (H. Eisenstein).

116 B.R. Sanguinetti ('Extraits', iii:282) suggests this might be *δρῦοςψ* (*dryops*), which has been identified as a kind of woodpecker (Liddell & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 451). Compare this story with al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, vii:33: the eagle ('*uqāb*'), when having liver complaints, eats livers of rabbits and foxes to cure itself.

117 *Sanānīr* is a general term for all cats, both wild and domestic; *EI²* art. 'Sinnawr' (F. Viré).

118 Arabic *al-ḥashīsh*, here probably in the sense of *ḥashīshat al-sanānīr* ('the herb for cats'), known in English as 'catnip'. It is a short-lived aromatic perennial with tiny white flowers that cats find very attractive. It is a member of the Lamiaceae family of plants, possibly a variety such as lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*) or a species of the genus *Nepeta*. See *EI²* art. 'Sinnawr' (F. Viré); and Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 348–349.

119 *Khūṣ al-makānis*, 'the palm leaves of brooms'. Brooms made of palm leaves were used, for example, to clean the floor of the Ka'bah; *EI²* art. 'Shayba' (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes).

of oil and lap a little of it, thereby attenuating the virulence of the harmful substance.

Oleander¹²⁰ is said to be injurious to livestock that browse on it in the spring. An animal that has done this loses no time in grazing on a herb which is an antidote¹²¹ to oleander and will counteract its toxicity.

The truth of this is to be seen from something that happened quite recently. A secretary named Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Nafādah¹²² reported that while on his way to Karak¹²³ he had stopped for the night at a place called al-Ṭalīl, where many oleanders grew. He and another traveller had made camp there, with oleanders all around them. The other traveller's slaves had tethered their pack-animals nearby, and they began to browse on whatever they could reach, including the oleanders. Bahā' al-Dīn's slaves, however, had neglected to tie up their party's animals, so they wandered about, whereas the other animals were unable to stray and had to stay where they were. In the morning, Bahā' al-Dīn's animals were found to be in good health, while all the others were dead.

Dioscorides¹²⁴ says in his *De materia medica* that when one of the wild goats of Crete has been shot with an arrow that remains stuck in its body, it eats a plant known as *Mashkaṭarāms̄hīr*,¹²⁵ a variety of mint,¹²⁶ which causes the arrow to work its way out of the flesh, leaving the animal unhurt.

120 *Diflā*, a variety of *Nerium oleander* L. and related species. Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 267–268.

121 *Bādzahr* or *bādazuhr*, or 'bezoar', is very frequently used, as here, in the general sense of any antidote against poison, and oleander is indeed toxic. More specifically, a bezoar is a stone-like concretion originating from the gastrointestinal system of a certain animals, especially goats, and was highly prized in both medieval and early modern societies as a remedy for poisoning. The term *bādzahr* is from the Persian *pād-zahr* meaning 'against poison.' See *ET*² art. 'Bāzahr' (J. Ruska & M. Plessner).

122 Probably to be identified with an *adīb* and poet called Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Nafādah, who died in 601/1204–1205 (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii: 39–44), but his *laqab* was Badr al-Dīn, not Bahā' al-Dīn.

123 Al-Karak was a fortress situated to the east of the Dead Sea, known today for its crusader castle. See *ET*² art. 'al-Karak' (D. Sourdel).

124 Dioscorides (Diyusqūridus al-'Aynzarbī) was a Greek physician (d. c. AD 90) whose encyclopaedic work on medicinal substances had an immense and lasting influence on the development of *materia medica*. See *ET*² art. 'Dioscorides' (L. Chipman); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 257–263; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 42–71; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 58–60. The reference in the Greek text is 3.32 ed. Wellmann.

125 *Mashkaṭarāms̄hīr* is Cretan dittany (*Origanum dictamnus* L.), a therapeutic and aromatic plant that grows wild only on the mountainsides and gorges of the Greek island of Crete; see Lev & Avar, *Materia medica*, 554. The etymology of the word *mashkaṭarāms̄hīr* is unknown, and Dozy (*Supplément*, i:603) provides several different vowelings and splits the word into two parts.

126 *Fūtanj* or *Fudhanj* is a collective name of various species of aromatic plants, esp. of

I have heard from the *qāḍī* Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Kuraydī¹²⁷ that the stork, which nests atop domes and in other high places, has a foe in the form of a predatory bird that watches it constantly, awaiting an opportunity of raiding its nest and breaking any eggs that may be there. ‘But,’ he said, ‘there is a certain plant that possesses the property of causing the stork’s predator to become blind when it smells it. The stork therefore carries some of that plant to its nest and places it under its eggs, thereby thwarting the predator’s designs.’

Awḥad al-Zamān¹²⁸ says in his work *Lessons in Wisdom (al-Mu’tabar)*¹²⁹ that the hedgehog¹³⁰ makes its house with a number of entrances. When the wind blows, it opens and blocks up entrances as required to admit beneficial winds while excluding harmful ones.

The same author also tells the story of a man who witnessed a combat between a bustard¹³¹ and a viper.¹³² He observed that the bustard would retreat, run to a particular plant, nibble some of it, and then return to the fight. While it was thus hotly engaged with its foe, the man plucked the plant in question. In due course the bustard returned to the place where the plant had been growing, but it was not there. The bustard ran about in search of it, but could not find it, and fell dead, for it had been treating itself with that plant.

In addition, this author informs us¹³³ that the weasel is victorious in combat with the snake owing to its habit of eating rue.¹³⁴

Moreover, he says, when dogs have worms, they eat spikenard,¹³⁵ which makes them vomit and evacuate their bowels. And, he says, an injured stork treats its wounds with mountain thyme.¹³⁶

the Lamiaceae family, including the various mints. See Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 30; Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 312–313.

127 An otherwise unidentified judge in Mosul, mentioned elsewhere by IAU as one of his sources (see, for example, Ch. 10.83).

128 Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, known as Awḥad al-Zamān, was a philosopher and physician in Baghdad in the service of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh (r. 555–566/1160–1170). His biography is to be found in Ch. 10.66.

129 Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, *Mu’tabar*, ii:282.

130 For the hedgehog (*al-qunfudh*) in Arabic literature, see Kruk ‘Hedgehogs’.

131 Stupidity was commonly associated with the bustard (*al-ḥubārā*); see *ET*² art. ‘Ḥayawān. 2’ (Ch. Pellat, et al.)

132 Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, *Mu’tabar*, ii:283.

133 Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, *Mu’tabar*, ii:283.

134 Rue (*sadhāb*; *Ruta* sp.) is a strongly aromatic evergreen perennial, and both wild and cultivated forms were used medicinally; see Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 268–270.

135 *Sunbul* is a variety of spikenard or nard (*Nardostachys* sp. or *Varleiana* sp.), a small perennial with elongated very fragrant roots and aromatic stem; see Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 289–293; Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 286–287.

136 The Arabic *al-ṣa’tar* is a general term for various species, including thyme, wild marjoram,

An ox is able to distinguish between plants that are similar in appearance. It can tell which of them make good fodder for it and which do not, and it eats the former while leaving the latter untouched, despite the fact that it is a greedy animal that eats incessantly and is dull-witted and stupid.

[1.12]

Many illustrative examples of this kind could be mentioned. Now, if animals, which lack the ability to reason, know instinctively what is beneficial and useful to them, how much better equipped to do so are human beings, who are endowed with reason and intelligence and are capable of distinguishing between right and wrong, and as such stand at the apex of the animal kingdom. Here we have the most telling evidence in support of those who believe that the art of medicine was inspired by God, glorified be He, as a gift to His creation.

In brief, it may well be that experience and chance together may account for much of the knowledge of the art of medicine that humanity originally acquired. As time went on, that knowledge proliferated, buttressed by analogy and observation as interpreted by keen minds, until from these manifold, diversified sources a wealth of information had accrued to mankind. Scholars, pondering these matters, were able to discern their causes and how they were related to one another, and in that way came to formulate general rules and principles that could serve for purposes of investigation and instruction. Man's original understanding of the art of medicine had thus evolved to a high degree of perfection. At that level, instruction proceeds by degrees from general principles to particular instances, while investigation proceeds from specific instances to general principles.

In addition, I maintain, as stated earlier, that the origins of the art of medicine need not necessarily be ascribed to one specific place and no other. Nor can any one people claim exclusive credit for it. It is a matter of degree. A wide variety of treatments have been devised, and any given people naturally tend to use treatments with which they are familiar.

It seems to me that students of the subject have disagreed only in attributing the invention of the art of medicine to one particular people or another on the grounds that other inventions have arisen among that people and been attrib-

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 rue and others. It is often modified with an adjective indicating location, as here with *al-ṣa'tar al-jabalī* ('mountain *ṣa'tar*'). The particular species intended in a text is difficult to determine with certainty; see Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 297–298. See also Lev & Avar, *Materia Medica*, 317–318, where wild marjoram or hyssop is considered the best rendering of the term.

uted to them. It may be that the art of medicine was discovered among a particular nation or in some specific region of the world and then was obliterated and destroyed by natural or human causes, such as devastating pestilential diseases, droughts¹³⁷ that left the land bare and parched, ruinous wars, the manoeuvres of rival kings, or disorder and degeneracy. If it was lost among one nation but arose in another, where it became firmly established over a long period of time, the former nation's prior discovery of it would eventually be forgotten, and the discovery would be ascribed exclusively to the latter nation, which would be deemed to deserve full credit as its originator. Expressions of the kind 'since the introduction of such-and-such' would be used, meaning merely, in reality, since its introduction in that nation in particular. Such a sequence of events is by no means to be ruled out. Tradition transmitted through the generations, including in particular the accounts we possess from Galen and others, informs us that when Hippocrates saw that the art of medicine was about to perish and that knowledge of it was fading among the descendants of Asclepius (of whom Hippocrates himself was one), he took measures to prevent that from happening by disclosing and propagating the art among other peoples, strengthening it, promoting it and making it known by recording it in books. That is why many have taken Hippocrates to be the inventor of the art of medicine and the first to compose works on the subject. This is inaccurate, as we know from generations of tradition. In fact, he was the first of the descendants of Asclepius to write such books with the intent of teaching the art to anyone capable of learning it. Physicians since his time have done the same, for the tradition has been maintained to this day. But it was Asclepius the First who initiated discussion of aspects of medicine, as we shall see in the following pages.

137 For a study of the occurrence and devastating effects of droughts (*al-quḥūṭ*) in the eastern Mediterranean area between 339/950 and 465/1072, see Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean*.

Physicians Who Perceived the Rudiments of the Art of Medicine and Initiated the Practice of That Art

Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter and Simon Swain

2.1 Asclepius¹

[2.1.1]

Among the philosophers and physicians of antiquity, there is a wide measure of agreement that, as we have seen, Asclepius was the first known physician. He is credited with having been the first to discuss some aspects of medicine according to the empirical method.

Asclepius was Greek (*Yūnānī*), and the Arabic term for ‘Greeks’ is related to *Yūnān*, which is the name of a peninsula² much frequented by the wise men of the Romans.³ But Abū Ma’shar,⁴ in the second volume of his *Book of Thousands*, informs us:

long ago there was a city in the west named Argos,⁵ whose inhabitants were known as ‘Argives’; this city, according to the historian, later came to be named Ionia, and its inhabitants were thenceforth known as *Yūnān-ṭyūn* from the name of their native place. The ruler of Ionia was one of the petty kings⁶ of that time. Our sources say that the first Greek king to rule

1 God of medicine in ancient Greek mythology, son of Apollo. The rod of Asclepius, a snake-entwined staff, remains a symbol of medicine to this day. This biography is found in all three Versions Ibn al-Qiftī gives a long biography of Asclepius (*Tārīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 8), as does Ibn Juljul (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 11).

2 Or ‘island’.

3 Arabic *Yūnān* is derived from Ἰωνία, i.e. for the ancient Greeks the central littoral of western Anatolia including the islands of Samos and Chios inhabited by the Ionians, descendants of the mythological hero Iōn.

4 Abū Ma’shar Ja’far ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Balkhī, a 3rd/9th c. astronomer and astrologer in Baghdad, known in the Latin West as Albumasar (172/787–272/886). There is a biography of him in Ibn Khallikān’s *Wafayāt al-a’yān*. His important book survives as excerpts and summaries (see Pingree, *Thousands*).

5 In the Peloponnese region of southern Greece.

6 *Mulūk al-ṭawā’if* is the term used by the Muslim historians to denote the regional rulers of the Parthian (or Arsacid) period, extending from the mid-3rd cent. BC to the end of the first quarter of the 3rd cent. AD. See *ET*², art. ‘Mulūk al-ṭawā’if’ (M. Morony).

the city of Ionia was one Julius, known as the Dictator.⁷ His reign is said to have lasted for eighteen years, during which time he promulgated a multitude of laws to govern the lives of the Greeks.⁸

We read in the *Annotations* of the eminent scholar, Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī al-Mantiqī:⁹

Asclepius, son of Zeus, was said to have been of supernatural birth.¹⁰ He was the founder of the art of medicine and the father of most philosophers. Euclid was descended from him, as were Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and most of the Greeks.

Al-Sijistānī continues, ‘Hippocrates was the sixteenth of his children, that is, a sixteenth-generation offspring from his line.’

According to the same author, ‘Solon, the father of lawgivers,¹¹ was a brother of Asclepius.’

7 Arabic *Iyūliyūs*, i.e. Julius Caesar. The Arabic Orosius (see below) e.g. transliterates the term *dictator* in relation to Caesar (Badawī, *Orosius*, 410).

8 This reference to *Iyūliyūs* is confused. Pingree interpreted it as a proof that Abū Ma’shar wrote a piece of fictional, astrological history (‘Abū Ma’shar’s astrological history must have been hilariously inaccurate’; see *Thousands*, 18 n. 3). Van Bladel argues, on the contrary, that the reference to the length of rule of Julius Caesar proves that Abū Ma’shar’s source was a chronicle and that the author was trying to establish a historical basis for his astronomical theories (*The Arabic Hermes*, 152). The reference to the Argives is key here, for they and their early kings are part of the scenery of the Christian chronical tradition on which later sources depended. But the reference to Julius Caesar and the period of 18 years for his rule has no historical basis. Neither Pingree nor Van Bladel discuss the possibility of a misinterpretation or a scribal mistake. Owing to the similarity of *Iyūliyūs* with *Iyūniyā*, an alternative explanation would be that the name was based on that of the hero Ἴων turned into Arabic **Iyūniyūs*, which was later corrupted into the more familiar figure of Julius Caesar the Dictator.

9 Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī (d. 375/985). 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. IAU refers to al-Sijistānī’s work as either *al-Ta’āliq* or *al-Nawādir* (cf. 11.7 title no. 4); the content he quotes is close to the kind of information found in the abridgement of his *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*. Although none of the quotations in IAU match the text preserved in the *Muntakhab Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, one should not discard the possibility that they are different versions of the same; for further discussion, see Vol. 1, pp. 86–87. On al-Sijistānī, see Dunlop, *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, xiv, xxv; Kraemer, *Philosophy* 119–123. As Kraemer points out, the *Šiwān* is from the ‘school’ of al-Sijistānī; see also al-Qāḍī, *Kitāb Šiwān al-ḥikma* (authorship by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kirmānī, a member of his circle).

10 There are various accounts of Asclepius’ birth: see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Asclepius’ (Graf, F.).

11 I.e., the famous Athenian statesman of the late 6th/early 5th cent. BC.

[2.1.2]

I (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah) add here: The Arabic translation of the name Asclepius is ‘prevention of dryness’, but some have asserted that the name is derived from Greek words meaning ‘beauty’ and ‘light’.¹² As far as can be determined from the Syriac work entitled *History of the Tyrants*,¹³ Asclepius was gifted, quick of understanding, deeply interested in the art of medicine, and assiduous in pursuit of it.

In addition, there were a number of occasions when good luck helped him on his way to mastery of his art, and he obtained insight into various methods of treatment thanks to inspiration from God, mighty and exalted is He. Asclepius is said to have discovered the science of medicine in one of their temples in Rome, known as the Temple of Apollo,¹⁴ which was dedicated to the sun. According to some accounts, it was Asclepius himself who had that temple built, and it was known as the Temple of Asclepius. Confirmation of this is to be found in Galen’s *Pinax*, where the author says, ‘When God (Mighty is his Name!) released me from a lethal abscess¹⁵ that was affecting me, I made a pilgrimage to His House called the Temple of Asclepius’.¹⁶ Furthermore, Galen states toward the beginning of his *Method of Healing*¹⁷ that ordinary people become convinced of the advantages of medicine when they see what medicine of divine origin has wrought there in the Temple of Asclepius.¹⁸

12 The origin of the name Asclepius is uncertain. Ancient etymologies concentrate on the second element, deriving it from the word *ēpios* (in this context = ‘soothed’) and give e.g. ‘making dry things feel soothed’ (*ta sklēra ēpia*) (*Etymologicum Gudianum* s.v.) or ‘make dry sorts of diseases feel soothed’ (*ta askelē ... ēpia*) (*Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Ἀσκελῆς). But there was an alternative designed to dignify the great cult of Asclepius at Epidaurus, which has Apollo name his son after his mother Aeglē (Isyllus, *Paeon* 55, cf. Hesychius s.v. αἰγλάηρ); αἰγλή signifies brightness or splendour. For the etymologies, cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 9 (not the source); see Rosenthal, ‘An Ancient Commentary’ 64 fr. 2 d. (suggesting an origin in the commentary on the Hippocratic *Oath* ascribed to Galen), further Rosenthal, ‘A Short Treatise’. See also below Ch. 2.1.6.1–2.

13 *Akhbār al-jabābīrah*. Nothing is known of this work.

14 Our MSS have *Aydaq* or similar; Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn Juljul read *Abullun*. See Ch. 2.2.

15 The Arabic name of the disease is *dubaylah*. A marginal gloss refers to al-Fīrūzabādī’s *Qāmūs*: ‘this means affection of the stomach and calamity’. IAU states that the Andalusians used the term *naghlah* to refer to this affliction instead of *dubaylah*; Abū Marwān ibn Zuhr died from an abscess of this kind, see Ch. 13.62.2.

16 I.e. *On My Own Books*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 114; title no. 1 in the list of Galenic works at Ch. 5.1.37. The quotation (3.5 in the Greek ed. Boudon-Millot, *Galen*) is found at Ch. 5.1.9 with slight differences.

17 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, 69; title no. 20 in the list of works at Ch. 5.1.37.

18 IAU takes this from Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 11 (cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 9–10); Ibn Juljul is unreliable in his citations of Galen and the reference is obscure. Cf. Rosenthal, ‘An Ancient Commentary’ p. 60 fr. 1c (= above, Ch. 1.6), and below here.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah – may add that according to Orosius the author of the *Histories*¹⁹ the Temple of Asclepius was a shrine in the city of Rome in which there was an image that answered questions put to it by petitioners. The image was reputed to have been the work of Asclepius at some time in remote antiquity. The pagans of Rome held that the fashioning of the image had been determined by the motions of the stars, and that the spirit of one of the seven planets dwelt within it. Christianity had preceded star-worship in ancient Rome. Thus far Orosius.

In addition, there are numerous passages in the works of Galen in which he states that the art of medicine as practised by Asclepius was divine in nature. ‘It was as far superior to our own medicine,’ he says, ‘as ours is to that of the remedies you find in the streets.’²⁰ Again with reference to Asclepius, Galen remarks, in his *Exhortation to Study the Art*,²¹ that God, exalted is He, intimated to him in person that it was more fitting to call him an angel than a man. Hippocrates tells us that when God, exalted is He, took Asclepius to Himself, He caused him to ascend into the air in a shaft of light.²² Other authorities have asserted that Asclepius enjoyed such esteem among the Greeks that people afflicted with illness would visit his grave in the hope of being restored to health. Some have claimed that on his grave a thousand lamps were lighted nightly. There were kings among his posterity, and he has sometimes been ranked among the prophets.

Plato refers to Asclepius in a number of passages in his work known as *The Laws*.²³ Among other things, he asserts that Asclepius spoke about things of the

19 Paulus Orosius, a late 4th–early 5th cent. Spanish priest and Apologist historian. The *Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii* was the most important of his works. See Fear, *Seven Books of History*. Asclepius’ statue is mentioned in Ch. 3.22.5 (Badawī, *Orosius*, 242 = Orosius, ed. Penelas, 191 § 118), but the passage cited here is not found. The information is in fact taken from Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, 11–12 (cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī). It is doubtful that IAU knew Orosius himself. The Arabic Orosius translates *gentiles* and *pagani* as *majūs*, translated here as ‘pagans’. Ibn Juljul correctly places pagan worship *before* Christianity: either IAU had a faulty copy or a faulty memory.

20 Quoted from Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, 12 and corresponding to no particular statement in Galen.

21 *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas (Protrepticus)*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 1, title no. 110 in the list of Galen’s works in Ch. 5.1.37. IAU quotes from Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, 12, dimly recalling *Protrepticus* 9.6 ed. Boudon, *Galen, Exhortation*.

22 Cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā*, 9.

23 In fact Ps.-Plato *K. al-Nawāmīs*. This passage is a partial quotation from the account of Ibn Juljul’s *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, 12, where he later refers to the story of the king Martinus, the protagonist of an allegory in the *K. al-Nawāmīs* that IAU quotes *in extenso* in Ch. 7.2.2. Cf. *K. al-Nawāmīs*, in Badawī, *Platon (Aflātūn fī l-Islām)*, 207–208. The *K. al-Nawāmīs* quoted by IAU is a Ps-Platonic work focused on the relationship between knowledge and proph-

invisible world and issued amazing prophecies with the aid of divine inspiration; moreover, the people saw those prophecies come to pass just as he had said. Plato also states, in the third book of *The Republic*, that Asclepius and his sons were knowledgeable about the art of government, and that his sons were stout in battle and skilled in the art of medicine. He adds that Asclepius was willing to treat anyone with an ailment that could be cured. In a case of a fatal disorder, however, he would not prolong a life that was of no use either to the patient himself or to others; in a word, Asclepius would not treat such a patient.²⁴

[2.1.3]

In the *Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings*²⁵ of the Emir Abū l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik²⁶ we read:

This Asclepius was a pupil of Hermes, and travelled with his master. Leaving India, they went to Persia. There, in Babylon, Hermes left his pupil with instructions to issue a code of laws for the people.

The same author writes,

This Hermes was Hermes the First. The initial letter of the name is not pronounced; it is thus 'Ermes', which is the name of Mercury. Among the

ecy (see Pines, 'On the Pseudo-Platonic Quotation'). There are, however, four other works that bore the Arabic title *K. al-Nawāmīs*, or versions of it. Three of these treatises are directly related to the Platonic corpus: (1) the actual *Laws* written by Plato and translated by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (and maybe also by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī), and of which only some quotations in Arabic have come down to us. (2) Galen's epitome of Plato's *Laws*. (3) al-Fārābī's synopsis of Plato's *Laws* (or of Galen's epitome) entitled *Jawāmi' K. al-Nawāmīs*. On the relationship between these three treatises, see Gutas, 'Galen's Synopsis of Plato's Laws'. And (4) a Ps-Platonic magical treatise entitled *K. al-Nawāmīs*; only fragments of this text have survived in Arabic, but it was translated into Latin and known as *Liber Vaccae* or *Liber Anequemis*; on this last work see Hasse, 'Plato arabico-latinus', 52–58.

24 Asclepius appears at *Republic*, Bk. 3, 405e–408b, with similarities to IAU's reports (cf. 407e for the 'political' Asclepius).

25 *Kitāb mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalīm*. See Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 28. See Rosenthal, 'Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition', and *Er*² art. 'Al-Mubashshir b. Fātik' (F. Rosenthal). On this passage and al-Mubashshir's interest in Hermes as the author of religion, see van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes*, 184–196.

26 A 5th/11th cent. scholar and writer, originally from Damascus but spent most of his life in Egypt. His biography will be found at Ch. 14.23.

Greeks he was known as Trismegistus,²⁷ the Arabs know him as Idrīs,²⁸ while to the Hebrews he is Enoch, son of Jared son of Mahalalel son of Kenan son of Enos son of Seth son of Adam, peace be upon them all.²⁹ He was born in Egypt, in the city of Memphis, and (al-Mubashshir adds) he lived here on earth for eighty-two years.³⁰

Some authorities assert that he lived for three hundred and sixty-five years. Mubashshir ibn Fātik's account has it that,³¹

Hermes, peace be upon him, had a dark complexion. He was tall, bald, handsome, thick-bearded, a well-made man, with long arms and broad shoulders; he was heavy-boned, carrying no spare flesh, and had flashing black eyes. His speech was slow and infrequent. He was controlled in his movements, and tended to look at the ground when he walked. He was often pensive. At the same time, he could be short-tempered, with a frowning demeanour, and would shake his forefinger when talking.³²

Elsewhere al-Mubashshir tells us that,³³

Asclepius was a man of the antediluvian age, and that he was a pupil of Agathodaemon the Egyptian. Agathodaemon figured among the Greek and Egyptian prophets. The name means 'the fortunate'.³⁴

It was this Asclepius who first brought the art of medicine to the Greeks. He instructed his sons in it, but told them that they were never to teach it to foreigners.

Reverting to the *Book of Thousands* by Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī the astrologer, we read that,

27 *Aṭrasmūn*, cf. al-Mubashshir *Ṭarmīs*.

28 Mentioned at Q *Maryam* 19:56–57 as having been a man of truth and a prophet. Regularly identified, as here, with the biblical Enoch.

29 Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, 7.

30 Al-Mubashshir 7, 10. Memphis was capital of the Egyptian Old Kingdom, situated on the west bank of the Nile, opposite modern Ḥulwān.

31 Al-Mubashshir, 10.

32 Al-Mubashshir, 10.

33 Al-Mubashshir, 8.

34 A Greco-Egyptian god who is represented in Arabic tradition as one of the ancient Egyptian sages. On his importance as an authority in the occult sciences, see *ET*² art. 'Aghāthū-dhīmūn' (M. Plessner).

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

[2.1.4]

Abū Ma‘shar³⁵ tells us that he was a pupil of the Egyptian Hermes. He then goes on to explain that there were three (individuals called) Hermes:³⁶

Hermes the First, known as ‘the thrice blessed’, lived in the antediluvian age. Hermes is not a name, but an epithet, analogous to ‘Caesar’ or ‘Kisrā’.³⁷ In the Persian annals, he is called ‘Wīwanjhān’,³⁸ which means

35 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 5–6; and see van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes* ch. 4, for the role of the three Hermes in Abū Ma‘shar’s historical astrology, esp. pp. 123–132 for an edition and translation of this section.

36 At this point, there is a marginal note in MS A, incorporated into the text in Gc, reading as follows: ‘Note. The following account is taken from the summary of the Chaldaean *Book of Diseases* prepared by the learned scholar Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān. “The reason why Hermes is known as ‘the thrice blessed’ is that he was not only a king whose realm included most of the inhabited parts of the earth, but also a prophet mentioned by God, exalted is He, namely Idrīs, peace be upon him, whom the Jews know as Enoch, and in addition a philosopher and sage who was the author of many works that are widely read to this day, including *The Inclusive Book*, *The Book of Presentation*, *The Golden Rod*, and a work in which he sets forth his views on the locations where starlight falls and on the rotation of the houses of the zodiac. These are the three blessings that were united in him, and in him alone; the annals of history afford no other example. Moreover, God took him to Himself in a shaft of light. However, the Ḥarrānians allege that he was carried upward in a fire sent by God, and it is for that reason that they cremate their dead. Indeed, some of them consent to be burned before death, the sooner to draw near to God, and as an act of piety.” On God’s summons of Asclepius in a shaft of light, see Ibn al-Qifṭī *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 9, ‘in a column of fire’, cf. Rosenthal, ‘An Ancient Commentary’ 64, fr. 2d, and above at Ch. 2.1.2.

For Ibn al-Muṭrān, the personal physician of Saladin and already flagged as important by IAU in Ch. 1, see Ch. 15.24.

37 The Arabic version of Chosroes, the title borne by the Persian kings before the advent of Islam. See the biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah (Ch. 7.01) for a conversation on medical matters between al-Ḥārith, the first Arab physician, and the Persian monarch Kisrā Anūshirwān.

38 The manuscripts of IAU read *l-j-h-d*, but we follow the text of Ibn Juljul and the *Muntakhab Siwān al-ḥikmah*: *’-b-n-j-h-dh*, i.e. Wīwanjhān (Ibn Nawbakht, cf. van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes* 125; in Persian, Vīuanj^hhant), the father of the mythological Iranian king, Jamshīd (Jamšid); on this name see Pingree, *The Thousands of Abū Ma‘shar*, 14–15, Van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes*, 125 n. 14. Gayōmart is the first king in Iranian mythology.

'the just one'. The Ḥarrānians³⁹ refer to him as having been a prophet.⁴⁰ The Persians, for their part, allege that his grandfather was Gayōmart, that is, Adam. To the Hebrews he is Enoch, who is known in Arabic as Idrīs.

Abū Ma'shar's account continues:

He was the first to discuss celestial matters, including in particular the motions of the stars. It was his grandfather Gayōmart (that is, Adam) who taught him the hours of night and day. Furthermore, this Hermes was the first to build temples to the glory of God, and he was also the first to investigate and discuss the art of medicine. For the benefit of his countrymen, he composed numerous books, in metre and rhyme and written in their own language,⁴¹ expounding matters relating to the earth and the heavens. He was the first to warn the people that the flood was imminent, having realized that a divine tribulation was about to strike the earth with water and fire. Having elected domicile in Upper Egypt, he there built the pyramids and mud-brick cities. Concerned lest the flood should result in the loss of all knowledge, he built the temples known as *al-barābī*⁴² (the name is taken from al-Birbā', located in the hills near Akhmīm),⁴³ and within them carved images of all the arts, complete with depictions of the various artisans and their tools. Wishing to ensure that knowledge of the various sciences would survive, he also carved descriptions of them on the walls of these temples for the benefit of those who would come after him, for he was afraid that otherwise that knowledge might be forever lost from the earth. According to the traditional account which has come down to us from our forebears, Idrīs was the first to peruse books and investigate various fields of learning, and God sent down thirty sheets to him. He was the first to sew and wear clothing. God raised him to a lofty station.⁴⁴

39 The Sabians of Ḥarrān in northern Mesopotamia (ruins in what is now south-eastern Turkey), who were a community following an old Semitic polytheistic religion but with a strongly Hellenized elite, one of the last outposts of late-antique paganism. They adopted the Qur'anic name Šābī'ah during the 3rd/9th cent. in order to be able to claim the status of *ahl al-kitāb* and thus avoid persecution.

40 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 5: 'the one to whose wisdom (*ḥikmah*) the Ḥarrānians adhere'.

41 Ibn Juljul omits the detail 'in their own language'.

42 Ancient Egyptian temples, or ruins from Egyptian antiquity, celebrated well into Islamic times: see the description in Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlah*, 60 ff.

43 In Upper Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile, opposite Sohag; the ancient Panopolis.

44 Q *Maryam* 19:57. At this point there is a marginal note in MS A incorporated into the text in Gc: 'Note. According to an account related by Wahb ibn Munabbih, Idrīs was the first

Hermes the Second,⁴⁵ for his part, was a native of the city of the Chaldaeans, that is, Babylon. He lived in the age following the Flood, having been a contemporary of Ninus son of Belus,⁴⁶ who first founded the city of Babylon, after the time of Nimrod son of Cush.⁴⁷ Hermes the Second possessed great knowledge of the sciences of medicine and philosophy and understood the workings of numbers. Pythagoras the arithmetician was a pupil of his. This Hermes restored the sciences of medicine, philosophy and numbers in Babylon, after the city had been swept bare of them by the Flood. Babylon, the capital of the Chaldaeans, was the city of philosophers from the east. They were the first to establish penalties and codify laws.

Hermes the Third, who lived in the city of Egypt during the age following the Flood, was a physician and philosopher. He was knowledgeable about lethal drugs and harmful animals: he composed a work devoted exclusively to venomous animals. He liked to travel in the various regions of the country, and he came to know his way around the various cities and became familiar with their features, as well as the natures of the people who lived there. He is the author of a number of excellent aphorisms on the art of alchemy, and they are also relevant for many other arts, such as glassblowing, the piercing of beads, ceramics, and the like. Hermes the Third had a pupil named Asclepius, who lived in the land of Syria.

[2.1.5]

Returning now to the subject of Asclepius: he is said to have been able to cure patients who had been despaired of. So impressive were his feats that the people came to think that he could raise the dead. He was celebrated in the works of the Greek poets, who asserted confidently that he could restore the dead to life, bringing any person who had died back to the world of the living.⁴⁸ They claimed that God, exalted is He, had taken Asclepius up to Himself as a

to write with a pen, and the first to sew and wear clothing; previously, people had worn animal hides. When Idrīs was taken up to heaven, he was three hundred and sixty-five years of age.' Wahb ibn Munabbih was a 1st/7th cent. author, translator, and transmitter of biblical traditions: see Khoury, *ET²* art. 'Wahb b. Munabbih'.

45 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 8.

46 The mythical founder of Nineveh; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Ninus' (E. Frahm). We take the reading from Orosius Arabus.

47 Genesis 10:8.

48 The Greek poets tell how Asclepius was blasted by a thunderbolt for restoring a man due to die: e.g. Pindar, *Pythians* 3.54–59, cf. Apollodorus, *Library* 3.121.

means of exalting and honouring him, and had made him one of the heavenly host. It is said that he is Idrīs, peace be upon him.

Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī⁴⁹ states that Asclepius' life lasted for ninety years, fifty as a youth and before the divine power was disclosed to him, while the final forty were devoted to learning and teaching. He was survived by two sons, both of whom were expert in the art of medicine. He forbade them to teach medicine to anyone apart from their own offspring and other relatives; they were not to initiate any outsider into that art. His successors were to be subject to the same restrictions. Specifically, he left instructions that they were to go to live in the midst of the populated regions of the land of the Greeks (by which he meant three islands, one of them being Kos, the island where Hippocrates was born), and furthermore they were not to reveal knowledge of the art of medicine to outsiders, but rather, fathers should teach it to their sons. Both Asclepius' sons were with Agamemnon when he sailed to conquer Troy.⁵⁰ Owing to their extensive learning, he held them in high regard and showed them great honour.

We read in a work by Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī,⁵¹ in a passage dealing with the several individuals called Hippocrates:

It is said that there were pupils of Asclepius in every region of the world, numbering twelve thousand in all, and that Asclepius taught the art of medicine exclusively through the spoken word, and that men of his line inherited their knowledge of it through successive generations, down to the time of Hippocrates, until degeneration set in. Hippocrates perceived that his family and clan had become reduced in numbers, and there could be no certainty that that knowledge would not be lost forever. Accordingly, he began to set it down in written form, concisely expressed.⁵²

[2.1.6.1]

The following remarks are taken from Galen's *Commentary on the Oath of Hippocrates*:⁵³

49 Cf. Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn' 65–66/76, Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah* 15, and see esp. Ch. 6.1–2, also Ch. 3.3 and Ch. 3.5.

50 The MSS have Ṭarābulus (Tripoli in the Lebanon or Libya). The sons are Machaon and Podalirus; see *Iliad* 2.729–733 et al.

51 A 3rd/9th cent. mathematician and translator. See Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*. His biography will be found at Ch. 10.03.

52 IAU quotes from Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel) 294, (Sayyid) 289 'from an autograph of Thābit on the *Baqāriṭah*' (i.e. the individuals called Hippocrates).

53 The long extract here is translated with commentary in Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Comment-

There are two traditional accounts of the life of Asclepius, one allegorical and the other literal. According to the former, Asclepius was one of the powers of God, blessed and exalted is He, and he was given the name Asclepius because of the action of that power, which was the prevention of dryness.⁵⁴

(Ḥunayn) An individual dies only when there is a preponderance of dryness and cold, for it is those two factors that desiccate the mortal body. It is for that reason that the art which preserves the heat and moisture of human bodies, and thereby enables them to continue to live, has a name indicating an absence of dryness.

(Galen) It is said that Asclepius was the son of Apollo and the son of Phlegyas and of Coronis his bride,⁵⁵ and that he was a compound of mortal and immortal. According to that view, he was concerned for

ary' 64–76, fr. 2e. Like Ḥunayn, IAU had no doubt that the commentary was written by Galen. For further comments, see Vol. 1, pp. 149–150.

54 For the etymology, see above Ch. 2.1.2.

55 Arabic *Q-ū-r-ū-n-s*, which ought to be Coronis (Κορωνίς), who in Greek mythology was the mother of Asclepius by the god Apollo. Her father was Phlegyas (Φλεγύρας), king of the Lapiths. (Asclepius' mother's name was also given as Aeglē, above, n. 12, and other names; see Roscher, *Lexicon* s.vv. 'Askelpios' and 'Koronis'). The word in the text after Coronis is not easy to interpret. We adopt Müller's 'stopgap' (cf. 'Lesarten') reading of *mahdiyathu*, meaning 'one guided by', specifically with reference to a newly wedded woman, i.e. Coronis as the lover of Apollo. Rosenthal suggested pointing the *rasm* and emending to read *muhadhhibayhi*, referring to Phlegyas and Coronis and meaning 'his two improvers' (= foster-parents), but was quick to dismiss the idea. Building on this and on the reading of MS R, *m-h-d-n-h*, we might suggest a form meaning 'those who calm him' (and perhaps again something like foster-parents). A further explanation would entail reading not Coronis but the name of the Greek god Cronos (Κρόνος, the Roman Saturn). This could help explain the fact that Asclepius is said to be the son of Phlegyas as well as Apollo (cf. again in text below). If Asclepius is 'a compound of mortal and immortal', there may be an attempt to dignify him as a saviour deity recalling Jesus (for the continuing importance of his cult in later antiquity, see e.g. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion* i:308–310 on Proclus at Athens, Bowersock, *Hellenism* index s.v.). Christianizing saviour roles for Dionysus and Heracles, who are connected to our Asclepius below in the text, are well known. Further evidence in favour of Cronos is provided by al-Bīrūnī, *History of India*, quoted by Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', p. 63, fr. 1c, where ('according to Galen', i.e. in his commentary on the Hippocratic *Oath*) Asclepius is 'son of Apollo, and son of Phlegyas, and son of *Q-r-ū-n-s* who is the planet Saturn – all this on account of the power of the Trinity (*al-tathlith*)'. Here the female Κορωνίς of mythology has become the male Κρόνος, i.e. Saturn (Arabic *Zuḥal*), in an astrological, philosophizing reading. No other attempts to translate Coronis into the universalizing Cronos are known and this interpretation depends on the veracity of al-Bīrūnī's record of the commentary; it is quite possible of course that it was he who equated the *rasm* *Q-ū-r-ū-n-s* with the Greek god Κρόνος, and he might also have introduced the notion of a 'trinity'.

humanity because he was himself human, while at the same time he had a nature that was immortal and thus superior to that of ordinary human beings. According to the poet, the name 'Asclepius' is ascribed to him solely because of his medical exploits.

Regarding the information that he was the son of Phlegyas, we may point to the fact that this name comes from the word for 'flame',⁵⁶ as much to say that he was the son of the heat-generating animal faculty.

(Ḥunayn) He was given that name because life depends on the preservation of the natural heat that is in the heart and the liver, and for that reason a name for it was derived from the word for 'flame', which is of the genus of fire.

(Galen) Regarding the information that Asclepius was the son of Coronis,⁵⁷ we may point to the fact that this name is derived from a word meaning 'sufficiency' or 'acquisition of health'.⁵⁸

(Ḥunayn) He was given that name because it shows that in the course of the process of digestion, a person can become really sated with food and drink only by means of the art of medicine, for it is only through that art that good health can be preserved, or restored once it has been lost.

(Galen) Those who hold that Asclepius was the son of Apollo reason that a physician should possess something of the ability of the diviner, as no physician can be deemed competent if he lacks knowledge of forthcoming events.

(Ḥunayn) This is a reference to medical prognosis.

[2.1.6.2]

(Galen) We shall now turn to a discussion of pictorial representations of Asclepius, his manner of dressing, and his influence. The written accounts that have come down to us, according to which he was transfigured into a god, are not factual, but are mere fanciful inventions. As is well known, he was taken up to the angels in a column of fire, like Dionysus,⁵⁹ Heracles and other dedicated benefactors of the human race of whom legend tells us. To put the matter briefly, we may say that God, blessed and exalted

56 Cf. Greek root *phleg-*, *phlog-*.

57 Or perhaps Cronos; see previous note.

58 Coronis/Cronos is derived here from the verb *χορώννυμι*, 'satiates'. The alternative etymology is unclear.

59 In Greek mythology, the god of the grape harvest, winemaking and wine; the Roman Bacchus. On his and Heracles' roles as saviour gods in late antiquity, see above.

is He, took Asclepius (like the others) to Himself in this fashion to destroy his mortal or earthly part by fire and then attracting to himself his immortal part and to transport his soul up to heaven.

(Ḥunayn) Galen's purpose in this passage is to show us how man can become assimilated to God, blessed and exalted is He.⁶⁰ By extirpating his base corporeal impulses (those are what Galen means by the expression 'his mortal or earthly part') through the fire of discipline and self-denial and bedecking his rational soul with meritorious actions after having overcome those impulses (that is what he means by being 'transported up to heaven'), man becomes similar to God, blessed and exalted is He.

(Galen) As far as pictorial representations of him are concerned, Asclepius was shown as bearded, and his appearance was enhanced by the presence of a thick fringe of hair covering the front part of his head.

There is some doubt about the reason why statues of him show him as being bearded, whereas statues of his father represent a clean-shaven figure. It has been said that those statues were carved or cast as they were because that was how he looked when God took him up to Himself.

A second explanation that has been offered is that Asclepius' art was one for which modesty and maturity were essential, while a third is that his skill in the art of medicine was such that he had become greater than his father.

Contemplating one of these statues, you will see Asclepius standing with his garments tucked up, as if to show that every that every physician must always be a philosopher.⁶¹ Those parts that must be covered for modesty's sake are shown covered, while the limbs that are used for the practice of the art of medicine are revealed. In his hand he holds a crooked, branched staff, and this is to show that by resorting to the art of medicine, an individual may live to be so old that he will need a staff for support. Alternatively, it may indicate that where God, blessed and exalted is He, grants a man benefits from His bounty, He deems him worthy of bearing a staff as well, as in the case of Hephaestus,⁶² Zeus, and Hermes.

60 'Assimilation to God', Greek ὁμοίωσις θεῷ, as outlined in Plato's *Theaetetus*, was an important concept in late-antique Christian and pagan thought.

61 Cf. Galen's *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus* (Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 3). The Mamluk scholar Ibn Nubātah (d. 768/1366), who also quotes from this commentary of the Hippocratic Oath, reads: 'as if to show that every physician must always be ready'; see *Sarḥ al-'Uyūn*, 207.

62 In Greek mythology, the god of blacksmiths, craftsmen, artisans, sculptors, metals, metallurgy, fire and volcanoes; identified with the Roman Vulcan. Ancient statues of him do often show him with a stick, not so much as a mark of divine favour as because he was lame.

We find that ‘Zeus cheers the hearts of those whom he loves by means of this staff, and that he also awakens sleepers with it’.⁶³

The reason why the staff in question is shown as being from the marshmallow bush is that marshmallow puts every illness to rout and drives it away.⁶⁴

(Ḥunayn) The marshmallow plant has warming properties in some degree. Accordingly, it can be used for medicinal purposes, for it affords many therapeutic benefits, both when administered alone and when mixed with other ingredients having warming properties that may be either more or less pronounced than its own. This is a matter that has been elucidated by Dioscorides⁶⁵ and other authorities. It is thus not surprising to learn that the name of the marshmallow in Greek is derived from the word meaning ‘to cure’, and is thus evocative of the numerous advantages of the plant.

[2.1.6.3]

(Galen) Asclepius’ staff is crooked and branched to denote the several disciplines and subdivisions found within the art of medicine. Moreover, the sculptors of antiquity did not leave the staff bare of decoration and ornamentation: they carved upon it the shape of an animal noted for its longevity, namely a serpent, twining about it. The serpent is a creature that has a number of affinities with Asclepius: its vision is keen, and it is constantly awake, never sleeping for an instant. Now, he who pursues the study of the art of medicine should not allow himself to be distracted from his goal by falling asleep; he must be incessantly alert if he is to advance in his studies and thus be in a position to identify an existing condition and announce what is likely to befall. You will find that Hippocrates says as much.⁶⁶ In his own words, ‘In my view, a physician cannot do better than to have foresight. With foreknowledge and anticipation he can inform his patients of what ails them at present, what did in the past, and what will in the future’.

63 The Greek original quoted *Iliad* 24.343–344.

64 The leaves, flowers and root of the marshmallow (*Althaea officinalis*) have long been known to have medicinal properties (cf. ἀλθαίνω, ‘cure’).

65 A Roman physician of Greek origin of the 1st cent. AD, author of the celebrated *De materia medica*, an encyclopedia and pharmacopoeia of herbs and the medicines that can be obtained from them. The reference is to 3.146. Cf. Ch. 4.11.

66 At the start of the *Prognosticon* (Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, 3).

Others have alleged that the reason why a serpent has traditionally been portrayed twining around the staff that Asclepius holds is that the serpent is very long-lived, to such an extent that it has been said to live forever.

This is to suggest that those who resort to the art of medicine may also live to a venerable age. Democritus, for one, and Herodicus,⁶⁷ for another, both lived very long lives, thanks to their compliance with the recommendations of the art of medicine. For even as the serpent sheds its skin (the Greek word for this means 'old age'),⁶⁸ in the same way, human beings, if they achieve good health, as it were shed the old age to which they would otherwise be condemned by illness.

Statues of Asclepius show him with a crown upon his head, made of leaves of the laurel tree, and the reason for that is that the laurel dispels sorrow. Hermes, too, in his persona of 'the venerable'⁶⁹ wears just such a crown. It is the function of physicians to dispel sorrow, and it is for that reason that Asclepius is represented wearing a sorrow-dispelling crown.

Alternatively, the reason may have been that since both the art of medicine and the art of divination were symbolized by a laurel wreath, it seemed appropriate for both physicians and soothsayers to wear one.

Yet another possible explanation may be that the laurel tree possesses curative properties. By way of illustration, you find that wherever one is planted, any venomous creatures that may have infested the site will soon go elsewhere (the laurel tree is similar to the plant named *qūnūrā*⁷⁰ in that respect). The fruit of that tree, which is known as laurel seed, exerts an action like that of castoreum⁷¹ when used as an embrocation.

Besides the likeness of the serpent, the sculptors of antiquity put an egg in Asclepius' hand.⁷² Since the egg represents the universe, this suggests that the whole world needs the art of medicine.⁷³

It may be appropriate at this point to discuss, in addition, the animals that are killed in Asclepius' name as sacrifices to achieve closeness to

67 For the longevity of the great atomist philosopher and intellectual Democritus, cf. Lucian, *Long-Livers* 18; for the trainer Herodicus and the self-treatment that made him linger into a miserable old age, see Plato, *Republic* 406a–b.

68 Greek γῆρας, 'old age', is also used for the 'slough' of a snake and other animals.

69 The Arabic is *muhīb*, which means not only 'venerable', 'solemn', 'dignified' but also 'awe-inspiring'. None of these sound much like the lively and youthful Hermes.

70 Greek κόνηζα 'fleabane'; see Dioscorides 3.121.

71 *jundabīdastār*. See Levey, *Medical Formulary*, no. 66.

72 Cf. Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', 72 n. 86 on the text here.

73 On the symbolism of the egg, see Strohmeier, 'Asklepios und das Ei'.

God, blessed and exalted is He. It appears that no-one has ever offered up a goat for that purpose, because goat hair is harder to spin than wool, and because frequent consumption of goat meat may cause epilepsy, as poor chyme is generated from it. Moreover, it has a desiccant effect, is coarse in texture and acrid upon the palate, and fosters melancholic blood.

(Galen)⁷⁴ We find that what are usually sacrificed to God, blessed and exalted is He, are cocks rather than goats. Indeed, there is a tradition that the divine Socrates did precisely that,⁷⁵ and thereby taught us that the art of medicine was a lasting benefit for humanity, and one far more useful than the inventions of Dionysus and Demeter.⁷⁶

(Ḥunayn) The expression ‘the invention of Dionysus’ refers to wine. According to the Greek tradition, Dionysus was the first to press wine from grapes, and the poets use his name to allude, not only to the power that alters the juice in grapes in preparation for its conversion into wine, but also to the happiness that is generated from the drinking of the wine.

The ‘invention of Demeter’ means bread and the grains that are used to prepare it. Thus we find that her name is used to denote cereals, and the poets may use it as a metaphor for the soil in which they grow.

By the ‘invention of Asclepius’, he means health, which is the indispensable prerequisite of everything beneficial or enjoyable in life.

(Galen) I say this because the inventions of those two cannot serve any useful purpose in the absence of Asclepius’ invention.

[2.1.6.4]

The seat on which Asclepius is seated is a representation of the potent power by means of which health is obtained. As one poet has put it, it is ‘the most sublime of all powers.’⁷⁷ Indeed, we find that all the poets praise that power unstintingly. One of them declares that,

It exceeds in sublimity all the host of the just.
May I be in thy favour for the rest of my life!⁷⁸

74 By marking ‘Galen’ again, the text suggests that the remarks before this are one of Ḥunayn’s annotations, though the content and argument suggest otherwise.

75 Socrates’ last words, as reported at Plato’s *Phaedo* 118a, were, ‘Crito, we should offer a cock to Asclepius. Pay and don’t forget.’

76 For Dionysus, see n. 59 above. Demeter was the goddess of harvests, who presided over crops and fertility; the Roman goddess Ceres came to be identified with her.

77 Plato, *Gorgias* 451e ὑγιαίνειν μὲν ἄριστον, ‘having health is best’, a drinking song attributed variously to the 6th cent. BC poets Simonides or Epicharmus (see Dodds, *Gorgias*, ad loc.).

78 Translation of the first two lines of the hymn to Hygieia, daughter of Asclepius and god-

Another poet says,

It exceeds in sublimity all the host of the just.

I beseech thee, let me be deemed fit to obtain all good things.⁷⁹

The⁸⁰ argument goes that all good things, wealth, for example, or children, or royal authority, are generally deemed to be of much the same value, considered as benefits.⁸¹ Are not all such benefits useful and enjoyable only in so far as they are accompanied by health? Assuredly, health is something that is well worthy of the name of blessing, for it is unequivocally good, not something that stands somewhere between what is good and what is evil, nor a secondary good, as some philosophers, namely the Peripatetics and the Stoics,⁸² have held. On the contrary, the excellent qualities which people pursue so assiduously throughout their lives are worth pursuing only on condition of good health.

We find, for example, that a man who seeks to display valour and energy in fighting against enemies, defending his friends by repulsing their foes, will be able to do so only by means of physical strength. Similarly, one who wishes to act justly, giving others their deserts, performing all his duties, keeping the laws, and taking pains to ensure that he is correct in all his actions and the views he holds, will be unable to live up to his aspirations if he does not possess good health. Good health is even the condition of salvation,⁸³ which cannot be complete otherwise, being as it were born from health. In a word, then, anyone who alleged that he was not concerned to have good health would certainly be talking non-

ness or personification of health, composed by the lyric poet Ariphron of Sicyon (turn of 4th cent. BC) probably in connection with the cult of Asclepius at Epidaurus:

Ἕγεία, βροτοῖσι πρεσβίστα μακάρων, μετὰ σεῦ / ναίοιμι τὸ λειπόμενον βιοτᾶς, σὺ δέ μοι πρόφρων ξυνεῖης

'Health, most sublime of the blessed ones for mortals, with you / May I dwell for the rest of my life, and may you be favourable to me' (Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, 1962, 422–423).

79 Unknown fragment using the first line of Ariphron.

80 The following section reads like hack oratory of the Roman era, developing from the poetry of Ariphron.

81 A paraphrase of ll. 3–4 of Ariphron apparently misreading the genitive ἰσοδαίμονος, 'equal to the gods' (applying to kingship), as ?a nominative ἰσοδύναμος, 'equal in value'.

82 I.e. the schools of philosophy founded by Aristotle, who is said to have walked about as he taught, and by the followers of Zeno of Citium (late 4th/early 3rd cent. BC), who taught in a covered colonnade in the Agora of Athens (hence 'men of the shelter', *aṣḥāb al-miṣallah*, as here). As Rosenthal remarks, the focusses of these philosophies (and also of Neoplatonism) were on matters higher than bodily health.

83 Arabic *khalās* representing σωτηρία, 'safety', 'salvation', possibly in a soteriological register.

sense, perhaps because of some opinion that he held, or in an effort to propagate some false doctrine. At any rate, if he were truthful, he would acknowledge that health is really the greatest of benefits. Mankind thus considered that power suitable to become a seat for the originator of the art of medicine. Moreover, its name fits its nature, for in Greek the word for health is derived from a word meaning moisture,⁸⁴ and, indeed, we have health only if we are adequately hydrated. One of the poets points to this in a passage where he speaks of ‘the wet man’⁸⁵

When you look at a statue of Asclepius, you observe that he is represented as being seated, with other men around him upon whom he leans. This is an essential point, indicating that he is firmly in place in the midst of humanity. In addition, he has a serpent twining about him. This feature has been discussed previously.

[2.1.7]

The following are a number of aphorisms and sage remarks uttered by Asclepius. They are preserved by the Emir Abū l-Wafā’ al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, in his work *Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings*:⁸⁶

1. One who understands the uncertainty of life will not fail to be prepared.
2. You stand between the benefits of your Creator and the sinfulness of your acts, and you cannot do better than praise the Giver of benefits and ask His forgiveness for your sins.
3. Have you not been known to curse your current situation, then, in altered circumstances, look back on your former state with regret? Many an event may enrage you when it befalls, yet leave you weeping once it is past.
4. A man who observes religious rituals without understanding is like the donkey that turns the millstone, walking round and round endlessly without knowing what it is doing.
5. It is better to do without something than to try to obtain it from the wrong person.
6. To reward immorality is to encourage it; generosity toward an ungrateful recipient is wasted; to instruct a fool is to increase his folly; and to beg from a miser is to know humiliation.

84 *hugrotos* (ὕγρότης) – *hugieia* (ὕγεια); *hugros* is often used of one of the primary qualities of man.

85 Perhaps *Odyssey* 6.201 οὐκ ἔσθ’ οὐδ’ ἄνθρωπος διερός βρότος, ‘there is no wet mortal man’ (Nausicaa of Odysseus).

86 See n. 25.

7. It is surprising to me that a man who will refrain from eating rotten food from fear of being made ill will yet not refrain from sinful behaviour for fear of the life to come.
8. Refrain from speech, and you will avoid odium; speak the truth, and your words will be golden.
9. Asclepius was once asked to describe the world of human existence. 'Yesterday is past and gone,' he said, 'today is the time for action, and tomorrow holds out hope'.⁸⁷
10. The man who pities you is showing you that he does not think much of you; the man who belittles you is showing you that he is angry with you; and the man who hates you is unlikely to give you sincere advice.
11. It becomes a man of religion and virtue to expend effort and resources for the sake of his friend, to display a cheerful countenance and amiability toward a person with whom he is acquainted, to act justly toward his enemy, and to refrain always from unseemly behaviour of any kind.

2.2 Apollo¹

The name also occurs as *Abulluh*.² The following account is taken from the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, by Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul.³ 'He was a learned man who was the first in the lands of the Romans and Persians⁴ to speak about the art of medicine. He is also credited with having devised⁵ Greek writing, at the instance of King Amenophis. Not only did he speak about the art of medicine, he also subjected it to reasoning and practised it. He lived after the time of Moses, peace be upon him, having been a contemporary of Barak the Judge.⁶ He is the subject of anecdotes and accounts both creditable and discreditable, but as a wonder-worker he is considered the equal of Asclepius.'

87 Unfortunately, this rendering does not convey the concision or the triple assonance of the Arabic original, with its *ajal*, *'amal* and *amal*.

1 We follow Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, p. 15. The MSS of IAU have *Aydaq*. Cf. above n. 14.

2 We follow again Ibn Juljul ed. Sayyid. The MSS of IAU once more give *Aydaq*.

3 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 15.

4 Ibn Juljul: 'Greeks'.

5 Ibn Juljul inserts 'the letters of'.

6 The story of Barak the Judge and his campaigning against the Canaanites with Deborah is told at *Judges* 4–5.

Greek Physicians Descended from Asclepius

Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter, Simon Swain and Ignacio Sánchez

3.1 Pupils of Asclepius

Asclepius, as we have seen, had learned the art of medicine through practical experience¹ and in that way had acquired a thorough knowledge of it. He passed that knowledge on to his sons and other kinsmen, but enjoined them not to teach it to any but their own offspring or other persons descended from himself.

There were, in all, six of those sons and kinsmen who had been Asclepius' pupils: *M-ā-gh-y-n-s*,² *S-q-r-ā-ṭ-w-n*,³ *Kh-r-w-s-y-s*⁴ the physician, *M-h-r-ā-r-y-s*⁵ who is incorrectly stated by ancient authors to have been related to Solomon son of David, but this is the merest fable, inasmuch as the one lived thousands of years before the other, *M-w-r-y-d-s*,⁶ and *M-y-s-ā-w-s*.⁷ Every one of these

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- 1 Arabic *tajribah* in reference to empiricist medicine (cf. *aṣḥāb al-tajribah* = Empiricists).
 - 2 Possibly a transcription of Greek Μέγίλλος; in Ch. 4, however, the name is transcribed *m-ā-gh-y-ā-l-w-s*, see Ch. 4.3.6.2. The Greek names in this chapter are notoriously difficult and our suggestions of what the form might be are offered with due caution and inevitably show inconsistencies. In many cases we have simply given in transcription the Arabic letters designating consonants or long vowels. For the main subjects of the chapter, we have chosen to vocalize (e.g. Ghūrus, Mēnas), even though these are not, as they stand, real Greek names. Where we have some confidence, we have read the Greek name or part of it in the Arabic and English. Our transcription of Greek forms follows the Classicist's inconsistency in the marking of long vowels and in usually preferring Latinized forms (*Megillus* rather than *Megillos*), which are traditional in English.
 - 3 Possibly representing a Greek name in *-kratīōn*, which has been associated with the familiar name Socrates.
 - 4 If we assume that the *yā'* is most likely a mistake for *bā'* this might correspond to Chrysippus, which we read in the Arabic text. For the 4th cent. AD physician of this name from Cnidus, the teacher of Erasistratus, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. "Chrysippus [3]" (V. Nutton).
 - 5 Possibly Μακάρτιος (cf. Dunlop in App. 1 of his edition of the *Ṣiwān*). There is a saying attributed to *M-h-r-ā-r-y-s* in *Ṣiwān*, p. 83.
 - 6 Manuscript R has the variant *H-w-r-y-d-w-s*. Cf. also Ibn al-Qifṭī, 13: *Ṣ-w-r-y-dh-w-s*; and *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 15: *Ṣ-w-r-m-d-w-s*. The reading in IAU (*M-w-r-y-d-s*) might be a transcription of the uncommon Greek personal name Μάραθος.
 - 7 If we assume that the *yā'* should be read *nūn* (*M-n-s-ā-w-s*) this name might be a faulty transcription of Μνησίθεος. For the 4th cent. AD Empiricist physician of this name, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Mnesitheus' (V. Nutton).

followed the system of his master, Asclepius, namely the empirical system, and put it to practical use, for it was through practical experience that Asclepius had come to understand the art of medicine. In that way, the art was transmitted by those pupils to their kinsmen, down to the time of Ghūrūs.

3.2 Ghūrūs¹

Ghūrūs was the second of the celebrated great physicians of antiquity, after Asclepius. So at any rate we read in the account by John the Grammarian,² which runs as follows:

According to the tradition that has come down to us, there were, in all, eight famous physicians among the Greeks whose example was followed in the practice of the art of medicine. These were Asclepius the First, Ghūrūs, Mēnas,³ Parmenides,⁴ Plato the Physician,⁵ Asclepius the Second,⁶ Hippocrates and Galen.⁷

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- 1 According to Dunlop this could be Diagoras; see *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, index s.v. *Ghūrūs*. Rosenthal suggests 'Cyros', see 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn', 75 n. 2. Cyrus was the more common name, see the indexes of *LGPN*. But given the lack of historical sense in this chapter, the Presocratic philosopher Anaxagoras, known to Arabic scholarship as one of the *falāsifah*, is another possibility; cf. below on Anaximenes/Mēnas, and Parmenides and Plato the Physician. The form *gh-w-r-s* recurs at Ch. 4.1.10.1 where we have chosen to read (Praxa)goras.
 - 2 Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī, the name in Arabic sources for Johannes Philoponus (Grammaticus) (ca. 490–575), the Alexandrian Christian philosopher and commentator on Aristotle. The sources amalgamated Philoponus with a medical John, to whom they attributed commentaries on Galen and a medical chronology (perhaps by a third John), which is preserved through a work of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn. The work is preserved in part independently (ed. Rosenthal) and partially in the *Šiwān al-ḥikmah* (ed. Dunlop). Fiction combined with details of Philoponus' life to produce a biographical account of the medical John, as we see it in the account of him and his writings in ch. 6.1–2. In what follows there are a number of direct correspondences with the text of the *Šiwān* as indicated by references in the notes to the English and Arabic to Dunlop's edition.
 - 3 The manuscripts read: *M-y-n-s*. Rosenthal suggests Menippos, 'Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn's Ta'rikh', 75 n. 2; Dunlop, who reads *M-n-y-s-y*, suggests Mnaseas (see Index in *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, cf. app. crit. to l. '300 etc.'). On Mnaseas the Empiricist, see below, § 3.5). The most obvious transcription is Mēnas (Μηνᾶς) but as with Anaxagoras we may here be dealing with a corruption of Anaximenes, another prominent Presocratic. The biography of Mēnas will be found at Ch. 3.3.
 - 4 A Presocratic philosopher of the 5th cent. AD. His biography will be found later in this chapter (3.4).
 - 5 Ibn al-Qifṭī has a brief entry for an Aflāṭūn who is said to have been one of Galen's masters (*Tārikh al-ḥukamā'*, 55). His biography will be found later in this chapter (3.5).
 - 6 His biography will be found later in this chapter (3.6).
 - 7 This list of names, with a few variants, occurs in the *Šiwān al-ḥikmah* (14 ed. Dunlop).

Ghūrus lived to the age of forty-seven. His time as a child and a student occupied his first seventeen years, while during the remaining thirty years he was a man of learning and a teacher.

A period of eight hundred and fifty years intervened between the date of Asclepius' death and the birth of Ghūrus. During that time, a number of physicians of note flourished, including *S-w-r-n-d-w-s*,⁸ *M-ā-n-y-w-s*,⁹ *S-ā-w-th-ā-s*, *M-s-ī-s-ā-n-d-s*,¹⁰ Dioscorides the First,¹¹ *S-y-q-t-w-s*,¹² *S-m-r-y-ā-s*, Antimachus,¹³ *Q-l-gh-y-m-w-s*,¹⁴ Agathinus,¹⁵ Heracleides,¹⁶ and Asterius the physician.¹⁷

Ghūrus relied on the empirical approach to medicine, with the potential benefit it afforded. He was succeeded by seven pupils, some of them his own offspring and the remainder other kinsmen. Their names were Marcus, Gorgias, Modestus,¹⁸ Paulus, *M-ā-h-ā-l-s*, Erasistratus the First,¹⁹ and *S-q-y-r-w-s*.²⁰ Each of these followed the system of his master, namely the empirical system, and in this way the art of medicine continued to be transmitted from them to their own pupils, who were their offspring or other kinsmen, down to the time of Mēnas.

8 This might be a faulty transcription of the Roman name Secundus.

9 This is close to a transcription of the Greco-Roman name Manius.

10 Cf. *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 16: *m-s-y-n-ā-r-w-s*; and Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:269: *m-s-n-y-ā-s*. A Greek name ending in *-andros* is likely.

11 Transcribed in the Arabic as *s-q-w-r-y-d-w-s*.

12 The manuscripts also give *s-q-l-w-s*, *s-q-t-w-s*; cf. also Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 16: *s-q-l-m-w-s*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:269: *ʿs-f-l-w-s*. This might be a transcription of the name Sextus.

13 The manuscripts read: *ʿq-t-y-m-ā-kh-s*; cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:269: *ʿf-t-y-m-y-ā-kh-s*.

14 Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 16: *q-d-f-y-m-w-n*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:269: *ʿf-l-t-y-m-w-n*. This might be a deformation of Philinus.

15 The manuscripts read: *ʿgh-ā-n-y-s*. This might be Agathinus; for the 1st cent. AD physician of this name, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Agathinus' (V. Nutton). Cf. below, Ch. 3.5 for a like suggestion.

16 The manuscripts read *ʿb-r-ā-q-l-s*, but the *bāʿ* is most likely a mistake for *yāʿ*, which we read in-text. This might correspond to Heracl(e)ides, the name of Hippocrates' father and two important physicians of the 1st cent. AD: *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v.

17 The manuscripts read *ʿs-t-w-r-s*.

18 The manuscripts read *m-ā-l-s-t-s*, with exception of R, which has *m-ā-r-s-t-s*; Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 16: *m-ā-s-t-s*.

19 On the famous Hellenistic physician, Erasistratus, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Erasistratus' (V. Nutton).

20 Possibly Satyrus (for example, Galen's teacher; cf. Ch. 5.1.25).

3.3 Mēnas¹

Mēnas was the third of the eight celebrated physicians whose names have been listed above.² Mēnas lived to the age of eighty-four. His time as a child and a student occupied his first sixty-four years, while during the remaining twenty years he was a man of learning and a teacher.³ A period of five hundred and sixty years intervened between the date of Ghūrus' death and the birth of Mēnas. During that time, a number of physicians of note flourished, including Epicurus,⁴ Dioscorides the Second,⁵ Antiphon,⁶ ^ʿs-q-w-r-y-s, R-ā-w-s,⁷ Sophocles,⁸ M-w-ṭ-y-m-s,⁹ Plato the First the Physician, and Hippocrates the First son of Gnosidicus.¹⁰

Mēnas studied the pronouncements of earlier physicians and concluded that the empirical system was erroneous and should be supplemented with analogy.¹¹ 'It is hazardous to proceed empirically only,' he said, 'for analogy is necessary as well.'

At his death, Mēnas left four pupils: Q-ṭ-r-ṭ-s,¹² Ammonius,¹³ Soranus¹⁴ and

1 The biography is included in all three versions of the treatise. Much of this biography corresponds to the *Šiwān* (see notes to text).

2 In the biography of Ghūrus (Ch. 3.2).

3 The tradition is united on this order of Mēnas' career.

4 In Arabic ^ʿn-y-q-w-r-s. If *bā'* were read instead of *nūn*, we would have Epicurus. Cf. the variants ^ʿq-s-w-r-w-s in *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, 16; and ^ʿf-y-n-w-r-s in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:269.

5 The Arabic transcription is s-q-w-r-y-d-w-s.

6 In Arabic ^ʿkh-ṭ-y-q/f-w-n, ?Antiphon.

7 Cf. Dunlop, *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, 16: b-ā-r-y-s, which could be a transcription of Paris; but note the Nebrōs who is listed as an ancestor of Hippocrates in Tzetzes' *Chilades* 7.(155).948; and cf. Nebrus the Asclepiad at Stephanus Byz., *Ethnica* Bk 10, lemma 315 Κῶς. Cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 284, where a certain ^ʿw-ā-r-s, author of a *K. al-ʿilal al-muhlikah*, is listed among the physicians who lived between Asclepius and Ghūrus.

8 Arabic ^ʿs-q-f-l-s; if we were to re-dot to ^ʿs-f-q-l-s the transcription would give Sophocles. Cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:269: ^ʿs-q-ṭ-y-s.

9 Possibly a Greek name ending in *-dēmos*.

10 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:269: ^ʿgh-n-w-s-w-d-y-q-w-s.

11 Arabic *qiyās*, 'comparison', 'analogy', 'logic' The *aṣḥāb al-qiyās* are the Dogmatists or Rationalists in the Greek schools of medicine. They held that while sense and experience were undoubtedly the principle of all the sciences and arts, they must be subject to the instruments of thought. The rules of medicine, and of the other arts, must be derived through logic and unknown things determined through things that were known.

12 Perhaps Quadratus.

13 Or Ameinias? Arabic ^ʿm-y-n-s.

14 Arabic s-w-r-ā-n-s. Soranus (*Sūrānūs* in Chs 4, 5), the famous Methodist predecessor of Galen, is an obvious suggestion; alternatively Serenus the author of a poetical collection of therapeutic recipes from the 2nd–4th cent. AD, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Serenus [1]' (A. Touwaide).

Matthaeus the Elder.¹⁵ All of these followed the empirical system supplemented with analogy. In this way, the art of medicine continued to be transmitted from them to those whom they taught, until the time of Parmenides.

3.4 Parmenides¹

Parmenides was the fourth of the eight celebrated physicians whose names have been listed above.² Parmenides lived to the age of forty. His time as a child and a student occupied his first twenty-five years, while during the remaining fifteen years he was an accomplished man of learning and teacher. A period of seven hundred and fifteen years intervened between the date of Mēnas' death and the birth of Parmenides. During that time, a number of physicians of note flourished, including *S-m-ā-n-w-s*, *Gh-w-r-ā-n-s*, Epicurus, Stephanus, ²*n-y-q-w-l-s*,³ Severus, *W-r-ā-ṭ-y-m-s*, Paulus, *S-w-ā-n-y-d-y-q-w-s*, Simus,⁴ Matthaeus the Younger,⁵ ²*f-y-ṭ-ā-q-l-w-n*, Symmachus,⁶ *S-w-y-ā-z-y-w-s*,⁷ and *M-ā-m-ā-l-s*.⁸

Parmenides held that the empirical method was erroneous, whether applied alone or in conjunction with analogy. Accordingly, he abandoned the empirical method and relied exclusively on analogy. At his death, Parmenides left three pupils: Thessalus, Acron, and Diocles.⁹ They were unable to agree and quar-

15 Arabic *m-th-y-n-ā-w-s*. Cf. below the transcription *m-t-y-th-ā-w-s* for Matthaeus the Younger (Ch. 3.4).

1 The name is secure and undoubtedly refers to the famous Presocratic philosopher. Parmenides was in fact associated with medicine and cult at Elea in southern Italy: see Nutton, *Medicine*, 108, 258, index s.v.; it is possible that knowledge of this has informed the choice of name. This biography is included in all three versions of the treatise. There is again much overlap with the text of John presented here and in the *Ṣiwān*.

2 In the biography of Ghūrus (3.1).

3 Perhaps Nicolaus; cf. Ch. 6.1 *Anqīlāwus* (²*n-q-y-l-ā-w-s*), one of the Alexandrians of late antiquity (historical dates meaning very little in Ch. 3).

4 Or e.g. Samius. Arabic *s-ā-m-s*.

5 Arabic *m-t-y-th-ā-w-s*; cf. above *m-th-y-n-ā-w-s* (Ch. 3.3).

6 Arabic *s-w-n-ā-kh-s*. Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 17: *s-w-th-ā-kh-s*.

7 Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 17: *s-r-y-ā-r-y-w-s*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270: *s-w-n-ā-n-w-s*.

8 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:27: *f-ā-m-ā-n-kh-s*.

9 Thessalus of Tralles, was founder of the Methodist school in the middle of the 1st cent. AD, the great bugbear of Galen and Galenism. Acron of Acragas (Agrigento) was an older contemporary of Hippocrates and was taken up as the hero of the Empiricists in the doxographic tradition. Diocles of Carystus (4th cent. BC), whose writings are preserved in fragments only despite his importance in antiquity, was regarded as one of the leading proponents of Dogmatism (Rationalism).

relled, ultimately founding three distinct schools of medicine. Acron held that the empirical method alone was the proper way, Diocles argued in favour of analogy alone, while Thessalus maintained that only the means to the end¹⁰ were of importance, 'What, after all,' he would say, 'is the art of medicine itself but a means to an end?' They held to these several views until the time of Plato.

3.5 Plato the Physician¹

Plato the Physician was the fifth of the eight celebrated physicians whose names have been listed above. He lived to the age of sixty. His time as a child and a student occupied his first forty years, while during the remaining twenty years he was an accomplished man of learning and teacher.

A period of seven hundred and thirty-five years intervened between the date of Parmenides' death and the birth of Plato. During that time, there were three separate schools of medicine to which prominent physicians belonged. The first of these was the Empiricist school, which was that of Acron of Agrigento,² Pantacles,³ Anchialus,⁴ Philinus,⁵ *Gh-ā-f-w-ṭ-y-m-s*,⁶ *ʿ-l-ḥ-s-d-r-w-s*,⁷ and Melissus. The second was the Methodist school, which was followed by Menemachus, Mnaseas,⁸ *Gh-r-y-ā-n-s*, Gregorius,⁹ and *Q-w-n-y-s*.¹⁰ The third was the Dogmatist school, whose leading adherents were Anaxagoras,¹¹ Philotimus,

10 The word *ḥilah* could also be translated 'procedure', 'method', 'stratagem', 'trick'.

1 This biography, corresponding closely to the account in the *Ṣiwān*, is included in all three versions of the treatise. Marginal note in A: 'I think he is the author of *On Caustery*': Ibn al-Qifṭī has a brief entry on this Aflāṭūn who is credited with the *On Caustery* (*K. al-kayy*) (*Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 55). Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1, 284.

2 See above.

3 The manuscripts read *b-n-t-kh-l-s*, *n-t-n-ḥ-l-s*, and *b-n-t-kh-n-s*; cf. also Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 17: *s-ḥ-s*; and Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270: *s-kh-l-s*. Perhaps Pantacles.

4 Or e.g. Nicolaos. Arabic *ʿ-n-q-l-s*.

5 Philinus of Cos (mid-3rd cent. AD) was another known founder of the Empiricist School. He was used by Galen on pharmacology. See *Brill's New Pauly*, 'Philinus [4]' (V. Nutton).

6 Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 18, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270: *ʿ-gh-ā-f-y-ṭ-y-m-s*.

7 The manuscripts also present *ʿ-l-kh-s-n-d-r-w-s*; cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 18: *ʿ-l-ḥ-d-r-w-s*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270: *ʿ-k-s-y-d-w-s*. ?Alexandros or Kassandros.

8 Menemachus (Arabic *M-ā-n-ā-kh-s*) and Mnaseas (*M-ā-s-ā-w-s*) are known Methodists, the latter active under Nero. See the list in the *Medicus sive Introductio*, 4.3 ed. Petit.

9 In Arabic: *gh-r-gh-w-r-y-s*.

10 Cf. the rare Greek name Chionēs.

11 A Presocratic philosopher of the 5th cent. AD. Probably a mistake for the Dogmatist Praxagoras, the teacher of the great Hellenistic physician, Herophilus.

M-ā-kh-ā-kh-s,¹² Siculus,¹³ and Sophus.¹⁴ Plato considered their pronouncements and concluded that the Empiricist system, used alone, was deficient and hazardous, while the Dogmatic system, used alone, was unreliable. Accordingly, he advocated the use of both systems simultaneously.

The account of John the Grammarian runs as follows:¹⁵ ‘Plato burned all the works that had been composed by Thessalus¹⁶ and his followers, and those by every advocate of either empiricism or analogy exclusively, while leaving untouched those ancient works that recommended the use of both systems together.’

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: John the Grammarian’s account of these works, assuming it is accurate and that they really were composed as he asserts, is a refutation of those who allege that Hippocrates was the first to consign the art of medicine to written works, because the individuals who composed them were much earlier than Hippocrates.

At his death, Plato left six pupils, all of them his sons or other kinsmen of his: *M-y-r-w-n-s*, to whom Plato had taught, in particular, skill in the assessment of disorders, Furnus,¹⁷ to whom he had taught the art of regimen, Furius,¹⁸ to whom he had taught skill in bleeding and cautery, *Th-ā-f-r-w-r-s*,¹⁹ to whom he had taught skill in the treatment of wounds, Sergius, to whom had had taught the art of treating disorders of the eye, and Phantias, to whom he had taught the skills of setting broken bones and reducing luxations. The art of medicine thus continued to be correctly practised by these men and those who followed them, until the time of Asclepius the Second.

12 Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 18: *m-ā-kh-ā-kh-y-s*.

13 All manuscripts read *s-q-w-l-w-s*. Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 18: *m-n-q-l-w-s*.

14 The manuscripts read *s-w-f-s*. Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 18: *s-w-n-f-s*.

15 Cf. Rosenthal, *Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn*, 77.

16 Cf. above.

17 Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 18: *f-w-r-y-w-s*.

18 The manuscripts read *f-w-r-l-s* and *q-w-r-b-s*.

19 The manuscripts read *th-ā-f-r-w-r-s*, which might transcribe a theophoric Greek name beginning with Theophr-; cf. also Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 18: *th-ā-f-r-w-d-w-s*; *Mukhtār*, 46: *n-ā-f-r-w-n*.

3.6 Asclepius the Second¹

Asclepius the Second was the sixth of the eight celebrated physicians whose names have been listed above.

Asclepius the Second lived to the age of one hundred and ten. His time as a child and a student occupied his first fifteen years, while during the remaining ninety-five years he was an accomplished man of learning and teacher, although for five years of that time he was paralysed. A period of one thousand, four hundred and twenty years intervened between the date of Plato's death and the birth of Asclepius the Second.

During that time, a number of physicians of note flourished, including Milo of Agrigento, Themistius the physician, Agathinus,² *F-r-d-y-q-l-w-s*, Andromachus the Elder,³ who lived to the age of forty and was the first to create a theriac, Heracleides the First,⁴ who lived to the age of sixty, Philagrius,⁵ who lived to the age of thirty-five, Maximinus,⁶ *B-s-ṭ-s*,⁷ *S-y-q-w-r-s*,⁸ Gallus, *M-ā-b-ā-ṭ-y-ā-s*,⁹ Heraclas¹⁰ the physician, who lived to the age of a hundred, *M-ā-n-ā-ṭ-ī-s*, Pythagoras the physician, who lived to the age of seventy, *M-ā-kh-m-y-s*,¹¹ Gal-lus,¹² and Marinus, who lived to the age of a hundred.

Asclepius the Second, having subjected the reasoning of the ancients to critical scrutiny, decided that Plato's doctrine was correct and should be followed. At his death, Asclepius the Second left three pupils, all of them members of his

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- 1 This biography is included in all three versions of the treatise. The text is found in MSS A, Gc and R. Cf. *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah* (ed. Dunlop), 19–20.
 - 2 The Arabic reads *ʿq-n-ī-n-w-s*; this *rasm* could easily be read *ʿgh-th-y-n-w-s*. On Agathinus, see above Ch. 3.2.
 - 3 Personal physician of Nero (mid-1st cent. AD) and creator of a celebrated theriac, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Andromachus [4]' (V. Nutton).
 - 4 Arabic *ʿb-r-q-l-ī-d-s*, which is certainly (reading *yā* for *bā*) Greek Heracl(e)ides, perhaps Heracleides of Cos, the father of Hippocrates, cf. below; or the real and important Heracleides of Tarentum of the 1st cent. AD: *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Heracleides [27]' (V. Nutton).
 - 5 Arabic *ʿf-l-ā-gh-w-r-s*, undoubtedly a reference to the 3rd/4th cent. author of over 70 medical treatises. Cf. Ch. 5.2.2.
 - 6 The manuscripts read *m-ā-kh-m-y-n-s*, *m-ā-kh-m-s-y-s*, and *m-ā-kh-y-n-s*.
 - 7 The manuscripts read *b-s-ṭ-s*; if we dot the first letter to read the *yā*, this could be a transliteration of Justus. Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 19: *s-ṭ-s*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270: *n-s-ṭ-s*.
 - 8 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270: *m-n-y-f-w-r-s*.
 - 9 Cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 19: *m-l-y-ā-ṭ-s*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270: *m-ā-r-ā-ṭ-n-ā-s*.
 - 10 The manuscripts present *ʿb-r-q-l-s*; the *bā* is easily changed to *yā* suggesting Ἡράκλειος or Ἡρακλᾶς or Ἡρακλείδης.
 - 11 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270: *m-ā-kh-ī-n-s*.
 - 12 Ghālūs makes a second appearance.

own family, with no outsiders among them. They were the only physicians of the age, and their names were Hippocrates, son of Heracleides,¹³ Macarius,¹⁴ and *w-ā-r-kh-s*.¹⁵ No more than a few months after the death of Asclepius, Macarius died in his turn, followed shortly after by *w-ā-r-kh-s*.

Consequently, Hippocrates remained as the only physician of his time. His virtues were such that his name became a byword for the ideal physician and philosopher. Ultimately, he was even revered as an object of worship. He it was who strengthened Dogmatism and Empiricism to such a remarkable extent that they could not be demolished or destroyed by any adversary. Moreover, he taught outsiders the art of medicine on the same footing as his own offspring. This he did because he was afraid that otherwise the art of medicine might vanish and be forever lost to the world. This is a matter that we shall consider in the next chapter.

13 The manuscripts read *ʿ-b-r-q-l-s* as above (where Heraclas has been suggested). But since the father of Hippocrates is meant, the interpretation is clear.

14 The manuscripts read: *m-ā-gh-ā-r-ī-n-s*; cf. Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 19: *m-ā-gh-ā-r-ī-s*.

15 ?Argeius.

Greek Physicians to Whom Hippocrates Transmitted the Art of Medicine

Translated and annotated by Ignacio Sánchez and Simon Swain

4.1 Hippocrates¹

[4.1.1]

Let us begin by reporting some specific information about Hippocrates himself and the divine favour he enjoyed. Then, we will provide an account of all the Greek physicians to whom Hippocrates transmitted this art, even if they were not among the descendants of Asclepius. Hippocrates, as we have discussed, was in fact the seventh of the celebrated great Greek physicians, whose forefather was Asclepius.²

Hippocrates was one of the most noble and eminent men of his family. According to what I have found in some reports translated from the Greek,³ Hippocrates' ancestors were: Heracleides (his father), Hippocrates, Gnosidicus, Nebrus, Sostratus, Theodorus, Cleomyttades, and Crisamis the king.⁴ Hippocrates was naturally endowed with nobility and rank, for he was a ninth-generation descendant of the king Crisamis, a descendant of Asclepius in the eighteenth generation, and of Zeus in the twentieth-generation. Moreover, Hippocrates' mother was Praxitela, daughter of Phaenarete, of the house of Heracles. His noble origin stemmed, then, from two sources, since his father was a descendant of the family of Asclepius and his mother that of Heracles.

Hippocrates learnt medicine from his father Heracleides and his grandfather Hippocrates. They both passed on to him the principles of this art. He lived

1 See 'Bukrāṭ' art. in *ET²* (A. Dietrich); art. 'Hippocrates [6]', *Brill's New Pauly* (V. Nutton); Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 53–71. On Arabic sources for Hippocrates, see Anastassiou and Irmer, *Testimonien*, 499–525.

2 On Asclepius, see the biography in Ch. 2.1.

3 On the varied biographical traditions concerning the figure of Hippocrates see Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives*, especially 95–124 (on Arabic sources). There is no evidence that 1AU knew Greek himself.

4 Hippocrates' genealogy is a combination of historical and fictional information preserved in various sources, see Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives*, 5–34.

ninety-five years, sixteen of them as a child and student, seventy-six as a scholar and master – only two years passed between the death of Asclepius II and the birth of Hippocrates.

When Hippocrates looked at the state of medicine, he feared for the survival of this art, for he had seen it disappearing from the majority of the places in which Asclepius had established its teaching. The locations where the art of medicine was taught, as Galen records in his commentary on the *Oath* (*Tafsīr K. al-Aymān*),⁵ were three: first, Rhodes; second, Knidos; and, third, Kos (*Qū*).⁶ Medical knowledge soon disappeared in Rhodes because its masters left no successors behind; and it died out in Knidos because Asclepius' descendants were all too few; only Kos, the city in which Hippocrates lived, kept the art alive thanks to a small number of Asclepius' descendants who remained there.

When Hippocrates reflected upon the state of medicine, he realized that it was about to disappear because those who inherited this art among the family of Asclepius were too few. Upon that, he resolved to spread the art to all lands, to bring it to the rest of the people, and to teach it to all those who were worthy of learning it lest it disappeared. Hippocrates claimed that the gift of doing good should be given to anyone worthy of it, whether he was from the family (of Asclepius) or not. And so, he attracted strangers and taught them this precious art. He made them hold true to the vow he composed and bound them by the celebrated oaths to promise not to offend against the rules imposed upon them, and not to teach this art to anyone who had not previously taken this vow.

[4.1.2]

Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Riḍwān said:⁷

Prior to Hippocrates, the art of medicine was a precious gift that parents treasured for their sons and was reserved for the members of a single family related to Asclepius. This name, i.e. Asclepius, might refer to an angel sent by God to teach people medicine,⁸ but it is also possible that know-

5 See Rosenthal, 'An Ancient Commentary', 52–87.

6 A marginal note in MS A states: 'Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān (i.e. Ibn Juljul) said that Kos corresponds to the city of Ḥimṣ [Homs, Greek Emesa] in the lands of Syria'. Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 16.

7 The quotation does not appear to be found in the extant works of Ibn Riḍwān. The passage has many parallels, however, with the chapter on Hippocrates in his *K. Fī sharaf al-aṭibbā'*; see Istanbul MS Hekimoğlu 691, f. 115a–116a.

8 The theory that Asclepius was an angel (a translation of *theos* or *daimōn*) comes from the Arabic version of the Commentary of the Hippocratic *Oath* attributed to Galen. In the frag-

ledge of medicine might have been inspired by God Almighty.⁹ Be that as it may, the fact is that Asclepius was the first to teach medicine and he is credited with having the first student. According to ancient practice, the student used to call his master 'father', and it is from this first student that the families related to Asclepius descend. They were the Greek Kings and their notables, for no others were allowed to learn medicine. This art was their prerogative and each of them taught it to his children or grandchildren alone.

Medicine used to be taught orally. They did not write it down in books, and whenever they needed to commit something to writing they used symbolic language that no-one but themselves could understand and which fathers would explain to their sons. Medicine was the exclusive competence of kings and ascetics, who would tend the people unconditionally without taking a fee. Such was the situation until the appearance of Hippocrates from Kos and Democritus from Abdera, who were contemporaries. Democritus embraced an ascetic life and abandoned his position as administrator of his city.¹⁰ As for Hippocrates, in view of the disagreements about medical matters that arose among the members of his house, he feared this would fall into decay so he resolved to write it up in a complex way.¹¹

Hippocrates had two excellent sons named Thessalus and Draco, and an accomplished student, Polybus.¹² He instructed them in this art to

ment quoted by IAU it is said that 'he was taken up to the angels in a column of fire' (see Ch. 2.1.6.2.). Al-Bīrūnī, also referring to the commentary on the *Oath*, states that 'Asclepius was a man of divine nature (*raḡul ilāhī*) who brought the art of medicine to humans'; al-Bīrūnī quotes Plato's *Timaeus* to gloss this notion of divinity, stating that they receive this name because they do not die, and that they are 'the angels' (*Tahqīq mā li-l-Hind*, 26). Al-Bīrūnī also refers to God's assimilating Asclepius to the angels (*ja'alahu mal'ak min al-malā'ikah*) (*Tahqīq mā li-l-Hind*, 28). In this and similar cases, angel is a translation of *theos*, and should be understood as a way of adapting the peculiarities of the Greek pantheon to the Christian monotheistic order. See also Strohmeier, 'Die Griechischen Götter', esp. 156–159.

- 9 For IAU's theories on the origin of medicine, see Ch. 1.
- 10 Democritus of Abdera, the late 5th cent. founder of Atomist philosophy along with his teacher Leucippus of Miletus, was friendly with Hippocrates according to Diogenes Laertius (9.24); see *Brill's Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Democritus [1]' (I. Bodnár).
- 11 The Arabic reads *bi-ighmād*, i.e. 'in a symbolic way' or 'using obscure language'.
- 12 Thessalus was Hippocrates' oldest son in the tradition and is credited with editing and even composing some parts of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Thessalus [5]' (V. Nutton). Polybus was the son of certain Apollonius, and son-in-law and pupil of Hippocrates; he is associated by various important authorities with (partial) authorship of the key work *On the Nature of Man*, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Polybus [6]' (V. Nutton).

make it sure that it would spread beyond the Asclepiad family and reach other people. He established a covenant that the students had to follow to remain pure and virtuous, wrote a law (*nāmūs*) stipulating who should study medicine, and precepts in which he listed all the things that the physician himself needed.¹³

[4.1.3.1]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: What follows is the text of the covenant composed by Hippocrates.¹⁴

Hippocrates said: I swear by God, the Lord of Life and Death, Giver of Health and Creator of Cures and Treatments; and by Asclepius, and by all men and women who are close to God and whom I take as witnesses,¹⁵ that I will honour this covenant and this pledge, and that I will hold my teacher in this art as a member of my own family: I will support him with my own livelihood, and my wealth will provide assistance and help if he is in need. I will hold the people of his family equal to my own brothers, and I will teach them this art unconditionally if they need to learn it, and without asking for any fee. My sons and the sons of my master will be equals for me, and also the pupils for whom this agreement was written, and who have sworn to follow the medical law concerning advice, science and all other elements of the art. But I will not do this with those who do not observe [the oath].

I will treat the sick and seek their benefit according to that which is in my power, and I shall prevent things that do them harm and involve them in injustice. I will not administer any medicine that may kill, even if they ask for it, nor will I provide any suggestions in this regard. I will not treat women with pessaries (*farzajah*) to abort foetuses. I will keep myself pure and clean for treatment and during the practice of this art, and I will not extract stones from the bladders, for I will leave this for those who carry out this task. I shall enter the houses exclusively to treat the patients, and only when I am free of wrong and without deliberate intention of

13 I.e. the *Oath* (Greek *Horkos*), the short text called *Medical Law* (*Nāmūs al-ṭibb*, Greek *Nomos*) that IAU quotes from below, and the brief *Testamentum*, from which he also quotes below.

14 The Arabic corresponds reasonably well to the Greek text of the *Oath* (ed. Littré iv:628–633).

15 The Arabic translation is free of the references to deities in the original Greek, which reads: ‘I swear by Apollo, the physician, and Asclepius, and Health, and Panacea, and all male and female Gods’; see Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 33, 628–633.

damaging anything there, or having intercourse with women and men, be they free or slaves. As for things I witness during treatment sessions or matters that are not discussed publicly and I may hear in other moments when talking with people, I will refrain [from talking] about them and mentioning things of this kind. Those who fulfil this oath without contravening any of its dispositions shall excel in their conduct and in their art in the most perfect and noble way, and will forever be praised by everybody. Those who contravene this will deserve the opposite.

[4.1.3.2]

Here is the text of Hippocrates' *Medical Law* (*Nāmūs al-ṭibb*):¹⁶

Hippocrates said: Medicine is of all the arts the most noble, but the poor judgment of many of those who claim to practice it attracts the criticism of people. No blame should be imputed to medicine in any city, but rather to the ignorance of those who claim to be physicians without being worthy of bearing that name. For they are like the images that storytellers use to amuse the people: just as these figures are bereft of real existence, these physicians are much in name, but amount to very little in deed.

Whoever desires to learn the art of medicine should have a good and suitable nature, great enthusiasm and absolute determination. But the most important of all is nature: he who has an adequate nature should engage in study without succumbing to distress, and knowledge will become instilled in his mind and bear wonderful fruits, as we see plants do in earth. For nature is like fertile soil, education like agriculture, and cultivating knowledge like sowing seeds in fertile ground.

When passion for medicine takes hold of students, as we have mentioned, they return to the cities not as physicians in name, but in deed. The knowledge of medicine is a wonderful treasure and a precious resource for those who learn it with pleasure, in private or public. But the ignorance of this art among those who claim to know it is a calamity, and a wicked treasure that brings no joy, but everlasting anxiety and imprudence; and anxiety is a sign of weakness, while imprudence shows lack of experience in the discipline.

¹⁶ See below the list of books, title no. 27. The extract includes most of the Greek (ed. Littré iv:638–641).

[4.1.3.3]

This is the text of the well-known *Testament* (*al-Waṣīyyah*) of Hippocrates, also called *Etiquette of Medicine* (*Tartīb al-ṭibb*):¹⁷

Hippocrates says: The student of medicine ought to be a free man with a good nature, young, and of regular stature and proportionate members. He should have excellent discernment and oral skills, demonstrate good judgment when taking part in deliberations, be chaste and brave, not infatuated with money, able to restrain himself when angered; but he does not hold back in extremes, nor is vacuous. He should sympathize and be compassionate with the patients, and keep their secrets because many of the sick people whom we visit suffer diseases about which they do not want anyone to know. If he is insulted, he should be forbearing because we experience this with people affected by delirium (*mubarsimūn*) and melancholy (*al-waswās al-sawdāwī*); we should be patient with them and know that this behaviour is not intentional, but rather the result of non-natural factors.¹⁸

The hair of the student should be proportionately and evenly trimmed, not completely shaved or let to grow in excess. He should not clip his fingernails too short nor let them grow beyond the tip of the fingers. His clothes should be white, clean, and soft. The physician should not walk hastily, since this indicates fickleness, nor ploddingly, for this is a sign of a weak spirit. When attending the sick, he should sit cross-legged to hear about their state in silence, calmly and without any kind of disturbance. These forms of etiquette and conduct are better for me than any other.

[4.1.3.4]

Galen says in the third section of his book *Character Traits* (*Akhlāq al-naḥs*):¹⁹

In addition to all that Hippocrates learnt about medicine, the knowledge of astronomy he attained was unmatched by anyone in his time. Hip-

17 See below the list of books, title no. 28. For a comparison of the Arabic against Greek versions, analysis and a new Greek text, see Sideras, '*Testamentum*'.

18 The Arabic expression *al-khārij 'an al-ṭabī'ah* refers to the non-natural or environmental factors. Following the humoral system of Galen, medieval physicians believed that health depended on the equilibrium of the natural elements, the presence of which is essential for the mere existence of bodies, and the action of the non-naturals, which were essential factors to preserve the equilibrium of the seven naturals, see Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 44.

19 The Arabic translation of Galen's *Character Traits* has survived in an abridged form only.

pocrates studied the elements that form the bodies of the animals and that determine the coming into existence and the end of all perishable bodies.²⁰ He was the first to demonstrate with solid proofs what we have just discussed; he showed how health and disease exist in all animals and plants, and also categorized diseases and classes of treatments.

[4.1.4]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: If we pay attention to Hippocrates’ practice and treatment, we see that he always showed great interest in helping and tending the sick. It is said that he was the first one who conceived of and established a hospital. He used to work in a garden close to his house, a section of which was reserved for the sick; then he provided servants to take care of their treatment and called it *xenodocheion*, i.e. ‘a place to host the sick’.²¹ This is also the meaning of the Arabic term for hospital, *bīmāristān*, which comes from Persian: *bīmār* means sick and *stān* means place, and thus the meaning of *bīmāristān* is ‘a place for the sick’.

Hippocrates did not abandon himself to this comfortable life for the rest of his days: he continued his research on medicine, establishing its rules, treating and providing relief to the sick, and healing their maladies and diseases. Many stories about the patients he treated are recorded in the book known as *Epidemics* (*Abīdīmiyā*), a term that means ‘visiting diseases’.

[4.1.5]

Hippocrates never coveted riches by serving the kings; the needs of the destitute were for him more important than augmenting his own wealth. That is why Galen says²² that Hippocrates ignored the king’s call when he visited Persia in the time of one of their mightiest kings, who is known among the Greeks as Artaxerxes, that is, Ardashīr the Persian, the uncle of Darius the son of Darius. For a plague broke out during his reign, and the king ordered his governor in

Astrology (*‘ilm al-nujūm*) is mentioned in the third *maqālah* as one of the noble disciplines, but the extant text does not contain any reference to Hippocrates; cf. the editions in Kraus, ‘Akhilāq’ (p. 44 for the reference to astrology), and Badawī, ‘Akhilāq’ (p. 204). The work is no. 119 in the list of Galen’s writings in Ch. 5.

20 Lit. the bodies that come to be and perish.

21 The Arabic transliteration of the Greek ξενοδοχεῖον reads *akhshundūkīn*; the term means, ‘a place for strangers’. In late antiquity, this was an ecclesiastical charitable institution that often served as hospital, see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Xenodocheion’ (J. Hans).

22 A paraphrase of Galen’s *The Best Physician is a Philosopher* i:58 ed. Kühn (for the Arabic, see Bachmann, *Galens Abhandlung*, 20) together e.g. with a source like the fictional *Hippocratic Letters*, nos. 1–5.

Cranon²³ to offer one hundred *qintār*²⁴ of gold to Hippocrates and to render him great honours – this payment was only an advance of his fee, since the king promised him an estate of similar value [in Persia].

Artaxerxes also wrote to the king of the Greeks asking him to grant permission for Hippocrates to serve at his court, and offering him a truce of seven years once Hippocrates had been sent to Persia. But Hippocrates did not accede to this request to leave his land for Persia, and when the king of the Greeks exhorted him to accept, he replied: 'I will not exchange virtue for wealth'.

On another occasion, when the king Perdiccas²⁵ fell ill, Hippocrates did not spend all his time with him; he went instead to treat the poor and needy of his hometown and other cities, even if they were small. He visited all these Greek cities himself and even composed a book about them discussing airs and countries.²⁶ All this shows – as Galen states – that Hippocrates not only despised riches, but also contentment and comfort: he opted for embracing virtue in hardship and distress.

Some books of ancient history report that Hippocrates lived in the time of Kay Bahman,²⁷ and that the king fell ill and sent an envoy to Hippocrates' homeland asking for the services of the physician, but the people opposed this saying, 'We should die rather than let Hippocrates leave our land'. Bahman took pity on these people and let Hippocrates stay with them. Hippocrates was active and well-known in the year ninety-six of the Era of Nebuchadnezzar,²⁸ which corresponds to year fourteen of the reign of Bahman.²⁹

23 All manuscripts read *f-ā-w-ā-n*; but according to Galen, albeit speaking generally, Hippocrates preferred to treat the sick of Cranon (and Thasos). The Arabic version of this story in Galen's *The Best Physician is a Philosopher* transcribes this name as *Qāranūn*, see Bachmann, *Galens Abhandlung*, 20.

24 I.e. quintal, hundredweight, a variable weight of 100 *raṭl*; Hinz, *Islamische Masse (Measures and Weights)*, 35–36 (= '10,000 *dīnār* or 42.33 kg of gold').

25 Perdiccas II of Macedonia (r. ca. 450–413). The *Šiwān al-ḥikmah* and al-Mubashshir Ibn Fātik's *Mukhtār* also contain the famous story of Hippocrates' treatment of the king's lovesickness, not transmitted by IAU. On the association of Hippocrates with Perdiccas in Greek and Arabic tradition see Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 61–78.

26 That is, the *On Airs, Waters and Lands* (*K. al-Ahwīyah wa-l-miyāh wa-l-buldān*), as *De aere aquis locis* is called at § 9.1 below under title no. 4.

27 In Arabic: Bahman ibn Asfandiyār ibn Bashtāsib. Bahman is a mythical Kayanian king, sometimes identified with Artaxerxes by Arab authors, as suggested by the version of the story just given by IAU; see *Encycl. Iranica*, art. 'Bahman Son of Esfandīār' (Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh).

28 Nebuchadnezzar II reigned between ca. 605–562 BC.

29 IAU takes this passage from Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, (Sayyid), 2/1:272; (Flügel), 287. See also Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 93. A marginal note in ms A states: 'al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik says in his *Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings* (*Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-*

[4.1.6]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul, says:³⁰

There is a fine story about Hippocrates that we will gladly tell as an example of his excellence. Polemon, the author of the *Physiognomy* (*al-Firāsah*),³¹ claimed in his book that he could know a man's character through his physical traits. One day, when the students of Hippocrates were together, one of them said to his colleagues, 'Do you know of anyone better in our days than this exceptional man?' Some answered that they did not know of anyone better, but one of them said: 'Wait, let us examine him by applying Polemon's claims about physiognomic science'. They drew a picture of Hippocrates, handed it to Polemon and told him: 'O excellent man, look at this picture and tell us about the moral characteristics of his soul that his physical traits reveal'. He looked at it, made a comparison of his body parts and then he pronounced his opinion, saying: 'This is a man who loves fornication'. The students replied: 'You are lying! This is the picture of Hippocrates the sage'. But Polemon said: 'My theory cannot be wrong'. The students asked again, but he rejected the accusation of being a liar. Then they went back to meet Hippocrates, and when they told him what they had done and what was the opinion of Polemon, he replied: 'Polemon was right, I certainly like fornication, but I restrain myself!' This illustrates the excellence of Hippocrates, his self-control and how he exercised his soul with virtue.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah continues: This story has also been told about the philosopher Socrates and his students. As for the interpretation of the name Hippocrates, it means 'he who controls horses';³² but it is also said that it means 'he who preserves health' or 'he who preserves the spirits'. The origin of his name is

kalim), that Hippocrates was born in the year 146 of the Era of Nebuchadnezzar'. See al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, ed. Badawī, 48.

30 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 17.

31 Antonius Polemon, a Greek nobleman of the 2nd cent., is the author of work on physiognomy that has not survived in its original Greek but is preserved in epitomes and translations and was extremely popular in the Islamic Middle Ages. See Swain, *Seeing the Face*. The anecdote is preserved in a fuller form as the beginning of the introduction to the reworked, Arabized version of the *Physiognomy* (the "Istanbul Polemon") ed. by Gherseti in *Seeing the Face*. As IAU recognizes, it is based on the encounter between Socrates and Zopyrus in classical sources.

32 The sense is more "superior in horses/cavalry". On the form of the name in Arabic, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 26.

the Greek *Abfūqrātīs*, also said *Buqrātīs* but, since it is the custom of the Arabs to abbreviate names and shorten their forms, they have shortened it to *Abuqrāt* and also to *Buqrāt*. The name has also been used often in poetry, where it sometimes occurs with *tā'*, as both *Abuqrāt* and *Buqrāt*.

[4.1.7]

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik says in his *The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings* (*Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim*):³³

Hippocrates was tall, white-skinned, and handsome; he had pale blue eyes, big bones and prominent tendons, an evenly trimmed white beard, and a hunched back. He was tall and moved slowly, and when he looked back he used to turn around his full body. Hippocrates bowed his head constantly, always had the right words and used to speak calmly and repeating his words to his listeners. When he was seated, his shoes were always in front of him. When asked, he replied; when no one talked to him, he asked; and he used to stare at the ground while sitting. He was playful, frugal and prone to fasting. He always carried a scalpel (*mibḍa'*) or a little instrument [for applying eye-salve] (*mirwad*).

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq said in his *Stories of the Philosophers* (*Nawādir al-falāsifah wa-l-ḥukamā'*):

The following was carved on the stone of Hippocrates' ring: 'I have more hope in a sick person with an appetite than in a healthy man without one'.³⁴

It is said that Hippocrates died of hemiplegia (*fālij*) and that in his will he disposed that an ivory chest should be buried with him, but nobody knew its contents. Caesar, the king, passed once by this tomb; he found it in a derelict state, and ordered it to be renovated. It was customary among kings to visit wise men during their life and after their death because they were the most exceptional of men and the closest to them. Caesar ordered the grave to be dug up, and when they opened it for him to see its contents, they found that this chest contained twenty-five discussions of mortal diseases of unknown origin, even though the death was diagnosed for prescribed times and particular days. This

33 Cf. al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, 49.

34 Cf. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ādāb*, 46. Mubashshir ascribes the dictum in more or less the same words to Galen; see Ch. 5.1.35 no. 3.

work has been translated into Arabic and some people claim that Galen wrote a commentary on it, but this is unlikely. If it were true and Galen's commentary had existed, it would have been translated into Arabic as it has been done with the other commentaries of Hippocrates that he wrote and that have been translated all together.³⁵

[4.1.8.1]

These are some of the wise sayings of Hippocrates on medicine and some of his unique witticisms:³⁶

1. Medicine comprehends theory and experience.³⁷
2. If men had been created with a single nature, no one would fall ill because there would not be any contrary [natural principle] to make him sick.³⁸
3. Old habits become second nature; and augury and foretelling are a mental sense.³⁹
4. The most knowledgeable about the decrees of the stars are those who know the most about their natures, and better understand their correspondences.⁴⁰

35 The *Capsula eburnea* (Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 168). It occurs twice in the list of Hippocrates books, once as *K. 'Ālāmāt al-qaḍāyā* (no. 34) and once as *K. Fī l-Buthūr* (no. 42).

36 IAU does not provide any information concerning the provenance of these sayings, but they do not seem to come from any of the sources for the biography of Hippocrates quoted in other instances by IAU, i.e. Ibn Juljul, Mubashshir ibn Fātik, Galen, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Riḍwān. Some of these maxims, however, were also collected by the tenth-century scholar al-Sijistānī and have survived in *Šiwān*, 74–78 (and also the English translation of this section by Alia al-Osh in Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives*, 135–139); these Hippocratic sayings were also compiled by al-Shahrestānī probably, as Pinault suggests, from the original text of the *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*; see al-Shahrestānī, *Milal*, 432–435.

37 In Arabic *qiyās* (analogy, reason) and *tajribah* (experience).

38 Cf. al-Shahrestānī, *Milal*, 433; al-Sijistānī, *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, 75. This aphorism reflects the idea advanced by Hippocrates in *On the Nature of Man*, i.e. that bodies are not composed by a single substance but by combinations of four elements, cf. Hippocrates, *Nature of Man*, 2–3.

39 It is difficult to interpret this sentence without a proper context. In the Ps.-Platonic *K. al-Nawāmīs*, augury is discussed among the disciplines related to the notion of prognosis, namely astrology, medicine, auguring and magic. Concretely, the passage states that augury (*al-zajr*) and foretelling (*al-fa'l*) depend on the movements of the stars and that they guide the ascent of the soul to higher spiritual degrees; see Badawī, *Platon*, 205.

40 The term *tashbīh*, 'correspondence', seems to refer in this context to the correlation between the potencies of the planets and those of the sub-lunar world. According to the Ikhwān al-Šafā', human bodies have seven corporeal potencies (*quwā jismiyyah*), and seven spiritual potencies (*quwā rūḥāniyyah*) that correspond with the potencies of the seven planets. Likewise, the five senses correspond (*tashabbaha*) with the five planets,

5. As long as men remain in the sensible world, they need to use their senses in the right proportion, either a little or much.
6. Every disease of known origin has a cure.
7. When healthy, men can eat like beasts; but if they fell ill, they should be fed like birds in order to heal.
8. We eat to live, not live to eat.
9. Do not eat for the sake of eating.
10. Treat each sick person with drugs from his own land, because nature finds protection in what is familiar to it.⁴¹
11. Wine is a friend for the body, apples are friends for the soul and the spirit.
12. Hippocrates was asked, 'Why does the body become most agitated when we drink medicines?' He replied, 'For the same reason the house becomes most full of dust when it is being swept'.⁴²
13. Do not take medicines unless necessary, because if you take them without need and there is no disease to fight, your health will be affected by them and a disease will appear.
14. The sperm in your back is like water in a well: if you drain it, it gushes out, if you leave it, it oozes away.⁴³
15. Coitus consumes the water of life.
16. Someone asked, 'How often should coitus be performed?' And Hippocrates replied, 'Once a year'. 'And if this cannot be achieved?' Hippocrates replied, 'Then once a month'. 'And if this is also impossible?', they asked. To which Hippocrates replied, 'Then once a week'. 'And if this is not possible?', they insisted. And Hippocrates said, 'It is his soul, he may let it go whenever he wants'.
17. The most pleasurable things in this world are four: food, drink, sexual intercourse, and listening (to music).⁴⁴ Three of these pleasures – or that

and the rational (*nāṭiqah*) and intellectual (*‘āqilah*) faculties correspond (*mushābihatān*) with the sun and the moon; see Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il*, iv:232.

41 A version of this saying reported by al-Shahrastānī reads: 'Treat each sick person with drugs from his own land, because nature is dependent on its [native] air, and inclined towards its [native] food'; see al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 433. Al-Sijistānī adds: 'This is because a wall of brick, once it has crumbled, cannot be suitably repaired with sand' (*Ṣiwān*, 75) (trans. in *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 136).

42 Cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 433; al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 75.

43 Hippocrates believed that semen came from all the humours of the body, see Lonie, *Hippocratic Treatises*, 1. The Qur'an, however, states that semen was produced in the backbones and the ribs; see Q 86:5–7.

44 The word *al-samā'* often implies listening to music. If the Greek root *akou-* is behind the Arabic here, it would have borne a like implication.

- which is related to them – cannot be attained but with great effort and difficulty, and they are harmful when enjoyed in excess. But listening (to music), in dearth or in excess, is an undemanding and effortless pleasure.
18. Hippocrates also said, 'If perfidy were innate of human nature, trust would be impossible for everyone; if the means of life were equally divided, greed would be pointless'.
 19. Having few people dependent on oneself is a great fortune.
 20. Health is a light possession, but those who lack it understand its might.
 21. When Hippocrates was asked, 'What is the best life?', he replied, 'Poverty in safety is better than riches in fear'.
 22. When he saw some people burying a woman he exclaimed, 'What a fine husband you have married'.⁴⁵
 23. Hippocrates once admitted a very young student in his class. The elder students complained about promoting him before them, and he asked, 'Do you not know why he has been promoted before you?' 'No', they replied. And then he asked, 'What is the most wonderful thing in the world?' One of them answered, 'The sky with its stars and planets'. Another said, 'The earth, with its animals and plants'. Another said, 'Man and his making'. They all went on saying something different to which Hippocrates always replied, 'No'. Finally, he asked the young student, 'What is the most wonderful thing in the world?' And he replied, 'O wise man, if all that exists in the world were a wonder, there would be no wonder'. And the wise Hippocrates said, 'This is why I promoted him, because of his cleverness'.

Hippocrates also said:

24. Combating passions is easier than treating diseases.
25. Saving [patients] from severe diseases is a hard task.
26. Once he visited a patient and said, 'We are three altogether: the disease, you, and I. If you cooperate and accept all that I say, we will become two, the disease will be alone and we will be stronger against it; because when two join forces against one they succeed'.⁴⁶

45 The 'marriage of death' topos is widespread in classical literature. This maxim seems to have adapted here by playing with the meanings of the word *šihr*, which means both husband and – metaphorically – tomb. There is an Arab proverbial expression, sometimes presented as a prophetic saying, that states: 'An excellent son-in-law – or husband in general – is the grave (*nī'ma al-šihr al-qabr*)'; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *šhr*. The verb *šāhara* means, in general, to form a marital alliance.

46 Cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Mūlal*, 433; al-Sijistānī, *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, 75. This is the famous 'Hippocratic triangle' as stated at *Epidemics* 1.5, 'the Art consists of three things: the illness, the patient, the physician' (ed. Littré, ii:636–637). Cf. Gourevitch, *Triangle hippocratique*.

27. Hippocrates said on his deathbed, 'Here is the gist of my knowledge: whoever sleeps much, has a mild nature, and a moist skin lives a long life'.⁴⁷

[4.1.8.2]

These are some of the sayings of Hippocrates collected by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in his *Stories of the Philosophers* (*K. Nawādir al-falāsifah*):⁴⁸

28. The heart's frailty within the human body is like that of the eyes behind the eyelids.
29. The heart suffers from two kinds of harm: sorrow (*ghamm*) and worry (*hamm*). Sorrow affects him during sleep, and worry during wakefulness. This is because anxiety appears when someone reflects with fear about that what is to come, which needs wakefulness. Sorrow, however, does not involve any reflection, because it only feeds on that which is past and finished.
30. The heart is made of congealed blood. When sorrow elicits natural heat, it melts this blood. This is why the heart dislikes sorrow, out of fear that unpleasant accidents will bring about this heat, warm up the humour and dissolve the congealed blood, which will damage its structure.
31. Whoever befriends the ruler should not worry about his severity, just as the pearl diver does not worry about the salt in sea water.
32. If you wish a life for your soul, mortify it.
33. There is much to know but life is short. Take the knowledge you can achieve, from little to more.⁴⁹
34. Intelligent persons fall in love when they share their rational abilities, but love does not occur between idiots when they share their idiocy because reason flows in an organized stream [of thought] which two people can share, while idiocy flows in a confused way and two people cannot coincide.

[4.1.8.3]

Hippocrates also said about passionate love:⁵⁰

47 Cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Mīlal*, 433; al-Sijistānī, *Šiwān*, 75.

48 Cf. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ādāb*, 120–121, for sayings nos. 28–34.

49 The Arabic used in this version of the famous maxim from the start of the *Aphorisms* (*al-'ilm kathīr wa-l-'umr qaṣīr*) does not correspond with Ḥunayn's better version in his translation of the text (*al-'umr qaṣīr wa-l-ṣinā'ah ṭawīlah* = ὁ βίος βραχύς ἢ δὲ τέχνη μακρῆ), widely quoted in Arabic sources; cf. Hippocrates, *Fuṣūl*, 1 (no. 1). Cf. Rosenthal, "Life is short, the Art is long", 229.

50 Different versions of this story have been transmitted by several medieval sources, see Biesterfeldt and Gutas, 'Malady'.

Passion is a desire originated in the heart, where the materials of desire come together. Whenever passion gains strength, the one experiencing it becomes more excited, insistent and stubborn, his agitation intensifies and he increasingly suffers from insomnia. In this state, blood burns and turns into black bile, and yellow bile is inflamed and transformed into black bile. The excessive flood of black bile impairs the rational abilities, provoking confusion, unsound reasoning, longing for that which does not exist, and desire for that which is unattainable, to such an extent that it results in madness.

In this state, the lover may kill himself or die of sorrow; or attain the object of his desire and then die of happiness or sadness. He may also exhale such profound a sigh that his spirit will abandon his body for twenty-four hours, and he be taken for dead and be buried alive. Or he may breathe so deeply that his soul will be constricted within his pericardium, and the heart will close around it without letting it go, and cause his death; or perhaps, when the lover is relaxed, the sudden sight of the one he loves may excite his desire, and his soul depart from him, suddenly and at once. You will see how blood flow away from the lover and his colour changes at the mere mention of the one he loves.

Only the mercy of the Lord of the Worlds can put an end to this state, for there is no remedy in the hands of men. When a malignant affection stems from a single, independent cause, it might be easily terminated by ending its cause; but when two causes occur simultaneously and they occasion each other reciprocally, there is no way of ending either one of them. Black bile provokes an uninterrupted train of thought [in the infatuated person], and this is the cause of the burning of the blood and of the yellow bile, which results in their conversion into black bile. Whenever black bile becomes predominant, the more intense the thoughts are; and the stronger these thoughts are, the more predominant black bile becomes: this is the fatal disease that physicians are incapable of treating.

Other sayings of Hippocrates are:

35. There are five ways to treat the whole body: the head by gargling, the stomach by inducing vomit, the body with purgatives for the bowels, the parts between the two skins by sweating, and the insides and the interior of the veins by bloodletting.⁵¹

⁵¹ Cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 434; al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 76.

36. Yellow bile resides in the gall bladder and governs the liver; phlegm resides in the stomach and governs the chest; black bile resides in the spleen and governs the heart; and blood resides in the heart and governs the head.⁵²
37. Hippocrates said to one of his students: 'Let your best practice be your love for the people, and your preoccupation with knowing their problems and conditions, and for doing them good'.⁵³

[4.1.8.4]

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik in his *The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings* (*Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*) reports the following sayings by Hippocrates:⁵⁴

38. In order to preserve health, one should not be too lazy to exercise, and stop over-eating and drinking.
39. If you do what you have to do in the way it should be done, and [the result] is not as it should be, do not change your actions as long as you see that something from the original situation persists.
40. Reducing harm is better than increasing benefit.⁵⁵
41. Wine should be served to wise men, hellebore to the stupid.⁵⁶
42. With regard to knowledge, I only praise myself for knowing that I do not know anything.⁵⁷
43. Be content with your provision, do not be obstinate, and you will come close to God Almighty, because God – may He be praised! – does not need anything, and whenever you need something you move away from Him. Run away from evil, flee from sins, and seek praiseworthy goals.
44. He who possesses something has power over it; but whoever wants to be free does not covet what he does not have: he rather flees from it lest he should become its slave.
45. The man should behave in his worldly existence like the guest in a banquet, who takes a cup only when he is offered one and, if the cup passes him over, does not stare at it or reach for it. This is how he should conduct himself with people, wealth, and descendants.

52 Cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Mīlal*, 434; al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 76.

53 Cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Mīlal*, 434; al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 77.

54 Cf. al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, 49–50.

55 Cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Mīlal*, 433; al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 75.

56 Cf. al-Sijistānī, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 75, where it reads 'ignorant' (*juhḥāl*) instead of stupid (*ḥamqā*). Hellebore, a highly poisonous plant, was the subject of an alleged epistolary interchange between the king Democritus and Hippocrates (letters 18 and 20), see Smith, *Hippocrates*, 99.

57 The famous Socratic disavowal of knowledge.

46. Hippocrates said to one of his students, 'If you do not want to succumb to your passions, covet only what you can attain'.
47. When asked once about undesirable things Hippocrates remained silent. They asked him, 'Why do you not reply to that?' And he said, 'Silence was my answer'.
48. This world is not eternal, but if you do good whenever possible, you will be praised when you die leaving behind a good reputation.
49. Without practical work, there is no search for knowledge, and without knowledge there is no search for practical work. Dismissing the truth out of ignorance is preferable to me than rejecting it out of ascetic ideals.
50. Never let the disease of your friend, even if it lasts for long, be closer to him than yourself.
51. Hippocrates used to say, 'Knowledge is the spirit and practice the body; knowledge is the root and practice the branches; knowledge engenders while practice is engendered. If practice were to occupy the place of knowledge, no knowledge would take the place of practice'.
52. He also used to say: 'Practice is subservient to knowledge, knowledge is an aim; knowledge guides, practice is led'.
53. Giving to the sick something that he desires is more beneficial than forcing on him what he dislikes.

[4.1.9.1]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: Hippocrates was the first to set down the art of medicine in writing. As we said before, he divulged it and made it well known. The method he adopted in composing these books took three forms of instruction: the first was the use of enigmatic language, the second to write in as succinct and compendious a form as possible, and the third to do so by way of facilitating and explaining the material. That which has come down to us from Hippocrates in reports or as books genuinely ascribed to him amounts to thirty works. The books of Hippocrates used by the students of medicine when the right principles and order are followed are twelve, and they are more famous than his other books:⁵⁸

58 For a discussion of the Arabic Hippocratic Corpus see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 25–35; Ullmann surveys many of the titles listed by IAU, but not all. Other medieval authors have also collected lists of the Hippocratic Corpus, see: Ibn Riḍwān, *Weg zur Glückseligkeit*, 16–18 (list of fifty-five books); and al-Ya‘qūbī, *Historiae*, 1107–130 (ten). Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Qifī also give a list of the books of Hippocrates commented by Galen which is taken from Ḥunayn’s *Risālah*, see respectively *K. al-Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 2/1:273–274; and Ibn al-Qifī, *Ta’riḫ al-ḥukamā’*, 94–95. It seems clear that IAU takes this description of the twelve books from Ibn Riḍwān, who describes this corpus in several of his works. In his *K. al-Nāfi’*,

1. The first of these works is *On Embryos* (*K. al-Ajinnah*), which is divided into three books: the first one contains the tract on the generation of sperm; the second one has the tract on the generation of the embryo; and the last one has the tract on the generation of the bodily members.⁵⁹
2. The second is *The Nature of Man* (*K. Ṭabīʿat al-insān*), which consists of two books containing one tract on the varied natures of man and one on the basis of their formation.⁶⁰
3. The third one, which consists of three books, is *On Airs, Waters and Lands* (*K. al-Ahwiyah wa-l-miyāh wa-l-buldān*).⁶¹ The first book provides a classification of the mixtures in each land and the endemic diseases that they generate. The second book provides a classification of the mixtures of the water drunk there, the seasons of the year and the endemic diseases they generate. The third book classifies the qualities that prevent conditions that generate any kind of endemic disease.

Ibn Riḍwān gives a detailed description of the sixteen books of Galen (see also below in biography 5), but the description of the twelve books of Hippocrates is summarized, see Ibn Riḍwān, *Kitāb al-Nāfiʿ* (Sāmarrāʿī), 79–82. Parts of 1AU's descriptions of these twelve Hippocratic books used for teaching have parallels in the descriptions that Ibn Riḍwān included in his *Fawā'id*, fragments of which have been preserved in the Cambridge University Library MS D.d. 12.1; but it is impossible to know which work was used by 1AU. For basic bibliography, including Greek texts, translations, and studies, reference is given to Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, and for guidance on the writings themselves, see Craik, *Hippocratic Corpus*. 1AU may have known Galen's studies on the authentic works of Hippocrates: Ch. 5.1.37 titles 102a, 104.

- 59 *Περὶ γονῆς* and *Περὶ φύσιος παιδίου* (*De semine* and *De natura pueri*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, nos. 45–46. See the edition and translation of the Arabic version in: Lyons & Mattock, *Hippocrates, Ajinna*. The Arabic is 'a mixture of translation, paraphrase and comment. The presentation is clumsy and corrupt ...' (Lyons and Mattock, p. ii). Cf. also the comments of Ibn Riḍwān in his *Fawā'id*, Cambridge University Library MS D.d. 12.1, fol. 21b.
- 60 *Περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου* (*De natura hominis*); Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 25. See the edition and translation of the Arabic version in: Lyons & Mattock, *Hippocrates, Ṭabīʿat al-Insān*. The description of the contents coincides in part with Ibn Riḍwān's words in his *Fawā'id*, see Cambridge University Library MS D.d. 12.1, fol. 22a. According to Ibn Riḍwān: 'Galen placed this book after *On Embryos* because it is impossible to apply the Dogmatist's doctrines for treatment without previous knowledge of the nature of the body' (fol. 22a).
- 61 *Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων* (*De aere, aquis, locis*). In Arabic, this work was also known as *K. Fī l-amrāḍ al-bilādīyyah*, or similar. Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 2; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii:36, vii:375. This description broadly corresponds to the one in the extant text of Ibn Riḍwān's *Fawā'id*, fol. 36b. Ibn Riḍwān discusses the title of the book and the position that Galen's gave to this work within the Hippocratic corpus: 'The reason that led Galen to place this work after *The Nature of Man* is that the last book of *The Nature of Man* is actually Polybus' *Regimen of Health*'; see *Fawā'id*, fols. 36a–36b.

4. Fourth is the *Aphorisms* (*K. al-Fuṣūl*),⁶² which is divided into seven books. It contains an exposition of the generalities of medicine forming a set of rules for the physician, so that he may prepare himself for things he will encounter when practicing medicine. This work comprehends everything that Hippocrates addressed in his other works, as will be obvious to whoever reads his aphorisms with attention, because they are organized as a summary and a compendium of some of his other treatises, namely: *Prognosis* (*Taqdimat al-maʿrifah*), *On Airs and Lands* (*K. al-Ahwiyaḥ wa-l-buldān*),⁶³ and *On Acute Diseases* (*K. al-Amrāḍ al-ḥāddah*); they also contain particular references from the book known as *Epidemics* (*Abīdīmīyā*), which means ‘visiting diseases’; and also some aphorisms from his *Pains in Women* (*K. Awjāʿ al-nisāʾ*), as well as some of his other books.
5. The fifth one is the *Prognosis* (*Taqdimat al-maʿrifah*),⁶⁴ which consists of three books dealing with the symptoms that the physician finds in the different stages of the disease, past, present, and future. The physician knows that when he gives information about the past he gains the trust of the patient, who then complies with his instructions, and in this way he can apply his treatment as required. When the physician knows the present, he confronts [the disease] with the right medicines and treatments. And when he anticipates the future he prepares himself for all that he has to face, and will not be surprised and run out of time to treat what he encounters as required.
6. The sixth is the *On Acute Diseases* (*K. al-Amrāḍ al-ḥāddah*), which consists of three books.⁶⁵ The first one discusses the regulation of nourish-

62 Ἀφορισμοί (*Aphorismi*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 13; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii:28; v:405; vii:375. See the Arabic edition of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’s translation in: Hippocrates, *Fuṣūl*.

63 I.e. the *Book on Airs, Waters and Lands* (*K. al-Ahwiyaḥ wa-l-miyāḥ wa-l-buldān*) listed above.

64 Προγνωστικόν (*Prognosticon*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 3; Sezgin, *GAS*, v:405. See the German translation of the Arabic version in Hippocrates, ‘Prognostikon’. This description is similar to al-Yaʿqūbī, *Historiae*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, i:116–117. Concerning Galen’s placement of this book within the Hippocratic corpus, Ibn Riḍwān says: ‘Galen placed the *Prognosis* after the *Aphorisms* because it deals with the state of diseases; and it is listed before Hippocrates’ book on ordinary diseases, which are of two kinds: stationary and visiting diseases. Hippocrates discusses the stationary diseases in his *Book on Airs and Lands*, and the visiting diseases in his *Epidemics*; and then he addressed varied diseases altogether in the *Aphorisms*, that is why the *Prognosis* follows the *Aphorisms*, also because most of the time this book is required to [understand] the [*Book on*] *Acute Diseases*, and so it is listed before it, even if he attached to it the book on visiting diseases entitled *Epidemics*’ (fols. 83a–b).

65 Περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων (*De diaeta in morbis acutis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 4. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii:33; v:405–406. This work also bore the title: *Kitāb Tadbīr al-Amrāḍ al-Ḥāddah*

- ment and evacuations during acute diseases. The second one deals with treatment by hot compresses (*takmīd*) and bloodletting, and the administration of purgatives and similar things. The third one centres on the use of wine, honey water, *sakanjabīn*,⁶⁶ and of baths of cold and warm water.
7. Seventh is the *On Ailments of Women* (*K. Awjā' al-nisā'*), which consists of two sections. First, it introduces the diseases suffered by women as a result of both the interruption of the menstruation and of the loss of menstrual blood; then he discusses the diseases that might affect them during pregnancy and after.⁶⁷
8. The eighth is *On Visiting Diseases* (*K. Amrāḍ al-wāfidah*), known as *Epidemics* (*Abīdīmīyā*).⁶⁸ This work consists of seven books containing an exposition of the visiting diseases, their care and treatment. Hippocrates states that these diseases are of two kinds: one is an ordinary disease; the other one is mortal and known as 'the great death'.⁶⁹ The physician should treat each one of them accordingly. In this book, Hippocrates also includes personal notes. Galen said: 'I and other commentators know that books four, five and seven from this work are apocryphal and were not written by Hippocrates'. He also explains that the first and third books deal with the 'visiting' diseases, and that books two and six are in fact Hippocrates' personal notes, either composed by the author himself or by his son, who might have put into writing what he heard from his father in this note-book form – this according to Galen's explanation. Galen also said that books four, five, and seven of this work should be avoided, and so they came to be lost.⁷⁰

(*Regimen in Acute Diseases*). For the description of the contents cf. Ibn Riḍwān, *Fawā'id*, fol. 88a. Concerning the placement of this book, Ibn Riḍwān states: 'Galen placed this book, i.e. Hippocrates' book on diseases, after the *Prognosis* because most of the contents of *Prognosis* are needed for acute diseases'.

66 *Sakanjabīn* is an old Iranian drink (Persian *sikangubīn*) made with vinegar and honey.

67 *Γυναικεῖα* (*De mulierum affectibus*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, nos. 48, 49.

68 *Ἐπιδημῖαι* (*De morbis popularibus* or *Epidemiarium libri*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 6. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii:34; v:406.

69 In Arabic, *al-mawtān*.

70 This is a paraphrase of Galen's statements in Galen, *In Hipp. Epid.* II comm. II = CMG Suppl. Or. v 1, 276, CMG Suppl. Or. v 2, 616, 618 ed. Vagelpohl with Swain. For Galen's commentary and the description of the work cf. Ibn Riḍwān's *Fawā'id*, fols. 196b–197a. Ibn Riḍwān adds: 'Ḥunayn found and added to Galen's commentary the first section, which Galen commented on in three sections; the second section, commented on by Galen in six sections of which Ḥunayn only found five; the third section, commented on by Galen in three sections; and the sixth section, which he commented on in eight sections. [Ḥunayn] gathered all these materials from Galen, and what is lacking, because he did not find it, is the fifth

9. Ninth is *On Humours* (*K. al-Akhlāt*), which contains three books in which Hippocrates discusses the state of the humours, i.e. their quantity and quality, the prognosis of diseases related to them, and the method of treatment and the attentiveness required to manage each one of them.⁷¹
10. The tenth one is *On Nourishment* (*K. al-Ghidhā'*), which consists of four books. This work is very useful for understanding the reasons and causes of the components of the humours, that is, the reasons and causes that explain why foodstuffs accumulate in the body to make it grow and replace what is consumed.⁷²
11. The eleventh is the *Qāṭīṭiriyūn*, that is, *The Physician's Establishment* (*Ḥānūt al-ṭabīb*).⁷³ This work consists of three books and it is useful for learning the procedures needed by the physician in relation to his surgical tasks, such as knotting and tightening threads, setting, suturing, reducing dislocated limbs, keeping moist and applying hot compresses, and all required skills. Galen said that Hippocrates made the rule that this should be the first of his books to be read by students, and all other commentators held the same opinion, including myself.⁷⁴ Hippocrates called it 'the establishment (*ḥānūt*) where the physician sits to treat his patients', but a better translation would be "The book about the tasks that are carried out in the physician's establishment".
12. The twelfth one is *On Fractures and Bone Setting* (*K. al-Kasr wa-l-jabr*), which consists of three books providing all the information about this subject required by the physician.⁷⁵

section, which contains Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' second section', see *Fawā'id*, fol. 117a; Ibn Riḍwān's source is Ḥunayn's *Risālah*, ed. Berg, 40–41.

- 71 Περὶ χυμῶν (*De humoribus*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 21. See also an Arabic edition with German translation in: Overwien, *Hippocratis De Humoribus / Hippokrates. Über die Säfte*. Cf. Ibn Riḍwān, *Fawā'id*, fol. 198a: 'Galen listed *On Humours* after the *Epidemics* and before *On Nourishment* because the preceding books, especially the *Epidemics*, deal with the diseases derived from the humours, and thus this paves the way to *On Humours*, from which we learn about the states of the three states of humours, i.e. the quantitative, the qualitative ...'
- 72 Περὶ τροφῆς (*De alimento*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 61. Cf. Ibn Riḍwān, *Fawā'id* 214a: 'Galen placed *On Nourishment* after *On Humours* because *On Nourishment* the [knowledge of] causes and reasons needs from [previous knowledge] of the substances of the humours'.
- 73 Κατ' ἰητροίον (*De officina medici*). *Qāṭīṭiriyūn* is the Arabic transliteration of the Greek title. Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 9. For Galen's commentary and the description of the work cf. Ibn Riḍwān, *Fawā'id*, fols. 226b–227a.
- 74 In this case the first person does not refer to IAU: the words reproduce Ibn Riḍwān, *Fawā'id*, fol. 227a.
- 75 *On Fractures*, but the 'three books' probably indicates *Fractures* together with *Joints*

[4.1.9.2]

Hippocrates wrote many other books, and some of them are falsely attributed to him:

13. *On Ailments of Virgins* (K. *Awjā' al-'adhārā*).⁷⁶
14. *The Places of the Body* (K. *Fī mawāḍī' al-jasad*).⁷⁷
15. *On the Heart* (K. *Fī l-qalb*).⁷⁸
16. *Dentition* (K. *Fī nabāt al-asnān*).⁷⁹
17. *On Eyesight* (K. *Fī l-'ayn*).⁸⁰
18. *Letter to Thessalus* (K. *ilā Thasalūs*).⁸¹
19. *On the Bloodstream* (K. *Fī sayalān al-dam*).⁸²
20. *On Blowing* (K. *Fī l-naḥkh*).⁸³
21. *Burning Fever* (K. *Fī l-ḥummā al-muḥriqah*).⁸⁴
22. *Glands* (K. *Fī l-Ghudad*).⁸⁵
23. Epistle to Demetrius the King known as *The Healing Treatise* (*al-Maqāl al-Shafī*).⁸⁶
24. *On the Use of Liquids* (K. *Manāfi' al-ruṭūbāt*).⁸⁷

(which has much on broken bones) and *Mokhlikon* (*Vectarius*, 'using levers'), essentially a summary of the first two. The Arabic translation also bore the titles: K. *al-Jabr*, K. *al-Kasr*, or as below under no. 29, K. *al-Khal'*. Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, nos. 10–12. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 32, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 44–45. Cf. Ibn Riḍwān, *Fawā'id*, fols. 236a–236b. Ibn Riḍwān states: 'Hippocrates' *On Setting Bones* (K. *al-Jabr*) comes after *The Physician's Establishment* and before *On Joints* (K. *al-Maḥāsil*), and after *On Joints* comes *On Setting the Head Bones* (K. *Jabr al-'izām li-l-ra's*).

- 76 *Περὶ παρθενίων* (*De virginum morbis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 51. See also the German translation of the extant fragment of the Arabic version in: O. Overwien, 'Hippokrates' *De virginum morbis*' in: *Testimonien zum Corpus Hippocraticum III*, 153.
- 77 *Περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* (*De locis in homine*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 31 (without reference to the Arabic version).
- 78 *Περὶ καρδίας* (*De corde*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 60.
- 79 *Περὶ ὀδοντοφυΐης* (*De dentitione*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 55.
- 80 *Περὶ ὄψις* (*De visu*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 62.
- 81 This letter to Thassalus is unidentified. This title might result from a confusion with an apocryphal work entitled Πρεσβευτικὸς Θεσσαλοῦ (*Thessali legati oratio*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 74, Diels, *Handschriften*, 36.
- 82 Sezgin, *GAS*, iii:46.
- 83 Sezgin, *GAS*, iii:46. This title is perhaps *De flatibus*, on which see Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 27.
- 84 See nos. 92, 93.
- 85 *Περὶ ἀδένων* (σύλομελῆς) (*De glandulis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 56.
- 86 *Πρὸς Δημήτριον* (*Ad Demetrium*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, nos. 69, 71. On Hippocrates' epistolary tradition see Smith, *Hippocrates*.
- 87 *Περὶ ὑγρῶν χρήσις* (*De humidorum usu* or *De liquidorum usu*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 28.

25. *Testament* (K. *al-Waṣāyā*).⁸⁸
26. *Covenant* (K. *al-ʿahd*), also known as *Oaths* (K. *al-Aymān*). Hippocrates composed it for students and teachers, who were to abide by it without contravening any precept and keeping free of all the disgraceful things that he listed, so that this art would change from something inherited into something that is widespread.⁸⁹
27. *Medical Nomos* (K. *Nāmūs al-ṭibb*).⁹⁰
28. *Testament* (K. *al-waṣiyyah*), also known as *The Etiquette of Medicine* (K. *Tartīb al-ṭibb*), in which he discusses all that the physician needs to know about presence, dress-code, etiquette and other things.⁹¹
29. *On Dislocation* (K. *al-Khalʿ*).⁹²
30. *On Head Injuries* (K. *Jirāḥāt al-raʿs*).⁹³
31. *On Fleshes* (K. *al-Luḥūm*).⁹⁴
32. *Prognosis of the Diseases Arising from Environmental Changes* (K. *Fī taqdimat maʿrifat al-amrād al-kāʿinah min taghayyur al-hawāʾ*).
33. *The Nature of Animals* (K. *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*).⁹⁵
34. *Symptoms for Diagnosing [Mortal Diseases]* (K. *ʿAlamāt al-qaḍāyā*).⁹⁶
35. *Symptoms of Crisis* (K. *ʿAlamāt al-buḥrān*).⁹⁷
36. *On Superfoetation* (K. *Ḥabal ʿalā ḥabal*).⁹⁸

88 *Ποδαπὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἰατρόν* (cf. Sideras, 'Testamentum', 198). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 171. Cf. below no. 28.

89 Ὀρκος (*Iusiurandum* or *Iuramentum*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 14.

90 Νόμος (*Lex* or *Liber de lege*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 15.

91 See above, title no. 25.

92 Probably *On Joints*, which focusses on dislocation, esp. of the shoulder, but also covered fractures; cf. above under no. 12, K. *al-Kasr wa-l-Jabr*.

93 *De capitis vulneribus*. Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 8. This work also bore the title K. *Shijāj al-raʿs*.

94 *Περὶ σαρκός* (*De carnibus*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 57.

95 *Περὶ ζώων* (*De animalibus marinis et terrestribus ab morbos curandos idoneis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 83.

96 This apocryphal work corresponds with the tract found in the ivory chest deposited in Hippocrates' grave, consequently referred to in the Latin tradition as *Capsula Eburnea, Secreta Hippocratis, De Indiciis Mortis*, and *De Pustulis et Apostematibus*. In Arabic it received varied titles, such as *al-Risālah fī ʿalamāt al-mawt*, *al-Risālah fī l-qaḍāyā*, *al-Risālah fī l-indhār bi-l-mawt*, *al-Risālah al-qabriyyah*, K. *al-Durj*, K. *al-Sirr* and K. *al-Buthūr*, the title with which it is listed once again below under no. 42. See Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 113, 168. For an Arabic edition with Spanish translation see, Kuhne, 'El kitāb al-Durj'.

97 This seems to be the Arabic version of either the *Περὶ κρίσεων* (*On Crises, De iudicationibus*), on which see Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 67; or the *Περὶ κρίσιμων* (*On Critical Days, De diebus iudicatoriis*), *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 68.

98 *Περὶ ἐπιχυήσιος* (*De superfetatione*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 52.

37. *Introduction to Medicine* (K. *Fī l-mudkhal ilā al-ṭibb*).⁹⁹
38. *The Seven-Months Child* (K. *Fī l-muwalladīn li-sabʿat ashhur*).¹⁰⁰
39. *On Wounds* (K. *Fī l-jirāḥ*).¹⁰¹
40. *On Sevens* (K. *al-Asābīʿ*).¹⁰²
41. *On Madness* (K. *Fī l-junūn*).
42. *On Pustules* (K. *Fī l-buthūr*). This book contains the prognosis of twenty-five mortal diseases.¹⁰³
43. *The Eight-Months' Child* (K. *Fī l-muwalladīn li-thamāniyat ashhur*).¹⁰⁴
44. *Bloodletting and Cupping* (K. *Fī l-faṣd wa-l-ḥijāmah*).¹⁰⁵
45. *The Axillary Vein* (K. *Fī l-ibtī*).
46. Epistle on Plato's Prescriptions against Eros (*Risālah fī masnūnāt Aflāṭūn ʿalā Ars*).
47. *On Urine* (K. *Fī l-bawl*).¹⁰⁶
48. *On Colours* (K. *Fī l-abwān*).¹⁰⁷
49. Epistle to Antiochus *On the Preservation of Health* (K. *Fī Anṭīqun al-malik fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).¹⁰⁸
50. *On Diseases* (K. *Fī l-amrād*).¹⁰⁹
51. *On Youths* (K. *Fī l-aḥdāth*).
52. *The Sacred Disease* (K. *Fī al-maraḍ al-ilāhī*). Galen states in the first section of his *Commentary on the Prognosis* (*Sharḥ taqdimat al-maʿrifah*) that in this work Hippocrates refuted the opinions of those who believed that God – may He be praised – was the cause of any disease.¹¹⁰

99 *Περὶ τέχνης* (*De arte*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 24.

100 *Περὶ ἑπταμήνου* (*De septimestri partu*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 116.

101 Cf. Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 33 *De vulneribus et ulceribus*.

102 *Περὶ ἑβδομάδων ἢ τῶ πρώτων περὶ νόσων τὸ μικρότερον* (*De septimanis* or *De hebdomadibus*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 58.

103 This is the same work as no. 34 with the title *K. Alamāt al-qaḍāyā*.

104 *Περὶ ὀκταμήνου* = *Περὶ ὀκταμήνων βρεφῶν* (*De octimestri partu*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 44.

105 *Περὶ φλεβοτομίας* (*Epistula de phlebotomia* or *De venae sectione*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 144.

106 *Περὶ οὔρων* (*De urinis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 123.

107 Perhaps the Ps.-Aristotelian work *De coloribus*.

108 *Epistula ad Antiochum regem*; Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, 132. Smith, *Hippocrates*, 33–33. This is probably to be identified with the “Letter to King Antigonos” that is preserved by Paul of Aegina under the rubric ‘a letter concerned with preventing illness’ (ἐπιστολή προφυλακτική) and is attributed to the Hellenistic physician Diocles of Carystus: see van der Eijk, *Diocles*, fr. 183ab. Antiochus and Antigonos are similar enough to be confused in the tradition.

109 This title might correspond to the treatises *Περὶ νόσων* (*De morbis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, nos. 29, 40, 41, 47.

110 *Περὶ ἱερῆς νόσου* (*De morbo sacro*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 32.

53. Epistle to Antigonus Caesar King of Rome *On the Condition of Men According to the Temperament of the Year* (*K. ilā Aqṭīghiyūnus Qayṣar malik al-Rūm fī qismat al-insān ‘alā mizāj al-sanah*).¹¹¹
54. *The Medicine of Inspiration* (*K. Ṭibb al-wahy*), it is said that in this book he compiled all that came to his mind and then put into practice, as if it had actually experienced it.
55. *Epistle to Artaxerxes the Great, King of Persia* (*Risālah ilā Arṭaḥisht al-Kabīr Malik Fārs*), written when the plague struck Persia during his reign.
56. *Epistle to the Assembly of the People of Abdera, the City of Democritus the Sage* (*Risālah ilā jam‘at ahl Abdīrā madīnat Dīmūqrātīs al-ḥakīm*), as a response to their letter summoning him to treat Democritus.¹¹²
57. *On the Adequate Diet for Different Times* (*K. Ikhtilāf al-azminah wa-iṣlāḥ al-aghdhiyah*).
58. *The Constitution of Man* (*K. Tarkīb al-insān*).
59. *The Extraction of Arrowheads* (*K. Fī istikhrāj al-nuṣūl*).
60. *On Prognosis* – first tract (*K. Taqdimah al-qawl al-awwal*).¹¹³
61. *On Prognosis* – second tract (*K. Taqdimah al-qawl al-thānī*).¹¹⁴

The Followers of Hippocrates¹¹⁵

[4.1.10.1]

When Hippocrates died he was followed by his direct descendants and his students, some of them from the family of Asclepius and some not. There were fourteen of them, four among his descendants, namely Hippocrates' two sons, Thessalus and Dracon, and their respective sons named after their grandfather: Hippocrates son of Thessalus and Hippocrates son of Dracon. His students were ten, including relatives and foreigners:¹¹⁶ Leon,¹¹⁷ Mnesar-

¹¹¹ Unidentified. Perhaps a doublet of the *Epistula ad Antiochum regem* listed above, no. 49.

¹¹² The spelling here, *D-ī-m-q-r-ā-t-ī-s*, is different from that above in Ch. 4.1.2. (*D-m-q-r-ā-t*).

¹¹³ Cf. no. 5.

¹¹⁴ Cf. no. 5.

¹¹⁵ The lemma is not in the Arabic.

¹¹⁶ The disciples of Hippocrates listed in the so-called Brussels Life (Latin MS Brussels nos. 1342–1350) are: Thessalus and Drago (i.e. Dracon), his sons; Polibius (i.e. Polybus), Filio, Dexippus, Apollonius, Praxagoras the elder, Archipolis, Timbreus, Tumulicus, Menalcus, Siennesius, Poliarcho, and Bonus. See Pinault, *Hippocratic Lives and Legends*, 25.

¹¹⁷ There is a Greek mathematician named Leon (ca. 400 BC) who was contemporary with Hippocrates, and also wrote a treatise on the 'Elements' of mathematics, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Leon' (M. Folkerts). But it seems unlikely that he was Hippocrates' student. A certain *Lādan* or *Lādhan* (the reading of this name in the *Fihrist*) is quoted by some Arab scholars as authority in magical matters, see Ullmann, *Natur und Geheimwissenschaften*, 367.

chus,¹¹⁸ *M-y-gh-ā-n-w-s*,¹¹⁹ Polybus, a member of his family who was the most excellent of his students and succeeded him as head of his house;¹²⁰ Apollonius,¹²¹ Eustathius,¹²² *S-ā-w-r-ā*,¹²³ (Prax)agoras,¹²⁴ *S-y-l-q-y-w-s*,¹²⁵ and *Th-ā-th-ā-l-s*.¹²⁶ This is what John the Grammarian says.¹²⁷ Other authors claim that Hippocrates had exactly twelve disciples, no fewer or more, and that he would not take any new student unless one of them died. This custom was followed for some time in the porticos¹²⁸ where the Greeks used to teach. I have also found in some books that Hippocrates had a daughter named *M-ā-l-ā-n-ā-Ā-r-s-ā*, who was even more skilled than her brothers in the art of medicine.¹²⁹

[4.1.10.2]

Leaving aside the sons and direct disciples of Hippocrates, the physicians worthy of mention from the period between Hippocrates and Galen are: Sim-

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- 118 All manuscripts read: *M-ā-s-r-j-s* or *M-ā-s-r-kh-s*. This might refer to Mnesarchus, a name transcribed below as *M-n-s-r-kh-w-s*. This was the name of the father and of one of the sons of Pythagoras, who followed his father as head of school in the 5th cent. BC. It might also correspond to the Menalc(h)us of the Brussels Life.
- 119 This might be a transliteration of a Greek name like Misagenes or Moiragenes.
- 120 Polybus married Hippocrates' daughter.
- 121 The MSS read *A-m-l-ā-n-ī-s-ū-n*, likely a faulty transcription of Apollonius, which is one of the names listed in the Latin lives of Hippocrates.
- 122 The Arabic form here, *ʿs-t-ā-th*, is also used by IAU and Ibn al-Nadīm to refer to the son and addressee of Oribasius, Eustathius (*Fihrist* ed. Sayyid, 2/1:273, 283; IAU Ch. 5.2.1 title no. 1).
- 123 The manuscripts read *S-ā-w-r-ā* or *S-ā-w-r-ī*, which might transcribe Saurias (found in the period of Hippocrates), or Severus (a Roman name). This name also occurs in Ch. 3.3.
- 124 The Arabic reads *gh-w-r-s*, which seems to correspond to the Greek ending -goras, either Anaxagoras, or most likely Praxagoras, referring to Praxagoras of Cos, the teacher of Herophilus; on him see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Praxagoras' (V. Nutton); cf. the Brussels Life quoted above.
- 125 The manuscripts read *S-y-y-l-q-y-w-s* and *S-y-l-q-y-w-s* or similar. In his 'Lesarten', Müller suggests 'Simplikios' (cf. the reading of the *Fihrist*). Simplicius is a possible reading, but historically untenable as the name does not occur till the Roman era. The *rasm* might be a corruption of the name Syennesis (Συέννης), listed amongst Hippocrates' students in the Brussels Life (see above n. 116); Syennesis of Cyprus was a physician, quoted by Aristotle, see Pioreschi, *History of Medicine*, ii:192.
- 126 The different readings in the manuscripts are: *Th-ā-th-ā-l-s*, *Th-ā-n-ā-l-s*, *Th-ā-m-ā-l-s*.
- 127 I.e. Yahyā al-Naḥwī. Cf. this section with Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:273–274; *Šiwān*, 20; and Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 93–94.
- 128 Arabic *riwāq*, literally tents, canopies or shelters.
- 129 The story of the twelve disciples and the reference to the daughter of Hippocrates also occurs in *Šiwān*, 20. Ibn al-Nadīm also records the name and the excellence of Hippocrates' daughter (citing John), see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:272.

plicius,¹³⁰ the commentator on the books of Hippocrates; *Anqīlāwus* the First, the physician; Erasistratus the Second,¹³¹ the dogmatist; Lycus,¹³² Milon the Second, Gallus, Mithridates, the creator of drugs;¹³³ *S-q-ā-l-s*, the commentator on the books of Hippocrates;¹³⁴ Mantias, also commentator on the books of Hippocrates;¹³⁵ *Gh-w-l-s* of Tarentum,¹³⁶ Magnus of Emesa, the author of the *Book on Urine* (*K. al-bawl*), who lived till the age of ninety;¹³⁷ Andromachus the Younger, who lived for ninety years;¹³⁸ *ʿ-b-r-ā-s*,¹³⁹ nicknamed ‘the Elder (*al-baʿīd*)’; *S-w-n-ā-kh-s* the Athenian, the author of books on drugs and pharmacopoeia,¹⁴⁰ and Rufus the Great,¹⁴¹ a scholar originally from the city of Ephesus, unmatched in the art of medicine in his time, and mentioned by Galen in his books, in which he praises and quotes him.¹⁴² Some of the works of Rufus are:¹⁴³

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- 130 The reading is similar to the MSS *S-y-l-q-y-w-s*. If this is Simplicius (which we read in the Arabic), it is an unknown and not the famous Neoplatonic philosopher.
- 131 The well-known Dogmatist physician of the third century BC, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. ‘Erasistratus’ (V. Nutton); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 69.
- 132 Perhaps Lycus of Naples (a Hippocratic physician and exegete of the 1st cent. BC) or more likely Lycus of Macedon, who lived in the 2nd cent. AD and was the object of written attacks by Galen, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. ‘Lycus’ [10 and 13] (A. Touwaide).
- 133 This refers to Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus between 120–163 BC, who according to several mythical reports developed a fabulous antidote; see Totelin, ‘Mithridates’.
- 134 ?Aeschylus.
- 135 Perhaps the same as the Mantias mentioned at Ch. 4.11.2 below.
- 136 IAU has *Gh-w-l-s* and in the *Šiwān* it reads *Gh-ā-l-w-l-s*. ?Glaucias, referring to Glaucias of Tarentum (ca. 175 BC), a known commentator on Hippocrates; *Brill's New Pauly*, art. ‘Glaucias [3]’ (V. Nutton).
- 137 Magnus of Emesa, probably the same as the well known Magnus of Nisibis, lived in the 4th cent. AD and was a pupil of Zeno of Cyprus, see Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 299; Pioreschi, *A History of Medicine*, iv:51–53; Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam*, 81. IAU might have taken the information about the book from Ibn al-Nadīm, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:285.
- 138 Andromachus the Younger was the author of a treatise on antidotes written in verse that Galen quotes in *De Antidotis* (*Antid.* 6, 13, 34–42 K); see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. ‘Andromachus [5]’ (V. Nutton), also Marasco, ‘Curriculum of Studies’, 212.
- 139 This might be a faulty rendition of *ʿ-n-[d]-r-ā-s* – and also the variant in *Fihrist* *ʿ-w-r-s* [for *ʿ-[n]-d-r-s*] – referring to Andreas, personal physician of Ptolemy Philopator, who is known to have discussed Hippocrates; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. ‘Andreas [1]’ (V. Nutton).
- 140 This might be a transcription of the name Symmachus, a relatively common name attested at Athens and elsewhere.
- 141 On Rufus, see Sezgin, *GAS*, iii:64; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 71–76. Ilberg, *Rufus*; Abou-Aly, *The Medical Writings of Rufus of Ephesus*. Daremberg & Ruelle, *Rufus*, for surviving works and fragments. IAU seems to take Rufus’ book titles from the *Fihrist*.
- 142 This reference to Galen’s praise of Rufus (e.g. *De atra bile* v:105 ed. Kühn ‘the best writer on melancholy among the moderns’) contrasts with the report of Ibn al-Qifṭī, who states that Rufus was not particularly gifted (*daʿīf al-nazar*) and that Galen denounced his numerous

1. *On Melancholy* (*K. al-Mālankhūliyā*), written in two books. This is one of his finest works.¹⁴⁴
2. A work in forty books.
3. *On Naming the Parts of the Body* (*K. tasmiyat a'ḏā' al-insān*).¹⁴⁵
4. *The Disease of Rabies* (*Maqālah fi 'illah allatī ya'riḏu ma'ahā al-faza' min al-mā'*).¹⁴⁶
5. *Jaundice and Yellow Bile* (*M. Fī al-yaraqān wa-l-marār*).¹⁴⁷
6. *Gout* (*M. Fī al-amrād allatī ta'riḏu fī l-mafāṣil*).¹⁴⁸
7. *On the Reduction of the Flesh* (*M. Fī tanqīṣ al-laḥm*).
8. *Regime for those Lacking Physicians* (*K. Tadbīr man lā yaḥḏuruḥu al-ṭabīb*), in two books.¹⁴⁹
9. *On Severe Throat Conditions* (*M. Fī l-dhubḥah*).
10. *The Medicine of Hippocrates* (*K. Ṭibb Abuqrāṭ*).
11. *On the Use of Wine* (*M. Fī sti'māl al-sharāb*).¹⁵⁰
12. *The Treatment of Infertile Women* (*M. Fī 'ilāj allawātī lā yaḥbalna*).¹⁵¹
13. *Precepts to Preserve Health* (*M. Fī qaḏāyā ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).
14. *Epilepsy* (*M. Fī l-ṣar'*).¹⁵²
15. *On Quartan Fevers* (*M. Fī l-ḥummā al-rib'*).¹⁵³

mistakes, see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 185. For 'Rufus the Great', cf. Oribasius, *Ad Eunapium*, pref. 6 ed. Raeder.

- 143 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:281–282 for titles 1–42. This list of books has been translated into English and commented in Abou-Aly, 44–49. On Rufus' works, see Ilberg, *Rufus von Ephesos*, 43–50; Sideras, 'Rufus von Ephesos'; Ullmann, 'Arabische Überlieferung'. Greek titles in the notes are those used in the literature and are not always attested.
- 144 *Περὶ μελαγχολίας*. See the edition, translation and study of the Arabic fragments in Pormann, *Rufus of Ephesus*.
- 145 *Περὶ ὀνομασίας τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπων μορίων*. See the Greek edition and French translation in Daremberg & Ruelle, 133–185, also 233–236 (scholia), 168–185 (anatomical treatise attributed to Rufus), and 186–194 (treatise on bones).
- 146 The Arabic literally reads 'The Disease that Shows the Symptoms of Fear of Water'. The Greek title was something like *Περὶ λυσσοδύχτων ἤτοι ὑδροφόβων* (*On People Bitten by a Mad Dog, or Hydrophobes*), cf. Aetius, *Iatrika* 6.24.
- 147 *Περὶ ἰκτέρου*. The Arabic version of this work has been edited and translated into German, see Ullmann, *Die Gelbsucht*.
- 148 *Περὶ τῶν κατ' ἄρθρα νοσημάτων*. The Arabic literally reads 'On the Diseases of the Articulations'. The work has survived in Latin with the title *De podagra*, see the Latin edition and French translation in Daremberg & Ruelle, *Rufus*, 247–290.
- 149 *Πρὸς τοὺς ιδιώτας παραγματεία*. On this work, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 74, no. 10.
- 150 *Περὶ οἴνου*.
- 151 *Μὴ κνίσκομένον θεραπείας μονόβιβλος*. Cf. Daremberg and Ruelle, *Rufus*, p. xxxvi n. 6.
- 152 Cf. below, no. 58.
- 153 *Περὶ τεταρταίου*.

16. *Pleurisy and Pneumonia* (*M. Fī dhāt al-janb wa-dhāt al-rī'ah*).
17. *On Regimen* (*M. Fī l-tadbīr*), in two books.¹⁵⁴
18. *On Coitus* (*K. al-Bāh*), in one book.¹⁵⁵
19. *On Medicine* (*K. al-Ṭibb*), in one book.
20. *Hospital Practices* (*M. Fī a'māl allatī tu'malu fī l-bīmāristānāt*).¹⁵⁶
21. *On Milk* (*M. Fī l-laban*).¹⁵⁷
22. *On Sects* (*M. Fī l-fīraq*).
23. *On Virgins* (*M. Fī l-abkār*).¹⁵⁸
24. *Figs* (*M. Fī l-tīn*).¹⁵⁹
25. *The Traveller's Regime* (*M. Fī tadbīr al-musāfir*).¹⁶⁰
26. *On Halitosis* (*M. Fī l-bakhar*).
27. To Potamonianus, *On Vomiting* (*M. kataba bihā ilā M-ā-t-w-n-y-w-n fī l-qay'*).¹⁶¹
28. *Lethal Drugs* (*M. Fī l-adwiyah al-qātilah*).¹⁶²
29. *Drugs to Treat the Illnesses of the Kidneys and the Bladder* (*M. Fī adwiyat 'ilal al-kulā wa-l-mathānah*).¹⁶³
30. *On Whether the Frequent Imbibing of Medicaments at Banquets is Beneficial* (*M. fī hal kathrat sharb al-dawā' fī l-walā'im nāfi'*).¹⁶⁴
31. *Hard Swellings* (*M. Fī l-awrām al-ṣulbah*).¹⁶⁵
32. *On Memory* (*M. Fī l-ḥifẓ*).¹⁶⁶

154 *Περὶ διαίτης.*

155 *Περὶ ἀφροδισίων.*

156 *Περὶ τῶν κατ' ἰατρῆϊον διατριβῶν.*

157 *Περὶ γάλακτος.*

158 *Περὶ παρθένων διαίτης.*

159 *Περὶ σύκων.*

160 *Περὶ διαίτης πλεόντων(?)*. This work may have inspired Ibn al-Jazzār's famous *Zād al-Musāfir*. Ullmann, however, rejects any influence: 'Neues zu den diätetischen Schriften'.

161 *Περὶ ἐμέτου πρὸς Ποταμωνιανόν.*

162 *Περὶ θανασίμων φαρμάκων*. This work was also known in Arabic as *On Poisons* (*K. al-sumūm*), as in Ch. 5 and following al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Theriac, Poisons and the Treatment of Those Who Have Been Poisoned*, see Ch. 5.1.26.

163 *Περὶ τῶν ἐν νεφροῖς καὶ κύστει παθῶν*. For the edition and translation of the Greek see Daremberg & Ruelle, *Rufus*, 1–63, Sideras, *De renum et vesicae morbis* (with a German translation).

164 Flügel and Tajaddud in their editions of the *Fihrist* correct the title to: *M. fī hal kathrat sharb al-dawā' fī l-walā' nāfi'* (*On Whether the Excessive and Frequent Imbibing of Medicaments is Beneficial*), see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:281. Sezgin transcribes it as *M. fī hal kathrat sharb al-dawā' bi-l-walā' nāfi'*, see Sezgin, *GAS* iii:67.

165 *Περὶ γαγγλίου.*

166 *Περὶ μνήμης ἀπωλείας*, *On Loss of Memory*. The title in Ibn al-Nadīm reads *Maqālah fī l-dhikr* (*On Memory*), see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:281.

33. *The Disease of Dionysius, i.e. Suppuration (M. Fī ‘illat Diyūnūsiyūs wa-huwa al-qayḥ).*
34. *On Wounds (M. Fī l-jarāḥāt).*¹⁶⁷
35. *Diet for the Elderly (M. Fī tadbīr al-shaykhūkhah).*
36. *The Advice of the Physicians (M. Fī waṣāyā al-aṭibbā’).*
37. *On Clysters (M. Fī l-ḥuqaṅ).*¹⁶⁸
38. *On Childbirth (M. Fī l-wilādah).*
39. *On Luxation (M. Fī l-khal’).*¹⁶⁹
40. *The Treatment of Amenorrhea (M. Fī iḥtibās al-ṭamth).*
41. *Chronic Diseases according to Hippocrates (M. Fī l-amrād al-muzminah ‘alā ra’y Abuqrāt’).*¹⁷⁰
42. *Classes of Drugs (M. Fī marātib al-adwiyah).*¹⁷¹
43. *Questions Physicians Must Ask Patients (M. Fīmā yanbaghī li-l-ṭabīb an yas’ala ‘an al-‘alīl).*¹⁷²
44. *On Raising Children (M. Fī tarbiyat al-aṭfāl).*¹⁷³
45. *Vertigo (M. Fī dawarān al-ra’s).*
46. *On Urine (M. Fī l-bawl).*¹⁷⁴
47. *The Drug Named Liquorice (M. Fī l-‘aqqār alladhī yud’ā sūsan).*
48. *On the Congestion of the Lungs (M. Fī l-nuzlah ilā l-rī’ah).*
49. *Chronic Diseases of the Liver (M. Fī ‘ilal al-kibd al-muzminah).*
50. *On the Occurrence of Shortness of Breath in Men (Fī annahu ya’riḍu li-l-rijāl inqitā’ al-tanaffus).*
51. *On Purchasing Slaves (M. Fī shirā l-mamālik).*¹⁷⁵
52. *The Treatment of Epileptic Children (M. Fī ‘ilāj ṣabī yuṣra’u).*
53. *Diet for Pregnant Women (M. Fī tadbīr al-ḥabālā’).*¹⁷⁶
54. *On Indigestion (M. Fī l-tukhamah).*

167 *Περὶ τραυματισμοῦ ἄρθρων.*

168 *Περὶ κλύσματος.*

169 *Περὶ ὀλισθημάτων.*

170 *Τῶ πᾶν χρονίων παθουγνωμονικόν.*

171 This appears to be the same as the *Composition of Drugs by Illness and Time* mentioned in Ch. 5.1.26.

172 *Ἱατρικὰ ἐρωτήματα.* See the Greek edition and French translation in Daremberg & Ruelle, *Rufus*, 195.

173 *Περὶ κομιδῆς παιδίου.* On this work see Ullmann, ‘Die Schrift des Rufus “De infantium curatione”’.

174 *Περὶ οὔρων.*

175 This treatise was one of the sources used by Ibn Buṭlān in his *Risālah jāmi’ah li-funūn nāfi’ah fī shirā l-raḡiq wa-taqīb al-‘abūd*, see the biography of Ibn Buṭlān and references to this work at Ch. 10.38.

176 *Περὶ κνήσεως.*

55. *On Rue* (*M. Fī l-sadhāb*).¹⁷⁷
56. *On Sweating* (*M. Fī l-‘araq*).
57. *Intestinal Obstruction* (*M. Fī ilāws*).¹⁷⁸
58. *On Epilepsy* (*M. Fī ‘-b l-m-s-ī-ā*).¹⁷⁹

[4.1.10.3]

Other physicians who lived between Hippocrates and Galen were Apollonius¹⁸⁰ and Archigenes.¹⁸¹ Archigenes wrote a number of medical works, of which I have found the following in Arabic translation:¹⁸²

1. *Diseases of the Uterus and their Treatment* (*K. Asqām al-arhām wa-‘ilājihā*)
2. *On the Nature of Man* (*K. Ṭabī‘at al-insān*)
3. *On Gout* (*K. Fī l-niqris*)

[4.1.10.4]

Physicians from this period include Dioscorides the Younger, the commentator on the books of Hippocrates;¹⁸³ Timaeus the Palestinian, also a commentator on the books of Hippocrates;¹⁸⁴ Theodotus nicknamed ‘Gift of God’¹⁸⁵ [who wrote] on medical pastes; Mnesitheus known as ‘the Classifier of Medicine’;¹⁸⁶

177 *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ πηγάνου χρήσεως.*

178 *Εἰλεός.*

179 We assume ἐπιληψία underlies the Arabic word, the exact ductus and vocalization of which is dubious in all manuscripts. It may be the same as the work listed under n. 14 with the Arabic title *M. Fī l-‘sar*; it is not mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm. Müller, ‘Lesarten’, p. 59, notes the possibility that it is a transcription of ‘eclampsia’, which however is a modern term and appears not to have been defined by the ancients.

180 Perhaps the late 1st cent. BC Herophilean from Alexandria, see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Apollonius [17]’ (V. Nutton), or Apollonius of Citium (cf. 10.5).

181 Archigenes of Apamea lived under Trajan (r. 98–117). See *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Archigenes’ (V. Nutton); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 69.

182 The works listed by Ibn al-Nadīm are *On the Nature of Man* (*K. Ṭabī‘at al-insān*), and a certain unnamed treatise that might have not been translated (*maqālah majhūlat al-naql*); see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:285. Archigenes was also known among the Arabs through the quotations included in the translation of Aetius of Amida’s *Tetrabiblon*.

183 Dioscorides the Younger (2nd cent. AD) was a grammarian and editor of Hippocrates, see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Dioscorides [9]’ (V. Nutton).

184 This reference is unclear. This might refer to a Greek lexicographer named Timaeus who lived between the first and the fourth cent. AD, and wrote a lexicon and commented on Plato, see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Timaeus’ (S. Matthaios).

185 Perhaps Theodotus (2nd/1st cent. BC), a Greek doctor after whom an eye ointment was named, see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Theodotus [7]’ (V. Nutton).

186 *M-y-s-y-ā-w-s*, very likely Mnesitheus (mid 4th cent. BC), an Athenian Dogmatist physician whom Galen praises for his classification of medicine (*Ad Glauconem* 11.3 ed. Kühn), see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Mnesitheus’ (V. Nutton).

and Marius the Methodist, nicknamed Thessalus – a name that we have already mentioned when reporting about the Methodists.¹⁸⁷ Marius received this nickname because he came across a Methodist book, after the books of Thessalus the First were burnt, and he embraced this doctrine. He claimed that there is no art but that of the Methodists, and theirs was the only proper way of practicing medicine. He wanted to confuse people and turn them away from Dogmatists and Empiricists. He composed many works based on that Methodist book that kept on circulating among physicians – both well and badly received – until Galen became prominent and rebuked and discredited them, burning all the Methodist books that he found and abolishing this School.¹⁸⁸

[4.1.10.5]

Other physicians include Crito, known as ‘the Expert in Cosmetics’ and author of a *Book on Cosmetics* (*K. al-Zīnah*), from which Galen has quoted some passages in his *On the Composition of Drugs* (*K. al-Mayāmīr*),¹⁸⁹ ʿ-q-ā-q-y-w-s,¹⁹⁰ J-ā-r-m-k-s-ā-l-s, ʿ-r-th-y-ā-th-y-w-s,¹⁹¹ M-ā-r-y-ṭ-w-s, Apollonius,¹⁹² Marcus, B-r-gh-ā-l-s,¹⁹³ Hermes the Physician, Paulus, Ḥ-ā-ḥ-ū-n-ā, and Ḥ-l-m-ā-n-s.¹⁹⁴ On account of their mutual support and collaboration in order to elaborate medicines for people’s benefit, these twelve physicians, with Crito at their head, were known as ‘The Twelve Signs of the Zodiac’, for the zodiacal signs are also interdependent.¹⁹⁵ Other physicians include Herophilus of Chalcedon, nicknamed

187 Thessalus of Tralles, who worked in Rome around AD 60, developed the ideas of Themison of Laodicea to form the Methodist school, which had influence into Late Antiquity; he was one of the main targets of Galen’s critiques; see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Thessalus [6]’ (V. Nutton). Nothing is known of the name Marius. The burning of the books is legendary.

188 Cf. *Šiwān*, 21–22 and Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, *Taʿrīkh al-aṭibbāʾ*, 78; cf. Ch. 5.1.2.

189 Statilius Crito was the court physician of Trajan in the early 2nd cent. AD. He wrote a four-volume book on cosmetics, see *Brill’s New Pauly*, arts. ‘Statilius’ [II 4] (A. Touwaide), and ‘Cosmetics’ (R. Hirschmann); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 71. Crito is quoted several times by al-Rāzī in his *K. al-Ḥāwī* on the authority of Galen’s *K. al-Mayāmīr*, the Arabic title, borrowed from Syriac, of Galen’s *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*.

190 ?Acacius, which was a common name in Late Antiquity.

191 Perhaps a transcription of Oribasius (ʿ-r-y-b-ā-th-y-w-s), which is read in the *Šiwān*; this would be an anachronism but only one of many in this chapter.

192 Q-ā-q-ū-l-ū-n-s. Perhaps the Hippocratic orthopaedic physician Apollonius of Citium (early 1st cent. BC), see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Apollonius [16]’ (V. Nutton) or the Herophilean (above, 4.1.10.3).

193 ?Pericles.

194 ?Germanus.

195 The comparison of these twelve physicians with the zodiacal signs occurs also in the epitome of the *Šiwān al-ḥikmah* (*Šiwān*, 22). Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn’s *Taʿrīkh* refers to a group of

‘The Powerful’ (*al-Qādir*) because he dared to engage in difficult treatments successfully, was most capable and his treatments did not fail;¹⁹⁶ Democrates the Second,¹⁹⁷ *ʿf-r-w-s-y-s*,¹⁹⁸ Xenocrates of Aphrodisias,¹⁹⁹ Ptolemy the Physician, Socrates the Physician, Marcus, nicknamed ‘The Lover of Knowledge’, *S-w-r-w-s*,²⁰⁰ *F-w-r-y-s* the eye surgeon,²⁰¹ Theodoretus nicknamed ‘The Wakeful’ (*al-sāhir*), and Porphyry the author of numerous books, who, in addition to his knowledge of philosophy, excelled in the art of medicine, which is why some people refer to him as philosopher and some as physician.²⁰²

[4.1.11.1]

Dioscorides of Anazarbus²⁰³

Dioscorides of Anazarbus, a man of pure soul and greatest benefactor of mankind, worked to exhaustion and wore himself out travelling the world – continents, islands, and seas – to collect knowledge about simple drugs. He illustrated them and acquired practical knowledge [of plants] to assess their beneficial properties prior to enquiring about their effects [in terms of theory].²⁰⁴ Once practical knowledge had been gained about a certain property, if the findings

twelve physicians without giving their names or referring to the zodiac; Rosenthal, ‘Ishāq b. Ḥunayn’, 78.

- 196 Despite the defective script of the name (*F-y-l-s*), this should refer to Herophilus of Chalcedon, who lived between cent. 330/320 and 260/250 BC; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. ‘Herophilus’ (A. Towaide). In his edition of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn’s *Taʿrīkh*, Rosenthal conjecturally reads Philon.
- 197 Perhaps confusion with and a doublet of Democritus.
- 198 This might be a transcription of Aphrodisius, or even a faulty rendition of Epaphroditus.
- 199 The Arabic text interprets the place of origin of Xenocrates – Aphrodisias – as a second personal name. Xenocrates was a pharmacologist active ca. AD 70, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. ‘Xenocrates [6]’ (A. Touwaide).
- 200 This might refer to a physician named Severus, active in the time of Augustus, known for his treatment of trichiasis and other diseases, cf. Aetius, *Iatrica*, 7.68, 87, etc.
- 201 *Qādir al-ʿayn* is, literally, one who couches the eye. Müller’s suggests Cyrillus. The *ductus* of the word could also suggest the reading *f-r-w-t-s*, a transcription of the Greek name Protas. Galen mentions a recipe by a physician named Protas of Pelusium, see Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 151.
- 202 It seems that IAU had direct access to some Arabic translations of Porphyry, and quotes from him in his biography of Pythagoras; see Ch. 4.3.3, 4.3.6.1, and 4.3.6.2.
- 203 No separate lemma in the Arabic.
- 204 This first paragraph, taken from John the Grammarian’s lost *Taʿrīkh*, is reproduced by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. Sayyid, 2/1:286), Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn (Rosenthal, ‘Ishāq b. Ḥunayn’, 68), Ibn al-Qiftī (*Taʿrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 183–184), and *Sīwān*, 23.

derived from [theoretical] enquiries did not differ from those proved by experience, he would identify [the plant] and illustrate a likeness of it.²⁰⁵

Dioscorides' work is the basis of every single drug, and all those who came later rely on him, because they build upon Dioscorides' legacy whenever they need to find any other drugs of this kind. Blessings for this virtuous soul, who worked himself to exhaustion to bring good to humankind!

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq says:²⁰⁶

Among his people, Dioscorides' name was Pedanius, which in their language means 'he who departs from us'. He was given this name (says Ḥunayn) because he lived isolated from his community in the mountains and in regions rich in vegetation. He stayed there at all times, and would never return to his town: not out of obedience, nor to give advice, nor to pass judgement, and this is why he received this name. As for *diyāsqūrī*, it means trees in Greek, and *D-w-s*²⁰⁷ means God. This name means, therefore, 'inspired by God to [study] trees and herbs'.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah continues: proof that Dioscorides travelled through lands in search of knowledge about plants, and to study them and the places where they grow, comes in the introductory words to his book where he addresses the dedicatee by saying,²⁰⁸

As you know, an unfathomable passion for acquiring knowledge of *materia medica* took hold of us from a very early age; and we travelled to many lands with this purpose, living the life – as you are aware – of one who does not settle in a single place.²⁰⁹

This work of Dioscorides consisted originally of five books; two other books were added later: the sixth one, which has been attributed to him, deals with venoms; the seventh discusses the aims of the [other] parts of his work.²¹⁰ The first of the [original five] books centers on drugs with perfumed smells, spices,

205 Cf. Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, *Tārīkh*, 78.

206 The etymology of the names is also discussed by Ibn Juljul (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 21), but the exact origin of this quotation is unknown. This might come from the first translation of Dioscorides' *De Materia Medica*, made in Baghdad by Iṣṭifān ibn Baṣīl and corrected by Ḥunayn; on this translation see Touwaide, 'Translation and Transliteration'.

207 I.e. θεός.

208 Cf. *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de Materia Medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, intr. § 4.

209 The Greek reads 'a soldier's life'.

210 The extant Greek text has only the first five books.

oils, resins, and large trees. The second one deals with animals, aquatic life, seeds, pulse, edible and pungent legumes, and bitter drugs. The third book discusses the stems of plants, thorny plants, seeds, resins, and flowering plants. The fourth one deals with drugs which, for the most part, come from cold plants; it also discusses plants that are warm and have laxative and emetic properties, and, at the end of this section, venomous plants that have beneficial properties. The fifth book deals with grapevines, different kinds of potions, and drugs of mineral origin.

Galen says about this book:²¹¹

I have read fourteen books on simple drugs from different authors, and I have never seen anything better than the book of Dioscorides, the native of Anazarbus.

[4.1.11.2]

Other physicians who lived between Hippocrates and Galen include: *T-l-ā-d-y-w-s*, the commentator on Hippocrates;²¹² Cleopatra, a skilled female physician from whom Galen quotes about drugs and varied treatments, especially those concerning women's health;²¹³ Asclepiades,²¹⁴ Soranus nicknamed 'the Golden One',²¹⁵ Heracleides of Tarentum,²¹⁶ Eudemus the ophthalmologist nicknamed 'the King',²¹⁷ *N-s-ā-r-w-s* the Palestinian,²¹⁸ Gallus of Emesa, Xeno-

211 This is a paraphrase of remarks in the preface to Bk 7 of *On Simple Drugs*, where Galen contrasts Dioscorides with other writers at (11.794 Kühn). IAU takes the quotation from Ibn Juljul's biography of Dioscorides, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 21.

212 Müller suggests Palladius of Alexandria, who wrote commentaries on Hippocrates (but lived in the 6th cent. AD); see Brill's *New Pauly*, art. 'Palladius [1 5]' (A. Touwaide); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 83.

213 See Ch. 5.1.21.

214 Asclepiades of Bithynia was a Greek physician who worked in Rome; the dates of his life are uncertain, but probably died in 91 BC see Brill's *New Pauly*, art. 'Asclepiades' (V. Nutton).

215 Soranus of Ephesus, a physician who was active in Rome around AD100, see Brill's *New Pauly*, art. 'Soranus' (W.A. Reus); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 76–78. He is not known by this sobriquet in antiquity.

216 Heracleides of Tarentum, an Empiricist of the 1st cent. BC; Brill's *New Pauly*, art. 'Heraclides [27]' (V. Nutton).

217 There are two known physicians named Eudemus, who are probably the same person: an elegiac poet who composed a book on pharmacology, and a follower of the physician Themison, who was active in the first quarter of the 1st cent. AD and became involved with the notorious Sejanus, see Brill's *New Pauly*, art. 'Eudemus [5]' (M. Di Marco) and 'Eudemus [6]' (V. Nutton). A third Eudemus, an anatomist, from the 3rd cent. BC, is a less likely candidate.

218 The reading in *Ṣiwān* is *s-ā-r-w-s*, which might indicate a Severus; see *Ṣiwān*, 23.

crates,²¹⁹ *Q-r-ṭ-ā-n-s*,²²⁰ Diogenes the physician nicknamed ‘the Nutritionist’, Asclepiades the Second,²²¹ Hippocrates of Gerasa, Laecanius Arius of Tarsus,²²² *Ph-y-m-n* of Harran, *M-w-s-t-w-s* the Athenian,²²³ *Q-l-y-d-s*,²²⁴ known as ‘the Guided for the Lost’ (*al-mahdī li-l-dāllīn*), Heracleides known as ‘the Guide’ (*al-hādī*),²²⁵ Petrus,²²⁶ *P-r-w-ā-d-s*, Mantias the bloodletter,²²⁷ Theocritus of Anazarbus, Antipater of Mopsuestia,²²⁸ Chrysermus known as ‘the Young’ (*al-fatā*),²²⁹ Arius known as ‘the Critic’,²³⁰ Philo of Tarsus,²³¹ Cassius the Egyptian,²³² Tullius of Alexandria, Aulinus, *S-q-w-r-s*, nicknamed ‘the Obeyed’²³³ because medicines used to ‘obey him’ whenever he used them, and *T-ā-m-w-r* of Harran. All these physicians used compound drugs, and Galen profited from their knowledge when he wrote on this matter, and also from the knowledge

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- 219 Perhaps the same as Xenocrates of Aphrodisias, mentioned above.
- 220 This may be a transcription of Gratianus or Quintus. For Quintus, the teacher of Galen’s teacher, cf. Ch. 5.1.25 (*q-w-ā-n-y-ṭ-ū-s*), Ḥunayn’s *Risālah*, 45 *q-w-ā-y-n-ṭ-w-s*.
- 221 Presumably to be distinguished from Asclepiades of Bithynia, for whom see above.
- 222 ‘*L-ā-w-n* of Tarsus and Arius of Tarsus’. Probably Laecanius Arius of Tarsus (the 1st cent. AD), a pharmacologist and mentor of Dioscorides, who addresses him in the preface to his work; see Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, 194.
- 223 The reading in *Šiwān* is *M-w-dh-f-w-s*.
- 224 Presumably a name ending in *-cleides*, and perhaps a doublet of the next name.
- 225 Müller suggests Heracleides Ponticus, the 4th cent. Platonist philosopher, though the chronology does not fit and he was not interested in medicine (but cf. next section). It may refer rather to the pupil of Mantias, Heracleides of Tarentum (see above).
- 226 *Šiwān* reads: Petrus son of *M-ā-r-s* (Marius?), see *Šiwān*, 24.
- 227 The reference to bloodletting confirms the Greek physician of this name, the Herophilean and teacher of Heracleides of Tarentum, from the 2nd cent. BC, who strongly favoured this technique according to Galen (*De venae sectione adv. Erasistratum* 5 = 11:163 Kühn); see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Mantias [2]’ (V. Nutton). A physician named Mantias is mentioned before, see above n. 135.
- 228 In Cilicia, known as Mamistra in later Greek; Arabic Maṣṣīṣah.
- 229 The *ras*m of this transcription (*h-r-ū-s-ī-ū-s*) is similar to the one used for Chrysippus (see below 4.11.3). There are two not very convincing candidates: a Chrysermus who lived about 150–120 BC and had some official responsibility for physicians at Alexandria; and a Herophilean physician named Chrysermus who lived a century later, around 50 BC, see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Chrysermus.’
- 230 The Arabic reads *al-muḍādd*, lit. the ‘Opposer’, perhaps a rendering of a Greek term like κρτικός.
- 231 Philo was a pharmacologist of the 1st cent. AD who invented a famous pain-killer, see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Philo [1 13]’ (A. Touwaide).
- 232 There are at least two physicians with this name: Cassius Felix, born in Constantine (North Africa), who lived long after Galen, in the 5th century; and a hardly known iatrosophist, author of a collection of medical *Problemata* of uncertain date (between 4th–7th AD), see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Cassius [111 4] and [111 6]’ (V. Nutton).
- 233 The ductus also suggests a rendition of the name Severus (*s-f-r-w-s*).

of others who lived before and whom we have previously mentioned, such as Apollonius, Archigenes, and many others. One of those who preceded Galen was also Trallianus, i.e. Alexander the physician.²³⁴ Some of his works are:

1. *On the Diseases of the Eye and their Treatment* (K. *ʿIlal al-ʿayn wa-ʿilājihā*), composed of three books.
2. *On Pleurisy* (K. *al-Barāsim*)
3. *On Parasites, 'Snakes' that Grow in the Belly, and Worms* (K. *al-Ṣufār wa-l-hayyāt allatī tatawalladu fī l-baṭn wa-l-didān*).²³⁵

[4.1.11.3]

Great philosophers lived also in that time, and even before. The most important of them, as Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn²³⁶ states, were Pythagoras, Diocles,²³⁷ Theon,²³⁸ Empedocles,²³⁹ Euclid,²⁴⁰ *S-ā-w-r-ā*,²⁴¹ Timotheus, Anaximenes, Democritus, and Melissus.²⁴² Iṣḥāq adds that some of the poets that flourished in that period were Homer, *Q-ā-q-l-s*,²⁴³ *M-ā-r-q-s*.²⁴⁴ After them we also find philosophers such as Zeno the Elder²⁴⁵ and Zeno the Younger,²⁴⁶ Acratus the Musi-

234 Alexander Trallianus or Alexander of Tralles did not live before Galen, but in the 6th cent. AD, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Alexander [29]' (V. Nutton); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 85.

235 For the information on Alexander of Tralles cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 293; ed. Tajaddud, 351–352; ed. Sayyid, 2/1:287. See also Sezgin (1970) 162–164. These three works are preserved in Greek (ed. and trans. Puschmann vol. 2). The first two form part of Alexander's collection of *Therapeutica* (*al-Kunnāsh* in the Arabic tradition). *The Letter on Worms to Theodore* is a short separate treatise.

236 For this quotation cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 287; Tajaddud, 346; Sayyid, 2/1:270.

237 Diocles, the mathematician and geometer (ca. 240–180 BC).

238 Probably the mathematician and philosopher Theon of Smyrna, who flourished in the third decade of the 2nd cent. AD, but perhaps conflated with the better known mathematician and astronomer from mid-fourth cent. Alexandria (cf. the work of Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib).

239 Empedocles of Agrigentum, the Presocratic philosopher (ca. 490–430 BC), see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Empedocles' (J. Bollack). See Ch. 4.2.

240 The mathematician Euclid, who lived ca. 300 BC.

241 This is most likely a transcription of Severus.

242 The Arabic reads *th-l-s-s*. Perhaps a deformation of *m-l-s-s* in reference to the philosopher Melissus of Samos (5th cent. BC).

243 The Arabic could be read as *q-ā-q-l-s* or *f-ā-q-l-s*, which might a defective rendition of Sophocles. Sayyid reads *Fuliqlus*, i.e. Philocles the 5th cent. tragedian; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:270.

244 In IAU: *m-ā-r-q/f-s*; Ibn al-Nadīm has *m-ā-r-y-s*, see *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 287; ed. Tajaddud, 346 or, according to the edition of Sayyid, *h-ā-r-i-s*, whom he identifies with the Latin poet Horace; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 270. If we take into consideration the references to Greek poets in Arabic sources, it is likely that Euripides might be hidden under this name.

245 Zeno of Elea (ca. 490–430 BC).

246 Zeno of Citium (ca. 334–262 BC).

cian;²⁴⁷ and Damon the Logician;²⁴⁸ Glaucon the Sharp-sighted (*al-baṣīr*);²⁴⁹ Socrates, Plato, Democritus, Aristotle, Theophrastus, the son of his [Aristotle's] sister;²⁵⁰ Eudemus,²⁵¹ Euphanes, Chrysippus,²⁵² Diogenes, *F-y-l-ā-ṭ-s*, *F-y-m-ā-ṭ-w-s*,²⁵³ Simplicius,²⁵⁴ Albinus, the teacher of Galen;²⁵⁵ Glaucon,²⁵⁶ Alexander the King, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Porphyry of Tyre, Proclus the Platonist,²⁵⁷ *Ṭ-ā-l-y-w-s* of Alexandria,²⁵⁸ *M-w-l-w-m-s* the Alexandrian, *R-w-d-s* the Platonist,²⁵⁹ Stephanus the Egyptian,²⁶⁰ *S-n-j-s*,²⁶¹ *R-ā-m-n*.²⁶²

247 In *Ṣiwān*, 24: *aqrāṭīs al-mantiqī*, 'the Logician'.

248 This passage seems to be corrupt. The name transcribed *r-ā-m-w-n* refers most likely to the Sophist Damon, known for his theories on music, who lived in the 5th/4th cent. BC, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Damon [3]' (R. Harmon). The *Ṣiwān* reads *rāmūn al-mustawfi*, which could be a corrupted transmission of *dāmūn al-mūsīqī*, i.e. 'Damon the musician'.

249 This epithet is purely conjectural. All manuscripts have an undotted, unknown form, while the *Ṣiwān* reads *al-niṣībī*, 'from Nisibis'. The reference is presumably to Plato's younger brother, famous from as Socrates' dialogue partner in the *Republic*.

250 According to MS Ga, 'the son of his maternal uncle (*ibn khālihi*)'. The family relationship with Aristotle is not attested in antiquity but is not impossible. Cf. Gutas, 'Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus', 76–77.

251 The Peripatetic philosopher Eudemus of Rhodes, born before 350 BC; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Eudemus [3]' (H. Gottschalk).

252 Chrysippus, the famous Stoic philosopher from the 3rd cent. BC.

253 This might refer to Panaetius of Rhodes, the Stoic philosopher (ca. 185–109 BC).

254 The dots in the different manuscripts suggest different readings, but the most likely if we pay attention to the consonantal *ductus* is Simplicius (which we read with Müller).

255 The Arabic reads *ʿ-r-m-y-n-w-s*. On the confusion between Albinus and Herminus see Ch. 5.1.21.1. Albinus of Smyrna was a Platonic philosopher of the 2nd cent. AD and teacher of Galen; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Albinus [3]' (M. Baltes).

256 This probably refers to Glaucon, the physician and friend of Galen active around AD 190 and dedicatee of the *To Glaucon*; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Glaucon [7]' (V. Nutton).

257 Following the reading in the *Ṣiwān*, p. 25: *ʿ-b-r-q-l-y-s*, this likely refers to the Neoplatonist Proclus (412–485).

258 It is unclear if this should be identified with Alexander Trallianus mentioned above. Greek names in *Tal-/Tall-* are uncommon.

259 The Arabic name is probably the result of a confusion of liquid consonants. This might refer to Priscianus Lydus, a Neoplatonist of the 6th cent. who was related to Simplicius and Damascius; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Priscianus Lydus' (L. Brisson).

260 Stephanus was a physician and philosopher active in Alexandria ca. 600, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Stephanus [6]' (V. Nutton); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 82. The rendition of the name is *ʿ-ṣ-t-f-n* in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1, 283.

261 This might also be read as *S-n-kh-s*, which is close to the name rendered Ch. 4.1.10.2 as *S-w-n-ā-kh-s* (Symmachus?).

262 The *Ṣiwān* reads *R-ā-m-s*.

These were followed by other philosophers, namely Themistius, Porphyry the Egyptian, John the Alexandrian,²⁶³ Gessius,²⁶⁴ *Anqīlāwus* the commentator on the books of Aristotle,²⁶⁵ Ammonius, Paulus,²⁶⁶ Plutarchus,²⁶⁷ Eudemus the Alexandrian, Agathias of Anazarbus,²⁶⁸ Theodorus of Athens,²⁶⁹ and 'd-ā of Tarsus.

[4.1.11.4]

The Qāḍī Abū l-Qāsim Ṣā'īd ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣā'īd says in his *Categories of the Nations* (*K. Ṭabaqāt al-umam*) that the philosophers of the Greeks belong to the most noble category²⁷⁰ and occupy the most pre-eminent position among all people of knowledge, because of their sound commitment to all branches of knowledge – mathematics and logic, natural philosophy and metaphysics, economy and politics. He notes:

The most distinguished philosophers among the Greeks were five; the first one in chronological order was Empedocles, followed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle son of Nicomachus.²⁷¹

I – Ibn al-Uṣaybi'ah – shall give now an account of the lives of these five philosophers and others, with God's help.

263 Philosophical books are ascribed to John the Grammarian (believed to be from Alexandria) – Ch. 6.2 – as a result of confusion between him and the philosopher John Philoponus.

264 Gessius of Petra (here corrupted as *d-ā-r-y-w-s*; cf. the *Ṣiwān* and Ch. 5.2.1 *j-ā-s-y-w-s*), the pupil of Ammonius of Alexandria and teacher of Philoponus, see Watts, 'The Enduring Legacy'.

265 Perhaps Nicolaus, which we posit as a medical author in the English of Ch. 5.2.1 and Ch. 6.1.1.

266 Paulus of Aegina, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 86.

267 The Arabic reads 'f-r-w-ṭ-r-kh-s. This refers to the Neoplatonist Plutarch of Athens (350–430).

268 The Arabic reads *y-ā-gh-ā-th*.

269 The Arabic reads ambiguously *th-y-ā-dh-w/r-r/w-s*.

270 That is, the categories in which the author classifies the different civilisations.

271 Cf. Ṣā'īd al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 21.

4.2 Empedocles¹

The Qāḍī Šā'id says:

According to the authors of universal chronicles, Empedocles lived in the time of the Prophet David, peace be upon Him. He also learned from Luqmān the Wise² in Syria, before travelling to Greece, where he taught a circle of students in matters which contradicted Greek tenets about the afterlife. Many abandoned him as a result of that, but a group of gnostics³ remained attending his teachings, claiming that he knew mysteries that were rarely addressed by others.

He also says:

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Masarraḥ al-Jabalī the Esotericist (*Bāṭinī*), originally from Cordoba, embraced Empedocles' philosophical theories and devoted himself to teach them.⁴

He continues:

Empedocles was the first one who sought to harmonize the meanings of the divine attributes, showing that all of them referred to one single notion, and that, even though [God] is described as 'knowledge', 'goodness', or 'omnipotence', He is not made up of distinct attributes, but only referred to by all these different names. He is in truth One and nothing can be added to His uniqueness, contrary to the other created beings. That which is singular in the world is susceptible to becoming

1 The entire biography of Empedocles is based on Šā'id al-Andalusī; see *K. Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 21. On the Empedocles of the Arabic tradition see *EI Three*, art. 'Empedocles' (D. De Smet); De Smet, *Empedocles*; Sezgin, *Empedocles*.

2 Luqmān is a legendary sage who lived in pre-Islamic Arabia, proverbial for his vast knowledge in Arabic lore and Qur'anic tradition, see *EI*², art. 'Luqmān' (N.A. Stillmann).

3 The Arabic reads: *ṭā'īfah min al-bāṭiniyyah*. *Bāṭin* means 'esoteric or mystical meaning' (as opposed to *zāhūr*, 'exoteric or literal meaning'), and it is usually employed to refer to esotericist Muslim sects and, often in a derogatory sense, to the Ismā'īlis; see *EI*², art. 'al-Zāhir wa'l-Bāṭin' (I. Poonawala).

4 Stern has cogently argued that Ibn Masarraḥ was not influenced by the writings of Ps.-Empedocles, and that Šā'id al-Andalusī's reference to the philosopher of Cordova is due to a confusion with the epithet *bāṭinī*, commonly used by Arabic authors to refer to Ibn Masarraḥ; see S.M. Stern, 'Ibn Masarra'.

a plurality by virtue of its parts, its meanings, or its similarities; but the essence of the Creator is beyond all that [i.e. indivisible].⁵

[Ṣā'id al-Andalusī] states that this doctrine on the divine attributes was embraced by Abū l-Hudhayl Muḥammad ibn al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf al-Baṣrī.⁶

Empedocles is the author of the following books:

1. *Metaphysics* (K. *Fīmā ba'd al-ṭabī'ah*)
2. *Homilies* (K. *al-Mayāmir*)⁷

4.3 Pythagoras¹

[4.3.1]

The name of Pythagoras (*F-y-th-ā-gh-w-r-s*) is also written in Arabic *F-w-th-ā-gh-w-r-s*, *F-w-th-ā-gh-w-r-ā-s*, and *F-w-th-ā-gh-w-r-y-ā*. The Qāḍī Ṣā'id says in his *Book of the Categories of the Nations* (K. *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*):

Pythagoras lived sometime after Empedocles. He left Syria for Egypt to learn from Solomon, the son of David.² When he learned geometry with the Egyptians he went back to Greece, where he introduced the study of this discipline along with natural philosophy and religion. With no other help than his own intellect, Pythagoras deduced the science of melodies and musical composition, and their relationship with arithmetical proportions. He claimed that he had received this knowledge from the

5 For this passage see also Rudolph, *Doxographie*, 37. Ps.-Ammonius was the source for al-ʿĀmirī's *al-Amad 'alā al-abad*, who, in turn, was the authority on whom Ṣā'id al-Andalusī relied for his report of Greek philosophers.

6 Abū l-Hudhayl was a Mu'tazilite theologian who was dead by the middle of the 3rd/9th cent.; see *EI Three*, art. 'Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf' (S.A. Mourad).

7 The list of books is not included in Ṣā'id al-Andalusī's report. The term *maymar* is a Syriac borrowing that originally means 'homily'; it has been also used without any religious connotation to refer to textual units, or to ways of addressing a topic as for example in the *K. al-Mayāmir*, the Arabic title of Galen's *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*.

1 On the reception of Pythagoras in Islam and his influence see, *EI*² art. 'Fithāghūras' (F. Rosenthal).

2 The extant Greek passages of Porphyry do not mention Solomon and David. The alignment of Jewish-Christian chronography with the heroes of pagan learning (Pythagoras to Plato) in Christian apologist writing begins in the 2nd cent. AD with writers like Numenius.

light of prophecy,³ and that, in the order of the world, which is structured on specific numbers and proportions, there were wondrous symbols and arcane intentions. His ideas concerning numbers were close to those of Empedocles, who claimed that above the natural world there was a spiritual one made of light, the beauty and splendour of which cannot be comprehended by reason, but only by the pure soul that longs for this knowledge. Pythagoras held that the best way for a man to raise his soul is to relinquish vanity, abusive power, hypocrisy, envy, and any other material desire; once freed from them, the soul will be worthy of entering the spiritual world and reach the essential divine knowledge that it covets. [He believed that] the pleasures longed for by the soul come by themselves without restriction, such as the melodies that are perceived through the sense of hearing, without any need to seek them. Pythagoras composed notable works on arithmetic, music and other disciplines – these are Ṣā'id's words.⁴

[4.3.2]

Other scholars⁵ claim that Pythagoras sought to travel to avoid murderers and their victims,⁶ that he ordered people to purify the senses, taught them to act with justice and practise all the virtues, to keep away from error, and to study what [nature] has given men in order to learn about the nature of everything.⁷ He admonished [his disciples] to love one another and to instruct themselves by engaging in the discussion of elevated matters, to oppose sin, to protect and edify the soul for its struggles, to fast regularly, and to sit in their chairs and read books continually. He ordained that men should teach men, and women women; and urged them to excel in eloquence and learn how to admonish kings.

Pythagoras used to say that the immortality of the soul and its existence in the afterlife depended on rewards or punishments according to the divine sages.

3 For this passage see also *Ṣiwān*, 5.

4 Cf. Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 22; this passage occurs verbatim also in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 258–259.

5 The source for the following words is Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 52; this author is credited below for a different quotation.

6 Lit. 'contact with the killer and the killed' (*mumāssat al-qātīl wa-l-maqtūl*).

7 According to Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, the philosopher believed that all enquiries should begin by studying the science of men, i.e. physiognomy, which is the basis for knowing the nature of everything, see Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 13.

When⁸ he was in charge of the temples and became the chief-priest, he abstained from eating anything other than food that would prevent hunger and thirst.⁹ He used to prepare meals to satisfy hunger using poppy seeds, sesame, peeled squill – very well washed until its fibres stood out clearly,¹⁰ mallow leaves,¹¹ asphodel, barley flour,¹² chickpeas, and barley; he would take a portion of each cut up into many pieces, then crush them and make a paste with a kind of honey named ‘Hymettus’.¹³ The drinks to satisfy thirst were made with cucumber seeds, plump seedless raisins, coriander flowers, mallow and *asūfā*¹⁴ seeds, purslane,¹⁵ a kind of bread¹⁶ named *f-y-l-s-t-ā-m-ū-s*,¹⁷ and fine flower;¹⁸ he would mix all these ingredients with *hābūq* honey.¹⁹ According to Pythagoras, Heracles learnt these two recipes from Demeter when he took refuge in waterless Libya.

Pythagoras lived a well-balanced life and it was not the case that he was sometimes well and sometimes ill or sometimes thin and sometimes fat. He possessed a pleasant personality, not given to excessive joy or grief, and never

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- 8 The following passage corresponds to Porphyry’s *Life* §34 Des Places, used for the first time here.
- 9 The expressions used in the Arabic translation are ‘hunger-free’ (*ghayr mujawwī‘ah*), a literal rendition of the Greek ἄλιμος; and ‘thirst-free’ (*ghayr mu‘attīshah*) as a rendering of ἄδιψος. Cf. also Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 52.
- 10 The Greek reads ‘until it loses its juice’. The manuscripts of IAU have different renderings but the correct word is *fatl*, vegetal filaments or leaves.
- 11 The Arabic reads *anthārīqūn*, i.e. ἀνθερικῶν.
- 12 The Arabic reads *alfītūn*, i.e. ἀλίτων.
- 13 The Arabic reads *l-m-y-t-y-r*, a transliteration of Hymettus. According to Rufus, the honey collected from this mountain was considered the best in Attica, see Daremberg & Ruelle, *Rufus*, 297.
- 14 MS B has *asūfā*, also al-Shahrazūrī, and Cottrell suggests hyssop (ὑσσώπος) seeds, see Cottrell, ‘Pythagoras’, 491; the rest of the text follows the Greek closely, which here gives μαλάχης ὁμοίως σπέρματος as transmitted.
- 15 The Arabic reads *a-n-d-r-ā-kh-n-n*, from ἀνδράχνη.
- 16 The Greek has ‘cheese’. As Cottrell points out, the Arabic is the result of a scribal mistake: *khubz* for *jubn*, see Cottrell, ‘Pythagoras’, 491–492.
- 17 The origin of this word is unclear. It might be a transliteration of the very rare word ἀπαλόστομος (‘delicate in the mouth’), which is not however in the text of Porphyry but may have replaced the difficult κνήστεως. Another possibility is a faulty transcription of the Greek κνήστεως, derived from *q-y-ā-s-t-ā-(m)-w-s* – the *lām* and the *mīm* could have easily been confused with *alif* and *yā*’.
- 18 The Arabic reads: *daqīq ‘w-ā-w-l-y-s* (a faulty transcription of the Greek πάλης?).
- 19 The Arabic reads *‘asal hānūq* where the Greek has μέλιτι νησιωτικῶ. *Hābūq* could be a deformation of *nēsīōtikōs* or *nēsos* but also a deformed place name.

seen laughing or crying.²⁰ He always gave precedence to his friends, that is why he is considered to be the first to say ‘The wealth of the friends is collective and undivided’.²¹

Pythagoras preserved the health of the healthy and healed both the bodies of the sick and their tormented souls, sometimes with supplications, sometimes with divine melodies with which he alleviated the pains of the body. He commanded the protection of all bonds, not only deposits, but also true words deposited with us and sincerity in promises.²²

[4:3:3]

In the first section of his *Book of the History of Philosophers, their Stories and Opinions* (*K. Akhbār al-falāsifah wa-qīṣāṣihim wa-ārā’ihim*),²³ Porphyry reports wonderful stories about Pythagoras’ responsibilities as a priest and about his revelations of arcane knowledge, either heard directly from him or reported by witnesses:²⁴

Pythagoras used to convey his knowledge using symbolic language to keep it secret. Examples of his use of riddles are: ‘Do not step over the balance’, meaning: ‘Avoid excess’; and: ‘Do not stir the fire with a knife, if it is already hot’. This meant: ‘Do not use offensive words when someone is already angered’. And: ‘Do not sit on a bushel’²⁵ which means ‘Do not live idly’; and: ‘Do not walk by the dens of the lions’, which means: ‘Do not follow the ideas of the rebellious’; and: ‘Swallows do not live in houses’, which means ‘Do not be like those arrogant and garrulous men who cannot control their own tongues’. And also: ‘Help the carrier to transport his burden, not to lay it down’, which means ‘No one should neglect his own duties concerning virtue and obedience’.²⁶ And also: ‘Do not wear ringstones with images of angels’;²⁷ which means ‘Do not reveal your religion nor disclose divine secrets to the ignorant’.

20 Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 35 ends here.

21 This last passage about Pythagoras’ love for his friends, which corresponds to the beginning of Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 33, is in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Mukhtār*, 52–53.

22 This last sentence is not in the extant Greek text.

23 The Arabic title of Porphyry’s work.

24 What follows is a selection of the aphorisms contained in the Greek text, with the exception of the saying about the dens of the lions, which is not present; see Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 42.

25 The Arabic reads *qafiz* (a dry measure of variable value) for Greek $\chi\omicron\nu\iota\xi$, a unit of dry capacity of just over a litre.

26 The Greek has ‘do not associate with anyone out of indolence, but from virtue’.

27 Arabic *malā’ikah* translates Greek $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$.

[4.3.4.1]

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik says:²⁸

Pythagoras' father, Mnesarchus, was originally from Tyre. Pythagoras had two siblings: the elder was named Eunostus, the other Tyrrhenus. His mother, Pythais, was the daughter of a man from Samos named Ancaeus.²⁹

The inhabitants of the islands of Lemnos, Imros and Scyros conquered Tyre.³⁰ They established themselves in that land and expelled its native dwellers. Pythagoras' father, who was expelled with them, lived by a lake before travelling to Samos seeking to make a living. Once settled in Samos, he became an honoured man. He once travelled to Italy with his son Pythagoras for pleasure, because it was a very fine place to visit and extremely fertile, and it is said that Pythagoras returned to live there owing to the good impression left by that first visit.

When Mnesarchus was expelled from Tyre he settled in Samos with his three sons, Eunostus, Thyrrhenus and Pythagoras.³¹ The governor of Samos, Androcles, took Pythagoras under his care and supported him because he was the youngest of all siblings. From an early age, he was educated in literature, language and music. When he reached adolescence, he was sent to Miletus and entrusted to Anaximander the Wise, who taught him geometry, mensuration, and astronomy. Pythagoras' love for learning and philosophy increased after he mastered these two disciplines.³² He subsequently travelled to various lands in search for knowledge and met the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and other peoples. He joined their priests and learnt philosophy from them, and became proficient in the language of the Egyptians, with its three scripts: the script of the commoners, the script of the elites – which is the abbreviated script used by the priests – and the script of the kings.

While living in Heraclea,³³ Pythagoras was at the service of its king; in Babylon he joined the Chaldean nobles and studied with Zoroaster,³⁴ who

28 This is the beginning of a quotation that comprises Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 53–61.

29 Arabic 'n-ā-j-q-ā-y-w-s. This paragraph paraphrases Des Places, *Porphyre*, §§ 1–2.

30 The Arabic reads: *thalāth qabā'il l-y-m-w-n wa-y-m-q-r-w-n wa-s-q-w-r-w-n*, literally 'the three tribes Lemnos, Imros, Scyros', as if the names of the islands were peoples; the translation is adapted. In the Greek the Tyrrhenians colonize the three islands.

31 The following sentence begins a fairly close paraphrase of Des Places, *Porphyre*, §§ 10–12.

32 I.e. taking geometry and mensuration together.

33 The transmitted Greek (Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 12) has Arabia.

34 In the Arabic *Zārbātā* resting on the shortened Greek alternative form, *Ζαράτας*; cf. e.g.

instructed him in all that a righteous man needs to know, revealed to him the secrets of priesthood, and taught him the principles of all things.³⁵ Pythagoras' wisdom increased and he found a way to benefit the entire world and deliver it from error using the knowledge he had attained from every nation and land.

After³⁶ all these travels, he visited the wise Pherecydes of Syrus³⁷ at the beginning of his rule on the island of Delos.³⁸ Later, Pherecydes left the island to live on Samos, but there he was afflicted with a grave disease after his body became infested with lice. In view of the aggravation of his condition and the situation at his home, his students took him to Ephesus; and when his illness became more serious, they besought the Ephesians to give their permission to transfer him from the city. Pherecydes was then taken to Magnesia, where he was nursed until his death. He was buried there and his story written on his grave.

[4.3.4.2]

After studying with Pherecydes, Pythagoras returned to the city of Samos to learn from Hermodamas, the wondrous sage who was related to Creophylus.³⁹ There he also met Hermodamas, a wise-man related to Creophylus, and was associated with him for some time.⁴⁰ By then, Polycrates had become the tyrant of Samos and Pythagoras, who wished to join the priests in Egypt, asked for his intercession. The tyrant wrote a letter on

Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 1. 2. 12 'Pythagoras went to Zaratas the Chaldaean'. On Zoroaster and his alleged encounter with Pythagoras see Kingsley, 'Greek Origin'.

35 The paraphrase of Des Places, *Porphyre*, §§ 10–12 ends here.

36 Here begins a paraphrase of § 15 with the addition of the story of Pherecydes' death (resting on Greek legends, cf. e.g. Diogenes Laertius 1.117–122).

37 The Arabic reads *Fārāqūdhīs al-ḥakīm al-suryānī*, i.e. 'the Syrian'. Pherecydes of Syrus was an early cosmologist, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Pherecydes [1]' (L. Käppel), and Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros*, 11–13.

38 The Arabic reads *Dilūn min Sūriyah*, 'Delos in Syria'.

39 The Arabic in MS A reads: 'r-m-dh-ā-m-ā-n-y-ṭ-s (representing Ἑρμοδάμαντι). Hermodamas was a descendant of the Homeric Creophylus of Samos (the adjective Κρεοφυλείω is transcribed in ABGA as *f-r-ā-w-f-r-ā-n-w-'*); see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Hermodamas' (Ch. Riedweg). We translate following the Greek.

40 This passage repeats what the author stated in the previous sentence, but the transliteration of the names is different; Hermodamas is transcribed as 'r-m-w-d-ā-m-ā-n-y-s, and Κρεοφυλείω as 'f-r-w-f-w-l-y-m. Here ends the paraphrase of Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 15 and § 16 begins with some information from § 7.

his behalf to Amasis, the king of Egypt,⁴¹ in which he informed him of Pythagoras' wishes and told him that he was a righteous and blameless person; he asked the king to be magnanimous to Pythagoras and to grant his request. Amasis received him gladly and gave him a letter for the chief priests explaining his intentions.

Pythagoras arrived with the king's letter at Heliopolis,⁴² a city is nowadays known as 'Ayn Shams. He suffered a cold reception and had to undergo investigation for a while, but they could not find any fault or deficiency in him and he was finally sent to the priests of Memphis to be subjected to further evaluation. He was also received with antipathy there and put to the test, but they could not find any blame nor were able to raise any criticism, so he was sent to the people of Diospolis⁴³ to be tested there, and they could not find any way to reject him either, owing to the personal interest that their king had shown in him. Pythagoras was assigned demanding tasks, different from those carried out among the Greeks, in the hope that he would not accept them and thus they could disapprove him and turn down his petition but, to their great amazement, he accepted and performed these tasks diligently. News about his piety spread all over Egypt and reached king Amasis, who put Pythagoras in charge of sacrificing animals to God and of the rest of their religious offerings too, a responsibility that had never been entrusted to any foreigner.⁴⁴ Then Pythagoras left Egypt and went back to his land where a school was built for him in the city of his ancestors. Those in Samos willing to learn would come to meet him in a cave⁴⁵ prepared for him outside the city and arranged as a special gathering place for his teachings. He used to retire there most of the time with a few of his friends.

When Pythagoras reached the forty years of age, they were still living under the tyranny of Polycrates,⁴⁶ who had wanted Pythagoras to succeed him for a long time.⁴⁷ But Pythagoras had enough of it, and after some reflection concluded that it was not good for a tolerant wise man like him

41 Amasis (or Amosis) II was the 5th ruler of the 26th dynasty (570–526 BC).

42 The Arabic has a literal translation of Heliopolis: *madīnat al-shams* (city of the sun).

43 The Arabic reads: *d-y-w-s-b-w-l-s*.

44 Here begins Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 9.

45 The Arabic reads: *'-n-t-r-w-n*, which is a transcription of the Greek word ἄντρον.

46 Polycrates was the Tyrant of Samos during 540–522, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Polycrates [1]' (J. Cobet).

47 The Arabic – most likely corrupted – differs considerably from the Greek's 'seeing that Polycrates' tyranny had become too harsh for it to be decent for a free man to bear its despotic control ...'; see Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 11.

to endure tyranny, authoritarian rule and injustice. He decided to move to Italy and there⁴⁸ he travelled to Croton. When the people of that city met Pythagoras and saw his pleasant appearance, his eloquence, nobility, and breadth of knowledge, the virtue with which he conducted his life despite his great fortune, and the perfection and wealth of all his qualities, they yielded themselves to his intellectual leadership. He compelled them to protect their elders,⁴⁹ he guided their souls and exhorted them to do good. He ordered the archons to compose instructive books for the youth and to teach them. Thus men and women came together to listen to his exhortations and benefit from his wisdom.⁵⁰ The reputation of Pythagoras and his status grew among them, and many people from that city became experts in learning. His fame spread in such a way that many barbarian kings came to listen to his wisdom and benefit from his knowledge.⁵¹

Pythagoras also paid visits to the towns of Italy and Sicily. Injustice and rebellion had taken hold of them, but when the people of Croton and other cities⁵² listened to Pythagoras, they acknowledged the truth of his words, the dissension that had existed among them and their descendants for a long time was brought to an end, since Pythagoras' eloquence would turn people away from any misdeed. Simichus, the tyrant of Centuripae,⁵³ on hearing Pythagoras' wise words and exhortations, abdicated and gave part of his wealth to his brother⁵⁴ and part to the people of his city.⁵⁵

[4.3.4.3]

It is also said that Theano,⁵⁶ whose family descended from Crete⁵⁷ and who was king of Pytho, was kin of Pythagoras.⁵⁸ Pythagoras had a daugh-

48 At this point the narration moves to Des Places, *Porphyre*, §18.

49 The Arabic reads: *wa-alzamahum 'iṣmat al-quḍamā'*. The Greek text has: 'he won the favour (ἐψυχᾶ γώγησε) of the council of the elders', see Des Places, *Porphyre*, §18.

50 End of Des Places, *Porphyre*, §18 and beginning of §19.

51 End of Des Places, *Porphyre*, §19 and beginning of §21.

52 Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik states: 'from Croton, Syracuse, Agrigento, Rome, Taormina, and other cities', see *Mukhtār*, 58.

53 Centuripae is a Sicilian town by Mt Etna. Simichus is known only from Porphyry (resting on Aristoxenus of Tarentum, the pupil of Aristotle).

54 Sister in the Greek.

55 Here ends Des Places, *Porphyre*, §21.

56 Arabic *b-ā-n-w-s*.

57 The Arabic here (*f-r-m-s*) is deformed; cf. Suda θ 84 Κρήσσα.

58 Theano was Pythagoras' wife according to the major tradition and credited with various pseudonymous texts; see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Theano [3]' (M. Frede). Theano becomes

ter who settled in Croton; she instructed the virgins of the city in the religious laws and duties, and the precepts concerning what was lawful or unlawful. His wife also used to instruct the other women. When he died, the devout Demetrius took care of the wise man's house and turned it into a temple for the people of Croton.

It is said that Pythagoras was a young man during the time of Cyrus.⁵⁹ Cyrus' reign lasted thirty years and Pythagoras was still alive when he was succeeded by his son Cambyses.⁶⁰ It is also said that he remained in Samos sixty years; then he moved to Italy and then went to Croton, where he lived for five years until his death.⁶¹

Pythagoras' diet consisted of honey and clarified butter for lunch and millet-bread⁶² and raw or cooked legumes for dinner; he would not eat meat, except that of the sacrificial victims that were offered up to God Almighty. When he became the chief-priest of the temples he began to eat food that would relieve him from hunger and thirst.⁶³ When someone arrived to listen to him he used to address them in two different ways, either teaching and demonstrating arguments, or giving advice and guidance. His teachings took both of these different forms.⁶⁴

Once he had the need to travel to various places, and before leaving he wished to meet only his closest friends. He gathered them in the house of someone called Milon and while they were there, a man from Croton named Cylon entered without permission. He was a man of noble rank and enormous wealth and very arrogant about it, insolent towards the people, and inclined to injustice. He accosted Pythagoras and began to praise himself, but Pythagoras rejected him in front of all the others and admonished him to work for the salvation of his soul. Cylon broke up in anger against them;⁶⁵ he gathered his friends, reviled Pythagoras in front of them accusing him of being an apostate, and he agreed with them to murder him and his friends. When they attacked them, forty of

a man in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik and IAU. Her father, Pythōnax, apparently becomes an imaginary place name (as if Πυθώννακτος was divided as *Πύθωνος ἀνακτος, 'lord of Pytho').

59 Cyrus (r. ca. 559–530) was the founder of the Persian Empire.

60 Cambyses r. 530–522.

61 The following passages correspond to Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 34.

62 The Arabic reads: *q-ā-kh-j-r-w-n*, a transcription of the Greek κέγχρος.

63 See above, section 2. End of Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 34; the next sentence is a very loose paraphrase of the end of § 36.

64 Beginning of a paraphrase of Des Places, *Porphyre*, §§ 54–55.

65 Beginning of Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 55.

Pythagoras' companions were killed. The rest of them fled, some were seized and killed, some were able to escape and remained in hiding while the calumnies and persecution continued. Since they feared for the life of Pythagoras, a group among them was selected and they did all in their power to slip Pythagoras out of that town during the night.⁶⁶ Some of them accompanied him to Caulonia,⁶⁷ and from there he fled to Locris. When the calumnies against Pythagoras reached the ears of the people of that city, the elders of the town went to see him and told him, 'O Pythagoras, for what we have seen, you are a wise man; but the calumnies cast against you are extremely grave. We have not found in our laws (*nawāmīs*) anything to condemn you to death and, since we are law-abiding people, you will receive from us the due hospitality and provisions for your travel. But leave our land if you want to be safe'.

Pythagoras left their town and went to Tarentum but to his surprise he met there a group of people from Croton who almost killed him and his friends. Then he moved to Metapontum but disturbances due to his presence were so frequent that this period was remembered by the people of this town for many years. Then he fled to the Temple of *al-Asnān*⁶⁸ known as the Temple of the Muses.⁶⁹ Pythagoras and his friends found protection there and stayed in the temple forty days. They were not forced to flee, but the temple was set on fire. When the friends of Pythagoras noticed, they ran to him, surrounded Pythagoras and kept him in the middle of the group so that their own bodies would protect him against the fire. As the fire spread in the temple and its flames grew, Pythagoras was seized by the pains of the burning heat and fell dead. The catastrophe affected the whole group and every single one of them perished in the fire. Such was the cause of Pythagoras' death.

It is said that he composed around two-hundred and eighty books and left numerous disciples behind him. The inscription on his ring stone

66 End of Des Places, *Porphyre*, § 55 and beginning of § 56.

67 Caulonia was originally an Achaean colony that came under the rule of Croton. It is located in the eastern coast of Bruttium, today's Calabria.

68 The Arabic reads *haykal al-asnān*. *Asnān* might be the plural of *sinn* (tooth, spear-head), which is an unlikely name for the temple; or of *sinn* (age). The most usual Arabic term to translate Muses is *malā'ikah* (angels), also *ilāhāt* (goddesses); these are very common words and it is unlikely that they might have been confused for *asnān*. A third possible and rather odd translation occurs in the Arabic version of Plato's *Laws* as quoted by al-Bīrūnī: *sakīnāt* (al-Bīrūnī, *Fī taḥqīq mā bāqīya li-l-Hind*, 26), which might possibly lie behind *asnān*. A place name is also possible.

69 The Arabic reads *m-w-s-s*, a transliteration of *μουσῶν*.

read: 'Evil that does not last is better than good that does not last', which means that it is better to expect the end of evil than to expect the end of good. One of his most eloquent sayings states that, 'Silence delivers from regret'.⁷⁰

[4.3.5]

I copy here some of Pythagoras' instructive sayings and pieces of advice from the *Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings* (*K. Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalīm*) of the Emir Muḥammad al-Dawlah Abū l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik.

Pythagoras said:⁷¹

1. God – may He be praised – is the origin of our existence and creation. Thus our souls ought to return to Him, the Almighty.
2. Reflection is especially suited to God, because the love of reflection is bound to the love of God. Whoever loves God – may He be exalted – inspires love for Him with his actions. In so doing he becomes closer to God, and those who are close to God are saved and succeed.
3. Sacrifices and other oblations do not suffice to honour God, may His Name be praised; faith is what He deserves, and the kind of honour with which He is content.
4. Constant talk about God – may He be exalted – proves a man's incapacity to know Him.
5. How useful are the discussions about precious and important matters! But if someone cannot take part in them, let him listen to those who do.
6. Beware of being involved in anything reprehensible, alone or in company; and be more ashamed of yourself than of anyone else.
7. Earn money by rightful means and spend it accordingly.⁷²
8. If you hear a lie let your soul bear it with patience.
9. Do not neglect the health of your body; you ought to eat, drink, practice sex and exercise with moderation.⁷³
10. Do not be excessively liberal if you are in the position of someone who does not possess the best, nor avaricious to the extent of losing your freedom. The most excellent thing in all cases is to act with moderation.

⁷⁰ Here ends the quotation from al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik.

⁷¹ Some of these sayings can be found in the Arabic version of Hippocrates' *Golden Verses* (*Χρυσὰ Ἐπιγῆ*), which circulated in varied versions and was quoted by numerous authors; see Rosenthal, 'Pythagorean Documents' (I and II).

⁷² Cf. this saying also in Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, *Ādāb*, 117.

⁷³ Cf. this saying also in Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, *Ādāb*, 117.

11. Be fully awake when you think at all times in your life, because the slumber of thought shares the nature of death.
12. Be aware that things you ought to avoid might befall you.
13. Do not defile your tongue with calumnies, nor expose your ears to them.
14. It is difficult for men to be free when the force of habit drags them towards reprehensible and sinful actions.
15. Do not crave worldly goods or lofty buildings: men die, but after their owner's death these goods will remain so far as their natures allow. Seek instead all that can be enjoyed and will benefit you after the [final] departure.
16. The impression left by embellishments and counterfeits does not last long.
17. Believe that God's fear is based on compassion.
18. Whenever you seek to do something begin by praying to your Lord for success.
19. If you know a man personally and you find that he is not good enough to be a righteous and loyal friend, beware of making him your enemy.
20. It is better for a man not to err, but if he errs nothing would help him more than acknowledging his mistake and resolving not to repeat it.
21. Nothing is more righteous for a man than doing what he has to do and not what he wants to do.
22. You should know the right moment to speak and the right moment to remain silent.
23. A free man does not let the tiniest part of his soul to go to waste on material pleasures.
24. You learn in the measure you seek, and you seek in the measure you learn.
25. Nothing prevents a wise man from losing his temper, but if anger seizes you let it be in a measured way.
26. A wise man is not one who lets himself be burdened to the full extent of his strength and carries this burden patiently; the true wise man lets himself be burdened with more than nature allows him to bear and is still patient.
27. The world is an abode which at one time is for you and another time against you; if you are in control, act properly, if you are controlled, yield yourself.
28. Most disasters befall animals because they cannot speak and humans because they can.
29. The man who abstains from four things will keep reproof away from him and from others; the four are: haste, stubbornness, vanity and negligence. Because the fruit of haste is regret, stubbornness bears perplexity, vanity hate, and negligence contemptibleness.

30. Pythagoras once saw a man wearing splendid clothes who suffered from a speech impediment and told him, 'Either use a language that matches the quality of your clothes or wear clothes that match your language'.
31. He said to his students, 'Do not seek anything that satisfies your desire, but desire what is desirable by itself'.
32. If adversity befalls you, be patient and instead of complaining, and spare no effort to find a remedy.
33. Thinking before acting.
34. Many enemies mean little peace.
35. Pythagoras used to sit in his chair and offer seven pieces of advice: set up balances and know their weights; avoid mistakes and you will always be blameless; do not kindle a fire where you see a knife that cuts;⁷⁴ restrain your passions and you will preserve your health; act righteously and you will be surrounded by love; manage your time as if you were someone who might be appointed to govern and then dismissed; do not accustom your bodies and souls to an easy life or you will lose them if you have to endure hard times.
36. Pythagoras was once praised for having money and said, 'I do not have any need of that which fate gives, miserliness preserves and generosity destroys'.
37. Once he said to an old man who wanted to learn and was ashamed to be seen as a student, 'Are you ashamed of being better at the end of your life than at the beginning?'
38. The worst thing for your enemy is for him not to realize you consider him an enemy.
39. When death struck Pythagoras' wife in a foreign land, his friends offered their condolences for her death, lamenting the fact of her dying abroad, but he said, 'O friends! There is no difference between dying at home or abroad, for the path to the next world is the same from every land'.
40. He was once asked, 'What are the most pleasant things?'; and he replied, 'All things that men desire'.
41. The friend of God Almighty is the one who does not abandon himself to his impure thoughts.

74 Cf. above Ch. 4.3.3.

[4.3.6.1]

I have also copied the following passages from Porphyry's *Book of the History of Philosophers, their Stories and Opinions* (*K. Akhbār al-falāsifah wa-qīṣāṣihim wa-ārā'ihim*):⁷⁵

There are eighty books by Pythagoras the Wise, the collection of which we owe to Archytas, the philosopher of Tarentum. Those that he gathered, assembled and collected with all his efforts from the disciples of Pythagoras the philosopher, who belonged to his faction and school and were the heirs of his knowledge, man by man, amount to two hundred in number. Archytas, who was distinguished for his clear intellect, put aside and segregated from these the books written in the style and name of Pythagoras that had been fabricated by dishonest men. These are:

1. *Intimate Prayers* (*K. al-Munājāt*).
2. *Description of Vile Occupations* (*K. waṣf al-miḥan al-sayyī'ah*).
3. *Art of Trickery* (*K. 'Ilm al-makhārīq*).
4. *Rules for Arranging Drinking Parties* (*K. Aḥkām taṣwīr majālis al-khumūr*).
5. *On Constructing Drums, Cymbals and String Instruments* (*K. Tahyī'at al-ṭubūl wa-l-ṣunūj wa-l-ma'āzīf*).
6. *Priestly Homilies* (*K. al-Mayāmīr al-kahnūtiyyah*).⁷⁶
7. *On Sowing Crops* (*K. Badhr al-zurū'*).
8. *On Instruments* (*K. al-Ālāt*).
9. *Book of Poems* (*K. al-Qaṣā'id*).
10. *On the Creation of the World* (*K. Takwīn al-'ālam*).
11. *On Favours* (*K. al-Ayādī*).⁷⁷
12. *On Virtue* (*K. al-Murū'ah*).

There are also many other books similar to these with fabricated sayings [attributed to Pythagoras], may he enjoy eternal joy.

⁷⁵ I.e. the *History of Philosophy*. This section on Archytas has been translated in Huffman, *Archytas*, 616–617. It has not been transmitted in Greek.

⁷⁶ This might correspond to the Ps.-Pythagoras *Sacred Discourse* (*Hieros Logos*), see Centrone in Huffman, *Pythagoreanism*, 318. On the use of the Syriac word *mayāmīr*, above Ch. 4.2 title no. 2, footnote 7.

⁷⁷ Not 'On Hands' (Huffman), since this form of the plural of the wide-ranging *yad*, 'hand', bears the figurative meaning given here.

[4.3.6.2]

Porphyry continues:

The dishonest men who fabricated the aforementioned false books were, according to the reports that have come down to us, Aristippus the Younger,⁷⁸ Nicus,⁷⁹ nicknamed the 'One-eyed', a Cretan named Conius⁸⁰ Megillus,⁸¹ and *F-w-ḥ-ḥ-w-ā-q-ā*,⁸² and others even more unscrupulous. What drove them to fabricate these false books and ascribe them to the philosopher Pythagoras was their desire to be well received among the more recent scholars because of him, and to be honoured and influential, and become a model for them.

Those books of Pythagoras that are undoubtedly authentic come to two hundred and eighty. They fell into oblivion until a group of determined and pious wise men appeared. They sought, gathered and compiled these books, which had passed unnoticed in Hellas⁸³ because they had been kept in Italy.

Plutarch says that Pythagoras was the first to use the term 'philosophy'. Some of the books of Pythagoras that he found were:⁸⁴

13. *Arithmetic* (K. *al-Arithmāṭiqā*).
14. *On Surfaces* (K. *al-Altawāḥ*).
15. *On Sleep and Wakefulness* (K. *Fī l-nawm wa-l-yaqazah*).
16. *The Quality of the Soul and the Body* (K. *Fī kayfiyyat al-naḥs wa-l-jasad*).⁸⁵

78 Aristippus the Younger was the grandson of Aristippus the Elder, the student of Socrates and founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Aristippus [3]' (K. Döring).

79 The Arabic reads: *n-q-w-s*; there is no obvious *μονόφθαλμος* whose name ends in *-νικος*.

80 The Arabic reads: *q-w-n-y-w-s*. Cottrell suggests Cleinias owing to his association with Megillus, see 'Pythagoras', 505.

81 The Arabic reads: *m-ā-gh-y-ā-l-w-s*.

82 The Arabic ductus might support a conjectural reading of this name as a deformation of *f-r-kh-t-w-n-ā*, Perictione (Περικτιόνη). Perictione was the pen-name of one of the authors who wrote in the style of Pythagoras, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Perictione' (M. Frede).

83 The Arabic reads *'l-ā-dh-ā*, pointing to a Syriac intermediary of the translation of Porphyry.

84 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:153, which gives four titles: the *Golden Epistle* (with the same explanation), the *Epistle on Intellectual Leadership*, the *Epistle to the Tyrant of Sicily*, and the *Epistle to S-y-f-ā-n-s on Inferring Meaning*. For all remains attested in antiquity see Thesleff, *Pythagorean Texts*; and van der Waerden, art. 'Die Schriften und Fragmente des Pythagoras', *RE Suppl.* 10 (1965) 843–864.

85 This might correspond to Ps.-Timaeus *On the Nature of the World and the Soul*, see Centre in Huffman, *Pythagoreanism*, 319.

17. *Epistle to the Tyrant of Sicily* (*R. Ilā mutamarriḍ Siqilliyah*).⁸⁶
18. *Golden Epistle* (*al-Risālah al-Dhahabiyyah*), which bore that name because Galen copied it in gold to glorify it and indicate the value it had for him, and he would read and study the epistle every day.⁸⁷
19. *Epistle to S-q-ā-y-s on Inferring Meaning* (*R. Ilā S-q-ā-y-s fī istikhrāj al-maʿānī*).
20. *Epistle on Intellectual Leadership* (*R. Fī l-siyāsah al-ʿaqliyyah*) – all these epistles were accompanied by a commentary of Iamblichus.
21. *Epistle to M-y-d-w-s-y-w-s* (*R. Ilā M-y-d-w-s-y-w-s*).⁸⁸

4.4 Socrates¹

[4.4.1]

The Qāḍī Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī says in his *Book on the Categories of the Nations* (*K. Ṭabaqāt al-umam*):²

Socrates was one of the students of Pythagoras. In philosophy, he focused on metaphysics.³ He shunned and rejected material pleasures, and spoke openly against the Greek custom of worshipping idols. When he disputed with their leaders, Socrates used clear arguments and proofs, but they roused the masses against him and compelled their ruler to kill him. The king had him imprisoned and ordered that he be given poison to appease the people and keep himself safe from the threat [of the popu-

86 Cf. the speech addressed to the famous Sicilian tyrant Phalaris, in Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life* 218–220.

87 On this work see Thom, *Golden Verses*. The *Golden Epistle* ascribed to Pythagoras enjoyed great fame in the Islamic world and was object of several commentaries, on this tradition see EI² art. ‘Fīthāghūras’ (Rosenthal). For an edition of some of the Arabic versions see: Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ādāb*, 116–119; *Ṣiwān*, 31–34; and *Waṣīyyat Fīthāghūras al-dhahabiyyah*, in Cheikho, *Traitéés inédits*, 59–63.

88 Taking into consideration the Arabic *ductus*, a highly conjectural reading could be *F-y-r-w-s-d-s*, for Pherecydes, the teacher of Pythagoras, who is transcribed as *F-ā-r-ā-q-w-dh-y-s* above; see Ch. 4.3.4.1.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the text. For an account of the figure of Socrates in Arabic sources see Alon, *Socrates in Mediaeval Arabic Literature*, and Alon, *Socrates Arabus*.

2 Cf. Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 23, (Bū ‘Alwān), 75; and al-Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, ed. Khūrshīd, 119.

3 In Arabic, *al-ʿulūm al-ilāhiyyah*.

lace]; this happened after discussions [between Socrates and] the king, which have been preserved. Socrates left behind noble counsels, excellent moral instruction, famous wise sayings, and doctrines on the divine attributes that are similar to those of Pythagoras and Empedocles. His opinions on the Hereafter, however, are deficient, fall beyond the boundaries of pure philosophy, and deviate from the correct doctrines.

[4.4.2.1]

The Emir al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik in *The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings* (*Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*) says:⁴

The name Socrates means in Greek ‘maintaining justice.’⁵ Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, was born and raised in Athens. He lived there and left behind three sons. It was customary among them to marry the most excellent women so that their virtues would be passed on to their progeny. Socrates, however, sought to marry a stupid woman whose impudence had no parallel in that town; and so, by habituating himself to her stupidity and patiently bearing with her bad nature, he was able to endure the ignorance of both commoners and elites.

Socrates’ unmeasured reverence for wisdom hurt those who sought knowledge after him because he considered it too noble to be confided to leaves and scrolls. Thus his saying, ‘Knowledge is something pure and holy, not corrupt or vile; we ought not to write it down, but to treasure it in our living souls, away from the skins of dead animals, and protected from the hearts of the insolent’. He never wrote a single book nor did he dictate anything for his pupils to record in a notebook.

Rather, Socrates instructed them orally, as he had learned from his teacher Timotheus.⁶ When he once asked as a young boy, ‘Why don’t you let me write down the wisdom I am hearing from you?’; Timotheus replied, ‘How can you trust in the skins of dead animals and reject the thoughts of living minds? Imagine that a man meets you in the street and poses a question to you. Would it be proper for you to return to your home with him in order to look for the answer in your books? That would not be right – so exercise your memory’. And Socrates applied himself to this.

4 Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 82–91; and al-Shahrazūri, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, ed. Khūrshīd, 119–131.

5 The name (based on the roots of the Greek words σωφης ‘safe/sound’ and κράτος ‘power/force’) suggests ‘strong in safety/certainty/integrity’.

6 In Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 83; Timaeus. This figure is unidentified.

Socrates abstained from worldly things, which he held in little regard. It was customary for the Greek kings to take wise counsellors with them when going into battle. On one occasion, the king took Socrates with him when he travelled to attend some business of his. In the army camp, Socrates found protection from the cold in a broken amphora, where he accommodated himself. When the sun was up, he would come out and sit on top of the amphora to enjoy the sun's warmth, and this is why he is called 'Socrates of the barrel'.⁷ On one occasion when the king walked past and found him inside the amphora, he stopped in front of him and said, 'Why do we not see you, Socrates? Why are you avoiding us?' And he replied, 'I am busy, O King'. 'With what?' asked the king. Socrates replied, 'With that which sustains life'. To which the king said, 'Then come with us, and you will always find [this sustenance] at your disposal!' And he said, 'If I knew, O King, that this is what I would find with you, I would not refrain from taking it'. The king said, 'As I have heard, you claim that worshipping idols is wrong'. Socrates replied, 'I said no such thing'. The king asked, 'What did you say then?' And Socrates replied, 'I only said that worshipping idols is useful for the king but harmful to Socrates. For this worship serves the king to foster the welfare of his subjects and exact his taxes, but Socrates knows that idols would not do any good or harm to him, for he believes in a creator who sustains him, and who will requite his bad and good deeds'.⁸

The king asked, 'Is there anything you need then?' And Socrates answered, 'Yes, take the reins of your mounts and turn them away from me, because your soldiers are obstructing the light of sun'.

7 This episode is the result of a confusion between Socrates and Diogenes, and the famous encounter of the Cynic philosopher with Alexander the Great. The story of Socrates and the barrel (*ḥubb*) has survived in different sources. Ibn al-Qifṭī glosses the name Socrates of the Barrel explaining that he received that nickname because he used to live in a barrel (*ḥubb*), which is in fact a wine amphora (*dann*), see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 197–198. The term used by IAU is *zīr maksūr* (broken amphora). In al-Shahrazūri, the container is referred to as *ḥubb*, see *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, ed. Khūrshīd 120–121. This barrel was taken by al-Shahrastānī as an allegorical reference to the human body, see *al-Milal wa-l-nihal*, ii:143. The same story has also been related about Plato, who becomes an ascetic philosopher in al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, 570.

8 The meaning of this answer to the king is clearer in a version of this anecdote transmitted by al-Kindī, in which Socrates states, 'Because he who truly knows God, and [who knows] what satisfies Him, needs nothing to deter him from doing evil and to frighten him from it, and that is accomplished through his commitment to duties. Others need the fear of invented idols to deter them from evil'; see Alon, *Socrates in Mediaeval Arabic Literature*, 60.

Later, the king ordered him to be presented with a splendid ceremonial mantel of silk brocade and similar fabrics, embroidered with precious stones, and with a great sum of money. But Socrates said, 'O King, you promised to give me that which sustains life, but you brought instead things that will sustain death. Socrates has no need of stones from the earth, dry fibres of plants, or spittle of worms. That which Socrates needs is always with him wherever he goes'.

[4.4.2.2]

Socrates used to speak in symbolic language in the same way as Pythagoras. Some of his symbolic sayings are:

1. When I search for the cause of life, I find death, and precisely when I find death I know how I have to live'. This means that whoever wants to live a godly life must mortify his body in respect of all sensual acts in so far as he has been endowed with strength, and only then will he be ready to live the true life.
2. Speak at night where there are no bats' nests, which means: you ought to be in dialogue with your soul in moments of solitude when collecting your thoughts, and prevent your soul from concerning itself with material preoccupations.
3. Cover all five windows to shed light on a place of illness, which means: shut your five senses off from wandering in whatever is useless, in order to illuminate your soul.
4. Fill the vessel with perfume, which means: nurture your intellect with clarity, discernment and wisdom.
5. Empty the three parts of the basin of empty jugs, which means: free your heart of all the pains that result from the three faculties of the soul⁹ which are the root of all evil.
6. Do not eat black-tailed animals, which means: beware of sin.
7. Do not exceed the limits of the pan-scale, which means: do not transgress the limits of truth.
8. At the moment of death, do not be an ant, which means: do not hoard the treasures of the senses when you need to secure the salvation of your soul.

9 In Plato's *Phaedrus* Socrates divides the soul into three parts using the allegory of a pair of winged horses and a charioteer (*Phaedrus*, 246a), though it is not clear if he actually developed a tripartite conception of the soul. Plato's most detailed treatment of the tripartite soul occurs in the *Timaeus*, where it is divided into intellect (*logos*), spiritedness (*thumos*), and appetitiveness (*epithumia*).

9. One ought to know that there is no time of the year without spring, which means: nothing prevents you from acquiring virtue at any time.
10. Search for three paths, but if you do not find them, content yourself with sleeping like one who has drowned. This means: seek knowledge of material and immaterial things, and of that of immaterial nature that exists together with material things. But allow yourself to neglect that which is too difficult for you to know.
11. Nine is not more perfect than one, which means: the number ten is a compound number,¹⁰ being larger than nine, and the number nine is perfected becoming ten only by adding one. Similarly, the nine virtues are completed and perfected only through the fear, love, and observance of God, the Mighty and the Glorious.¹¹
12. Acquire twelve things with twelve things. Which means: acquire virtues through the twelve parts of the body whereby one attains piety or sin; they are: the eyes, the ears, the nostrils, the tongue, the hands, the legs, and the sexual organs. Also: acquire in twelve months the various laudable things that bring a man to perfection in this world in respect of his self-management and knowledge.
13. Sow with the black and harvest with the white, which means: sow with tears and reap with joy.
14. Do not raise the crown only to dishonour it, which means: do not shun virtuous customs, for they surround all nations just as the band of the crown surrounds the head.

[4.4.2.3]

When Socrates' contemporaries asked him about the cult of idols, he turned them away from this practice, proving the falsity of such devotion and condemning it. He commanded them to worship the Only God, the Eternal, the Maker and Creator of the world and all that is in it, to worship the Wise and Almighty rather than a sculpted stone that does not speak or hear or have any way of perceiving. He encouraged the people to be pious and righteous, he compelled them to do good and forbade them to engage in indecent and unlawful acts, because he trusted his contemporaries.

10 The term compound (*'aqd*) is used for any group of ten items, or in the case of numerals, 10–19, 20–21, etc.; cf. Dozy, *Supplément* s.v.

11 For the nine virtues, cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1366b, 'justice, courage, self-control, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, gentleness, practical and speculative wisdom' (δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, μεγαλοπρέπεια, μεγαλοψυχία, ἐλευθεριότητα, παράτης, φρόνησις, σοφία).

aries. But he did not seek to correct the way they conducted themselves completely, because he knew that they would not accept that from him.

When the most prominent priests and ministers of that time became aware of the meaning of his programme, and learnt that he advocated banishing idol worship and turning people away from idolatry, they bore testimony against him, claiming that these charges carried a mandatory death penalty. The eleven judges of Athens asked for his death and Socrates was given the poison called hemlock¹² because the king was displeased with the judges' request to kill Socrates, but he could not act against them, so he asked him to choose the way in which he wanted to die. He chose to die by poison, and the king accepted that.

Socrates' death was postponed for some months after he received his sentence.¹³ The reason is that the ship sent every year to the Temple of Apollo with customary offerings was detained due to strong winds. It was delayed several months, and it was a custom amongst them not to shed blood or cause death by any other method before the return to Athens of the ship sent to the temple. During that time Socrates received in prison the visits of his friends. On one of these visits, Crito, who was one of Socrates' friends, said, 'The ship will arrive tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. We are not sparing any effort, and will pay some people to take you out of prison secretly; then, we will go all together to Rome and will settle there where they cannot reach you'. Socrates replied, 'You are aware that I do not even possess four hundred dirhams'. Crito said, 'I did not say you had to pay; we know that you cannot afford what they have asked us to pay, but our money will cover that and further expenses. Helping to rescue you and end your suffering brings joy to our souls'.

But Socrates argued, 'O Crito, this town, which treats me in this way, is nonetheless my town and the town of my kin. You know the reason for my imprisonment here, and I am due to be executed. This penalty was not imposed upon me for something that deserves it, but rather for opposing injustice, contesting tyrannical acts, and speaking out against those who offend God by worshipping idols instead of Him, may He be

12 The Greek name *κώνειον* (transcribed *qūnīyūn*) was used by Dioscorides and other Greek writers to refer to hemlock (*conicum maculatum* L.). In Arabic literature, *shawkarān* was the usual term for hemlock, but there was often confusion with henbane (*Hyoscyamus albus* L. var. *niger* and related species), which was sometimes called *shawkarān* as well as *banj*. See Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 295–296 no. 175; Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 418–419; Maimonides, *On Poisons*, 27 (sect. 39), 59 (sect. 86).

13 The following is based loosely on the *Phaedo*.

exalted. Among them, this brought me the death penalty, but these ideas would go with me wherever I go. I will never give up fighting for the truth and denouncing falseness and those advocating it, wherever I am, and the people of Rome are even less pious in my eyes than the people of my own city. Since I would seek the truth and fight for it wherever I am, I would not be safe there either but rather in the same state in which I find myself now'.

Crito insisted, 'Think of your son and your family, and the dire state in which you will leave them'. But Socrates said, 'What they would find in Rome is no different, except that you are here, and it is less likely that they suffer penury in your company'.

When the third day arrived Socrates' pupils met him at sunrise as they used to do. The prison guard arrived and opened the door, the eleven judges arrived to meet him, stayed for a while, then left him alone and ordered the fetters to be removed from his feet. The guard came towards Socrates' pupils and let them meet him. They greeted him and took a seat. Socrates left his bed and sat on the floor, then he extended his legs, massaged and rubbed them, saying, 'How wondrous are the deeds of the divine providence that brings contraries together. There is rarely any pleasure that is not followed by pain, nor any pain not followed by pleasure'. This saying sparked a debate among them. Simmias and Phaedo asked something about the actions of the soul and the conversation among them continued until the topic of the soul was fully discussed with precise inquiry.

Socrates was in those moments, as was reported, in a state of joy, contentment and happiness; and they all were amazed by his sharpness, and the little importance he gave to death. Even in such a state, he did not refrain from enquiring about the truth, he did not lose his moral integrity and his soul was in the same state as when safe from death. But his disciples were downhearted and desolate on account of his impending departure. Simmias said, 'Seeking knowledge by asking you, when in this state, is very hard for us and an affront to our friendship. But if we refrain from seeking knowledge now we will greatly regret it tomorrow, when we will not find in the world any wise man to explain what we want'. And Socrates replied, 'O Simmias, do not refrain from asking whatever you want: your enquiry makes me happy; and there is no difference between my current state and any other, as far as my desire to seek the truth is concerned. I am going to lose friends and colleagues who are noble, praiseworthy and virtuous – and I was sincere and wholehearted when I said the words that you have just heard from me – but I am also going to meet

other friends who are noble, praiseworthy and virtuous, such as Achilles, Ajax and Hercules,¹⁴ and all other ancestors who stand out for their spiritual virtues’.

[4.4.2.4]

When the discussion on the soul was finished and they had learned what they desired, they asked him about the configuration of the universe, the movements of the spheres, and the composition of the elements. Socrates replied to all that. Then he told them many other stories about metaphysics and divine secrets, and once he had finished with that he said, ‘I think that now it is time for me to wash myself and pray while I can, lest we burden anyone with washing corpses. *Al-Irmāmānī*¹⁵ has already called and I am to go with Zeus; as for you, return to your families’. Then he stood up and entered the building to wash himself and pray. While waiting, they talked about the great calamity his loss would be; by losing Socrates they would lose a most excellent sage and a pious father, for his departure will leave them as orphans.

Then Socrates went out and called for his wife and sons – an elder son and two young children. He said goodbye, bade them his last farewell and let them go. Crito asked him, ‘What do you want us to do with your family and with other matters?’ And he replied, ‘I do not ask for anything other than what I have always expected from you: strive to perfect your souls. If you do that you will have made me happy and everyone related to me as well.’ Then he remained silent for a while and so did the rest. The servant of the eleven judges came and exclaimed, ‘Socrates, I see that you are a courageous man. You should know that it is not I but the eleven judges who are the cause of your death. I am compelled to obey their orders, but you are the most excellent man that has come to this place. Drink the poison willingly, and wait patiently for the unavoidable’. Then he went away, his eyes filled with tears. Socrates said, ‘I will do that. You are not to blame’. He remained silent for a moment, turned towards Crito and said, ‘Tell the man to bring me the lethal drink’. He asked a servant to fetch the prison guard. When called he came with the poison; Socrates took it from him and drank it. As soon as they saw he had drunk the poison

14 No reference to these heroes is made in the Greek version.

15 I.e. Fate. The Arabic *irmāmānī*, as Badawī points out (Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 89 n. 2) is a transcription of ἡ εἰμαρμένη. Cf. *Phaedo* 115a.

they broke in tears, sorrow pierced them in a way their souls had never experienced, and their weeping and crying rose. Socrates reproached and admonished them by saying, 'We let the women go precisely to be spared this'. Seized by shame, they resolved to obey him despite the inconsolable pain caused by such loss. Socrates proceeded to walk to-and-fro for a while, then he called the servant and told him, 'My legs are getting heavy'. The man told him to lie down and Socrates did so; then the servant began to touch his feet and to palpate them, and said, 'Do you feel my touch?' 'No' – he replied. Then he applied more pressure and asked whether he felt that. 'No' – he replied. Then he touched his legs and went on asking every now and then, and Socrates always replied, 'No'. Gradually, he started to feel cold, and this cold progressed until it reached his loins. The servant said, 'He will pass away when the cold reaches his heart'. And Crito exclaimed, 'O master of wisdom, I see that our minds and yours are parting, so give us your last will!'. Socrates said, 'You ought to do what I asked you before'. Socrates held Crito's hand and took it to his cheek. 'Let me know your wish', said Crito, but there was no answer. Socrates' gaze became fixed, and he said, 'I surrender my soul to the One who receives the souls of the wise'. So he died. Crito closed his eyes and his jaws. Plato was not with them because he was sick. It is said that Socrates left behind twelve thousand disciples among his students and their students.

[4.4.2.5]

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik also says:

Socrates was a man of pale skin, reddish hair and blue eyes. He was large-boned, with an ugly face, and narrow shoulders. His movements were slow, but he was quick in his answers. He had a dishevelled beard and was not particularly tall. When asked he would bow his head for a moment before answering with persuasive words. He was often alone, did not eat and drink but little, and often mused about death. He travelled little but exercised his body persistently, his clothes were humble but dignified, his speech eloquent and flawless. He died by poison when he was one hundred and some years.¹⁶

¹⁶ Here ends the full quotation from Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, which comprises Ch. 4.4.2.1–4.4.2.5, and corresponds to al-Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāh*, ed. Khūrshīd, 119–131.

[4.4.3]

I – Ibn al-Uṣaybi‘ah – have found a book by Plato entitled *The Apology* (*Ihtijāj Suqrāt ‘alā ahl Athīniyah*)¹⁷ with an account of Socrates’ speech, in which he states, ‘Before this occasion, I had not attended a court of law, and I am now seventy years old.’¹⁸ This disputation between him and the people of Athens took place shortly before his death. According to Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, Socrates lived almost as much as Plato, and he states that Plato lived eighty years.¹⁹ In his *Stories of the Philosophers and the Sages* (*K. Nawādir al-falāsifah wa-l-ḥukamā’*), Ḥunayn says that the ring-stone of Socrates had the inscription, ‘He whose passions master his reason will be shamed.’²⁰

[4.4.4]

These are some of the sayings of Socrates that the emir al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik compiled in his book:²¹

1. It a matter of wonder to those aware of the temporality of the world how it distracts them from that which is eternal.
2. Souls have various forms: those with similar forms conform to each other, those which are dissimilar are in opposition.
3. Souls conform when their aspirations coincide, and oppose each other when their desires diverge.
4. The soul comprises all things: he who knows his soul knows everything; he who does not know it knows nothing.
5. Whoever is stingy with his soul is even more stingy towards others; but generosity is to be expected from those who are generous with their souls.
6. He who knows himself is never lost, but how lost is he who does not know himself!
7. A little education suffices the good soul, but much education will not bear fruit in a wicked one for the badness of its soil.
8. If ignorant people would remain silent, disagreement would disappear.
9. There are six kinds of persons who are always filled with sorrow: the resentful, the envious, the nouveau riche, the rich man who fears poverty, he who craves a high status that he is unable to achieve, and he who frequents people of erudition and good manners without being one of them.

17 Literally, ‘remonstration with’, ‘plea to’.

18 Cf. *Apology* 17d.

19 Cf. Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, *Tārīkh*, 66.

20 Cf. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ādāb*, 45.

21 IAU selects from the large number of maxims at Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 91–126; some of these aphorisms were also collected in Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ādāb*, 62–73.

10. He who guards his secret conceals his affairs from the people.
11. The good-doer is better than his good deeds, the wrong-doer worse than his wrongs.
12. Intellect is a gift, knowledge an acquisition.
13. You will not be perfect until your enemy trusts you; what to say then, if you cannot be trusted by your friend?
14. Beware of those whom your heart loathes.
15. This world is a prison for those who renounce it, and a paradise for those who indulge in it.
16. Everything bears its fruit, and having little brings swift calm and goodness for the pure soul.
17. The world is like a fire burning on the highway: those who use it to light a torch and illuminate their way will be free from its evil, those who sit there to claim exclusive possession of it will be burned by its heat.
18. Those who care about the world forfeit their souls; those who care about their soul renounce the world.
19. He who cares about the material world and attains what he craves, will leave it for something else; and if he does not attain it, he will die in distress.
20. Do not correct the mistakes of those who live in error; they will profit from your knowledge, and still consider you an enemy.
21. Someone said to Socrates, 'We have never seen you sad'. He replied, 'It is because I do not possess anything the loss of which would sadden me'.
22. He who wants to annihilate his passions should only crave what he can attain.
23. Praise those you love to whomever you encounter, for love begins with praise, just as enmity begins with dispraise.
24. If you are given a position of authority keep bad people far from you or you will be blamed for all their faults.
25. A man of noble descent and poor morals said to Socrates, 'Do you suffer disdain, O Socrates, for the vileness of your origins?' And he replied, 'Your noble descent ends with you, mine starts with me'.
26. The best of everything is its middle point.
27. The people in this world pass away like figures in a scroll: when part of it is spread out part of it is rolled up.
28. Patience helps every undertaking.
29. He who hastens will often stumble.
30. If the intellect of a man is not his dominant trait, he will be defeated in most things.
31. No wise man possesses true wisdom until he subdues his bodily impulses.

32. Treat your parents as you want your sons to treat you.
33. The intelligent man should talk to the ignorant like the physician talks to the sick.
34. He who seeks worldly things will have a short life and many worries.
35. Every possession implies servitude, and someone who serves something other than himself is not free.
36. Socrates was asked, 'What is the nearest thing?' – 'This world', he replied. 'And the furthest?' – 'Hope'. 'What is the most sociable thing?' – 'A congenial friend'. 'And the loneliest thing?' – 'Death'.
37. Death purges the world from the evil of the wicked.
38. Men have only one tongue and two ears so that they might hear more than they talk.
39. The mightiest king is the one who subdues his passions.
40. When Socrates was asked, 'What is the most pleasurable thing?'. He replied, 'The benefits of education, and learning things that you did not know'.
41. Education is the most precious and incumbent thing for young people, and the first benefit it brings them is to prevent them from vile deeds.
42. A man's most precious possession is a sincere friend.
43. The silent man will be regarded as inarticulate, but will be safe; the one who speaks will be considered interfering, and will regret it.
44. Despise death, for its bitterness resides in the fear of it.
45. Socrates was once asked, 'What is a praiseworthy acquisition?'. He replied, 'Something that increases in value against the outlay on it'.
46. Those who keep someone's secret without being asked to do so are worthy of gratitude; if he is asked to do it, it is a duty.
47. Keep the secrets of others as you wish others to keep your own secrets.
48. Though keeping a secret may be a burden to you, it will be a heavier burden to others.
49. When someone asked, 'Why should an intelligent person ask for advice?'. Socrates replied, 'The reason is that it is a way to free someone's opinion from passion; we only seek advice because we fear the consequences of passion.'
50. The man of good morals lives a pleasant life, his well-being lasts and people love him without fail; someone of bad character lives a miserable life, hatred of him endures and people shun him.
51. The man of good character covers the faults of others; the man of bad character corrupts their virtues.
52. Wisdom begins with good character.
53. Sleep is a brief death, death a long sleep.

54. Socrates said to a student, 'Never trust time, for it is quick to betray those who rely on it'.
55. He who is contented with time on one occasion, will be hurt by it on another.
56. When the love for this world inspires someone's soul, he fills his heart with three feelings: [a sense of] poverty that his wealth will never overcome, hopes that his means will not fulfil, and preoccupations that will never end.
57. If you need to ask someone to keep a secret of yours, do not confide it to him.
58. Socrates was once asked why the water of the sea is salty, and he replied, 'Tell me what you will gain by knowing that, and I will tell you why'.
59. There is nothing more harmful than ignorance and nothing worse than women.
60. Once he looked at a little girl who was learning to write and said, 'Do not add harm to harm'.
61. Whoever wants to escape the ruses of the Devil should never obey a woman: women are like an erect ladder and the Devil needs no snare to make them climb up it.
62. Socrates said to a student, 'My son, if you must have a woman, let your relationship with her be like the eating of carrion, which is only eaten in extreme need, taking only as much as is required to keep one alive. If one takes more than is needed, it will make him sick and kill him'.
63. When Socrates was asked about his opinion on women, he replied, 'Women are like an oleander tree: it has beauty and splendour, but is lethal for the inexperienced man who eats from it.'
64. Someone once told him, 'How do you dare criticize women, when you, like any other wise men, would not exist without them?'. He replied, 'Women are like a palm-tree full of prickles that might wound the body of a person but is loaded with dates to harvest'.
65. Archigenes²² told him, 'What you said to the people of the city was not well received'. And he replied, 'It does not concern me if it was unacceptable, but I am concerned that it was right'.
66. Do not give any thought to someone who has no shame.
67. May the ingratitude of the ungrateful never turn you away from good deeds.
68. An ignorant man is someone who stumbles twice over the same stone.

22 *Arshjānis* cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 73, *Aristijānis* (which Lippert rightly takes as Archigenes).

69. Experience is enough to educate, the vicissitudes of time enough to admonish, and the morals of those you frequent enough to instruct you.
70. Be aware that you follow the steps of those who have passed away, that you stand in the place of those who are gone, and that you will go back to where you came from.
71. The tribulations of time suffice to teach a lesson: every day you will learn something new.
72. When calamity strikes, those who live in ease are grieved by their wealth.
73. He who cares little about his losses has a calm soul and serene mind.
74. Someone ungrateful for what has been bestowed upon him is unlikely to improve his wellbeing.
75. Many a man wary of something will find it to be his bane.
76. Heal wrath with silence.
77. Good repute is better than wealth, which runs out whilst repute remains. And wisdom is wealth that neither disappears nor dwindles.
78. Prefer legitimate poverty to forbidden wealth.
79. The most virtuous way of life is to make an honest profit and control one's expenses.
80. Someone who gains experience increases his knowledge, someone who believes increases his certainty, he who is certain works hard, and whoever is eager to work increases his power; but someone who is lazy becomes weaker, and he who hesitates multiplies his doubts.
81. A verse of Socrates in Arabic metre says:²³
This world, albeit loved tenderly, is but a passing glance.
82. Do not share what you have in your soul with everyone. How disgraceful it is that people conceal their precious things at home whilst they expose the contents of their hearts.
83. Unless by saying 'I do not know' I imply that I do know something,²⁴ I would say, 'I do not know'.
84. Every possession is a source of sorrow: do not acquire sorrow.
85. Have few possessions and your misfortunes will be few.

[4.4.5]

The following writings are ascribed to Socrates:

1. An epistle to his friends comparing law and philosophy.

23 Metre: *madīd*. This verse is not included in the *Mukhtār*, but can be found in Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ādāb*, 72; also, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:26.

24 I.e. he knows the fact that he does not know.

2. *On the Correction of the Soul* (*K. Mu'ātabat al-naḥs*).²⁵
3. *On Governance* (*M. Fī l-sīyāsah*).
4. It is said that the attribution of the *Epistle on the Virtuous Life* (*R. fī l-sīrah al-jamīlah*) is also correct.

4.5 Plato¹

[4.5.1]

Plato's name is written *F-l-ā-ṭ-n*, *A-f-l-ā-ṭ-n*, and *A-f-l-ā-ṭ-w-n*. Sulaymān ibn Ḥasān, known as Ibn Juljul, says in his book:²

Plato was a wise man originally from the city of Athens. He was a Greek speaking philosopher, an ancient Greek,³ and a physician with good knowledge of geometry and of the nature of numbers. Plato composed a book on medicine for his disciple Timaeus, and books and poems on philosophy. No-one before had addressed the composition [of things]⁴ as

25 A book with the same title is listed below among the works of Plato, see below the list of books at Ch. 4.5.4 no. 46.

1 This biography is present in all three versions of the work. For general information about the reception of Plato in Islam see *EI*², art. 'Aflātūn' (R. Walzer). On the biographies of Plato in Arabic sources see Swift Riginos, *Platonica*, 216–218. On the translation and reception of Platonic works in Islam see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 848–849. The biographical part (but not the *sententiae*) of the chapter on Plato in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's *Mukhtār* (quoted by IAU) has been translated in Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage*, 28–29. The main source of information about the life of Plato for Arab scholars was drawn from Theon of Smyrna, who was used by Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Qifī. IAU combines this tradition with other sources, notably the apocryphal gnomological part which he takes from al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, and the list of books, which relies ultimately on Thrasyllus of Mendes (d. AD 36).

2 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 23–25.

3 Arabic *rūmī* *ḥaylasūfī yūnānī*: the word *rūm* usually refers to Byzantines, Christians or, more generically, Greek speakers, while *yūnānī*, based on Ἴωνες ('Ionians'), usually refers to the ancient Greeks. The opposition between *Rūm* (Byzantine) and *Yūnān* (ancient Greeks) is common in polemical and apologetic texts. One of the arguments of al-Jāhīz in his refutation of the Christians is that, although his language was Greek, Aristotle – like all other ancient philosophers – was neither Byzantine nor Christian (*laysa bi-rūmī wa-lā naṣrānī*); they were all ancient Greeks (*hum yūnāniyyūn*); see al-Jāhīz, *Radd 'alā l-Naṣārā'*, 314–315. Ibn Juljul seems to use the term *rūmī* as 'Greek speaker', meaning that Plato was a Greek speaking author (*rūmī*), but one of the ancient Greeks (*yūnānī*).

4 The term *ta'līf* generically means composition. This term was used by the atomists, who conceived of a body as a composite (*mu'allaf*). On these notions in Islamic theology see Frank, 'Bodies and Atoms'.

he did, for he discovered the work of the [divine] weave based on the five compositional proportions, which are the only proportions to be found in all existing composites.⁵

5 This statement on Plato's discovery of the weave or brocade (*dibāj*) is problematic. A similar reference, most likely taken from the same source, can be found in the Ps.-Aristotelian *Sirr al-asrār*: 'The excellent Plato learnt the place occupied by the constituent particles according to their different kind when they were given shape according to the compositional proportions; he was then able to know the [divine weave] and all composed forms' (*Sirr al-asrār* 85).

In his study of the Hebrew translation of the *Sirr al-asrār*, Spitzer suggested two possible interpretations for this passage and the term *dibāj*, which might have referred to the discussion of colours in *Timeus* 67c–69a; or at some point stood for an astronomical term or device, thus the knowledge of the *dibāj* being 'a method of astronomical calculation'; see Spitzer, 'The Hebrew Translations of the *Sod ha-Sodot*', 42–43.

Michel Chase, in turn, argued that these five compositional proportions 'are none other than the five main consonances or harmonic intervals of Greek music, in accordance with which Plato's Demiurge constructs the World Soul in the *Timaeus*', and that the use of the term *dibāj* has its origin in Orphic myths of weaving; see Chase, 'Der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid'.

Although we do not have much evidence of the use of the Arabic translation of the *Timaeus*, and the extant Arabic translation of Galen's summary has nothing of this kind, a reference to the five figures of which the world is composed can be found in the tradition of the *Placita philosophorum*. According to the Arabic version of Aetius' work (attributed to Plutarch in the Greek tradition), Pythagoras claimed that 'the world was formed of five solid figures that are called mathematical; the earth stems from the cube, the fire from the pyramid, the air from the octahedron, the water from the icosahedron, and the sphere of the universe from the dodecahedron. In all these, Plato agreed with Pythagoras'; see Daiber, *Aetius arabus*, 26–27 (Arabic text).

Plato addresses this problem in a passage of the *Timaeus* concerning the Demiurge's creation of all bodies out of triangles that shaped five perfect forms, the so-called Platonic solids. The Platonic solids are convex polyhedra formed by congruent regular polygons, with the same number of faces meeting at each vertex. Only five polyhedra meet these criteria: tetrahedron, octahedron, icosahedron, hexahedron, and dodecahedron. These solids and their characteristics were well known by the ancient Greeks, and were described in detail by Euclid in the thirtieth book of the *Elements*, where he states (13.18): 'no other figure, besides the said five figures, can be constructed which is contained by equilateral and equiangular figures equal to one another', see Heath, *Euclid's Elements*, 507.

In the *Timaeus* Plato derives the four elements of matter from the first four solids (tetrahedron/fire, octahedron/air, icosahedron/water, hexahedron/earth; cf. *Tim.* 53e–55b). Since the fifth solid was already known in Plato's time and it conflicted with his cosmological model based on four elements, he explained the existence of this fifth perfect form as follows: 'And seeing that there still remained one other compound figure, the fifth [i.e. the dodecahedron], God used it up for the Universe as a way of decorating it' (*Tim.* 55c). The Greek reads: ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῇ κατεχρήσατο ἐκείνο διαζωγραφῶν. In view of this explanation, the Arabic use of the term *dibāj* might have originated from a rendition of

When he fully understood the nature of numbers,⁶ and knew the five compositional proportions, he gazed upon knowledge of the whole universe and understood the positions occupied⁷ by the particles, which combine and blend by their distinctive kinds (*alwān*) and colours (*aṣ-bāgh*), and their combining affinity (*al-iṭilāf*) in accordance with proportion. This allowed him to understand the principles behind the composition of forms (*ʿilm al-taṣwīr*): a first all-comprehensive movement was the origin of all particular movements, then [the forms] were divided according to their numerical proportions, and each compositional particle took its position accordingly. In this way Plato attained knowledge of the principles behind the creation of all forms.

Plato wrote a book on philosophy with all that he learnt about the work of the [divine] weave (*ṣināʿat al-dībāj*) and the principles of all composed forms.⁸ His philosophical argumentation is magnificent, and he was one of those who made laws and rules for the people of that time, for he wrote *The Republic* (*K. al-Siyāṣah*), a work on this matter, and the *Laws* (*K. al-Nawāmīs*).⁹ He lived during the rule of Darius ‘the Bastard’¹⁰ the father of the king Darius killed by Alexander.¹¹ This was after the time of Hip-

the Greek verb διαζωγραφέω, ‘paint in diverse colours’, or of a cognate expression used by Plato’s commentators to convey this meaning; likewise, mention of *alwān* (kinds or colours) and *aṣbāgh* (colours or pigments) is part of the same allegorical description of the creation of the perfect forms and the natural world by the Demiurge.

The metaphoric use of the term weave or fabric to refer to the cosmos is not alien to Muslim authors. Al-Maqdisī, for instance, compares the world with a *dībāj* when discussing its creation, see al-Maqdisī, *K. al-Badʿ wa-l-taʾrīkh*, i:69. This notion, though not explicitly brought up, seems also to underlie a passage of the Arabic version of the *Timaeus*, as quoted by al-Bīrūnī: ‘The creator (*al-bārīʿ*) cut a straight thread (*khayṭ mustaqīm*) into two parts and out of each part he made two circles that intersected in two points; then he divided each one into seven parts, to set the two movements [of the circles] and the orbital movement of the planets’ (*Tahqīq mā li-l-Hind*, 186).

- 6 This reference to the nature of numbers might also refer to the harmonic proportions and rations that constitute the divisions of the World Soul and are discussed in *Tim.* 35c–36b.
- 7 IAU reads ‘obstacles’ (*mawānīʿ*); the text here follows the reading of Ibn Juljul’s *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* and the Ps.-Aristotelian *Sirr al-asrār* (see Badawī, *Sirr al-asrār*, 75).
- 8 I.e. the *Timaeus*.
- 9 The Arabic title *K. al-Siyāṣah* usually refers to Plato’s *Republic* (book-list under no. 3); for the *K. al-Nawāmīs* (*Laws*), see no. 35 in the book-list.
- 10 This king is Darius II (r. ca. 423–404). The IAU manuscripts transcribe Darius’ sobriquet as *yaṭū* (*naṭū* in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik); this is a faulty rendition of the Greek Νόθος ‘the Bastard’.
- 11 Darius III (r. 336–332 BC), who was not the son but the grandson of Darius II.

pocrates, during the reign of Alexander's father Philip. In this period, the Romans and Greeks were under Persian dominion.

[4.5.2]

In *The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings* (*Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim*) Al-Mubāshshir ibn Fātik says:

In their language Plato means 'wide and broad'. Plato's father was Ariston and all his ancestors were noble Greeks of the kin of Asclepius. His mother was an aristocratic descendant of Solon, the lawmaker. As a child, Plato studied poetry and language and excelled in these disciplines, until one day he met Socrates, who rebuked the art of poetry in a way that impressed Plato and resulted in him rejecting all that he had learnt about it.¹² He joined Socrates and studied with him for five years until he passed away. Then Plato heard about a group of followers of Pythagoras in Egypt and travelled there to learn from them. Before his association with Socrates, Plato was inclined to the theories of Heraclitus, but after meeting him he rejected Heraclitus' school. He used to follow Heraclitus' teachings concerning the sensible world, Pythagoras' opinions concerning the rational world, and Socrates' ideas regarding ethical conduct.

Then Plato returned to Athens from Egypt and founded there two centres of learning where he instructed the people. Afterwards he went to Sicily, where he encountered Dionysius, the tyrant who reigned there and subjected him to severe trials until Plato was able to escape from him and return to Athens. In Athens he lived a virtuous life and made good by helping the destitute. The Athenians wanted to entrust him with their government, but he refused because he saw that they lived according to a way of behaviour he did not consider correct and to which they were so habituated that he would have not been capable of guiding their souls. He knew that he was unable to persuade them to change and that any attempt to turn them away from their current state would result in him

12 In his biography of Plato, Ibn al-Qiftī states: 'From an early age, Plato was inclined to poetry and learnt a fair number of poems, but when he joined the circle of Socrates he realized that he reproved poetry and poets by arguing: "Poetry is but a product of the imagination that portrays a false image of the world; seeking the truth is a more noble aim". Then Plato forswore poetry'; see *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 17. Cf. also *Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 306; ed. Flügel, 245; ed. Sayyid, 155. On other testimonia concerning Plato's love for poetry see Swift Riginos, *Platonica*, 43–48.

dying like his master Socrates, who was killed even though he did not seek to force them to make their regime perfect.¹³

Plato lived eighty-one years. He was a man of good morals and virtuous deeds who did plenty of good for both friends and strangers; he was measured, forbearing and patient. Plato had many students and he left two men in charge of two teaching positions: the place named 'Academia' in Athens was occupied by Xenocrates; and the other, named 'Lyceum', also in Athens, was entrusted to Aristotle.

Plato used to wrap his wisdom in parables and talk in riddles in such a way that its meaning was only grasped by the learned. He studied with Timaeus¹⁴ and Socrates and took many ideas from them. He composed numerous books, the titles of fifty-six of which have come down to us, among them lengthy books composed of several sections. Plato's works were linked in groups of fours, which were collectively devoted to a single general topic and individually focused on a specific aspect of that common theme. Each one of these groups of books was called a quartet (*rābū'*), and each quartet was also linked with the previous one.¹⁵

Plato had tawny skin, an average stature, beautiful in appearance with perfect features, a beautiful beard, and little hair on his cheeks. He was silent and soft-speaking, had quick and bright eyes, a black mole at the bottom of his chin, a long arm span, and gentle speech. He was fond of empty areas, of wild places, and of solitude, and most of the time his whereabouts were revealed by the sound of his weeping, which could be heard from miles away deep in the desert and the wilderness.

According to Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn Plato lived eighty years. And Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq wrote in his *Stories of the Philosophers and the Sages* (*K. Nawādir al-falāsifah wa-l-ḥukamā'*) that the inscription in Plato's ring stated: 'Moving the immobile is easier than stopping what has already been set in motion'.¹⁶

13 Cf. passages such as *Statesman* 271d3–272b1, *Laws*, 713c2–714b1 on the true state of the age of Cronus.

14 All Arabic sources read Timaeus (*Tīmāwus*). The Ps.-Pythagorean tract by Timaeus of Locri (cf. the start of Plato's *Timaeus*), *On the Nature of the Universe*, is regarded today as late Hellenistic in date, but was accepted by ancient and medieval scholars as the source of the *Timaeus*, whence the belief that Timaeus was Plato's teacher.

15 Ibn al-Nadīm quotes from Theon: 'Platon arranged his books to be read in a particular way, with groups of four books, each one of them was called a quartet (*rābū'*)', see *Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 307; the same text occurs in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 18. On the tetralogic order of the arrangement of the Platonic corpus see Fine, *The Oxford Handbook to Plato*, 68–69.

16 Cf. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ādāb*, 46.

[4.5.3]

These are some of the witty sayings and exhortations of Plato collected by al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik – may God bless him – in his book:¹⁷

1. Habit governs all things.
2. If the wise man avoids people, search for him; if he seeks them, avoid him.
3. He who in wealth is not generous with his friends will be abandoned by them in poverty.
4. When Plato was asked: ‘Why do you not treasure knowledge along with wealth?’; he replied, ‘To strengthen perfection’.
5. When he was asked who was the most reliable man to entrust with the regulation of the city, he replied, ‘The one who regulates himself in a virtuous way’.
6. Someone asked him, ‘Who is safe from vice and dishonourable deeds?’; and he replied, ‘He who lets his intellect be his guardian, his awareness his vizier, good advice his reins, forbearance his commander, adherence to devotion his assistant, fear of God his companion, and awareness of death his intimate friend’.
7. A king is like a powerful river from which smaller rivers derive: if sweet-watered they will have sweet water, if salty they will be salty as well.
8. If you want to prolong pleasure, never exhaust its source: fill it with virtue so that it will last for you.
9. In time of war beware of employing bravery but leaving intellect aside: the intellect sometimes suffices without need of courage, but you will never see courage succeed without intellect.
10. The goal of education is to give men a sense of shame about themselves.
11. My soul aches for three things only: a rich man who becomes poor, a powerful man who falls into disgrace, and a wise man who is mocked by the ignorant.
12. Do not associate with evil-doers: the only benefit you will received from them is that they leave you alone.¹⁸
13. Do not try to work fast but rather to work well: people will not ask about the time it took you to complete your work, but only about its quality.¹⁹
14. Do good to a noble man²⁰ and he will be encouraged to reward you; do good to a vile man and he will be encouraged to ask for more.

17 IAU only quotes a small selection from all the sayings in Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 128 ff.

18 This saying is not present in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik’s *Mukhtār*.

19 This saying is not present in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik’s *Mukhtār*.

20 Lit. ‘free man’.

15. Wicked men follow immoral people and avoid the virtuous, just as flies are attracted to the filthy parts of the body and leave the rest.
16. Do not underestimate your enemy or adversity will overwhelm you the more so in proportion to the way you assess him.
17. A man is not fully magnanimous until he is a sincere friend of those who oppose him.²¹
18. Seek in this life knowledge and wealth and you will gain ascendancy over all people, for they are either nobles or commoners: the nobles will value you for what you excel in, the commoners for what you have.
19. Whoever aligns the nobility of his origins with the nobility of his soul does right by himself and may truly claim his virtue; whoever neglects his soul by simply relying on the nobility of his ancestors disavows them and does not deserve to be given preference over anyone because of them.
20. Never buy a slave who is governed by his passions, because he will have another master; nor a hot-tempered one, who will resent your ownership; nor one with opinions, for he will employ ruses to deceive you.
21. If you give excessive advice employ the pleasant flattery used by people who deceive: do not let yourself be persuaded by your superiority over your peers or the fruits of your superiority will be spoiled.
22. Do not judge anyone by the status that circumstances gave them, but by their real worth, which is the rank granted to them by nature.
23. In harsh times, virtues are not in demand and become harmful, but vices are a requested and useful commodity, and the fear of the wealthy is worse than that of the poor.
24. The tyrant is at ease so long as he respects the principles of civilisation and the foundations of religious law; but if he takes aim at them, the Master of the World will move against him and he will be annihilated.
25. When the words convey the true intention of the speaker, they direct the listener's intention; but if words and intention are dissimilar they do not leave the intended impression.
26. The best kings are remembered as just rulers and their virtues taken as a model by his successors.
27. An ignorant man once asked Plato, 'How can you know so many things?'; and he replied, 'Because [my lamp] consumes as much oil as you wine'.
28. The eyes of the lover are blind to the defects of the beloved.
29. If you speak to someone more knowledgeable than you, how about: hold back your opinions and don't bother him with verbiage; if you address

21 This saying is not present in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's *Mukhtār*.

- someone less knowledgeable make your speech simple so that he may grasp by the end what he has failed to understand at the start.
30. Forbearance should only be attributed to someone who controls his power, and renunciation only to one who relinquishes something after being able to enjoy it.
 31. Someone tough in spirit does not succumb to misery.
 32. A man with a good character is he who endures those with a bad one.
 33. The most noble people are those ennobled by their virtues, not those who use their virtues to be honoured. If the virtues of a man are of his very essence, they ennoble him; if they are accidental, he might use them to be honoured but they do not make him a noble man.
 34. A man with a moderate sense of embarrassment refrains from all that might bring him into disrepute. But if it is excessive, he will reject things he needs; and if it falls short he will on most occasions abandon the robes of decency.
 35. When your enemy falls under your power, he is no longer one of your enemies but a subordinate.
 36. Men ought to look at their faces in the mirror: if beautiful, they will detest spoiling their beauty with wicked acts, if ugly, they will abhor the idea of adding more ugliness.
 37. Do not befriend the wicked man, or your nature will become imbued with his evil without you even being aware of it.
 38. If your arguments prevail in a discussion with an honourable man, he will show you honour and invest you with dignity; if your arguments succeed against a vile man, he will take you as his enemy and seek to use them against you.
 39. He who, while on good terms, praises you for qualities you do not possess, will vilify you when he is resentful for vices that you do not have.
 40. Authority is a necessity in this world due to the overwhelming weakness of its people.
 41. He who seeks knowledge for its own sake will not be worried by its inability to make him money, but those who seek it for its profits will leave their study for something that brings them gain as soon as fortune abandons their family.
 42. You ought to be more fearful about the way you treat your enemy than about the way he treats you.
 43. Many a man is counted happy for a good fortune that is actually a trial, and many are envied for a condition that, in fact, is a malady.
 44. Men's passions are roused in the same degree as the passions and desires of their king.

45. With regard to knowledge, the only praiseworthy thing I know is that I do not know anything.²²
46. Hope is a deceit for souls.
47. Protect the laws that protect you.
48. If you become the intimate friend of a man, you should be the friend of his friend, but not the enemy of his enemy.
49. The advice reveals the nature of the adviser.
50. The intelligent man ought to acquire only that which adds to his qualities, and only serve those who are close to him in character.
51. Most virtues have a bitter inception and sweet consequences, whilst most vices have a sweet inception but bitter consequences.
52. Do not put too much onto the company of those who collect people's faults, for they will extract information from you about your failings and will tell them to others as they have told you about others.
53. Success intercedes for sinners with the noble.²³
54. The decisive man ought to prepare himself for business to the extent demanded by reason, but should not rely on those factors that fall beyond his reach and he hopes to achieve, or on those which are the result of habit. These factors are not in his power but rather the outcome of coincidences on which his decisiveness should not rely.
55. Someone asked Plato, 'Why does a man persevere in amassing wealth even in old age?'. He replied, 'Because he prefers to leave his wealth to his enemies after his death, rather than needing the help of his friends during his life'.
56. Plato once saw an ignorant physician and said, 'This one encourages and arouses death'.
57. An excess in advice-giving throws much suspicion on its author.
58. A man ought not to occupy his heart with that which will abandon him; but rather treasure that which remains.
59. Aristotle asked Plato, 'When does a man know that he has become a wise?'. He replied, 'When he is not conceited in his opinions, when his tasks are no longer a burden, and when censure does not stir up anger or praise pride'.
60. When he was asked, 'What should one be wary of?'. He replied, 'Of the powerful enemy, the troublesome friend, and the wrathful lord'.
61. He was once asked, 'What is the most profitable thing for men?'; and he replied, 'To care for his own rectitude more than that of others'.

²² This saying is attributed above to Hippocrates, see Ch. 4.1.8.4 no. 42.

²³ Not present in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's *Mukhtār*.

62. A wicked, learned man rejoices defaming the wise men of the past and is grieved by those who live in his time, because rather than wanting to learn from others he is driven by his ambition for power. The good, learned man is hurt when he loses the experience of any of his peers, because his desire to increase and enhance his knowledge through conversation is greater than his desire for power and command.
63. Censuring the offence of a man who has already been pardoned belittles this gesture, reproof should always precede the pardon of the crime.
64. During your life seek wisdom, wealth and good deeds, because the nobles will like you for the things you master, the commoners for what you possess, and everybody for what you have done.
65. Plato was asked about the world on his deathbed, and he said: 'I came to this world by compulsion, lived in it in perplexity, and here I am, leaving it unwillingly, and not reckoning anything but my ignorance of it.'

[4.5.4]

Plato's works include:²⁴

1. *The Apology of Socrates* (K. *Ihtijāj Suqrāt 'alā ahl Athīniyah*).²⁵
2. *Phaedo, on the Soul* (K. *Fādhun fī l-nafs*).²⁶
3. *The Republic* (K. *al-Siyāsah al-madaniyyah*).²⁷

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- 24 With minor exceptions, IAU's list follows the ordering of Thrasyllus of Mendes (d. 36 CE), see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 848–849. For other lists of the works of Plato see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:155–156; Ibn al-Qifī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 17–18; and Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 90. These three authors follow the order of Theon of Smyrna, who is explicitly referred to as source by Ibn al-Nadīm; the author of the *Fihrist* complements this list with information provided by other sources – the only one he names is Yahyā ibn 'Adī.
 - 25 In his biography of Socrates, IAU quotes a fragment the *Apology*. There is no direct evidence of a full translation of this work into Arabic, but al-Kindī's *What Occurred Between Socrates and the Harranians* (R. *Fī mā jarā bayna Suqrāt wa-l-Ḥarrāniyyūn*) seems to have been an abridgement of the *Apology*; see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 851; and Endress, 'Building the Library of Arabic Philosophy', 333.
 - 26 No Arabic translation of this dialogue or of its summary by Galen has survived, but numerous references, such as the narration of Socrates' death in this chapter, attest that the work was well known and circulated in several versions, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 854–855.
 - 27 Ibn al-Nadīm, who refers to the book simply as K. *al-Siyāsah*, adds that it was glossed by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:155. The *Republic* was one of the best known Platonic dialogues for Arab authors both from direct translations and through Galen's summary. It is unclear, however, whether the translation of the *Republic* contained the whole dialogue; only two fragments from two different, literal translations have come down to us. For the extant passages of the Arabic translation see: Klein-Franke, *Über die Heiligung*, 46–47 (German translation at 79–80); Reisman, 'Plato's *Republic* in Arabic', 286–292, 296–300. There are also numerous fragments with paraphrases of the contents of the dialogue, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 856–858.

4. *The Spiritual Timaeus* (K. *Ṭīmāwus al-rūḥānī*) on the order of the three worlds of the intellect: the world of divinity, the world of reason, and the world of the soul.²⁸
5. *The Physical Timaeus* (K. *Ṭīmāwus al-ṭabīʿī*), consisting of four sections dealing with the order of the natural world. Plato wrote these two books for a student named Timaeus and the aim in this book was to describe the whole of the natural world.²⁹

[Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah] continues: Galen mentions in the second section of his book *On the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato* (K. *Fī āraʾ Abuqrāt wa-Aflātūn*)³⁰ that the *Timaeus* had been commented on by many authors and so much detail that they exceeded the bounds of the discourses on the natural world that it contains; but few of these commentators wanted to discuss these, and those who have done so have misinterpreted what was written in them. Galen wrote a book in four sections explicating the medical content of the *Timaeus*.³¹

6. *Platonic Sayings* (K. *al-Aqwāl al-aflātūniyyah*).
7. *Euthyphro* (K. *Awthifrun*).
8. *Crito* (K. *Aqrīṭun*).³²
9. *Cratylus* (K. *Qrāṭīlus*).³³
10. *Theaetetus* (K. *Thāṭīṭus*).
11. *Sophist* (K. *Sāfisṭis*).³⁴

28 There is no solid evidence to claim that this work was translated into Arabic. It was, however, greatly influential due to the Arabic version of Galen's summary, on which see the next note. On the Arabic tradition of this dialogue see Jonkers, *Textual Tradition*, 393–396.

29 The tradition of two dialogues is drawn from Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, the second being a confusion with Galen's commentary on the medical parts of the *Timaeus*. Ibn al-Nadīm states that the translation of *Timaeus* was made by Ibn al-Biṭrīq and Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq, and that Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī corrected Ibn al-Biṭrīq's translation, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:156. On the Arabic translations of Plato's *Timaeus* see Arnzen, 'Plato's *Timaeus* in the Arabic Tradition'. An Arabic translation of Galen's synopsis of this work has come down to us and has been edited (accompanied with testimonia) as Kraus & Walzer, *Galen Compendium Timaei* and in Badawī, *Aflātūn fī l-Islām*, 85–119. For references to translations and paraphrases of the *Timaeus*, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 859–861.

30 I.e. *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, see Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 33.

31 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 396.

32 There is no evidence of a translation into Arabic of this work, but it seems to have been known from late Alexandrian commentators, and al-Kindī's *On Socrates' Virtue* (R. *Fī khabar faḍīlat Suqrāt*) seems to have been largely based on it, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 851. and Endress, 'Building the Library', 333.

33 This work was known by Arab authors through the synopsis written by Galen, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 851.

34 Ibn al-Nadīm states: 'I saw a copy of the *Sophist* in the handwriting of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī; it was a translation of Iṣḥāq with the commentary of Olympiodorus', see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*

12. *Statesman* (K. *Fūlītīqūs*).
13. *Parmenides* (K. *Barmīnīdis*).³⁵
14. *Philebus* (K. *Filibus*).
15. *Symposium* (K. *Simbūsīn*).³⁶
16. *Alcibiades I* (K. *Alfiyādis al-awwal*).
17. *Alcibiades II* (K. *Alfiyādis al-thānī*).³⁷
18. *Hipparchus* (K. *Ibarkhus*).
19. *Erastai, on Philosophy* (K. *Arasā fi l-falsafah*).
20. *Theages, on Philosophy* (K. *Thājīs fi l-falsafah*).
21. *Euthydemus* (K. *Thūmīdhrus*).³⁸
22. *Laches, on Courage* (K. *Lākhīs fi l-shajā'ah*).
23. *Lysis* (K. *Lūsīs*).
24. *Protagoras* (K. *Frūṭāghūras*).
25. *Gorgias* (K. *Ghūrājīs*).
26. *Meno* (K. *Mānun*).³⁹
27. Two books called *Hippias* (*Ibiyā*).
28. *Ion* (K. *Iyun*).
29. *Menexenus* (K. *Manaksānus*).
30. *Philetus* (K. *Fīlatūs*).
31. *The Philosopher* (K. *al-Falsafī*).⁴⁰
32. *Critias* (K. *Aqrīṭiyās*).
33. *Minos* (K. *Minus*).
34. *Epinomis* (K. *Afinūmis*).

(Sayyid), 2/1:156; Galen's summary was also known, but none of these translations have survived, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 858.

35 Ibn al-Nadīm states that this work was commented by Galen, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:156. The *Parmenides* was known to Arab authors through Galen's summary, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 854.

36 Fragments of this dialogue have survived in gnomological works and have been collected and edited in Gutas, 'Plato's *Symposion*'.

37 Ibn al-Nadīm refers to these two books as *Alcibiades, on Beauty* (*Alqibādīs fi l-jamīl*), see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:155, whose reading we take in the text.

38 Ibn al-Qiftī refers to this work as *Euthydemus, on Wisdom* (K. *Awtūdhīmus fi l-ḥikmah*), see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 18. This work was known by Arab authors through the synopsis written by Galen, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 852.

39 There is no evidence of a translation into Arabic of this dialogue, but the theory of reminiscence discussed in this work was known to authors such as al-Kindī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā. This work was known by Arab authors through the synopsis written by Galen, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 853–854.

40 Gutas reads this title as *Kitāb (...)* *al-falsafī*, and interprets that it is an erroneous and spurious addition, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 849.

35. *Laws* (*K. al-Nawāmīs*).⁴¹
36. Twelve books on philosophy.⁴²
37. A book on what is compulsory.⁴³
38. A book on spiritual entities (*al-ashyā' al-'āliyah*).
39. *Charmides, on Chastity* (*K. Kharmīdhis fī l-'iffah*).
40. *Phaedrus* (*K. Fadrūs*).⁴⁴
41. *On Proportions* (*K. al-Munāsabāt*).⁴⁵
42. *On Unity* (*K. al-Tawhīd*).
43. A book on the soul, the intellect, the essence and the accident.
44. *On Sense and Pleasure* (*K. al-Ḥiss wa-l-ladhdhah*), in one section.
45. *On the Education and Instruction of Youth* (*K. Ta'dīb al-aḥdāth wa-waṣā-yāhum*).⁴⁶
46. *On the Correction of the Soul* (*K. Mu'ātabat al-naḥs*).⁴⁷
47. *Principles of Geometry* (*K. Uṣūl al-handasah*).⁴⁸

41 Ibn al-Nadīm states that it was translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and Yahyā ibn 'Adī, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:155. All references to Plato's *Laws* seem to come from Galen's summary, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 852–853. For a collection of these quotations see Badawī, *Aflātūn fī l-Islām*, 133–135. The title *K. al-Nawāmīs* might also refer to two other apocryphal works. One of them, discussing politics and prophecy, is quoted at length by IAU in Ch. 6 and has been edited in Badawī, *Aflātūn fī l-Islām*, 197–234. A second work, of magical content and also entitled *K. al-Nawāmīs*, was translated into Latin as *Liber Aneguemis* or *Liber Vaccae*, see Pingree, 'Plato's Hermetic Book of the Cow'.

42 This title does not occur in Ibn al-Nadīm's list. It seems to be a redundant reference to previous dialogues, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 848.

43 This title does not occur in Ibn al-Nadīm's list. Rosenthal and Walzer, read *yuttaqā* for *yanbaghī*, see *Alfarabius*, 6 (Arabic text). On this basis Gutas translates 'Sur ce qui mérite la révérence' and suggests that it is a reference to the content of the *Euthyphro*, which as known as *Περί ὀρίου*, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 848.

44 Although some Arabic sources contain passages of this dialogue, they seem to come from doxological works and there is no evidence of any translation of the original work or of its abridgement, see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 856. This is the last of the genuine works.

45 Ibn al-Nadīm states that he saw the book in the handwriting of Yahyā ibn 'Adī, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:156.

46 See Swain, *Bryson*, 412–419 for bibliographical details and a translation.

47 A book with a similar title is attributed above to Socrates, see Ch. 4.4.5 no. 2.

48 Ibn al-Nadīm states that this work was translated by Qusṭā (ibn Lūqā), see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:156.

4.6 Aristotle¹

[4.6.1]

Aristotle was the son of Nicomachus of Gerasa, the Pythagorean. The name Nicomachus means ‘victorious over his adversaries’, and Aristotle means ‘of perfect virtue’. According to Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Mas‘ūdī Nicomachus was a follower of Pythagoras and the author of a famous book on arithmetic.²

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul, states in his book:

Aristotle was the philosopher of the Greeks par excellence, their wisest man, the most intelligent and talented of them all, their rhetor and physician. He excelled in the art of medicine, but then philosophy took hold of him.³

[4.6.2.1]

In his *Epistle to Gallus on the Life of Aristotle*, which included notices about Aristotle’s life, his testament, and the list of his known books, Ptolemy says:⁴

Aristotle was originally from a city named Stagira, in the land known as Chalcidice which borders on Thrace, close to the cities of Olynthus and Methone. The name of his mother was Phaestis. His father, Nicomachus, was the personal physician of Amyntas, the father of Philip, who was the father of king Alexander.⁵ The ancestry of Nicomachus goes back to Asclepius, the father of Machaon, who had a son named also Asclepius.⁶ Aristotle’s mother, Phaestis, was also of the offspring of Asclepius.

1 On this biography and its relationship with other Arabic lives of Aristotle see Gutas, ‘The Arabic Lives of Aristotle’. For a commented paraphrase of the different sections of IAU’s biography see Düring, *Aristotle*, 213–231. On the relationship between the Greek, Syriac and Arabic versions of Aristotle’s *vita* see Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, 1–132.

2 Cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, *al-Tanbih*, 116.

3 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-a‘ibbā’*, 25.

4 The original Greek of Ptolemy’s *Vita Aristotelis* is lost (though survives in epitomes ed. in Düring), but the Arabic translation has survived in the *unicum* ms Aya Sofya 4833. The identity of its author, referred to as Ptolemy al-Gharīb in Arabic sources, is unknown. On the figure of Ptolemy see Chroust, *Aristotle*, 1–15; Gutas, ‘The Spurious and the Authentic’, 15–36. These passages correspond to ms Aya Sofya 4833, ff. 10b–13a.

5 That is, the Macedonian kings Amyntas III (d. 370 BC), Philip II (382–336 BC) and Alexander the Great (356–323 BC).

6 Asclepius is the mythical god of medicine; his son Machaon was portrayed as an outstanding physician in Greek literature.

Aristotle was still a young boy when Nicomachus died and was entrusted to Plato by Proxenus, his father's executor. Some people claim that Proxenus' decision to leave Aristotle in Plato's custody was inspired by God in the Pythian Temple;⁷ others argue that it was rather due to his friendship with Plato. It is said that Aristotle studied with Plato for twenty years and that, when Plato travelled to Sicily for a second time, Aristotle acted as his successor in the school known as the 'Academy'. When Plato returned from Sicily Aristotle transferred to the Lyceum where he began a school dedicated to Peripatetic philosophy. When Plato died, Aristotle joined Hermias the Slave, who was ruler of Atarneus.⁸ He went back to Athens, which was known as the city of the sages, after Hermias' death, but King Philip summoned him to Macedonia, and he lived there as a teacher until Alexander began his campaign in Asia. When Aristotle left, Callisthenes took his place in Macedonia.⁹ After that, Aristotle then went back to Athens and taught at the Lyceum for ten years until Eurymedon, one of the priests known as hierophants,¹⁰ decided to slander him by accusing him of impiety because he did not worship the idols that were revered at that time. Aristotle himself reports this story in his *Epistle to Antipater* (*K. ilā Antībatris*).¹¹

When Aristotle heard about it, he left Athens for his homeland in Chalcidice because he hated the thought that the Athenians would cause him as much trouble as they had for Socrates, Plato's master, which led to his execution. Aristotle left before anyone had urged him to flee upon his

7 I.e. the Delphic oracle.

8 A parallel text in al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik reads Atarneus (^ʿ*t-r-n-y-w-s*). The transcription of this name in IAU and in the extant manuscript of Ptolemy's *Epistle to Gallus* is respectively ^ʿ*w-r-l-y-s* and ^ʿ*w-l-s*. The text seems to be corrupted at this point and it is possible that this might have been a transcription of the name of Hermias' former master, Eubulus of Bithynia, whom Hermias is said to have murdered in order to become ruler of Atarneus. Hermias invited Aristotle to his court and married him to his niece, Pythias: *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Pythias' (J. Engels).

9 Callisthenes of Olynthus is the historian who accompanied Alexander in his campaign in Asia; he was related to Aristotle and worked with him; *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Callisthenes [1]' (E. Badian).

10 In Arabic: *kamariyyīn*, a likely borrowing from the Aramaic כמריין or the Hebrew כמר ('idol priest'). Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 5.5 gives two names: Eurymedon or, following Favorinus, Demophilus.

11 According to a hostile tradition recorded by Diogenes Laertius, the impiety consisted in offering sacrifice to his mistress, who was a concubine belonging to Hermias (cf. above). Diogenes and Eusebius (*Preparation for the Gospel* 15.2.8) name different sources.

receipt of the letter of the hierophant defaming him, or before he suffered any harm. Aristotle's *Apology* defending himself from the hierophant's defamation is not authentic, but is a work composed in his style.

When Aristotle returned to his homeland, he settled and lived there until he died at the age of sixty-eight years.¹² This fact clearly exposes the falsity of those who claim that he began to study philosophy when he was thirty years old, and that before that time he had only occupied himself with politics owing to his personal interest in improving the situation of the cities.

[4.6.2.2]

It is said that the people of Stagira took his mortal remains from the place where he had died and brought them to a place named 'Aristoteleion',¹³ where they used to gather to discuss the most important matters and the issues that most worried them. Aristotle was the one who laid down the laws for the people of Stagira. He had great ascendancy over people and evident proof of that are the honours he received from the kings of his time.

His desire to do good and his interest in improving the situation of the people is evident in his epistles and books, in which the reader finds abundant examples of his involvement in the relationships between the kings and their subjects in his time, and in all that could improve their wellbeing and be advantageous to them. On account of all the favours, benefits and other services that he secured for the people, the Athenians assembled and agreed to compose an inscription and engrave it on a stone pillar that was placed in the high citadel of the upper part of the city known as the acropolis.¹⁴ On this pillar they wrote the following:

Aristotle of Stagira, the son of Nicomachus, merits this on account of his service doing good and for providing much assistance and favour, and because he gave particular assistance to the people of Athens and interceded for them before the King Philip to improve their situation. The benefits that he attained for the Athenians were so plentiful that their assembly commended him for the goodness he brought and recognized his virtue and leadership. They will preserve and cultivate

12 On the Ps.-Aristotle's *Apology*, see Ford, *Aristotle as Poet*, 60–68.

13 Cf. below Ch. 4.6.3.2.

14 In Arabic *a'lā al-madīnah*, 'the summit of the city'. The text refers to the erection of a *stēlē*, an upright monument of stone which bore a commemorative or honorific inscription.

his memory, and [receive] his descendants as people of honour among them,¹⁵ and provide everything required to satisfy their needs.¹⁶

Only one Athenian named Himerius disagreed about the inscription. After the assembly of Athens had agreed upon this matter he demurred and spoke in opposition. He rushed to the pillar that the Athenians had agreed to inscribe with a eulogy and to erect in the place named the Acropolis¹⁷ and threw it down from its site. He was subsequently seized and killed by Antipater because of that. Later, an Athenian named Stephanus and some other people attached to a pillar a stone plaque on which they had written the same encomium of Aristotle placed in the first pillar, but adding a mention of Himerius and what he did when he threw the pillar down, and stating that he should be shunned and cursed.

[4.6.2.3]

When Philip died, he was succeeded by Alexander, who left his country to fight other nations and conquered the lands of Asia. Aristotle decided then to adopt a life of retirement and to abandon all his relationships and dealings with kings. He went back to Athens, where he founded the aforementioned centre of learning which was dedicated to Peripatetic philosophy. He was eager to improve the lives of the people and to help the destitute and the needy, to marry the widows and provide sustenance to the orphans, whom he was committed to educating and helping, as well as anybody who wished to acquire knowledge and instruction in any kind of discipline and field. Aristotle helped them to achieve this and set them on their feet, he gave alms to the poor, brought amenities to the cities, and restored the buildings of his hometown, Stagira.¹⁸ He was extremely pleasant and respectful, and received everybody cordially, the humble and the great, the powerful and the weak; there are no words to describe his commitment to his friends. The stories written by his biographers bear testimony to that, and all the accounts on Aristotle's life are unanimous on this matter.

15 The text seems to be corrupted at this point, and this sentence is partially missing in Ptolemy's *Vita Aristotelis*. The translation is conjectural.

16 A plausible historical context to understand the story of the erection of a *stēlē* in honour of Aristotle is the negotiation of the city with the king before the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC, see Chroust, *Aristotle*, 138–139.

17 In Arabic *a'lā al-madīnah*, 'the summit of the city'.

18 Part of this passage from Ptolemy's account is also extant in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i:247; ed. Sayyid, 2/1:158.

[4.6.3.1]

The Emir al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik states in his book *The Choicest Sayings and Best Maxims* (*Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*):¹⁹

When Aristotle reached his eighth year, he was taken by his father to Athens, the city known as the city of the sages, and brought to the Lyceum. His father introduced him to poets, rhetoricians, and grammarians, under whom he studied for nine years. They called this teaching system 'comprehensive',²⁰ which stands for 'linguistic disciplines',²¹ on account of the fact that everyone needs them, because they are the means and route to every wisdom and virtue, and the way of presenting the findings of every form of learning. At that time, some scholars used to disparage the science of the rhetoricians, language teachers and grammarians and rebuked those who studied it. Epicurus and Pythagoras were among those who postulated that there is no need to engage with linguistic disciplines in order to pursue the study of any science. For them, grammarians were mere school-teachers, poets sources of falsehood and lies, and rhetoricians people of deception, bias and disputation.

When Aristotle became aware of this polemic he felt the need to defend and vindicate the necessary role of grammarians, rhetoricians and poets. He claimed that that no discipline can dispense with their knowledge, because articulate speech is a tool proper to their arts, and the superiority of men over beasts rests on their ability to speak. Those who most properly may be considered to be human are those with the greatest ability to speak, those most capable of expressing their own thoughts, those most able to use the right words at the right moment, and those who best choose the words to express themselves in the most concise and appealing manner. Wisdom is the most precious thing and the expression of it rests on proficiency in argument, command of idiom, concision in phraseology, freedom from imbalance and error, from badly formed argumentation, and from the ugliness of stuttering and stammering. Whenever these faults appear, the light of knowledge fades away, duty fails to be performed, needs are unsatisfied, everything becomes confusing for the listener, the meaning is corrupted, and doubts creep in.

19 Cf. Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 187 and also a very close rendition of this passage in *Muntakhab Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, 40.

20 In Arabic *al-muḥīṭ*, perhaps a recollection of the Greek idea of an *engkoklios paideia*.

21 In Arabic *'ilm al-lisān*.

Once Aristotle had perfected the art of the poets, grammarians and rhetoricians and had full knowledge of it, he pursued other disciplines such as ethics, politics, natural philosophy and mathematics, and metaphysics. At the age of eighteen, he joined Plato and became his student and pupil.

[4.6.3.2]

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik also says:²²

Plato would hold a session and be asked to speak; then he would say: 'When the people arrive'. But as soon as Aristotle came he would say 'Speak, for the people have arrived'. [Others claim that] Plato might have said instead: 'As soon as Intellect arrives'; and when Aristotle came he would say: 'Speak, for Intellect has come'.²³

Al-Mubashshir states:²⁴

After Aristotle died and his corpse had already decayed, the people of Stagira took his remains and placed his bones into a wooden box that was buried in a place known as the 'Aristoteleion'.²⁵ They took him with them and kept him in the place where they used to gather to discuss in assembly their weightiest matters and concerns, for they found comfort by his grave and stayed close to his remains. Whenever a difficult philosophical question or a matter of knowledge arose, they would come to that place and sit there to debate until the matter they had found dubious and obscure was solved and explained. They hoped that, by coming to the place in which the remains of Aristotle were buried, their intellects would become sharper, their understanding sounder, and their minds subtler. But they also sought to honour him after his death, to mourn his departure and to lament their own misfortune for losing the sources of his wisdom.

22 Cf. Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 180.

23 This is a widespread anecdote. The author of the abridgement of the *Šiwān al-ḥikmah* states that Plato used to call Aristotle 'Intellect' or 'Brains' (*al-'aql*), see *Mukhtaṣar Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, 6. Also Šā'id al-Andalusī, cf. *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 24; and Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 28.

24 Cf. Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 182.

25 *Ariṣṭūṭālīsī*, as above. Greek sources dependent on Ptolemy report at Stageira an *Aristoteleia* festival and an *Aristoteleion* at his tomb 'where they gathered for assemblies' (*Vita Marciana* 17–18 ed. Düring).

[4.6.3.3]

Al-Mas'ūdī says in his book on routes and realms (*K. al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*):²⁶

In the large city known as Palermo, in the island of Sicily, there is a big congregational mosque, a great temple that the Christians used before as their church. I heard some locals saying that the 'Wise man of the Greeks', i.e. Aristotle, rested in a suspended coffin inside that temple that the Muslims had turned into a mosque, and that the Christians used to revere his power and expected to be healed by it, considering the honour and reverence that he had received from the Greeks. The reason for suspending the coffin between heaven and earth was that people used to touch it when they begged to be healed, or prayed for rain or about other serious matters that required them to seek refuge in God Almighty and to turn to Him in dire and dangerous times. and because they would tread on one another. I saw there a large casket that might have belonged to that tomb.

[4.6.3.4]

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik says:²⁷

Kings, sons of kings and other people were students of Aristotle, among them: Theophrastus, Eudemus, king Alexander, Eumenes,²⁸ Aristoxenus²⁹ and many other virtuous men famous for their wisdom, distinguished by their knowledge, and well-known by their noble descent. After him, his nephew Theophrastus continued his teachings, took his position and inherited his rank. He had two men who helped and assisted him: one of them was named Eudemus,³⁰ the other Aristoxenus;³¹ they com-

26 IAU's attribution is mistaken: this passage is *verbatim* from Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-ard*, i:118–119. Although *Routes and Realms* was a common title for geographical works, none of the works of al-Mas'ūdī bears it. Cf. Ch. 5.1.21.1.

27 Cf. Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 183.

28 All manuscripts read ²-r-m-ī-n-w-s. This is a slight corruption of Eumenes (which we read in the Arabic), a scholar and chancellor of Philip and Alexander the Great, see *Brill's New Pauly* art. 'Eumenes [1]' (A. Mehl), though he is not attested as a pupil elsewhere.

29 The Arabic reads ²-s-kh-ū-l-ū-s, which is most likely a defective transcription of Aristoxenus, Aristotle's pupil, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Aristoxenus [1]' (F. Zamminer).

30 The Arabic has Eumenes (²-ū-m-ī-n-ū-s; cf. above), but this should refer to Aristotle's pupil and editor of his works Eudemus of Rhodes, who continued the Peripatetic tradition after Theophrastus. See *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Eudemus [3]' (H. Gottschalk).

31 The Arabic reads ²-s-kh-ū-l-ū-s, cf. above.

posed many books on logic and philosophy. Aristotle had a son named Nicomachus the Younger, and also a small daughter; he left behind a great wealth, many male and female slaves and other property.

Aristotle was a pale-skinned man, partly bald, of a fair stature, with large bones, small blue eyes, thick beard, aquiline nose, small mouth, and a broad chest. He used to walk fast when he was alone and slow when he was in the company of friends. He studied books constantly, he never talked drivel and he pondered about every single word. He used to bow his head in silence for a while when he had to reply a question, and his answers were laconic. During the day he used to retire to the wilderness and to walk beside rivers. He loved listening to music, and meeting mathematicians (*aṣḥāb al-riyādāt*) and dialecticians (*aṣḥāb al-jadal*). He was fair-minded when he debated with opponents, and always acknowledged right and wrong. He was modest in his clothing, and moderate when eating, drinking, having sexual intercourse, and moving around. In his hand he always held an instrument to measure the stars and hours.

[4.6.3.5]

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in his *Stories of the Philosophers and Wise Men* (*K. Nawādir al-falāsifah wa-l-ḥukamā'*) says that the inscription on the ring-stone of Aristotle read: 'He who denies what he does not know, knows more than he who affirms what he knows'.³²

The *shaykh* Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Manṭiqī³³ in his *Annotations* (*Ta'ālīq*) states that, 'Theophrastus was appointed by Aristotle, who lived sixty-one years. As for Plato, he lived a long life'. Ibn al-Nadīm al-Baghdādī, in turn, says in his *Catalogue* (*K. al-Fihrist*) that 'Aristotle died when he was sixty-six years old'.³⁴ And Ishāq [ibn Ḥunayn] claimed that Aristotle lived sixty-seven years.³⁵

[4.6.4.1]

The Qāḍī Abū l-Qāsim Ṣā'id ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣā'id in his *Book on the Categories of the Nations* (*K. al-Ta'rif bi-ṭabaqāt al-umam*):³⁶

32 Cf. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *K. Ādāb*, 46.

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

34 See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 309; ed. Sayyid, 2/1:159.

35 The reference to Ishāq is taken from Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Sayyid, 2/1:160.

36 Cf. Ṣā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, 24.

The philosophy of the Greeks reached its zenith with Aristotle, who was the seal of their sages and the master of their scholars. He was the first who separated the art of logical demonstration from other branches of logic by representing it in its three different figures.³⁷ He turned it into a tool for the speculative disciplines, and for that he is known as the author of the *Logic*. He wrote noble works on all philosophical disciplines, addressing the general and the particular. The particular works are the treatises that only deal with a single topic, some of the general ones are records for revising what one had learnt from one's studies, which he wrote in seventy books for Ephorus.³⁸ Other general works consist of studies focused on three topics: first, philosophical disciplines; second, philosophical practice; third, tools employed in philosophy and other disciplines.

[4.6.4.2]

The books on philosophical disciplines are divided into those on mathematical disciplines, natural philosophy, and metaphysics. The books on mathematical disciplines are: *On Optics* (K. *al-Manāẓir*),³⁹ *On Lines* (K. *al-Khuṭūṭ*),⁴⁰ and *Mechanics* (K. *Fī l-ḥiyāl*).⁴¹ In the works of natural philosophy Aristotle deals with both the generalities that affect all natural entities and the particularities of each one of them. There are several books of natural philosophy. In the *Lectures on Physics* (*Sam' al-kiyān*)⁴² he enumerates the principles of all natural entities, those things like the principles, those that derive from the principles, and those that resemble the things that derive from them. The principles are matter and form; ana-

37 This refers to the arrangement of the three figures (*ashkāl*) that form the syllogism: two premises and a conclusion. Cf. e.g. al-Khwārazmī, *Maḥāṭih al-'ulūm*, 148–149.

38 The Arabic reads 'w-f-ā-r-s, which appears to refer to the historian contemporary of Aristotle, Ephorus, who according to Plutarch, refused Alexander's invitation to join him on his Asian campaign, see: *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Ephorus' (K. Meister). There is, however, no proof that Aristotle drew on Ephorus for any historical information or even met him. On the record books (*tadhākir*, *tadhkirāt*), see below titles n. 79 and 92. There may a recollection here of the Aristotelian distinction between 'exoteric' (public/popular) and 'esoteric' (specialized academic presentations for use within his school), the latter category forming the corpus that survives to us.

39 This work is not included in the lists of Aristotle's books provided below.

40 This might correspond to the Ps.-Aristotelian, *On Whether Lines are Divisible or Not* (K. *Fī l-khuṭūṭ hal ḥiya munqasimah aw lā*), listed below under title no. 11.

41 See below under no. 130.

42 Below under title no. 40. Also known as *Lectures on Nature* (*al-Samā' al-ṭabī'i*).

logous to the principles – it is not a real principle but close to them – is non-existence; the entities derived from the principles are time and place; and those which resemble what derives from the principles are void, fullness, and infinite. As for the particularities of each natural entity, some of them belong to entities without existence and some to entities which have been brought into existence. The entities that have no existence are discussed in the two first books of *On the Heavens and the World* (*K. al-Samā' wa-l-ālam*).⁴³ The knowledge of the entities brought into existence is both general and particular: to the general knowledge belong changes of state, which are discussed in *On Generation and Corruption* (*K. al-Kawn wa-l-fasād*),⁴⁴ and also the movements, which are studied in the two last books of *On the Heavens and the World* (*K. al-Samā' wa-l-ālam*). Particularities are either simple or composed: the simple are discussed in *Meteorologica* (*K. al-Āthār al-ʿulwiyyah*);⁴⁵ as for the compound particularities, some of them belong to the description of the generalities of the compound things, which can be read in the *Book on Animals* (*K. al-Ḥayawān*),⁴⁶ and *On Plants* (*K. Fī l-nabāt*);⁴⁷ and some to the description of the particularities of the compound things, which is discussed in *De Anima* (*K. al-Nafs*), *On Sense and the Sensible* (*K. al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs*), *On Health and Disease* (*K. al-Ṣiḥḥah wa-l-saqam*), and *On Youth and Old Age* (*K. al-Shabāb wa-l-haram*).⁴⁸

[4.6.4.3]

Aristotle's writings on metaphysics are in the thirteen books of his *Metaphysics* (*K. Mā ba'd al-ṭabī'ah*).⁴⁹ The works of practical philosophy deal with the improvement of ethics and with politics. To ethics are devoted the major and the minor works that he wrote for his son,⁵⁰ and the book entitled *Eudemian Ethics* (*Awdhūmiyā*).⁵¹ Some of his works on politics

43 See below the list of books under no. 41.

44 See below under no. 42.

45 See below under no. 43.

46 See below under no. 135.

47 See below under no. 54.

48 See, respectively, nos. 44, 45 (with note), 110, 109.

49 See below under no. 55.

50 I.e. the *Magna Moralia* (below under no. 35) and the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which is not included in the list of books. On the Arabic translations of the *Nicomachean Ethics* and its reception see Zonta, 'Les Éthiques'. For an edition of the Arabic version see: Ullmann, *Nikomachische Ethik*.

51 See below under no. 36.

focus on the politics of the city and some on the administration of the estate.⁵² The works discussing the tools used in the philosophical disciplines are the eight books on logic;⁵³ no one – as far as we know – had written on this topic or collected this information before. Aristotle himself mentions this at the end of the sixth of these books, the *Sophistical Refutations* (*K. Sūfistīqā*):

For the art of logic and the construction of syllogisms we did not find any previous foundation to build upon but accomplished this after great effort and lengthy exertion. Even though this art has been newly discovered and invented by us, we have fortified its domain and constructed its foundations properly without failing to include the elements that are a necessary part of it, as happened in earlier disciplines. It is complete, with solid, firm bases and properly built underpinnings, sound structures, readily known aims and clear features standing before it like well-arranged pillars and sturdy buttresses. Whoever wishes to study this art in the future ought to forgive the faults that he may find in it, and treasure what he has received from our arduous efforts as a precious gift and a valuable possession, for he who has worked painstakingly merits forgiveness.⁵⁴

[4.6.5.1]

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī says:⁵⁵

Aristotle divided the study of logic into eight parts, each one of them treated in one book:

The first book contains the rules applied to single intelligibles and the terms that denote them; this is known as *Categories: al-Maqūlāt* in Arabic and *al-Qāṭāghūriyās* in Greek.⁵⁶

The second book deals with the rules of compound propositions,⁵⁷ which are compound intelligibles formed by two single intelligibles, and

52 The tract on the administration of the *manzil* (house, estate) is not included in the list of books provided below; on this Ps.-Aristotelian *Oikonomika* (as it is called in Greek; in Arabic *K. Tadbīr al-manzil*), see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 62 (no. 8). *Politics*: title no. 105.

53 I.e. the six books of the *Organon* including two books each for *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*.

54 This is an expanded paraphrase of the end of the *Sophistical Refutations* (184b), where Aristotle hails his role as the inventor of the art of syllogistic reasoning and asks pardon for incompleteness and gratitude for achievement.

55 Cf. al-Fārābī, *Iḥṣā'*, 44–46.

56 Title no. 29.

57 Cf. *Iḥṣā'*, 45: simple statements (*al-aqāwīl al-basīṭah*).

the terms that denote them, which are composed of two single terms. These rules are described in the book known as *On Interpretation: al-Ibārah* in Arabic and *Bārīmāniyās* in Greek.⁵⁸

The third book discusses the rules for statements whereby the syllogisms proper to all five arts are distinguished.⁵⁹ They are treated in the book known as *Prior Analytics: al-Qiyās (Syllogism)* in Arabic and *Anālūṭīqiyā al-ūlā* in Greek.

The fourth book deals with the rules whereby the demonstrative statements are examined, and the rules that make philosophy coherent so that all that it undertakes is most complete, virtuous, and perfect. This is the book known as *Posterior Analytics: K. al-Burhān (Book on Demonstration)* in Arabic, and *Anālūṭīqiyā al-thāniyah* in Greek.⁶⁰

The fifth is focused on the rules whereby dialectical statements are examined, and on the quality of dialectical questions and answers and the rules that give unity to dialectics, so that all it undertakes is most complete, excellent, and effective. This book is known as *Topics: al-Mawāḍi‘ al-jadaliyyah (Dialectical Topics)* in Arabic, and *Ṭūbīqā* in Greek.⁶¹

The sixth book deals with rules which serve distortion and deviation from the truth. It first enumerates all the devices used by those whose aim is misrepresentation and deceit about facts and pronouncements, then it lists what is needed to refute misleading statements which are used by those who slander and misrepresent, and how they can be invalidated, in what circumstances they occur, and how one can be on one's guard including from making false statements in regard to one's claims. This is the book known as *Sophistical Refutations: Sūfistīqā* in Arabic, which means 'wisdom that distorts'.⁶²

The seventh book is focused on the rules whereby the rhetorical statements may be examined, on the kinds of rhetoric, and the discourses of the orators and rhetoricians. It discusses what is proper to the art of rhetoric, enumerates all the elements that make the art of rhetoric coherent, explains the construction of rhetorical statements and the characteristics of rhetoric in each of its branches, and how it becomes most useful and eloquent. This book is known in Arabic as *Riṭūriyah*,⁶³ which means rhetoric (*khaṭābah*).

58 I.e. *Περὶ Ἐρμηνείας*. Title no. 30.

59 I.e. philosophy, dialectics, sophistic, rhetoric, poetry. Title no. 32.

60 Title no. 33.

61 Title no. 31.

62 Title no. 34.

63 The edition of al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* has the title *Riṭūriqā*. Title no. 39.

The eighth book deals with the rules that define poetry, the kinds of constructed poetic utterances, and all the elements in each genre. It also lists all the things that give the art of poetry coherence, discusses the number of classes, the types of poems and poetic utterances, the modes of composition in each of them, the circumstances in which it is practised and is appropriate, and becomes most excellent, understandable, beautiful, and pleasant; and in which cases it should be used in order to be most eloquent and extraordinary. This book is known as *Fuwīṭīqā* in Greek, i.e. *Poetics* (*K. al-Shi'r*).⁶⁴

[4.6.5.2]

These are all the divisions of logic and the topics included in each part of it. The fourth part⁶⁵ enjoys pre-eminence on account of its nobility and importance. Only this fourth part is required to achieve the primary goal of logic, while the relevance of the remaining parts is to this. The three parts that precede it in the order of exposition are merely propaedeutic and introductory,⁶⁶ and pave the way to the fourth part. The four remaining parts that follow⁶⁷ have two aims: first, each one of these four last parts serves to support and assist the fourth part in more or less the same degree; second, they are used to foster awareness⁶⁸ because, were these arts⁶⁹ not distinguished from one another in their applications by the specificity of the rules that distinguish them from other rules, no-one could be sure whether they were using the elements of dialectic when seeking truth and certainty without recognizing them as such, and thus might abandon the realm of certainty for the realm of strong speculation; or they might inadvertently use the features of rhetoric and slide into the realm of persuasion; or perhaps, without being aware of it, they might use the tools of sophistry and mistake untruth for truth and believe it; or they might use the features of poetry without recognizing them as poetic, and then base their beliefs on fictions.

64 Title no. 38.

65 I.e. the rules on demonstration discussed in the *Analytics*.

66 I.e. those addressed in books one to three of the *Organon*.

67 I.e. those addressed in the books five to eight of the *Organon*.

68 MSS ABGa have the variant *taḥdīd* (to provide definition), which is also possible in this context.

69 I.e. dialectic, sophistry, rhetoric, and poetics.

[4.6.5.3]

When using all these discourses, people might be persuaded that they are on the right path to the truth, and believe that they have sought for it and found it, although they have not found any truth at all. They are rather like someone who is ignorant of foodstuffs and drugs and has no ability to separate poisons in their effects so as to identify their characteristic signs with certainty. Without being able recognize them, he cannot be sure whether he is choosing a substance that causes disease or cures him and he therefore suffers harm.

The secondary goal is that each of these four arts will provide its essential features, so that someone who wants to become a skilled dialectician will be aware of what he needs to know and will be aware by what standard he can evaluate the effect of his utterances on himself and others in order to see if he is taking a dialectical approach through them. Or, if he desires to be a skilled orator, he will know what he needs to know, and by what standard he may evaluate the effect of his utterances on himself and on others, and to see if in this he is taking a rhetorical or some other kind of approach. Similarly, if he desires to be a skilled poet, he will be able to know what he needs to know, and by what standards he may evaluate the effect of the poem on himself and on others, and to see if he is following the approach of the poets or deviating from it and confusing it with some other approach. And if he wants to acquire the ability to use sophistry on others and not to be subject to it, he will know what he needs to know, and by what standard it is possible to evaluate each word and each opinion so he will see if he is using sophistry in this way or is subject to it and in what context this is happening.

[4.6.6.1]

Ptolemy says in his *Epistle to Gallus on the Life of Aristotle*:⁷⁰

On his deathbed, Aristotle left the following testament:

I hereby appoint Antipater as the permanent executor of all that I leave behind. I stipulate that, until Nicanor⁷¹ arrives, Aristomenes,

⁷⁰ The Arabic text of the testament copied from Ptolemy's *Vita Aristotelis* has survived in the *unicum* ms Istanbul Aya Sofya 4833, and has also been transmitted by Ibn al-Nadīm, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:159–160. For a Greek version of the text, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 5.11–16.

⁷¹ Nicanor of Stagira was a commander under Alexander the Great, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Nicanor [5]' (E. Badian).

Timarchus, Hipparchus,⁷² and Dioteles be in charge of the required expenses and the necessary maintenance of the people of my house, my maid Herpyllis⁷³ and the rest of my female and male servants, and all that I leave. If it is possible and feasible for Theophrastus to join them in the administration, let him do that.

Upon my daughter reaching puberty, Nicanor shall take care of her⁷⁴ and if she dies before marrying or, after marrying, without issue, her possessions shall revert to Nicanor. I stipulate that Nicanor shall take care of the administration of the affairs of my daughter and of my son Nicomachus, with all that it entails according to his preferences and what he considers to be appropriate, as if he were their father or brother. If Nicanor dies before marrying my daughter or, if married, before her having issue, whatever he might have disposed about my inheritance is binding and valid. But if he dies without having left any will, and Theophrastus is willing to do it, I would like him to take care of these affairs in place of Nicanor and administer the inheritance of my children and my properties as Nicanor was supposed to do. In case Theophrastus is not willing to act as administrator, then the aforementioned executors of the testament should be referred to Antipater, whom they ought to consult about the administration of my inheritance, and then act in agreement.

[4.6.6.2]

The testamentary executors and Nicanor are to take care of Herpyllis, for she deserves that in view of her diligent services and her efforts to please me. They should satisfy all her needs and, if she should wish to marry, not to consent to her marrying anyone but a virtuous man, and to pay her one silver talent, which corresponds to 125 *raṭls* and a third, and three maidservants of her choice in addition to her own maid and her male servant. Should she desire to reside in Chalcis,⁷⁵ she shall receive accommodation in my estate, in the house that is next to

72 Hipparchus was a student of Aristotle, see *Brill's New Pauly*, art. 'Hipparchus [4]'; (H. Gottschalk).

73 Diogenes Laertius 5.1: 'he also had a son called Nicomachus by his concubine Herpyllis'.

74 The Arabic text suggests he should be her guardian; the Greek states that Nicanor should marry her.

75 *Kh-l-q-ī-s*; this implies that there were ties between the cities of Chalcidice in the north Aegean and Chalcis on the island of Euboea, which founded many of them (but not Stagira).

the garden. If she desires to stay in Stagira, she should be provided with accommodation in the house of her choice from among the houses of my family. The executors should take care of her, as mentioned, according to her needs and to what they consider would improve her life and meet her requirements.

As for the members of my household and my children, I do not need to dispose anything else. Nicanor ought to take care of Myrmex, the boy, and let him go back to his homeland with all his possessions whenever he desires. My maidservant Ambracis should be emancipated and if, after her manumission, she is still at my daughter's service when she marries, she should receive 500 drachmas and keep the maidservant that she now has. Thales ought to receive the young maid that we recently acquired, one of our male slaves, and 1000 drachmas. Simon shall be given the price of a slave so that he can buy him for himself, in addition to the slave for whom he has already paid; he should also be paid the additional amount that the testamentary executors consider adequate. When my daughter marries, my slaves Tycho, Philo, and Olympius ought to be manumitted. Olympius' son shall not be sold,⁷⁶ nor any other of my servants, but they shall remain at the service [of the house] until they achieve a proper age, then they ought to be manumitted and rewarded according to their merits.⁷⁷

[4.6.7.1]

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq says in his *Stories of the Philosophers and Wise Men* (*K. Nawādir al-falāsifah*):⁷⁸

The assemblies of philosophers originated because the kings of the Greeks and elsewhere used to teach their children wisdom and philosophy and to instruct them in different kinds of literature. For this reason, they painted their temples⁷⁹ with all kinds of images so that their hearts

76 In the version transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, Olympius' son shall also be manumitted; *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* 5.15.

77 On the different versions of Aristotle's last will and testament see Chroust, *Aristotle*, ch. 15.

78 Cf. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Ādāb*, 51.

79 Literally 'houses of gold' (*buyūt al-dhahab*), a term likely inspired by the legend of the 'Golden House' in the introduction to the Ps.-Aristotelian *De mundo*, which was well known in Arabic. For an edition of the Arabic version of this work see Brafman, 'The Arabic "De Mundo"': A reference to the gatherings of philosophers in the 'golden house' can also be found in the correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander, see Maróth, *Correspondence*, 148.

would find recreation in them and be inspired by contemplating them. The children used to be educated in houses painted with these images. The Jewish synagogues were painted like this, and also the Christian churches and temples, and the Muslims adorned their mosques so that their hearts would find pleasure in contemplating them and their souls would reflect upon them.

Once the sons of the kings had memorized some lessons in philosophy or literature, they used to climb the stairs [of the temple] and sit on one of the daises made of marble which was engraved with images, during festival days when the people of the kingdom used to gather in the temple after finishing prayers and the blessings. The student would then share the knowledge he had learnt, and the literature he had memorized, speaking in the midst of the people attending, and adorned with a crown and jewellery. The teacher used to be commended, honoured and treated with reverence, and the young boy lionized, and accounted wise for his great intellect and understanding. The temples were magnificently prepared, adorned with curtains, lit with lamps and candles, and censed with aromatic oils. The people were dressed up in all kinds of finery. This has continued until our time in the established practices held in the temples of the Sabians, the Zoroastrians, the Jews and the Christians; and the Muslims also have pulpits in the mosques.

[4.6.7.2]

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq continues:

Plato, the wise master, lived during the reign of Rufistanes, who had a son named Nitaforas.⁸⁰ Aristotle was then a young orphan eager to meet and enter the service of Plato. King Rufistanes had built a House of Wisdom and furnished it for his son Nitaforas, and had summoned Plato to serve there as a teacher. Nitaforas was an inconstant young man of limited intellect and poor retention; in contrast, Aristotle was remarkable for his sharp intelligence, sound understanding and expression. Plato taught Nitaforas philosophy and the arts, but what he learnt one day was forgotten the next, and then he was unable to articulate a single word.

80 This story has no historical basis and the names of the king and his son are fictional with vocalization *exempli gratia*. The Arabic rendition of these names is *R-w-f-s-t-ā-n-s* or *R-w-q-s-t-ā-n-y-s*, and *N-t-ā-f-w-r-s*. The same account, followed by a collection of aphorisms, can be found in the apocryphal correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander, see Maróth, *Correspondence*, 137–142.

Aristotle, however, took advantage of all the teachings addressed to Nitaforas, and absorbed and learnt by heart everything he heard without Plato ever being aware of that. He learnt in secret and kept it to himself, not telling his master anything. Then a festival day arrived, the temple was festooned and Nitaforas clothed in fine and luxury clothes. King Rufistanes and the people of the kingdom were present, as were Plato and his pupil. Once the ceremonies were performed, Plato and Nitaforas walked to the place of honour reserved for teaching, which looked over the audience and the kings, but the young Nitaforas was unable to share any wisdom or to say a single word about intellectual matters, and threw himself into Plato's arms. Plato excused himself before the people because he had not assessed his knowledge and was unaware of the level of his understanding, for he had taken for granted his wisdom and acumen.

Then he said: 'Community of students! Which one of you would like to stand up to share what you have learnt in place of Nitaforas?' Aristotle stepped forward and said, 'O master, I will'. But Plato ignored him and did not allow him to speak. When he asked his students again, Aristotle stood up again and said: 'Teacher of Wisdom, I will show the knowledge that I have learnt from the things you taught Nitaforas'. And Plato said to him: 'Come up then!' Aristotle rose to the stand without any preparation and wearing his humble and vulgar clothes, and he spoke like a singing bird about all the kinds of wisdom and arts that he had heard from Plato while he was teaching Nitaforas, without omitting a single word.

Then Plato said: 'O king, this is exactly what I had taught Nitaforas, and Aristotle has grabbed it like a thief and memorized it secretly, without forgetting a single word. What then will be my share of rewards or my loss?' On such days, the king would nominate his son for the kingship, honour him and elevate his rank, but on this occasion he ordered the adoption of Aristotle as a member of his household, and did not appoint his son as successor. That day everybody left approving Aristotle's gains and wondering about rewards and losses.

[4.6.8]

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq says:

This is what I have been able to find of the wise discourse that Aristotle pronounced that day:

To our Creator hallowing, exalting, and honouring!

Members of this assembly! Knowledge is a gift from the Creator, and wisdom a present from He who bestows and revokes, He who lowers and raises. The degrees of excellence and glory in this world are the result of knowledge, which is the spirit of life, and the matter of the most noble and elevated mind.

I am Aristotle, the son of Philip,⁸¹ the orphan servant of Nitaforas, the son of the noble king. I have learnt [Plato's teachings] by heart and I remember them. Praise and Hallowing to the Instructor of Justice and the Originator of all Causes!

O members of the assembly! People distinguish themselves on the basis of their intellects, not by their origins. This is what I have learnt from the wise Plato: philosophy is the chief of all sciences, while arts impregnate the minds and bear the fruits of intellect; penetrative reflection produces far-reaching ideas; moderation eases the way to your goals; love lasts in the hearts with the help of sweet words; compliance helps to accomplish matters; all-round morality improves life and brings perfect joy; silence confers a dignified appearance, but the ability to speak flawlessly elevates status and increases honour; relations depend on fairness; modesty increases love; probity improves actions; virtues invest with authority; justice subdues the enemy; forbearance grants more supporters; hearts are engaged through kindness; altruism is required by the word generous, whilst favours earn the name of honourable; friendship lasts with loyalty; virtues achieve perfection with sincerity; fine considerations are the invention of proverbs; time helps to take decisions; he who acknowledges the deficiencies of the material world deserves more; the passing of time engenders harm; the source of good health is good eating and drinking; the advent of adversities spoils life; being ungrateful for favours necessarily leads to being denied them; those prone to weariness are abandoned;⁸² the man of bad morals is a danger for his friend; the pusillanimous person has poor discernment; the miser is contemptible for all his riches, and the generous is honourable despite having few possessions; ambition is an ever-present poverty; resignation is an evident wealth; saying 'I do not know' counts for half of all wisdom; a quick answer

81 The reading of this name is conjectural, although it could correspond to a Greek Φίλων rather than Φίλιππος, cf. Ḥunayn's *Filūnīs* (which also occurs in the Hebrew translation of Ḥunayn's treatise, see Loewenthal, *Sinnsprüche*, 9).

82 Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq adds at this point an aphorism missing both in IAU and Mubashshir ibn Fātik: 'Weariness is a fault of character, not the consequence of being tired'.

is an occasion to stumble; the careful consideration of affairs improves the perceptive faculties; exercise sharpens the inborn qualities; education renders descent unnecessary; piety is the cloth of the wise, hypocrisy the garb of the ignorant; the stupid man suffers the torment of his spirit; recklessness with women is proper to idiots; worrying about the past is a waste of time; he who stands up against misfortune endangers himself; desire is the cause of sorrows; patience is the support of resolution, the fruit of joy and the end of suffering; he who befriends an ignorant man deludes himself; he who exposes himself to danger fails; he who knows himself does not go astray among the people; knowledge will hurt you if it surpasses your intellectual capacity; the experienced person is wiser than the physician; whenever your education falls short, remain silent; he who does not benefit from knowledge is not free from the harm of ignorance; someone who acts without haste⁸³ will not have regrets; the impulsive person enmeshes himself; he who hastens puts himself in trouble; he who thinks carefully is safe; he who reflects collects benefits; he who asks learns; he who takes upon himself what he cannot do will be embarrassed; experience does not have an end, but the intelligent man wants more of it; everybody is governed by the force of habit; everything can be changed except nature; every harm has its remedy except death; he who is known by his wisdom is regarded with admiration.

Conciseness is enough to show eloquence; poor understanding by the listener is only thing that damages an eloquent speaker. Whoever finds the garb of certitude will have no need to dispute when he is asked, but he who fails to attain it will succumb to ignorance, and will be lured by vain thoughts and turned away from certainty by passions, for the force of bad habit will set him apart from the virtues of learning.

Distress upon the calamities of friends is more praiseworthy than fortitude, but fortitude upon someone's own tragedy deserves more praise than distress; nothing changes fortune faster than standing up against tyranny; he who seeks to serve the uncultured ruler is no longer safe, but doomed; it is difficult to ascend to a position of authority, but too easy to fall in disgrace.

83 All manuscripts and al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik read *man ta'ayyada*, 'someone who is helped', but in this context the reading of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *man itta'ada*, is preferable.

[4.6.9]

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq continues:

Sayings of this sort were the first things that the sage would teach his student in his first year, in addition to learning to write Greek, and they subsequently proceeded to learn poetry and grammar, arithmetic, geography, astrology, medicine, music and, only after that were they promoted to the study of logic and, finally, philosophy. These are the disciplines devoted to the most elevated matters, and these ten were studied by pupils for ten years.⁸⁴

When the wise Plato saw how well had Aristotle learnt the teachings and lessons addressed to Nitaforas, with such secrecy, retentiveness and natural talent, and that the king had ordered him to adopt him as a member of his household, he decided to also keep Aristotle with him as a student and to instruct him in all the ten disciplines so that he would become a wise philosopher knowledgeable in all the branches of knowledge that we have mentioned.

[4.6.10]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – continue with a saying of Aristotle, which epitomizes the fundamentals of the preservation of health, states: ‘I would be surprised to see someone falling ill if he drinks “water of the vine”⁸⁵ and eats bread and meat; moves, rests, sleeps and stays awake in the right proportion; regulates his sexual life correctly, and keeps his humours balanced.’

[4.6.11]

Here are some of the wise sayings of Aristotle collected by the Emir al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik:⁸⁶

1. Know that nothing is more beneficial for people than their rulers, but only if they are righteous; there is nothing worse for them and their souls than

84 This categorization of sciences into ten disciplines is an oddity in Arabic literature, as Ritter and Pressner pointed out in their translation of the *Picatrix*, where they refer to a similar tenfold classification made in this work as ‘ein Unikum’; see Ritter and Pressner, *Picatrix*, 349 n. 1. A reference to the ‘ten sciences’ (without further discussion) also occurs in the anonymous *Book of Curiosities*, see Rapoport & Savage-Smith, *Egyptian Guide*, 173.

85 I.e. wine. On this expression see e.g. al-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, 567: *Mā’ al-karm: qad aktharū fī dhikrihī*, with an anonymous verse (in fact by Abū Nuwās) in praise of wine and its drinkers, with mock etymology: *fa-inna l-karma min karamin wa-jūdin | wa-mā’u l-karmi li-l-rajuli l-karīmī*.

86 Cf. Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 185–222.

- a corrupt one, because the ruler is to his subjects as the soul is to its body, which cannot live without it.
2. Beware of covetousness, for your well-being and that of those with you resides in renunciation. Know that renunciation is achieved through certainty, certainty through patience, and patience through reflection. If you reflect about the material world, you will not find it possible to praise it to the detriment of the afterlife, for this world is the abode of tribulation and the home of misfortune.
 3. If you want freedom from want, then seek it through contentment, because someone who does not possess contentment will not be made free from want by wealth, no matter how much there is.
 4. Know that one of the signs revealing the vicissitudes of this world and the grief of the life on it is that one part of it does not prosper unless another decays, and that there is no way for people on earth to glory except by humbling others.
 5. Know that worldly matters are sometimes gained without decisiveness or religious virtue. Now if you attain your need from it [i.e. the world], though you were aiming wrongly; or if it turns away from you, though you were aiming justly, then you must not be carried away by this and repeat the error or avoid what is right.
 6. Do not waste your life on useless things, nor spend your money on anything immoral, nor devote your efforts to undemanding aims, nor occupy your mind with wrongful thoughts, for you ought to protect what you have and your good fortune, especially at that time of your life when everything is profitable. If you need to occupy your soul with pleasures, let them be the conversation with learned men and the study of books of wisdom.
 7. You should know that no one is free of fault or virtue. Do not let the defects of a man prevent you from requesting his help where he has no shortcomings; nor let the many virtues of a man persuade you to ask for his help when it comes to something for which he has no means to help. But be also aware that too much help from the wicked will be more harmful for you than lack of help from the good.
 8. Justice is God's scale on earth, may He be exalted; with it He takes from the powerful to the weak, to the truthful from the false. Whoever alters the balance that God has set for His subjects in His scale behaves with the utmost ignorance and makes the most fundamental error towards Him.
 9. A learned man recognises an ignorant one because he was once ignorant himself; but an ignorant man does not recognise a learned man because he has never learned.

10. I do not seek knowledge with the aspiration of reaching its furthest point, nor aiming at possessing it all. I only ask for that which cannot be ignored and that which a sensible man cannot properly contradict.
11. Seek the wealth that does not perish, the life that does not change, the power that does not expire, and permanence that does not vanish.
12. Better yourself, and people will follow you.
13. Be merciful and compassionate, and do not let your mercy and your compassion fail those who deserve to be rewarded and have improved themselves with education.
14. Enjoin yourself to uphold the law, because in it resides the perfection of the pious.
15. Seize the opportunity against your enemy and act despite the vicissitudes of time.
16. Do not oppose those who are in the path of truth, do not fight those who adhere to religion.
17. Let religion take the place of your king and he who opposes religion will be his enemy. Never reprove or abase those who uphold the law. Take lessons from those who have passed and do not be a bad example for those who are to come.
18. There is no vainglory in that which perishes, nor wealth in that which does not remain.
19. Treat your weakest enemies as if they were stronger than you, and inspect your army like someone who has suffered a calamity and is in need of their protection.
20. Treat your subjects kindly, like someone whose kingdom has been violated and whose enemies are many.
21. Grant pre-eminence to the pious, the virtuous and the faithful, and in return you will be rewarded with success and distinction in this world.
22. Subdue the licentious, and you will improve your religion and that of your people.
23. Do not be negligent, for negligence leads to remorse.
24. Do not expect safety for yourself until the people are safe from your injustice, and do not punish anyone for something that you would allow for yourself.
25. Learn from those who have preceded you, remember what has passed, keep a healthy life, and you will be successful.
26. Sincerity is the basis of the affairs of all people.
27. Lying is an incurable disease for those afflicted by it.
28. He who constantly thinks about death and the afterlife improves his soul; and whoever stains his soul is detested by his friends.

29. He who searches for the hidden vices of his friends will never have any authority.
30. People desire the demise of those who behave tyrannically with them.
31. People hate the life of those excessive in reproof.
32. He who receives praise after his death is in a better state than someone who receives criticism during his life.
33. He who disputes with the ruler dies before his day.
34. A king who disputes with the common people dishonours himself.
35. Death is the noblest end for a king who has driven himself to ignominy.
36. He who loves the world immoderately dies poor; the contented man dies rich.
37. He who drinks without restraint is a lowlife.
38. He who dies has few who envy him.
39. Wisdom is the nobility of those without noble birth.
40. Ambition carries with it an inexpungible baseness.
41. Vileness destroys nobility and exposes the soul to harm.
42. Bad manners destroy all that the ancestors built.
43. Ignorance is the worst company.
44. Losing one's face by begging from people is a lesser death.
45. The ruler ought not to take money or goods from the common people, but rather adopt them and welcome them as friends; he should not desire from them honour other than that which he deserves for his good deeds and his virtuous administration.
46. When giving advice to Alexander, Aristotle wrote: 'The corrupt are easily led by fear; the honest by shame. You should discriminate between both groups: with the former be rough and ruthless, with the latter gracious and beneficent'.
47. He also told him: 'Let your anger be moderate, neither merciless nor pusillanimous: the former is proper to beasts, the latter proper to children'.
48. He also wrote to him: 'The deeds that bring honour to kings are three: virtuous laws, celebrated conquests, and the cultivation brought to barren lands'.
49. A concise speech encloses hidden meanings.
50. Seeking those who avoid you is dishonourable, avoiding those who seek you shows lack of ambition.
51. Calumny fills hearts with hate; he who confronts you [with slander] has in fact calumniated you, but he who conveys slander [about someone else] to you also slanders you.
52. Since the ignorant is his own enemy, how can anyone befriend him?
53. A happy man is someone who learns from others.

54. Aristotle said to his friends: 'Let your main concern be the exercise of your souls; as for the bodies, take care of them in the necessary measure, and abstain from pleasures because they enslave the weak soul; but they have no power over strong ones'.
55. We love the truth and we love Plato, but when they differ, truth is more deserving of our love.⁸⁷
56. Loyalty is the result of nobility.⁸⁸
57. The tongue of the ignorant is the key that opens the door to his destruction.
58. Necessity opens the door to stratagems.
59. Silence is better than being inarticulate.
60. Status grows through bestowing favours.⁸⁹
61. Modesty renders a wealthy life perfect.
62. Authority comes with heavy burdens.
63. An honest way of life reduces examples of disgrace.
64. Perfect your virtue by abandoning that which does not concern you.
65. Calumny engenders nastiness.
66. Aristotle once saw a young man who despised learning and told him: 'If you do not have patience for the toils of learning, you will have to bear with patience the miseries of ignorance'.
67. When one of the students of Aristotle vilified another student, he asked: 'Do you want us to accept what you have said about him if we accept what he said about you?'. 'No', he replied. And Aristotle said: 'Refrain from doing evil and it will evade you'.
68. When Aristotle saw a convalescent patient eating excessively because he believed that this would make him stronger, he said: 'The increase of strength does not depend on the amount of food that the body receives, but on the amount that it accepts'.
69. Experience is enough to acquire education, and the vicissitudes of time suffice to learn your lessons.
70. Aristotle was once asked: 'What is that which you should not say even if it is true?' He replied: 'You should never praise yourself'.

87 This is a variant of the *amicus Plato* maxim that can be traced to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1096a14–17. For the Arabic see Akasoy & Fidora *Arabic Version of the Nicomachean Ethics*, 125, with the corrections of Ullmann, *Nikomachische Ethik*, ii:127.

88 According to the version preserved by al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik: 'Loyalty is characteristic of nobility' (Badawī, *al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 202).

89 Cf. al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥāḍarah*, 137, where the saying is attributed to the Sasanian Qubād.

71. When he was asked: 'Why do the wise men treasure money?' He replied: 'So that they would not need to occupy a place that they do not deserve'.
72. Men are tested when they are angered, not when they are pleased; when they are powerful, not when they are abased.
73. Pleasing all people is an impossible goal, but do not worry about the anger of those who are pleased with tyranny.
74. Men are superior to animals for their ability to speak and their intelligence; someone who neither speaks nor understands will be reduced to the animal condition.
75. Do not drink immoderately because it alters your mind and impairs your discernment.
76. After answering a question to one of his students Aristotle asked: 'Have you understood?' 'Yes', answered the student. But he insisted: 'You do not seem to have understood'. 'How can you know that?', said the student. And Aristotle replied: 'I do not see you happy, and happiness is a sign of understanding'.
77. The best things are the newest, except for friendships: the best of them are the oldest.
78. Everything has a special quality; that of the mind is the ability to make good choices.
79. One does not deserve blame for not answering a question until it becomes clear that it has been asked properly: a good question leads to a good answer.
80. Hasty speech always leads to mistakes.
81. A small benefit from something known is enough to turn someone away from something that he does not know.
82. He who has tasted the sweetness of an action bears patiently the bitterness of its pursuit; he who has seen the utility of knowledge will seek to increase it.
83. Fighting evil with evil is pain, fighting evil with good is virtue.
84. Let your writings be the best reading, and what you keep in your memory be the best thing to write.
85. He wrote once to Alexander: 'If God grants you the victory you want, be merciful as He wishes'.
86. No boastful man⁹⁰ can be praised, no choleric man is happy, no honourable man is envious, no greedy man is rich, no weary man lasts as a friend,⁹¹ no one gains friendship with haste and then has regrets.

90 Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik (p. 203) reads 'dissolute man' (*fājūr*).

91 Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik reads 'no weary person is trustworthy' (p. 203). A variant of this

87. In most people, reason succumbs to passion, because they live with passion from childhood while reason only comes with maturity. Their souls receive passions like an old friend, but reason is for them a stranger.
88. One day, when Alexander had finished his lessons, Aristotle called him and asked about politics concerning the common people and the elites. He answered all the questions correctly, but Aristotle gave him a good beating nonetheless. When asked why he had done it, Aristotle replied: ‘This young man is being prepared for kingship, and I wanted to make him savour the taste of injustice so that he will prevent any oppression upon his people’.

[4.6.12]

At his deathbed, Aristotle directed that he would be buried in an octagonal mausoleum. In each of the eight sides some words comprising the principles on which the wellbeing of people reside were to be written. These eight sayings were displayed as follows:⁹²

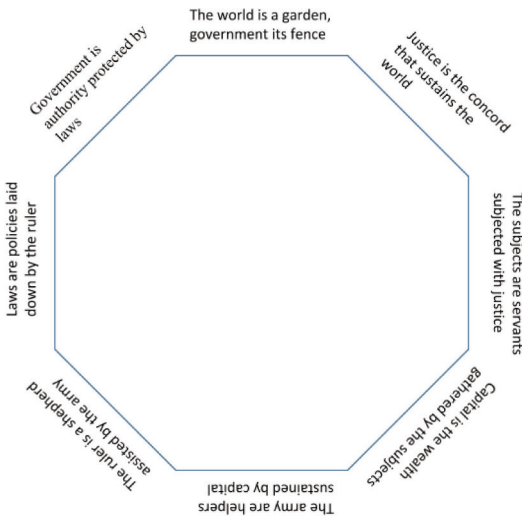


FIGURE 4.1

The eight sayings that Aristotle directed be placed on the sides of his octagonal mausoleum.

saying occurs in *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr*, attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa', with the variant 'no weary man has friends', see Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Adab*, 50.

92 For a manuscript illustration of this design, see Fig. 4.4 in Ignacio Sánchez's essay 'The Textual and Manuscript Tradition of Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah's *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* in Vol. One. Aristotle's 'virtuous circle' appears in Ibn Juljul (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 26) with clear textual parallelisms to IAU's text, but without the graphic representation. See also *Sīr al-asrār*, 126–127.

[4.6.13.1]

Among Aristotle's famous works Ptolemy lists the following:⁹³

1. *Protrepticus to Philosophy* (K. *yaḥuḍḍu fihi 'alā l-falsafah*), in three books.⁹⁴
2. *Sophist* (*Sūfistīs*), in one book.⁹⁵
3. *Rhetoric* (K. *Fī ṣinā'at al-rīṭūrī*), in three books.⁹⁶
4. *On Justice* (K. *Fī l-'adl*), in four books.⁹⁷
5. *On the Exercise and Education that Improve the State of Men's Souls* (K. *al-Riyāḍah wa-l-adab al-muṣliḥayn li-ḥālāt al-insān fī naṣiḥi*), in four books.⁹⁸
6. *On Inborn Nobility* (K. *Fī sharaf al-jins*), in five books.⁹⁹
7. *On Poets* (K. *Fī l-shu'arā'*), in three books.¹⁰⁰
8. *On Sovereignty* (K. *Fī l-mulk*), in six books.¹⁰¹
9. *On the Good* (K. *Fī l-Khayr*), in five books.¹⁰²
10. *Archytas* (K. *Arkhūṭas*), in three books.

93 This list of works is divided into two parts. The first is taken from Ptolemy's *Vita* and based on the catalogue of Andronicus (see below, title no. 101); the second part contains a number of Ps.-Aristotelian works added by IAU himself. On the bio-bibliographical Aristotelian tradition see Düring, *Aristotle*; Moraux, *Listes*. On the Arabic bibliographical tradition, see Müller, 'Das arabische Verzeichniss der Aristotelischen Schriften'; Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*. For the Greek edition of Aristotle's works see the standard text of Bekker, *Aristotelis Opera* with the volume of fragments by Gigon, *Aristotelis opera*, which includes Düring's partial translation of IAU's biography of Aristotle (iii:36–38) and the list of books translated by Steinschneider (iii:39–45).

94 Most scholars argue that Ptolemy shows confusion between the *Protrepticus* and the *On Philosophy* (περί φιλοσοφίας), which was in three books (Diogenes Laertius, 5.22), whereas the evidence for the *Protrepticus* points to one book, and thus translate title 1 by both Greek titles (e.g. Gigon, p. 39). Cf. Laurenti, 'Aristotele', 395–409. For a project aimed at reconstructing the *Protrepticus*, see <http://www.protrepticus.info>.

95 See Laurenti, 'Aristotele', 421–424.

96 This title may correspond to the dialogue also known as *Gryllos*. See Laurenti, 'Aristotele', 414–418. For Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, see below no. 39.

97 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī dhiqā'ūsūnis* (περί δικαιοσύνης). See Laurenti, 'Aristotele', 383–389.

98 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī fādiyas* (περί παιδείας). See Laurenti, 'Aristotele', 465–468.

99 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī awghāniyas* (περί εὐγενείας). See Laurenti, 'Aristotele', 454–456.

100 See Laurenti, 'Aristotele', 389–395.

101 IAU reads 'on sects' (*milal*) instead of 'on sovereignty' (*mulk*). Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī fāsīlis* (περί βασιλείας). See Laurenti, 'Aristotele', 460–462.

102 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī aghāthū* (περί ἀγαθού).

11. *On Whether Lines Are Divisible or Not* (K. *Fī l-khuṭūṭ hal hiya munqasimah aw lā*), in three books.¹⁰³
12. *On the Character of Justice* (K. *Fī ṣīfat al-‘adl*), in four books.¹⁰⁴
13. *On Difference and Divergence* (K. *Fī l-tabāyun wa-l-ikhtilāf*), in four books.¹⁰⁵
14. *On Passionate Love* (K. *Fī l-‘ishq*), three books.¹⁰⁶
15. *On Whether Forms Have Existence or Not* (K. *Fī l-ṣuwar hal lahā wujūd aw lā*), in three books.¹⁰⁷
16. *Epitome of Plato’s Opinions* (K. *Fī ikhtiṣār qawl Falāṭun*), in two books.
17. *Epitome of Plato’s Opinions on the Government of Cities* (K. *Fī ikhtiṣār aqāwīl Falāṭun fī tadbīr al-mudun*), in five books.¹⁰⁸
18. *Epitome of Plato’s Opinions from his Book on Politics* (K. *Fī ikhtiṣār aqāwīl Falāṭun fī kitābihi fī l-siyāsah*), in two books.¹⁰⁹
19. *On Pleasure* (K. *Fī l-ladhdhah*), in two books.¹¹⁰
20. *On Movements* (K. *Fī l-ḥarakāt*), in eight books.¹¹¹
21. *Mechanical Problems* (K. *Fī l-masā’il al-ḥiyaliyyah*), in two books.¹¹²
22. *On the Art of Poetry according to the Pythagorean School* (K. *Fī ṣinā’at al-shi’r ‘alā madhhab Fūthāghūras*), in two books.
23. *On the Spirit* (K. *Fī l-rūḥ*), in three books.¹¹³
24. *Problems* (K. *Fī l-masā’il*), in three books.¹¹⁴

103 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī ṭun aṭūmun ghramūn* (περί τῶν ἀτόμων γραμμῶν). This Ps.-Aristotelian work is known in Latin as *De lineis insecabilibus*, Mertier, ‘Aristote’, 493–495.

104 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī diqā’un* (περί δικαίων). See Laurenti, ‘Aristotele’, 383–389.

105 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *fārī diyāfūras* (περί διαφοράς). According to Ptolemy al-Gharīb, it consisted of two books.

106 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *aruṭūqūn* (ἔρωτικῶν). See Laurenti, ‘Aristotele’, 425–427.

107 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *fārī idūlun* (περί εἰδῶν).

108 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *falāṭūnus fūlītas* (Πλάτωνος πολιτείας).

109 IAU reads: ‘*Epitome of Plato’s Opinions on Pleasure from his Book on Politics* (K. *Fī ikhtiṣār aqāwīl Falāṭun fī l-ladhdhah fī kitābihi fī l-siyāsah*), in two books’. This title is neither in the manuscript containing Ptolemy’s *Vita* nor in the *pinax* copied by Ibn al-Qifṭī and is clearly the result of contamination with the next title in the list.

110 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī idū’āsmātā*; the transcription is corrupted and, according to Düring, this should be read as *περί ἡδονῆς*.

111 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī qinisā’us* (περί κινήσεως).

112 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *mikhānīqā frūblīmātā* (μηχανικά προβλήματα). Mertier, ‘Aristote’, 491–493.

113 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī bnawmaṭā* (περί πνεύματος).

114 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *brūblīmātā* (προβλήματα).

25. *On the River Nile of Egypt* (K. *Fī Nil Miṣr*), in three books.¹¹⁵
26. *On Animals' Adoption of Shelters to Hide In* (K. *Fī ittikhādh al-ḥayawān al-mawādi' li-ya'wiya fihā wa-yakmun*), in one book.
27. *Tract on all the Arts* (K. *Fī jawāmi' al-ṣinā'at*), in one book.¹¹⁶
28. *On Affection* (K. *Fī l-mahabbah*), in three books.¹¹⁷
29. *Categories* (K. *Qāṭiḡhūriyās*), in one book.¹¹⁸
30. *De Interpretatione* (K. *Bārimīniyās*), in one book.¹¹⁹
31. *Topica* (K. *Tūbīqā*), in eight books.¹²⁰
32. *Analytica Priora* (K. *Anūlūtīqā*), which is the *Book on Deductive Reasoning* (*al-Qiyās*), in two books.¹²¹
33. *Analytica Posteriora* (K. *Afūdhūqṭīqā*), which is the *Book on Demonstration* (*al-Burhān*), in two books.¹²²
34. *Sophistical Refutations* (K. *Fī l-sūfiṣṭā'iyyah*), in one book.¹²³
35. *Magna Moralia* (K. *Fī l-maqālāt al-kibār fī l-akhlāq*), in two books.¹²⁴
36. *Eudemian Ethics* (K. *Fī maqālāt al-ṣiḡhār fī l-akhlāq*), dedicated to Eudemus, in eight books.¹²⁵
37. *On the Government of Cities* (K. *Fī tadbīr al-mudun*), in eight books.¹²⁶
38. *On the Art of Poetry* (K. *Fī ṣinā'at al-shī'r*), in two books.¹²⁷
39. *Rhetoric* (K. *Fī ṣinā'at al-rīṭūrī*), in three books.¹²⁸

115 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fāri tū nīl* (περὶ τοῦ Νεῖλου).

116 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fāri takhnūn* (περὶ τεχνῶν).

117 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fāri fīliyās* (περὶ φιλίας).

118 On the Arabic translations of this work see Elamrani-Jamal, 'Catégories'.

119 See Hugonnard-Roche, 'De Interpretatione'.

120 See A. Elamrani-Jamal, 'Les Topiques'.

121 See Hugonnard-Roche, 'Les Premières Analytiques'.

122 See A. Elamrani-Jamal, 'Les Seconds Analytiques'.

123 The *Sophistical Refutations* have survived in Arabic in three different translations. On the transmission and translation of this work, see Hugonnard-Roche, 'Les Réfutations sophistiques'.

124 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *īthīqūn māghālun* (Ἠθικῶν μεγάλων).

125 IAU's title reads: *Minor Ethical Treatises* (i.e. not the *Magna Moralia*); Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *īthīqūn awdhīmus* (Ἠθικῶν Εὐδημείων). No full translation of this work into Arabic has come down to us – if it was ever made – but a fragment ascribed to the *Eudemian Ethics* is quoted in an epistle on the soul written by al-Fārābī, see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 5. For Eudemus, see n. 30.

126 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fūlīṭīqūn* (πολιτικῶν). There is no notice of full translations of Aristotle's *Politics* into Arabic, although authors such as al-Fārābī seem to have had access to this work. On the reception of *Politics* in the Muslim world see Pines, 'Aristoteles' *Politics*, and Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 52.

127 See Hugonnard-Roche, 'La Poétique'.

128 For the Arabic translations and commentaries and their editions see Aouad, 'La Rhétorique'; Vagelpohl, *Aristotle's Rhetoric*.

40. *Physics* (K. *Fī samʿ al-kiyān*), in eight books.
41. *De Caelo et Mundo* (K. *Fī l-samāʿ wa-l-ʿālam*), in four books.¹²⁹
42. *De Generatione et Corruptione* (K. *Fī l-kawn wa-l-fasād*), in two books.¹³⁰
43. *Meteorologica* (K. *Fī l-āthār al-ʿulwīyyah*), in four books.¹³¹
44. *De Anima* (K. *Fī l-nafs*), in three books.¹³²
45. *On Sense and the Sensible* (K. *al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs*), in one book.¹³³
46. *On Memory and Sleep* (K. *Fī l-dhikr wa-l-nawm*), in one book.
47. *On the Movements and Anatomy of Animals* (K. *Fī ḥarakāt al-ḥayawān wa-tashrīḥihā*), in seven books.¹³⁴
48. *Natures of Animals* (K. *Fī ṭabāʿiʿ al-ḥayawān*), in ten books.¹³⁵
49. *On Vital Organs* (K. *Fī l-aʿḍāʾ allatī bihā al-ḥayāh*), in four books.¹³⁶
50. *Generation of Animals* (K. *Fī kawn al-ḥayawān*), in five books.¹³⁷
51. *On the Movement of Terrestrial Animals* (K. *Fī ḥarakāt al-ḥayawānāt al-kāʾinah ʿalā al-arḍ*), in one book.¹³⁸
52. *On the Length and Brevity of Life* (K. *Fī ṭūl al-ʿumr wa-qīṣarihi*), in one book.
53. *On Life and Death* (K. *Fī l-ḥayāh wa-l-mawt*), in one book.

129 See Hugonnard-Roche, 'De Caelo'.

130 See Rashed, 'De Generatione et Corruptione'.

131 See Schoonheim, 'Météorologiques', and Petraitis, *The Arabic Version of Aristotle's Meteorology*. On the reception of this work see Lettinck, *Aristotle's Meteorology*. Note the doublet with no. 86.

132 See, Elamrani-Jamal, 'De Anima', and Arnzen, 'De Anima'; cf. also Lyons, *Themistius' Commentary*.

133 *De Sensu et Sensato*. The Arabic title *al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs* could refer both to the short tract *On Sense and the Sensible*, or to the collection in which it is included, the *Parva Naturalia*, composed of seven works. Since the work listed here consists of a single book, it is clear that it refers to the tract and not to the entire collection. The first six books at least of *Parva Naturalia* were translated into Arabic, but only fragments of a very periphrastic version have come down to us. On the Arabic tradition of this work see Hansberger, 'Kitāb al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs', and Di Martino, 'Parva Naturalia'. Cf. nos. 109, 124, and no. 4 in the works of Theophrastus (Ch. 4.7).

134 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *qīnīstaʿus fīn zawʿun anāṭumun* (κινήσεως τῶν ζώων ἀνατομῶν). This title might correspond to two Aristotelian works *De motu animalium* and *De partibus animalium*; on the Arabic tradition of these see Kruk, 'La zoologie aristotélicienne'.

135 The Latin *Historia Animalium*. See Kruk, 'La zoologie aristotélicienne'.

136 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *zawāyqūn mūrīyūn* (ζώων μορίων).

137 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī zwā ghanāsāʿus* (περὶ ζώων γενέσεως). On the Greek version of this work see Pellegrin, 'Corpus biologique', 481(E). For an edition and study of the Arabic version see Brugman & Drossaart Lulofs, *Aristotle. Generation of Animals*.

138 This is the *De Incessu Animalium*. Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *fārī būriyas* (περὶ πορείας); it seems that this text was not translated into Arabic. On the Greek version of this treatise see Pellegrin, 'Corpus biologique', 480–481(D).

54. *On Plants* (*K. Fī l-nabāt*), in two books.¹³⁹
55. *Metaphysics* (*K. Fīmā ba'd al-ṭabī'ah*), in thirteen books.¹⁴⁰
56. *Problems on Matter* (*K. Fī masā'il hayūlāniyyah*), in one book.
57. *Problems on Physics* (*K. Fī masā'il ṭabī'iyah*), in four books.
58. *Classifications* (*K. Fī l-qisam*), which contains sixteen books dealing with the categories of time, the categories of the soul and impulses, the matter of the agent, the object, and the act, and love, and the classes of animals; and the matter of the good and the bad, and the movements, and the classes of created beings.¹⁴¹
59. *On Plato's Classifications* (*K. Fī qisam Falāṭun*), in six books.
60. *On the Classification of the Six Conditions Governing Speech* (*K. Fī qismat al-shurūṭ allatī tushtaraṭu fī l-qawl*), composed in three books.
61. *Refutation of Those who Claim that the Premises of the Antithesis Are Taken From the Same Utterance* (*K. Fī munāqaḍat man yaz'umu bi-an tu'khadha muqaddamāt al-naqīḍ min nafs al-qawl*), in thirty nine books.¹⁴²
62. *On the Counter-argument Named Enstasis* (*K. Fī l-nafy yusammā ištāsis*), in thirteen books.¹⁴³
63. *On Theses* (*K. Fī l-mawḍū'āt*), in thirty-four books.
64. *On Theses Concerning Passionate Love* (*K. Fī mawḍū'āt 'ishqiyyah*), in one book.¹⁴⁴
65. *On Theses Concerning Physics* (*K. Fī mawḍū'āt ṭabī'iyah*), in one book.¹⁴⁵
66. *Inventory of Theses* (*K. Fī thabat al-mawḍū'āt*), in one book.¹⁴⁶
67. *On Definitions* (*K. Fī l-ḥudūd*), in sixteen books.¹⁴⁷
68. *On Things that Support a Definition* (*K. Fī l-ashyā' al-taḥdīdiyyah*), in four books.¹⁴⁸
69. *On the Definition of Topics* (*K. Fī taḥdīd ṭūbīqā*), in one book.¹⁴⁹

139 See Hugonnard-Roche, 'Pseudo-Aristote *De Plantis*'.

140 Martin, 'La *Métaphysique*'; Martini Bonadeo, 'La *Métaphysique*. Tradition syriaque et arabe'; Peters, *Aristoteles Arabicus*, 12–14 (no. 2). Cf. also below title no. 134.

141 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *dhiyārāsis* (διαίρεσεις).

142 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *afīghrāmātā* (ἐπιχειρήματα).

143 Cf. the volume ἐνστάσεις in one book or three, Diogenes 5.23, cf. 5.43.

144 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *thāsīs arūṭiqā* (θέσεις ἐρωτικά).

145 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *thāsīs fūsīqā* (θέσεις φυσικά).

146 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *thāsā'un angharā* (θέσεων ἀναγραφή).

147 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *awrā* (ὄροι).

148 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *awristā* (ὀροστικά).

149 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *birūs awrus ṭūbīqūn* (πρὸς ὄρους τοπικῶν). This is presumably either the title ὄροι πρὸ τῶν τοπικῶν in 7 books (Diogenes Laertius 5.23) or the τοπικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὄρους in 2 books (Diogenes 5.24; but see title no. 72).

70. *On Establishing Definitions of Topics* (*K. Fī taqwīm ḥudūd ṭūbīqā*), in three books.¹⁵⁰
71. *On the Theses with which Definitions Are Established* (*K. Fī l-mawḍūʿāt tuqawwamu bihā al-ḥudūd*), in two books.¹⁵¹
72. *On Criticisms of Definitions* (*K. Fī munāqadat al-ḥudūd*), in two books.¹⁵²
73. *On the Art of Definition as Used by Theophrastus in the Analytica Priora* (*K. Fī ṣināʿat al-taḥdīd allatī istaʿmalahā Thāwfrastūs li-anālūṭīqā al-ūlā*), in one book.¹⁵³
74. *On Establishing Definition* (*K. Fī taqwīm al-taḥdīd*), in two books.
75. *Problemata* (*K. Fī l-masāʿil*), in twenty-eight books.¹⁵⁴
76. *On Introductions to Problems* (*K. Fī muqaddamāt al-masāʿil*), in three books.¹⁵⁵
77. *On Routine Problems for Use by Students* (*K. Fī l-masāʿil al-dawriyyah allatī yastaʿmiluhā al-mutaʿallimūn*), in four books.¹⁵⁶
78. *Precepts* (*K. Fī l-waṣāyā*), in four books.¹⁵⁷
79. *Memoranda* (*K. Fī l-tadhkirāt*), in two books.¹⁵⁸
80. *On Medicine* (*K. Fī l-ṭibb*), in five books.¹⁵⁹
81. *On Diet* (*K. Fī tadbīr al-ghidhāʿ*), in one book.¹⁶⁰
82. *On Agriculture* (*K. Fī l-filāḥah*), in ten books.¹⁶¹
83. *On Liquids* (*K. Fī l-ruṭūbāt*), in one book.
84. *On Pulse* (*K. al-nabd*), in one book.
85. *On Common Phenomena* (*K. Fī l-aʿrāḍ al-ʿammiyyah*), in three books.
86. *Meteorologica* (*K. Fī l-āthār al-ʿubwiyyah*), in two books.¹⁶²
87. *On Reproduction in Animals* (*K. Fī tanāsul al-ḥayawān*), in two books.

150 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *birūs ṭus awrismus* (πρὸς τοὺς ὀρισμούς). Presumably the same as the ὀρισμοί in 2 books recorded by Diogenes 5.24.

151 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *birūs awrus thāsīs abikhrimātā* (πρὸς ὄρους θέσεων ἐπιχειρηματικῶν).

152 Perhaps the τοπικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὄρους α' β' (Diogenes 5.24), if this is to be translated 'Two Books of Topics Relating to the Definitions'.

153 On Theophrastus' work see Gutas, 'Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus', 81 (no. 3).

154 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *brūblīmātā* (προβλήματα).

155 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *brūblīmātun brunwāghrāwā* (προβλήμάτων προαγορευομένων).

156 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *brūblīmātā anquqaliyā* (προβλήματα ἐγκυκλιῶν).

157 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *barnghalmātā* (παραγγέλματα).

158 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *ibumnīmātā* (ὑπομνήματα).

159 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *brūblīmātā qāt?dī iyātrīqā*. This must be the (προβλήματα) ἰατρικά recorded by Diogenes 5.25; the middle word is unclear.

160 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *bārī diyātātīs* (περὶ διαίτης).

161 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *ghārīqūn* (γεωργικῶν).

162 Note the doublet, no. 43, which has four books.

88. Another work on reproduction in animals, in two books.
89. *On Premises* (*K. Fī l-muqaddamāt*), in twenty-three books.¹⁶³
90. Another work on other principles, in seven books.
91. *On the Constitutions of the Cities and the Number of Nations* (*K. Fī siyāsāt al-mudun wa-ʿadad al-umam*), in which he deals with one hundred and seventy-one large cities.¹⁶⁴
92. *Varied Memoranda* (*K. Fī tadhkirāt ʿiddah*), in sixteen books.¹⁶⁵
93. Another work of the same sort, in one book.
94. *On Epicheiremes* (*K. Fī l-munāqaḍāt*), in one book.¹⁶⁶
95. *On Correlation* (*K. Fī l-muḍāf*), in one book.¹⁶⁷
96. *On Time* (*K. Fī l-zamān*), in one book.¹⁶⁸

[4.6.13.2]

Some works comprising several volumes that I [i.e. Ptolemy] found in the library of Apellicon¹⁶⁹ include:

97. Another book on memoranda.
98. A large work with a number of epistles in eight books.¹⁷⁰
99. *On the Laws of the Cities* (*K. Fī sunan al-mudun*), in two books.¹⁷¹
100. Epistles found by Andronicus,¹⁷² in twenty parts.
101. Several books including memoranda, the names of which are listed in Andronicus' index of the works of Aristotle.
102. *Questions on the Obscure Verses in Homer's Poetry* (*K. Fī Masā'il min ʿawāṣ shi'r Ūmīrus*), in ten books.

163 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *brūtāsīs* (προτάσεις).

164 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *būlītīyā* (πολιτεῖαι). Note the doublet, no. 99.

165 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *ibūmnīmātā* (ὑπομνήματα).

166 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *abūkhiryāmātun* (ἐπιχειρήματων).

167 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek title *bārī tus sī*, maybe a faulty transcription of *περι τοῦ πρὸς τι*.

168 Ibn al-Qifṭī adds the Greek *bārī khrūnū* (περι χρόνου).

169 Apellicon of Teos (or Athens) bought the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus from the family to whom Theophrastus had bequeathed them. He fought against Rome in the Mithridatic war and his library was confiscated by the Roman general Sulla and taken to Rome. See below nos. 100, 101.

170 Ptolemy MS Aya Sofya A4833 adds that they were collected by Artemon; see Goulet, 'Artémon'. 'Epistles' here and in the next entry may refer to treatises rather than letters, but Aristotle did write formal addresses to a number of individuals (Diogenes 5.27).

171 Ibn al-Qifṭī gives the Arabic title *On the Laws of Cities* (*K. Fī sunan al-mudun*), and the Greek title *būlītīyā* (πολιτεῖαι). A doublet of no. 91.

172 Andronicus of Rhodes (fl. ca. 60 BC) was the editor of Aristotle's works after the library of Apellicon had been brought to Rome (cf. above on Apellicon of Teos). His edition was crucial for the survival of the Aristotelian corpus and his catalogue is the basis of Ptolemy's. Cf. nos. 100–101.

103. *Interesting Topics in Medicine* (K. *Fī ma'ānī malīḥah min al-ṭibb*).¹⁷³
Ptolemy states: 'These are all the works by Aristotle that I have seen, but others have seen additional books.'

[4.6.13.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – continue: I have come across many other books by Aristotle that were not listed by Ptolemy, including:

104. *Physiognomics* (K. *al-Firāsah*).¹⁷⁴
105. *On Politics* (K. *al-Siyāsah al-madaniyyah*).
106. *On Practical Politics* (K. *al-Siyāsah al-'amaliyyah*).
107. *Questions on Wine and Inebriation* (*Masā'il fī l-khamr wa-l-sukr*), consisting of twenty-two questions.
108. *On the Oneness of God* (K. *Fī l-tawḥīd*), written in the style of Socrates.
109. *On Youth and Old Age* (K. *al-shabāb wa-l-haram*).¹⁷⁵
110. *On Health and Disease* (K. *al-ṣiḥḥah wa-l-saqam*).
111. *On Infection* (K. *Fī l-i'dā'*)
112. *On Sexual Intercourse* (K. *Fī l-bāh*).
113. An epistle by Aristotle to his son.
114. His testament to Nikanor.¹⁷⁶
115. *On Movement* (K. *al-Ḥarakah*).
116. *On the Virtue of the Soul* (K. *Faḍl al-naḥs*).¹⁷⁷
117. *On Atomic Mass* (K. *Fī l-'iẓam alladhī lā yatajazza'*).¹⁷⁸
118. *On Transformation* (K. *al-Tanaqqul*).
119. *Golden Epistle* (*al-Risālah al-Dhahabiyyah*).¹⁷⁹

173 Ibn al-Qiftī adds the Greek title *iyātrīqīs*, i.e. the Περὶ ἰατρικῆς.

174 Ibn al-Nadīm lists this work in the section on occult sciences, stating that this is a false attribution (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 314). IAU refers to a translation of it in his biography of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (Ch. 8.29.22 title no. 105). This translation has survived and been edited in: Ghersetti, *Il Kitāb Aristātālīs*. See also Bertier, 'Opuscules'; and on the Arabic tradition see Thomann, 'La Tradition Arabe de la *Physiognomonie* d'Aristote'.

175 *De Inventute et Senectute*; this is one of the seven short works that compose the *Parva Naturalia*; see no. 45.

176 This is the text reproduced above.

177 This title could correspond to the Ps.-Aristotle, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, which is referred to in some Arabic sources as K. *Faḍā'il al-naḥs*. On this work see Cacouros, 'De virtutibus et vitiis'.

178 Lit. 'the mass that is not divisible into parts.'

179 Most commonly known as *De Mundo*. On this apocryphal work from the period of the early Roman empire, see Raven, 'De Mundo. Tradition syriaque et arabe'; and the essays collected in Thom, *Cosmic Order*.

120. Epistle to Alexander on the Disposition of Royal Power (*Risālah ilā al-Iskandar fī tadbīr al-mulk*).¹⁸⁰
121. *On Beings and Natures* (K. *al-Kiyānāt wa-l-ṭabīʿiyyāt*).
122. *On the Causes of the Stars* (K. *Fī ʿilal al-nujūm*).¹⁸¹
123. *On Rain Stars* (K. *al-Anwāʾ*).¹⁸²
124. *On Wakefulness* (R. *Fī l-yaqāzah*).¹⁸³
125. *Description of Stones and their Benefits, and the Cause of the Creation of Celestial Bodies* (K. *Naʿt al-aḥjār wa-manāfiʿihā wa-l-sabab fī khalq al-ajrām al-samāwiyyah*).¹⁸⁴
126. A letter to Alexander on spiritual matters and their effect in each clime.
127. *Ismātālīs*, which he dedicated to Alexander.¹⁸⁵
128. *Epistle on the Natures of the World* (R. *Fī ṭabāʿiʿ al-ʿālam*), dedicated to Alexander.
129. *The Book of Iṣṭimākhīs* (K. *Iṣṭimākhīs*), composed when Alexander wanted to go to Asia Minor.¹⁸⁶

180 This title may correspond to the Ps.-Aristotle K. *al-Siyāsah* known in Latin as *De regimine*, see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 59 (n. 3). This letter has been edited several times, for a recent edition, English translation, and study of the work see Swain, *Themistius, Julian and Greek Political Theory*, 108–122, 180–207.

181 This title might correspond to the geological treatise known as *De Causis proprietatum elementorum*, an apocryphal treatise of Arabic origin, see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 57–58.

182 In Arabic lore, the *anwāʾ* were stars connected with the occurrence of rain, winds and tempests. This title might be related to the apocryphal *The Situation of Names and Winds*, since this work is a short extract from a lost *Περὶ σημείων*, which according to Proclus, *In Timaeum* vol. 3 p. 151 ed. Diehl, was a work by Theophrastus concerned with prognostication and ‘heavenly matters’.

183 This is likely to be the work known in Latin as *De Somno et Vigilia*, one of the seven short works of the *Parva Naturalia*, on which see title no. 45.

184 This most likely corresponds to the Ps.-Aristotle *De Lapidibus*, on which see Zonta, *De Lapidibus*.

185 This apocryphal epistle is listed in the *Fihrist* section of Hermetical works and is also referred to as K. *al-Salmātīs*, for Arabic editions see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 58 (n. 3). it might also correspond with Ps.-Aristotle K. *al-Iṣṭamātīs*, on which see Ullmann, *Die Natur und Geheimwissenschaften*, 374, Burnett, ‘Arabic, Greek and Latin Works’, and Burnett, ‘Hermann of Carinthia and the *Kitāb al-Iṣṭamātīs*’.

186 This tract, suggesting that it is based on a Greek word like *στοιχείον* (in the sense ‘sign of the Zodiac’), *στοιχειωματικός* = ‘caster of nativities’, is another apocryphal work of Hermetic content; see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 58 (n. 3), and Ullmann, *Die Natur und Geheimwissenschaften*, 375. For a discussion of the reception of this work see Burnett, ‘Arabic, Greek and Latin Works’.

130. *Mechanics* (K. *al-Ḥiyāl*).¹⁸⁷
131. *On Mirrors* (K. *al-Mir'āh*).
132. *On Sovereignty* (K. *al-Qawl 'alā al-rubūbiyyah*).¹⁸⁸
133. *Natural Problems* (K. *al-masā'il al-ṭabī'iyah*), also known as *Why is that?* (*Mā bāl*),¹⁸⁹ in seventeen books.
134. *Metaphysics* (*Māṭāfūsīqā*), in twelve books.¹⁹⁰
135. *Book of Animals* (K. *al-Ḥayawān*), in nineteen books.
136. Description of animals that lack verbal skills and the benefits, disadvantages, etc., of these.
137. *Exposition of the Pure Good* (K. *Īdāh al-khayr al-mahḍ*).¹⁹¹
138. *Book of Pickaxes* (K. *al-Malāṭīs*).¹⁹²
139. *On Bloody Expectoration* (K. *Fī naṭh al-dam*).
140. *On Minerals* (K. *al-Ma'ādin*).
141. *The Unique Book* (K. *al-Yatīm*), which was written for Alexander the King and deals with the conqueror and the conquered, the seeker and the sought.
142. *The Secret of the Stars* (K. *asrār al-nujūm*).

187 No Arabic translation of this work has come down to us, but it is mentioned in some secondary sources and was probably used in al-Khāzinī's *Mizān al-ḥikmah*; see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 61 (n. 5).

188 This is the so-called *Theology* of Aristotle, in fact an Arabic periphrastic translation of Plotinus' *Enneads* IV, V and VI, which was falsely attributed to Aristotle. The title of this work was also K. *al-Uthūlūjiyyah*, using the transliteration of the Greek word, of which *rubūbiyyah* (sovereignty) is an Arabic interpretation. Ibn Juljul also uses the title K. *al-Rubūbiyyah*, see *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭṭibā'*, 25. On this work see Aouad, 'La *Théologie d'Aristote*'; Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 72–74 (n. 15).

189 Cf. the Greek δὲ τί used to introduce the topics in the surviving *Problems*, which is preserved in thirty-eight books.

190 Cf. above, title no. 55.

191 This is the book rendered into Latin as the *Liber de Causis* or *Liber Aristotelis de expositione bonitatis purae*; it also bore the Arabic title K. *Fī Kalām mahḍ al-khayr*. On this work see D'Ancona & Taylor, 'Liber de Causis'.

192 Yet another Hermetical work of Arabic origin, see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 58 (n. 3).

4.7 Theophrastus¹

Theophrastus was the nephew of Aristotle and one of his students. He enjoyed the legacy that Aristotle left for them and, after his death, he took up his role as teacher.

The books of Theophrastus include:

1. *On the Soul* (K. *al-Nafs*), in one book.²
2. *Meteorology* (K. *al-āthār al-ʿulwīyyah*), in one book.³
3. *On Signs* (K. *al-Adillah*)
4. *The Sense and the Sensible* (K. *al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs*), in four books.⁴
5. *Metaphysics* (K. *mā baʿd al-ṭabīʿah*), in one book.⁵
6. *On the Causes of Plants* (K. *Asbāb al-nabāt*).⁶
7. *Commentary on [Aristotle's] Categories* (*Tafsīr Qāṭīghūrīyās*), which is considered a false attribution.⁷
8. *Epistle to Democritus on the Oneness of God* (K. *ilā Dimuqrāt fī l-tawḥīd*).⁸
9. *Physical Problems* (K. *Fī l-masāʾil al-ṭabīʿīyyah*).⁹

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- 1 This biography is present in all three versions of the text. IAU does not refer to the source from which he takes the information about Theophrastus, but the text reproduces almost verbatim the entry on this author in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 312, ed. Sayyid 2/1:172. On the Arabic tradition on Theophrastus see: Gutas, 'The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus'; and Fortenbaugh et al., *Theophrastus, Life and Theophrastus, Sources*.
 - 2 No Arabic translation has come down to us, but it was used by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā in his *On the Difference between the Spirit and the Soul*, see Gutas, 'The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus', 81 (no. 6).
 - 3 On this work see Gutas, 'The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus', 81 (no. 5).
 - 4 Cf. no. 45 in the list of Aristotle's books.
 - 5 For a study and edition of the Arabic version of this work see Gutas, *Theophrastus on First Principles*.
 - 6 This treatise, surviving in Greek, was translated into Arabic by Ibrāhīm ibn Bakkūsh, see Gutas, 'The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus', 82 (no. 8).
 - 7 See Gutas, 'The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus', 81 (no. 1).
 - 8 Gutas suggests that, judging by the title, this work might be a false attribution of a work of alchemical content, see Gutas, 'The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus', 82 (no. 12). This might also refer to Democritus the Atomist, see Diogenes L. 5.27 *Πρὸς Δημοκρίτον*.
 - 9 This work was translated into Arabic by Yahyā ibn ʿAdī, see Gutas, 'The Life, Works and Sayings of Theophrastus', 82 (no. 9).

4.8 Alexander of Aphrodisias, from Damascus¹

[4.8.1]

Alexander lived in the time of the Diadochi,² after the death of Alexander. He was the contemporary of Galen, whom he met. He used to call him ‘mule head’,³ for they often engaged in altercations and controversies. Alexander was a philosopher well-versed in all disciplines and particularly gifted in natural philosophy. He held a public seminar where he used to teach, and he wrote numerous commentaries on the works of Aristotle, which were in high demand and profitable to engage with.

Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn ‘Adī says:⁴

Alexander wrote a commentary on the entire book of the *Physics* (*as-Samā‘ al-Ṭabī‘ī*), and I have also seen his commentary on *De Demonstratione* (*K. al-Burhān*). Both books were part of the inheritance left by Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh, the Christian translator, and were offered to me for one hundred and twenty dinars. I tried to collect the money, but when I came back to purchase them I saw that the two commentaries had been sold to a Khurāsānī, together with other books, for three thousand dinars.

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- 1 This biography is present in all three versions of the text. IAU does not refer to the source from which he takes the information about Alexander of Aphrodisias. The text reproduces verbatim part of Ibn al-Nadīm’s entry on this author, cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:174–175. The list of books, however, does not entirely correspond to the one given by Ibn al-Nadīm; the titles and the information about the commentaries on the books of the *Organon* are taken from Ibn al-Nadīm’s entry on Aristotle (*Fihrist*, ed. Tajaddud, 309, Sayyid 2/1:161–163). The rest of the books come from a different source; there are some similarities in the arrangement and the wording of the titles with Ibn al-Qiftī, though he only lists eleven items (*Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’,* 54–55). On Alexander of Aphrodisias see Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’ 125–139 (including the question of ‘from Damascus’); Fazzo, ‘Alexandros d’Aphrodisias’; and *ET*², art. ‘al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī’ (G. Strohmaier).
 - 2 In Arabic *mulūk al-ṭawā’if*, i.e. factional or petty kings. A marginal gloss in MS A states: ‘They are called the petty kings because Alexander, who ruled over the entire world, appointed delegates and governors in every land. When he died all of them, one way or another turned their governorates into petty kingdoms of which they became kings; that is why they are called petty kings.’
 - 3 A marginal gloss in MS A states: ‘Alexander of Aphrodisias nicknamed Galen “mule head” because of the strength of Galen’s head when debating and disputing. But it is also said that he had a big head.’
 - 4 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’,* 52. Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn ‘Adī (d. 363/974) was a Christian philosopher, translator, and commentator on the works of Aristotle; Ibn al-Nadīm used his library to collect information for his *Fihrist*. On this author see *ET*², art. ‘Yahyā ibn ‘Adī’ (G. Endress).

Someone else said that all these books were sold and taken away, but Abū Zakariyyā claimed that he had asked Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh for the texts of the *Sophistical Refutations*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics*, which he had purchased for fifty dinars. He did not sell the books afterwards and they were burned when he died.⁵

[4.8.2]

Alexander of Aphrodisias' writings include:

1. *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* (*Tafsīr K. Qāṭīghūriyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).⁶
2. *Commentary on Aristotle's On Interpretation* (*Tafsīr Bārīmīniyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).⁷
3. *Commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics* (*Tafsīr K. Anūlūṭiqā al-ūlā*), in which he commented as far as the figures of predication (*al-ashkāl al-ḥamliyyah*). He has two commentaries on this work, one better than the other.⁸
4. *Commentary on Aristotle's Posterior Analytics* (*Tafsīr K. Anūlūṭiqā al-thāniyah*).
5. *Commentary on Aristotle's Topics* (*Tafsīr Ṭūbiqā li-Aristūṭālīs*). The extant parts of this work are part of his commentary on the first book, and his commentary on books five, six, seven and eight.
6. *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics* (*Tafsīr al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī li-Aristūṭālīs*).
7. *Commentary on part of the first book of Aristotle's On the Heavens* [i.e. *De Caelo et Mundo*] (*Tafsīr K. al-samā' wa-l-'ālam li-Aristūṭālīs*).
8. *Commentary on Aristotle's On Generation and Corruption* (*Tafsīr K. al-kawn wa-l-fasād li-Aristūṭālīs*).
9. *Commentary on Aristotle's Meteorology* (*Tafsīr K. al-āthār al-'ulwiyyah li-Aristūṭālīs*).
10. *On the Soul* (*K. al-Nafs*), in one book.
11. *On the Conversion of Premises* (*K. Fī 'aks al-muqaddamāt*).⁹
12. *On Providence* (*M. Fī l-'ināyah*).¹⁰

5 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 52.

6 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 129 (no. 6). The Arabic version of this treatise has not survived.

7 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 130 (no. 7).

8 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 128 (no. 1). Apparently restricted to Bk 1 of *Analytica Priora*.

9 This work was also known as *Maqālah fī in'ikās al-muqaddamāt*. See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 136 (no. 28). Edition in Badawī, *Commentaires*, 55–80.

10 Edition and study in Ruland, *Die arabische Fassungen*.

13. *On the Difference between Material and Genus* (*M. Fī l-farq bayna l-hayūlā wa-l-jins*).¹¹
14. *Refutation of Those Who Claim Everything Comes to Be from Something* (*M. Fī l-radd ‘alā man qāla innahu lā yakūnu shay’ illā min shay’*).¹²
15. *On the Fact that Vision does not Occur by Rays Emanating from the Eye, and Refutation of Those Who Hold the Theory of Emanation* (*M. Fī anna al-abṣār lā yakūn bi-shu‘ā‘āt min al-‘ayn wa-l-radd ‘alā man qāla bi-inbithāth al-shu‘ā‘*).¹³
16. *On Colour and its Nature According to the Opinion of the Philosopher* [i.e. Aristotle] (*M. Fī l-lawn wa-mā huwa ‘alā ra’y al-faylasūf*).¹⁴
17. *On Difference, Especially According to Aristotle* (*M. Fī l-faṣl khāṣṣatan mā huwa ‘alā ra’y Aristūṭālīs*).¹⁵
18. *On Melancholy* [?] (*M. Fī l-Mālikhūliyā*).¹⁶
19. *On Genera and Species* (*M. Fī l-ajnās wa-l-anwā‘*).
20. *Refutation of the Eighth Book of Galen’s On Demonstration* (*M. Fī l-radd ‘alā Jālīnūs fī l-maqālāh al-thāminah min kitābihi fī l-burhān*).
21. *Refutation of Galen’s Rebuttal of Aristotle Thesis that Every Mobile is moved by a Mover* (*M. Fī l-radd ‘alā Jālīnūs fīmā ṭa‘ana ‘alā qawl Aristūṭālīs inna kull mā taḥarraka fa-innamā yataḥarraku ‘an muḥarrik*).¹⁷
22. *Refutation of Galen’s Thesis on the Possible* (*M. Fī l-radd ‘alā Jālīnūs fī mādat al-mumkin*).¹⁸
23. *On the Divisions of the Bodies* (*M. Fī l-fuṣūl allatī tuqassamu bihā al-ajsām*).
24. *On the Intellect According to Aristotle* (*M. Fī l-‘aql ‘alā ra’y Aristūṭālīs*).¹⁹
25. *On the World and Which Parts Need the Assistance of Other Parts for Their*

11 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 133 (no. 19, o). Cf. no. 38.

12 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 137 (no. 35).

13 This treatise is part of the second book on the soul commonly known as *Mantissa*, see Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 135 (no. 21, b); and Gätje, *Studien zur Überlieferung der aristotelischen Psychologie*, 140–172.

14 See Gätje, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Farbe*.

15 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 136 (no. 29).

16 Unidentified. All manuscripts with IAU’s work read *al-mālikhūliyā*, as does the *Fihrist*, which also has the variant *al-manākhūliyā*. Ibn al-Qifī however reads *al-thawlūjiyyā*, ‘theology’.

17 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 136 (no. 25). There is an English translation of this work: Rescher & Marmura, *Refutation of Galen*.

18 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 136 (no. 27).

19 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 134 (no. 21).

- Existence and Continuity* (R. *Fī l-ālam wa-ayy ajzā'ihī tahtāj fī thabātihā wa-dawāmihā ilā tadbīr ajzā' ukhrā*).²⁰
26. *On the Oneness of God* (K. *al-tawhīd*).
27. *On the Principles of Everything According to Aristotle* (M. *Fī mabādi' al-kull 'alā ra'y Aristūṭālīs*).²¹
28. *On the Opinions of the Philosophers on the Oneness of God* (K. *Ārā' al-falāsifah fī l-tawhīd*).
29. *On the Origination of Forms Ex Nihilo* (M. *Fī ḥudūth al-ṣuwar min lā shay'*).²²
30. *On the Foundation of Common Things* (M. *Fī qiwām al-umūr al-āmmiyah*).²³
31. *Commentary on What Aristotle Said about the Method of Division According to Plato* (M. *Fī tafsīr mā qālahu Aristūṭālīs fī ṭarīq al-qismah 'alā ra'y Aflāṭūn*).²⁴
32. *On the Fact that Qualities are not Corporeal* (M. *Fī anna al-kayfiyyāt laysat ajsāman*).
33. *On Free Will* (M. *Fī l-istiṭā'ah*).²⁵
34. *On the Contraries and How they are they the Principle of Everything According to Aristotle* (M. *Fī l-aḍḍād wa-annahā awā'il al-ashyā' 'alā ra'y Aristūṭālīs*).²⁶
35. *On Time* (M. *Fī l-zamān*).
36. *On Matter and How it is Effected and Generated* (M. *Fī al-hayūlā wa-annahā ma'lūlah maḥūlah*).
37. *On the Fact that One Force Receives Simultaneously [Two] Contraries, According to Aristotle* (M. *Fī anna al-quwwah al-wāḥidah taqbalu l-aḍḍād jamī'an 'alā ra'y Aristūṭālīs*).²⁷

20 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 133 (no. 19, m).

21 This is a commentary on the Ps.-Aristotelian work known in Latin as *De principiis universitatis*; see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 66 (no. 12). The Arabic version of Alexander of Aphrodisias' work has been edited in Badawī, *Aristū 'inda al-'Arab*, 353–380 and Genequand, *On the Cosmos*.

22 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 138 (no. 49).

23 Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 138 (no. 53).

24 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 138 (no. 14).

25 Edition and study in Ruland, *Die arabische Fassungen*.

26 This might correspond to the work edited by Badawī with the title *Maqālah Fī anna al-mukawwan idhā (istaḥāla) istaḥāla min ḍiddithi ayḍan 'alā ra'y Aristūṭālīs*, see *Aristū 'inda al-'Arab*, 286–288.

27 For an edition of an extant fragment from the Arabic version see Badawī, *Atistū 'inda al-'Arab*, 284–285.

38. *On the Difference between Matter and Genus (M. Fī l-farq bayna l-māddah wa-l-jins)*.²⁸
39. *On Matter, Non-Existence and Existence (M. Fī l-māddah wa-l-‘adam wa-l-kawn)*.
40. Answer to the problem posed by some ancients which enabled them to refute Aristotle’s theory on existence in his *Physics (Sam‘ al-Kiyān)*.
41. *On General and Universal Things and How they are not Existent Essences (M. Fī l-umūr al-‘ammīyyah wa-l-kullīyyah wa-annahā laysat a‘yānan qā‘imah)*.²⁹
42. *Refutation of Those Who Claim that Genera are Composed by Forms, though Forms are Separated from Them (M. Fī l-radd ‘alā man za‘ama anna al-ajnās murakkabah min šuwar idhā kānat al-šuwar tanfašilu minhā)*.
43. *On the Fact that the Parts into Which a Particular Genus is Divided are Not Necessarily to be Located Within the Same Genus that They Divide, but rather it is Possible that More than One Genus is Divided by Parts That are not Subsidiary to Others (M. Fī anna l-fuṣūl allatī bihā yanqasimu jins min al-ajnās laysa wājib ḍarūrah an takūna innamā tūjadu fī dhālika al-jins waḥdahu alladhī iyyāhu tuqassimu bal qad yumkinu an yuqassama bihā ajnās akthar min wāhid laysa ba‘ḍuhā murattaban taḥta ba‘ḍ)*.³⁰
44. *On Extracts from the book of Aristotle entitled in Greek Theology, which means the Discourse on the Oneness of God Almighty (M. Fīmā istakhrajahu min kitāb Aristūṭālīs alladhī yud‘ā bi-l-rūmīyyah Thūlūjīyyā wa-ma‘nāhu al-kalām fī tawḥid Allāh ta‘ālā)*.³¹
45. *On the Fact that Every Separate Cause is Present in Every Single Thing, and not Only in One (R. Fī anna kull ‘illah mubāyinah fa-hiya fī jamī‘ al-ashyā’ wa-laysa fī shay’ min al-ashyā’)*.³²
46. *On the Establishment of Immaterial Spiritual Forms (M. Fī ithbāt al-šuwar al-rūḥānīyyah allatī lā hayūlā lahā)*.³³

28 Cf. no. 13.

29 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 132 (no. 19, a). Edition and study in Ruland, *Zwei arabishe Fassungen*; also Badawī, *Aristū ‘inda al-‘Arab*, 279–280.

30 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 137 (no. 34).

31 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 133 (no. 19, h).

32 See Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 137 (no. 36).

33 This is, in fact, a collection of propositions by Proclus, see Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 139 (no. 61). For an edition of the extant Arabic text see Badawī, *Aristū ‘inda al-‘Arab*, 291–292.

47. *On the Diseases of the Cardia* (*M. Fī l-'ilal allatī taḥduthu fī fam al-ma'idah*).³⁴
48. *On Genus* (*M. Fī l-jins*).³⁵
49. A tract discussing a section of the third book of Aristotle's *On the Soul* (*Fī l-nafs*).³⁶
50. On the Force that the Movement of a Noble Body Exerts upon Bodies Subject to Generation and Corruption (*R. Fī l-quwwah al-ātīyah min ḥarakat al-jism al-sharīf ilā l-ajsām al-wāqi'ah taḥta l-kawn wa-l-fasād*).³⁷

34 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 138 (no. 50).

35 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 138 (no. 51).

36 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 138 (no. 52).

37 See Goulet & Aouad, 'Alexandros', 133 (no. 19, k).

Physicians from or after the Time of Galen

Translated and annotated by Simon Swain

5.1 Galen¹

[5.1.1]

Let us begin our account with a complete discussion of the evidence for Galen and his activities. We shall follow this with a summary report of the physicians who lived after Galen's time or near to it.

[5.1.2]²

What we know about the status of Galen and the fame he earned among professionals and lay people across many nations is that he was the 'Seal'³ of the great master physicians and was the eighth of them and that no-one came close to him in the art of medicine let alone equalled him. For when he began his career he found the art of medicine was dominated by the teaching of charlatan physicians and its excellent characteristics were being erased.⁴ He took the problem in hand and showed that the doctrines of people like that were

1 For Galen's legacy in Arabic-Islamic culture, see Ullmann, *Medizin* 35–68, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 68–140. For Galen in the Greco-Roman classical world, see Boudon-Millot, *Galien* pp. vii–ccxxix (including an account of the transmission histories of his corpus in East and West) and *Galien de Pergame*, and for a study of his place in Greco-Roman medicine, see Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, chs 15–16.

2 In 5.1.2 and the start of 5.1.3 IAU draws on the scheme elaborated in the *History of Physicians* by the celebrated philosopher and translator Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 298/910; biography at Ch. 9.3), drawing on John the Grammarian (see below). See p. 68/78 ed. Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn'.

3 *khātam al-aṭibbā'*, recalling Qur'an 33:40 'Seal of Prophets'. Cf. Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, 414 on Maimonides' attack on Galen for claiming the mantle of a prophet.

4 Arabic *al-aṭibbā' al-sūfisā'iyyīn*, perhaps corresponding to the negative Greek term *ιατροσοφιστής*, which was used in late antiquity for physicians who were alleged to have paraded their command of rhetoric and argumentation such as 'Gessius the Iatrosophist' (Sophronius, *Narratio miraculorum*, no. 30, with the spelling Gesius), who is mentioned below in 5.2.1. IAU (drawing on Ishāq) is, however, referring to Galen's battles with the Methodist physicians of his own day in the 2nd cent. On this group, see Nutton index s.v. and below, 5.1.19, further Ch. 4.1.10.4 on Galen's incineration of the Methodists' writings. One of the leading Methodists was the famous gynaecologist, Soranus of Ephesus, whom Galen in fact held in high regard. Cf. 5.1.37 no. 101.

useless. He championed and invigorated the arguments and teachings of Hippocrates and his successors. It was as a result of his abilities that this was the medicine that triumphed. He composed many treatises on it and through these he clarified many of the obscurities of the art and gave eloquent expression to its truths, allowing medicine's real language to prevail. Physicians who lived after him were inferior and dependent on him for their learning.

[5.1.3]

The length of Galen's life was 'eighty-seven years. He was a youth and a student for seventeen years and a scholar and a teacher for seventy years'.⁵ So runs the account of John the Grammarian.⁶ In the same way I have based myself on John's reports for the divisions in the lives of the previously mentioned great master physicians down to my own time with respect to their studying and their teaching.⁷ This matter requires careful scrutiny for information on it cannot be restricted, as has been indicated. Indeed, logic dictates that some of it is inconceivable and this includes his information that Galen was a youth and a student for seventeen years and a scholar and a teacher for seventy years. The only way to check what he says is to use the reports of Galen himself. Following statements by someone like Galen about himself is preferable to following the words of someone else about him. Here is the actual text Galen wrote in his volume on *The Order for Reading his Books*:⁸

My father was continually training me on the basis of his own expertise⁹ in the fields in which the young are educated – geometry, arithmetic, and

5 Ishāq p. 66/76 ed. Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn'.

6 Yahyā al-Naḥwī. John the Grammarian is a shadowy author of a medical chronology probably dating to late antiquity. He is given a biography of sorts in Ch. 6 and used heavily by IAU also in Chs 2, 3, 4. What we (and IAU) know of his presentation of medicine comes mainly from Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn's *History*, which developed hints in John to make Galen a contemporary of Christ. See Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn' 56, Zimmerman, 'Chronology', Swain, 'Beyond the Limits', 399–403; and Vol. 1 of the present study, pp. 150–154.

7 Cf. John/Ishāq p. 66/76 ed. Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn'.

8 Known in English as *On the Order of My Own Books*. The passage is 4.4 of the Greek ed. Boudon-Millot, *Galien*. The work is no. 2 in the list of Galen's works in Ch. 5.1.37. See Boudon-Millot 51–52 on the Arabic translation of the work, which is lost from Ch. 1.7 of our fully preserved Greek text. She suggests (p. 61) on a comparison of the Greek that IAU reworked Ḥunayn's translation 'assez librement'. However IAU stays close to the original and we may assume that he followed Ḥunayn carefully here in this lost section of the Arabic version just as he does in citing Ḥunayn's other translations.

9 Cf. the reading ἐπιστήμων in Chartier's edition (Boudon-Millot p. 80); in the received Greek text Galen refers to his rather than his father's expertise (ἐπιστήμονας ἡμάς).

the preparatory disciplines – until I had reached my fifteenth year. Next he sent me to learn logic, with the intention that at this age I should be studying philosophy alone. He then had a dream which directed him to have me instructed in medicine and he sent me to study it when I had reached the seventeenth year of my age.

Such is the passage and Galen's words are clearly different from what is recorded about him. And it is extremely likely that we should apply this verdict to those John treats before Galen.

[5.1.4]

'It was six hundred and sixty-five years from the death of Hippocrates to the start of Galen's career',¹⁰ and – according to John's account – five thousand five hundred and two years from the birth of Asclepius the First to the death of Galen.¹¹

Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn records an interval of five hundred and twenty five years from the death of Galen to the Hijra.¹² But I note that the birth of Galen was fifty-nine years after the time of Christ according to the dates given by Ishāq.¹³ There is no truth in the claim that Galen was Christ's contemporary, visited him, and believed in him since Galen mentions Moses and Christ in various passages in his works and it is clear that he lived after Christ by the interval I have stated.

10 Ishāq ed. Rosenthal p. 65/76. Cf. Ibn Riḍwān, *Weg der Glückseligkeit* 30/31–32/33 on discrepancies between John's account in his *History* and in his *Commentary on De Antidotis* (*Tafsīr K. al-adwiyah al-muqābilah li-l-adwā*; not mentioned in IAU's list at Ch. 6.2) and Ibn Riḍwān's calculations based on Ptolemy, with Dietrich's notes ad loc.

11 Ishāq ed. Rosenthal p. 65/75. Rosenthal alters the 5566 transmitted in the text of Ishāq in order to match IAU.

12 Ishāq ed. Rosenthal p. 69/79 says there are 815 years from Galen's death to AH 290 (AD 902/3), hence IAU says it was 525 (815–290) years before the Hijra (AD 622), which would put his death in 97/98. (It is possible that Ishāq, working in solar years, took 815 from 902/3, thus reckoning Galen's death in 87/88.) Given Galen's assumed lifespan of 87 years, he could thus make Galen a close coeval of Christ. The errors of Ishāq are examined later with the help of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl, cf. Ch. 5.1.12.

13 Ishāq ed. Rosenthal p. 71/80 'between Jesus and Galen, there are fifty-nine years'. 'Birth' appears to be IAU's inference, for Ishāq presumably indicates the time between the death of Christ and the death of Galen since he places Jesus' death in 38 (874 years before AH 290 = 38; 38 + 59 = 97).

[5.1.5]

Among the several who record that Galen was a contemporary of Christ is al-Bayhaqī.¹⁴ He says in his *Draughts of Experiences and Waves of Wonders*,

It would have been sufficient if Paul, who was the son of Galen's sister, had been the only Apostle. For Galen sent him to Jesus and made much of his own inability to travel to him due to his frailty and great age. He believed in Jesus and commanded his nephew Paul to pay homage to him.

[5.1.6]

In the first section of his *Character Traits* Galen discusses and praises loyalty and makes mention of those who undergo suffering as a result of the arrest of a friend¹⁵ and put up with being tortured:

They were invited to inform on the nefarious deeds of their friends and to confirm their vices. They resisted and endured horrible torments. This happened in year 514 of Alexander.¹⁶

14 A Persian historian of the 12th cent. Dunlop, *ET*² s.v., gives the evidence for his *Draughts of Experience*, a lost history of Iran. In his *Tatimmat Šivān al-ḥikmah* the information is ascribed to the Christian Aristotelian Ibn al-Ṭayyib, who claimed to be related to St Paul; al-Bayhaqī reports an exchange of letters between Galen and Jesus (ed. Šafi' i.28, 30–31, trans. Meyerhof, 'Bayhaqī' 147). See further 5.1.21 for the story (from Ibn Juljul) of Galen dying in Sicily on his way to visit Jesus in Jerusalem. Ibn Juljul's contemporary Bar Bahlūl records in his lexicon (ed. Duval i.958, ll. 3–11) that 'some say Luke was Galen's pupil, others the son of his sister. When they heard the news of our Lord – that in Judaea there was a man who was performing extraordinary cures without any assistance from medicine – he and his master Galen doubted that the story was true ... So they set off for Judaea to find out the truth. Galen died on the way, but Luke reached the Lord.' On this, see Vol. 1 of the present study, p. 152.

15 Here and below Arabic *šāhib*, *ašhāb*. The context could indicate a translation 'master'/'masters' (cf. Ch. 5.1.12.2 *mawālithim*), but the term does not mean this. Rather we have an example of torture being used on free men because they are witnesses in a treason trial (*maiestas*); cf. Garnsey, *Social Status*, 214.

16 This is not preserved in the epitome of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation of the work (ed. Kraus, 'Akhlāq', trans. Mattock 'Traits', Davies 'Traits'), which is itself lost in Greek (see title no. 124 in the list of Galen's books). On the era of Alexander, which for Galen means 332/1 BC, see below, n. 80. The date is 183 and the passage quoted relates to events two years before those cited from *Character Traits* in Ch. 5.1.12.2, which is a crucial text for 'Ubayd Allāh's dating from Ch. 5.1.7 onward of IAU's biography. Galen may be referring to any of several plots against the emperor Commodus recorded by the historians Herodian (1.8) and Cassius Dio (72.4–6), who do not specify dates.

This is the most accurate statement about Galen's period and point in time.¹⁷

Abū l-Ḥasan¹⁸ ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Masʿūdī puts Galen about two hundred years after Christ, about six hundred years after Hippocrates, and some five hundred years after Alexander.¹⁹

[5.1.7]

I have found that ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū²⁰ made a careful inquiry into this matter. In particular, when he was asked whether Galen's lifetime coincided with Christ or was earlier or later, he gave the following answer:²¹

The chronographers show very clear contradictions in their works. Each of them insists on the totals, but when you look at the details it emerges that there are additions or subtractions. This will be apparent when you peruse the chronological manuals, and especially if you turn to the *Book of Dates*, which is the work of Mar Elias the Metropolitan of Nisibis.²² He has

17 'In the first section ... point in time' is taken directly from Ibn al-Nadīm, (Sayyid) 2/1:276, (Tajaddud) 348. There is a translation of the passage in Davies 'Traits' 180 (= 680–681 in Dodge's translation of the *Fihrist*; but note that Dodge's version and notes are extremely inaccurate, as often on the Greek material). It is unclear whether IAU knew *Character Traits* independently.

18 The MSS give Ḥusayn.

19 Cf. Masʿūdī, *K. al-Tanbih* 130, trans. Masʿūdī, *L'avertissement*, 183. But the note actually comes from Šāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 28.

20 11th cent. member of a prominent family of physicians: Ullmann, *Medizin* 110 no. 7. Biography at Ch. 8.6. It is unclear if the extracts here come from his *Merits of Physicians*, since this work dealt with 'memorable events' and 'noteworthy achievements'; nor is it the letter to Ibn Qaṭramīz ('Son of Big Bottle'), as Meyerhof, 'An Arabic Compendium' 343 suggested, since this was about ritual purity (IAU). See also Klein-Franke, *Über die Heilung*.

21 The citation, which includes long extracts from *On My Own Books* in Ch. 5.1.9–10, apparently continues to 5.1.13 but with breaks and interventions by IAU. Cf. the very much shorter version of ʿUbayd Allāh's answer in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 126–128. IAU has clearly used ʿUbayd Allāh himself but perhaps expanded what he found by consulting his sources and surely by amplifying the citation of Galen in Ch. 5.1.9–10.

22 An 11th-cent. author of various works including a famous, largely surviving chronography, referred to here as the *K. al-azmīnah*, which reached to the year 1018. It was written in Syriac with the author's own Arabic translation of some parts in parallel. See Graf, *Geschichte* ii:188, § 53.13. Elias drew on a long tradition of Christian chronicle writing (Witakowsky, 'Chronicle'; van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes*, 135–154).

ʿUbayd Allāh knew Elias and translated into Arabic his treatise on inheritance law in a version that survives: Graf 186–187, § 53.10. He must have also known his physician brother, Zāhid al-ʿUlamāʾ, whose biography can be found at Ch. 10.54.

uncovered discrepancies between the ancient and modern chronographies. He has shed light on, revealed, and illustrated this with absolute clarity by compiling the totals at the start of his book and providing analyses of them, and by flagging up discrepant passages, additions and subtractions. He also sets out their reasons and causes.

I²³ have inspected the shorter chronology by Hārūn ibn ‘Azūz the Monk.²⁴ He reports that he looked at the dates carefully and was confident in their accuracy. I noticed that he detected some of the discrepancies and gave satisfactory reasons for them. He also cites evidence for their accuracy. This monk records in his chronology that,

The total number of years from Adam to King Darius,²⁵ the time when Alexander the Two-Horned rose to fame, was five thousand, one hundred and eighty years and ten months according to the chronology used by the Greeks. This chronology comes from the Torah, which was transmitted to the Greeks two hundred and seventy-eight years before the advent of Christ. This happened in the time of King Philadelphus,²⁶ for when he heard the Jews had books that were sent down from God the Exalted via the tongues of the prophets, he brought them fine gifts, and among all the presents he delivered were two tables of gold inlaid with jewels that were more beautiful than anyone had seen before.

He asked them about their books and indicated that it was his wish to own copies of them. So they transcribed all the Jewish books they had, including the Torah, the Prophets, and the like, on leaves of silver

23 I.e. ‘Ubayd Allāh.

24 Unknown author of a historical work, which is reported as surviving in an Aleppo manuscript by Graf ii.112, § 34.3 (giving the name as Ibn ‘Azzūr), citing Sbath. Ibn al-Qiftī *loc. cit.* has Ibn ‘Arūn, which perhaps should be read. Aaron the Monk is not known independently or as a correspondent of Eusebius of Caesarea (see below) but is presumably the ‘Ahrōn’ used by Elias, p. 115 trans. Delaporte, *Chronographie*, under the year 273AH (= 886–887). The shortness of his work may have appealed but also led to mistakes.

25 Darius III, the last Achaemenid king of Persia (r. 336–30 BC), who was defeated by Alexander the Great. Here he is called Dārā ibn Sām, a mistake for Dārā ibn Dārā, probably because Shem was part of the genealogy of the Persian monarchs (e.g. Šā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 15).

26 Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the ostentatious ruler of Ptolemaic Egypt 283–246 BC and son of Alexander’s general, Ptolemy son of Lagus. The well-known romance of the translation of the Torah under his patronage is first told in the late-Hellenistic ‘Letter of Aristeas’ and repeated in major Jewish (Philo, Josephus) and Christian authors (first in Justin Martyr, *Apology* 1. 31 using a somewhat different version). See e.g. Rajak, *Translation and Survival*, Ch. 1. Eusebius himself cites the story of the translation from ‘Aristeas’ at *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.1–5.

in letters of gold (as the Monk relates to Eusebius of Caesarea²⁷). When they reached him, he showered praise upon them but could not understand the contents, so he sent them a message saying, ‘What is the use of a treasure that conceals itself with a content that is invisible or of a blocked source whose water cannot flow?’ Thereupon they dispatched to him seventy-two men from all the tribes, six from each. When they arrived, King Philadelphus built boats²⁸ for them and lodged them two to a boat. He set guards to watch them until they had made their translations. When he collated the transcripts and found they were accurate and without differences, he bestowed gifts and honours on them and sent them back home.

[5.1.8.1]

Eusebius of Caesarea, who was the bishop of Caesarea, records that this king had translated the books before he summoned the Jews and they arrived and worked on them.²⁹ However, he had reservations about his translation and wanted a correct version. As ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibril notes,

This shows his intelligence. For had King Philadelphus not doubted his translation, he would not have taken the precautionary measures mentioned or shown so much enthusiasm for ensuring the reliability of the translation. If he had entertained no suspicions about his version, there would have been no reason to be cautious because, having appointed people in the first place, it was natural to reappoint them a second time. But since he wanted to check his interpretation, he acted as described, undertook the comparison, and produced a corrected text. On this basis we should conclude that the chronology of the Greeks is the most correct – I mean the chronology of the Torah and the Prophets that they used.

The reign of King Philadelphus lasted for thirty-eight years. He was the third king after Alexander, taking account of the fact that the era of Alexander begins with his killing of Darius, that the duration of Alexander’s rule was six years and that the calendar of the Greeks begins from this point.³⁰ Greek rule from Alexander to the first of the Roman kings, to

27 The prolific author and historian of Christianity from its origins to the reign of Constantine the Great and the beginnings of the Christian Roman empire.

28 Arabic *marākib*. Kopf has ‘cells’, recalling the traditional story of the translation, but there is no lexical evidence for this sense of the word in the medieval or modern dictionaries.

29 IAU is paraphrasing ‘Ubayd Allāh, not the account as we find it in Eusebius’ *Preparation for the Gospel* (cf. n. 26 above), which was not translated into Arabic.

30 I.e. the death of Alexander in 323. Darius III himself was killed in 330 BC; cf. above. The

whom they gave the title ‘Caesar’,³¹ lasted two hundred and seventy-two years. The first of the Roman kings to whom they gave the title ‘Caesar’ was Julius Gaius Caesar. His reign lasted four years and two months. The next was Augustus Caesar the length of whose reign was fifty-six years and six months. In the forty-third year of his rule Christ – peace be upon Him – was born in Bethlehem. The total number of world years between Adam and the birth of Christ was five thousand, five hundred and four.

Tiberius Caesar reigned next for twenty-three years and in the fifteenth year of his reign Christ was baptized in the Jordan by the hand of John the Baptist. In the nineteenth year he was raised up high on Friday the twenty-fourth of March.³² The next king was Julius Gaius the Second for four years. He was killed in his palace, and the next to reign was Claudius Germanicus Caesar for fourteen years. The following king was Nero son of Claudius Caesar for thirteen years (Andronicus³³ says fourteen years); it was he who killed the Apostles Peter and Paul in prison because, though he had rejected the worship of idols, he later repudiated the Faith. He was murdered while suffering from an illness.

‘era of the Greeks’ probably refers to what we call the ‘Seleucid Era’, a dating system instituted by the Seleucid empire some years later (in the eastern part of their dominion from 312/11 and in the western parts, later falling under Roman control, from the following year), which continued dating by the regnal years of Alexander’s general, Seleucus. The system was the most widely and continuously used of the ‘dynastic’ eras and we find it attested well into the Middle Ages: Leschhorn, *Áren*, 22–35. See also n. 80. Alexander’s death itself was used to date events in certain authors such as Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy), who was well known in Arabic translation; on this so-called ‘era of Philip (Arrhidaeus)’, which was used by the astronomers, see e.g. Samuel, *Chronology*, 52. Galen in *Character Traits* uses a date of 332/1, below Ch. 5.1.12.2.

- 31 I.e. as opposed to the kings of early Rome, who were called ‘kings’.
- 32 To Christian readers this might have been taken as a euphemism for the ‘crucified’, which is read in BGaGc from ‘Ubayd Allāh; to Muslims ‘raised up’ was a correction (cf. Qur’an 4:157–158 «*Rather, God raised him up to Himself*») of the term used in IAU’s source. MSS from the 1st (B) and 2nd version (Gc) and the 3rd Version Ga (which often agrees with Gc in the first half of the *Classes of Physicians*) add, ‘and resurrected to life on Sunday the twenty-sixth of March, and after forty days he ascended to heaven according to the witness of the Apostles’.
- 33 Andronicus is a well cited continuator of Eusebius, probably living in the reign of Justinian (r. 527–565), who was translated into Syriac. The Greek original is lost and the exact compass is unclear. See Burgess, *Studies*, 114 n. 7; Baumstark, *Geschichte*, § 22d for his influence in Syriac; Delaporte, *Chronologie* p. viii; van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes*, 140–142. ‘Ubayd Allāh appears to have consulted him directly.

[5.1.8.2]

In his chronicle Andronicus records that Galba became king after Nero for seven months, Vitellius for eight, and Otho for three. The next to rule was Vespasian Caesar for ten years. At the end of his reign he launched an attack on Jerusalem, sacked it, and transferred all the ritual implements of the House to Constantinople.³⁴ He deprived the Jews of kingship and prophecy in accordance with the promise³⁵ God the Exalted made about the coming of Christ (Peace Be Upon Him!).³⁶ This was the last of the kingdoms God promised to them. His son Titus reigned next for two years. I discovered in an old, abridged history in Greek³⁷ that Titus Ṭamīdiyūs³⁸ reigned next. In his days lived Apollonius the Sage, the Master of Talismans.³⁹ The king after him was Titus' brother Domitian, the son of⁴⁰ Vespasian. He reigned for fifteen years. In his time Mani rose to prominence, and it was in his days that the city of 'Ayn Zarbā was razed. He ordered it to be rebuilt but died before it was finished.⁴¹

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- 34 A marginal note in R says these materials were used to build Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, i.e. the famous surviving 'Great Church' built by Justinian. According to the contemporary historian Procopius 'the treasures of the Jews' had resided in Rome (cf. the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum), were later recovered by Justinian from the Vandals, who had taken them, through his reconquest of Vandalic Carthage, and were then sent by him to 'the temples of the Christians in Jerusalem' rather than to Constantinople on account of his fear of God's wrath (*Wars* 4.9.5–9).
- 35 A reference to the classic Christian proof-text of Genesis 49:10–11 (Jacob's prophecy).
- 36 In place of 'May Peace Be Upon Him!' mss B Ga Gc read 'and there was no return for them.'
- 37 The origin of this notice about 'Ṭamīdiyūs' cannot be identified in the compendious accounts of Roman history known in Arabic such as e.g. Ya'qūbī's *History*, Mas'ūdī's *Livre d'avertissement*, the Arabic of Orosius' *History Against the Pagans*, Bar Hebraeus' *History of the Dynasties*, or bishop Agapius' *Historia Universalis*. A source preserved in Syriac is most likely drawing on the extensive Christian chronicle tradition of lost writers like Annianus of Alexandria.
- 38 A doublet of Titus.
- 39 Apollonius of Tyana, *Ṣāhib al-ṭilasmāt*, was a late 1st cent. Neopythagorean philosopher who in late antiquity and the medieval period was held to have numerous magical powers, including the protection of cities. See *Brill's New Pauly* art. 'Apollonius [14]' (M. Frede); *EI Three* art. 'Apollonius of Tyana' (G. Strohmaier). Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaft* index s.v. 'Talismans' refers to the objects Apollonius is said to have created to safeguard the towns.
- 40 With Müller's emendation. IAU's MSS make Vespasian a separate ruler rather than Domitian's father.
- 41 'Ayn Zarbā is Greek Ἀνάζαρβος in Cilicia Pedias (central south Turkey), annexed by Rome in 17. The reference to it being razed cannot be traced to the time of Domitian and perhaps recalls destruction by earthquakes in late antiquity and its rebuilding by Justin I or

We learn from the chronicle of Andronicus that Domitian was king for sixteen years, then Nerva Caesar for one year, and after him Ulpius Traianus Caesar for nineteen years. It was Trajan who recovered Antioch from the Persians. His deputy in Palestine wrote to him saying that, ‘The more Christians I kill, they more grow to love their religion’, and so Trajan gave orders to stay the sword from them.⁴² In the tenth year of his reign Galen was born, as we shall show soon. The next king was Aelius Hadrianus Caesar, for twenty-one years. He built the city (named after him).⁴³ The next king was Antoninus Caesar for twenty-two years. He built the city of Heliopolis, which is also known as Baalbek.⁴⁴ Galen’s career began in the days of this king and it was Antoninus who took Galen into his service. Proof comes from the statement at the very start of the first section of the *Anatomical Procedures*. In the passage concerned he says, ‘I had previously written a book on anatomical procedures during my first visit to the city of Rome at the start of the reign of king Antoninus, who is still king in our time.’⁴⁵

its various fates in the medieval era as a border town lying between the Byzantine and Arab empires, see *EI*² art. ‘Ayn Zarba’ (M. Canard). With the exception of A marg and R, the MSS of IAU have: ‘it was in his days that the city of Ra’s al-‘Ayn was plundered’. There is confusion in the statements about Mani and Ra’s al-‘Ayn/‘Ayn Zarbā (whichever was in ‘Ubayd Allāh; interest in Anazarbus was heightened because it was the birthplace of Dioscorides). Ra’s al-‘Ayn (Syriac Rēsh ‘Aynā), a city straddling the modern Syrian/Turkish border and source of the Khabur, did not properly enter Roman consciousness before the reign of Theodosius the Great, who granted it city status around 383 under the name Theodosio(u)polis (Malalas, *Chonographia* ed. Thurn 13,38 Ῥοφαινεῖν πῶλις). It suffered during the late antique wars between the Eastern Roman and Persian empires and fell to the Arabs in the mid-7th cent.; see *EI*² art. ‘Ra’s al-‘Ayn’ (E. Honigmann). It was the home of the translator, Sergius (Ch. 9,24). The famous prophet Mani, the author of Manichaeism, flourished in the 3rd cent.

42 A reminiscence of the famous correspondence between Trajan and his special governor in Bithynia, Pliny the Younger, on what to do with the new religion of Christianity. See Pliny, *Letters* 10,96–97.

43 i.e. Aelia Capitolina, the military *colonia* founded on the site of Jerusalem after the suppression of the Bar Kochba revolt in 135.

44 In reality an old foundation renamed Heliopolis in Hellenistic times and subsequently of great significance in the Roman world owing to its cult of Jupiter. Its name reverted to Baalbek (Ba‘labakk) after its mid-7th cent. conquest by the Arabs.

45 Cf. *On Anatomical Procedures* 1.1. The work is title no. 21 in the list of Galen’s books, below at 5.1.37. The quotation here is a paraphrase. The earlier book of the same title does not survive. By Antoninus Galen in fact refers to the emperor we call Marcus Aurelius (cf. his own explanation quoted below, 5.1.9), who began his reign in 161 and took the additional name Antoninus in honour of his adoptive father and predecessor, Antoninus Pius (who is omitted). Galen’s first visit to Rome was 162–166.

[5.1.9]⁴⁶

Corroboration comes from statements Galen makes in the book he wrote to record the titles of his works, which is known as the *Pinax of Galen*.⁴⁷ He writes,

When I had returned from the city of Rome and had made the decision to remain in my own city and concentrate on my usual activities. But at that point a letter written by the two kings arrived from the city of Aquileia with instructions that I should set out because they had decided to winter at Aquileia and then proceed against the Germans. So I was forced to travel to them. However I had hopes of being excused if I requested it since I had been informed that of the two of them the one called Verus was seen as having an agreeable character and a gentle disposition. When king Antoninus who ruled after Hadrian designated Verus his successor, he had him share power with a man called Lucius, to whom he gave the name Verus. The original Verus was renamed Antoninus.

When I reached Aquileia, there was an outbreak of plague on a scale not seen before. Both kings fled to Rome with most of their entourage but the main army remained at Aquileia. Some of them perished and some survived. The fact that they had a very tough time was not simply due to the plague but also because it fell on them in the middle of winter. Lucius died on the journey and Antoninus carried his body to Rome and buried him there.⁴⁸ He was determined to proceed against the Germans and made every effort to ensure I should accompany him. But I said, 'When God the Exalted released me from a lethal abscess that was affecting me,

46 The extent of the quotation in 5.1.9–10 is surely due to IAU himself. 'Ubayd Allāh, as we learn from 5.1.11, used *On My Own Books* (the *Pinax*) to support his arguments. There are two mistakes in the quotations – Galen's age as *thirty* and his *return to Rome* in Ch. 5.1.10.1–2 (cf. next note); these show he had an eye on 'Ubayd Allāh (cf. 5.1.11 'on the basis of this dating'). But it seems unlikely that 'Ubayd Allāh quoted at such length; one may surmise that IAU's delight in citing his hero led to amplification of what he found in his source. The Greek title used by Ḥunayn, *Pinax* (title no. 1 in 5.1.37), meaning a 'list' or 'catalogue' in Greek, is not attested for the work in Greek sources but had presumably passed into Arabic from its use as a shorthand in late Alexandrian teaching circles.

47 I.e. *On My Own Books* 3.1–8 in Boudon-Millot's Greek text. Most of Ḥunayn's Arabic translation is preserved in a unique, unedited manuscript in Mashhad, MS *Reḏā ʿiṭib* 5223 (?13th cent.; see Boudon-Millot 54–58). The quotation is accurate (though note the slip 'to Rome' at the end of 5.1.10.2, perhaps due to 'Ubayd Allāh) but leaves out a few lines and the odd word. The text in IAU is occasionally superior to that preserved in the Mashhad copy of the translation.

48 Lucius died at the very end of 168 or the start of 169.

he commanded me to go on a pilgrimage to his House called the Temple of Asclepius.⁴⁹ He granted my request for permission to do this and instructed me to make the pilgrimage.⁵⁰ I then waited for him to return to Rome, for he was expecting the war to be over soon. He departed leaving behind his son Commodus, a small boy. He ordered those who attended to his personal service and upbringing to make every effort to preserve his health. If he should fall ill, they were to summon me to assume control over his treatment.

During this time I assembled everything I had gathered from my teachers or had discovered for myself. I conducted many investigations and wrote numerous books to train myself in many branches of medicine and philosophy. Most of these were burned in the Temple of Eirene (which means 'Peace'). Since Antoninus also took longer on his expedition than he had estimated, I had leisure during this period to pursue my training.

[5.1.10.1]

These statements, and others we have not cited in the interest of brevity, show that Galen lived in the days of this king and that his age at the time when he first visited Rome was thirty.⁵¹ There is proof of what he says in the aforementioned book when he describes his writings on anatomy, saying,⁵²

I composed four treatises on the voice, which I wrote for a member of the government called Boethus, who practised philosophy following the Aristotelian sect.⁵³ It was also for him that I wrote five treatises on *Anatomy According to the Views of Hippocrates* and three on *Anatomy According to the Views of Erasistratus*.⁵⁴ On account of a man named Martialis⁵⁵

49 Quoted with slight differences at Ch. 2.1.2.

50 This and the previous sentence depart somewhat from the Greek, probably because of the religious reference in the Greek to Galen as a devotee of Asclepius.

51 This erroneous information is introduced below.

52 What follows is *On My Own Books* 1.6–9, 11–16, 2.1 in Boudon-Millot's Greek. The context is Galen's first visit to Rome beginning in 162. 1AU (following 'Ubayd Allāh) accurately reproduces Ḥunayn's Arabic. As before, he leaves out a few lines and the odd word, but occasionally his text is an improvement on the Mashhad manuscript.

53 Flavius Boethus: see Boudon-Millot ad loc.; further Nutton, *Galen De praecognitione* index s.v. Φλάβιος Βοηθός, Halfmann, *Die Senatoren* no. 95. The four treatises (*maqālāt*) are the sections of a single work, title no. 38 in the list in 5.1.37.

54 By treatises Galen/1AU again refers to the parts of single works: 5.1.37 no. 27 *Hippocrates' Knowledge of Anatomy*, no. 28 *Erasistratus' Views on Anatomy*.

55 See Boudon-Millot ad loc.; further Nutton ad loc. on the problem of the name transmit-

the style I adopted in these was of someone who loves to compete and trounce his opponents.⁵⁶ Martialius had written two treatises on anatomy that are circulating even today and were very much admired at the time I was writing. He was a spiteful individual with a taste for vindictive and argumentative behaviour quite out of keeping with his advanced age for he was well over seventy. When he heard that I had been quizzed in a public assembly about a problem in anatomy and had been commended for my answer, and that the whole audience had shown its appreciation and lavished its praise on me, he asked one of our friends to say which of the several medical sects I claimed to belong to. He replied that I was known for having no personal affiliation to any particular sect, but ‘he says that “*he is a Hippocratic, he is a Praxagorean,*” and so on,⁵⁷ “whereas *I select the finest from the writings of each group*”⁵⁸

One day it happened that I was attending a public assembly to be examined on my proficiency in the books of the ancients. The set text was Erasistratus’ *Bringing Up Blood*. A stylus was inserted into it in the usual way and rested at the point where Erasistratus rejected the use of venesection.⁵⁹ I said a good deal against Erasistratus in order to annoy Martialius, who claimed to be his follower. The audience were full of admiration. One of my supporters who was an enemy of Martialius requested that I should dictate the lecture I had given at the meeting to a scribe he sent to me with a training in shorthand so that he could repeat it to Martialius whenever he encountered him with patients.

ted in the Greek tradition (Μαρτιανός or Μαρτιάλιος; MS R of IAU may suggest that the former was known to the Arabic tradition but other instances of the name incl. those in the Mashhad manuscript confirm the latter form).

56 ‘the style ... opponents’: Ḥunayn’s elaborate rendering of φιλοτιμότερον γεγραμμένα, ‘written in a spirit of competition’.

57 Ḥunayn’s Arabic translation includes a reference to ‘Erasistrateans’, which is to be added to the Greek, as Boudon-Millot, *Galen* 138.

58 IAU omits a number of lines of text here.

59 Stylus: the text of IAU is not entirely clear at this point (the Mashhad copy is more problematical), and we rely here on the Greek, γραφείου καταπαγέντος εις αυτό (‘a stylus was inserted into it’, i.e. into the papyrus roll to select a passage). On Galen’s views of Erasistratus and his theory of venesection, see Brain, *Bloodletting* (p. 105 on the clash with Martialius).

[5.1.10.2]

When the king made me travel to Rome for the second time,⁶⁰ the man who had had the treatise from me was dead, and I could not understand how so many people had come to have a copy of it.⁶¹ I was unhappy about it because the tone of the lecture was competitive. It was written for an occasion when I had wanted to trounce Martialis in a particular public forum, not to mention the fact that I had been a young man of thirty at the time.⁶² This made me decide that from this point onward⁶³ I would no longer lecture or give displays in public – for I had won more successes and triumphs in treating patients than I could have wished for. More to the point, when I saw those without professional qualifications calling any physician who attracted praise for his command of language a ‘word-physician’, I wanted to keep their tongues away from me and hold myself back from speaking except where it was necessary at a patient’s bedside, and from my teaching activities in front of crowds and from lecturing in public engagements. Rather I would confine myself to demonstrating my extensive knowledge of medicine through my activity in treating the sick.

I had remained at Rome for three more years.⁶⁴ When the plague started, I departed hastily for my homeland⁶⁵ and my return to⁶⁶ Rome occurred when I was thirty-seven years old.

60 Spring 169.

61 This is the work called *De venae sectione adversus Erasistratum*, title no. 71 in 5.1.37. The man in the story is Galen’s old friend Teuthras, for whom he wrote *De pulsibus ad tirones* and *Linguarum seu dictionum exoletarum Hippocratis explicatio* (title nos. 5, 107) and who died in the plague (*Avoiding Distress* 35).

62 The Greek and the Mashhad text of Ḥunayn correctly give ‘in my thirty-fourth year’ (for the apparent contradiction in *Avoiding Distress* § 34, see Boudon-Millot, Jouanna, Pietrobelli, *Ne pas se chagriner*, ad loc.). Cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī’s calculations about the birthdate of Galen, *History of the Sages*, 127 (‘he states that he wrote the *Anatomical Procedures* during his first visit to Rome ... and that he was thirty years old according to what we have cited’). But since the tally forms the basis of ‘Ubayd Allāh’s conclusions in 5.1.11, it was clearly read by him.

63 Probably 169.

64 Referring to his first stay 162/3 to 166.

65 IAU omits some text here.

66 The Greek has ‘from Rome’, as does Ḥunayn’s version. The slip is found in all three editions of IAU and confirms he is still using ‘Ubayd Allāh. Cf. 5.1.26, where IAU following al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik cites this passage correctly.

[5.1.11]

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl concludes:

On the basis of this dating⁶⁷ Galen’s birth fell in the tenth year of the reign of king Trajan. For he declares that he composed his book on anatomical procedures during his first visit to Rome, which was under king Antoninus,⁶⁸ as we have noted; and that thirty years of his life had elapsed, as we have also noted, of which twenty-one fell in the reign of Hadrian, while the reign of Trajan Caesar lasted nineteen years. This being so, it is correct to say that the birth of Galen occurred in the tenth year of the reign of Trajan.⁶⁹ The interval between Christ’s ascension to Heaven, which was in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, and the tenth year of the reign of Trajan, when Galen was born, was, by the dating given here, a period of seventy-three years.⁷⁰

[5.1.12.1]

‘Ubayd Allāh continues)

In his *History* Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn records, with reference to John the Grammarian, that Galen’s lifespan was eighty-seven years.⁷¹ He spent seventeen years as a youth and student and seventy years as a scholar and a teacher. Ishāq writes that, ‘From the death of Galen to year 290 of the Hijra’ – this was the year he worked on his *History*⁷² – ‘was a period of 815 years’.⁷³

‘Ubayd Allāh notes that,

67 I.e. ‘a young man of thirty’ (5.1.10.2); see above for the error here.

68 ‘Ubayd Allāh ignored Galen’s explanation of the two emperors of this name and took him to refer to Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian, rather than Marcus Aurelius (Antoninus), who followed Antoninus Pius. The mistake was easy to make: cf. al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik quoted 5.1.25.

69 On our reckoning, 107–108 (Trajan reigned Jan. 98 to Aug. 117); but ‘Ubayd Allāh later concludes 118: below, n. 77.

70 ‘Ubayd Allāh counts inclusively.

71 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 127.

72 ‘The birth of Galen ... worked on his *History*’: the manuscripts include at this point an abridged, incomplete alternative, e.g. in R: ‘the birth of Galen occurred in the tenth year of the reign of Trajan. The interval between Christ’s ascension to Heaven and the time when Galen was born was seventy-three years. Galen’s lifespan was eighty-seven years. The interval from Christ’s ascension to the death of Galen was one hundred and sixty years [...] from the Hijra to his work on his *History*’.

73 AH 290 = AD 903, putting Galen’s death in 97/98 or 87/88 (see n. 12).

To this would be added the interval of 132 years up to this year, when we are at work on this book, which is year 422 of the Hijra⁷⁴ corresponding to 1342 of Alexander.⁷⁵ Thus from the death of Galen to this year we are in, i.e. year 422, would be 947 years.⁷⁶ If we add to this total the lifespan of Galen and the interval between his birth and Christ's ascension to Heaven, i.e. 160 years, the grand total, I mean from Christ's ascension to this year we are in, would come to 1107 years.

This total is wrong for it is defective once one goes into the details. As a result of this sort of chronology people fall into error since they blindly follow the authors of the chronicles and go astray. The nature of the error in the totalling is twofold. First is the dating of Christ and second the dating of Galen. We have addressed both of these in unequivocal terms in the preceding account. If anyone wishes to examine the issue, let him refer to it and the matter will become obvious to him from the details provided. For Christ was born 1018 years ago, and Galen 913 years ago.⁷⁷ The difference is large and the error is obvious.

He observes,

I am mystified as to how something like this has occurred despite the clarity of the passages we have cited from Galen and the texts of the accurate chronographers. And I am mystified as to how no-one has noticed the paragraph in *Character Traits*, where the error in the dating of the period (between Christ and Galen) is apparent and turns into a century. The copyists are responsible for this type of error and it persists so that people come up with arguments that mislead those who fail to investigate the truth of the matter.

[5.1.12.2]

The text of the relevant paragraph of Galen's *Character Traits* runs:⁷⁸

We ourselves saw slaves at that time who did this out of the goodness of their hearts, though they were not free, because they were naturally

74 AH 422 = AD 1031.

75 Cf. Delaporte, *Chronographie* 223.

76 I.e. 422 added to 525 years from Galen's death to the Hijra.

77 Putting it in 118 (= 429 by the Seleucid era, which 'Ubayd Allāh is using).

78 Not in the surviving epitome (above, n. 16). Cf. Davies, 'Traits' 180.

excellent. For when Perennis⁷⁹ died – his death occurred in the ninth year of the reign of Commodus and year 516 of Alexander, the consuls at this point being Maternus and Bradua⁸⁰ – very many were tracked down and their slaves were tortured to make them inform on their masters' activities.⁸¹

This represents a major discrepancy from Ishāq's account in particular by introducing a crucial difference relating to what he says about the death of Galen. If we take Ishāq's report that his lifespan was eighty-seven years, it must be the case that his death fell in the year mentioned, i.e. 516 of (the era of) Alexander, assuming a date of birth in 429 of this era.⁸² It must also be the case that this book, i.e. *Character Traits*, was the last one he produced because the date of his death would have to coincide with the date and chronology of his story of the slaves. However, the fact he mentions it in another book⁸³ shows he was at work after this, and that he was alive after this time for a period that goes a long way past the aforementioned year. Evidently, then, his chronology is contradictory and his computation is faulty.

If we make assumptions on the basis of his information, we must not ignore a chronology of such evident clarity which confirms that the computation arrived at was wrong.

[5.1.12.3]

Galen's own statements in his interpretation of Plato's *Republic* testify to the fact that Christ preceded him by a long time:⁸⁴

79 Tigidius Perennis, the powerful praetorian prefect of Commodus, was executed in 185 (*Augustan History, Comm.* 6.2; the date of the execution is only sure from the Galen quotation here).

80 Triarius Maternus Lascivius and Ti. Claudius Bradua Regillus Atticus, the 'ordinary consuls' of 185. Galen is thus starting the era of Alexander in 332/1 (indicating the final major defeat of Darius' armies at the Battle of Gaugamela); whereas 'Ubayd Allāh would have assumed that he was dating by the 'Seleucid' era, which began 20 years later (above, n. 30, cf. Delaporte, *Chronographie* 917) and is called the era of Alexander by 'Ubayd Allāh above ('1342 of Alexander' = 1031).

81 Cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Risālah* 25.

82 I.e. 98 on Galen's era of Alexander, but 118 on 'Ubayd Allāh's familiar Seleucid era dating (cf. above). Galen was actually born in 129.

83 I.e. *On his Own Books* 15, 1.

84 Galen's summary of the *Republic*, apparently in 6 books, was known in Arabic (see title no. 124 in the list of Galen's books in 5.1.37): Gutas, 'Tradition Arabe', 856–858. This passage, first alluded to by Ibn Zur'ah (see Walzer, *Jews and Christians* 91), was cited in slightly

As an instance of this⁸⁵ we observe that the people who are called Christians base their faith on myths and miracles, though their actions look like those of philosophers, for example with regard to their fearlessness of death and the things they will encounter after it, and we see this on a daily basis. Another example is their abstention from sexual intercourse and the fact that some of them, not only men but women too, spend the days of their life refraining from intercourse. In certain cases self-control in the regulation of food and drink has led to harm. Their desire to be just is so strong that they are not inferior to those who are really philosophers.

[5.1.13]

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl concludes,

We have learned from this passage that in the time of Christ Christians did not visibly assume this image, I mean the asceticism and preference for devoting themselves to God (May He Be Glorified and Exalted!) that Galen describes. But a century later Christians had become so widespread that they surpassed philosophers in good deeds. They aimed at justice, grace, and continence. They achieved success by justifying miracles. They enjoyed a double condition, were the heirs to a double status, and rejoiced in a double bliss: the happiness of the Law and the happiness of the Intellect.⁸⁶ From this and similar passages Galen’s chronology can be clarified.

This is ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl’s final comment on the subject of Galen.

[5.1.14]

I have transcribed the following from the hand of Sheikh Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭṭrān:⁸⁷

different version by Ibn al-Qifī (*Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 128) and then from his original by Abū l-Fidā’ (*Historia anteislamica*, p. 108 ed. Fleischer, 1831). His version is used to emend (‘fearlessness of death’) the transmitted text of IAU, which does not make sense. There is a partial version which does not specify Christians at Dunlop, *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, §16.

85 For the context, see Abū l-Fidā’: ‘He says, “Most people are incapable of understanding sustained demonstrative arguments and have to resort to myths (*rumūz*) for assistance” – by which he means stories of rewards and punishments in the Afterworld – “As an instance of this we observe ...”’

86 I.e. Mosaic Law combined with the intellectual ethical superiority of Christianity. IAU did not sense the origin of such arguments in anti-Islamic apologetic: Pines, ‘La loi naturelle’.

87 I.e. Abū Naṣr As‘ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭṭrān, court physician of Saladin and teacher of IAU’s

Passages where Galen talks about Moses and Christ.

He mentions Moses as follows in the fourth section of his *Anatomy According to the Views of Hippocrates*:⁸⁸

They compare the physicians we have identified with Moses who gave laws to the tribe of the Jews because it was typical of him to write his books without recourse to proof, merely asserting that, 'God has commanded, God has spoken!'

He also mentions Moses in *The Uses of the Parts*,⁸⁹ and Moses and Christ in the *Great Book of the Pulse*, where he says:⁹⁰

'A twisted piece of wood cannot be straightened and an old tree transplanted will not sucker'.⁹¹ It is easier for someone to instruct the followers of Moses and Christ than those physicians and philosophers who cling to their sects and wrangle!

There is a reference to Moses and Christ in his treatise *On the Prime Mover*:⁹²

If I were thinking of people who instruct their pupils like the followers of Moses or Christ when they tell them to accept everything as a matter of faith, I would not be leaving you with a definition.

There are other passages in addition to these.⁹³

[5.1.15]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul,⁹⁴ records that Galen was one of the Greek sages who lived under the empire of the Caesars following the establishment of Rome. His birth and upbringing were at Pergamum. This small town is one of the many cities of Asia, which is administered by Constantinople, and forms an island in the Sea of Constantinople. These Romans are the *Graeci*,⁹⁵

teacher, al-Dakhwār. He converted to Islam under Saladin. His biography is at Ch. 15.23. This passage is not present in MS B.

88 Title no. 27 (*Hippocrates' Knowledge of Anatomy*).

89 This no. 49. The reference is Bk 11.14 (ii.158 ed. Helmreich, ii.532–534 trans. May).

90 Title no. 16, specifically *De differentia pulsuum* (*Aṣnāf al-nabḍ*) viii.656.16–657.3 ed. Kühn.

91 From an unknown comic poet (classified as Kock, *Comicatorum Atticorum fragmenta* iii, fr. 182), based on a proverb indicating a futile task. For *'aliqat* = *μoσxέyεται* ('a sucker is taken'), cf. Lane, *Lexicon* s.v.

92 This lost work is no. 125 in the list of Galen's books.

93 Further references occur in *De differentia pulsuum* and in the commentary on the *Republic* (cited above). On all of them, see Walzer, *Jews and Christians* and Gero, 'Galen on the Christians'.

94 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 41. IAU's biography of him is at Ch. 13.36. IAU quotes more or less verbatim from 'an island in the Sea of Constantinople ... with whom they were angry'.

95 The Arabic has *ghariqiyūn*, reflecting Ibn Juljul's contact with Latin materials.

the ancient Greeks. From this quarter the army⁹⁶ known as the Goths was driven off by the Romans and then plundered Spain, where they settled. Isidore of Seville the Harranian⁹⁷ records that the city of Pergamum was the site of a royal prison and that they used it to confine people with whom they were angry.⁹⁸

[5.1.16.1]

In the following story Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah⁹⁹ provides information about Galen's domicile and residence.¹⁰⁰

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī¹⁰¹ asked Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū',¹⁰² 'Whereabouts in Roman territory was the house of Galen?' He stated that in Galen's own age it had been located in central Roman territory, but 'at the present time it lies on the edge,' and he noted that in Galen's day the eastern Roman border in the Euphrates region was at the settlement called Nighyā in the district of al-Anbār.¹⁰³ 'The Persian and Roman armies joined battle and kept outposts here. The border in the region of the Tigris was Dārā, though not always, for example when the Persian kings seized

96 Ibn Juljul has 'race'/'people' for the 'army' transmitted by the manuscripts of IAU, an easy change in Arabic script.

97 Ibn Juljul's correct 'metropolitan (bishop)' has been erroneously replaced by IAU (or his copy of Ibn Juljul) with a reference to the Harranians. Isidore of Seville is the 6th/7th cent. archbishop and polymath, author of the famous encyclopedia known as the *Etymologies*, which had some influence on Arabic writers; see Ducène, 'Isidore'.

98 The claim is apocryphal.

99 Ibn al-Dāyah, client of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (see below), wrote a lost *Accounts of Physicians*. See *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Dāya' (Rosenthal); Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, index s.v.

100 This long anecdote is set during the caliph's invasion of western Asia Minor in the course of the many wars against the Byzantines. Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-hukamā'*, 135–140, who lacks most of the paragraph based on the alleged Persian term *nawmājadh*.

101 Half-brother of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.

102 Ullmann, *Medizin* 109 no. 3; personal physician of Hārūn and subsequently his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, who died 212/827 and was the great great grandfather of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl (cf. above). His biography is at Ch. 8.3.

103 Al-Anbār: a town on the east bank of the Euphrates in central Mesopotamia important in late antiquity (Pērūz Shāpūr, Βηρσαβώρα) and the middle ages, which was never under Roman control. Nighyā (cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* s.v.): Ibn al-Qiftī has Niqisā or Nifisā or Nifiyyā, and the reference should perhaps be to Nicephorium (at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Balikh; modern al-Raqqah), which was fought over by late Roman and Sassanian armies; but for most of antiquity, including the late Roman world, Roman territory ended further south at the Khabur river in north-east Syria and the town of Circesium/Qarqisiyā (modern al-Buṣayrah), which is located at its confluence with the Euphrates.

the land between Dārā and Ra's al-ʿAyn.¹⁰⁴ The border between the Persians and the Romans to the North was Armenia and in the West Egypt, except that the Romans¹⁰⁵ had control of Egypt and Armenia at certain times.'

I took Jibrīl's statement about Roman control of Armenia 'at certain times' as something that should be rejected and denied the Romans had conquered Armenia apart from the zone called *Armenianus* in their tongue,¹⁰⁶ 'for it is a fact that the Romans refer to the people of this country as far as this boundary as Armenians'. Ibn al-Mahdī testified to this and adduced irrefutable proof in the form of an Armenian rug,¹⁰⁷ the finest workmanship I had seen from Armenia. On it were pictures of young women playing a variety of Roman games in a garden. It was embroidered in Latin mentioning the name of a Roman king. And so I gave in to Jibrīl.

[5.1.16.2]

The conversation returned to the topic of Galen and Jibrīl said, 'The name of the town where he was born and had his residence was Smyrna.¹⁰⁸ His house was in the neighbourhood of Qurrah, which was only two parasangs¹⁰⁹ from Smyrna.'¹¹⁰

104 Dārā: a fortress town, Greek Δαράι, on the border between the late Roman and Sassanian empires in northern Mesopotamia between Nisibis (Nusaybin) and Mardē (Mardin), which was not in fact founded till the beginning of the 6th cent. Both it and Ra's al-ʿAyn (above, n. 41) in particular look towards the Euphrates rather than the Tigris.

105 The manuscripts of IAU give 'Persians'. Ibn al-Qiftī read the source better (*Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 136) and 'Romans' makes better sense.

106 This cannot be identified. It is possible that Yūsuf is referring to the late Greek form, Ἀρμενιανός, 'Armenian'.

107 *Namaṭ*: a decorative covering or carpet placed over a carpet for sitting upon. Hārūn's treasury was well stocked with them at the time of his death according to the official inventory preserved in Anon., *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, § 302.

108 Galen was born in Pergamum; no other source mentions his domicile as Smyrna. But Galen's education in the city under Pelops (*Anatomical Procedures* 1.1, paraphrased below, 5.1.25) makes it likely enough that he owned property there.

109 Arabic *farsakh*, from the Persian unit of measure *farsāng* or *parsing*. It usually equalled three Arabic miles (*mīl*) or around 6 km. See Mercier 'Geodesy', Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 62 (English trans. 91).

110 This Qurrah cannot be the one mentioned by Ṭabarī during the Caliph's campaign against the Byzantines in 803, which would fit in terms of the chronology and context of the story but is located in Cappadocia (classical Koron) and very far from Smyrna, if this is the famous city of Ionia as it must be to fit Galen; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* (Bosworth), 238–239. The MSS of Ibn al-Qiftī alternatively offer *Qurbah*.

Jibrīl continued, ‘When Hārūn al-Rashīd was encamped under Qurrah, I saw he was in a good mood and I said to him, O My Lord, O Commander of the Faithful! The house of my supreme Master is two parasangs away. If the Commander of the Faithful thinks it right to allow me to go there that I might eat and drink in it, it would accord me supremacy over the physicians who are my contemporaries, and I should be able to say that I have eaten and drunk in the house of my Master. May he please grant this! He laughed at my words and said, “Woe betide you, Jibrīl! For I fear the Roman army or an advance guard of horsemen will come out and seize you!” I countered, It is impossible that the Romans could advance to within such a close distance of your camp. So he sent for Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Nahīk¹¹¹ and gave the order for five hundred men to be assigned to me so that I could reach the area. When I said, Commander of the Faithful, fifty would suffice, he laughed, saying, “Assign him one thousand horsemen. For I know he hates the thought of having to provide them with food and drink!” So I said, There is no actual need for me to visit Galen’s house! At that he laughed even more: “Upon Ibn al-Mahdī’s honour, you will certainly carry this out, with a thousand horsemen at your side!”’

[5.1.16.3]

Jibrīl went on. ‘I was the most sorrowful and the unhappiest of men as I left, for I had not even prepared for myself the wherewithal to cater for ten. The situation was not resolved until all the bread, carcasses and salt were delivered to me.¹¹² It was enough for all those with me and a lot was left! And so I did indeed get to stay in that place and eat there. The young men of the army went and raided the wine and meat stores of the Romans. They ate the meat sliced on bread and drank wine with it. I withdrew at the end of the day. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī asked me, “Was anything obvious in the layout of Galen’s house to show that he enjoyed honour?” Yes, the layout was extensive. I saw it had ranges to the east, west, and south, but I did not see one pointing north.¹¹³ This was the way Roman philosophers built their houses, and we know the Persian nobility used the same style. And I am planning the same, if I am true to myself and do what I should.

111 Hārūn’s chief of police, executed in the year 803; see al-Ṭabari, *Ta’rīkh* (Bosworth), 179 n. 660, 245–246. Cf. Ch. 8.3.22.

112 I.e. by the caliph.

113 *baytan furātīyyan*: literally ‘a range looking to the Euphrates’; unclear.

For any house that lacks sunshine is prone to disease. Galen was in the service of the Roman kings because of his wisdom and the Roman kings were men of ambition in everything they did. If you were to compare Galen's dwelling with (other) Roman dwellings, you would appreciate its large area and the size of its buildings. Although I only saw it in a dilapidated condition, from the fact that I found ranges with intact roofs I could tell he was a man who enjoyed high honour.'

'Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī fell silent so I¹¹⁴ said, My dear Jibrīl, the kings of the Romans were indeed men of ambition, as you have described, but the ambition they showed in their gifts and presents was no different from the ambition they showed in their personal honours. This failing affects servant and served. If you consider the plot occupied by the palace of the king of Rome and the plot owned by Galen, then consider the palace of the Commander of the Faithful and your own residence, the ratio of Galen's residence to that of the king of Rome will resemble the ratio between your own and the residence of the Commander of the Faithful!

[5.1.16.4]

Jibrīl was sometimes impressed by my often penetrating claims and praised me in front of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, but at other times he was annoyed and flew into a temper. Thus he said, 'What has your mention of "ratio" got to do with me?' I replied 'By mentioning "ratio" I deliberately used a technical term from the discourse of the Roman sages. You are their leading student and I intended to make things relevant to you by speaking the language of your masters. The point of my remark that the ratio of Galen's estate to the king of Rome's estate resembles the ratio of your estate to the Commander of the Faithful's estate is this: if Galen's estate is a half or a third or a fourth or a fifth or some such proportion, does its proportion relative to the king of Rome's estate resemble that of your estate in relation to the Commander of the Faithful's estate, or is it less? Suppose that the estate of the Commander of the Faithful were one parasang by one parasang and the proportion of yours was a tenth of a parasang by a tenth of a parasang, and that the estate of the king of Rome was a tenth of a parasang by a tenth of a parasang and Galen's estate was a tenth of a tenth of a parasang by a tenth of a tenth of a parasang. In that case the proportion of Galen's estate in relation to the king of Rome's

114 I.e. Yūsuf ibn al-Dāyah.

estate would resemble the relationship between the scale of your house and that of the Commander of the Faithful exactly.’

‘But¹¹⁵ Galen’s estate is not like that!’ he said. ‘It’s hugely smaller in scale than my estate is in relation to the estate of the Commander of the Faithful!’ – ‘Would you please tell something I want to know?’ – ‘I am not refusing!’ – ‘Are you telling me your master was inferior to you in rank?’ He was furious: ‘You *nawmājadh*!’ I took this expression as an insult and became angry. When he saw this he said, ‘I didn’t say anything derogatory to you. I wish I myself were a *nawmājadh*! It’s a word that is based on two Persian terms, “newness” and “arriving”. For *nawmājadh* is *nawa āmad*, meaning “his newness arrives”!¹¹⁶ It’s what they say about young men and I wish I too were a youngster like you! I must tell you that you are strutting about like cockerels do when they come of age. Often they cannot restrain themselves from picking fights with the old roosters, but that old rooster pecks the pubescent bird so hard it lays his brain open and that’s the end of his life. You yourself frequently oppose me in the salons, then without thinking get things terribly wrong.’

[5.1.16.5]

‘Jibrīl¹¹⁷ and his father Bukhtīshū‘ and his grandfather Jūrjis led lives that were not like the caliphs’ and yet their lives were like those led by caliphs and crown-princes and brothers and uncles and family of caliphs and their notable clients and commanders, and in terms of liberality every single one of them benefited from the generosity of the caliphs’ hearts. But every one of the companions of the king of Rome lived in a state of poverty and enjoyed little influence. So how could Jibrīl possibly be like Galen who enjoyed no privileges because his father was a husbandman and a keeper of parks and gardens? How could it be that someone with that standard of living might be like *me*? Two generations of my own family served the caliphs, who showered them with gifts, and other inferior men besides. The caliphs have bestowed gifts upon me and raised me up

115 On this paragraph, see n. 100 above.

116 Perhaps Persian *naw-āmad* (from *nawa*, spelled *nwh*, ‘new’, and the stem of *āmadan*, ‘to arrive’), meaning ‘new arrival’ and by extension ‘youngster’. If so, the MSS of IAU need to be corrected from the transmitted *hiddah* and *hiddatuhu* to *jiddah* and *jiddatuhu*. The *jīm* in *nawmājadh* cannot be explained satisfactorily. Alternatively, Jibrīl’s explanation is entirely bogus and an attempt to hide a real, unknown insult.

117 Speaking about himself.

from the rank of physician to their own company and companionship. And if I said that the Commander of the Faithful has no brother or relative or commander or governor who does not treat me right without being disposed to do so out of love for me – and whether he is so disposed or grateful to me for some treatment I gave him or a brilliant occasion where I was in attendance or a flattering story I told at court to his advantage, well, all of these people lavish their benefactions and gifts upon me. But if the size of my house is ten per cent of the house of the Commander of the Faithful and the Galen's is one per cent of the house of the king of Rome – he was still much more distinguished than me!

Then Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī joined in: 'Am I to understand that your irritation with Yūsuf lies in the fact that he ranked you ahead of Galen?' – 'Yes indeed, by God! And may God curse the man who is not grateful for his blessings and does not pay him back for them to the best of his ability! By God I was angry at the thought of being Galen's equal in any situation. I am thankful for his precedence over me in each and every circumstance!' Ibn al-Mahdī was pleased and expressed his approval by saying, 'Upon my life this is a fine thing in men of freedom and culture!' At this Jibrīl fell down to kiss his feet but he stopped him and embraced him instead.

[5.1.17]

Ibn Juljul¹¹⁸ states that, 'Galen lived in the reign of Nero Caesar, who was the sixth of the Caesars to rule Rome.'¹¹⁹ He travelled and wandered around the world, visited the city of Rome twice, and settled down there. He joined the king on campaign to administer to the wounded.¹²⁰ He held public meetings in the city of Rome where he gave lectures and displayed his exceptional knowledge of anatomy. His expertise came to be very well known.'

118 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 41–42.

119 'Nero' is heavily corrupted in the MSS of Ibn Juljul; it appears to be based on Latin *Nero* and is quite different from the form of the name transmitted in 5.1.8 above. The identification is certain from 'sixth', but IAU clearly did not make the connection with Nero in 5.1.8 (where the Arabic name is based on Greek Νέρων and is reasonably well preserved) and therefore, in a different register, did not see any challenge to the chronology of 'Ubayd Allāh.

120 An allusion to Galen's early role as a physician to gladiators (see below) or perhaps his attendance on Marcus and Lucius at Aquileia (5.1.9).

[5.1.18.1]

In his *Examination of the Best Physician* Galen includes the following narrative.¹²¹

I learned the demonstrative method from the time of my youth, and more importantly I rejected pleasures at the start of my study of medicine, despising and repudiating the worldly trappings people fight over, so that I excused myself the trouble of getting up early to attend at men's doors in order to accompany them as they rode out from their residences and waiting around by the doors of kings so that we might escort them to their palaces and stay by their side. Nor did I waste my time or upset myself wandering around after men, which people call 'greeting'.¹²² Instead I devoted my time entirely to practising medicine and to reflecting and thinking about it. I generally stayed up at nights to explore the treasures left us by the ancients. If anyone can say he acted as I did and possesses the natural intelligence and quick understanding that allow familiarity with this great science, he ought to be trusted even before people encounter his diagnoses and conduct with patients, and he should be judged superior to those who lack the talents we have specified and the practices we have listed.

Such was the approach taken by one of the high priests in my own case upon my return to the city¹²³ from the lands I had left it for when he put me in charge of caring for all those wounded in duels during combat¹²⁴ despite the fact I was not yet thirty years of age. Before this two or three senior figures had been entrusted with the task of dealing with them. When he was asked about the method he used to examine me in order to establish if he could trust me and put me in charge, he said, 'I happened to observe that he spent more days teaching this science than other, older

121 *De optimo medico cognoscendo*, title no. 112 (in a slightly different form). This long extract corresponds to 100–108 in Iskandar, *Examinations*. The context at the point where the extract begins is Galen's oft-repeated insistence that a physician should know how to prove the logical underpinnings of his theories and his assertion that he has practised logic throughout his life.

122 Arabic *taslīm*, the Roman custom of *salutatio*. Cf. Galen, *Method of Healing* x.76 Kühn 'which they themselves call "greetings" (ἀσπασμοί)' (again in the context of a demand to show skill in logic).

123 Pergamum. Galen refers to the high priest of the imperial cult, who was responsible among other things for putting on gladiatorial displays in honour of the imperial family. See Price, *Rituals and Power*.

124 I.e. in fighting as gladiators. IAU would have had no concept of what this involved.

physicians had spent learning it. More to the point, I saw them wasting their lives to no purpose; but I did not see him waste a single day or night of his life on useless pursuits nor was there a day or an occasion when he took time off from training himself in things of benefit. We also observed him at work recently, and this is a better guide to his proficiency in the art than the many years of those senior physicians.'

[5.1.18.2]

I once attended one of the public meetings where people assemble to find out more about a physician's knowledge. I demonstrated many examples of dissection to the audience including one where I took an animal and split open its belly to pull out the intestines. I called on the physicians who were present to replace them and suture the belly in the correct manner. Not one of them ventured to do this. We took care of it ourselves and thereby revealed our skill, experience, and dexterity. We also intentionally opened some of the major veins so the blood flowed and called upon the senior physicians to deal with them – but they had nothing to offer. Again I dealt with them myself and it became clear to anyone of intelligence in the audience that a man who was to be in charge of the wounded must possess the skills I did. When the high priest made me responsible for their affairs – and he was the first to give me this job – he was absolutely delighted because none of the many men in my care died, barring two individuals, whereas sixteen had died in the care of the physician before me. Later a second high priest put me in charge and he was even luckier as a result of the appointment because not one of those under me died although they had many very serious injuries.

I mention all this to show how somebody wanting to conduct an examination may do so to distinguish between the expert physician and his opposite before his theories and knowledge are tested out on patients. The examination must not be conducted as people do nowadays: they prefer physicians who ride with them and focus on serving them to such a degree that they have no time left for practising medicine. Rather, preferring and choosing medicine requires someone very different. His time must be completely focussed on the practice of medicine and on nothing else.

I happen to know an intelligent and perceptive man who showed me favour on account of seeing a single performance of mine. It involved me dissecting an animal to demonstrate which organs were responsible for the voice and which for locomotion. Two months earlier this man had

fallen from a height. He broke many of his limbs and his voice largely failed so that his speech was reduced to a whisper. His limbs were treated, recovered, and restored to health after many days but his voice would not return. However, after observing my demonstration, he gained confidence in me and appointed me to deal with his problem. I cured him in a few days because I identified the affected area and gave it my attention.

[5.1.18.3]

I know another man who was crushed when he fell off his horse. He was treated and recovered from all his problems except that two of his fingers – the little finger and the ring finger – remained numb for a long period. He had hardly any feeling in them and lacked normal control over their movement. There was also something wrong with the middle finger. The physicians applied various dressings without success and every time they applied one they had to change it for another. When he consulted me I asked him which part of his body he had landed on. He told me that he had landed on a spot right between his shoulder blades. I was aware from my study of anatomy that the root of the nerve which ends in those two fingers is located in the first of the vertebrae between the shoulder blades, and I realized that the cause of the trouble lay at the spot where this nerve emerges from the spinal cord. So I applied at this spot some of the dressings that had been placed on the fingers after requesting the removal of those applications, which were useless. It was not long before he was cured, and everyone who saw this was astounded by the fact that the area between the shoulder blades can cure and restore the fingers!

Someone else who consulted me was suffering from the loss of both his voice and his appetite for food. I cured him with medicines which I applied to his neck. His symptoms were as follows. He had a very bad case of scrofula on both sides of the neck. One of his carers had treated it by excising the scrofulous tissue. But as a result of inattentiveness he had exposed to the cold the two nerves adjacent to the two arteries that are prominent in the neck. These two nerves ramify out to many parts of the body and a major branch reaches the 'mouth'¹²⁵ of the stomach. From it the whole stomach acquires sensation but the most sensitive part is at its mouth owing to the ramification of this nerve within it. A minor branch from each one of these two nerves moves one of the organs of the voice,

125 I.e. the cardiac orifice.

and for this reason the man's voice went along with his appetite. When I realized this I applied a dressing to warm his neck and he was cured in three days. There was not one who saw this action of mine and had the patience to listen to the theory that led me to his cure who failed to be amazed and to learn that for physicians anatomy is an absolute necessity.

[5.1.19]

In *Diseases That Are Difficult to Cure*¹²⁶ Galen writes that as he was passing through Rome he came across a man surrounded by a crowd of fools, who was shouting out,

I am from Aleppo!¹²⁷ I met Galen, and he taught me every bit of knowledge he had acquired! This drug is effective on worms in the teeth!

The charlatan had prepared a globule of pitch and tar and had placed them over some embers. With it he fumigated the mouth of the man who had wormy teeth, as he claimed, and the man could not help closing his eyes. While they were closed he inserted worms into the man's mouth that he had been keeping ready in boxes, and then he extracted them. At this the fools showered him with their change. Finally he outdid himself and cut open blood vessels that were not near joints. When I saw this, I went right up to the people and said, 'I am Galen! And *this* is a fool!' I warned them off him, got the authorities onto him, and laid blows upon him.

On account of this incident Galen wrote *On the Methodist Sect*.¹²⁸

126 *Kitāb fī l-amrāḍ al-'asirat al-bur'*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum* (henceforth Fichtner) no. 439. The work, which is not in IAU's catalogue of Galenic titles, appears to be known only from the quotation in Ibn Juljul (*Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 43) which is IAU's source for 5.1.19; cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 124. It presumably dealt with the old conundrum, going back to the Hippocratics (*On the Art* 8 Littré), of whether every disease could or should be cured; cf. 5.1.22 below 'a disease for which no medicine exists'. On the particular topic here, see Meyerhof, 'Tooth-Worm'.

127 Ḥalab in Syria, an ancient city renamed Beroea in the Hellenistic and Roman eras from the Macedonian city of that name.

128 *Kitāb fī aṣḥāb al-ḥiyāl*. This attack on Methodism, the medical sect which claimed to teach medicine quickly, was in 6 books; it has not been preserved (cf. *On My Own Books* 13 περὶ μεθοδικῆς αἰρέσεως; Fichtner no. 271; but πρὸς Ἰουλιάνου should be deleted – see Boudon-Millot, *Galen*, 163) and is not included in the list of Galen's works; cf. the Mashhad ms, *Sitt maqālāt fī firqat aṣḥāb al-ḥiyāl*. In John the Grammarian's *History* Methodism is the enemy that dominates medicine after Hippocrates till Galen confronts it (Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn', 69/79; cf. n. 4 above). This unfavourable image, which is drawn from the present-

[5.1.20]¹²⁹

In his *Composition of Drugs by Types*¹³⁰ Galen says¹³¹ that he operated in the temple in the city of Rome, and that in the city there was a senior predecessor who had been treating wounded men in the temple, which was in effect a hospital, and that he himself cured every one of the wounded he operated on ahead of others. This made his superiority apparent and showed off his knowledge. He was not content¹³² about knowing things by rote learning rather than as a result of direct practice.

[5.1.21.1]

The Emir al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik¹³³ writes that,

Galen travelled to Athens, Rome, Alexandria and other places in his quest for knowledge. He was taught by the physician Arminus¹³⁴ after having initially learned geometry, philology, grammar, and other subjects from his father and a group of geometers and grammarians. He also studied medicine with a woman called Cleopatra.¹³⁵ He acquired many drugs

ation in Galen himself (e.g. *De methodo medendi* x.7ff. on Thessalus) and is clear in the teaching of Galen (cf. the Alexandrian summary of his surviving *De sectis* ed. Walbridge, *Epitomes* 6–41), is perhaps responsible for the translation of *methodikoi* as *aṣḥāb al-ḥiyal*, literally ‘people who use stratagems’ (cf. *Sur les faussaires*, Boudon-Millot, *Galien* 227; this may be too negative but cf. ‘Thessalus *al-mughālīṭ*, ‘the Misleader’, at Ch. 1.1).

129 This anecdote from Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, 43 (apparently; but cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamā*, 124) is included in Version 3 (AR) only.

130 For this major pharmacological treatise, see title no. 79. The reference is to xiii.599 Kühn, but the passage is heavily paraphrased and its obscurity is worsened by errors in IAU’s transcription from (or the copy he had of) his source. Cf. 5.1.26 for IAU’s failure to recognize a related passage.

131 Ibn Juljul (cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī): ‘that he was operating (in) the temple at Rome in the place of a senior predecessor in the temple, which was in effect a hospital where the wounded were treated, and that every one of the wounded he operated on was victorious [Ibn al-Qifṭī: he cured every one of the wounded he operated on].’

132 Ibn al-Qifṭī ‘was rich/enjoyed repute.’

133 Author of the well-known biographical collection called *The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings* written 1048/9 and well used by IAU; biography at Ch. 14.23. See Rosenthal, ‘Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition’. The passage is p. 289 in the Arabic edition by Badawī.

134 So the MSS of IAU and al-Mubashshir; cf. Rosenthal, ‘Ishāq b. Ḥunayn’, 69. The form appears to rest on confusion between the Peripatetic philosopher Herminus, teacher of Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Albinus, a distinguished Platonist who taught Galen in Smyrna (*On My Own Books* 2.1; but note the Mashhad MS has the name as *Athyālus*). Albinus is the author of one and probably two surviving textbooks of ‘Middle Platonist’ philosophy; see *Brill’s New Pauly* art. ‘Albinus [3]’ (M. Baltes).

135 Cleopatra the last queen of Egypt had a legendary career in medicine prompted in part

from her, especially those relevant to treatments for women. He travelled to Cyprus to see calcite being mined.¹³⁶ He also visited the island of Chios¹³⁷ to view the manufacture of *terra sigillata*.¹³⁸ He handled these products for himself and verified them by inspection.¹³⁹ He also journeyed to Egypt and stayed there for a while examining Egyptian medicaments, particularly opium in the territory of Asyūt, which is one of the provinces of Upper Egypt. He left and made for Syria *en route* to his home town but fell ill on the way and died at al-Faramā.¹⁴⁰ This is a city by the Green Sea in the last of the provinces of Egypt.¹⁴¹

In his book of routes and realms al-Mas‘ūdī notes that ‘al-Faramā lies close on the shores’ of the Lake of Tinnīs,¹⁴² is a fortified town, and ‘contains the tomb of Galen the Greek’.¹⁴³

by Galen’s extensive quotation (via Statilius Crito) of her pseudonymous treatise on cosmetics in his *Composition of Drugs by Places*. John the Grammarian (Rosenthal, ‘Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn’ 69/79 with Dunlop, *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, ll. 364–365 where she is a *ṭabībah*) supplied a connection between Galen and the queen, which assisted the attempt to synchronize Galen and Jesus. For the medical and alchemical teaching attributed to her in the medieval era, see Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften* indexes s.v., and cf. Ch. 4.1.11.2.

- 136 Arabic *qulquṭār*, Greek χαλκίτης, a mineral substance consisting of calcium carbonate.
- 137 Arabic *Kīyyūs*, which should represent the port-town of Cius on the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) rather than the large Aegean island of Chios. Ibn Juljul (see below) has ‘Kīyyūsh’. No voyage of Galen is attested to Cius or Chios and Müller changed the text to read Lemnos, where Galen tells us he collected medicinal clays (Boudon-Millot, *Galien*, p. liv).
- 138 Arabic *al-ṭīn al-makhtūm*, stamped tablets of so-called ‘Lemnian earth’ mixed with wine or juniper. Cf. *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* (title no. 53 in 5.1.37), xii.174–175 Kühn.
- 139 He travelled ... inspection: cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 43.
- 140 Ancient Pelusium on the Nile delta.
- 141 ‘Green Sea’ should refer to the Arabian Gulf or more often to the Atlantic rather than the Mediterranean as here.
- 142 Now Lake Manzala. Al-Faramā (Faramā’) on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile lies, rather, to the east of the Tanitic mouth, according to the ancient and medieval classifications of the Delta (Strabo, *Geography*, 17.1.18 and 20).
- 143 A number of well-known geographical works of differing aims go under the name ‘routes and realms’, but the ascription here is ‘as a result of confusion’ (*EI*² art. ‘al-Mas‘ūdī’ (Pellat); cf. *EI*² art. ‘al-Masālik wa ‘l-Mamālik’ (Pellat) and *EI*² art. ‘Djuḡhrāfiyā’ (Ahmad) section iv c i). The quotation is in fact from al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 53. The misquotation of ‘fortified’ (for al-Iṣṭakhrī’s ‘fertile’) shows faulty memory or reading; IAU may have been thinking subconsciously of al-Mas‘ūdī’s *Tanbīh* (for Faramā, but without mention of Galen; see al-Mas‘ūdī, *L’avertissement*, 33).

[5.1.21.2]

Another source¹⁴⁴ records that,

when the Christian religion had become established in the days of Galen, he was told that there was a man who had achieved notoriety in a far-flung part of the empire of Octavian Caesar at Jerusalem as a result of curing blind men and lepers and because he raised the dead. 'He almost has some divine power to do this,' Galen said, and he enquired if any of his companions was left and received an emphatic 'Yes!' So he left Rome intent on Jerusalem and crossed to Sicily, which in those days was called *Sikāniyah*.¹⁴⁵ There he died and his tomb is in Sicily.

[5.1.22]

The cause of Galen's death was allegedly diarrhoea. The story¹⁴⁶ goes that when the illness became protracted he treated it by every means but without effect, and his pupils remarked that 'the Sage does not know how to treat his own illness' and so were negligent in attending to him, as he noticed. It was summer time. He had a jar fetched containing water. He produced something and tossed it in the jar, left it for an hour, then broke the jar open, and lo and behold the liquid had frozen. From it he made a drug which he drank and used as an enema but to no effect. 'Do you know why I did this?', he asked his pupils. 'No!' 'So that you don't think I am incapable of curing myself! For this is an illness they call "chronic", which means a disease for which no medicine exists, in other words, death'.¹⁴⁷

I regard this tale about Galen as a fiction.

In his *Prolegomena* Ibn Bakhtawayh¹⁴⁸ includes a description of how to freeze water outside the proper season for it. He asserts that 'You take a *raṭl*¹⁴⁹ of

144 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 42. IAU appears to be using Ibn Juljul directly; the form of the reference is stylistic but also absolves IAU of responsibility for a tale which assists the question of where Galen died but undermines the careful chronology established earlier. For the legend of Galen and Jesus, cf al-Bayhaqī, above 5.1.5.

145 Cf. Ibn Juljul's *Šikāniyah* (< Latin Sicania, based on Greek, showing once again the influence of Latin sources on him); IAU's MSS have *Šitāniyah* or *Šitāniyah*: Arabic *kāf* may be misread as *ṭā'* by copyists.

146 From an unknown source.

147 Cf. 5.1.19 on *Diseases That Are Difficult to Cure* with n. 126.

148 This physician of the 11th cent. from Wāsiṭ in Iraq has a brief entry at Ch. 10.52. Cf. Sezgin GAS III, 335.

149 A measure of capacity. The Baghdad *raṭl* ('considered canonic': Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 31 = English trans. 45) was around 400+g or (since liquids were measured by weight) 400 ml.

good quality Yemeni alum,¹⁵⁰ crush it finely, and place it in a brand-new crock, introduce six *raṭls* of clean water and leave the whole thing in an oven, lined with clay, until one third and only one third remains. Once it has thickened, lift it out into a container with the top well sealed. When you want to use it, take a new ice-tray with pure water, stir in ten *mithqāls*¹⁵¹ of the alum solution, let it stand for one hour and it will become ice.'

Someone from the Maghrib makes a similar claim in a description of how to freeze water during the summer: 'Get hold of some cotton seed and macerate it in good quality, extra strong wine vinegar. When it has swollen up, place it in a jar or a skin filled with water. Whatever water is there will freeze even if it is June or July.'

[5.1.23]

Abū l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik writes that,¹⁵²

Galen's father took considerable care over him and spent a great deal of money doing so. He paid tutors handsome salaries to bring them from faraway towns.¹⁵³ From boyhood onward Galen showed a passion for knowledge based on logic, pursuing it with real eagerness, effort, and aptitude. As a result of his eagerness for knowledge, when he left his teacher's side and was on the way home he would go over what he had taught him so he could reach the same level. The boys who were with him in class kept cursing him: 'You there, you've got to learn to take some time to laugh with us and come out to play!' Often he did not answer them because he was so engrossed in his studies but sometimes he asked, 'What motivates you to laugh and play?' – 'We like it!' – 'Well, there is a reason why I am motivated to renounce such things and prefer learning and that is my loathing of your behaviour and my love of my own!' People used to marvel at him, saying, 'In addition to your father's enormous wealth and magnificent reputation he has been blessed with a son who thirsts for knowledge!' His father was a geometer who retained an interest in agriculture. His grandfather was the leading carpenter, while his father's grandfather was a surveyor.

150 In this case perhaps potassium nitrate (saltpetre), which can take sufficient heat out of water to cause freezing.

151 The 'canonic *mithqāl*' was 4.46g.; Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 5 = English trans. 7.

152 Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 289–290.

153 IAU omits a number of lines here.

[5.1.24.1]

In *Good and Bad Juices*¹⁵⁴ Galen tells us his father died when he was twenty years of age. In this same passage he describes his own health:

My dear sir, if you would like to assume I am speaking the truth, feel free to do so, for there is absolutely nothing that compels me to lie. On occasions I have been made extremely angry by discovering that many men of the greatest sense and reputation have frequently lied in their writings on scientific topics. As for me, I have only spoken – and never lied – on matters of personal observation and individual experience over a very long period. May God be my witness that I am not lying when I inform you of my father's wisdom and excellence. He amassed so much knowledge that nothing was beyond his limits – I refer to surveying, geometry, logic, arithmetic, and the science of the stars, which is called *astūrūsiyyā*.¹⁵⁵ His contemporaries acknowledged his truthfulness, reliability, goodness, and sobriety. He possessed these very qualities to a degree unmatched by contemporary philosophers or scholars. He was my guardian and managed my life when I was a small child and in his hands God kept me safe from pain and sickness.

When I had reached adolescence and was grown up, my father went away to an estate, for he loved agricultural science, and left me behind. I was busy with my lessons and education. I was altogether superior to my school friends, outstripping them and outdoing them in knowledge. I laboured night and day at my schooling. One day I ate some fruit with my friends and filled my belly with it. It was during the onset of autumn and I became acutely ill and needed a phlebotomy. My father returned to me at that point, entered the city, and came and scolded me, recalling for me the regimen, the guidance, and the foods he had nourished me with when I was young. Then he ordered and exhorted me, saying, 'Be careful from now on! Look after yourself and steer clear of your young friends' excessive appetites and their demanding and irresponsible behaviour!'

154 *De bonis malisque sucis*, title no. 76 in the list of Galenic works below. This citation (corresponding to 392–393 of Helmreich's Greek edition) is one of the major fragments of what is a pleonastic and rather free Arabic translation. By 'bad juice' (κακοχυμία, *al-kaymūs al-radī*) Galen is referring to harmful acidic juices in foods and not using χυμός/*al-kaymūs* in the sense of humour or chyme.

155 Or *istūrūsiyyā*. The Greek has ἀστρονομία and the form is presumably a corruption of it. But there may be a reference to the common title of Euclid's *Elements* in Arabic, *al-Ištūrūshiyyā* (representing Greek στοιχεῖα, 'elements', perhaps influenced by the sense *stoicheia* may bear of 'planets', 'signs of the Zodiac').

[5.1.24.2]

The next year my father wanted to have a plan for me to eat carefully and he made me stick to it. He put me on a diet and kept me to an appropriate regimen with the result that I ate hardly any fruit. It was my nineteenth year and I got through it free of disease and trouble. The following year death claimed him. I again consorted with my friends and companions among those youths and ate fruit and overdid it. I filled my belly up and became ill with the same illness as before, and again needed a phlebotomy. In the next years I was affected by outbreaks of disease, sometimes with remission for a year, until I reached 28. Then I suffered from a grave complaint, for an ulcer arose in the place where the liver joins with the diaphragm (this is the membrane that separates the respiratory and digestive systems). I determined after this not to touch fresh fruit except for a few figs and grapes, and these only when ripe. I avoided excess beyond measure and capacity and ate only a limited quantity of them and did not exceed it. I had an older colleague who agreed with me and supported my decision to keep right away from fruits. What we needed to do was to stay slim and be careful not to suffer indigestion or give into our appetite for food. And together we have remained to this day without pain or sickness over many years. When I noticed this, I focused my attention on my closest friends and intimate companions and obliged them to stay slim and eat a moderate and balanced diet. They have stayed healthy and have had nothing too troublesome to this day. Some of them have enjoyed constant health for 25 years, some for 15 years, some have stayed well for a shorter or longer period depending on whether they listened and stuck to the quantities I set for them and kept away from fresh fruits and other examples of foodstuffs with bad juices.

[5.1.25]¹⁵⁶

In his *Anatomical Procedures*¹⁵⁷ Galen says that he came to Rome for the first time at the start of the reign of Antoninus, who was king after Hadrian.¹⁵⁸ He

156 Here and in 5.1.26 IAU follows al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik (Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 290–292) very closely, but adds the names of the books al-Mubashshir draws upon and inserts some additional information. He does not name al-Mubashshir till the end of 5.1.26.

157 Title 21 in the list of Galen's works. Al-Mubashshir summarizes and partially quotes Ch. 1.1 (see Garofalo, *Anat. admin.*, 1–5). Direct quotations: 'Boethus ... Ptolemais', 'to Corinth ... Quintus named', 'pupils of Quintus and Numisianus'.

158 For the confusion between Antoninus (= Antoninus Pius) and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (= Marcus Aurelius), see above n. 45.

composed a book on anatomy for Boethus the Victorious, who had charge of Rome,¹⁵⁹ on the occasion when he was intending to leave Rome for his own city of Ptolemais and had asked Galen to supply him with a book on anatomy. He also composed treatises on anatomy when he was based in the city of Smyrna studying with his teacher Pelops,¹⁶⁰ who was his second teacher after Satyrus the pupil of Quintus.¹⁶¹ He then travelled to Corinth on account of another famous pupil of Quintus named Aephicianus.¹⁶² He went to Alexandria when he heard there were famous pupils of Quintus and Numisianus, and afterwards returned to his homeland of Pergamum, a city in Asia. He then journeyed to Rome where he practised anatomy before Boethus. A constant presence was that of Eudemus, a philosopher of the Peripatetic sect, and Alexander the Aphrodisian of Damascus,¹⁶³ who at that time was held qualified to deliver teaching at Athens by giving public lectures on the Peripatetic theory of philosophy. Present with them too was the man in charge in Rome, Sergius

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- 159 For Boethus, see n. 53. The phrase ‘the Victorious ... Rome’ is Ḥunayn’s rendering of the Greek ἀνὴρ ὑπάτος (= Latin *consul* or, as here, *consularis*, a former consul) Ῥωμαίων. Galen refers to Boethus’ departure around 166 to take up the governorship of Syria Palaestina.
- 160 See *On the Order of My Own Books* 3.6, 9, *On My Own Books* 2 with Boudon-Millot’s notes (Boudon-Millot, *Galien*). Pelops was a Dogmatist physician who had caught Galen’s attention in a public lecture at Pergamum. Galen went to hear him in Smyrna in 149.
- 161 See *On the Order of My Own Books* 3.7, 9 (Boudon-Millot, *Galien*). Satyrus taught Galen at Pergamum and was the tutor who had most influence on him. Quintus, Galen’s immediate predecessor at Rome, is mentioned by him several times with a degree of criticism.
- 162 For Aephicianus see e.g. *On the Order of My Own Books* 3.10 (Boudon-Millot, *Galien*). The name is transmitted in the Greek tradition in slightly variant forms. The forms given in the MSS of IAU here do not help resolve this. The words ‘to Corinth ... Quintus named’ come from *Anatomical Procedures* (and are not included by al-Mubashshir as transmitted) but the name given after them is Numisianus (see below), and Aephicianus is not mentioned. Nor is Aephicianus associated with Corinth in any passage of Galen; when he is mentioned, it is always in conjunction with Satyrus.
- 163 Eudemus: for the little known about this man, see Nutton, *Galen De praecognitione*, 157–158. Alexander: see Nutton, *Galen De praecognitione* 5.9, p. 96, with the note on p. 189. The Greek speaks of Alexander of Damascus. But Arabic biographical sources gave the double origin to the famous Peripatetic philosopher Alexander of Aphrodisias (Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’; *ET²*, art. ‘Al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī’, (Strohmaier)) and modern scholars sometimes wish to amalgamate the two Alexanders on the ground that the Aphrodisian held the chair of Peripatetic philosophy at Athens, as the Damascene had, around the year 200. The chronology does not fit Alexander of Damascus, since *Anatomical Procedures* was written at least 20 years earlier; but a reference to his chair could, it is suggested, have been inserted later in confusion. One may wonder if Arab writers actually knew of Aphrodisias, which had changed its name in late antiquity, and found for Alexander a civic identity they could recognize. On the two Alexanders see Goulet & Aouad, ‘Alexandros’, 126–127.

Paullus,¹⁶⁴ who in matters of philosophy was in every respect a leader in word and deed.

[5.1.26]

In one of his books¹⁶⁵ Galen says that he came to Alexandria for the first time and returned to Pergamum, which was his homeland and the homeland of his fathers, when he was 28. In *The Pinax of his Books* he says he returned from Rome to his own country when thirty seven years of his life had elapsed.¹⁶⁶ In *Avoiding Distress*¹⁶⁷ he says that a significant quantity of his books and effects was destroyed by fire in the great imperial storehouses of the city of Rome. Some of the manuscripts that were destroyed had been written by Aristotle, others by Anaxagoras or Andromachus. Galen had corrected their readings following the method of the authorities who had taught him and the scholars who had transmitted them from Plato downwards.¹⁶⁸ He travelled to distant cities in

164 L. Sergius Paullus came from a distinguished eastern senatorial family and was a direct descendant of the Sergius Paullus who helped St Paul in Acts and probably gave him his Roman name (i.e. from the earlier Saul). This acquaintance of Galen held the major office of Prefect of the City around 168. He is no. 77 in the stemma at Halfmann, *Die Senatoren* 106.

165 *Composition of Drugs by Types* xiii.599 Kühn. IAU either did not know or did not recognize the passage. When he cites the work above at more or less the same point in it (see 5.1.20), he is drawing on Ibn Juljul's confused summary. In the Greek 'first' means Galen's first return from Alexandria.

166 *On My Own Books* 2.1. Here IAU has the correct 'from' rather than 'to' Rome; contrast the end of 5.1.10.2 above.

167 This work (title no. 120 in the list of Galenic titles, using its alternative title) was recently rediscovered in a unique Greek manuscript (see Nutton, 'Avoiding Distress'; Boudon-Millot, Jouanna, Pietrobelli, *Ne pas se chagriner*). The Arabic, translated by Ḥunayn's nephew Ḥubaysh, is lost apart from quotations. The theme of the work develops from the description of Galen's composure following the loss of his books and possessions in the great fire that devastated central Rome in early 192, an event he refers to often (e.g. *On My Own Books* 3.7 Boudon-Millot, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* 13.362 Kühn, *De antidotis* 14.66 Kühn). On the Arabic tradition, note Boudon-Millot, Jouanna, Pietrobelli, *Ne pas se chagriner*, lxx–lxxiv (but without awareness that IAU borrows wholesale from al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, whose work is described as 'perdu').

168 In §§13–17 of the Greek of *Avoiding Distress* as we have it Galen specifies the loss of auto-graph copies as well as his own corrected texts of famous books. But it is not clear what ἀυτόγραφα means: see Boudon-Millot, Jouanna, Pietrobelli, *Ne pas se chagriner*, §13, who emend to ἀντίγραφα. IAU suggests the reading ἀυτόγραφα is correct, with the sense perhaps of an authentic copy rather than one actually written by the author. NB Anaxagoras and Andromachus are not mentioned in our Greek but it is unlikely that al-Mubashshir would have introduced these names himself and we should assume they were present in the redaction translated into Arabic.

order to correct most of them.¹⁶⁹ He records that among the losses he incurred in the fire were numerous books of his which existed only in a single copy. In the work he mentions many other things he lost as a result of the fire. To list them would be a long task.

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik writes that, 'Among Galen's losses in the fire was Rufus' book on *Theriac, Poisons and the Treatment of Those who Have Been Poisoned*¹⁷⁰ and a work on the *Composition of Drugs by Illness and Time*,¹⁷¹ and among Galen's most precious possessions were books of his on white brocade bound with black wool-silk,¹⁷² on which he had spent a fortune.'

[5.1.27]

In general there is a vast amount of information about Galen. There are stories useful to people who examine them, and snippets and anecdotes scattered all over his books and throughout the reports passed down to us about him. There are many stories detailing his treatment of the sick and testifying to his ability and skill in the art of medicine. It is not feasible for me now to record all this material here. My intention is to write a monograph setting out all noteworthy material of this sort which I have found throughout his books and in others – if God the Exalted wills it.¹⁷³

[5.1.28]

In the *Pinax* Galen notes that he composed a book in two sections (*maqāl-atayn*) in which he described his way of life.¹⁷⁴ Galen's career includes amazing cures and extraordinary cases of prognosis he performed single-handedly

169 This is not in the surviving Greek.

170 Rufus of Ephesus, the second most important Greek physician of the High Roman Empire, flourished in the late 1st and early 2nd cent.; Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, index s.v., Ilberg, *Rufus*. He is not mentioned in the surviving Greek text of *Avoiding Distress*, though Galen does mention theriac (§6). See Ullmann, *Medizin* 75 no. 25, 345, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 66 no. 14 for the several citations in the Arabic tradition of Rufus' work on toxins. It is included in the titles listed by IAU when he discusses Rufus in the appendix to his biography of Hippocrates at Ch. 4.1.10.2, title no. 28 *Lethal Drugs*.

171 Cf. Sezgin, *GAS* III, 67 for the attribution of this title to Rufus (in Sezgin this is *Marātib al-adwiya*). The work is not mentioned by IAU in Ch. 4.

172 Respectively *dībāj* (cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 113 n.) and *qazz*. See Gacek, *Manuscripts* (2009) 187 on the possible use of silk products in paper making, and 265–266 on brocaded covers, which were well known later under the Ottomans and Safavids.

173 Presumably never written.

174 This is probably the work referred to in *On My Own Books* 15.5 as περι τῆς διαβολῆς, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περι τοῦ ἰδίου βίου, 'On Slander, also containing a discussion of my own way of life', with the implication that the work was in one book; Hunayn's translation (Mashhad manuscript) explains IAU: 'a book in two sections on slander, and in these two sections I described

when he predicted the occurrence of diseases and matters turned out as he described. We have found he gave a summary of such things in the monograph he wrote for Epigenes, which he entitled *Remarkable Stories of Prognosis*.¹⁷⁵ In the book he says that, ‘people initially called me a “miracle teller” because of the excellence of what they heard from me concerning medicine, and when they were presented with clear evidence of my miraculous cures of patients, they called me a “miracle worker”’

[5.1.29.1]

Galen includes the following stories in his *Examination of the Best Physician*.¹⁷⁶

I do not recognize anyone in this audience who is unfamiliar with our treatment of the man who was put at risk by every single ointment that was applied to his eye – until he got a cure. He had a large, painful ulcer in the eye and this had resulted in a protrusion of the iris.¹⁷⁷ I gave this time to reduce and allowed the ulcer to heal over without employing any eye-salves.¹⁷⁸ I limited myself to a daily preparation of three eye-washes.¹⁷⁹ One was a decoction of fenugreek, another of roses, and the third unpounded saffron. All the physicians in attendance observed how I employed these washes but none was in a position follow my example here because they did not know the method or the daily dosage for each wash to be administered to suit the condition. The dosage of these washes was indicated by various factors: the intensity and dominance of the pain, the bulge of the protrusion, the quantity of impure matter in the ulcer or increase in its pus. By employing nothing but these washes I attained my aim of reducing the protrusion of the iris where there was swelling, of stilling the pain, of cleansing the ulcer at when it contained much impure mater-

my own way of life’ (*wa-maqālatayn fi l-waqīah wa-fi hātayn al-maqālatayn waṣaftu sīrat nafsi*). *On Slander* is lost and is not included in IAU’s list of Galenic books. Cf. Fichtner no. 183.

175 Nutton, *Galen De praecognitione*, 1, p. 69. Epigenes has not been clearly identified: see Nutton’s note on pp. 147–148. The passage referred to is p. 110 Nutton but the quotation is quite different from the Greek; the Arabic translation – no. 69 in the list of Galenic works in 5.1.37 – is apparently lost.

176 3.14–4.1 Iskandar, *Examinations*, 58–61; title no. 112 in the list of Galen’s works below. IAU has already quoted extensively from this book in 5.1.18.

177 In Arabic, *al-ghishā’ al-‘inabī* (meaning the iris, not the uvea, as Iskandar has it). Galen is referring to a prolapse of the iris [*prolapsus iridis*], which is part of the uveal layer, as a result of the ulcer.

178 Arabic *shiyāfāt*.

179 Arabic *miyāh*.

ial, of encouraging the tissue to grow when the ulcer was still deep, and of causing it to heal over when it was full.

There has never been a day when I have failed to demonstrate this or a similarly comprehensive level of proficiency. The majority of physicians who were witnesses had no idea of where this might be written down let alone of anything to match it. On seeing it some labelled me a 'miracle worker' while others called me a 'miracle teller'.

[5.1.29.2]

Let me give you an example relating to a group of leading Roman physicians. During my first visit there I joined them when they were attending a young man who was suffering from a fever. They were considering whether to bleed him and this led to an argument. When the discussion became protracted, I said to them, 'Arguing is beside the point, for nature will soon burst a vessel and cause the excess blood in this young man's body to be purged through the nostrils.' They did not have to wait long before they saw this with their own eyes. They were stunned instantly and dumbfounded and the event caused them to hate me with all their hearts and to label me a 'miracle teller'.

On¹⁸⁰ another occasion I attended a patient who presented very clear signs indicating an eventual nosebleed. I was not content with merely forewarning of this but stated that it would come from the right-hand side. The physicians who were there rebuked me and said, 'We don't believe we need *you* to show us!' I replied, 'Let me point out to you in addition that in a moment you will be thrown into a great state of confusion and serious alarm when the nosebleed happens because it will be difficult to stop. I just don't see his nature being strong enough to manage the sheer quantity of the evacuation needed and to bring the process to an end.' Things turned out as I had described. Those physicians were unable to stop the blood because they did not know the movement of blood had started. I on the other hand checked the flow very easily, with the result that they named me a 'miracle worker'.

180 Iskandar, *Examinations*, 4.2, p. 63.

[5.1.29.3]

The same book contains other accounts of this sort which attest to Galen's skill and his mastery of the art of medicine. For example,¹⁸¹

I once joined a number of physicians attending a patient who was suffering from a combination of catarrh and difficulty in breathing.¹⁸² To begin with I let these physicians have him drink medicines they believed would be good for him. At first they gave him several of benefit for coughs¹⁸³ and catarrhs. These were taken while the patient was trying to get to sleep because they induced a deep feeling of drowsiness. The effect was useful against insomnia and sleeplessness and he slept heavily all night long. The cough was relieved and the catarrh dispersed. But he began to complain of a heaviness in his respiratory organs and was afflicted with a severe constriction in his chest and in his breathing. At this point the physicians saw no alternative but to get him to drink something that would help him cough up what was in his lungs. After he took it, he brought up a great quantity of viscous fluid. During the following night his cough returned keeping him awake and he began to feel a soft substance slipping down from his head into his throat and windpipe. During the following night they had no choice but to get him to take the sleeping potion, and the catarrh, cough, and sleeplessness consequently disappeared. However, his breathing became much more constricted and his condition deteriorated during the night after this. They had no choice but to make him drink medicine to thin and disperse the fluid in his lungs. He drank it and his lungs were cleared. But he was affected by coughing and severe asthma¹⁸⁴ and consequently by a lack of sleep. This was too much for the patient to bear.

When I realized the physicians had no idea what they were doing and no plan, that evening I had him take a medicine that did not aggravate his cough or catarrh. This induced a sound sleep and made it easy for him to bring up the fluid in his lungs. By proceeding in this manner I cured the patient of two illnesses at the same time in just a few days despite the fact that they appear to be contradictory to one another. It goes to show for anyone interested that physicians who maintain the impossibility of using a drug to cure two diseases are quite mistaken. I pioneered

181 Iskandar, *Examinations*, 11.3–6, pp. 120–123.

182 Arabic *nazlah* and *ḍīq nafas*.

183 Arabic *su'āl*.

184 Arabic *kathrat al-rabw*.

the application of such medicines and also the application of medicines for treating ulcers that occur in the lungs as a result of catarrh descending from the head, not to mention many other drugs. I shall set out the method of applying them in a book on the composition of drugs.¹⁸⁵

[5.1.30]

In his book *The Best People Can Derive Benefit From their Enemies* Galen includes the following remarks as an illustration of his attitudes.¹⁸⁶

I do not demand a fee from any of my pupils nor from any of the patients I treat. In fact I give patients everything they need – not just medicines or potions or ointments¹⁸⁷ and the like; rather, I even organize servants for them if they have none and arrange for them to have something to eat.

He also says,

I have introduced many physicians to friends of mine who were heading off to armies, and placed a large number of others in the employment of powerful people. I have never taken a bribe or a present from any of them for doing this. In fact I used to provide some of them with several of the instruments and medicines they needed. In the case of others I did not stop there but would even offer them the costs of their travel.

[5.1.31]

Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik records that,¹⁸⁸

Galen was light-brown in complexion, with fine features, broad shoulders, large hands, long fingers, and beautiful hair. He loved songs and music and reading books. He walked with an average gait, led a cheerful life, talked a lot, was hardly ever silent, and loved disparaging fellow-professionals. He was well travelled, had a pleasant odour, and wore clean clothes. He was fond of riding and walking. Galen enjoyed access to kings and leaders¹⁸⁹

185 This appears to refer to a lost treatise in two volumes mentioned in *On the Composition of Drugs by Types* xiii.363 Kühn, where Galen reports that it was destroyed in the great fire of 193. *Examination of the Best Physician* was perhaps written in 175.

186 Title no. 121 in the list of Galenic works.

187 Respectively *adwiyah*, *ashribah*, *ad'hān*.

188 Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 292–293. See following note.

189 The text of al-Mubashshir in Badawī's edition ends at this point and Badawī footnotes

but was never enrolled in the service of any of the kings, though they continued to honour him. When they needed Galen to treat a difficult disease, they bestowed upon him numerous gifts of gold and other things when they recovered. He records this in many of his books. If a king asked him to stay in his service, he left his town for another so he would not lose his way by serving him.

[5.1.32]

They say that the original form of *Jālīnūs* was *Ghālīnūs* and its meaning was ‘calm’ or ‘tranquil’.¹⁹⁰ It is said that a translation of the name *Jālīnūs* gives the meaning ‘excellent’ in Arabic. Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī in his *Comprehensive Book* says that the way it is pronounced in the Greek language is that the letter *jīm* represents the sounds *ghayn* or *kāf*. So in the case of *Jālīnūs* people said *Ghālīnūs* or *Kālīnūs*, either being permissible.¹⁹¹ The *alif* and the *lām* produce a doubled *lām*, which is more correct for Greek.

The following is useful detail relevant to this information. The Qāḍī Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Kuraydī told me that,¹⁹² ‘Abba Agathon the Metropolitan at Shoubak,¹⁹³ and the greatest expert of his generation on the ancient Roman language, i.e. Greek, which was the language of the Greeks, told me that in Greek all nouns designative of people or things end in *sīn*. For example, *Jālīnūs*, *Dīyusqūrīdus*, *Anaksāghūrus*, *Aristūtālīs*, *Dīyūjānis*, and *Urībāsīyyūs*, etc.¹⁹⁴ Again we find words like *qāṭīghūriyyās* and *bārīmīniyyās* or *astūkhūdus* and *anāghālus*.¹⁹⁵ Terminating each of these words with a *sīn* has a function in Greek that corresponds to the case ending with *nūn* in Arabic, as we see it at the end of words such as *Zaydun*, *Amrun*, *Khālīdun*, *Bakrun*, *kitābun*,

that, ‘Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah adds ...: “leaders but was never enrolled in the service of any of the kings ...”; he leaves open the length of the addition and the question of its attribution to al-Mubashshir.

190 Greek γαλήνης, with the meaning indicated.

191 Rāzī is saying that in standard Arabic a Greek γ may best be represented by Arabic *ghayn* or *kāf*. See al-Rāzī, *al-Hāwī* (Hyderabad), xxii:64.

192 He is also mentioned and quoted in Chs 10.66 and 10.83. His identity is unclear.

193 al-Shawbak, a small town built by the Crusaders; see *ET*² art. ‘Al-Shawbak’ (M.A. Bakhit).

194 Greek *Galēnos*, *Dioskouridēs*, *Anaxagoras*, *Aristotelēs*, *Diogenēs*, *Ōribasios*.

195 Except for the last these represent oblique forms in Greek: *katēgorias* (Aristotle’s *Categories*), *peri hermēneias* (Aristotle’s *On Interpretation*, forming the second part of the *Organon* after the *Categories*; both are listed together e.g. at Ch. 4.6.13.1 title nos. 29–30, and Ch. 4.8.2 title nos. 1–2), *stoichados* (probably *Lavandula stoechas*, here representing the genitive case; cf. Dioscorides *De materia medica*, 3.26 ed. Wellmann, trans. Beck), *anagallis* (probably *Anagallis arvensis*; Dioscorides 2.178).

and *shajarun*.¹⁹⁶ The *nūn* which appears in this case ending¹⁹⁷ corresponds to the Greeks' *sīn*.

It occurs to me that there are only a few words in Greek which do not have *sīn* as the final letter, for example *Suqrāt*, *Aflāṭun*, *Aghāthādhīmūn*, *Aghlūqun*, *Tāmūr*, and *Yāghāt*.¹⁹⁸ We see this also with nouns that are not personal names such as *Anālūtīqiyā*, *Nīqūmākhiyyā*, and *al-Rīṭūriyah*,¹⁹⁹ or *jund bīdastar*²⁰⁰ and *tiryāq*.²⁰¹ These words are in the language of the Greeks. They do not apply a case ending to them²⁰² and so they lack the letter *sīn*. This is similar to the situation in Arabic, where some words that are not fully declined cannot take a *nūn*. Examples are *Ismā'īlu*, *Ibrāhīmu*, *Aḥmadu*, and *masājīdu*, *danānīru*.²⁰³ These are comparable to the Greek terms. But God knows best!

[5.1.33]

Abū l-'Alā' ibn Sulaymān al-Ma'arrī²⁰⁴ in his *Asking for Pardon* offers praise for Galen's writings and for those who write about medicine:

Blessings on that man, Galen,
 and the companions of Hippocrates who, later, dwindled or increased!
 For nothing for which they laid the basis has been destroyed:
 diseased people and their visitors have found help in it.
 Small books, light to carry for them,
 but lofty mountains for curing disease!²⁰⁵

196 The examples are names or nouns (respectively 'book' and 'tree') in the indefinite nominative form for fully declined nouns.

197 Lit. 'at the end of the *tanwīn*'.

198 The first four are Socrates, Plato, Agathodaemon (cf. 2.1), Glaucon, the last Agathias (cf. Ch. 4.1.11.3 *Yāghāt*); for *Tāmūr*, cf. Ch. 4.1.11.2.

199 I.e. Aristotle's *Analytics* (Ἀναλυτικά), *Rhetoric* (Ῥητορική), and *Nicomachean Ethics* (Ἠθικὰ Νικομαχεῖα).

200 Persian, meaning 'castor of the beaver', 'castoreum'.

201 Theriac.

202 Lit. 'it is not permitted for them to use the *tanwīn* with them'. Here *tanwīn* is used casually for any case ending.

203 Such nouns in Arabic are diptotic and take final *-u* rather than *-un* to mark the indefinite nominative.

204 The 11th cent. poet; see *EP*² art. 'al-Ma'arrī' (P. Smoor). *Kitāb al-Istighfār* is to be identified, not as the famous *Risālat al-Ghufrān* (*The Epistle of Forgiveness*), but as *Kitāb Istaghfir wa-staghfirī* (*Ask Forgiveness, Man and Woman!*), which has not been preserved. It contained some 10,000 lines of verse; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, iii:161, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii:103. The lines are not found elsewhere.

205 MS A adds the following note at this point: 'End of the first volume [*juz*'] according to the

[5.1.34]

In his *Stories of the Philosophers and the Sages and Examples of the Manners and Culture of the Teachers of Old Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq* includes sayings of Galen, examples of his culture and manners, and stories that illustrate his wisdom.²⁰⁶

1. For example,²⁰⁷

Worry (*al-hamm*) is exhaustion of the heart, while sorrow (*al-ghamm*)²⁰⁸ is a disease of the heart.

2. Clarifying this, Galen said:

Sorrow is about something that happened, worry about something that may happen.

3. Elsewhere he noted that,

Sorrow is about what has gone, worry is about something to come. Watch out for it! For sorrow brings life to an end. Don't you see that a living being in sorrow will inevitably go to ruin?

4. Writing about the form of the heart Galen observed,

There are two cavities in the heart, right and left. More blood is found in the right hand cavity than in the left hand one. They contain two vessels

division in the exemplar (*al-aṣl al-manqūl minhu*) of *The Best Account on the Classes of Physicians*. It was copied from an autograph of the author (*nuskhah bi-khaṭṭ al-muṣannif*) – may God have mercy on him! This is followed by the second volume according to this division, which includes Galen's sayings, his manners and culture, and stories that illustrate his wisdom. Praise be to God for ever and always and may His prayers fall upon the goodness of His creation and on His people. In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, whose aid we implore. Second volume of the exemplar.' Cf. Vol. 1, p. 49.

206 Ḥunayn's book survives in an epitomized form by al-Anṣārī, ed. Badawī: see Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, *Ādāb*, 122–123 for the passages in 5.1.34. Anṣārī's text is very similar to that read by IAU, with some slight difference in no. 10. The material in nos. 1–6 recalls experiments on the brain in Galen's *Anatomical Procedures* Bk 9 as well as various remarks here and there (e.g. *Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato* 3.5.45 ed. De Lacy) about *lupē* ('distress') and *phobos* ('fear') and the condition of the heart, though one should note that Galen clearly states that 'no one has ever perceived the heart itself suffering pain either in distress (*en lupais*) or any other disorder (*pathos*) of soul or body' (*Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato* 2.8.6 trans. De Lacy); and the fact that Ḥunayn ascribes an experiment similar to that mentioned below to Alexander the Great (*Ādāb al-falāsifah*, 87 Badawī) shows the essentially popular nature of such a story.

207 This and the next saying (with 'sorrow' and 'worry' reversed) are used also by al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik (see Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 293 no. 5).

208 The term *al-ghamm* is sometimes and traditionally translated 'grief' with reference to something that has happened as opposed to *al-hamm*, translated 'worry', in reference to the future; cf. nos. 2 and 3. The Arabic lexicographers disagree on the distinction (cf. previous note); and the restriction of the sense of 'grief' in modern English usage to 'deep or violent sorrow, caused by loss or trouble' (OED) makes a more general term like 'sorrow' or 'distress' preferable for *al-ghamm*. Here we use 'sorrow' or 'pain'.

which lead to the brain. If something occurs in the heart that disagrees with its temperament, it will contract. As a result of the heart's contraction, the two blood vessels contract and consequently the face is convulsed and the body suffers pain. When something that agrees with its temperament occurs, the vessels expand on account of the heart's own expansion.

5. He goes on:

In the heart is a small vessel like a tube that spreads out over its sac-like surface and reaches to its deepest core (*shaghāf al-qalb wa-suwaydā'ihī*). When sorrow affects the heart this small blood vessel contracts and blood trickles out of it into the core of the heart as well as its surface. Simultaneously blood squirts from the two vessels and envelops the heart so that the heart is put under pressure to such an extent that pressure is felt in heart, mind, soul and body, in much the same way as alcoholic vapours envelop the brain and lead to intoxication.

6. There is another story:

Galen wanted to put this to the test so he took an animal that possessed sensation and caused it pain for several days. When he had killed it, he found the heart was shrivelled and pinched and that most of it had withered away. He concluded from this that when times of sorrow come upon the heart and worries oppress it, it shrivels and becomes emaciated. Thenceforward he warned people of the effects of sorrow and worry.

7. He told his pupils,

If you serve me sincerely, I shall reward you sincerely. And he told them that, Knowledge is useless if you don't understand it – and understanding is also useless unless you do something with it.²⁰⁹

8. In *Character Traits of the Soul* he writes,²¹⁰

Just as disease and ugliness (*qubḥ*) affect the body – disease includes epilepsy (*ṣar'*) and pleurisy (*shawṣah*), and deformities such as hunchback (*ḥadab*), drooping head or baldness (*qara'*)²¹¹ – in the same way, for disease and deformity affect the soul, its disease is anger while its ugliness is ignorance.

209 Cf. al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik no. 4 and no. 1.

210 This extract of *Character Traits* (title no. 119 in the list of Galen's works), which is quoted through Ḥunayn, is not preserved in the abridged text that survives. Cf. Kraus, *Akhlāq*, 42–43; and Mattock, 'Traits', 251, Davies, 'Traits', 181 for translations.

211 *Qara'* is baldness resulting from illness and not from natural thinning of hair; cf. Richardson, *Difference and Disability*, 118.

9. Another saying is,
Illnesses befall people for four reasons: a specific cause (*min 'illat al-'ilal*), poor diet, sins, or the enmity of Satan.
10. Again,
Death comes from four causes: natural, that is, from old age, disease, desire, for example suicide or yielding to death, and sudden death, which is a total surprise.²¹²
11. He said, when pens were mentioned in his presence:
The pen is the physician of logic.²¹³
12. On the topic of love Galen said,
Passionate love is finding someone attractive – as well as wanting them.²¹⁴
13. He stated that,²¹⁵
Passionate love is an action of the soul, and the soul lies concealed within the brain, the heart, and the liver. In the brain there are three faculties: imagination at the front of the head, reasoning in the middle, and memory at the back. No-one fully deserves the name of lover unless his imagination, reasoning, memory, heart and liver are besotted with his beloved whenever they are apart so that he refuses food and drink because his liver is preoccupied and cannot sleep because his brain is busy with imagining, remembering and thinking about him, and thus each abode of his soul is distracted. But if he is not absorbed at the times they are apart, he is no lover. Indeed, when he meets him, these abodes are unoccupied.
14. Ḥunayn records that,
On the stone of Galen's signet was inscribed, 'If a man hides his illness, it will be completely impossible to find a cure for it'.²¹⁶

[5.1.35]

In *The Choicest Sayings and Best Maxims* Abū l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik records the following:²¹⁷

212 Cf. *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah* (ed. Dunlop) § 232 ll. 2364–2365 with differences. Other parallels with the *Cabinet of Wisdom's* fictional Galen are lacking.

213 Or: speech (*al-manṭiq*); many readers would have taken the saying this way, cf. the variation, also attributed to Galen, 'the pen (*al-qalam*) is the physician of speech' (*al-kalām*) in Ghazālī, *al-Tibr*, 89.

214 Cf. Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, no. 8.

215 Cf. Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 294 no. 9.

216 Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 46.

217 For 1–14 below, cf. Badawī, *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik*, 293–294; 1=2M, 2=3M, 3=6M, 4=7M, 5=10M, 6 to 16 = 11M to 21M. Note that al-Mubashshir nos. 1, 4, 5, 8, 9 are taken by IAU from the text of Ḥunayn and used above.

1. He who disdains trivial things will strive for grand ones!
2. Be gentle and you will succeed, be kind and you will be noble; but if you are conceited, you will be despised.
3. There is more hope for a sick man with an appetite than for a healthy man without one.²¹⁸
4. Don't be prevented from doing good because your soul is inclined to do bad.
5. I have seen many kings pay a higher price for slaves who were trained in various disciplines and crafts as well as for mounts that were first-class among their kind, but who neglected to educate themselves. Indeed, if a slave like him were presented for sale to one of these kings, the king would refuse to buy him or accept him. The most regrettable thing I can think of is that a man who is owned is worth a vast sum while no-one can be found to take his owner for free!²¹⁹
6. Physicians used to accord themselves the status of rulers and the status of subjects to their patients, who would not oppose what was decided for them. In those times medicine was much more effective. But now that things have changed in our time, so that the sick take the place of ruler and the physician that of subject, and physicians serve the pleasure of the sick and abandon the service of their bodies, physicians are of little benefit.²²⁰
7. In the past men used to meet and drink and argue with one another about the effects of drinks upon temperaments and of music upon the faculty of passion and about the types of things that countered each of them. But when they meet today they compete about who has the largest cup to drink from.²²¹
8. If someone is accustomed from boyhood to a balanced and regular way of life, his appetites will be moderate. But if he has been accustomed neither to restrain his desires nor to refrain from anything you suggest to him, he will continue to be greedy. For all things become powerful and strong through frequent practice of the actions that are associated with them, while everything functions less well as a result of disuse.²²²

²¹⁸ Cf. the legend on Hippocrates' ring, Ch. 4.1.7.

²¹⁹ A reworking of *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas* 6.2–3 ed. Boudon, *Galien, Exhortation*. This work is title no. 110 below.

²²⁰ Cf. the first preface of *De methodo medendi* (x.4 Kühn) on Methodist physicians who flatter their patients unlike the 'Asclepiads of old who ruled the sick as generals rule soldiers and kings rule subjects rather than being ruled and mastered by them.'

²²¹ Perhaps based on *De methodo medendi* x.3 Kühn.

²²² Cf. Bryson, *Management of the Estate* in Swain, *Economy, Family and Society*, 107–108, for the sentiment.

9. If a youth is greedy and utterly shameless, there can be absolutely no expectation of him reforming. If he is greedy but not shameless, one should not despair of reforming him; but even if he receives an education, it cannot²²³ be presumed that he will become a decent person.
10. Modesty is the fear of those who are ashamed of a shortcoming that may occur in the presence of someone who is more virtuous.
11. It is possible for a person to improve his character if he knows himself, for self-knowledge is the ultimate wisdom. But because people naturally show an excessive regard for themselves, they believe they are better than they are. Thus some people suppose they are brave and generous when they are not. Similarly, with regard to intelligence, almost all men believe they are superior; but people closest to this view are the least in intelligence.
12. The just man is capable of doing wrong yet does not. The intelligent man has true knowledge of everything that comes under human nature.
13. Conceit is the belief of someone that he is what he would love himself to be, whereas he is not.
14. A man in bad physical shape as a result of illness, even if he is into his fifties, does not give up and let his body go to waste and ruin but asks for his health to be restored, even if he cannot be helped to regain it in full. In the same way we ourselves must not stop improving ourselves with regard to both health and virtue, even if we cannot match the virtue of a true philosopher.
15. A man might be prepared to stop thinking he is smartest person in the world if he could trust somebody to scrutinize every little thing he does every single day and then inform him of the correct and incorrect things he had done. This would lead him to do what is fair and avoid what is foul.
16. He saw a man who was lionized by the high and mighty for his great bodily strength, and he asked what was the greatest thing he had done. They said, 'He lifted a bull that had been sacrificed and carried it outside from the midst of the temple!' He replied that, 'the soul of the bull used to lift it – and there was no special virtue in the fact he carried it'.²²⁴

223 One MS of al-Mubashshir knows this reading but the text of Badawī's edition presents a positive outcome: 'it may be presumed ...'

224 Based on Galen's complaint about the story of Milo of Croton at *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas* 13.5 ed. Boudon-Millot.

[5.1.36]

I have copied several Galenic sayings that occur elsewhere:

1. A sick man gets relief from the breeze in his land just as a barren land is refreshed by the moisture of dripping rain.
2. On being asked about lust, he said, 'A trial that can be expected not to last'.
3. Someone said, 'Why do you go to parties and places of entertainment?' 'So I know (human) faculties and natures in every situation of sight and sound'.
4. When someone asked when a man must die, he replied, 'When he cannot tell what harms him from what helps him'.

Among his sayings are questions he was asked about the humours:

5. What do you say about blood? 'The servant of a slave, and occasionally the servant kills his master'.
6. What do you say about yellow bile? 'A voracious dog in a garden'.
7. What do you say about phlegm? 'It's the supreme king, and if you close one door on him, he opens another for himself'.
8. What do you say about black bile? 'Ha! It is the earth: when it moves, it moves everything upon it'.
9. In the same manner he said: Let me present you with an allegory of the four humours. Yellow bile, which is in fact red bile, is like a woman who has a sharp tongue but is good and pious. She causes harm by her tirades and quick temper but soon calms down without disaster. Blood is like a rabid dog. When he enters your house, catch him and put him out or kill him. Phlegm, when it moves in the body, is like a king entering your house. Though you fear his villainy and tyrannical behaviour, you cannot cross him or harm him but have to remain friendly when you usher him out. Black bile in the body is like a spiteful man whose motives are unsuspected but then pounces with a sudden attack. Then there is nothing odious he will leave undone, and he will not calm down without a great deal of trouble.

He also made a number of witty comparisons:

10. Nature is like a plaintiff and illness is the litigant, the symptoms are like the witnesses, the vial and the pulse are evidence, the critical day is like the day of the judgment and the verdict, and the patient is the attorney while the physician is the judge.
11. In his *Commentary on the Book of the Oaths and Covenant* by Hippocrates²²⁵ he says that, 'A statue cannot be made from any stone and it

²²⁵ See Chs. 1 and 2, esp. 2.1.6.1.

is not every dog that is good for fighting lions: in the same way we will find that not everybody is receptive to the art of medicine but we need someone whose body and soul are well suited to the purpose’.

[5.1.37]

Galen composed a very large number of books.²²⁶ In the following I list titles translated into Arabic by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq al-‘Ibādī,²²⁷ and others known to me to be in general circulation. I also refer to Galen’s aims in writing them.²²⁸

226 The following notes give the Latin title of the Galenic work, where there is a generally agreed one, and the work’s number in the online Catalogue of Fichtner (*Corpus Galenicum*, available with updates at the website of the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum), which provides bibliographical information for editions of Greek, Latin, and Arabic versions and includes references to modern secondary literature including Sezgin, *GAS* III, and Ullmann, *Medizin*, both of whom should be consulted. The Latin titles do not necessarily mean a Latin translation was made. For further information, see <http://galenolatino.com>; and Diels’ Catalogues of MSS online at <http://cmg.bbaw.de/online-publikationen/online-publikationen/Dielskatalog>.

The English titles of works translate the Arabic and do not necessarily accord with the title most familiar in English or Latin, which is usually based on the Greek. Greek proper names have been standardized in the Arabic text (and hence in the English translation) since it is often difficult to be sure what IAU himself read, with variants in the MSS footnoted.

For a list of revised English titles of published/edited works surviving in Greek, Latin, or Arabic and arranged by order of the standard Latin titles, see Singer, *Galen* (the first volume of the projected Cambridge Galen Translations series, ed. Philip van der Eijk), 429–442.

Works extant in Greek are indicated by an asterisk after the Fichtner number or flagged explicitly. Online editions of the Arabic translations where available in the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum ‘Suppl. Or.’ series (available at CMG) and on other sites (<http://www.graeco-arabic-studies.org/home.html>; <http://alpheios.net/content/grecoarabic>) are also noted along with some other editions available only in print.

227 See the start of Ḥunayn’s biography (Ch. 8.29) for discussion of how to vocalize the name.

228 For titles 1–129 IAU depends closely on Ḥunayn’s own account of his and others’ translations of Galen in his famous *Risālah* (‘Letter’), but with just a few exceptions does not make it clear that he is very often borrowing verbatim for entire entries. The differences between IAU’s quotations and Bergsträsser’s 1925 edition of the Letter are minor but occasionally significant. From a comparison of the *Risālah*’s two extant recensions ‘A’ and ‘B’ (see below), it is clear that IAU follows the later ‘A’ version but his text quite often matches ‘B’ against ‘A’ (see esp. title 110 where ‘Ḥunayn says’ marks the use of the earlier recension). He may have kept both versions to hand or more likely possessed a copy of ‘A’ that had been ‘contaminated’ with ‘B’ perhaps to improve what was a fundamental work of reference, a common enough event in the making of manuscripts (cf. Rosenthal, *Technique and Approach*). IAU naturally incorporates his own small alterations and adds or omits material and may name titles differently from Ḥunayn’s (which in any case vary between the ‘A’ and ‘B’ recensions of the *Risālah*), reflecting how he himself happened to be acquainted

1. The *Pinax* (*K. Bīnaks*), which means the Catalogue.²²⁹ His purpose in this work is to give details of the books he wrote, the aim of each of them, the motive for writing it, the identity of the addressee, and his own age. It is in two sections.²³⁰ The first records his books on medicine, the second books on logic, philosophy, rhetoric, and grammar.²³¹
2. *The Order for Reading his Books* (*K. fī marātib qirāʿat kutubihī*).²³² It consists of a single section and the aim is to provide information about the order in which one should read his books in a series from first to last.
3. *The Sects* (*K. al-firaq*).²³³ It consists of a single section. Galen says this book should be read first by anyone wishing to study the art of medicine.²³⁴ Its aim is to set out what each of the sects of Empiricists, Dogmatists, and Methodists say to establish their claims, the arguments they make for them, the critiques of their opponents as well as their

with a particular work. In the Arabic text here differences with Ḥunayn ('A' unless specified) are noted for the parts of each entry where dependency is clear and for the most part exclude book titles. No attempt has been made to undertake a detailed comparison.

For the *Risālah*, see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah* (ed. Bergsträsser 1925; cited in the Arabic text here as 'Berg'; Bergsträsser's text alone is available online at the 'Graeco-Arabic-Studies' and 'Alpheios' sites); the 'A' recension represents Ḥunayn's final published version; for differences from the earlier 'B' recension, see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Neue Materialien* (ed. Bergsträsser 1932) and Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations* (ed. Lamoreaux 2016 with an English translation; cited in the Arabic text as 'Lam'; this edition is useful but its text should be checked with Bergsträsser).

For works not known to Ḥunayn and not included in IAU's own catalogue, see 5.1.19, 28 above on *Diseases That are Difficult to Cure*, *On the Methodist Sect*, and 'a book in two sections in which he described his way of life' (probably = *On Slander*).

For titles 130–152 IAU drew on a separate work by Ḥunayn – see note there.

- 229 *De libris propriis*. Fichtner 114*. Cf. 5.1.9 *Bīnaks*, 5.1.28, 40 *Fīnaks*.
- 230 Arabic *maqālah*. The word may refer to (i) a self-standing book/treatise/volume or (ii) a substantial part/section/chapter of a larger work or book (*kitāb*). In the translation here for sense (ii) we use for the most part 'section'; for sense (i) we have preferred 'treatise'. Greek authors like Galen typically use *biblion* in both senses; in *De libris propriis* Galen often states the number (i.e. of *biblia*) only.
- 231 The division into two is unknown in the transmission of the text in Greek: Boudon-Millot (2007) 53–54.
- 232 *De ordine librorum suorum*. Fichtner 115*.
- 233 *De sectis ad eos qui introducuntur*. Fichtner 4*.
- 234 Referring to *On My Own Books* 1.2 (Boudon-Millot, *Galien*), where the *De sectis* 'must be read first of all by the student who is wanting knowledge of the art of medicine' (*man arāda taʿlīm šināʿat al-ṭibb*, Mashhad MS). But note also *De ordine librorum suorum* 1.11 (ed. Boudon-Millot) where he refers to his *On the Best Sect* (lost; the surviving title is inauthentic, Fichtner 5*), stating that 'anyone wishing to read this first of all will be doing the right thing'.

- approach to evaluating fact and fiction. He composed it as a young man of thirty or slightly older during his first visit to Rome.
4. *The Small Art* (K. *al-ṣinā'ah al-ṣaghīrah*).²³⁵ It consists of a single section. In the preface Galen says that he is recording the main points he has clarified and interpreted in detail in his other books and that its contents represent the conclusions reached in them.
 5. *The Small Book of the Pulse* (K. *al-nabḍ al-ṣaghīr*).²³⁶ This also consists of a single section. Galen entitled it “to Teuthras and other Beginners” (*ilā Tūthrus wa-sā'ir al-muta'allimīn*). His aim is to set out what beginners need to understand about the pulse. He starts by enumerating types of pulse. He does not list every one of these but only those that improve beginners' comprehension of this subject. He then describes the reasons for changes in the pulse, whether these are natural, non-natural,²³⁷ or unnatural. Galen composed the treatise at the time he wrote *On Sects*.
 6. *To Glaucōn, On Effecting a Cure for Diseases* (K. *ilā Aghlawqun fī l-ta'attī li-shifā' al-amrād*).²³⁸ The meaning of “Glaucōn” in Greek is “grey”. He was a philosopher who observed Galen's impressive achievements in medicine and requested he write this book.²³⁹ Since no-one is in a position to treat diseases without having identified them, before he turns to treatment Galen introduces the signs by which they are recognized. In section one he describes signs of fevers and how to treat them. He does not mention all of them but restricts himself to those that occur commonly. This section contains two divisions. In the first he describes fevers which lack unusual symptoms. In the second he takes fevers that do present these. In section two he sets out the signs of tumours and their treatments. Galen composed the treatise at the time he wrote *On Sects*.
 7. *On Bones* (K. *fī l-iḏām*).²⁴⁰ This consists of a single section. He entitled it *On Bones for Beginners* (*li-l-muta'allimīn*). Ḥunayn says:²⁴¹ ‘Galen

235 *Ars medica*. Fichtner 7*. Arabic at ‘Graeco-Arabic-Studies’ (ed. Sālim). Cf. no. 133.

236 *De pulsibus ad tirones*. Fichtner 61*. Arabic at ‘Graeco-Arabic-Studies’ (ed. Sālim).

237 I.e. due to human activity such as exercising.

238 *Ad Glaucōnem de methodo medendi*. Fichtner 70*. For the Arabic, see Sālim, *K. Jālīnūs ilā Ghulūqun*.

239 Cf. *De locis affectis* vii,361-66 Kühn.

240 *De ossibus ad tirones*. Fichtner 12*. Cf. no. 134.

241 ‘Ḥunayn says ... that the course is in fact “for beginners”’: this acknowledged quotation from Ḥunayn is found in A in the margin thus indicating that IAU considered adding it to what was already a direct but unacknowledged quotation from the *Risālah*. A marks the addition for inclusion in the correct section of the text, i.e. this paragraph concerning *On*

entitled this book “for beginners” and not “to beginners” (*ilā l-muta‘al-limīn*) because there is a difference in his mind between the phrases “to beginners” and “for beginners”. If a book’s title is “to beginners”, he indicates by this phrase that he is adapting his teaching to suit the abilities of beginners, and presupposes the existence of a course for advanced students on the topic beyond this course. If he entitles a book “for beginners”, he indicates that it contains a complete course on this subject but that the course is in fact “for beginners”. His intention is that a beginner in medicine should prioritize the study of anatomy²⁴² over other areas of medicine because he is of the view that without a knowledge of anatomy it is impossible to understand any aspect of rational medicine. Galen’s aim in this book is to describe the function of each bone in itself and in relation to others. He composed the treatise at the time he composed his other books to beginners.

8. *On Muscles* (*K. fī l-‘aḍal*).²⁴³ This consists of a single section. Galen did not entitle it “to beginners” but the Alexandrians included it in the series of books “to beginners” by combining this and the previous treatise with three others Galen wrote “to beginners”, *On the Anatomy of Nerves*, *On the Anatomy of Veins*, and *On the Anatomy of Arteries*, and formed a single book in five sections to which they gave the title *On Anatomy, To Beginners* (*Fī tashrīḥ ilā l-muta‘allimīn*).²⁴⁴ Galen’s aim in the present book – i.e. *On Muscles* – was to describe in detail the complete system of the muscles as it is to be found in each member, their number, which ones are involved, their point of origin, and their function.
9. *On Nerves* (*K. fī l-‘aṣāb*).²⁴⁵ This also consists of a single section. He wrote it “to beginners” and his aim was to describe the number of paired nerves that derive from the brain and the spinal cord, which nerves are involved, and how and from where they each divide off, and what their function is.

Bones. The addition is also found in Gc and R but in the wrong places: in Gc it is included under *To Glaucon* (no. 6) and in R under *On Muscles* (no. 8).

242 Arabic *tashrīḥ*, the translation for Greek ἀνατομία (*vel sim.*), is literally ‘cutting open in slices’. It may mean ‘dissection’ or (esp. with *‘ilm*, ‘science’) ‘anatomy’. In what follows we have mainly used ‘anatomy’.

243 *De musculorum dissectione*. Fichtner 112*.

244 I.e. nos. 9 and 10 below. *On Anatomy, To Beginners* was also known as *The Small Book of Anatomy*. See below n. 272.

245 *De nervorum dissectione*. Fichtner 14*.

10. *On Blood Vessels* (*K. fī l-ʿurūq*).²⁴⁶ This book consists of a single section as far as Galen is concerned, and in it he describes the topic of blood vessels with and without a pulse. He wrote it “for beginners” and entitled it “To Antisthenes” (*ilā Anṭisthānis*). The Alexandrians divided it into two sections, one on the veins and one on the arteries. Galen’s aim was to describe the number of veins that derive from the liver, which veins are involved, how they are organized, and from where they each divide off, the number of arteries that derive from the heart, which arteries are involved, how they are organized, and from where they each divide off.
11. *The Elements According to the Views of Hippocrates* (*K. al-uṣṭuqussāt ʿalā raʿy Abūqrāt*).²⁴⁷ It consists of a single section. Galen’s aim is to show that all solids subject to generation and corruption – i.e. the bodies of animals and plants as well as the solids that are generated in the earth – are constructed from the four elements of fire, air, water, earth. These are the primary elements and are peripheral to the human body. But the secondary, immediate elements that are the basis of the human body and all other creatures that have blood are the four humours, blood, phlegm, and the two types of bile.
12. *Mixtures* (*K. al-mizāj*).²⁴⁸ It is in three sections. In the first two he describes the types of mixture in the bodies of living things and sets out the number and types it presents us with. He describes the signs which indicate each of these. In section three he discusses the types of mixture one finds in drugs²⁴⁹ and shows how to examine them and how they may be classified.
13. *Natural Faculties* (*K. al-quwā l-ṭabīʿīyyah*).²⁵⁰ It is in three sections. His aim is to show that the body is regulated by three natural faculties: generation, growth, and nutrition.²⁵¹ The generative faculty combines two: that responsible for changing and altering the semen to make the homoeomerous body parts,²⁵² and that responsible for arranging the homoeomerous body parts into the form, position, size, and num-

246 *De venarum arteriarumque dissectione*. Fichtner 13*.

247 *De elementis secundum Hippocratem*. Fichtner 8*. Arabic at ‘Graeco-Arabic-Studies’ (ed. Sālim).

248 *De temperamentis*. Fichtner 9*.

249 Cf. *Mixtures* 3.2 (p. 92 ed. Helmreich 1904) ‘substances that are completely assimilated (by the body) are called foods, all others drugs’, with a fourfold classification of *pharmaka*.

250 *De facultatibus naturalibus*. Fichtner 10*. For ‘faculty’, see n. 301.

251 In Greek *gennētikē, auxētikē, threptikē*.

252 For ‘homoeomerous’, cf. n. 261.

ber needed for each of the composite body parts. The nutritive faculty comprises four subsidiary faculties: attraction, retention, transformation, and expulsion.²⁵³

14. *Causes and Symptoms* (*K. al-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ*).²⁵⁴ It consists of six sections. As before, Galen produced it as separate treatises but the Alexandrians combined these into a single book.²⁵⁵ He entitled the first of the six *Types of Disease* (*Fī aṣnāf al-amrāḍ*) and in it he discusses how many varieties (*ajnās*) of disease there are. He divides each of these varieties into kinds (*anwāʿ*), taking the division by kinds to its furthest point. He entitled section two *Causes of Disease* (*Fī asbāb al-amrāḍ*). His aim corresponds to his title: to describe the number and characteristics of the causes of each disease. The third of the six sections bears the title *Types of Symptom* (*Fī aṣnāf al-aʿrāḍ*) and here he enumerates the number of varieties and kinds of symptoms and which symptoms are involved. The final three sections he entitled *Causes of Symptoms* (*Fī asbāb al-aʿrāḍ*). Here he describes the number of causes which bring about each symptom and which causes are involved.
15. *Classification of the Diseases of the Internal Parts* (*K. taʿarruf ʿilal al-aʿdāʾ al-bāṭinah*), also known as *Affected Locations* (*al-Mawāḍiʿ al-ālimah*),²⁵⁶ It is in six sections. His aim is to describe the signs that allow one to deduce the state of the internal parts when they are diseased and on this basis to specify which disease is present. In the first section and in part of the second he outlines the general system for classifying diseases and their locations. In section three he exposes the erroneous methods used by Archigenes in his attempt to attain this objective.²⁵⁷ In the remainder of section two and in the four sections that follow he takes up the discussion of the internal parts and their diseases one by one, beginning with the brain and proceeding in order. He describes

253 In Greek *helktikē, kathektikē, alloiōtikē, apokritikē*.

254 *De morborum causis et symptomatibus* (*De accidenti et morbo*). Fichtner 165. The work is a composite, dating to late antiquity, of *De differentiis morborum, De causis morborum, De symptomatum differentiis, De symptomatum causis* 1–111 (Fichtner 42–47, all extant in Greek; cf. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 42 no. 22, 89 no. 14).

255 According to Ḥunayn (*Risālah* no. 14) it bore the title *Causes* whereas the Syriac version was *Causes and Symptoms*, to which he observes one should add ‘diseases’.

256 *De locis affectis*. Fichtner 60*.

257 Archigenes of Apamea was active under Trajan (98–117) and was influenced by the Pneumatist school. Galen frequently criticized him but also profited from his expertise in treatment; see Nutton s.v. in *Brill’s New Pauly*. For the Arabic tradition, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 69–70 and Sezgin, *GAS* III, 61–63.

the signs that allow one to decide how to establish a detailed classification of a disease in each case where a body part is ill.

16. *The Great Book of the Pulse* (*K. al-nabḍ al-kabīr*).²⁵⁸ Galen composed this book in sixteen sections, which he arranged in four parts, making four sections to each group. He called part one *Types of Pulse* (*Fī Aṣnāf al-nabḍ*).²⁵⁹ Here his aim was to enumerate the varieties of the primary pulse and which these varieties these, and the process of producing detailed subdivisions into kinds. In the first section of this group he intends a comprehensive summary of the essentials required to describe the varieties and kinds of the pulse, including a very thorough summary. He devotes the remaining three sections of this group to discussions and enquiry about the varieties and kinds of pulse and their demarcation. He entitled part two *Classification of Pulses* (*Fī taʿarruf al-nabḍ*). Here he aims to describe how to identify each type of the pulse by touching a vein. He entitled part three *Causes of the Pulse* (*Fī asbāb al-nabḍ*), and the aim is to describe the cause of each type of pulse. He called the fourth part *Prognosis from the Pulse* (*Fī taqḍimat al-maʿrifah min al-nabḍ*). The aim is to show how prediction can be based on every type of pulse.
17. *Types of Fevers* (*K. aṣnāf al-ḥummayāt*).²⁶⁰ It is in two sections. The aim is to set out the varieties and kinds of fevers along with their signs. In the first section he describes two of these varieties, the first occurring in the *pneuma*, the second in the elementary parts of the body.²⁶¹ In section two he goes through the third variety, which occurs when the humours become corrupt.
18. *Crises* (*K. al-buḥrān*).²⁶² It is in three sections. His aim is to describe how someone comes to make a prognosis of a crisis or the lack of it, if it will occur, when, how, and what the result will be.

258 The four separate treatises that formed this collection under this title (*De differentia pulsuum*, *De dignoscendis pulsibus*, *De causis pulsuum*, *De praesagitione ex pulsibus*) were sometimes referred to as a single comprehensive work by Galen himself (cf. *De libris propriis* 8.3 ‘my large study’, and the *Synopsis de pulsibus*, Fichtner 66*). Fichtner 62–65, all extant in Greek; cf. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 43–44 no. 31, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 91–94 no. 16. See also title no. 66.

259 Cf. the quotation in 5.1.14.

260 *De differentiis februm*. Fichtner 48*.

261 IAU leaves out Ḥunayn’s gloss on the term element: ‘known as “solid”’. See *Natural Faculties* 1.7 (ii.16 Kühn) ‘the solid parts ... all the arteries, veins, nerves, bones, cartilages, tissues, ligaments, and membranes ... a little earlier we called them both “elementary” and “homoeomerous” and “simple”’.

262 *De crisibus*. Fichtner 67*.

19. *Critical Days* (*K. ayyām al-buḥrān*).²⁶³ It is in three sections. The aim in the first two sections is to set out the different properties of the days in respect to their influence, those days when crisis occurs, those days when it is unlikely, and on which of the former the occurrence of a crisis is favourable and on which unfavourable, and anything else in this connection. In section three he outlines the reasons why days differ in their influence in the way they do.
20. *Method of Healing* (*K. ḥīlat al-bur'*).²⁶⁴ It consists of fourteen sections. His aim is to prescribe treatments for every single disease by an analogical procedure. He limits himself to the common symptoms one must pay attention to for this purpose and on the basis of which one must determine the treatment required for each disease. To this end he cites particular cases as ready examples. He composed six of the sections for a man called Hieron,²⁶⁵ explaining in the first and second the correct principles which provide the foundation for work in this area. He also exposes the erroneous principles developed by Erasistratus²⁶⁶ and his associates. In the remaining four sections he tells us how to treat “dissolution of continuity” in each of the parts of the body.²⁶⁷ After Hieron died, Galen held off from completing the book until he was asked to finish it by Eugenianus,²⁶⁸ for whom he wrote the remainder in eight sections. In the first six of these he describes treating diseases in the homoeomerous parts, and in the remaining two treatment for diseases of the composite parts. In the first of the initial six²⁶⁹ he describes the treatment for every type of bad mixture occurring in a single part of the body and pursues his subject by giving examples of what happens in the stomach. In the following section – i.e. section eight of the whole book – he tells us how to treat types of fever which occur in the *pneuma*, i.e. ephemeral fever. In the next section, the ninth, he

263 *De diebus decretoriis*. Fichtner 68*.

264 *De methodo medendi*. Fichtner 69*.

265 A practitioner with expertise in anatomy, known only from Galen.

266 The correct name, Thessalus, is given in Ḥunayn, though Bergsträsser preferred IAU's reading. Thessalus the founder of the Methodist school is attacked throughout Bk 1 of *De methodo medendi*.

267 Greek *lusi sunecheias* or *lusi henōseōs* for this important Galenic concept.

268 Known only from *De methodo medendi*. This second part was written in the 190s, at least 20 years later than the first.

269 It is in fact in Bk 7 that particularly focusses on bad mixture, though the term *duskrasia* is important throughout *De methodo medendi*. IAU takes over the error of recension 'A', which was absent from the earlier recension 'B'.

deals with non-intermittent fever. Then in the tenth he discusses fever that occurs in the elementary parts of the body, i.e. hectic fever,²⁷⁰ and he deals with everything one needs to know about administering hot baths. Next in the eleventh and twelfth sections he covers the treatment of fevers arising from the putrefaction of the humours. In the eleventh this concerns fevers that are not accompanied by unusual symptoms, in the twelfth fevers which are so accompanied.²⁷¹

21. *Anatomical Procedures* (K. *ʿilāj al-tashrīḥ*). This is also known as “The Great Book of Anatomy” (*al-Tashrīḥ al-kabīr*).²⁷² It is in fifteen sections and he notes that in it he covers everything one needs on the topic of anatomy. In the first section he describes the muscles and ligaments of the arms, in the second the muscles and ligaments of the legs, and in the third covers the nerves and vessels of the arms and legs. In four he deals with the muscles which control movements of the cheeks and lips and those which move the lower jaw up to the head and down to the neck and shoulder blades. In five he treats muscles of the chest, abdomen, loins, and spine. In section six he considers the organs of nourishment, i.e. stomach, guts, liver, spleen, kidneys, bladder, and so on. In section seven and eight he describes the anatomy of the respiratory organs – in seven he shows us what is revealed by dissecting the heart, lungs, and arteries either after the death of a living thing or during its lifetime, while in eight he discusses the anatomy of the whole chest. He devotes the entirety of section nine to the anatomy of the brain and spinal cord. In ten he covers the anatomy of the eyes, tongue, oesophagus and the parts of the body connected to them. In eleven he discusses the larynx and the bone that resembles the Greek equivalent of *lām* and the nerves connected to it that traverse these areas.²⁷³ In the twelfth section he gives an account of the reproductive

270 Consumptive fever associated with poor nutrition and marasmus.

271 No summary is included by Ḥunayn of sections 13–14, which were translated. At this point in his account of his translations Ḥunayn refers to *De ordine librorum suorum* (2.4) to explain why the *De anatomicis administrationibus* is next on his list.

272 *De anatomicis administrationibus*. Fichtner II*. Arabic at ‘Graeco-Arabic-Studies’ (ed. Simon, *Sieben Bücher*, and Garofalo, *Anat. admin.*). Cf. 5.1.25. The name “Great Book” distinguished it from the “Small Book of Anatomy”, which was used for the compilation of five *maqālāt* mentioned above under title no. 8; cf. Ch. 6.3.1 (Ibn Riḍwān on the *Small Book of Anatomy*).

273 I.e. a Greek lambda (Λ). This is more usually, and today, called the hyoid bone (from the shape of the Greek letter Y), as it is in Galen’s summary at *On My Own Books* 4.6 (see Boudon-Millot ad loc.).

- organs.²⁷⁴ In the thirteenth he outlines the anatomy of the veins and arteries. In the fourteenth he deals with the anatomy of the nerves which originate in the brain, and in the fifteenth with the anatomy of the nerves which originate in the spinal cord. Galen says,²⁷⁵ ‘This book is required reading on the science of anatomy. I have in fact written other books which, though not required, are nonetheless useful.’
22. Abridgment of Marinus’ *Anatomy* (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb Mārīnus fī l-tash-rīḥ*).²⁷⁶ Marinus composed this book in twenty sections but Galen summarized it in four.
23. Abridgment of Lycus’ *Anatomy* (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb Lūqus fī l-tashrīḥ*).²⁷⁷ The author of the book composed it, again, in seventeen sections. Galen tells us that he had summarized it in two.
24. *Disagreements Among the Ancients Concerning Anatomy* (*K. fīmā wa-qa’a min al-ikhtilāf bayna l-qudamā’ fī l-tashrīḥ*).²⁷⁸ It is in two sections. His aim here is to show the nature of the disagreements that can be found in books on anatomy by earlier authors on the topic either in relation to matters of terminology alone or to matters of theory, and to suggest reasons for these.
25. *Dissection of Dead Animals* (*K. tashrīḥ al-amwāt*).²⁷⁹ It consists of a single section. In this he describes the kind of things we can learn from dissecting a dead animal.

274 The Greek took this subject in section fifteen according to *On My Own Books*, but this may be corrupt. Sections 10–15 are lost in Greek today and Ḥunayn’s Arabic of *On My Own Books* has it as section twelve, as does the Arabic translation of *Anatomical Procedures* (see Simon, *Sieben Bücher*).

275 IAU adds this from *On My Own Books* 4.8 (quoting Ḥunayn’s Arabic virtually word for word, cf. Mashhad MS ‘this is required reading, etc.’).

276 *Epitome librorum xx anatomicorum Marini*. Fichtner 372. The work is lost in Greek and Arabic. Marinus of Alexandria lived around 120. None of his writings survive.

277 Fichtner 410 ‘Librorum anatomicorum Lyci omnium epitome’. The Latin title is based on *On My Own Books* 4.9 τῶν Λύκου πάντων ἐν δύοσιν (‘all of Lycus’ books in two’); Fichtner omits reference to Sezgin, *GAS* III, 133 no. 131, where the question is raised whether Galen actually summarized the whole of Lycus’ output on anatomy or only a single work, as Ḥunayn suggests in the *Risālah* by calling it *Kitāb Lūqus fī l-tashrīḥ*. The Arabic of *On My Own Books* has a different tradition from the Greek manuscripts and specifies that, ‘I summarized seventeen books [*maqālah*] which Lycus wrote’, words which Ḥunayn reasonably took to indicate a single work, perhaps aware too of 4.34 (‘Lycus’ *pragmateia* on anatomy’). Lycus of Macedonia was a pupil of Quintus along with Galen’s teacher Satyrus (cf. above, 5.1.25).

278 *De anatomiae dissentione*. Fichtner 172.

279 *De anatomia mortuorum*. Fichtner 169. Cf. Ḥunayn *al-ḥayawān al-mayyit*.

26. *Dissection of Living Animals* (*K. tashriḥ al-aḥyā'*).²⁸⁰ It is in two sections. His aim here is to show what kind of things we can learn by dissecting a living animal.
27. *Hippocrates' Knowledge of Anatomy* (*K. fī 'ilm Abuqrāṭ bi-l-tashriḥ*).²⁸¹ Galen arranged the book in five sections. He wrote it at as a young man for Boethus²⁸² and his aim in it was to show that Hippocrates was faithful to the science of anatomy. He cites testimonia from across his corpus.
28. *Erasistratus' Views on Anatomy* (*K. fī ārā' Arāsiṣṭrāṭus bi-l-tashriḥ*).²⁸³ Galen composed the book in three sections. He wrote it as a young man, also for Boethus, and his aim was to explain Erasistratus' discussion of anatomy in the course of his works and to show where he was right and where he went wrong.
29. *Gaps in Lycus' Knowledge of Anatomy* (*K. fīmā lam ya'lamhu Lūqus min amr al-tashriḥ*).²⁸⁴ It is in four sections.
30. *Disagreements with Lycus about Anatomy* (*K. fīmā khālaḥa fīhi li-Lūqus fī l-tashriḥ*).²⁸⁵ It is in two sections.
31. *Anatomy of the Womb* (*K. fī tashriḥ al-raḥim*).²⁸⁶ This book consists of a single short section. He wrote it as a young man for a midwife. It contains all one needs to know about the anatomy of the womb and what is generated in it during pregnancy.
32. *The First Vertebral Articulation of the Spinal Column* (*K. fī maḥṣil al-ḥiṣṣah al-ūlā min ḥiṣṣah al-raḥab*).²⁸⁷ It consists of a single section.
33. *Differences in the Homoeomerous Parts* (*K. fī khtilāḥ al-a'ḍā' al-mutashābihah al-ajzā'*).²⁸⁸ It consists of a single section.
34. *Anatomy of the Organs of the Voice* (*K. fī tashriḥ ālāt al-ṣawṭ*).²⁸⁹ It consists of a single section. Ḥunayn notes that 'this book is forged after the style of Galen but is not by him or any of the ancients. Rather, it is the work of a modern author who compiled it from Galen's books and was, more to the point, 'rather poor.'

280 *De anatomia vivorum*. Fichtner 171. Cf. Ḥunayn *al-ḥayawān al-hayy*.

281 *De Hippocratis anatomia*. Fichtner 243. See 5.1.14 (with a different title).

282 For Boethus, see n. 53.

283 *De Erasistrati anatomia*. Fichtner 229.

284 *De ignoratis Lyco in dissectionibus*. Fichtner 250, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 134 no. 134.

285 *Adversus Lycum*. Fichtner 103*.

286 *De uteri dissectione*. Fichtner 16*.

287 Not in Fichtner, Ullmann, Sezgin, or Ibn al-Qifṭī, Ibn al-Nadīm, or Ḥunayn recension 'B'.

288 *De partium homoeomerium differentia*. Fichtner 247. *CMG Suppl. Or. III* (ed. Strohmaier).

289 *De dissectione vocalium instrumentorum*. Fichtner 441.

35. *Anatomy of the Eye* (*K. fī tashrīh al-‘ayn*).²⁹⁰ It is also in one section. Ḥunayn notes that ‘the title is again fictional since it is attributed to Galen’ and is not by Galen. ‘It is likely it is by Rufus or someone inferior to him.’
36. *Movement of the Chest and Lungs* (*K. fī ḥarakat al-ṣadr wa-l-rī‘ah*).²⁹¹ He composed this book in three sections. He wrote it as a young man after he returned from Rome for the first time and was then resident in Smyrna under Pelops.²⁹² Indeed it was a fellow pupil who asked him for it. In the first two sections and the beginning of the third he sets out what he learnt from his teacher Pelops on this topic. In the remainder of the third section he outlines his own discoveries.
37. *Causes of Breathing* (*K. fī ‘ilal al-tanaffus*).²⁹³ He composed this book in two sections for Boethus on his first trip to Rome. His aim in both is to explain which organs give rise to breathing that is automatic and which breathing that is forced.²⁹⁴
38. *The Voice* (*K. fī l-ṣawt*).²⁹⁵ This book in four sections was composed after the book I have just mentioned. The aim is to show the origins of the voice, its character, its material, the organs that produce it, which parts of the body assist in its production, and how voices differ.
39. *The Movement of the Muscles* (*K. fī ḥarakat al-‘adal*).²⁹⁶ It is in two sections. His aim is to show the nature of the movement of the muscles, its workings, and the origin of these different movements in muscle even though their movement is unitary. He also investigates whether breath is voluntary or the result of natural movements and engages in a wide-ranging and sophisticated enquiry on the topic.
40. *Criticism of the Error Held Regarding the Distinction Between Urine and Blood* (*M. fī munāqadāt al-khaṭa’ alladhī ‘tuqid fī tamyiz al-bawl min al-dam*).²⁹⁷

290 *De oculis*. Fichtner 287.

291 *De motu thoracis et pulmonis*. Fichtner 280.

292 Galen studied with Pelops in Smyrna not long after 149. See n. 160. The information here (from Ḥunayn) represents a confused reading of *On My Own Books* 2, where the context is Galen’s travel from Pergamum to Smyrna, and Galen speaks of books presented to him upon his arrival that he had written before he went to study with Pelops or, in the case of the *Movement of Chest and Lungs*, that he wrote during his study with him.

293 *De causis respirationis*. Fichtner 20*. Cf. no. 137.

294 In Recension ‘B’ this reads: ‘which organs give rise to breathing, both that which is automatic and that which is forced’.

295 *De voce*. Fichtner 358. Cf. 5.1.10.1.

296 *De motu musculorum*. Fichtner 19*.

297 Not in Fichtner.

41. *The Necessity of the Pulse* (*M. fī l-ḥājah ilā l-nabd*).²⁹⁸
42. *The Necessity of Breathing* (*M. fī l-ḥājah ilā l-tanaḥḥus*).²⁹⁹
43. *Is There or Is There Not a Natural Flow of Blood in the Arteries* (*M. fī l-urūq al-ḍawārib hal yajrī fihā l-dam bi-l-ṭab' am lā*)?³⁰⁰
44. *Properties of Laxative Drugs* (*K. fī quwā l-adwiyah al-mus'hilah*).³⁰¹ It consists of a single section. He shows that the laxative effects of drugs and what they purge does not come about because any of these drugs change matter they encounter in the body into its own nature, thereby causing it to be expelled and pass out. Rather each of them attracts to itself a humour that is compatible and consistent with itself.
45. *Habits* (*K. fī l-ādāt*).³⁰² It consists of a single section. His aim is to show that habit is one of the factors that should be taken into account. A supplement and appendix to the book is formed by a commentary on Galen's citations on the topic from the text of Plato according to the interpretation of Proclus³⁰³ and a commentary on citations from the text of Hippocrates according to the interpretation of Galen.

298 *De usu pulsuum*. Fichtner 32*.

299 *De usu respirationis*. Fichtner 21*.

300 *An in arteriis sanguis natura contineatur?* Fichtner 24*.

301 *De purgantium medicamentorum facultate*. Fichtner 75* (cf. 185 on the Ps.-Galen *De catharticis*; but the entry here is for the genuine work). The Arabic for 'properties' (*quwā*; sg. *quwwah*) is often translated 'power(s)' according to the traditional rendering of Greek *dunamis*, 'power', 'faculty'. In contexts such as the present one it refers to what is inherent in a drug or foodstuff that gives it the potential or capacity to bring about change or cause, assist and complete a therapy through its 'power' to cool or warm, cause scarring, cleansing, diuresis, promote a particular humour, and so on. It offers an important way to organize *materia medica*, as we see it for example in Dioscorides or Galen's *De alimentorum facultatibus* (title 121) and *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* (title 53). For this sense we use 'property'. But where *quwwah* refers to a general bodily process such as digestion or growth, it is translated as 'faculty'.

302 *De consuetudinibus*. Fichtner 202*. The appendix is not preserved. Arabic at 'Graeco-Arabic-Studies' (ed. Klein-Franke; German translation also at CMG Suppl. Or. III trans. Pfaff).

303 Bergsträsser (recension 'A') and Müller read Herophilus, the great physician of the early 3rd c. BC, with the sense that citations from Plato in Galen's work were interpreted through extracts from a commentary by Herophilus. No such work is attested in the Greek tradition (cf. von Staden, *Herophilus*) and the name in the MSS is better interpreted as Proclus (cf. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Neue Materialien*, 19 and Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations*, 58–59 for recension 'B'). IAU's text is perhaps closer to Herophilus than Proclus. However, though he probably mentions Herophilus briefly at Ch. 4.1.10.5, he would have had little idea who he was, whereas the Neoplatonist Proclus was known. The section of the commentary by Proclus on *Timaeus* 89e–90c (cf. *De consuetudinibus* p. 26 ed. Schmutte, CMG Suppl. III) that is preserved in Arabic has been translated by Pfaff (*De consuetudinibus*, CMG Suppl. III, pp. 53–60).

46. *The Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato* (*K. fī ārā' Abuqrāṭ wa-Falā-tun*).³⁰⁴ It is in ten sections. His aim is to show that Plato is consistent with Hippocrates in the majority of his views since he borrows most of them from him, and that where Aristotle diverges from them, he is wrong. He explains everything one needs to know about the soul as the governing faculty responsible for thought, imagination, and memory, and of the three roots that are the sources of the faculties responsible for governing the body.³⁰⁵ He discusses various other topics as well.
47. *Problematical Movement* (*K. fī l-ḥarakah al-mu'tāṣah*).³⁰⁶ It consists of a single section. His aim is to examine movements which neither he nor his predecessors had been aware of but which he later managed to understand.
48. *The Organ of Smell* (*K. fī ālat al-shamm*).³⁰⁷ It consists of a single section.
49. *The Uses of the Parts* (*K. manāfi' al-a'ḍā'*).³⁰⁸ It is in seventeen sections. In sections one and two he shows us the wisdom of the Creator (He is Blessed and Exalted!) in perfecting the creation of the hand and arm.³⁰⁹ In the third section he shows his wisdom in perfecting the foot and leg,³¹⁰ in sections four and five his wisdom regarding the organs used for nutrition. He takes sections six and seven on the subject of the organs used in breathing, and in eight and nine he focusses on the inside of the head. In ten he treats the eyes and in eleven the other features of the face. In section twelve he discusses the parts of the body that are associated with the head and neck. In thirteen he turns to the areas near to the spine and shoulder blades. In the two following sections he describes the Creator's wisdom at work in the parts of the body responsible for reproduction. Then in section sixteen he con-

304 *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*. Fichtner 33*.

305 These 'roots' (Arabic *uṣūl*, Greek ἀρχαί) refer to the *archē* ('origin' or 'principle') of (i) motion/sensation in the brain (working through the nerves), (ii) blood and nutrition and appetite in the liver (acting through the veins), and (iii) the vital (*zōtikē*) force in the heart (functioning through the arteries). See Hankinson, 'Galen's Anatomy of the Soul' on his location of the Platonic tripartite soul in these organs.

306 *De motibus dubiis*. Fichtner 279. The Arabic is edited by Bos in Nutton & Bos, *On Problematical Movements*.

307 *De instrumento odoratus*. Fichtner 15*.

308 *De usu partium*. Fichtner 17* and 18*.

309 Arabic *yad* may signify both English terms and the translation here reflects the contents of the book.

310 Arabic *rijl* may signify both English terms and both are treated in *De usu partium* 3.

- siders organs common to the whole body such as arteries, veins and nerves. In seventeen he describes the disposition and proportions of all parts of the body and demonstrates the usefulness of the entire book.
50. *The Best Constitution for the Body* (*M. fī aḥḍal hay'āt al-badan*).³¹¹ This treatise is a sequel to the first two sections of *Mixtures*.³¹² The aim is clear from the title.
51. *Bodily Vigour* (*M. fī khiṣb al-badan*).³¹³ A minor treatise. The aim is clear from the title.
52. *Uneven Bad Mixture* (*M. fī sū' al-mizāj al-mukhtalif*).³¹⁴ The aim is clear from the title. In it he discusses which type of bad mixture occurs evenly throughout the body, and how it affects one's condition, and which type is uneven through the parts of the body.
53. *Simple Drugs* (*K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah*).³¹⁵ He arranged this book in eleven sections. In the first two of these he exposes the mistakes people have made by using poor methods to evaluate the properties of drugs. After this, in section three he provides a solid basis for the whole discipline of evaluating the primary properties of drugs. Section four clarifies secondary properties such as tastes or smells and informs us how to deduce from these the primary properties of drugs. In section five he describes the tertiary properties of drugs, i.e. the effects of warming, cooling, drying, or moistening that are produced by them in the body. In the three sections that follow he describes the property of each of the drugs that are pieces of plants. Next in section nine he examines the properties of drugs that are parts of the earth, i.e. types of soil, clay, stone, or minerals. In section ten he looks at drugs that come from materials produced in the bodies of living creatures, and in eleven describes the properties of drugs that come from materials generated in the sea or salt water.
54. *Signs of Ailments in the Eyes* (*M. fī dalā'il 'ilal al-'ayn*).³¹⁶ He wrote it in his youth for a young man who was an oculist.³¹⁷ He gives a brief account of the ailments that afflict each of the tunics of the eye and describes their signs.

311 *De optima corporis nostri constitutione*. Fichtner 25*.

312 Cf. Ch. 6.3.2.

313 *De bono habitu*. Fichtner 26*. 'Vigour' perhaps suits Greek *euexia* better than Arabic *khiṣb* which indicates fatness or plumpness; cf 14.27.4 no. 4.

314 *De inaequali intemperie*. Fichtner 58*.

315 *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*. Fichtner 78* and 79*.

316 *De morbis oculorum et eorum curis*. Fichtner 275.

317 Cf. *On My Own Books* 2.3.

55. *Times in Diseases* (*M. fī awqāt al-amrād*).³¹⁸ The subject of his enquiry is the four phases of a disease, i.e. its outbreak, advance, peak, and decline.
56. *Fullness* (*K. al-imtilā'*), also known as *Plethora* (*K. al-kathrah*).³¹⁹ It consists of a single section in which he outlines the topic of an abundance in the humours. He describes these and the signs of each type.
57. *Swellings* (*M. fī l-awrām*).³²⁰ Galen defined them as types of unnatural hard masses. In this treatise he describes all types of swellings and their signs.
58. *Apparent Causes* (*M. fī l-asbāb al-bādīyah*),³²¹ i.e. swellings (*al-awrām*), which occur³²² on the exterior of the body. In this treatise he demonstrates the effect of apparent causes on the body and the deficient arguments of those who dismiss their effect.
59. *Cohesive Causes in Diseases* (*M. fī l-asbāb al-muttaṣilah bi-l-amrād*).³²³ In this he discusses the cohesive cause of disease, i.e. its efficient cause.³²⁴
60. *Tremor, Spasm, Convulsion and Shivering* (*M. fī l-rī'shah wa-l-nāfiḍ wa-l-ikhtilāj wa-l-tashannuj*).³²⁵
61. *Parts of Medicine* (*M. fī aḡzā' al-ṭibb*).³²⁶ He divides medicine by various modes of division and subdivision.
62. *Sperm* (*K. fī l-manī*).³²⁷ It consists of two sections. His aim is to show that it is not blood that is responsible for generating all parts of the body, as Aristotle had thought. Rather, all the elementary parts of the

318 *De morborum temporibus*. Fichtner 49*.

319 *De plenitudine*. Fichtner 53*.

320 *De tumoribus praeter naturam*. Fichtner 57*.

321 *De causis procatartictis*. Fichtner 188.

322 It seems that Ḥunayn's 'initial' (*bādī'ah*) has been misinterpreted as 'apparent' (*bādīyah*) in IAU or his copy of the *Risālah*, an easy change in Arabic. The corruption was assisted by the change of Ḥunayn's 'primary' (*al-uwal*) to IAU's 'swellings' (*al-awrām*, cf. title no. 57), thereby signalling something visible.

323 *De causis contentivis*. Fichtner 187. Arabic at CMG Suppl. Or. II (ed. Lyons).

324 Using a Stoicizing vocabulary Galen split the Aristotelian idea of an efficient cause into three. The 'cohesive cause' (συνεκτικὸν αἴτιον νοσήματος) was the state in which a body part malfunctioned and produced e.g. excess. It worked with an 'antecedent' cause (*causa antecedens*), which was the patient's predisposition to a particular weakness, and an 'initial' cause (*causa procatartica*), which was an external trigger such as heat or injury, to bring about a disease.

325 *De tremore, palpitatione, convulsione et rigore*. Fichtner 54*.

326 *De partibus artis medicativae*. Fichtner 291. Arabic at CMG Suppl. Or. II (ed. Lyons).

327 *De semine*. Fichtner 22*.

- body,³²⁸ that is, the pale parts, are generated from sperm, whereas it is the dark flesh alone that is generated from the blood of the menses.
63. *Generation of the Fetus Born at Seven Months* (*M. fī tawallud al-janīn al-mawlūd li-sabʿat ashhur*).³²⁹
64. *Black Bile* (*M. fī l-mirrah al-sawdāʾ*).³³⁰ In this he describes types and signs of black bile.
65. *Periods and Compositions of Fevers* (*K. adwār al-ḥummayāt wa-tarākībī-hā*).³³¹ It consists of one section. In it he criticizes people who assert that there is no value in the topic of periods and compositions of fevers. Galen's title for the book was "Criticism of Those who Discuss Types" (*Munāqadāt man takallama fī l-rusūm*). Ḥunayn says, 'Another treatise on the topic is extant but it is not by Galen.'
66. Epitome of the so-called *Great Book of the Pulse* (*Ikhtīṣār kitābihi l-maʿrūf bi-l-nabḍ al-kabīr*).³³² It consists of one section. Galen states that he gave a comprehensive summary of the pulse in this book. Ḥunayn says that, 'I have seen in Greek a treatise³³³ along these lines. However, I cannot accept that Galen is the author of the treatise since it does not include all the essential facts about the pulse and moreover its composition is unattractive. It is possible that Galen had promised to write this treatise³³⁴ but was unable to do so, and when a forger noticed the promise was unfulfilled he fabricated the authorship of the work and inserted a mention of it in his Catalogue³³⁵ so it would be accepted. It is also possible that Galen did write a treatise on this topic (but not this one), that it went missing like many of his books, and so this treatise was concocted as a substitute in its place.'
67. *On the Pulse in Criticism of Archigenes* (*K. fī l-nabḍ yunāqīḍu fihi Arkhī-jānis*).³³⁶ Galen says he wrote it in eight sections.

328 See n. 261.

329 *De septimestri partu*. Fichtner 323. Arabic at 'Graeco-Arabic-Studies' (ed. Walzer).

330 *De atra bile*. Fichtner 31*.

331 *Ad eos qui de typis scripserunt*. Fichtner 52*.

332 See no. 16 and *Synopsis de pulsibus*, Fichtner 66*. Cf. Sezgin, *GAS* III, 93–94 suggesting on the evidence of Rhazes that the Arabic translation of no. 66, which Ḥunayn regarded as supposititious, was completed at a later date.

333 Ḥunayn gives the title as *Summary (jumlah) of the Great Book of the Pulse*.

334 Cf. the early work, *Ars medica*, i.410 Kühn.

335 Here *fihrist*, i.e. *De libris propriis* 8.5.

336 *Archigenis tractationis de pulsibus expositio et censura*. Fichtner 148; but see Boudon-Millot, *Galen* for the correct title (ἄριστις not χρῆσις as Fichtner has it as if it were 'expositio et usus'). Cf. n. 257.

68. *Difficulty in Breathing* (*K. fī radāʿat al-tanaffūs*).³³⁷ He wrote the book in three sections. His aim is to describe the types and causes of difficult breathing and what they signify. In the first section he describes types and causes of breathing, in the second types of difficult breathing and what each means, and in the third section he cites passages of Hippocrates that confirm the validity of his argument.
69. *Remarkable Stories of Prognosis* (*K. nawādir taqdimat al-maʿrifah*).³³⁸ It consists of one section. In this he makes the case for prognosis, informs us about the ingenious methods that lie behind it and describes and illustrates spectacular examples of it from his patients. Once these became known, he was much admired.
70. Abridgment of his *Method of Healing* (*Ikhtiṣār K. fī ḥīlat al-burʿ*).³³⁹ It consists of two sections.
71. *Phlebotomy* (*K. al-faṣḍ*).³⁴⁰ It consists of three sections. Section one is intended as an attack on Erasistratus for his opposition to phlebotomy. In the second section he attacks his followers at Rome for the same notion. In the third he gives his own views about treatment by means of phlebotomy.
72. *On the Wasting Disease* (*K. al-dhubūl*).³⁴¹ It consists of one section. The aim is to show the nature and types of this disease and the regimen appropriate for people at risk.
73. *Prescriptions for an Epileptic Boy* (*M. fī ṣifāt li-ṣabīy yuṣraʿ*).³⁴²
74. *Properties of Foods* (*K. quwā l-aghdhīyah*).³⁴³ It consists of three sections. He lists all foods and drinks that are sources of nourishment and describes the properties each contains.
75. *The Thinning Diet* (*K. al-tadbīr al-mulaṭṭif*).³⁴⁴ It consists of one section. The aim accords with the title.

337 *De difficultate respirationis*. Fichtner 59*.

338 *De praenotione ad Epigenem*. Fichtner 88*. Cf. 5.1.28.

339 *Synopsis methodi medendi*. Fichtner 434.

340 This work is an amalgam of three separate treatises: *De venae sectione adversus Erasistratum*, *De venae sectione adversus Erasistrateos Romae degentes*, and *De curandi ratione per venae sectionem* (Fichtner *71, *72, *73). There is no reason to hold it = *De venae sectione* (Fichtner 125*), which is usually regarded as spurious (cf. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations* 161–162).

341 *De marasmo*. Fichtner 56*.

342 *Puero epileptico consilium*. Fichtner 77*.

343 *De alimentorum facultatibus*. Fichtner 38*.

344 *De victu attenuante*. Fichtner 349*.

- 75a. An abridgment of this book on the thinning diet. It consists of one section.³⁴⁵
76. *Good and Bad Juices* (*K. al-Kaymūs al-jayyid wa-l-radī*).³⁴⁶ It consists of one section. He lists foods and reviews which of them produce excellent or bad juices.
77. *Erasistratus' Theory of Treating Disease* (*K. fī afkār Arāsistrāṭus fī mudāwāt al-amrād*).³⁴⁷ It consists of eight³⁴⁸ sections. He considers Erasistratus' therapeutic methods and distinguishes correct approaches from erroneous ones.
78. *Regimen in Acute Diseases according to the Views of Hippocrates* (*K. tadbīr al-amrād al-ḥāddah 'alā ra'y Abuqrāṭ*).³⁴⁹
79. *Composition of Drugs* (*K. tarkīb al-adwiyah*). He wrote it in seventeen sections. In seven of these he gives a comprehensive account of the varieties (*ajnās*) of compound drugs and lists them by one by one. For example, he includes the variety of drugs that is specifically for building up flesh in the case of ulcers, the variety that is solely for dissolving, and the variety that produces scarring, and so on and so forth for all the other varieties of drugs. The aim is to describe the method of compounding drugs in groups (*jumal*). For this reason he gave these seven sections the title *Composition of Drugs by Groups and Varieties*.³⁵⁰ To the other ten sections he gave the title *Composition of Drugs by Places*.³⁵¹ What he meant is this. When he calls these ten sections *Composition of Drugs*, he is not suggesting that each type of drug will produce its effect on a disease under any circumstances but that it does so in relation to the place – i.e. the part of the body – where the

345 IAU has misunderstood Ḥunayn's *Risālah* at this point. To entry 75 someone has added, 'This is among the items he [i.e. Ḥunayn] summarized ...' There is no evidence of a summary made by Galen or for 'an anonymous *Summary*' (Sezgin, *GAS* III, 118).

346 *De bonis malisque sucis*. Fichtner 39*. See 5.1.24, with n. 154.

347 *De Erasistrati curandi ratione*. Fichtner 230.

348 An error for 'five': Boudon-Millot, *Galien*, 209.

349 *De diaeta in morbis acutis secundum Hippocratem*. Fichtner 118 (but beware of confusion in this entry); Arabic at CMG Suppl. Or. II (ed. Lyons, whose introduction pp. 12–21 should be consulted). Not to be confounded (as Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq, *Galen Translations* 162) with the Ps.-Galenic *De diaeta Hippocratis in morbis acutis* (*De victus ratione in morbis acutis ex Hippocratis sententia*), which survives in Greek (ed. Westenberger; also Fichtner 118*), or the genuine *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentarii* (ed. Helmreich; Fichtner 93*; see no. 92 below).

350 *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*. Fichtner 82*.

351 *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*. Fichtner 80* and 81*.

disease is present. He starts with the head and then proceeds in order through all parts of the body till the last.

I³⁵² say that a complete version of this book, which Galen designated *Composition of Drugs*, is not to be found today. Rather it has been divided into two books and each of them is independent. There is not much doubt that the Alexandrians did this relying on their clear understanding of Galen's works, but it could have been others. Thus the first portion is known as the *Qāṭājānis*,³⁵³ and includes the first seven sections mentioned above. The second is known as the *Mayāmir*.³⁵⁴ It comprises the remaining ten sections. *Mayāmir* is the plural of *mīmar*, which means "way". The book was probably given this name because it shows the way to employ compound drugs in the correct manner.

80. *Readily Available Drugs* (*K. al-adwiyah allatī yas'hulu wujūduhā*).³⁵⁵ These are the drugs that are termed "locally available". The book consists of two sections. Ḥunayn says that, 'An additional section on this subject was added to it and attributed to Galen but in fact it is by Philagrius'.³⁵⁶ He also says that 'a great deal of nonsense' has been inserted 'into the book including novel and surprising prescriptions and drugs that Galen had never seen or heard of.'
81. *Drugs that Counter Diseases* (*K. al-adwiyah al-muqābilah li-l-adwā'*).³⁵⁷ He wrote it in two sections. In section one his subject is theriac, in section two he covers all other medicinal pastes.³⁵⁸
82. *Theriac to Pamphilianus* (*K. al-tiryāq ilā Bamfūliyānūs*).³⁵⁹ It consists of one short section.
83. *Theriac to Piso* (*K. al-tiryāq ilā Fīsun*).³⁶⁰ This is also consists of one section.
84. *Method for Preserving Health* (*K. fī l-ḥīlah li-ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).³⁶¹ It consists of six sections. His aim is to show how healthy people can preserve

352 IAU.

353 I.e. from the Greek title *kata genos*.

354 The Arabic term is based on the Syriac *mēmar*, 'treatise' (not *al-tariq*, 'way', as IAU has it).

355 *De remediis parabilibus*. Fichtner 86* (Ps.-Galen).

356 Perhaps cf. title no. 1 in the list of works by Philagrius, below 5.2.2. We retain the form of the name in ABR (with *bā'*), which could point to a different recension from readings using a *fā'*.

357 *De antidotis*. Fichtner 83*.

358 I.e. here antidotes; cf. Ullmann, *WGAÜ* s.v. ἀντιδοτος.

359 *De theriaca ad Pamphilianum*. Fichtner 85*. Ps.-Galenic.

360 *De theriaca ad Pisonem*. Fichtner 84*.

361 *De sanitate tuenda*. Fichtner 37*.

- their health, including those who are in the peak of health and those who are not, and those who live a free life and those who live a slave's.
85. *To Thrasybulus (K. ilā Barāthilūs)*.³⁶² It consists of one section. The aim is to investigate whether healthy people preserve their health because of the art of medicine or as a result of the art of the professional trainers. This is the work he refers to at the start of his book *Regimen for Healthy People (K. tadbīr al-aṣiḥḥā)*³⁶³ where he says that 'there is a single art that is responsible for bodies, as I have shown elsewhere'.
86. *Exercise with a Small Ball (K. al-riyāḍah bi-l-kurah al-ṣaghīrah)*.³⁶⁴ It consists of one section. In it he commends exercise with a small ball and play using a mallet³⁶⁵ and advocates it above every other time of exercise.
87. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Covenant (Tafsīr K. 'ahd Abuqrāt)*.³⁶⁶ It consists of one section.
88. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms (Tafsīr K. al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt)*.³⁶⁷ He composed it in seven sections.
89. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Fractures (Tafsīr K. al-kasr li-Abuqrāt)*.³⁶⁸ He wrote it in three sections.
90. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Reducing Dislocation (Tafsīr K. radd al-khal' li-Abuqrāt)*.³⁶⁹ He wrote it in four sections.
91. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Prognosis (Tafsīr K. taqdimat al-ma'rifah li-Abuqrāt)*.³⁷⁰ He wrote it in three sections.
92. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Regimen in Acute Diseases (Tafsīr K. tadbīr al-amrāḍ al-ḥāddah li-Abuqrāt)*.³⁷¹ We have found three sections to

362 *Thrasybulus sive utrum medicinae sit an gymnasticae hygiene*. Fichtner 34*.

363 This description of the *De sanitate tuenda* is also used as an alternative title for it in Arabic (so in *Risālah* recension 'B'): Sezgin, *GAS* III, 112 no. 69, below Ch. 3.3. The reference to *Thrasybulus* comes at the very start (vi.1 ed. Kühn).

364 *De parvae pilae exercitio*. Fichtner 35*.

365 There is no 'play using a mallet' in *De parvae pilae exercitio* itself. Ḥunayn is alluding to a contemporary game played with the *ṣawlaḡān* (a 'long bat, curved at one end, with which horsemen strike the ball in the game of horse-shinty', i.e. polo, Steingass s.v.)

366 *In Hippocratis iusiurandum commentarius*. Fichtner 390. Cf. extracts in Arabic in Chs. 1 and 2.

367 *Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarii*. Fichtner 101* and 102*.

368 *In Hippocratis librum de fracturis commentarii*. Fichtner 110*.

369 *In Hippocratis de articulis librum commentarii* (Fichtner 105*), together with the *De humero iis modis prolapso quos Hippocrates non vidit* (Fichtner 106*), which is in effect part of it.

370 *In Hippocratis prognosticum commentarii*. Fichtner 109*.

371 *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria*. Fichtner 93*.

the commentary, though in the *Pinax* Galen says he commented on it in five sections. These first three sections are a commentary on the genuine portion of the book; the remaining two are a commentary on the spurious portion.³⁷²

93. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Ulcers (Tafsīr K. al-qurūḥ li-Abuqrāṭ)*.³⁷³ He wrote it in one section.
94. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Wounds to the Head (Tafsīr K. jirāḥāt al-ra's li-Abuqrāṭ)*.³⁷⁴ It consists of one section.
95. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Epidemics (Tafsīr K. Abīdīmiyā li-Abuqrāṭ)*.³⁷⁵ He commented on the first book in three sections, the second in six, the third in three,³⁷⁶ and the sixth in eight sections. This is the extent of his commentary. The remaining three books – i.e. four, five, and seven – were not given a commentary because, as he states, they are forgeries using Hippocrates' language.
96. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Humours (Tafsīr K. al-akhlāṭ li-Abuqrāṭ)*.³⁷⁷ He wrote it in three sections.
97. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Predictions (Tafsīr K. taqḍīmat al-indhār li-Abuqrāṭ)*.³⁷⁸ To this day I have not found a copy.
98. *Commentary on Hippocrates' In the Surgery (Tafsīr K. qāṭyatrīyyūn li-Abuqrāṭ)*.³⁷⁹ He wrote it in three sections.
99. *Commentary on Air, Water, and Dwelling-Places (Tafsīr K. al-hawā' wa-l-mā' wa-l-masākin li-Abuqrāṭ)*.³⁸⁰ He wrote this in three sections too.³⁸¹

372 Cf. *On My Own Books* 9.9 (Boudon-Millot, *Galien*) 'three on the genuine part of the book, two on additions to it'. As Ḥunayn explains (*Risālah* 41 text, 33 trans.), the commentary on the genuine part of the book was translated into Arabic by 'Isā ibn Yāhyā.

373 *In Hippocratis de vulneribus et ulceribus librum commentarius*. Fichtner 361.

374 *In Hippocratis de capitis vulneribus librum commentarius*. Fichtner 383.

375 *In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum primum commentarii, In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum secundum commentarii, In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum tertium commentarii, In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum sextum commentarii*: Fichtner 96–100*. Arabic for Bks 1 and 2 at CMG Suppl. Or. v 1 and v 2 (ed. Vagelpohl).

376 Ḥunayn (recension 'A') carelessly has 'three' for Bk 2 and 'six' for Bk 3, but IAU either drew on recension 'B' or *On My Own Books* 9.10.

377 *In Hippocratis de humoribus librum commentarii*. Fichtner 94. The Greek text printed in Kühn's edition of Galen is a Renaissance forgery.

378 *In Hippocratis praedictionum librum primum commentarii*. Fichtner 95*.

379 *In Hippocratis librum de officina medici commentarii*. Fichtner 111*; Arabic at CMG Suppl. Or. 1 (ed. Lyons).

380 *In Hippocratis de aere aquis locis librum commentarii*. Fichtner 382.

381 MS B adds, 'We have found some copies of the commentary also have it in four sections. However, the former arrangement is to be relied on'.

100. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Nutrition* (*Tafsīr K. al-ghidhā' li-Abuqrāt*).³⁸² He wrote it in four sections.
101. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Nature of the Embryo* (*Tafsīr K. ṭabī'at al-janīn li-Abuqrāt*).³⁸³ Ḥunayn says that, 'For this book we have found no commentary in Galen's own words nor have we found any statement in his Catalogue that he produced one. However, in the work he composed on Hippocrates' knowledge of anatomy³⁸⁴ we came across a reference to a threefold division of the book. Galen notes that the first and third portions of it are spurious and not by Hippocrates but that the second portion is genuine. It was on this that Gessius of Alexandria wrote a commentary.³⁸⁵ We have in fact found two commentaries on all three books together. One of these is in Syriac and bears the inscription that it is by Galen and in the translation of Sergius.³⁸⁶ Upon examination we learnt that it was by Pelops.³⁸⁷ The other is in Greek and upon investigation we discovered it is by Soranus, who belonged to the Methodist sect. Ḥunayn translated most of the text into Arabic during the caliphate of Mu'tazz bi-llāh'.
102. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Nature of Man* (*Tafsīr K. ṭabī'at al-insān*).³⁸⁸ He composed it in two³⁸⁹ sections.
- 102a. *The Identity of Hippocrates' Views in his Nature of Man and in his Other Works* (*K. fī anna ra'y Abuqrāt fī K. ṭabī'at al-insān wa-fī sā'ir kutubihī wāḥid*).³⁹⁰ He composed it in three sections. Galen says he authored it after the commentary on *Nature of Man* on being informed that certain people objected to that book by alleging that it was not by Hippocrates.

382 *In Hippocratis librum de alimento commentarii*. Fichtner 92*.

383 *In Hippocratis de natura pueri librum commentarius*. Fichtner 384.

384 See no. 27 above.

385 Gessius of Petra worked in Alexandria and died around 520; on him see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 160–161, Walbridge, *Epitomes*, p. xxxix; and below 5.2.1, 6.1.1 (superiority of his commentaries).

386 I.e. Sergius of Rēsh 'Aynā.

387 The name is not secure, and Thessalus and Polybus have been proposed.

388 *In Hippocratis de natura hominis librum commentarii*. Fichtner 90*.

389 Ḥunayn: 'three'. As transmitted to us in Greek, the commentary is divided into three (ed. Mewaldt, *CMG* v 9, 1) but only the first two are on *De natura hominis*, while the third is on *De diaeta salubri*. Cf. recension 'B' where Ḥunayn writes, 'in three sections according to my recollection of it'.

390 *Quod in aliis scriptis suis videatur Hippocrates eandem habere sententiam cum eo de natura hominis*. Fichtner 426. This work is additional to those listed in Ḥunayn's *Risālah* as transmitted.

103. *The Best Physician Must also Be a Philosopher* (*K. fī anna l-ṭabīb al-fādīl yajibu an yakūna faylasūfan*).³⁹¹ It consists of a single section.
104. *Authentic and Inauthentic Works of Hippocrates* (*K. fī kutub Abuqrāt al-ṣaḥīḥah wa-ghayr al-ṣaḥīḥah*). It consists of a single section.³⁹²
105. *An Enquiry into the Correctness of Quintus' Critique of the Hippocratics for Advocating the Four Qualities* (*K. fī l-baḥṭh 'an ṣawāb mā thalaba bihi Quwīntus aṣḥāb Abuqrāt alladhīna qālū bi-l-kayfyyāt al-arba'*).³⁹³ Ḥunayn says that 'I do not know the truth or otherwise of Galen's authorship. I do not think it has been translated.'
106. *Prolonged Sleep according to the Views of Hippocrates* (*K. fī l-subāt 'alā ra'y Abuqrāt*).³⁹⁴ Ḥunayn again remarks that, 'The story of this book is like the story of the book' he discussed before.
107. *Hippocrates' Terminology* (*K. fī alfāz Abuqrāt*).³⁹⁵ Ḥunayn says that, 'This book also consists of one section. The aim is to explain unusual Hippocratic terminology throughout the corpus. It is useful for those who read Greek; but those reading in other languages have no need of it, and it would be completely impossible to translate.'
108. *The Substance of the Soul according to the Views of Asclepiades* (*K. fī jawhar al-naḥs mā hiya 'alā ra'y Asqalībiyādhas*).³⁹⁶ It consists of a single section.
109. *Medical Experience* (*K. fī l-tajribah al-ṭibbiyyah*).³⁹⁷ It consists of a single section. In it he relates the arguments of the Empiricists and Dogmatists against one another.
110. *An Exhortation to Study Medicine* (*K. fī l-ḥaṭṭh 'alā ta'allum al-ṭibb*).³⁹⁸ It consists of a single section. Ḥunayn says that in this work Galen 'copies Menodotus' book',³⁹⁹ it is an excellent, useful, and attractive work.'

391 *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*. Fichtner 3*. Arabic at 'Graeco-Arabic-Studies' (ed. Bachmann).

392 *De Hippocratis scriptis genuinis*. Fichtner 244.

393 Not in Fichtner. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 137 no. 147. For Quintus, see n. 161.

394 *De comate secundum Hippocratem*. Fichtner 55*.

395 *Linguarum seu dictionum exoletarum Hippocratis explicatio (Glossarium)*. Fichtner 116*.

396 *De substantia animae secundum Asclepiadem*. Fichtner 332. Cf. Sezgin, *GAS* III, 55. Asclepiades (late 2nd/early 1st cent. BC) established Greek medicine at Rome; some of his views led to Methodism; cf. Ch. 4.11.2, n. 214.

397 *De experientia medica*. Fichtner 235. For the Arabic translation, see Walzer, *Experience*.

398 *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas (Protepticus)*. Fichtner 1*.

399 Menodotus was an empiricist physician of the early to mid 2nd cent., strongly opposed to Methodism. See *On My Own Books* 12 with the notes of Boudon-Millot, *Galen* and Boudon, *Galen, Exhortation* 35–42. In the present state of knowledge the translation here is uncertain. The words 'Ḥunayn says ... Menodotus' book' are absent from recension 'A' and are

111. *The Tenets of Empiricism* (*K. fī jumal al-tajribah*).⁴⁰⁰ It consists of a single section.
112. *Examination of the Best of Physicians* (*K. fī miḥnat afdal al-atibbā*).⁴⁰¹ It consists of a single section.
113. *His Own Views* (*K. fīmā ya'taqiduhu ra'yan*).⁴⁰² It consists of a single section. He recounts what he knew and what he did not.
114. *Medical Terms* (*K. fī l-asmā' al-ṭibbiyyah*).⁴⁰³ His aim is to clarify the senses in which physicians use the terms they employ. He wrote it in five sections. We have found translated into Arabic only the first section in a version by Ḥubaysh al-A'sam.
115. *On Proof* (*K. al-burhān*).⁴⁰⁴ He composed this book in fifteen sections. His aim is to show that the method used to demonstrate a proposition proceeds by necessary steps. For this is Aristotle's aim in the fourth book of his *Logic*.⁴⁰⁵ Ḥunayn says that, 'To the present day none of my contemporaries has managed to locate a complete copy of *On Proof* in Greek despite the fact that Jibrīl⁴⁰⁶ had made a great effort to look for it and I too put all my energy into the search, combing the lands of al-Jazīrah, al-Shām,⁴⁰⁷ and the whole of Palestine and Egypt till I reached

taken from recension 'B'. Ḥunayn would have known from *On My Own Books* 12.1 that Galen had written a work on Menodotus' *To Severus*, but he could have known no details of it. (In the Arabic of *On My Own Books* the text of 12.1 has 'Book on the *Introduction* of Menodotus, eleven sections'; Boudon-Millot wrongly reports a change in the Arabic to 'dix'). The *Adhortatio* itself contains no reference to Menodotus in the surviving section (but the lost second part presumably did mention him). The best interpretation of the Greek of *On My Own Books* 12.3, where the *Adhortatio* is listed, reads: '*On Menodotus' "To Severus", Protreptic to Medicine*'. The Arabic for this has 'a section [*maqālah*] from the book of Menodotus, *On Enthusiasm for Medicine*'.

400 *Subfiguratio empirica*. Fichtner 223.

401 *De optimo medico cognoscendo*. Fichtner 232. CMG Suppl. Or. IV (ed. Iskandar, *Examinations*). There is no trace of the work in Greek. See above 5.1.18, 29.

402 *De propriis placitis*. Fichtner 309*.

403 *De nominibus medicis*. Fichtner 284. Arabic at 'Graeco-Arabic-Studies' (ed. Meyerhof/Schacht).

404 *De demonstratione*. Fichtner 209.

405 I.e. the *Posterior Analytics*, where Aristotle defines 'demonstration (*apodeixis*) as deduction that is concerned with scientific knowledge (*sullogismos epistemoniskos*)' (71b18). The keen interest in *De demonstratione* for Ḥunayn and others is explained by Galen's vast output on the topic of *apodeixis* (see *On My Own Books* 14, Boudon-Millot, *Galen*) and the prospect of linking the great physician and the great philosopher. A copyist like Gc, who otherwise heavily abbreviates much of the list of Galen's books, shows that the romance of Ḥunayn's searchings had an appeal of its own.

406 I.e. Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' the celebrated physician of Hārūn al-Rashīd; see 5.1.16.1.

407 In modern terms these two regions comprise northern Iraq and south-eastern Turkey, and Syria and Lebanon.

Alexandria. I found no trace except for about half of it at Damascus but the sections were not consecutive or complete. Jibrīl also found sections from it and not all of them were the same as the ones found by me. Ayyūb⁴⁰⁸ translated them for him. As for me, I had no desire to translate any of it without the prospect of being able to read the entire thing both because of its damaged and defective condition and because my soul longed to discover a complete version. But later I translated what I had into Syriac. This comprised a small portion of the second section, most of the third, and approximately half of the fourth from the beginning together with the ninth except for part of the beginning, which had fallen out. I came across all the other sections bar the fifteenth, which was defective at the end. ʿĪsā ibn Yaḥyā⁴⁰⁹ translated what he found from section eight⁴¹⁰ to section eleven and Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn made an Arabic version of twelve to fifteen.’

116. *Hypothetical premises* (*K. fī l-qiyāsāt al-waḍʿiyyah*).⁴¹¹ It consists of one section.
117. *The Structure of the Arts* (*K. fī qiwām al-ṣināʿāt*).⁴¹² Ḥunayn says that he had found only ‘fragments’ of this book in Greek.
118. *A Man’s Ability to Know the Errors of his Soul* (*K. fī taʿarruf al-insān ʿuyūb nafsihi*).⁴¹³ It consists of two sections. Ḥunayn says that he had found in Greek ‘only a defective copy of one section.’

408 Job of Edessa (d. after 832); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 101–102. See IAU Chs. 8.22 and 9.7.

409 ʿĪsā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ibrāhīm, a student of Ḥunayn’s: Sezgin, *GAS* III, 257, cf. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 30, 57, and IAU Chs. 8.35 and 9.5. IAU may not have realized that this last sentence is an addition where ‘he’ = Ḥunayn.

410 *Risālah*: ‘two’.

411 *De principiis ex suppositione*, Fichtner 303. Arabic *qiyāsāt* = Greek *archai*.

412 *De constitutione artium* (Fichtner 6*, 180), a work in three books (*On My Own Books* 14.22, *Art of Medicine* 37.6 ed. Boudon, *Galen, Exhortation*), from which there survives only the last on medicine (*De constitutione artis medicae*), where Galen refers to the work being in two parts (i.e. medicine and the other crafts). In it Galen discussed various professions (arts/crafts) from the perspective of their Aristotelian *telos* or ultimate end (cf. *Art of Medicine* 1.2). The unknown dedicatee – Patrophilus – is commended for his love of *apodeixis* and *methodos*. It is this that explains the inclusion of the work in *On My Own Books* in a section devoted to ‘demonstration’. The ingenious alternative explanation by Rescher, *Galen and the Syllogism* Ch. 1 (cf. Lamoreaux, 118), that the word *technē* in the Greek title (περὶ τῆς τῶν τεχνῶν συστάσεως) is used in a technical philosophical sense as part of Galen’s vocabulary of logic, essentially meaning a ‘figure’ or ‘construction’, is without foundation.

413 *De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione* (Fichtner 29*) and *De animi cuiuslibet peccatorum dignotione et curatione* (Fichtner 30*).

119. *Character Traits* (*K. al-akhlāq*).⁴¹⁴ It consists of four sections. His aim is to describe types, causes, and signs of characters and the way to deal with them.
120. *Avoiding Distress* (*M. fī ṣarf al-ightimām*).⁴¹⁵ He wrote this for a man who asked him how it could be that he had never seen him distressed by the loss of all the possessions he had deposited in the great storehouses when these burnt down in Rome, and so he set out for him the reason for this and showed when distress is justified and when it is not.
121. *The Best People Can Derive Benefit from their Enemies* (*M. fī anna akhyār al-nās qad yantaḥi'ūna bi-a'dā'ihim*).⁴¹⁶
122. *Plato's Discussion of Medical Science in his Book Known as Timaeus* (*K. fīmā dhakara Aflāṭun fī kitābihi l-ma'rūf bi-Ṭīmāwus min 'ilm al-ṭibb*).⁴¹⁷ It consists of four sections.
123. *The Properties of the Soul Follow the Mixture of the Body* (*K. fī anna quwā l-naḥs tābi'ah li-mizāj al-badan*).⁴¹⁸ It consists of a single section. His aim is clear from the title.
124. *Summaries of Plato's Books* (*K. jawāmi' kutub Aflāṭūn*).⁴¹⁹ Ḥunayn says that, 'Among writings of this sort⁴²⁰ I came across another volume, which consists of four sections out of eight written by Galen. It contains summaries of Plato's books. In section one there are summaries of five Platonic works: *Cratylus* on names, *Sophist* on division, *Politikus*⁴²¹ on the statesman, *Parmenides* on forms, and *Euthedemus*. In section two there are summaries on four sections of Plato's *Republic*,⁴²² and in section three a summary of the six remaining sections together with one on the book called *Timaeus*, which concerns the study of nature. In

414 *De moribus*. Fichtner 412. It is not clear IAU knew the work directly; cf. 5.1.6, 12, 34 no. 8.

415 *De dolore evitando*. Fichtner 217*. Cf. 5.1.26 (under the alternative title *Fī naḥy al-ghamm*).

416 Fichtner 162. See 5.1.30. The work survives in a handful of quotations in Arabic only; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 64 no. 117.

417 *In Platonis Timaeum commentariū*. Fichtner 396. Cf. no. 185.

418 *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur*. Fichtner 28*. Arabic at 'Graeco-Arabic-Studies' (ed. Biesterfeldt); cf. Biesterfeldt, *Galens Traktat*.

419 *Platoniorum dialogorum compendia*. Fichtner 415; cf. Fichtner 158, 159, 160; Gutas, 'Tradition arabe'.

420 I.e. Platonic philosophy. Ḥunayn refers to his rubric before no. 122, which IAU misses out along with other such headers.

421 Both our recensions of Ḥunayn show confusion between Plato's *Politikos* and Aristotle's *Anatutika* (so also MS A of IAU).

422 Cf. 5.1.12.3 above.

section four he summarizes the principal ideas of the twelve sections of Plato's *Laws*.⁴²³

125. *That the Prime Mover Does Not Move* (*K. fī anna l-muḥarrrik al-awwal lā yataḥarrak*).⁴²³ It consists of a single section.
126. *Introduction to Logic* (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-mantiq*).⁴²⁴ It consists of one section. He sets out the topics essential for beginners that they will benefit from by learning (the art of) proof.
127. *The Number of Syllogisms* (*M. fī 'adad al-maqāyīs*).⁴²⁵
128. *Commentary on the Second Book of Aristotle*, which is called *Peri Hermēneias* (*tafsīr al-kitāb al-thānī min kutub Aristūṭālīs wa-huwa lladhī yusammā bārīmīniyās*).⁴²⁶ It consists of three sections. Ḥunayn says that he had discovered 'a defective copy'.
129. *Requirements for Someone who Makes Errors in Speech* (*K. fīmā yalzamu lladhī yalḥanu fī kalāmihī*).⁴²⁷ It consists of seven sections. Ḥunayn says that he had found only one and that he had not translated it.

[5.1.38]

Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq says,⁴²⁸ 'We have also come across a number of books with Galen's name in the title but not by him. Rather, some of them are snippets of Galenic phrases arranged by other people to make books. In other cases they are by authors prior to Galen and later on someone put Galen's name in the title. He did this either out of a desire to multiply the number of Galenic books in his possession no-one else owned or because of a lack of sense that it is a constant attribute of fools such that when they come across a book with a number of sections to it and find the first of these begins with a certain person's name, they

423 *In primum movens immotum*. Fichtner 398. Cf. 5.1.14.

424 *Institutio logica*. Fichtner 402.

425 *De syllogismorum numero*. Fichtner 333.

426 *In librum de interpretatione Aristotelis commentarii*. Fichtner 392.

427 *Ad eos qui voce soloecissantes reprehendunt*. Fichtner 136.

428 At this point IAU turns to a short work by Ḥunayn on material 'not listed by Galen in the Catalogue of his books'. He starts his quotation with the second preface on books that were falsely ascribed to Galen (the first part of the work deals with genuine titles that had not been mentioned in *On My Own Books*). See Meyerhof, 'Über echte und unechte Schriften'; text and translation also in Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq, *Neue Materialien*, 84–98. IAU was using a version of the work that offers some differences from the sole manuscript known to us. He follows the book titles closely except that he puts the word *maqālah* ('treatise') in first position whereas Ḥunayn for the most part puts it last, a change that causes IAU to make two titles (nos. 136–137) out of one in Ḥunayn. IAU probably only knew the works in this section from Ḥunayn's pamphlet. Entries in Fichtner, Sezgin, *GAS III*, and Ullmann, *Medizin*, are referred to where they exist. In some cases they add little to Ḥunayn.

assume all the other sections are by the same person. This is why we find many sections in books by Rufus that have Galen's name in the title – for example, his treatise *On Jaundice* (*M. fī l-yaraqān*).⁴²⁹ Ḥunayn continues, “Those sections of books where we find Galen in the title have a quality of language that is quite alien to Galen's hallmark style and the force of the thought in them is quite different from Galen's own beliefs.’

These titles are:

130. *On the Leaders of the Sects* (*M. fī a'immat al-firaq*).⁴³⁰
131. *On Types Established by Hippocrates* (*M. fī l-rusūm allatī rasamahā Buqrāṭ*).⁴³¹
132. *Treatise Entitled “The Physician, by Galen”* (*M. mawsūmah al-ṭabīb li-Jālīnūs*). Galen in fact mentions it at the start of his Catalogue,⁴³² where he informs us that it was falsely attributed and inauthentic.⁴³³
133. *On the Art* (*M. fī l-ṣinā'ah*). I refer not to the famous treatise designated by this title, the authenticity of which is well known,⁴³⁴ but to a different one that is falsely attributed. This author's language is slapdash and careless.
134. *On Bones* (*K. fī l-izām*). I refer not to the authentic treatise on this subject but to another one.⁴³⁵ The author's ability is far weaker than the level of that class (of books).
135. *On Definitions* (*K. fī l-ḥudūd*).⁴³⁶
136. *Treatise in a question and answer format* (*M. 'alā ṭarīq al-mas'alah wal-jawāb*).⁴³⁷

429 The text of Ḥunayn has ‘theriac’. See no. 152 below for the Galenic treatise on jaundice. Ḥunayn is probably referring to Rufus' *On Poisons* (Ullmann, *Medizin*, 75 no. 25, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 66 no. 14).

430 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 139 no. 160.

431 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 131 no. 118. Cf. titles nos. 65, 147.

432 *On My Own Books* 1.1 ἐπεγέγραπτο μὲν γὰρ Γαληνοῦ [MSS Γαληνός] ἰατρός, ‘the title was “Galen's Physician” (or “Galen, Physician”).’

433 Cf. Fichtner 89* (the Ps.-Galenic *Introductio sive medicus*, known in Greek as *Galen's “Physician”: An Introduction* (Γαληνοῦ ἰατρὸς εἰσαγωγὴ); see also Sezgin, *GAS* III, 139 n. 154, esp. Petit, *Le Médecin. Introduction*, p. cvii n. 153, 107 n. 1). There is no necessary link between the surviving *Introductio* and the work mentioned by Galen in *On My Own Books*.

434 Cf. no. 4, which is classified in the Arabic as a *kitāb* (‘book’) rather than a *maqālah* (‘treatise’) as here.

435 Cf. no. 7, which is classified in the Arabic as a *kitāb* rather than a *maqālah* as here.

436 *Definitiones medicae*. Fichtner 120*.

437 IAU has separated nos. 136 and 137. Ḥunayn has ‘In question and answer format a treatise on ...’; but IAU's habit of beginning each entry with *maqālah* has led him to create two

137. *On the Causes of Breathing* (*M. fī 'ilal al-tanaffūs*).⁴³⁸ It is short and fragmentary.
138. *On Natural Language* (*M. fī l-kalām al-ṭabī'ī*).
139. *On Medicine according to the Views of Homer* (*K. fī l-ṭibb 'alā ra'y Ūmīrus*).⁴³⁹ It consists of two sections. The phraseology and language of both of them are very similar to Galen's. However, the point of the argument is weak in both sections and moreover at the end of section two the views are improbable and quite unlike the Galenic system.
140. Treatise arguing that the qualities are not bodies (*M. fī anna l-kayfiyyāt laysat ajsāman*).
141. *On the Humours according to the Views of Hippocrates* (*M. fī l-akhlāṭ 'alā ra'y Abuqrāṭ*).⁴⁴⁰
142. *Investigation into whether the Parts of the Foetus Generated in the Womb are Created Simultaneously or Not* (*M. yubḥathu fihā hal a'ḍa' al-janīn al-mutawallid fī l-raḥim tatakhallaqu kulluhā ma'an am lā*).⁴⁴¹
143. *Investigation into whether the Foetus is Alive or Not in the Womb* (*M. yubḥathu fihā hal al-janīn fī l-raḥim ḥayawān am lā*).⁴⁴²
144. Treatise arguing that the soul does not die (*M. fī anna l-nafs lā tamūt*).⁴⁴³
145. *On Milk* (*M. fī l-laban*).⁴⁴⁴
146. *On Drying Out the Flesh* (*M. fī tajfif al-laḥm*).⁴⁴⁵
147. *On Types* (*M. fī l-rusūm*). This is different from the genuine treatise above and inferior to it in authority.⁴⁴⁶

works, even though the first is a nonsense. Contrast no. 139 where he avoids splitting a single work and creating a *maqālah* on Homer and *maqālatān* ('two sections') on Galen's style by calling the whole a *kitāb*.

438 Cf. no. 37, which is classified in the Arabic as a *kitāb* rather than a *maqālah* as here.

439 *De medicina apud Homerum*. Fichtner 268.

440 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 130 no. 114, cf. Fichtner 122.

441 *An omnes partes animalis, quod procreatur, fiant simul*. Fichtner 144.

442 *An animal sit quod est in utero*. Fichtner 117*.

443 Cf. Fichtner 174 *De anima*.

444 *De lacte*. Fichtner 262. Note also Rufus' *On Drinking Milk* (*Kitāb Shurb al-Laban* or *Kitāb al-Laban*, as we have it here in IAU, cf. Ch. 4.1.10.2 title no. 21): Sezgin, *GAS* III, 66 no. 15, 412, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 75 no. 23.

445 Ḥunayn and some MSS of IAU (but not AGaR) read 'lightening' rather than 'drying out', a very easy change. Cf. Fichtner 272, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 131 no. 127 for the suggestion that the medieval Latin *De minutionibus* (extant in manuscript) represents a translation of *On the Lightening of the Flesh*. This would be easier if the title were a corruption of *De (de/di)minutionibus*, as Klaus-Dietrich Fischer suggests to me.

446 Cf. no. 131.

148. *On Urine (M. fī l-bawl)*.⁴⁴⁷
149. Treatise refuting the followers of the third sect on the passage where he sets out the causes of diseases during their establishment (*M. fī l-radd 'alā aṣḥāb al-firqah al-thālithah fī l-mawḍi' alladhī yadhkuru fīhi asbāb al-amrād 'inda tarkībihā*).⁴⁴⁸
150. Treatise arguing that Hippocrates surpassed everybody in his knowledge of the phases of disease (*M. fī anna Abuqrāt sabaqa l-nās jamī'an fī ma'rifat al-awqāt*).⁴⁴⁹
151. *On the Causes of Illnesses (M. fī asbāb al-'ilal)*.⁴⁵⁰
152. *On Jaundice (M. fī l-yaraqān)*.⁴⁵¹
- Ḥunayn says,⁴⁵² 'Titles we find mentioned by Galen in his books but not recorded in his Catalogue and of which no copy is available':
153. *On Humours according to the Views of Praxagoras (M. fī l-akhlāt 'alā ra'y Braksāghūrus)*.⁴⁵³
154. *On People who Require Phlebotomy in the Spring (M. fī man yaḥtāju fī l-rabī' ilā l-faṣḍ)*.⁴⁵⁴

[5.1.39]

This is the sum total of Galen's books, authentic or attributed, that I have been able to list following the entries in Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's book on his discoveries or translations into Arabic. He made this when he was 48 years old. Since he lived till 70, he must have come across many additional works of Galen's that were translated into Arabic, just as we have found many of Galen's books and others ascribed to him in translations by Ḥunayn or other people and of which there is absolutely no record in his above cited work.⁴⁵⁵

447 *De urinis*. Fichtner 127*.

448 The third sect is the upstart sect of Methodism as distinguished from the traditional Empiricists and Rationalists/Dogmatics. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 139 no. 159 with n. 2 for the unlikely suggestion that this work is the *De methodica secta* (see 5.1.19 with n. 128) mentioned in *On My Own Books* 13.

449 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 139 no. 157.

450 Cf. Sezgin, *GAS* III, 131–132 no. 129. Ḥunayn has 'relapses' for 'illnesses'.

451 *De cura icteri*. Fichtner 276. See also Ullmann, *Medizin*, id., *Die Gelbsucht*.

452 At the end of the same work.

453 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 139 no. 156. Our MSS spell *B-ū-k-s-ā-gh-ū-r-s*; contrast 5.1.10.1 above (*B-r-k-s-ā-gh-ū-r-s*) and Ḥunayn (*F-r-k-s-ā-gh-ū-r-s*).

454 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 131 no. 128.

455 Ḥunayn's statement that he wrote his main bibliographical work when he was 48 refers to the original, lost edition published 856. 1AU has not remembered or noticed that he then speaks of a new edition published 10 years after that. The surviving 'A' and 'B' recensions are revised versions of this second edition.

Examples of these are:

155. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Pains in Women* (*Tafsīr K. awjā' al-nisā' li-Abuqrāt*).⁴⁵⁶ It consists of a single section.
156. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Sevens* (*Tafsīr K. al-asābī' li-Abuqrāt*).⁴⁵⁷
157. *Commentary on Hippocrates' Regimen for Healthy People* (*Tafsīr K. tad-bīr al-asihhā' li-Abuqrāt*). It consists of a single section.⁴⁵⁸
158. *Treatments for Sickesses* (*K. mudāwāt al-asqām*); it is also known as *Medicine for the Poor* (*Ṭibb al-masākīn*),⁴⁵⁹ and consists of two sections.
159. *Bone Setting* (*K. fī l-jabr*).⁴⁶⁰ It consists of three sections.
160. *Sudden Death* (*K. fī l-mawt al-sarī'*).⁴⁶¹ It consists of one section.
161. *Treatise on Enemas and Colic* (*M. fī l-ḥuqan wa-l-qawlanj*).⁴⁶²
162. *Treatise on Sleep, Insomnia, and Emaciation* (*M. fī l-nawm wa-l-yaqazah wa-l-ḍumūr*).⁴⁶³
163. *Treatise on Prohibiting Burial Within Twenty-Four Hours* (*M. fī taḥrīm al-dafn qabl arba' wa-'ishrīn sā'ah*).⁴⁶⁴
164. *Treatise on the Providence of the Creator – Mighty and Glorious! – for Mankind* (*M. fī 'ināyat al-khāliq 'azza wa-jalla bi-l-insān*).⁴⁶⁵
165. *To Queen Filāfūs on the Secrets of Women* (*R. ilā Filāfūs al-malikah fī asrār al-nisā'*).⁴⁶⁶

456 *In Hippocratis de mulierum affectibus commentarius*. Fichtner 386; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 41–42 no. 17, 124 no. 85.

457 *In Hippocratis de septimanis commentarii*. Fichtner 388.

458 *In Hippocratis vel Polybi opus de salubri victus ratione commentarius*. Fichtner 91*. See below no. 184.

459 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 129 no. 104. *Treatments for Sickesses* is in fact the title of a therapeutic treatise, known in Arabic, by the important 4th cent. physician, Philagrius: Ullmann, *Medizin*, 79 no. 1 *Mudāwāt al-aqsām*, cf. p. 81, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 155 no. 3; it is perhaps identical with the *Signs of Sickesses* recorded as title no. 2 in the list of Philagrius' books below, though this work is in five sections.

460 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 130 no. 116.

461 *De morte subitanea*. Fichtner 278.

462 *De clysteribus et colica*. Fichtner 194.

463 *De somno et vigilia*. Fichtner 328.

464 *De prohibenda sepultura*. Fichtner 305. See 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtishū', *On Apparent Death*. On the topos as a special variety of prognosis, see Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben* 266–272.

465 Fichtner 135.

466 See next note.

166. *To Qustānis the Chamberlain on the Secrets of Men* (*R. ilā Qustānis al-Qahramān fī asrār al-rijāl*).⁴⁶⁷
167. *Secret Remedies* (*K. fī l-adwiyah al-maktūmah*). He gives us hints and suggestions of these remedies in his works. It is in a single section.⁴⁶⁸ Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq says,⁴⁶⁹ 'In this book Galen intended to describe all the secret and special remedies he had assembled over his lifetime and had successfully tried out on many occasions but had concealed and kept back from most people. He gave instruction in them to only a select number of practitioners of the art who possessed the right qualities and the soundest judgment. Someone other than myself made a version of it but made a mess by adding material that was not present and omitting things he did not understand how to translate. I applied myself to it so far as opportunity and ability allowed, compared it with my own considerable experience, and made an Arabic version for Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā'.⁴⁷⁰
168. *On Extracting Liquids from Plants* (*M. fī stikhrāj miyāh al-ḥashā'ish*).
169. *On Substitute Drugs* (*M. fī abdāl al-adwiyā*).⁴⁷¹
170. A collection of sayings in which he outlines the influence of the sun, moon, and stars.
171. *On Colours* (*M. fī l-alwān*).⁴⁷²
172. Summary of his work *On Proof* (*Fī l-burhān*).⁴⁷³
173. Refutation of those who wrote about analogies (*K. fī al-radd 'alā lladh-īna katabū fī l-mumāthalāt*).
174. *Nature of the Embryo* (*K. ṭabī'at al-janīn*).⁴⁷⁴

467 *De secretis feminarum et virorum*. Fichtner 322.

468 *Liber secretorum ad Monteum*. Fichtner 409. According to Ullmann, *Medizin*, 60 no. 103 *Secret Remedies* was an alternative title of the book known as *Advice for Monks* and the opening remarks to the addressee *M-w-t-w-s* show that the secrecy lies in a restricted dissemination. Sezgin, *GAS* III, 126 no. 91 and 129 no. 102 distinguishes the two and names the addressee of *Advice for Monks* as 'Julianus'.

469 The source of the quotation is unknown.

470 For Ḥunayn's patron and his family, see *ET*² art. 'Mūsā, Banū' (D.R. Hill).

471 *De succedaneis*. Fichtner 133*. Not genuine.

472 Cf. Sezgin, *GAS* III, 47 no. 18 for a work of this name allegedly ascribed in the Arabic tradition to Hippocrates.

473 Cf. no. 115.

474 Cf. the work of this title by Hippocrates, *De natura pueri* (*De natura foetus*, etc.). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum* 46* (there is an edition of the Arabic translation by Lyons & Mattock, *Hippocrates, Ajinna*). See Ch. 4.1.9.1 title no. 1.

175. Refutation of Archigenes on the Pulse (*K. al-radd 'alā Arkhījānis fī l-nabḍ*).⁴⁷⁵
176. *Prolonged Sleep* (*K. fī l-subāt*).⁴⁷⁶
177. Abridgment of his *Properties of Foods* (*Ikhtišāruhu li-kitābihi fī quwā l-aghdiyyah*).⁴⁷⁷
178. *Erasistratus' Slurs* (*K. fī l-afkār al-musfiyah li-Arāsistrātus*).⁴⁷⁸
179. *On the Uses of Theriac* (*K. manāfi' al-tiryāq*).
180. *On Juices* (*M. fī l-kaymūsāt*).
181. Discussion of flavours (*Kalām fī l-ṭu'ūm*).⁴⁷⁹
182. *On the Bite of a Rabid Dog* (*R. fī 'aḍḍat al-kalb al-kalib*).⁴⁸⁰
183. *Cohesive Causes* (*K. fī l-asbāb al-māsikah*).⁴⁸¹
184. *Commentary on Polybus' Regimen for Healthy People* (*Tafsīr K. Fūlūbus fī tadbīr al-aṣiḥḥā'*).⁴⁸²
185. *Commentary on the Medical Parts of Plato's Book Entitled Timaeus* (*Tafsīr mā fī K. Falāṭun al-musammā Tīmāwus min 'ilm al-ṭibb*).⁴⁸³
186. *Cleansing Drugs* (*K. fī l-adwiyah al-munaqqiyah*).⁴⁸⁴
187. *Intestines* (*K. fī al-am'ā'*).⁴⁸⁵
188. *Improving and Protecting Voices from Damage* (*K. fī taḥsīn al-aṣwāt wa-nafy l-āfāt 'anhā*).⁴⁸⁶

[5.1.40]

In conclusion I would note that Galen certainly wrote many other books that translators did not find or that were lost in the course of time, in particular those mentioned in the second section of Galen's catalogue of his works called the *Pinax*.⁴⁸⁷ Should anyone wish to refer to their titles or to Galen's aim in each of them, he may consult this book.

475 Cf. title no. 67.

476 Cf. no. 106.

477 See no. 74 above.

478 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 139 no. 158.

479 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 131 no. 125.

480 Cf. title no. 13 of the works ascribed to Philagrius below.

481 An alternative title to no. 59.

482 See no. 157. The *Regimen for Healthy People* was ascribed either to Hippocrates or his son-in-law Polybus.

483 Cf. no. 122.

484 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 129 no. 103.

485 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 131 no. 123.

486 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 131 no. 126.

487 Title no. 1 in the list of Galen's works, where allusion is also made to the division into two.

5.2 After Galen

[5.2.1]¹

Among the famous physicians following Galen's death or near to him were the Alexandrians Stephanus, Nicolaus, Gessius, and Marinus; these four are among the commentators on Galen's books, and summarized and abridged them and shortened what he said;² Timaeus of Tarsus; *Šimrī*,³ who was nicknamed 'New Moon' because he mostly stayed in his mansion immersed in study and composition so that people only caught sight of him every so often, calling him 'New Moon' (*al-Hilāl*) because he would hide himself away; Magnus of Alexandria;⁴

Oribasius the author of handbooks and physician to King Julian wrote *inter alia*:⁵

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- 1 For 'Among the famous physicians ... Oribasius the author of handbooks' cf. Dunlop, *Šiwān al-ḥikmah* § 25 ll. 380–386. The source of both passages is Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's history of physicians. IAU's text is closer to Iṣḥāq (Rosenthal, 'Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn', 69–70/79–80) than that of the *Šiwān* as transmitted.
 - 2 The four are associated in the Arabic tradition with the composition of the *Summaria Alexandrinorum*, the summaries (or rather excerpts with comments and notes) of the sixteen books of Galen that formed the Alexandrian curriculum, some of them being an amalgamation of several separate treatises (cf. 5.137 titles 8, 14, 16). Only Gessius (Γέσιος or Γέσσιος), a late 5th c. physician and philosopher of great fame and wealth (e.g. Suda γ 207), is known with certainty (Watts, 'The Enduring Legacy'); but there are works attributed to Palladius and Stephanus (on whom see Wolska-Conus, 'Stéphanos'). Nicolaus is *Anqilāwus* in the Arabic of IAU and our other sources and the Greek behind it is unclear but is suggested by Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, p. 356.18 *wa-qīlu Niqulā'us 'an Anqilā'us* (cf. note d. to the edition: v *Niqulāwus*); however, no medical Nicolaus is known. See further Ch. 6.1.1 for the list of seven Alexandrians drawn from Ibn Buṭlān (Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 93–94 English, 59–60 Arabic), which omits Marinus and includes Theodosius (absent from Ibn Buṭlān as transmitted to us but probably ultimately identical with his Persian; see Ch. 6.1.1 n. 5), and also includes John the Grammarian, to whom IAU devotes much space in Ch. 6. On all these issues see recently Walbridge, *Epitomes*, pp. xxxix–xl. On the question of the origin of the *Summaries* in the context of the curriculum and discussion of the authors, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 140 ff., Ullmann, *Medizin*, 65–67, Walbridge, *Epitomes*, Introduction.
 - 3 Greek form unclear. Rosenthal, 'Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn', 79 n. 7, suggested Smyrnaeus.
 - 4 Cf. Ch. 4.1.10.2 on Magnus of Emesa/Nisibis. Magnus taught at Alexandria. See also Nutton, 'Murders and Miracles', 36.
 - 5 Oribasius was a major figure in 4th cent. medicine and was close to Julian the Apostate. He died around 400. For this entry IAU follows Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:283, (Tajaddud) 350, almost word for word. See also Ch. 1.7. n. 80.

1. *To his Son Eustathius* (*K. ilā bnihi Uṣṭāth*). It consists of nine sections.⁶
2. *The Anatomy of the Bowels* (*K. li-tashriḥ al-aḥṣhā*). It consists of one section.⁷
3. *Medicines for Use* (*K. al-adwiyah al-musta'malah*).⁸
4. *The Seventy* (*K. al-sabʿīn*). One section of his *Handbook* (*Kunnāsh*);⁹

Paul of Aegina wrote among other things:¹⁰

1. *Handbook of the Pleiades* (*Kunnāsh al-Thurayyā*).¹¹
2. *Regimen and Care for the Child*.¹²

There was also Stephanus of Ḥarrān; Oribasius the Obstetrician,¹³ a nickname he received on account of his skilled knowledge of women's conditions; Dioscorides the Oculist, who was allegedly the first specialist to achieve fame in the manufacture of eye-salves (*ṣināʿat al-kuhl*); *Fāfālus*¹⁴ of Athens; *Afrūnītus*¹⁵ of Alexandria; *Nīṭus*,¹⁶ who was dubbed 'the Informer' (*al-Mukhbīr*) because of his expertise; Narses the Roman, who went to Alexandria and became one of their community; Hero; and Zarayāyal.

[5.2.2]

Among those who were close to this time was Philagrius. He wrote the following.¹⁷

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- 6 *Oribasii synopsis ad Eustathium*, ed. Raeder (CMG VI 3).
 - 7 Unknown in Greek. Alternative title (MS B): *Temperament of the Bowels*.
 - 8 Apparently a version of the *Ad Eunapium* ed. Raeder (CMG VI 3), a treatise on *euporista* or 'readily available' drugs. Cf. title no. 80 in the list of Galen's works.
 - 9 I.e. the *Collectiones medicae* ed. Raeder (CMG VI 1, VI 2, VI 3), a vast summary of medicine before Oribasius, based on Oribasius' earlier compilation of Galen's works. About a third of the original seventy books survives intact in the Greek. The Arabic titles are alternatives.
 - 10 Paul of Aegina wrote the last major medical encyclopaedia of antiquity in the mid-7th cent. It was based on Oribasius and his sources.
 - 11 *Collectiones medicae* ed. Heiberg (CMG IX 1 and IX 2). This important encyclopaedia was named Pleiades in Arabic because it comprised seven books.
 - 12 Apparently known only from IAU.
 - 13 Oribasius *al-Qawābilī*. Although IAU distinguishes him from Julian's physician, Oribasius treated pregnancy and midwifery (*inter alia*) in Bk 5 of *To Eustathius* and it may well be that this material circulated separately. Paul of Aegina was also known as *al-Qawābilī* on account of his discussion of gynaecology and obstetrics in Bk 6 of his own encyclopaedia.
 - 14 Greek form unclear.
 - 15 Greek form unclear.
 - 16 Greek form unclear. Cf. the previous name.
 - 17 On Philagrius, a physician of the 3rd or 4th cent., influential on Arabic medicine for his treatment of the liver and spleen, see Nutton in *Brill's New Pauly* (classical world),

1. *For People Without a Physician in Attendance* (*K. man lā yaḥduruhum tabīb*).¹⁸
2. *Signs of Sicknesses* (*K. ‘alāmāt al-asqām*). It consists of five sections.¹⁹
3. *On the Affliction of Gout* (*M. fī waja‘ al-niqris*).
4. *On Stones* (*M. fī ḥaṣāh*).
5. *On Dropsy* (*M. fī al-mā‘ al-aṣfar*).
6. *On Liver Pain* (*M. fī waja‘ al-kabid*).
7. *On Colic* (*M. fī l-qawlanj*).
8. *On Jaundice* (*M. fī l-yaraqān*).
9. *On the Structure of the Womb* (*M. fī khalq al-raḥim*).²⁰
10. *On Sciatica* (*M. fī ‘irq al-nasā*).
11. *On Cancer* (*M. fī l-saraṭān*).
12. *On the Manufacture of Salt Theriac* (*M. fī ṣan‘at tiryāq al-milḥ*).
13. *On the Bite of a Rabid Dog* (*M. fī ‘aḍḍat al-kalb al-kalīb*).²¹
14. *On Ulcers on the Skin* (*M. fī l-qūbā’*).
15. *Problems of Gums and Teeth* (*M. fīmā ya‘riḍu li-l-lithah wa-l-asnān*).

Ullmann, *Die Medizin* 79–81, especially Sezgin, *GAS III*, 154–156. IAU again follows Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:282–283, (*Tajaddud*) 350 closely but has reordered title no. 13 to become his own no. 2.

- 18 Perhaps an alternative title for the work known as the ‘Small Handbook’ or ‘For the General Public’ (*ilā l-‘awāmm*, i.e. πρὸς ἰδιώτας; Sezgin, *GAS III*, 155 drawing on al-Rāzī), essentially a ‘self-help’ guide.
- 19 Cf. 5.1.39 n. 459.
- 20 Ibn al-Nadīm and Rhazes (cf. Sezgin 155 no. 5) correctly read *khunāq* (or *ikhtināq*) *al-raḥim*, the old Hippocratic concept of πνίγες ὑστερικαί, ‘strangulation of the womb’.
- 21 Cf. title no. 182 in the works of Galen.

Alexandrian Physicians and Their Christian and Other Contemporaries

Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter and Simon Swain

[6.1.1]¹

According to an account by al-Mukhtār ibn Ḥasan ibn Buṭlān,² the Alexandrians who summarized Galen's Sixteen Books³ and composed commentaries upon them were seven in number:⁴ Stephanus, Gessius, Theodosius,⁵ Archelaus,⁶ Nicolaus,⁷ Palladius, and John the Grammarian,⁸ all of whom followed

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- 1 This chapter is included in all three versions of the *Classes of Physicians*.
 - 2 The 5th/11th cent. Christian physician of Baghdad, best known for his *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah* (*Tabulation of Health*), 'a synopsis of hygiene and macrobiotics' (Schacht, *ET*² s.v.) arranged in the form of tables; see Elkhadem, *Tacuini sanitatis*. There is a biography of him at Ch. 10.38.
 - 3 A selection of treatises intended for beginners which comprised the core of the medical curriculum taught in Alexandria in late Antiquity. See Vol. 1, pp. 173–176.
 - 4 On the names here see Walbridge, *Epitomes*, pp. xxxiii–xlii. As he notes, Ibn Buṭlān (Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 59–60, trans. 93–94) gives the list as 'Stephanus, Persius (*B-ā-r-s-y-s*; *Bārsīyus*, see n. 5 below), Gessius, *'r-k-ī-l-ā-w-s* (*Arkilāwus*; see n. below), *'n-q-ī-l-ā-w-s* (*Anqilāwus*; see n. below), Palladius, and John the Grammarian'. See further Ch. 5.2.1 notes.
 - 5 In place of Theodosius (*Th-ā-dh-w-s-y-s*; *Thādhūsīyus*) Ibn Buṭlān offers *Bārsīyus* (cf. above). There is no need to change this to *Mārīnūs* as Schacht & Meyerhof do with an eye on Yahyā al-Naḥwī (Rosenthal, 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn', 69, ms *Māyinūs*, corrected to *Mārīnīyus*), Dunlop, *Ṣiḥān al-ḥikmah*, p. 25 l. 381, Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 356; IAU Ch. 5.2.1 *Mārīnūs*. The *rasm* of *Bārsīyus* is easily changed into *Thādhūsīyus*.
 - 6 The MSS of IAU present *A-k-ī-l-ā-w-s*; but the text of Ibn Buṭlān has *Arkilāwus*, which we follow. Schacht and Meyerhof 93 n. 9 rightly take this as Archelaus. An Archelaus who commented on Galen is known from late antiquity: Irvine & Temkin, 'Akilāōs', esp. 18–19.
 - 7 *Anqilāwus* (so also Ibn Buṭlān). Nicolaus is speculative, but cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 356.18, gives an alternative form *Nīqulā'us* (see 5.2.1 n. 2), and at least this is a common Greek name (which of course may have misled Ibn al-Qiftī). Cf. Ch. 4.1.11.3.
 - 8 Marginal note in A: 'Note. Yuwānis, that is, Yahyā in Greek (*bi-l-Rūmī*)'. Confusion reigns about the identity or identities of John the Grammarian (Yahyā al-Naḥwī). IAU includes substantial biographical material about him in what follows, much of which draws on the career of the distinguished Christian philosopher John Philoponus (also known as John the Grammarian), who was known in Arabic but did not write medical works. See notes below and Ch. 3.2 n. 2.

the way of the Messiah. Nicolaus the Alexandrian is said to have been foremost among them, and to have been primarily responsible for editing the Sixteen Books.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah – say that the Alexandrians read only the Sixteen Books of Galen at the academy where the art of medicine was taught in Alexandria.⁹ This was done systematically: each day, the masters would agree on a particular passage, and it was that passage that would be read and explicated that day. Subsequently, however, they made summaries and abridgements of the books so they were easily committed to memory and readily understandable. At a still later date, each of the seven Alexandrians composed his own commentary on the Sixteen Books.

Of these commentaries, I have found that of Gessius to be superior to those of his fellows for its focus on the significant and informative aspects of the works. One of these Alexandrians, namely John the Grammarian al-Askalānī,¹⁰ was granted such a long life that he was still living at the time of the advent of Islam.

[6.1.2]

The following account is from the *Fihrist* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm al-Baghdādī:¹¹

John the Grammarian was a pupil of Severus,¹² and at the beginning of his career acted as bishop over several Egyptian churches, adhering in belief to the Jacobite sect.¹³ But then he turned against the belief in the Trinity

9 'Alexandria in Late Antiquity could draw on the legacy of nearly a thousand years, and it attracted promising students and proficient masters of the medical art. The Library of Alexandria no longer existed, but there were numerous *akadēmias* ('academies') and *museions* (literally 'museums'), medico-philosophical schools-cum-libraries where both medicine and philosophy were taught side by side.' Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 13.

10 The ancient Palestinian city of Ascalon (Ἀσκάλων), Arabic *Asqalān*, modern Ashkelon. The town flourished in late antiquity and had its own bishop. See Vol. 1, p. 154 n. 40.

11 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:178–179, (Flügel) 254–255.

12 I.e. the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch 512–518, thereafter in exile; see below. Some of the details here recall the life of the philosopher John Philoponus, who was sympathetic to the thought of Severus (e.g. Lang, *John Philoponus*), though he also wrote an *Against Severus* (Suda τ 464 s.v. Ἰωάννης). Philoponus was not however himself a bishop and he died around 575 so the John the Grammarian who was alive at the time of the conquest of Egypt by ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ is a different figure, whose chronology was falsely aligned with that of Philoponus (see below).

13 The adherents of the ‘miaphysite’ (i.e. accepting a single nature for Christ) Syrian orthodox church were later known as Jacobites by the adherents of the ‘Chalcedonian’ orthodoxy

professed by Christians, and as a result a conclave of bishops was convened to examine him. So ably did he argue his case, however, that his accusers were quite won over: they sought to conciliate him, asking him in respectful terms to renounce the position he had adopted and to desist from proclaiming it. In vain: he stood his ground, and in the end he was removed from his office.

When Egypt was conquered by the army of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, the victorious general called on John the Grammarian to pay his respects and acknowledge his eminence.¹⁴

The following account is taken from the *Annotations* of the learned Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī:¹⁵ ‘John the Grammarian was a contemporary of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, who called on him’.¹⁶ The same author tells us, ‘John the Grammarian was a Christian of Alexandria. He had studied under Ammonius,¹⁷ who had himself studied under Proclus. John himself tells us that Proclus was still alive in his own day, but that he was so elderly as no longer to be competent as an authority.’

adopted by the Byzantine state (Council of Chalcedon 451; see below) after the 6th cent. bishop of Edessa, Jacob Baradaeus, who was instrumental in ordaining clergy in Egypt and Syria and complemented the theological miaphysitism developed by Severus of Antioch. The modern historical literature tends to speak of *monophysite* (e.g. Frend, *Monophysite Movement*) but (the equally modern term) *miaphysite* better reflects the orthodox doctrine of the eastern churches that was ultimately based on Cyril of Alexandria’s creed of Christ’s ‘one nature enfleshed’ (μία φύσις σεσαρκωμένη), while *monophysite* may be retained for battles within the western churches (as below here on Eutyches et al.).

14 Alexandria fell in 642.

15 Also called al-Manṭiqī (the logician), one of the leading philosophers of the 10th cent. (d. 375/985), and best known for the ascription to him of the *Cabinet of Wisdom*. See Kraemer, *Philosophy*. His *Notes on Philosophy* (*Ta’āliq ḥikmiyyah*) survive in quotations: id., 91, cf. 25. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 87

16 The source of the chronological error placing Philoponus this late is the date given by Philoponus in his commentary and attack on Aristotle’s *Physics* (title no. 5 at § 6.2), ‘the 10th day of the month *Pachōn* in year 233 of the era of Diocletian’ (= AD 517/18) (218a11–14). This was corrupted in the transmission and is reported in Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist* (Sayyid 2/1180) as 343 (= AD 627/28).

17 The comments about John here continue to recall the career of John Philoponus, but with plenty of fiction/confusion with a John who wrote on medicine. Philoponus (ca. 490–575), was a pupil of Ammonius (see here below) and was sometimes known as ‘the Grammarian’ (cf. e.g. *Suda* 1 464). Three works on grammar and language survive but he is known principally for a number of important and surviving Aristotelian commentaries. He also

[6.1.3]

The following account is taken from *The Merits of Physicians*¹⁸ by ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibril:¹⁹

John the Grammarian was skilled in the sciences of grammar, logic and philosophy. In addition, he composed commentaries on many works dealing with the art of medicine. He was known primarily as a philosopher, owing to his mastery in that domain, for he ranked among the foremost philosophers of the age.

He acquired his skill in philosophy as a result of something that happened to him when he was young and earning his living as a wherryman. He had a great love of knowledge even then, however, and one day, when his passengers chanced to be a group from the Museum,²⁰ including a master who taught on the island where Alexandria stands,²¹ he overheard them discussing and arguing about the theories that they had been investigating. He was captivated at once, and began to look into the domain of learning. Once he realized what it entailed, he reflected, ‘Here I am, over forty years old, with no skill of any kind. All I know how to do is pilot this wherry. How can I possibly hope to succeed at any aspect of learning?’ As

wrote theology from a monophysite perspective and was later condemned for his interpretation of the Trinity (cf. IAU’s report above). No medical works are known.

The Neoplatonist Proclus lived 412–485. His *De aeternitate mundi* is largely preserved in Philoponus’ *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum* (written 529; no doubt the source of the supposed contemporaneity of the two men). This was well known in Arabic philosophy and survives in two different, incomplete versions: Wakelnig, ‘Other Arabic Version’, *ET*² art., ‘Buruqlus’ 2.a (Walzer); cf. title nos. 27, 34 below at Ch. 6.2.

The Neoplatonist Ammonius taught in Alexandria in the first quarter of the sixth cent. and had studied with Proclus in Athens. The comment in the text about Proclus suits him better. For Ammonius’ legacy in Islam, see *ET Three* art. ‘Ammonius (Ps.) son of Hermias’ (U. Rudolph).

18 *Manāqib al-aṭibbā’*. For the following cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 356–357.

19 Abū Sa’īd ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibril ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū’, an eminent 5th/11th cent. physician and a distinguished member of the Bukhtīshū’ family. His biography is found at Ch. 8.6. He is cited at length in Ch. 5.1 on the chronology of Galen; see 5.1.7–5.1.13. The account here, especially the events of the Christian Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, is a farrago of fact and fiction.

20 Literally ‘House of Knowledge’. According to Arabic sources the House came to exist in Alexandria as a result of Alexander’s provision for the city: Barhebraeus, ed. Šālḥānī, *Nations*, 34 and Abū l-Šalt Umayyah, *al-Risālah al-Miṣriyyah*, i:29. The real Museum at Alexandria, a foundation of Ptolemy I, was one of the most famous institutions of learning in antiquity: *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Mouseion’ (Glock). Cf. above for the ‘academy where the art of medicine was taught’ (*mawḍi’ ta’līm al-ṭibb*).

21 Pharos, now the Ra’s al-Tin quarter of the city of Alexandria and the Citadel of Qaitbay.

these thoughts were running through his mind, what should he see but an ant that was trying to carry a date pit up a slope. It lost its grip on its burden repeatedly and saw it roll back down, but it persisted indefatigably, and by degrees got the pit higher and higher up the slope. The struggle continued all day long as John watched in fascination, and in the end the insect succeeded in dragging the date pit up to where it wanted it. At this, John the Grammarian said to himself, 'If a tiny creature as feeble as this can attain its goal through persistent effort, surely I can do as well, or better.' He sold his wherry forthwith, entered the Museum, and embarked on the study of grammar, language and logic, in all of which he proved to be outstandingly brilliant. He was dubbed 'the Grammarian' (*al-naḥwī*) because he had begun with the subject of grammar, and, indeed, he was particularly renowned for his accomplishments in that domain, on which he composed a number of works, including both commentaries and original studies.

I²² have read in a history of the Christians that John the Grammarian was present at the Fourth Council held in a city named Chalcedon.²³ The Council comprised six hundred and thirty bishops, who sat in judgement on Eutyches (that is, John the Grammarian – the name Eutyches means 'Abū Sa'īd' in Arabic) and his colleagues.²⁴ Eutyches was a physician and

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- 22 Ibn al-Qifṭī does not include the following information on John's role in two famous 5th cent. church councils but IAU continues to draw on 'Ubayd Allāh, who had good access to Christian sources. The account is notable for its favourable presentation of Eutyches. While Eutyches' theological position (cf. below) would not have suited the Nestorian Bukhtīshū' family to which 'Ubayd Allāh belonged, his opposition to the Byzantine state's Chalcedonian orthodoxy – he 'never accepted Melkite doctrine' (below) – would have been congenial.
- 23 An ancient town in Asia Minor, located across the Bosphorus from Byzantium, now the Kadıköy district of Istanbul. The Fourth Ecumenical Council was convened there in AD 451 by the Byzantine Emperor Marcian (r. 450–457), with the approval of the Roman Pope Leo the Great (r. 440–461). The Council determined that Christ was 'made known in two natures ... the property of each nature being preserved and coalescing in one *prosopon* and one *hypostasis*' (*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* 11, 1, 2, pp. 126–130; trans. Kelly, *Creeeds*, 340). The Oriental orthodox group of churches (including the Coptic Church, the Armenian Orthodox Church and the Syrian Orthodox Church) rejected the conclusions of the Council. For Chalcedon and the background alluded to here, see Chadwick, *Church*, chs 52–53.
- 24 Eutyches, a Constantinopolitan archimandrite with monophysite beliefs, played a key role in the Christological battles of the first half of the 5th cent. before the death of his protector, Theodosius II, in 450. His enemy, Eusebius bishop of Dorylaeum, had him denounced by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Flavian (448). However within a few months Eutyches was able to have himself restored to communion and intrigued to secure

sage.²⁵ Although he was pronounced anathema, he was not banished, in contrast to others who had been so condemned, for he was skilled in the art of medicine, and his colleagues needed his ability. Accordingly, he remained in Constantinople and lived there unmolested until the Emperor Marcian died.

John the Grammarian, who is also known by the Greek name 'Philoponus' (that is, 'lover of toil'), was one of the seven learned men who prepared summaries of the Sixteen Books and other works in Alexandria. He also composed many treatises on medical and other matters.

Thanks to his learning, his virtue, and his skill in the art of medicine, then, he was allowed to go on living in Constantinople. The successor of the Emperor Marcian was the Emperor *Aštīriyūs*,²⁶ who, as it happened, became gravely ill two years after Eutyches had been pronounced anathema, as we have seen. The physician was consulted in the case, examined the Emperor, and treated him, and in due course he recovered from his illness. 'Ask for what you will,' said the grateful Emperor. 'Imperial Majesty,' replied Eutyches, 'there is indeed something that you can do for me. The Bishop of Dorylaeum and I have become enemies. He has treated me unjustly, having encouraged the Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop Flavian,²⁷ to convene a 'synod' (that is, a council) which out of enmity wrongfully pronounced me anathema. I

the deposition of Flavian at the 'Robber' Council of Ephesus (449) under the presidency of the archbishop of Alexandria, Dioscorus. After Theodosius' death, however, the late emperor's sister Pulcheria and her consort Marcian rejected the monophysite leanings of the previous regime, confined and then banished (*pace* 'Ubayd Allāh) the disgraced Eutyches, and condemned and exiled Dioscorus at Chalcedon for disloyalty to Constantinopolitan patriarchy.

25 The identification of Eutyches, who was neither a physician nor a philosopher, and John Philoponus is puzzling. The explanation of Eutyches' name in Arabic was of course obvious to Abū Sa'īd 'Ubayd Allāh; and though he would not have approved of Eutyches' monophysite inclination, this may have been the basis for the assumed identity with Philoponus.

26 Marcian's successor on the throne of Constantinople was actually Leo I (r. 457–474). 'Ubayd Allāh may be referring in his confusion to the later emperor Anastasius (who was sympathetic to monophysite tendencies and appointed Severus to Antioch) or the earlier Arcadius (*kāf* and *tā*) may be confused by scribes, as also *dāl* and *rā*, giving أسطیریوس for an assumed أركیدیوس). In any case the events related refer to Marcian's predecessor, Theodosius II, and the temporary restoration of Eutyches at the Council of Ephesus, as explained above.

27 Archbishop of Constantinople, 446–449.

should be most grateful, Sire, if you would convene another council to review the matter.' 'I shall be happy to do so, if God, exalted is He, so wills,' replied the Emperor.

The Emperor was as good as his word. He wrote to Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, and to John, the Patriarch of Antioch, ordering them to come to Constantinople. Dioscorus obeyed, with thirteen bishops in his train, but the Patriarch of Antioch procrastinated and in the end did not appear.²⁸ The Emperor therefore instructed Dioscorus to examine Eutyches' case and withdraw the pronouncement of anathema unconditionally. 'If you withdraw the pronouncement of anathema,' said the Emperor to him menacingly, 'I shall reward you generously and abundantly, and if you do not I shall have you put to death painfully.' The Patriarch, having decided that being rewarded was preferable to being put to death, convened a conclave consisting of himself and his thirteen bishops, together with the other prelates who had accompanied them. Taking a lenient view of the matter, they declared the pronouncement of anathema withdrawn. At that, the bishop of Dorylaeum and his colleagues walked out and left Constantinople.²⁹ They had created confusion in the matter of Church doctrine, and it was for that reason that Dioscorus had taken such a favourable view of Eutyches' case. Eutyches, as we have seen, came to be known as John the Grammarian. He remained a staunch Jacobite to the day of his death, who never accepted Melkite³⁰ doctrine.

[6.2]

John the Grammarian was the author of the following works:³¹

1. Commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* (*Tafsīr K. qāṭīghūriyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).
2. Commentary on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* (*Tafsīr K. anūlīṭīqā l-ūlā li-Aristūṭālīs*); John's commentary extends only as far as the discussion of the syllogistic figures.
3. Commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* (*Tafsīr K. anūlīṭīqā l-thāniyah li-Aristūṭālīs*).

28 John of Antioch died 441. His delaying is a reference to his involvement with the Council of Ephesus in 431.

29 Eusebius, having been deposed, took shelter in Rome, soon to return under the new regime and to achieve the removal of Eutyches himself.

30 I.e. the Chalcedonian doctrine practised by eastern supporters of the Byzantine emperor.

31 For bibliographical information on John the Grammarian/Yahyā al-Nahwī, see Sezgin, *GAS* 111, 157 ff.; Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 89 ff. For Philoponus' works in the Arabic biographical sources, see *EI*² art. 'Yahyā al-Nahwī' (R. Wisnovsky). IAU may still be drawing on

4. Commentary on Aristotle's *Topics* (*Tafsīr K. tūbīqā li-Aristūṭālīs*).
5. Commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (*Tafsīr K. al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī li-Aristūṭālīs*).
6. Commentary on Aristotle's *On Generation and Corruption* (*Tafsīr K. al-kawn wa-l-fasād li-Aristū*).
7. Commentary on Aristotle's *Problems* (*Tafsīr K. mā bāl li-Aristū*).³²
8. Commentary on Galen's *The Sects* (*Tafsīr K. al-fīraq li-Jālīnūs*).³³
9. Commentary on Galen's *The Small Art* (*Tafsīr K. al-ṣinā'ah al-ṣaghīrah li-Jālīnūs*).³⁴
10. Commentary on Galen's *Small Book of the Pulse* (*Tafsīr K. al-nabd al-ṣaghīr li-Jālīnūs*).³⁵
11. Commentary on Galen's *To Glaucon* (*Tafsīr K. Ighlawqun li-Jālīnūs*).³⁶
12. Commentary on Galen's *Elements* (*Tafsīr K. al-uṣṭuquṣāt li-Jālīnūs*).³⁷
13. Commentary on Galen's *Mixtures* (*Tafsīr K. al-mizāj li-Jālīnūs*).³⁸
14. Commentary on Galen's *Natural Faculties* (*Tafsīr K. al-quwā l-ṭabī'īyah li-Jālīnūs*).³⁹
15. Commentary on Galen's *Small Book of Anatomy* (*Tafsīr K. al-tashrīḥ al-ṣaghīr li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁰

ʿUbayd Allāh here, since the list is different from those in our other sources, though he may have extracted information on the Aristotle commentaries from the listings in Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:161–163, 166, 169). Ibn al-Nadīm promises (*Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:180) but does not in fact list John's commentaries on Galen. The books of John's refutations (titles 27–32) could also be drawn from the *Fihrist*; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:179–180, omitting the work that is a commentary on rather than a refutation of *Problems* (for which see title 7 here). IAU seems to have coordinated the order and wording of titles 8–23 with that of the main books studied by pupils in the seven stages of the study of Galen as outlined below from Ibn Riḍwān (title 24 is filed by Ibn Riḍwān as subordinate to *Natural Faculties*, titles 25–26 are not mentioned). Note the omission of John's *Ta'rikh* (so also *Fihrist*; cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:269) and his commentary on *De antidotis* (Ch. 5.1.4 with n. 10).

- 32 For the title, cf. Greek δὲ τῆ, and see Ullmann, *Medizin*, p. 93, Iskandar, *Descriptive List*, 53.
- 33 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 4; title no. 3 in the list of Galen's works at Ch. 5.1.37.
- 34 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 7; title no. 4 in the list of Galen's works.
- 35 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no., *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 61; title no. 5 in the list of Galen's works.
- 36 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no., *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 70; title no. 6 in the list of Galen's works.
- 37 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no., *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 8; title no. 11 in the list of Galen's works.
- 38 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 9; title no. 12 in the list of Galen's works.
- 39 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 10; title no. 13 in the list of Galen's works.
- 40 The *Small Book of Anatomy* is the compilation made in late antiquity called *On Anatomy, To Beginners*, which combined five introductory Galenic volumes in one; cf. title no. 8 in

16. Commentary on Galen's *Causes and Symptoms* (*Tafsīr K. al-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ li-Jālīnūs*).⁴¹
17. Commentary on Galen's *Classification of the Diseases of the Internal Parts* (*Tafsīr K. taʿrūf ʿilal al-aʿḍāʾ al-bāṭinah li-Jālīnūs*).⁴²
18. Commentary on Galen's *Great Book of the Pulse* (*Tafsīr K. al-nabḍ al-kabīr li-Jālīnūs*).⁴³
19. Commentary on Galen's *Fevers* (*Tafsīr K. al-ḥummayāt li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁴
20. Commentary on Galen's *Crises* (*Tafsīr K. al-buḥrān li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁵
21. Commentary on Galen's *Critical Days* (*Tafsīr K. ayyām al-buḥrān li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁶
22. Commentary on Galen's *Method of Healing* (*Tafsīr K. ḥūlat al-burʾ li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁷
23. Commentary on Galen's *Regimen for Healthy People* (*Tafsīr K. tadbīr al-aṣiḥḥāʾ li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁸
24. Commentary on Galen's *Uses of the Parts* (*Tafsīr K. manāfiʿ al-aʿḍāʾ li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁹
25. Summary of Galen's *On Theriac* (*Jawāmiʿ K. al-tiryāq li-Jālīnūs*).⁵⁰
26. Summary of Galen's *Phlebotomy* (*Jawāmiʿ K. al-faṣḍ li-Jālīnūs*).⁵¹
27. Refutation of Proclus in eighteen treatises (*al-radd ʿalā Buruqlus, thamānī ʿashrata maqālah*).⁵²
28. On the proposition that every body is finite and its force also finite, in one volume (*K. fī anna kull jism mutanāhⁱⁿ wa-quwwatuhū mutanāhiyah, maqālah*).
29. Refutation of Aristotle, in six volumes (*al-radd ʿalā Aristūṭālīs, sitt maqālat*).
30. Treatise on the refutation of Nestorius (*M. fī l-radd ʿalā Niṣṭūrus*).
31. On the refutation of people who do not know, in two volumes (*K. yuradd fīhi ʿalā qawm la yaʿrifūna, maqālatān*).

the list of Galenic works. Galen's major work called *Anatomical Procedures* was sometimes known in contrast as the *Great Book of Anatomy* (*K. al-tashriḥ al-kabīr*).

41 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 45; title no. 14 in the list of Galen's works.

42 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 60; title no. 15 in the list of Galen's works.

43 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 62–65; title no. 16 in the list of Galen's works.

44 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 48; title no. 17 in the list of Galen's works.

45 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 67; title no. 18 in the list of Galen's works.

46 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 68; title no. 19 in the list of Galen's works.

47 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 69; title no. 20 in the list of Galen's works.

48 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 37; title no. 84 (cf. 85) in the list of Galen's works.

49 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 17, 18; title no. 49 in the list of Galen's works.

50 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 84; title no. 83 (cf. 82) in the list of Galen's works.

51 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 71, 72, 73; title no. 71 in the list of Galen's works.

52 Presumably the same work as title 34 (see next note).

32. another volume on the refutation of another category of people (*M. ukhrā yuradd fihā 'alā qawm ukhar*).
33. On the pulse (*M. fi l-nabḍ*).
34. Rebuttal (*naqḍuhu*) of the Eighteen Questions of the Diadochus,⁵³ son of Mulus, the Platonist.
35. Commentary on Porphyry's *Isagōgē*.

[6.3.1]

The following account is from the *Useful Book on How to Study the Art of Medicine*,⁵⁴ by Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Riḍwān.⁵⁵

The reason why, out of all Galen's works, the Alexandrians used only the Sixteen Books for teaching purposes was that any student who applied himself to those books, if he was genuinely talented, truly interested in the subject, and ambitious, would be so inspired by the evidence of Galen's mastery of the field of medicine as he found it in them that he would study the rest of Galen's works of his own accord.

There were seven successive levels in the Alexandrians' employment of the Sixteen Books.⁵⁶

53 Ms R *l-dīrūkhūs* represents the closest to the true form, to which we correct the text (*l-dīdūkhūs* or *l-diyadūkhūs*); the letters *rā'* and *dāl* are often confused and Steinschneider pointed out long ago (cf. Müller, 'Lesarten', 16) that this is διαδοχος ('successor') with reference to the Neoplatonist philosopher, Proclus (Arabic *Buruqlūs*), who was official Successor in the school of Athens ca. 438–485. His father was Patricius and 'Mulus' cannot be explained. The 18 questions were his arguments for the eternity of the world, which John Philoponus set out to refute, thereby preserving them following the loss of Proclus' original: see n. 17 above.

54 We cite Chester Beatty MS No. 4025 rather than Ibn Riḍwān, *Kitāb al-Nāfi'* (Sāmarrā'i), which contains errors.

55 Ibn Riḍwān died 460/1068. He was an Egyptian physician at the court of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir, well known for his vituperative correspondence with Ibn Buṭlān (Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*). See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 158–159. (For his biography, see Ch. 14.25). The material that follows is from ch. 8, pp. 8–12, of the Chester Beatty MS. The relationship between the text preserved in the MS and IAU's own is not clear. IAU begins by paraphrasing but is relatively close to the MS from 'At this level, only four of the books were used' to 'the approach adopted by the Alexandrians was well calculated'. However he shows omissions and additions, and it may be that the Chester Beatty represents a slightly different recension of a work that is of considerable importance for its personal details and reports of teaching practices in Fatimid Cairo.

56 Bibliographical information: for the main works studied by students at the various stages, see titles 8–23 of the Galenic works commented on by John the Grammarian, in the same ordering and wording. For other titles mentioned by Ibn Riḍwān, bibliographical information is given as necessary.

For the first level, they would use the books as an introduction to the art of medicine. Following attainment of that level, the novice would be ready to perform simple medical procedures. If he had the time and was sufficiently motivated, he could pursue his studies further. Even if he did not, he could hardly fail to be aware of the advantages he had in terms of treating diseases.⁵⁷ At this level, only four of the books were used. The first of these was *The Sects*, a single volume, which sets forth the principles governing treatment followed by the Empiricists and those followed by the Dogmatists. After all, people learn about all matters relating to the various arts either from experience or reason. Where the outcome of those approaches is the same, the answer must be correct; where the outcome is not the same, further investigation is required. Dogmatists and Empiricists will apply their respective methods to that end.

The second of the Sixteen Books used at the first level was *The Small Art*, a single volume setting forth the whole art of medicine, in theory and in practice, in summary form.

The third book was the *Small Book of the Pulse*, again a single volume, setting forth all the useful information that the student could obtain about various diseases by taking the patient's pulse.

The fourth was the work entitled *To Glaucon*, consisting of two volumes, setting forth instructions on how to proceed in curing diseases.

Every fledgling physician performing simple procedures must necessarily possess some knowledge of the potential actions of the foods and medications that he needs, and must be able to perform such procedures with his own hands. Accordingly, it is incumbent upon him to look into such of the works listed at the end of Galen's *Small Art*, or else acquire the knowledge from his teachers and through his own observation.

These four books comprising the first level, then, provided an adequate instruction in the art of medicine for the student. For the expert physician, on the other hand, they were a repository of information that he could consult to refresh his knowledge of that art.

57 Ibn Riḍwān (p. 8a of the Chester Beatty MS) adds 'and if he was poor, he would have the opportunity to meet his need of money by practising according to the understanding he has derived from these materials', referring perhaps to the work of cuppers, oculists, suturers, and cutters, whom he considers the less able practitioners of medicine in his *K. Sharaf al-Ṭibb* (MS Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa 691, fol. 117a).

At the second level, again, four of Galen's Sixteen Books were used. The first of these was *Elements*, a single volume, which explains that the human body and everything within it that it requires are subject to sudden change and alteration. This is an observation that is applicable to the primary elements of the body, that is, the homoeomerous parts: the bones, the nerves, the arteries and veins, the membranes, the flesh, the fat, and so on.⁵⁸ The elements of these limbs and parts are the humours: blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm. The elements of the humours, for their part, are fire, air, water and earth, for all matter consists originally of them and ultimately disintegrates back into them. These elements are subject to change and alteration. *Elements* is the ideal introduction to the art of medicine for one who seeks to perfect his instruction in the art.

The second of these four books was *Mixtures*, in three volumes, setting forth descriptions of the several kinds of mixtures, what each of them consists of, and how each of them can be identified when it is encountered.

The third of the four is *Natural Faculties*, also in three volumes, providing information about the faculties that regulate the nature of the body and their causes, together with the signs by which they may be known.

The fourth book is the *Small Book of Anatomy*, in five volumes. Galen had originally composed these as separate works, but the Alexandrians combined them into a single one. This book sets forth descriptions of the homoeomerous parts of the body, their number, and all their requirements.

These works that were used at the second level contain information about the natural factors by which the body subsists. Every keen student who reads them will undoubtedly want to study all other works relating to the nature of the human body.

From *On Mixtures* the student may go on to study Galen's treatises on *Bodily Vigour*,⁵⁹ *The Best Constitution*,⁶⁰ and *Uneven Bad Mixture*,⁶¹ his *On Simple Drugs*,⁶² and similar works.

58 For 'homoeomerous', see n. 261 to Ch. 5.1.37.

59 *M. fi kḥiṣb al-badan* (*De bono habitu*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 26, title no. 51 in the list of Galen's works at Ch. 5.1.37.

60 *M. fi l-hay'ah al-fāḍilah* (*De optima corporis nostri constitutione*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 25, title no. 50 in the list of Galen's works (under the alternative title, *M. fi afdal hay'at al-badan*).

61 *M. fi sū' al-mizāj al-mukhtalif* (*De inaequali intemperie*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 58, title no. 52 in the list of Galen's works.

Natural Faculties, for its part, will stimulate the student to look at *Sperm*,⁶³ *Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato*,⁶⁴ *Uses of the Parts*,⁶⁵ and Galen's other works on faculties, (types of) *pneuma*, and functions.

The *Small Book of Anatomy* will encourage the student to study *Anatomical Procedures* and the like.

[6.3.3]

At the third level, only a single work was used: *Causes and Symptoms*, consisting of six treatises. Galen had originally composed those treatises as separate works, but the Alexandrians combined them into a single book. It explains diseases, their causes, and the symptoms characteristic of various disorders. This is an immensely informative work on the art of medicine in accordance with the Dogmatic doctrine. It is indispensable, and anyone who has mastered its contents and understood it is familiar with every aspect of that art.

At the fourth level, two works were used. The first of these was the *Classification of the Diseases of the Internal Parts*, in six volumes, which explains the various disorders affecting the parts inside the body. Such disorders are not perceptible to the sight, being concealed from view, they can be detected only by symptoms, each of which must be assessed by the physician. Where these are present, he can be certain that a particular part is harbouring a specific disorder. Pleurisy, by way of illustration, is a hot swelling affecting the pleura, the membrane underlying the ribs. The symptoms that can be assessed are shortness of breath, stabbing pain, fever, and cough. Where all these are present, the physician may conclude that there is a hot swelling affecting the pleura.

Galen never composed a work on disorders affecting external parts of the body, for the simple reason that such disorders are plainly visible. The fledgling physician can thus diagnose them through observation in the presence of his masters.

62 *K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah (De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus)*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 78–79, title no. 53 in the list of Galen's works.

63 *K. fi-l-manī (De Semine)*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 22, title no. 62 in the list of Galen's works.

64 *K. fi ārā' Abuqrāt wa-Aflātūn (De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis)*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 33, title no. 46 in the list of Galen's works.

65 *K. fi manāfi' al-a'ḍā' (De usu partium)*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 17–18, title no. 49 in the list of Galen's works.

The second of the Sixteen Books that was used at the fourth level was the *Great Book of the Pulse*. This work is divided into four parts, each of them consisting of four volumes. Part one sets forth information about the various kinds of pulse, with detailed descriptions of each kind. Part two explains how to identify the several kinds, part three provides information about the causes of each, and part four describes the utility of each. This is a highly useful means of identifying disorders and discovering whether the patient's body has sufficient strength to withstand his particular disorder.

At the fifth level, three works were used. The first of these was *Fevers*, in two volumes. From this work, the student acquired knowledge of the natures of the several types of fevers and the symptoms characteristic of each type.

The second work used at this level was *Crises*, in three volumes. From it the student learned about the times of diseases, and was thus enabled to administer treatment that was appropriate at every time. He also learned to recognize, for every disorder, the tendency of the patient's condition, that is, whether he was likely to recover or not, and how and through what means. The third work was *Critical Days*, also in three volumes. From this work, the student acquired knowledge of the times of the crisis, the days on which it would occur, and its causes and symptoms.

[6.3.4]

At the sixth level, a single work was used, *Method of Healing*, in fourteen volumes, which set forth the rules governing the treatment of every disorder in accordance with the Dogmatic doctrine. Every student who immersed himself in this work would inevitably go on to read *Simple Drugs* and Galen's works on compound drugs, i.e. the *Qāṭājānis*,⁶⁶ the *Mayāmir*,⁶⁷ *Medicinal Pastes*,⁶⁸ and so on.

At the seventh level, again, only a single work was used, *Regimen for Healthy People*, in six volumes, which explains how the health of every human body can be maintained. Every student of this work will inev-

66 *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, named after part of the Greek title (κατὰ γένος). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 82, title no. 79 in the list of Galen's works.

67 *De compositione medicamentorum per locos*, known by its Syriac name. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 81, title no. 79 in the list of Galen's works.

68 Probably *De antidotis*, which covers 'theriac ... all other medicinal pastes' (Ch. 5.1.37, title no. 81).

itably go on to read *Foods, Good and Bad Juices*,⁶⁹ *The Thinning Diet*,⁷⁰ *Requirements for Exercise*,⁷¹ a subject which is also addressed in Galen's work *Exercise with a Small Ball*,⁷² and similar works.

It is clear, then, that while the Alexandrians relied exclusively on the Sixteen Books in teaching the art of medicine, these books would lead the student on to read all of Galen's works, which encompass that art in its entirety. *The Organ of Smell*,⁷³ for instance, is relevant for study at the second level, and so is *Causes of Breathing*,⁷⁴ while *Poor Breathing*,⁷⁵ *The Use of Breathing*,⁷⁶ *The Use of the Pulse*,⁷⁷ *Movement of the Chest and Lungs*,⁷⁸ *The Voice*,⁷⁹ *Problematical Movements*,⁸⁰ *Periods of Fevers*,⁸¹ *Times in Diseases*,⁸² and Galen's various other books, treatises and epistles, every one of which is relevant for one or more of the seven levels of instruction and consequently must be perused by the student.

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- 69 *K. fī jūdāt al-kaymūs wa-radā'atihī* (*De bonis malisque sucis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 39; title no. 76 in the list of Galen's works.
- 70 *K. fī l-tadbīr al-mulattīf* (*De victu attenuante*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 349; title no. 75 in the list of Galen's works.
- 71 *K. fī sharā'it al-riyāḍah* (*Thrasymbulus*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 34; title no. 85 in the list of Galen's works.
- 72 *K. fī l-riyāḍah bi-l-kurah al-ṣaghīrah* (*De parvae pilae exercitio*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 35; title no. 86 in the list of Galen's works.
- 73 *K. fī ālat al-shamm* (*De instrumento odoratus*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 15; title no. 48 in the list of Galen's works.
- 74 *K. 'ilal al-tanaffūs* (*De causis respirationis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 20; title no. 37 in the list of Galen's works.
- 75 *K. fī sū' al-tanaffūs* (*De difficultate respirationis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 59; title no. 68 in the list of Galen's works.
- 76 *K. fī manfa'at al-tanaffūs* (*De utilitate respirationis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 21; title no. 42 in the list of Galen's works.
- 77 *K. fī manfa'at al-nabḍ* (*De usu pulsuum*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 32; title no. 41 in the list of Galen's works.
- 78 *K. fī ḥarakat al-ṣadr wa-l-ri'ah* (*De motu thoracis et pulmonis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 280; title no. 36 in the list of Galen's works.
- 79 *K. fī l-ṣawt* (*De voce*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 358; title no. 38 in the list of Galen's works. Ibn Riḍwān adds here: *'Movement of the Muscles'* (*K. fī ḥarakat al-'aḍal; De motu musculorum*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 9, title no. 39 in the list of Galen's works).
- 80 *K. fī l-ḥarakāt al-mu'tāṣah* (*De motibus dubiis*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 279; title no. 47 in the list of Galen's works.
- 81 *K. fī adwār al-ḥummayāt* (*Adversus eos qui de typis scripserunt*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 52; title no. 65 in the list of Galen's works.
- 82 *K. fī awqāt al-amrāḍ* (*De morborum temporibus*). Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 49; title no. 55 in the list of Galen's works.

It is thus clear that the approach adopted by the Alexandrians was well calculated to motivate learners, stimulate their interest in the art of medicine, and impel them to study all of Galen's works.

[6.4]

The following is from the *Key to Medicine and Guide for Students*,⁸³ by Abū l-Faraj Ibn Hindū.⁸⁴

The Alexandrians selected these works by Galen and made summaries of them, alleging that those would serve satisfactorily instead of the full texts and saved one from the inconvenience of material that was repetitive or superfluous.

Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Khammār,⁸⁵ who was Ibn Hindū's teacher, commented as follows:

'I consider that the Alexandrians fell short of the goal to which they had aspired, inasmuch as they neglected material on foods, airs, and medicines. Furthermore, their order of progression was defective, for Galen himself began with the subject of anatomy and went on from there to discuss properties and functions before proceeding to the elements.'
(Continuing the words of Abū l-Faraj) I myself consider that the reason why the Alexandrians limited their curriculum to Galen's Sixteen Books was not that they regarded their content as sufficient for an understanding of the art of medicine and an adequate means to that end but rather because those books require a teacher and commentator. No student could possibly grasp their finer points and underlying meanings if he did not have the benefit of interaction with his master, including discussion, repetition and investigation.

To be sure, every physician must be familiar with the works mentioned by my learned master, Abū l-Khayr ibn al-Khammār, in addition to those listed above. However, he will be able to understand them and master

83 *Miftāḥ al-ṭibb wa-minhāj al-ṭullāb* ch. 9, see Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Mohaghegh), 63–65; Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 41–42. The direct quotation runs from 'alleging that' to 'is accounted folly'. IAU's text is virtually identical with that transmitted.

84 A native of Rayy, near the modern Tehran. He flourished in the second half of the 4th/5th cent. Ibn Hindū was a well-known medical scholar and a skilful calligrapher and poet, and was also a secretary of the chancery in the administration of the Buwayhid prince 'Aḍud al-Dawlah. See further Tibi's introduction, and *EI Three* art. 'Ibn Hindū' (H. Biesterfeldt). His biography will be found at Ch. 11.9.

85 Ibn al-Khammār's biography will be found at Ch. 11.8. See *EI Three* art. 'Ibn al-Khammār' (O.L. Lizzini).

their contents unaided, owing to his knowledge of the Sixteen Books, which will serve as a foundation on which to build and a ladder by which to ascend to the others. And should you ask me about the Alexandrians' reasons for teaching the Sixteen Books in a particular order, I answer that in some cases a work was given priority because of its inherent value, such as *The Sects*, which was placed ahead of the others because it served to dispel from the student's mind any doubts about the fallacies of the Empiricists and the Methodists while simultaneously showing him the truth of the Dogmatist doctrine and explaining why he should follow that doctrine. Similarly, *The Small Art of Medicine* contains the essential sparks of the medical art, and consequently it was rightly placed after *The Sects* and made an introduction to that art.

In some cases, the Alexandrians placed the works where they did in the curriculum because they were closely related to other works. *The Small Book of the Pulse*, for example, came after *The Small Art of Medicine* because Galen discusses the pulse in that work as well, in the passage dealing with the temperament of the heart.⁸⁶ But it also had to come before Galen's *To Glaucōn* because here in his discussion of fevers the pulse is the primary indicator of the topic of fevers.⁸⁷

On the other hand, the order of works which my learned master Abū l-Khayr says was originally indicated by Galen is, by my life, the order appropriate to the art itself, for every man who sets out to master an art must proceed by degrees from what is evident to what is recondite, and from final outcomes to first principles. Now, anatomy is knowledge of the body and its parts, and while those are what first strike our attention when we observe a human being, they are the last stage of Nature's work. Nature begins with elements, which she mixes into humours; only then does she fashion faculties and limbs. In seeking to learn about the art of medicine, we ought to retrace Nature's course in reverse. In practice, we do not follow this procedure as we should do, but rather settle for the programme of study laid down by the Alexandrians. After all, the student acquires knowledge in any case, and to disregard the consensus of the sages of antiquity is accounted folly.

86 Cf. *Ars medica* 10–11, pp. 301–309 ed. Boudon, *Galen, Exhortation*, on the *krāsis* or 'mixture' (*mizāj*) of the heart.

87 The pulse is one of a number of factors for determining fever in the *To Glaucōn*; Ibn Hindū may be thinking of a case like that of the young man detailed at xi.28 Kühn ('an extremely clear sign of the fever ... in the pulse, etc.').

[6.5.1]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that the Alexandrians produced numerous summaries of philosophical and medical science, including in particular summaries of Galen’s works and their commentaries on the works of Hippocrates.

The ranks of the Christian and other physicians who were contemporaries of these Alexandrians or lived not long after them include⁸⁸ the monk Simeon of Taybūthā and Ahrun the Priest, the author of a *Compendium*, which he composed in Syriac and which was translated into Arabic by Māsarjīs.⁸⁹ The original work comprised thirty volumes, to which Māsarjīs added two more of his own composition.

Another was Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn,⁹⁰ who composed all his works in Syriac. His father, Sarābiyūn, was a physician from the people of Beth Garmai.⁹¹ He and his wife produced two distinguished physicians, Yūḥannā and Dāwūd. Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn was the author of:

1. the *Large Compendium*, in twelve volumes;
2. the better-known *Small Compendium*, in seven volumes. This was translated by the secretary al-Ḥadīthī⁹² in the year 318 (= AH 930), the translation having been commissioned by the physician, Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Nafīs.⁹³ A less readable Arabic version of the same work was made by

88 For the following names, note IAU’s comment at the end of this chapter about his use of al-Rāzī.

89 A brief notice on the shadowy Māsarjīs (also known as Māsarjawayh) will be found in Ch. 9. He is there said to have been ‘A translator from Syriac into Arabic, and renowned for his knowledge of the art of medicine’; two titles are given; his dates are unknown (?7th/8th cent.; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 206–207, Ullmann, *Medizin* 23–24). Nothing certain is known about Ahrun (?first half of the 7th cent. at Alexandria): Ullmann, *Medizin*, 87–89. For Simeon (end of the 8th cent.), see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 100–101, 324.

90 For bibliographic information about the Syriac physician Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 240, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 102–103, Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 35, Pormann, ‘Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn’. His ‘brother’ Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn was one of the caliph al-Ḥādī’s personal physicians; see the biography of Bukhtīshū’ ibn Jūrjis (Ch. 8.2). However, Yūḥannā lived in the 9th cent., Dāwūd in the 8th: Ullmann, ‘Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn’, 279.

91 Beth Garmai (Arabic *Bājarmā*) is a region around the city of Kirkuk in what is now northern Iraq.

92 Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥadīthī: Pormann, ‘Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn’, 240.

93 Abū l-Ḥasan Ibn Nafīs (fl. 3rd/9th cent.) was a Christian physician from Baghdad, teacher of Ibrāhīm ibn Baks (brief listing at Ch. 9.37); see ‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt*, 2:619.

al-Ḥasan ibn al-Bahlūl al-Awānī l-Ṭīrhānī,⁹⁴ and another was made by Abū l-Biṣhr Mattā.⁹⁵

[6.5.2]

Other physicians of that period included Antyllus,⁹⁶ *Barṭalāwus*,⁹⁷ *Sindh-shār*,⁹⁸ *al-Quhlumān*,⁹⁹ the monk Abū Jurayj,¹⁰⁰ *Awwarās*,¹⁰¹ *Būniyūs* of Beirut, *Sīyūrikhanā*,¹⁰² Philagrius,¹⁰³ and ʿĪsā ibn Quṣṭanṭīn, surnamed Abū Mūsā, who was a distinguished physician and the author of:

1. *On Simple Drugs* and
2. *Causes and Treatment of Haemorrhoids*.¹⁰⁴

The list also includes *Arus*¹⁰⁵ and Sergius of Ra's al-ʿAyn, who was reputedly the first to produce Syriac translations of works of the Greeks. He was an eminent scholar, and was the author of numerous works on medicine and philosophy.¹⁰⁶

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- 94 The famous Bar Bahlūl from Awana in the diocese of Tirhan, the author of the great Syriac lexicon (ed. Duval) and translator of Theophrastus' *Meteorology* from Syriac to Arabic (Daiber, *'Meteorology'*). The translation of Ibn Sarābiyūn appears to be extant: see Porrmann, 'Yuḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn'.
- 95 A 4th/10th cent. Nestorian Christian translator of and commentator on Aristotle. Among other works he translated the *Poetics*. See *Et²* art. 'Mattā b. Yūnus' (G. Endress).
- 96 The Greek physician Antyllus (cf. Ullmann, *Medizin*, 78) lived in the 2nd cent.
- 97 Unidentified: the underlying Greek form could be Πρωτόλαος (or Πειθόλαος/Πυθόλαος/Πυθίλαος); he is quoted in the *Hāwī*.
- 98 Unidentified; often quoted in the *Hāwī*, where he is once called al-Hindī (al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī* (Beirut), 6:78).
- 99 Unidentified; often quoted in the *Hāwī* and other sources under this name or ?Qulhumān: Ullmann, *Medizin*, 107. Meyerhof was right, *pace* Ullmann, to allege an Indian origin: cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Jam' al-jawāhir*, 89 where al-Qulhumān is 'one of the sages of India and the philosopher among their physicians' in a conversation about medicine with a king called Yākahthar ibn Shabrām(?).
- 100 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 91–92.
- 101 For unconvincing suggestions, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 150–151 s.v. 'Aretaios'.
- 102 Unidentifiable. The Arabic letters perhaps hide a Greek name beginning with *peri*-.
- 103 For Philagrius, see Ch. 5.2.2, cf. Ch. 3.6.
- 104 There is a brief entry for this physician at Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 247.
- 105 Unidentifiable. Perhaps Arius.
- 106 Sergius of Rēsh 'Aynā (d. 536), as he is normally known in English, was the most important translator of Greek medical works into Syriac. For an account of his life and works, see Porrmann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 18–19. He is mentioned several times in the biography of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq in Ch. 8.29. There is a brief and somewhat unflattering notice on Sergius at Ch. 9.24 ('some of his works were revised by Ḥunayn, and those are excellent, whereas those works that Ḥunayn did not revise are of indifferent quality').

Lastly, there were Aetius of Amida,¹⁰⁷ who composed the compendium known as *Baḳūqūyā*, and Gregory, who was also the author of a compendium.¹⁰⁸

Most of the works of these scholars are extant. Extensive passages from them are reproduced in the great compendium entitled *al-Ḥāwī*, by al-Rāzī.

107 Aetius of Amida, author of a medical encyclopaedia (the *Iatrika*) in the Justinianic period (ca. 530–560) in 16 books, called the *Tetrabiblon* from its arrangement. He was not well known in the Arabic world: Ullmann, *Medizin*, 84–85. *Baḳūqūyā* is obscure.

108 The reference is to *On the Nature of Man* by Nemesius of Emesa, a work of great influence in the middle ages. It contains a good deal of medical material, and was often known as the *K. al-abwāb* in Arabic. The eastern tradition, and some Greek MSS too, attributed it to the 4th cent. Greek churchman, Gregory of Nyssa, who was well known in Syriac and Arabic translation (cf. Graf, *Geschichte*, i:330).

Arab and Other Physicians of the Earliest Islamic Period¹

Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter and Ignacio Sánchez

7.1 al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah al-Thaqafī²

[7.1.1]

His full name was al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Ilāj al-Thaqafī. The tribe Thaqif was among the remnants of ‘Ād. Al-Ḥārith came originally from al-Ṭā’if, but he travelled to various countries, and he learned³ the art of medicine in Persia and from the people of Gondēshāpūr, where he practised for a time; he was familiar with diseases and remedies. Partly there in Persia, and partly in Yemen, he learned the art of playing the lute as well. He lived through the times of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mu‘āwiyah.

While he was in Persia he practised as a physician. The people there relied on him, and he became known far and wide among them as a man of great skill and learning. Once, when he had successfully treated a prominent dignitary, the grateful patient gave him money and a slave-girl whom al-Ḥārith named Sumayyah. Some time thereafter, al-Ḥārith became homesick for his

1 This chapter occurs in all three versions of the *Uyūn*.

2 I.e., of the tribe Thaqif. For them, see *EI*² art. ‘Thaqif’ (M. Lecker). We are told that in pre-Islamic times they controlled the town of al-Ṭā’if, some 65 km east of Mecca in modern Saudi Arabia, and many of their descendants live there to this day. For the shadowy ancient nation of ‘Ād, mentioned numerous times in the Qur’an, see *EI*² art. ‘Ād’ (F. Buhl). For bibliographic references to al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 19–20; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 203–204; Hawting, ‘Biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada’; *EI*² art. ‘al-Ḥārith b. Kalada’ (Ch. Pellat); *EI* *Three* art. ‘al-Ḥārith b. Kalada’ (B. Inksetter). The accounts of al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah were elaborated over time to the point where they include conflicting elements that make it difficult to assess the historical figure. He is said to have studied medicine at Gondēshāpūr in Persia, to have held learned discussions with the Persian ruler Khusraw Anūshirwān (d. 579) and to have been consulted during the final illnesses of the last two of the Orthodox caliphs nearly a hundred years later.

3 Here IAU begins his quotation from Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 54, supplemented by some other information.

native land and returned to al-Ṭā'if, where he became renowned among the Arabs for his medical skill, with patients flocking in large numbers to consult him.

Sumayyah, his slave-girl, was the mother of Ziyād ibn Abīhi,⁴ whom Mu'āwiyah recognized as being the son of his own father, Abū Sufyān.⁵ Abū Sufyān was said to have committed fornication with Sumayyah in al-Ṭā'if, as a result of which she became pregnant with Ziyād. She had borne two sons previously, Abū Bakrah and his brother Nāfi', both of whom were known by the patronymic 'ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah'; they themselves always maintained that al-Ḥārith had begotten them on his *mawlāh*,⁶ Sumayyah.⁷

Al-Ḥārith was born in the *Jāhilīyyah*, the 'time of ignorance' before the advent of Islam, and became a Muslim. The Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, used to advise anyone who was ill to seek treatment from him. He lived through the times of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Mu'āwiyah. According to Ibn Juljul,⁸ Mu'āwiyah once asked him, 'What do we mean by "medicine", O Ḥārith?' to which al-Ḥārith answered, '*Al-azm*,' an old word meaning 'hunger'.

Al-Jawharī, in his work entitled *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*,⁹ defines *azm* as 'to refrain or abstain from', while according to Abū Zayd,¹⁰ *āzim* means 'one who keeps his mouth tightly closed'. There is a Tradition that the caliph 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, asked al-Ḥārith what 'remedy' meant, and that he again replied, '*Al-azm*,' meaning 'diet'. He calls al-Ḥārith 'the physician of the Arabs'.

4 Ziyād ibn Abīhi or Ziyād ibn Abī Sufyān became the governor of Iraq and the eastern provinces under the Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiyah. See *EI*² art. 'Ziyād ibn Abīhi' (I. Hasson). The point of 'son of his own father' is that he was not born in Abū Sufyān's house, not that he was the result of illicit sex, and thus might not have been Abū Sufyān's son.

5 Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah (d. 32–34/653–655), the father of the caliph Mu'āwiyah. See *EI Three* art. 'Abū Sufyān' (K.M.G. Keshk).

6 Former slave who has been manumitted.

7 Several variants of this account will be found in *EI*² art. 'al-Ḥārith b. Kalada' (Ch. Pellat). But cf. Hawting, *Biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada*, 131–132: two different women named Sumayyah were related to al-Ḥārith.

8 *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 54. This is the end of the passage beginning above.

9 Al-Jawharī (d. 393/1002 or 398/1007) was a celebrated lexicographer of Turkish origin. His *Tāj al-lughah wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabiyyah* (*The Correct [Forms] in Language*) is one of the great dictionaries of classical Arabic. See *EI*² art. 'al-Djawharī' (L. Kopf). The paragraph is drawn from the lemma *a-z-m*, cf. al-Jawharī, *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* 6:1861.

10 Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, a 3rd/9th cent. grammarian and lexicographer, author of *al-Nawādir fi l-lughah*. See *EI*² art. 'Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī' (C. Brockelmann).

It is recorded from Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās,¹¹ may God be pleased with him, how, when he once fell ill in Mecca, the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, came to visit him and said to the attendants, 'Send for al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah, for he is a man who knows medicine.' Al-Ḥārith came to see the sick man, and after examining him, he said, 'There is nothing much wrong with him. I recommend some boiled soup with a little date paste and fenugreek in it.' Sa'd drank the soup and soon recovered.

[7.1.2]

Al-Ḥārith knew of many types of treatment and was familiar with the customary practices and requirements of the Arabs in treating diseases. He could discourse eloquently on the art of medicine and other matters, as may be seen from an account of a visit that he undertook to the court of Kisrā Anūshirwān.¹² The monarch bade him enter, and al-Ḥārith went in and stood erect before him.

'Who are you?' asked Kisrā.

'I am al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah al-Thaqafi,' he replied.

'What is your trade?' the king asked.

'Medicine,' he said.

'Are you an Arab?' said Kisrā.

'I am,' said al-Ḥārith, 'Arab to the marrow, from the very depths of Arabia.'

'What have the Arabs to do with doctors?' said the king, 'ignorant and feeble-minded as they are, and with the filthy food they eat.'

'Majesty,' replied al-Ḥārith, 'if they are as you say, all the more reason why they need someone to enlighten their ignorance, straighten whatever is awry with them, tend their bodies and balance their constitutions. A rational man knows these things for himself and can identify the site of his ailment, but for the most part he avoids illness altogether by leading a well-regulated life.'

11 A prominent companion of Muhammad and Muslim general; see *ET*² art. 'Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās' (G.R. Hawting). Ibn Juljul has the first part of the story.

12 Kisrā is the Arabic form of *Khosrow*, a Persian title for a ruler. *Khosrow I Anūshirwān* was a Sassanid ruler from 531 to 579 AD. See *ET*² art. 'Kisrā' (M. Morony); *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Kosrow I' (multiple authors). The Sassanid capital was Ctesiphon, near the modern Tehran. The following story is also found with similar wording in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, vi:372–376; another, somewhat different version, in al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, v:49–51.

‘How do they know what it is that you are explaining to them?’ Kisrā asked, ‘for if they knew what reason is, they would not have become such a byword for ignorance.’

‘Soothe a child, and you can treat him,’ said al-Ḥārith, ‘charm a snake, and you can handle it.’

He then added, ‘Your majesty, reason is something that is apportioned by God, exalted is He, among His servants, as he apportions people’s livelihoods. Every individual obtains his particular share, or more if God grants it, and thus it is that one man may be wealthy and another destitute, one foolish and another wise, one feeble and another determined. All is in the hand of Him who is mighty and omniscient.’

Kisrā marvelled at what al-Ḥārith had said. ‘Do you consider, then,’ he enquired, ‘that the character, mores and behaviour of the Arabs are admirable in certain respects?’

‘Majesty,’ answered al-Ḥārith, ‘they are generous, with daring hearts; they are eloquent in their matchless tongue; they have true lineages and noble reputations. Words fly from their mouths like arrows shot from a bow, softer than the air in springtime, sweeter than the beneficent water of the spring Salsabīl in Paradise.¹³ They are sharers of food in the parching drought, smiters of heads in battle. Their might is unassailable: anyone under their protection is safe from harm, their women cannot be ravished, and the noblest among them cannot be humbled. They do not acknowledge any man as superior to them, except perhaps a mighty king, one unrivalled and incomparable, having no peer, whether subject or monarch.’

[7.1.3]

After listening to al-Ḥārith’s eloquence, Kisrā sat up straight, looking benevolent, and said to his courtiers,

‘There is one who sounds worthy of being taken seriously. He praises his people and describes their virtues, and his words have the ring of truth. He speaks like a man of reason, one who has been taught wisdom by experience of life.’

13 See Q 76 (*al-Insān*), 18; *ET*² art. ‘Salsabil’ (A. Rippin).

Kisrā then invited al-Ḥārith to take a seat, and when he was seated the king asked him, ‘How much do you really know about the art of medicine?’

‘Enough, in all conscience,’ replied al-Ḥārith.

‘What is the root of medicine?’ Kisrā asked.

‘*Al-azm*,’ said al-Ḥārith.

‘And what is *al-azm*?’ said the king.

‘Keeping the lips closed,’ answered al-Ḥārith, ‘and being gentle with the hands.’

‘Well said!’ Kisrā exclaimed.

‘Now, what is the most serious of illnesses?’

‘Shovelling in more food on top of food already taken will be the ruin of any creature; it is enough to kill wild beasts in the heart of the steppe,’ said al-Ḥārith.

‘Well said!’ cried the king, ‘and from what glowing coal¹⁴ is it that diseases flare up?’¹⁵

‘Food that has not been properly digested,’ replied al-Ḥārith, ‘for if it remains in the stomach, the patient will die, and if it is absorbed, he will become ill.’

‘Very true,’ said Kisrā.

‘What do you think of the practice of cupping?’

‘When the moon is waning,’ said al-Ḥārith, ‘on a bright, cloudless day; you should be in a good mood and your blood-vessels in repose as a result of some unexpected happiness or avoidance of care.’

‘What do you have to say about entering the bath?’ asked the king.

‘Never enter the bath when you have just eaten,’ answered al-Ḥārith, ‘and moreover, never sleep with your women while intoxicated, or rise from your bed at night while naked, or sit down to eat while angry. Avoid stress, for you will be more relaxed; eat sparingly, and you will sleep better.’

‘What is your view of remedies?’ said Kisrā.

‘Avoid taking remedies while in good health,’ replied al-Ḥārith, ‘but if some disease strikes, take something to repel it before it has taken root

14 Marginal note in A: ‘Variant reading: cause.’

15 Marginal note in A: ‘Variant reading: to be cut off.’

and grown strong. The body may be likened to the earth: care for it, and it will thrive, but if you neglect it, it will go to rack and ruin.'

'What of wine?' asked the king.

'The finer the flavour, the more enjoyable,' said al-Ḥārith, 'the purer, the more wholesome, and the sweeter, the more stimulating to desire. Do not drink it neat, for it will leave you with a headache and bring on an array of illnesses.'

'What kind of meat is best?' Kisrā then enquired.

'The flesh of a young, tender suckling lamb,' answered al-Ḥārith. 'Dried salt meat will kill you, and withal you should abstain from the meat of the camel and the cow.'

'What is your opinion of fruit?' asked Kisrā.

'All fruits are good when they are properly ripe,' said al-Ḥārith, 'but do not eat them once they are past their peak of perfection and have begun to spoil. The pomegranate and the lemon are the best fruits. The rose and the violet are the best aromatic plants, and endive and lettuce are the best vegetables.'

'What do you have to say about drinking water?' said the king.

'Water,' said al-Ḥārith, 'is life itself. It sustains the body. A reasonable amount of water is beneficial, and to drink it when thirsty is good; on the other hand, to drink water upon rising from sleep is harmful. The more wholesome it is, the better. The clearest and purest water is that which comes from great rivers, cold and limpid, unmixed with water from marshes or hills, flowing along over pebbles large and small in the downs.'

'What of its taste?' asked Kisrā.

'It has no definable taste,' was the answer, 'only it is redolent of life.'

'What of its colour?' said the king.

'Its colour is not identifiable to the eye,' replied al-Ḥārith, 'for it imitates the colour of whatever is holding it.'

'Tell me,' the king went on, 'what is the most vital element of the human frame?'

'The most vital element of the human frame is that part where water is drunk,' answered al-Ḥārith, by which he meant the head.

[7.1.4]

‘What is this light that is in the eyes?’ Kisrā asked,

‘It is compounded of three things,’ al-Ḥārith replied. ‘The white consists of fat, the black [the iris] of water, and the pupil, of air.’

The king then asked him, ‘How many natural elements make up the body?’

‘The body comprises four humours,’ said al-Ḥārith: ‘black bile, which is cold and dry, yellow bile, which is hot and dry, blood, which is warm and moist, and phlegm, which is cold and moist.’

‘Why not only one?’ asked the king.

Al-Ḥārith replied, ‘If the body were created from only one natural element, it would not eat, it would not drink, it would not become ill and it would not die.’

‘What about two, then?’ inquired Kisrā, ‘what if it consisted of no more than two natural elements?’

‘Not possible,’ said al-Ḥārith, ‘as they would be opposed to each other and would perpetually struggle.’

‘Three?’ suggested Kisrā.

‘That would not be a viable arrangement,’ al-Ḥārith said, ‘with two elements concordant and one discordant. No, four humours are just right for equilibrium and support.’

The king said, ‘Now summarize “hot” and “cold” for me in a few words.’

‘Sweetness is hot,’ returned al-Ḥārith, ‘and acidity is cold; whatever is pungent is hot, and whatever is bitter is in balance, for the essence of bitterness is that it is a blend of hot and cold.’

‘What is the best treatment for the yellow bile?’ inquired the king.

‘With something cold that is also soft,’ said al-Ḥārith.

‘And the black bile?’ continued Kisrā.

‘With something hot and soft,’ al-Ḥārith said.

‘The phlegm?’ Kisrā went on.

‘With something hot and dry,’ replied al-Ḥārith.

‘What about the blood?’ asked the king.

‘Some of it should be removed when it is in excess,’ said al-Ḥārith, ‘and when it is overheated it should be chilled with remedies that are cold and dry.’

‘And wind?’ said the king.

‘Gentle enemas,’ returned the physician, ‘and warm, mild oils.’

‘You prescribe enemas, then?’ said Kisrā.

‘Yes,’ said al-Ḥārith, ‘for I have read in a book by a physician that an enema will cleanse the belly and empty it of diseases. Even so, those who take enemas may become senile and decrepit or fail to produce children if they eat foods that are known to be injurious. To prefer self-indulgence to good health is sheer folly.’

‘What is your idea of a diet?’¹⁶ Kisrā enquired.

‘Moderation in all things,’ responded the physician, ‘for overeating constricts the vital spirit and blocks up the passages through which it moves.’

‘What are your views on women and intercourse with them?’ said the king.

‘Frequent intimacy is harmful,’ al-Ḥārith replied, ‘and beware of it with an elderly woman like a worn-out waterskin, for she will drain your strength and make you ill. Her ejaculate is mortal poison, her breath sudden death; she will take everything from you but give you nothing. A young woman, on the other hand, ah! her ejaculate is sweet and fresh, her embrace coquetry and flirtatiousness, her mouth cool, her saliva sweet, her breath fragrant, her passage tight; she will enhance your strength and make you more active.’

The king then said, ‘To what women does the heart most incline, and who amongst them most gladdens the eye?’

‘With luck,’ al-Ḥārith returned, ‘you will meet one who is tall, with a stately head, a wide brow, a high nose, black eyes, red lips, flawless cheeks, a broad bosom, a comely throat, a delicate complexion, lips like coral, eyebrows joined, firm breasts, delicate waist and feet, pale-skinned, slender, with curly hair, young and tender. In the dark, you might imagine her to be the brightness of the full moon; her smile reveals teeth like chamomile¹⁷ and lips of carmine. She will be like a cherished egg, softer than butter, sweeter than honey, more delightful than Paradise and the abode of eternity. She will be more fragrant than the jasmine or the rose. Being near her will be a pleasure, and for the two of you to be alone together will be happiness.’

¹⁶ The word used here (*ḥimyah*) commonly refers specifically to a diet given to a sick person.

¹⁷ The petals of the chamomile flower (*Matricaria chamomilla*) are very white.

Kisrā's shoulders shook with laughter. 'What are the best times for copulating with women?' he asked.

'Toward the end of the night, for the belly is empty, the breathing is regular, the heart is inclined to desire and the womb is warm then,' replied al-Ḥārith, 'but you may prefer to take her in daylight, when your eyes will admire the beauty of her face, your mouth gather the fruits of her loveliness, your ear take pleasure in the sweetness of her voice, and all your limbs be at ease because of her.'

'Well spoken, O Arab!' exclaimed Kisrā, 'It is clear that you have been given knowledge and granted an abundant share of understanding and intellect,' and he ordered that al-Ḥārith should be generously rewarded and all that he had said written down.

[7.1.5]

Al-Wāthiq bi-Allāh¹⁸ tells us, in his book entitled *The Garden (al-Bustān)*, that al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah once saw some people out in the sun and advised them to go into the shade. 'The sun,' he said, 'will wear out your clothing, take away its fragrance, cause the colour to fade, and may cause some disease that is now dormant to flare up.'

Various aphorisms are attributed to al-Ḥārith. He is reported to have said, 'Overeating is a hotbed of disease, dieting is the beginning of the cure, and every body does best with its accustomed fare.'

This saying has also been attributed to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abjar.¹⁹ Some, however, have attributed it to the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, with the wording 'The stomach is a hotbed of disease,' in which 'stomach' is a better choice of word than 'overeating'.

The Commander of the Faithful 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, is reported to have said, 'He who would live forever (but no one lives

18 The ninth Abbasid caliph (r. 227–232/842–847), the son of al-Mu'taṣim. See *EI*² art. 'al-Wāthiq Bi 'llāh' (K.V. Zetterstéén, C.E. Bosworth & E. van Donzel). The work, *al-Bustān*, is apparently unknown. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a *Kitāb al-bustān* wrongly attributed to al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān (close friend of al-Wāthiq's brother al-Mutawakkil), in fact by a certain Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Rabbih Mule-head (*Ra's al-baghl*), Ibn al-Nadīm *Fihrist* (Flügel) 117, (Sayyid) i:362.

19 'Abd al-Malik ibn Abjar al-Kinānī, a convert to Islam who is reported to have studied at the medical school in Alexandria and to have been physician to the Umayyad caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (r. 99–101/717–720). See Ch. 7.4. The saying is common.

forever) would do well to take an excellent wife,²⁰ to eat sparingly, to drink when thirsty, to drink little water, to rest after his meal, to go out walking after his evening meal, and not to go to bed until he has paid a visit to the latrine. Entering the bath soon after eating will infallibly make a man fall ill. Going to the bath once in summer is better than going there ten times in winter. To eat dried salt meat at night will speed you to the grave. Sexual relations with an old woman will destroy the life of any man living.'

Some of these statements have been attributed to al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah. Another one runs, 'He who desires a long life²¹ (but there is no truly long life) would do well to take his evening meal late, to take his midday meal early, to avoid indebtedness, and to frequent women but seldom.' The verb used here in 'take his evening meal late' is an old word meaning 'to put off until later', and the word used for 'indebtedness' means literally 'burden', from the saying 'my neck is bent beneath the weight of my debt', the neck being where one places a heavy burden that one has to carry, and from this the term 'burden' came to mean 'debt'.

A variant of this saying gives '... to take his evening meal *early*', and this version is preferable.

Abū 'Awānah²² tells us that according to 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Umayr,²³ al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah used to say, 'He who would fain live forever (but no one lives forever) would do well to take his midday meal early and his evening meal early, to keep out of debt, and to associate little with women.'

According to Ḥarb ibn Muḥammad,²⁴ 'My father told us that al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah used to say, "There are four things that will destroy the body: sexual relations on a full stomach, entering the bath after a heavy meal, eating dried salt meat, and congress with an elderly woman."

20 Cf. Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, 1:935.

21 Reading *nasā*, meaning 'length of life (*ṭīl al-'umr*)', and not *nisā*, 'women'. The saying is in the dictionaries (*Lisān al-'Arab*, *Tāj al-'arūs*; Lane, *Lexicon*, under *ns*): 'He who would like to live forever (*ay ta'akkhur al-'umr wa-l-baqā'*) – but nobody lives forever! – let him ...'. The word *nasā* is rare and may have been misunderstood by the copyists, even by IAU himself. And above and below this passage we find the versions of this saying given by 'Alī and Abū 'Awānah, both of which have *baqā'*.

22 Abū 'Awānah al-Ḥāfiẓ Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 316/928–929), a *muḥaddith*, see e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:478–479.

23 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Umayr ibn Suwayd al-Lakhmī, qāḍī l-Kūfah (d. Dhū l-ḥijjah 136/754); see e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xix:184–185.

24 Unidentified.

Dāwūd ibn Rushayd²⁵ tells us that according to ‘Amr ibn Ma‘rūf,²⁶ when al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah lay dying, people²⁷ came to his bedside and begged him to give them some words for their guidance when he would no longer be with them. ‘Choose none but a young woman as a wife,’ he said, ‘eat only the meat of young animals; eat none but ripe fruit; when you are ill, avoid treatment until the illness has become too much for you to bear; use the depilatory paste called *nūrah*²⁸ every month, as it gets rid of phlegm, eliminates bile and causes flesh to grow; whenever one of you has had his midday meal, he should have a nap immediately afterward, and after his evening meal, he should go for a stroll forty paces in length.’

Another saying that has been attributed to al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah runs as follows: ‘Avoid taking medicine if you possibly can. Drink it if you must, but it is likely to do you as much harm as good.’

[7.1.6]

Sulaymān ibn Juljul²⁹ relates an anecdote that he heard from al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Azdī, who had had it from Sa‘īd ibn al-Umawī, who in turn had had it from his uncle, Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d, who had heard it from ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Umayr: Once there were two brothers, of the tribe of Thaqīf, of the Banū Kunnah, who had the greatest affection for one another; all history can show no comparable example of such fraternal devotion. The elder brother, being about to set out on a journey, asked the younger to look after his wife in his absence, and the younger brother promised to do so. One day, however, by the merest chance, his glance happened to light upon her, and forthwith he was hopelessly smitten with love for her, and pined away with desire. The elder brother, when in due course he returned, sought the advice of various physicians, but none of them could say what ailed the younger brother. Finally he consulted al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah. ‘I see a pair of clouded eyes,’ said the physician, ‘but it is not clear what is causing the trouble. I should like to try something: let

25 Dāwūd ibn Rushayd al-Khwārazmī, *mawlā* Banī Hāshim (d. 239/853–854), a *muḥaddith*, a source of Muslim and Ibn Mājah. See e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii:470.

26 A transmitter mentioned in certain *isnāds*.

27 Marginal note in A: ‘Variant reading: “young men of Quraysh”’.

28 *Nūrah* or *nawrah* is, strictly speaking, quicklime. Combined with other ingredients it was used as a depilatory paste, also called *nūrah*, and it is as a depilatory applied regularly in the hammam or bath house that it is named here. It was also an ingredient in compounds used for various skin complaints, including itching, ulcers of the gums, burns, boils and abscesses; for the medical uses, see Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 340–341 no. 309; Chipman, *Pharmacists in Mamluk Cairo*, index under ‘lime’.

29 Not in his biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah.

us see what will happen if he has a drink of date-wine.' The young man drank the date-wine, and when he had been affected by it, he recited the following lines:³⁰

O, have pity, O have pity,
 just a little, for what I shall be!
 Bring me, you two,³¹ to the tents
 in al-Khayf³² so that I can visit them:
 A certain gazelle I saw today
 in the abodes of the Banū Kunnah,³³
 With a smooth cheek, raised in the tribe,
 and with a sweet voice.

The tribesmen were impressed. 'You must be the cleverest doctor in all Arabia,' they exclaimed. 'Now we shall try giving him a little more date-wine,' said al-Hārith, so they gave him some more, and when it had done its work on him, the patient recited,³⁴

Neighbour friends, greetings!
 and halt here so that you can speak
 And perform a need for me
 and convey greetings and blessings.
 A rain-cloud came from the sea,
 water-loaded,³⁵ with a wailing sound.

30 Metre: *hazaj*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:172–173. For the story and this and the following poem, see also Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, iv:131–133; al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, i:229–230; al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, i: 199–200; al-Jarīrī, *Jalīs*, iii:260–261; al-Sarrāj, *Maṣāri'*, ii:208–210. Line 4 is found in a poem, otherwise unrelated to this story, by 'Ammār Dhī Kubār (*recte* Kināz) in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxiv:233.

31 An example, one of many, of the ancient convention of addressing, without naming them, two companions at the beginning of a poem.

32 Al-Khayf: name of several places in the Hijaz, one of them at Minā near Mecca.

33 The Banū Kunnah are descended from Salamah ibn Mu'attib and Aws ibn Rabī'ah ibn Mu'attib of Thaqīf, called after their mother Kunnah bint Kusayrah of Thumālah (Azd); see al-Kalbī/Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, ii:373. 'With a sweet voice': literally, 'with a nasal twang in its speech'.

34 Metre: *majzū' al-khafīf*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:173. The last verse is found in several dictionaries, e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (*HMW*), Ibn Durayd, *Jamharah*, 167, 985 (*κΝΝ*), 573 (*HMW*).

35 *Rayyā*; the brother's wife's name was Rayyā, according to al-Jarīrī (but not in Ibn Qutaybah's older version).

She is not my brother's wife but she asserts
that I am a brother-in-law to her.

At this, the elder brother divorced his wife on the spot and said, 'She is yours, my brother.' But the younger brother answered, 'By God, I shall not marry her,' and he went to the end of his days without marrying her.

Al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah al-Thaqafi is the author of an account of a discussion between himself and Kisrā Anūshirwān on the subject of medicine.³⁶

7.2 al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah al-Thaqafi¹

[7.2.1]

His mother was a maternal aunt of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him. Like his father, he travelled widely, meeting with prominent men and scholars in Mecca and elsewhere and associating with learned Christians and Jews. He was a keen student of learning himself, and acquired an extensive knowledge of the sciences of antiquity, philosophy and other lore. In addition, he learned all that his father had to teach him about medicine and other subjects.

Al-Naḍr followed the lead of Abū Sufyān in being an enemy of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, for he was of Thaqīf, and as the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, once said, 'Quraysh are the allies of the Anṣār,² and the Banū Umayyah are the allies of Thaqīf.'

³⁶ This circulated as an independent work. See, Daiber, *Collection*, MS 113, fols. 143a–146b [item 2219, with further bibliography].

¹ For bibliographic information about al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 204. The sources tell us only of one al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Alqamah ibn Kaladah, a wealthy Qurashi merchant of Mecca who was strongly hostile to Muḥammad's mission. Evidently IAU misidentified him as the son of al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah; see *ET*² art. 'al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith' (Ch. Pellat). At this point there is a marginal note in MS S reading: 'The chronicler has acted unthinkingly in this biography in stating that al-Naḍr was the son of al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah al-Thaqafi. In fact, al-Naḍr was a man of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār. His full lineage is as follows: al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah ibn 'Alqamah ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn 'Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣayy. The chronicler was misled by the similarity of the names. Upon reading the passage, I saw that the reference was to the man of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār.'

² 'The Helpers', the usual designation of those men of Medina who supported Muḥammad, in distinction from the Muhājirūn or 'Emigrants', i.e. his Meccan followers. The saying does not appear in standard collections of Hadith.

Al-Naḍr was a bitter adversary of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, speaking against him frequently, seeking to denigrate him in the eyes of the Meccans and attempting to hinder his mission. Little did he know, unhappy man, that prophethood is the greatest calling, that true blessedness is the most potent state, that divine providence is most sublime, and that what God has decreed must inevitably come to pass. Al-Naḍr imagined that with his knowledge, his accomplishments and his philosophy he could resist prophethood, but how far below the Pleiades is the planet earth!³ How far below the peak are the foothills! And how far below the state of one who is truly blessed is a wretched man!

[7.2.2]

I have read something in Plato's *Laws* that is highly apropos in this connection: 'The wise man with his wisdom and the learned man with his learning are as nothing compared to a prophet and his mission.'⁴

Plato tells us the story of Marinus, a king of the Greeks whose power and might were celebrated by the poet Homer, along with the prosperity enjoyed by his subjects during his reign. But he was beset by misfortunes and harried by rebellions to such an extent that he finally decided to seek the advice of the philosophers of that age, who scrutinized the sources and origins of the matter, and finally said to him, 'We have considered your situation, and we cannot see anything about you that would account for the misadventures that have befallen you. Philosophers know about the excesses and unregulated conduct that can occur, but that is only part of the story; the rest lies beyond the bounds of philosophical enquiry, in the domain of prophecy.' King Marinus, they suggested, might find it useful to consult the prophet of the time and consider whatever he might say in juxtaposition with their own learning. 'He does not live amid crowds and gardens,' they added, 'but in a remote part of a bare and waterless desert, among the poor people who live in that dusty place.' The king asked them what sort of messengers he should send to seek out the philosopher and how they would recognize him. 'It will be best to send mild-mannered men,' they replied, 'men such as are visibly temperate in their habits, speak the

3 *Wa-ayna l-tharā min al-thurayyā*. The attractive assonance between the words *al-tharā* ('the earth') and *al-thurayyā* ('the Pleiades') is lost in the English translation.

4 The Arabic Ps.-Platonic treatise *K. al-Nawāmīs*, in Badawī, *Platon (Aflātūn fī l-Islām)*, 197–234, passage cited at 201–204. See Pines, 'On the Pseudo-Platonic Quotation', who suggests that King Marinus equals the Greek mythological hero Minos (cf. esp. the pseudonymous dialogue, *Minos*, in the Greek Platonic corpus). The Arabic Ps.-Platonic treatise *K. al-Nawāmīs* was also cited in Ch. 2.1; see Ch. 2.1.2 n. 22 for a discussion of this treatise and also four other works that bore the Arabic title *K. al-Nawāmīs*, or versions of it.

truth, and consider it more honourable to acknowledge that an opponent is in the right than to win an argument. Such men have a natural affinity with the prophet, and that will lead them to him.'

'Instruct your messengers to enquire about him at his birthplace and town of origin and about his mode of life there. You will find that he takes little interest in the comforts of life. He is a seeker after truth who prefers to live in seclusion. He is honest and straightforward, of little regard in the eyes of kings. He is taken to be one who goes his own way, heedless of the usual concerns of people of his class. At first sight he might strike you as simple, but what you would be seeing in him would actually be shyness. If he discusses a matter, you have the impression that he knows everything there is to know about it, but is unclear about the source of the information. If asked about something he says, however, he will reply that he thought and uttered it while awake, yet without having reflected upon it, as though he had been between sleep and waking. If asked about an opinion of yours, he answers as though under the compulsion of some external force, not as one able to express his own view of the matter after having arrived at a conclusion about it. If your messengers locate him, not only will they find that this description of him is accurate, they will also be treated to marvels of word and deed.'

Marinus, thus advised, assembled seven messengers, augmented by the most learned philosophers he could find, and the party set off in search of the elusive prophet. Eventually they ran him to earth in a village that lay some five days' journey distant from Marinus' capital. The village was largely deserted, many of its people having left it in favour of life in the capital, which was altogether more convenient and pleasant, thanks to Marinus. The only remaining residents were a handful of ascetics who had renounced the struggle for gain and some elderly and chronically ill people who were no longer equal to the effort. There among them was the prophet, living in a tumbledown house, with the other village people clustered around it, for his presence was comforting to them, so that they had ceased to fret about the good fortune that their former fellow-citizens were enjoying. The villagers bade the king's party welcome, but asked them, 'What can have brought you to such a ruinous place as this, which surely has nothing to hold the attention of such distinguished persons as yourselves?' 'We have come,' the spokesman for the messengers replied, 'in search of this man, for we hope to join you in enjoying the benefits that he bestows. Can you tell us when he might be free to speak with us?' The village people answered that the prophet was not busy and could see them at once, so they entered his house.

They found him hidden between a number of people who were keeping their eyes averted, such was their awe of him. When the seven messengers saw

him, they were so impressed by the example of the others that they too were overcome by feelings of awe. Only the philosopher retained his composure, questioning his impressions and seeking to understand what he was seeing. The spokesman for the messengers greeted the prophet, and he returned the greeting, but in a weak voice, sounding like a man half asleep and confused. Subsequently, his drowsiness increased and his robe almost came undone. Seeing him thus overcome, the people around him averted their eyes and stood up as though praying. But then he spoke: 'Greetings, O messengers of the sinful man who took possession of a part of my world and attempted to promote its welfare by endowing it with a plethora of material benefits and thereby flooded and ruined it. He may be compared to a man who has been entrusted with the care of part of a garden producing flowers and fruits in abundance. Thinking to make it even more productive, he deluges it with more than its proper share of the garden's water, but the result is to make the fruits less delicious and the perfume of the flowers less delightful, and by degrees to desiccate the trees and dry up the vegetation.'

When the seven-man party heard these words, they instinctively stood up as though praying, along with the others. The philosopher later reported, 'While all the others stood, I remained seated, seeking to understand the man and probe the wonders confronting us. Then he addressed me directly in a loud voice: "You there, with such a high opinion of yourself! Your greatest accomplishment has been to travel in thought between particular sensibles and general intelligibles and to extract therefrom knowledge that has given you insight into the nature of things that are perceptible to the senses and the like. You imagined that this would enable you to plumb the depths of cause and effect. In fact, you will attain nothing by that road, but only through the one whom I have placed between myself and my creation, to serve as a guide to my will. You should therefore seek him out more assiduously, and when you meet him, you may ask him about matters that exceed the scope of your knowledge, for I have graciously distinguished him from others and made him a sign of my generosity and a lodestar for sincere seekers after truth."

'He finished, and sat calmly, his gaze piercing. The people about him settled down and sat as before. I myself left, but returned that evening, and heard him addressing his friends and the seven messengers. Ascetic stuff, it was, about not yielding to the urges of the body. When he had finished speaking, I said to him, "I heard what you said earlier today, and I should like to ask you to expand on it for me." "Everything you heard then," he replied, "was merely something that took form in my mind and was uttered by my tongue without any volition on my part, even if you find that there is some food for thought in it." I remained there for three days, urging the seven messengers to return home, but they would

not go. On the fourth day, I went to visit the prophet, but hardly had I entered when he was taken with the same sort of narcoleptic fit as had befallen him on the earlier occasion when we had gone in all together to see him. But then he spoke: “O messenger of the sinful man, I perceive you are taking your time about returning to your master. Go back to your country, for he is no longer there; I am removing him in favour of a ruler who will see to it that the people for whom he is responsible are guided aright.”

‘At this, I left him and returned home, where I found that Marinus had died and had been succeeded by a middle-aged man of the same family who had righted injustices and taught the people to abandon their former love of luxury and idleness.’

[7.2.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: At Badr,⁵ where the Muslims encountered the polytheists of Quraysh under the leadership of Abū Sufyān,⁶ the Quraysh numbered between 900 and 1,000 men, whereas there were a mere 313 of the Muslims. But God aided Islam and granted victory to His Messenger, peace be upon him, while the ranks of the unbelievers were shattered. The flower of Quraysh were killed, and a number of them were captured. Of the latter, some arranged for their release through the payment of ransom, while others were put to death at the orders of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, and these included ‘Uqbah ibn Abī Mu‘ayṭ and al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah, both of whom were executed after the battle was over and the Muslims had left Badr.

I have heard the following account from Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Baghdādī ibn al-Karīm, who had had it from Abū Ghālib Muḥammad ibn al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maymūn, who in turn had had it from Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Maḥmawayh⁷ al-Shāfi‘ī al-Yazdī, who had had it from Abū Sa‘d Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṣayrafī al-Baghdādī, who had heard it from Abū Ghālib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sahl ibn Bushrān al-Naḥwī al-Wāsiṭī, who had had it from Abu l-Ḥusayn ‘Alī ibn

5 A place southwest of Medina, a night’s journey from the coast, and at the junction of a road from Medina with the caravan route from Mecca to Syria. Badr was the site of the first battle of the nascent Muslim community against the Meccans, in 2/624.

6 Marginal note in ms Sa: ‘This also is an error. Abū Sufyān was not present at Badr. He was the owner of the spring on the route from Syria. The Messenger of God, God bless him and keep him, sought to take it, and the battle of Badr ensued.’

7 The vocalization of *M-ḥ-m-w-y-h* is unclear. See on him e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx:323–324.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Dīnār al-Kātib, who had had it from Abū l-Faraj ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣbahānī, who in turn had heard it from Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, who had had it from Ibn Ḥumayd, who in turn had had it Maslamah, who had had it from Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, who had heard it from ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Umar ibn Qatādah and Yazīd ibn Rūmān, that on the day of Badr, the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, ordered ‘Āṣim ibn Thābit ibn Abī l-Aflaḥ al-Anṣārī to kill ‘Uqbah ibn Abī Mu‘ayt after he had been taken prisoner. The Muslims then left Badr, and when they reached a place known as al-Ṣafra’, the same fate befell al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah al-Thaqafī, of the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār: he was executed by the hand of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him. He was mourned in the following lines by Qutaylah bint al-Ḥārith:⁸

Rider! One supposes⁹ you will reach al-Uthayl¹⁰
 on the morning of the fifth night, if you are lucky.¹¹
 Convey there, to a dead man, a greeting
 unceasingly brought by swift camels,¹²
 From me to him, with tears that are shed
 profusely and other tears that choke.
 Let al-Naḍr hear if I call him,
 if a dead man can hear or speak.
 5 The swords of the Umayyads came down on him –
 Ah, the bonds of kinship that were torn up there!
 As a captive he was led to his death, exhausted,
 walking like a hobbled beast, a prisoner in bonds.
 O Muḥammad, offspring of a noble dam
 among her people, and whose sire was a sire of highbred stock,

8 Metre: *kāmil*. The verses are often quoted; see e.g. Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 963–966); Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii:42–43 (tr. Guillaume, 360); al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, i:19; al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, iv:44 (which has Laylā instead of Qutaylah); Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, i:94.

9 Marginal note in MS A reads: ‘Note. That is, “I think you will reach al-Uthayl early on the fifth morning.” The word *maẓannah*, meaning the place where one thinks something is likely to occur, is said to be used either in a good or a bad sense’.

10 A place near Medina.

11 Marginal note in MS A reads: ‘Note. That is, “I think you will reach al-Uthayl early on the fifth morning.” The word *maẓannah*, meaning the place where one thinks something is likely to occur, is said to be used either in a good or a bad sense’.

12 Marginal note in MS A reads: ‘That is, “I constantly send a greeting with every passing rider, so carry the greeting. This is my situation with respect to these greetings to him”’.

It would not have harmed you if you had pardoned him:
a man sometimes pardons even when enraged.

Al-Naḍr was the nearest relative you took on account of his error
and the one most deserving to be freed, if there was to be any freeing.

10 If you had accepted a ransom I would have ransomed him
with the most precious ransom that anyone could spend.

[7.2.4]

Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī says, 'I have heard that the Prophet, may God bless him and keep him, said, "If I had heard those lines before killing him, I would not have killed him."' This elegy by Qutaylah is reputed to be the noblest, purest, most restrained and most dignified poetry ever uttered by a woman lamenting a murdered kinsman.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: Evidently the reason why the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, waited until the Muslims had reached al-Ṣafrā' before having al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith put to death was so that he could reflect on the proper course of action; having determined that he had made the right decision, he ordered his execution.

A variant reading of the first hemistich in the ninth line of the above elegy runs, 'Of all those whom you killed, al-Naḍr was nearest kin to you,'¹³ and this shows that al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith was related to the Prophet, peace be upon him.

The battle of Badr was fought in the second year after the Hijrah. Badr is a place-name meaning 'water'. According to al-Sha'bi,¹⁴ there was a well there that belonged to a man named Badr, and that is how the Day of Badr got its name.

The place known as al-Ṣafrā' is 17 miles¹⁵ from Badr, and three nights' easy travelling from Medina.

13 This version is found in a few sources; the 'standard' text of *al-Ḥamāsah* has *wa-l-Naḍru aqrabu man aṣabta wasilatan*.

14 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥil al-Sha'bi (d. between 103/721 and 110/728), famous early *muḥaddith* and legal expert. See *EI*² art. 'al-Sha'bi' (G.H.A. Juynboll).

15 For *mīl* (mile), see Glossary of Weights & Measures. MSS A, Ga and R insert a marginal note here: 'Al-Jawharī, quoting Ibn al-Sikkīt, defines the mile of land as "as far as the eye can see" (*muntahā madd al-baṣar*).' Al-Jawharī (d. 393/1002 or 398/1007) and Ibn al-Sikkīt (4th/9th cent.) were both celebrated philologists and lexicographers.

7.3 Ibn Abī Rimthah¹ al-Tamīmī

A physician of the time of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him. Being endowed with particular manual dexterity, he became a surgical practitioner.

Nu‘aym² relates the following account on the authority of Ibn Abī ‘Uyaynah,³ on the authority of Ibn Abjar,⁴ on the authority of Ziyād,⁵ on the authority of Laqīṭ,⁶ on the authority of Ibn Abī Rimthah, who said, ‘I went to see the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, and saw the Seal⁷ between his shoulders. “I am a physician,” I said to him, “and if you will allow me, I will take care of that for you.” He replied, “Skill you may possess, but it is God who is the physician.”’

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān [Ibn Juljul] tells us, ‘The Messenger of God knew that he was manually skilful, but that he was not outstanding in terms of his learning. This is clear from the words, “it is God who is the physician.”’

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- 1 Or Ramthah. According to Sezgin (*GAS* III, 204), the name is properly Abū Ramthah and the reading ‘Ibn Abī Ramthah’ an error introduced by IAU’s source here, Ibn Juljul, and faithfully repeated by later historians. For bibliographic information on Ibn Abī Rimthah, see also Ullmann, *Medizin*, 20. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. It is present in MSS A and S, but is missing from L and P. Of the comparative copies, it is included in B, Ga, Gc and R, but is lacking in H. Compare Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 57–58.
 - 2 Perhaps Abū ‘Abd Allāh Nu‘aym ibn Hammad ibn Mu‘āwiyah al-Khuzā‘ī al-Marwazī, a 3rd/10th century Hadith scholar.
 - 3 Fu‘ād Sayyid (Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 58 n. 3) identifies him with the traditionalist Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah ibn Maymūn al-Hilālī al-Kūfī, in which case IAU is in error.
 - 4 ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abjar al-Kinānī, the subject of the following biography (Ch. 7.4).
 - 5 Possibly Ziyād ibn Labīd, one of Muḥammad’s Companions.
 - 6 Possibly Laqīṭ ibn Ṣabirah, another Companion.
 - 7 The Seal of Prophethood, some sort of growth or mole located between the Prophet Muḥammad’s shoulder-blades, variously described as resembling a pigeon’s egg or an apple. Ms A has a note in the left margin: ‘Note. It was a fleshy excrescence that could have been removed, but the Messenger of God, may God bless him and keep him, would not have that done.’ For talismanic designs popularly associated with the Seal of Prophethood, see Maddison & Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools, and Magic*, 1106, 116.

7.4 ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abjar al-Kinānī¹

A medical practitioner of great proficiency and knowledge. Early in his career he lived in Alexandria, for he had a teaching post there, carrying on the tradition of the Alexandrians who have been mentioned earlier in this work. At that time, Egypt was ruled by Christian kings. However, when the Muslims conquered the country and became the rulers of Alexandria, Ibn Abjar converted to Islam at the instance of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,² who at that time was only a prince, not having as yet acceded to the caliphate, and with whom Ibn Abjar was on friendly terms.³ When ‘Umar became Caliph in the month of Ṣafar in the year 99 (= September–October 717), he moved the school of medicine to Antioch and Ḥarrān; since then, medical instruction has become widespread in various regions.

‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz retained Ibn Abjar as his physician and relied on him for medical advice.

Al-A‘mash⁴ informs us that he heard Ibn Abjar say: ‘Refrain from taking medicine as long as your body can bear the illness.’ This is similar to a well-known saying of the Prophet, may God bless him and keep him: ‘Drive your illness as far as it will carry you.’⁵

Sufyān⁶ informs us that he heard Ibn Abjar say, ‘The stomach is the body’s catchment basin; the blood-vessels run into it. Whatever carries health into it will carry health out of it, and whatever carries illness into it will carry illness out of it.’

1 For bibliographic references to ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Abjar, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 21; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 205–206. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. It is included in MSS A and S, but is missing from L and P. Of the comparative copies, it is included in B, Ga, Gc and R, but is lacking in H.

2 The eighth Umayyad caliph (r. 99–101/717–720), who was probably born in Medina but is known to have spent some time in Egypt in his youth. See *ET*² art. ‘Umar (II) b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz’ (P.M. Cobb).

3 The chronology is fictional. If Ibn Abjar was already teaching before the Muslim conquest of Alexandria in 21/642 he was surely thirty by the time of the conquest. ‘Umar however was born c. 60/680; he was in Egypt only until 86/705. If Ibn Abjar converted at his hand, he must have been at a very advanced age. He cannot have remained the caliph’s physician. Sezgin, *GAS* III, 205 speaks of possible confusion of ‘Abd al-Malik with his father Abjar.

4 Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Asadī, known as al-A‘mash, a Hadith scholar of the *tābī‘ūn*, i.e., the generation of Muslims born after Muḥammad’s death but who were contemporaries of his Companions.

5 *Sir bi-dā‘ika mā ḥamalaka*, i.e., presumably, endure it as long as possible. The comparison seems to be with a foundered pack-animal.

6 Probably Sufyān ibn Sa‘īd al-Thawrī, a 2nd/8th cent. Hadith scholar.

7.5 Ibn Uthāl¹

[7.5.1]

A prominent Christian practitioner who was one of the most distinguished of the physicians of Damascus. When Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān ruled in Damascus,² he showed Ibn Uthāl particular favour, visiting him frequently and conversing with him in friendly fashion at all hours of the night and day. Mu'āwiyah's reason for thus cultivating Ibn Uthāl was that the physician possessed extensive knowledge of the properties of simples and compound medicines, including highly toxic ones. Many prominent Muslims and persons of rank died of poisoning in Mu'āwiyah's time.

[7.5.2]

We have heard the following account from Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Baghdādī ibn al-Karīm,³ who had had it from Abū Ghālib Muḥammad ibn al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maymūn, who in turn had had it from Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad⁴ ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Maḥmawayh⁵ al-Shāfi'ī al-Yazdī, who had had it from Abū Sa'd Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṣayrafī al-Baghdādī, who had heard it from Abū Ghālib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sahl ibn Bashrān al-Naḥwī al-Wāsiṭī, who had had it from Abū l-Ḥasan⁶ 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Dīnār al-Kātib, who had had it from Abū l-Faraj 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī al-Kātib,⁷ who says in his

1 For bibliographic references to Ibn Uthāl, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 204–205 (where the name is given as Ibn Aṭāl. *Lisān al-'Arab* gives 'al-athāl bi-l-fath: al-majd' but other lexica (e.g. *Qāmūs*) allow both forms.) This biography is included in all three versions of the book. The source is *K. al-Aghānī*; it is not in Ibn al-Qiftī or Ibn Juljul.

2 Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān was elected caliph in 41/661 and established his residence in Damascus, which thus became the capital of the Umayyad caliphs. See *ET² art.* 'Mu'āwiya' (M. Hinds).

3 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kātib al-Baghdādī (d. 638/1240) was a Baghdadi secretary and man of letters mainly known for his *K. al-Ṭabīkh*, a cookbook containing a collection of 158 recipes. IAU seems to have known him personally, since he uses him as authority on four occasions employing the formula *ḥaddathanī* (i.e., 'he told me'). On this figure and his book, see Nasrallah, *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*, 22–23.

4 In Ch. 7.2 IAU has 'Aḥmad' in place of 'Muḥammad'.

5 The vocalization of *M-ḥ-m-w-y-h* is unclear. On him, see above Ch. 7.2.3 and, e.g., al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx:323–324.

6 Most manuscripts read 'Ḥasan' in place of 'Ḥusayn', which is read in Ch. 7.2.

7 Down to this point, this *isnād* is almost identical to the one in the biography of al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah al-Thaqafī (above, Ch. 7.2). The author of the celebrated *K. al-Aghānī*

great work known as *al-Aghānī*, ‘I have heard from my uncle, who had had the story from Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ḥazzāz, who had had it from al-Madā’inī,⁸ who had had it from a shaykh of the people of the Ḥijāz,⁹ who had had it from Zayd ibn Rāfi‘, the *mawlā*¹⁰ of al-Muhājir ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd,¹¹ who had heard it from Abū Dhī‘b, who had had it from Abū Suhayl: when Mu‘āwiyah was seeking to have his son Yazīd¹² proclaimed as heir to the caliphate, he said to the people of Syria, “The Commander of the Faithful has grown old and wrinkled, his bones have become fragile; he has not much time left. He would like to designate his successor: whom will you have?” The people answered, “Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd.” Mu‘āwiyah said nothing, keeping his intentions in the matter to himself, but he schemed to have the Christian physician Ibn Uthāl brought into the presence of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. The physician gave him a dose of poison, and he died.’

[7.5.3]

Word of the murder was brought to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s nephew, Khālid ibn al-Muhājir ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd, while he was in Mecca. Khālid had no great regard for his late uncle, for he was a Hāshimite¹³ by persuasion, like his father, al-Muhājir, who had fought on the side of ‘Alī, peace be upon him, at the battle of Ṣiffīn,¹⁴ whereas ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid had fought on the side of

is referred to either as Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī or Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī; for an account of his life and works, see *EI*² art. ‘Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī’ (M. Nallino). Cf. *K. al-Aghānī* xvi:197–198.

8 An important early historian; see *EI*² art. ‘al-Madā’inī’ (H.A.R. Gibb).

9 The northwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula, where Mecca and Medina are located.

10 Usually translated ‘client’. Originally a non-Arab who had converted to Islam and attached himself to an Arab patron by a contract of clientship (*muwālāh*). The term also denotes a manumitted slave.

11 Khālid ibn al-Walīd was a celebrated Arab commander at the time of the early Muslim conquests. See *EI*² art. ‘Khālid b. al-Walīd’ (P. Crone).

12 See *EI*² art. ‘Yazīd (I) b. Mu‘āwiyah’ (G.R. Hawting).

13 I.e. a supporter of the Prophet’s family, the Banū Hāshim, and hence of ‘Alī’s faction.

14 Fought at what is now al-Raqqaḥ, in Syria, in 37/657, between the Iraqīs under the Caliph ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the Syrians under the Governor of Syria, Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, in the context of the ‘first *fitnah*’, or civil war, the series of events which includes the murder of the Caliph ‘Uthmān, the designation of ‘Alī as *Imām*, the battle of Ṣiffīn, the advent of the schismatic movements known as the Shī‘ah and the Khawārij (Khārījites), and the seizure of power by Mu‘āwiyah. The battle itself was indecisive and ended with arbitration, resulting ultimately in loss of legitimacy by ‘Alī and the accession of Mu‘āwiyah to the caliphate. See *EI*² arts. ‘Fitna’ (L. Gardet), ‘Ṣiffīn’ (M. Lecker), ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’ (R.M. Gleave), and, in more detail, Madelung, *Succession to Muḥammad*, 141–310.

Mu‘āwiyah. But when ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was murdered, ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr¹⁵ went to Khālid and said, ‘Will you look on as your uncle’s bones are desecrated in Syria by Ibn Uthāl, while you spend your time strutting about here in Mecca, full of your own importance and letting your cloak trail behind you as you go?’ Khālid was infuriated at this. He summoned a *mawlā* of his, a sturdy, audacious fellow named Nāfi‘, and informed him of the situation. ‘This Ibn Uthāl must be killed,’ he said.

They travelled to Damascus together, and there they found that their quarry was in the habit of visiting Mu‘āwiyah, staying until late in the evening. Accordingly, they lay in wait for him in the Damascus mosque, each with his back against a column, until finally he came out. ‘Mind you don’t let him see you,’ said Khālid to his man, ‘I shall strike him myself; just guard my back. If you see anything suspicious coming toward me, do whatever you have to do.’ When Ibn Uthāl came abreast of him, Khālid sprang upon him and stabbed him to death. The people who had been accompanying Ibn Uthāl came running up, but upon finding themselves confronted with Nāfi‘, they fled, and Khālid and Nāfi‘ made their escape. The others came after them, but when they caught up with them, Khālid and Nāfi‘ turned upon them, and they dispersed. Finally they dodged into a narrow alleyway and gave their pursuers the slip.

When Mu‘āwiyah was told what had happened, he said, ‘This is the doing of Khālid ibn al-Muhājir. A narrow alley, you say? Look for him there.’ After a search, Khālid was taken and brought to Mu‘āwiyah. ‘May God not reward you, O visitor,’ he said, ‘you have murdered my physician.’ ‘I have killed the one who was obeying an order,’ replied Khālid, ‘but not the one who gave the order.’ ‘God’s curse upon you,’ exclaimed the caliph. ‘I swear by God, had he testified even once that God is one and Muḥammad His Messenger, I would have you put to death. Where is your man Nāfi‘?’ ‘I do not have him with me,’ said Khālid. ‘I fancy you do,’ said Mu‘āwiyah, ‘for you would hardly have undertaken such a venture without him.’ He gave orders that a search should be made for Nāfi‘, and when he was found and brought in, the caliph sentenced him to a hundred lashes. Khālid, for his part, did not have to endure anything more than a term of imprisonment.¹⁶ However, Mu‘āwiyah compelled the Banū Makh-

15 A prominent Medinan jurist (one of the celebrated ‘Seven jurists of Medina’; see *ET*², Supplement, art. ‘Fuḡahā’ al-Madīna al-sab‘a’ (Ch. Pellat)) and brother of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, who played a prominent role in the second civil war (*fitnah*), during the decade 60–70/680–690. See *ET*² art. ‘‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr’ (S. Campbell).

16 Mu‘āwiyah was renowned for *ḥilm* (approximately = ‘patience’, with a sense of expediency). He is reported to have said, ‘I do not employ my sword when my whip suffices me, nor my whip when my tongue suffices me; and were there but a single hair binding me

zūm¹⁷ to pay twelve thousand dirhams as bloodwit for Ibn Uthāl. Of that sum, six thousand dirhams went into the Treasury, while Mu‘āwiyah kept the other six thousand for himself. This continued to be the regular practice in the matter of compensation for the killing of a client, until it was changed by the caliph ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,¹⁸ who decreed that the whole amount was to go into the Treasury, the ruler keeping none of it.

[7.5.4]

The account continues: After Mu‘āwiyah had had Khālid ibn al-Muhājir imprisoned, he composed the following lines in his cell:¹⁹

If my steps are close together,
 as someone walks who is hobbled, in detention,
 How can I then walk around in the beds
 of the wadis, dragging my loin-cloth on my traces?
 – No more of this. But do you see
 a fire, lit at Dhū Murār?²⁰
 It is not lit because of the cold
 for someone warming himself, nor for fumigation.
 How is it that the length of your night
 is not diminished by the length of the day?
 Will Time grow shorter,²¹
 or does a prisoner grow weary of prison?

When Mu‘āwiyah heard these verses, he had Khālid released at once. Khālid returned to Mecca, and upon arriving there, he went to see ‘Urwah ibn al-Zubayr and said to him, ‘I have killed Ibn Uthāl, but what about Ibn Jurmūz,²²

to my fellow-men, I do not allow it to break: when they pull, I slacken, and when they slacken, I pull’; Nicholson, *A Literary History*, 194 quoting al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, ii:283. Cf. *EI*² art. ‘Ĥilm’ (Ch. Pellat), *EI Three* art. ‘Ĥilm’ (Th. Hefter).

17 An important clan of Quraysh, to which Khālid ibn al-Muhājir ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd belonged.

18 The eighth Umayyad caliph, r. 99–101/717–720. See *EI*² art “Umar (11) b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’ (P.M. Cobb).

19 Metre: *kāmil*. For the story and the verses, see al-İṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvi:198–200, al-Bagh-dādī, *Khizānah*, ii:234–236.

20 Or: ‘at a place with a bitter-tasting plant called *murār*’; but the context suggests a specific place-name.

21 *Aghānī* and *Khizānah* have *li-taqāṣuri l-azmāni*, but *a-taqāṣara l-azmānu* seems possible.

22 ‘Amr ibn Jurmūz was the man who had treacherously killed ‘Urwah’s father, al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām, after he had withdrawn from the Battle of the Camel (36/656), in which al-

the man who desecrated the body of your father, al-Zubayr, in Basra? If revenge is important to you, you ought to kill him.' 'Urwah thereupon went to Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām²³ and told him of his reason for harbouring a grudge against Ibn Jurmūz, but Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān adjured him to let the matter drop, and 'Urwah did so.

[7.5.5]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah – say: al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām was with 'Ā'ishah on the Day of the Camel, and was killed by Ibn Jurmūz. That is why Khālid ibn al-Muhājir reminded 'Urwah of his father's murder by Ibn Jurmūz, by way of shaming him.

Confirmation of this is to be found in the elegy for al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām that was composed by his widow, 'Ātikah bint Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl, after he had been killed by Ibn Jurmūz:²⁴

Ibn Jurmūz acted perfidiously²⁵ to a knight of a brave army
 on the day of the battle encounter; he was no coward who flees.
 'Amr, if you had awakened him you would have found him
 not fickle, trembling in neither his spirit nor his hands.
 Fear God, your Lord!²⁶ If you have killed a Muslim
 you will have to²⁷ suffer the punishment for premeditated murder.
 Al-Zubayr is truly a man of bravery,
 with a generous nature, of noble countenance.
 How many dangerous situations did he plunge into, not held back
 by your pursuit, you fungus of the high ground!
 Go; your hands have never seized anyone like him,
 in the past, among those who go in the evening or the morning.

Zubayr, Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh and Muḥammad's widow, 'Ā'ishah, were pitted against 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib following the murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān.

23 A fellow Traditionist and another of the Seven Jurists of Medina.

24 Metre: *kāmil*. The verses are often quoted and admired; see e.g. al-Madā'inī, *al-Murđifāt min Quraysh* (in *Nawādir al-makḥṭū'āt*, i:64); Ibn Ḥabīb, *Asmā' al-mughṭālīn* (in *Nawādir al-makḥṭū'āt*, ii:158); al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xviii:58; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii:108–109; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv:323; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, x:378.

25 Al-Zubayr was asleep when he was killed.

26 Other versions have 'May your hand wither!' (*Murđifāt*, *Aghānī*, *Khizānah*) or 'May your mother be bereaved of you!' (*Iqd*, *Asmā' al-mughṭālīn*). The vowelling (*Allāha rabbaka*) suggests that it is a shortening of the common expression *ittaḥi llāha rabbaka*, 'fear God, your Lord!'

27 Instead of *wajabat* all other versions have *hallat*, '(the punishment) will come'.

The following passage is taken from the *Book of Proverbs* (*K. al-amthāl*), by Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām al-Baghdādī:²⁸ Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān was afraid that popular sentiment was inclining in favour of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd.²⁹ He therefore dropped a hint to his physician, who gave 'Abd al-Raḥmān a drink of poisoned honey which scorched him inside. Mu'āwiyah thereupon remarked, 'There is no stroke of good fortune to compare with one that disposes of someone you dislike.'³⁰

According to the same author, when Mu'āwiyah heard that al-Ashtar³¹ was dead from a drink of poisoned honey, he remarked, 'Evidently honey is among the soldiers of God.'³²

[7.5.6]

The following account is taken verbatim from the *History* of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi:³³ In the year 38 (= 658–659), 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, dispatched al-Ashtar to Egypt as governor after the previous governor, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, had been murdered. When Mu'āwiyah got wind of this, he sent a message secretly to the *dihqān*³⁴ in al-'Arīsh: 'If you will kill al-Ashtar, for twenty years you shall keep your land-tax³⁵ for yourself.' When al-Ashtar reached al-'Arīsh, the *dihqān* received him hospitably and inquired what he most preferred to drink. 'Honey,' was the answer. 'I have some honey from Barqah,' said the *dihqān*. He poisoned a cup of it and served it to al-Ashtar, who subsequently died. When 'Alī learned of his death, he said, '[Fallen] on hands and mouth.'³⁶

28 An 2nd/8th cent. grammarian, Quranic scholar and lawyer. See *EI Three* art. 'Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām' (R. Weipert). Cf. Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-amthāl*, 192–193.

29 I.e. as his successor as caliph; Abū 'Ubayd adds 'in Syria'.

30 Not in Abū 'Ubayd's *Amthāl*, but see Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Jamharat al-amthāl*, ii:301, al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, ii:255.

31 A prominent political figure and military leader, and an uncompromising supporter of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; he took part in both the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Ṣiffin. See *EI Three* art. 'Al-Ashtar, Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī' (H. Munt).

32 See Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl fī sharḥ Kitāb al-amthāl*, 98.

33 An important early historian (130–270/747–822). See *EI²* art. 'al-Wāqidi' (S. Leder). The report appears to be an extract from the Traditionist Ibn Ḥibbān's *K. al-Thiqāt* (Ibn Ḥibbān, *K. al-Thiqāt*, ii:298).

34 In Sassanid Persia, a village headman and a member of the lesser feudal nobility whose main function was to collect taxes on behalf of the central government. Apparently used here in the sense of a local official.

35 *Kharāj*. See *EI²* art. 'Kharāj' (Cl. Cahen). By 'your land-tax', Mu'āwiyah presumably meant 'the land-tax that you collect from local landowners'.

36 Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl fī sharḥ Kitāb al-amthāl*, 98. Compare our expression 'to bite the dust'. The Arabic phrase *li-l-yadayn wa-l-fam* is said to express pleasure at see-

According to al-Ṭabarī's *History*, al-Ḥasan³⁷ ibn 'Alī, peace be upon him, died of poisoning in Mu'āwiyah's time. Mu'āwiyah, cunning schemer that he was, surreptitiously brought a potion to Ja'dah bint al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, the wife of al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, and said to her, 'Kill al-Ḥasan, and I will give you my son Yazīd as your husband.' Once al-Ḥasan was dead, Ja'dah sent a message to Mu'āwiyah reminding him of his promise, only to receive the reply, 'I cannot relinquish Yazīd.'

Kuthayyir³⁸ composed an elegy on al-Ḥasan, containing the following lines:³⁹

Ja'd, lament him unwearyingly,
with a true weeping, not idle.
You will not bury another dead man like him,
among people barefoot or shod.

According to the account of 'Awānah ibn al-Ḥakam,⁴⁰ before the death of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, peace be upon them both, Mu'āwiyah wrote to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam,⁴¹ his governor in Medina, instructing him to send word to Damascus with the utmost speed as soon as there was any news of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī. 'Send the horses!', he wrote.⁴² 'It was only a short time later,' continues the historian, 'that Marwān wrote to report that al-Ḥasan was dead.'

ing someone fall. 'Alī had had enough of al-Ashtar by this time; he had sent him to Egypt to have him well out of the way. However, another school of historians attributes this remark, more plausibly, to Mu'āwiyah (Müller's edition has 'Mu'āwiyah' here, instead of 'Alī). See e.g. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Asmā' al-muḡhtālīn*, 160, where Mu'āwiyah says, on the death of two of 'Alī's supporters, "'Alī once had two hands. One was 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, the other was al-Ashtar. God the exalted has cut off both of them!"; similarly al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, iii:3394.

37 After the murder of his father, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥasan was a claimant to the caliphate until he renounced his claim in favour of Mu'āwiyah. See *EI*² art. '(al-) Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib' (Veccia Vaglieri). Ṭabarī does not include the assassination of al-Ḥasan in the *History*; see Madelung, *Succession*, 331.

38 Kuthayyir ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, known as Kuthayyir 'Azzah, after his lady-love, a Medinan poet of the 1st/7th c. See *EI*² art. 'Kuthayyir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān' (I. 'Abbās).

39 Metre: *sarī*. Kuthayyir, *Dīwān*, 493. Attributed to al-Najāshī al-Ḥārithī in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (ed. al-'Aẓm), ii:401, al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii:82, etc. In Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, ix:294 the verses are said to be by Ja'dah (here shortened to Ja'd) bint al-Ash'ath herself.

40 A 2nd/8th cent. historian, one of the chief authorities for the early Umayyad period. His works have survived only in the form of quotations in later historians. See *EI*² art. "'Awānah b. al-Ḥakam' (Saleh A. el-Ali).

41 A member of the Umayyad clan of Quraysh, a cousin of the Caliph 'Uthmān and subsequently caliph himself, after the death of Mu'āwiyah 11 ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah. See *EI*² art. 'Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam' (C.E. Bosworth).

42 All the manuscripts read *uqtul al-maṭīyy* ('kill the horses') rather than *aqbil al-maṭīyy*

As a rule, whenever Ibn ‘Abbās⁴³ called on Mu‘āwiyah, the caliph would invite him to sit with him on his couch; he would then give permission for other visitors to come in and take their seats. When Ibn ‘Abbās came to see Mu‘āwiyah after al-Ḥasan’s death, however, the caliph did not give him time to so much as utter a greeting. ‘Ibn ‘Abbās,’ he said, ‘have you heard? Al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī is dead.’ ‘No,’ said Ibn ‘Abbās. ‘I have just learned of his death,’ said Mu‘āwiyah. ‘We are God’s, and to Him we shall return,’ said Ibn ‘Abbās. ‘O Mu‘āwiyah,’ he went on, ‘his death will not serve to extend your own life, and his achievements will not go with him into the grave. We have been afflicted with a greater loss than this with the death of Muḥammad, may God bless him and keep him, yet God consoled our grief and did not destroy us afterward.’ ‘Will you not be seated, Ibn ‘Abbās?’ said Mu‘āwiyah, but Ibn ‘Abbās retorted, ‘This is not a day in which to be seated.’

Mu‘āwiyah took a malicious pleasure at the death of al-Ḥasan, prompting Qutham ibn ‘Abbās⁴⁴ to compose the following verses:⁴⁵

Ibn Hind is gloating today,
visibly proud, now that Ḥasan is dead.
God’s mercy be on him! For so long he
caused grief⁴⁶ to Ibn Hind and was energetic.(?)⁴⁷
All his life he bore upon him
with the equivalent of (the weight of) Mounts Raḍwā, Thabīr, and
Ḥaḍan,

(‘send the horses’). The emendation to *aqbil al-maṭīyy* is supported by parallel texts such as Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*. ii:66, which has *katāba ilayhi an aqbil al-maṭīyy ilayya bi-khabar al-Ḥasan*; see also, quoting Ibn Khallikān, in al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i:58; and a parallel in Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, ix:294.

43 ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās, 1st/7th cent. Quranic exegete and soldier, a cousin of Muḥammad’s and son of the eponymous ancestor of the Abbasid caliphs. He commanded a wing of ‘Alī’s troops at both the Battle of the Camel (36/656) and the Battle of Ṣiffīn in the following year. However, he and ‘Alī subsequently became estranged, for reasons that are not entirely clear, and after ‘Alī’s murder, Ibn ‘Abbās became friendly with Mu‘āwiyah. See *EI* *Three* art. “‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās” (Cl. Gilliot).

44 Qutham ibn al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī, a cousin and Companion of Muḥammad’s. See *EI*² art. ‘Qutham b. al-‘Abbās’ (C.E. Bosworth).

45 Metre: *ramal*. Lines 1 and 5 are attributed to his famous brother ‘Abd Allāh in al-Zamakhsharī, *Rabī‘ al-abrār*, iv:197; the other lines have not been found elsewhere. Ibn Hind is the Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwiyah, son of Abū Sufyān and Hind. Raḍwā, Thabīr, and Ḥaḍan are mountains in Arabia.

46 Marginal note in MS A: ‘The word *shajan* means something stuck in the throat; it is a synonym of *ghuṣṣah*.’

47 Translation uncertain.

Whenever he advanced, being alive, raising
 his voice and his breast boiling with grudges.
 But today you may graze, Ibn Hind, in peace!
 Being fat makes a wild ass easily frightened.
 And fear God, show repentance,
 (wishing) that what happened were as if it had not happened.

7.6 Abū Ḥakam¹

A Christian physician, very learned in all types of treatment and medicines; he performed some remarkable feats and created some noteworthy formulations. Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān consulted him regularly and relied on the medications that he compounded for various purposes at the caliph's request. Abū Ḥakam was granted a long life, exceeding a full century.²

I have the following story from Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm,³ who had heard the account from his father, who in turn had had it from the physician 'Īsā ibn Ḥakam al-Dimashqī,⁴ who had heard it from his father, who had had it from his father. 'In the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān,' 'Īsā's grandfather⁵ said, 'the caliph's son Yazīd was responsible for leading the *ḥajj*-caravan, and on one occasion his father sent me along as Yazīd's personal physician. Accordingly, I set out for Mecca as physician to Yazīd, along with 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās.⁶ 'Abd al-Ṣamad and Yazīd were of the same generation,⁷ yet between their respective dates of death there was an interval of a hundred and twenty-odd years'.⁸

1 For bibliographic references to Abū Ḥakam, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 205. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 A lunar century, of course, i.e. 97 years.

3 The 3rd/9th cent. courtier and intellectual, Ibn al-Dāyah, author of an *Akhbār al-aṭibbā'* often cited by IAU. See *Et² art.* 'Ibn al-Dāya' (F. Rosenthal) and notes in Ch. 8.3.6.

4 His biography is given below at Ch. 7.8.

5 I.e. Abū Ḥakam, the subject of this biography.

6 A brother of 'Abd Allāh, who commanded the Abbasid army at the battle of the Great Zab in 132/750, which sealed the fate of the Umayyad caliphate.

7 These distant cousins traced their respective ancestries back through five generations to the brothers 'Abd Shams and Ḥāshim ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Quṣayy: Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah ibn 'Abd Shams, and 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Ḥāshim. The word *qu'dud* means literally 'nearness of relationship to the ancestor of the tribe or family' (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. Q-²-D).

8 Yazīd died in 64/683 and 'Abd al-Ṣamad in 185/801–802 (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:449).

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm states: I have heard from ‘Īsā ibn al-Ḥakam, who had the account from his father, that his grandfather⁹ had told him that when ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān¹⁰ was suffering from his final illness, he had ordered the caliph not to drink any water, as to do so before the disease had fully matured would undoubtedly kill him. ‘Abd al-Malik refrained from drinking for two days and part of a third. In the physician’s own words, ‘I was seated at his bedside, and his daughters were present as well. Just then, his son al-Walīd¹¹ entered the room and asked him how he was, with an expression of eager anticipation at the prospect of his father’s death. The caliph replied with a line of poetry:

Many a person asking about us wants us to die,
male or female, while their tears are flowing in streams!¹²

When he began to recite the first half of the line, he was looking at al-Walīd; when he reached the second half, he turned his head and looked at his daughters. He then called for some water, drank it, and died forthwith.’

7.7 Ḥakam al-Dimashqī¹

[7.7.1]

This physician followed in his father’s footsteps: like him, he had an extensive knowledge of the treatment of disease and therapeutic procedures, and was skilled in the art of compounding ingenious medications. He lived in Damascus, and, like his father, he was granted a long life.

[7.7.2]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm tells us:

I have heard from ‘Īsā ibn Ḥakam² that his father died while ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir³ was in Damascus in the year 210. ‘Abd Allāh asked him how old

9 I.e., Ibn al-Dāyah; see n. 3 above.

10 The fifth Umayyad caliph, r. 65–86/685–705.

11 Who succeeded ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān as caliph upon the latter’s death.

12 Metre: *tawīl*. See al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, ii: 167; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (ed. al-‘Azmi), vi:189 (rhyme word *sawākibū*) and 387; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii:319; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, ix:293.

1 For bibliographic references to Ḥakam al-Dimashqī, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 205, 227. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. It is not in Ibn al-Qifī.

2 The subject of the next biography (Ch. 7.8).

3 Poet, general, statesman, confidant of caliphs and, as governor of Khorasan, almost an

his father had been, and he replied that Ḥakam had been 105 years old when he died, and that he had still had all his wits about him and had forgotten none of his learning. ‘Abd Allāh remarked, ‘His life spanned half of history’.⁴

I have also heard from ‘Īsā that once, while he and his father were out riding in the city of Damascus, they passed by the establishment of a cupper, with a great throng of people crowding around. Someone in the crowd noticed us and called out, ‘Make way there, make way, this is the famous physician Ḥakam and his son ‘Īsā.’ The crowd made way for us, and we saw a man whom the cupper had bled by opening his basilic vein.⁵ Now the basilic vein overlies an artery, and between making too wide an incision and not being sufficiently careful about determining the location of the vein, the cupper had nicked the artery, and was now unable to staunch the bleeding. We tried our usual methods, applying rags, cobweb and soft animal hair, to no avail. My father asked me if I could suggest any other recourse, but I replied that I knew of none. At that, he called for a pistachio nut. Cracking it in two, he discarded the kernel, took one of the two half-shells, and placed it on the site of the incision. Taking a strip of coarse linen torn from the hem of someone’s robe, he bound the arm so tightly with it, pressing the half-shell upon the incision, that the patient cried out, ‘Help!’ After having tightened the bandage even further, my father had the man carried to the Baradā River,⁶ where he ordered him to immerse his arm in the water. Making a smooth place on the riverbank, he told the patient to lie there, and he gave instructions that he should be fed soft-boiled egg yolks. Finally, he left one of his students to keep watch, telling him to be sure not to allow the patient to take the incised arm out of the water, except at prayer times, unless there appeared to be a serious risk of his dying of cold, in which case he might remove it for a short time, but he must immerse it again afterward. Thus matters remained until the end of the day. My father then sent the man home, instructing him not to cover the site of the incision or loosen the bandage for a full five days. The patient complied, but when my father went to see him on

independent sovereign (182–230/798–844). His father, Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, had founded the powerful Ṭāhirid dynasty, which ruled over a territory extending from al-Rayy to the Indian frontier, with its capital at Naysābūr, *ET*² art. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir’ (E. Marin).

4 ‘History’ here means ‘Islamic history’, i.e. the 210 lunar years that had elapsed since the Hijrah. The word used is *ta’riḫh*, literally ‘dating’ (often distinguished from *tāriḫh*, ‘history’, which has a different plural: *tawāriḫh* instead of *ta’āriḫh*).

5 A large superficial vein of the arm.

6 The Baradā flows through Damascus.

the third day, he found that both the forearm and the upper arm were greatly swollen. Accordingly, he loosened the bandage somewhat, saying to the man, 'Some swelling is easier to bear than death.' On the fifth day, he removed the bandage, and we found the pistachio shell stuck to the flesh. My father said to the man, 'You have escaped death thanks to this shell. Do not remove it, but leave it strictly alone until it falls off of itself; otherwise, you are a dead man!'

On the seventh day the shell fell off, revealing a thick scab the shape and size of a pistachio nut. My father told the patient not to fiddle with it, scratch the skin around it, or pick any of it off with his fingers. It gradually flaked away until, more than 40 days later, the site of the incision became visible, and the man had completely recovered.

7.8 ʿĪsā ibn Ḥakam al-Dimashqī¹

[7.8.1]

ʿĪsā ibn Ḥakam, who was known as Masīḥ,² was the author of the *Greater Compendium* (*al-Kunnāsh al-kabīr*) which bears his name and has made him famous.

[7.8.2]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm³ tells us:

I have heard from ʿĪsā ibn Ḥakam that when Ghadīd, the *umm walad*⁴ of Hārūn al-Rashīd, suffered an attack of colic, she sent for him and also for two astrologers, al-Abahḥ and al-Ṭabarī.⁵ She first asked ʿĪsā what treatment he considered appropriate. 'This is such a severe colic,' he replied,

1 For bibliographic references to ʿĪsā ibn Ḥakam al-Dimashqī, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 227; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 112; Gigandet, *La Risāla al-Hārūniyya*; Langermann, 'Masīḥ bin Ḥakam'.

2 The Arabic term for 'Messiah' (ʿĪsā being an Arabic version of Jesus). Ibn al-Qifṭī does not make any reference to this nickname. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, who quotes IAU, adds this gloss: 'he received this name because of the Christian traditions (*al-āthār al-masīḥiyyah*) that became known to the [Jewish sect called] ʿĪsawiyyah thanks to him (*ʿalā yadayhi*) [or: that the ʿĪsawiyyah made known thanks to him], and the wonders that were transmitted, which are not related to prophecy', see Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:180.

3 A commonly used source. See *EI*² art. 'Ibn al-Dāya' (F. Rosenthal).

4 A slave concubine who had borne a child to her master.

5 Marginal note in MS A: 'Note. These were two leading astrologers. Both of them are the authors of works on the subject.'

'that your life is in danger; it must be treated with an enema at once.' She then turned to the two astrologers and asked them to select a suitable time for the procedure. Al-Abahh said, 'Your illness is not of such a kind that you can afford to delay until some astrologer deems the time propitious. My view is that you should undergo treatment immediately, lest your condition become worse. That is what 'Īsā ibn Ḥakam advises, and I concur.'

'Īsā ibn Ḥakam's account continues: 'She asked me to confirm what al-Abahh had said, and I replied that it was true. Then she asked al-Ṭabarī for his opinion. He replied, "Today, the moon is in conjunction with Saturn; tomorrow, it will be in conjunction with Jupiter. In my opinion, you should put off the treatment until then."⁶ Al-Abahh broke in to say, "I fear that by the time the moon has closed with Jupiter, this colic will have progressed to such an extent that no treatment will be of any avail." Both Ghaḍīḍ and her daughter, Umm Muḥammad, thought that that was an unlucky thing to say; they ordered al-Abahh to be shown out of the house, and Ghaḍīḍ announced that she would follow al-Ṭabarī's advice. Before the moon had caught up with Jupiter, however, Ghaḍīḍ had died. When the moon was in conjunction with Jupiter, al-Abahh sent a message to Umm Muḥammad, saying, "This is the time selected by al-Ṭabarī for the treatment: where is our patient?" This message enraged Umm Muḥammad even further, and she remained hostile to al-Abahh to the day of her death.'

[7.8.3]

Yūsuf recounts:⁷

In the year 225/840, suffering from a bad head cold, I went to stay with 'Īsā ibn Ḥakam at his home in Damascus. He gave me savoury food to eat and snow-cooled water to drink. When I objected that such dainty fare was harmful in the case of a cold, he countered that it all depended on the climate. 'I know more than you do about the climate of my country,' he said, 'and things that are harmful in Iraq are beneficial here in Damascus.' Accordingly, I ate the food that was placed before me. When I left the region, he accompanied me as far as a place named al-Rāhib. As we

6 According to 'Īsā ibn al-Ḥakam's astrological section in *al-Risālah al-Hārūniyyah*, certain medical treatments such as cupping were to be avoided when the moon was approaching Saturn; see Gigandet, *La Risālah al-Hārūniyyah*, 199 and Langermann, 'Masīḥ bin Ḥakam', 292. In this anecdote, it is al-Ṭabarī who follows this rule.

7 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 249.

were parting company, he said to me, 'I have prepared a parcel of food for you to take with you. It does not contain the same kinds of food that you ate while you were staying in my house. From now on, do not touch those kinds of food, and do not drink any cold water.' When I asked him indignantly why he had feasted me as he had, he replied, 'It is unbecoming for a rational man to require a guest in his house to follow the rules of the art of medicine.'

Yūsuf further says:

Once, in Damascus, ʿĪsā and I fell into a discussion about onions. He launched into a diatribe against the things, listing various reasons why they were to be regarded as unwholesome. I should mention here that ʿĪsā and Salmawayh ibn Bunān⁸ lived like monks and never had a good word to say about foods that promoted sexual activity, holding that it made bodies die and souls perish. I did not think it appropriate to discuss the onion's ability to enhance sexual performance; I simply commented that in the course of my present trip from Samarra to Damascus I had personally experienced one beneficial property of onions. 'What was that?' he asked, and I told him that I had tasted the water of a certain well along the way and found it to be brackish, but that after having eaten some raw onions, I had tasted the water again and found it noticeably less brackish. ʿĪsā was seldom heard to laugh, but he burst out laughing at that. Then a concerned look came over his face, and he said, 'I am distressed to see a man of your intelligence go so wrong. You encountered the very least attractive feature of onions, their very worst defect, and mistook it for a virtue. Is it not true that when some disturbance befalls the brain, the senses – smell, taste, hearing and sight – are adversely affected?' I acknowledged that that was indeed the case. 'You see,' he said, 'one of the properties of onions is that they induce a disturbance in the brain, and that is what happened to you. You perceived the water to be less brackish only because the onions you had eaten had perturbed the functioning of your brain.'

When ʿĪsā accompanied me to al-Rāhib, his final words to me were, 'My father died at the age of a hundred and five, his face unwrinkled and its brightness undimmed, thanks to some practices of his. I shall now tell you what they were, and recommend that you follow them: never to eat dried

8 A Nestorian Christian physician who was personal physician to the caliph al-Mu'taṣim (r. 218–227/833–842). Salmawayh translated a number of Galen's works from Greek into Arabic and was a friend and associate of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq. His biography is at Ch. 8.20.

salt meat, and to wash the hands and feet with water as cold as you can bear upon emerging from the bath. If you do these things, you will find them beneficial.' I have followed his advice, except that I have sometimes sucked on a small piece of dried salt meat, perhaps once in the course of a year or longer.

[7.8.4]

ʿĪsā ibn Ḥakam is the author of the following works:

1. A compendium (*Kunnāsh*)
2. The uses of animals (*K. Manāfi' al-ḥayawān*)

7.9 Tayādhūq¹

[7.9.1]

An eminent physician, and the author of a number of pointed aphorisms and pithy sayings about the art of medicine. God granted him a long life: he saw the advent of the dynasty of the Umayyads, who held his medical skill in high esteem. In addition, he became closely associated with al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafi,² whom the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān³ had appointed governor, and served him faithfully with his knowledge of the art of medicine. Al-Ḥajjāj relied on Tayādhūq and had confidence in his treatment, and consequently paid him lavishly and provided abundantly for all his needs.

Tayādhūq provided al-Ḥajjāj with much medical advice, including, 'Marry none but a young woman; eat only meat from a young animal, and make sure it is well cooked; drink medicine only if you are ill; eat none but ripe fruit; chew your food thoroughly; when you eat a meal during the day, there is no harm in having a nap, but when you eat a meal at night, do not go to bed without having gone for a walk, even if it is no more than fifty paces.'

1 Possibly a name of Greek origin, perhaps Theodokos. For bibliographic references to Tayādhūq, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 207; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 22–23. He is often quoted by al-Rāzī in his *al-Ḥāwī*. The biography is included in all three versions of the book. Much of the information appears to derive from the *K. Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj* mentioned below in Ch. 7.9.2 and 7.9.4.

2 The most competent, and arguably also the most ruthless, of all Umayyad governors (c. 41–95/661–714). A loyal servant of the caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd, he suppressed revolts in Iraq and the eastern provinces, and subsequently promoted agriculture and restored prosperity there. See *ET*² art. 'al-Ḥadjjād b. Yūsuf' (A. Dietrich).

3 The fifth Umayyad caliph, r. 65–86/685–705. See *ET*² art. 'ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān' (H.A.R. Gibb).

On one occasion, this advice drew the following comment from a bystander: 'If the matter is as you say, how is it that Hippocrates is dead, Galen is dead, and all the others are dead? Not one of them is left; how can that be?' Tayādhūq replied, 'A fair question, young man. Now, pay attention: they managed their lives well in so far as it was in their power to do so, but they were overcome by things over which they had no control.' By that he meant death and external accidents such as heat, cold, falling, drowning, injury, grief and the like.

Tayādhūq also gave al-Ḥajjāj the following admonitions: 'Do not eat until you are hungry; do not engage in sexual relations if you feel reluctant; never hold in your urine; and always remember that the bath is a good servant but a bad master'.⁴ He told him, 'Four things that are injurious to life and have been the death of many a man are: entering the bath too soon after eating, sexual relations on a full stomach, eating dried salt meat, and drinking cold water while the stomach is empty. A fifth, sexual congress with an old woman, is not far behind.'

[7.9.2]

According to the reports of him and al-Ḥajjāj,⁵ the governor asked the physician when he came to see him one day whether there was any remedy for the habit of eating clay.⁶ 'Yes, indeed,' Tayādhūq replied, 'for a man such as yourself, O emir, it is called will-power!' Al-Ḥajjāj immediately dropped the lump of clay that he was holding and never ate clay again.

One day, al-Ḥajjāj was suffering from a bad headache. He summoned Tayādhūq, who advised him to bathe his feet in hot water and then to rub them with oil. One of al-Ḥajjāj's eunuchs who was present at the time remarked, 'By God, I have never seen a physician so clearly lacking in knowledge of the art of medicine. Here is the emir with a headache, and the remedy you prescribe is all about his feet!' 'And why not?' Tayādhūq retorted, 'consider your own case.' 'How do you mean?' the eunuch asked. 'Why,' said Tayādhūq, 'here your testicles have been removed, and see! the hairs of your beard have all fallen out.' Al-Ḥajjāj and all the company laughed heartily at this.

4 Literally, 'Take from the bath before it takes from you (*khudh min al-ḥammām qabla an ya'khudha minka*).'

5 Cf. *Reports* below in Ch. 7.9.4.

6 This is the edible 'Khurāsānī clay', a diatomaceous earth found around Nishapur and exported widely. Al-Washshā, *Muwashshā*, 132 mentions it as fashionable food for refined people (*zur-qfā*). Other references e.g.: al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abī l-Qāsim*, 230; al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, 539–540 (a *raṭl* of it could cost a dinar). There are prophetic Hadiths recommending eating it, but Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (*al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 337) remarks, 'Every Hadith about (edible) *ṭīn* is spurious ... It is harmful'.

Another time, al-Ḥajjāj sent for Tayādhūq and informed him that he was troubled with weakness of the stomach and dyspepsia. 'I advise the emir,' said the physician, 'to have pistachio nuts with red outer shells⁷ brought to him, crack them open, and eat the kernels; that will strengthen his stomach.' That evening, al-Ḥajjāj sent word to all his concubines that his physician had prescribed pistachio nuts, whereupon each of them sent him a dish full of shelled pistachio kernels, on which he gorged. This brought on a bout of diarrhoea and vomiting (*hayḍah*) from which he nearly died. He complained to Tayādhūq that the pistachio treatment had made his condition worse, and told him what had occurred. 'I told you to send for some pistachio nuts in their shells,' Tayādhūq replied, 'and to crack them open one by one, for in biting the shells you would have absorbed something of the aromatic and binding substances in them, which fortify the stomach. You did not follow my advice,' and he proceeded to treat al-Ḥajjāj for his attack of diarrhoea.

[7.9.3]

A certain king is said to have asked Tayādhūq for advice when he saw that the physician had reached a great age, for he was more skilful and learned than any other practitioner of that age, and the king feared that there would be no one of equal stature to succeed him when he died. Accordingly, he went to Tayādhūq and said to him, 'Give me some precepts upon which I can rely and which I can use to guide my life and apply as long as I live, for there can be no certainty that you will not die, and if you do, I may be unable to find anyone as skilled as you.'

Tayādhūq replied, 'Majesty, it is my pleasure to state ten precepts for you, which you should mark well. Avoid these things, and you will never fall ill as long as you live. Eat nothing if you already have food in your stomach. Do not swallow anything that your teeth are unable to chew, as it will cause cramps in your stomach. After eating, drink no water until two hours have elapsed, for dyspepsia is the origin of disease, and food followed by water is the origin of dyspepsia. Go to the bath once every other day; hygiene will eliminate what medicine cannot. Augmenting the blood in your body will preserve your life. Take an emetic and a laxative in every season of the year. Never try to hold in your urine, not even while riding. Always visit the latrine before going to bed. Do not engage too frequently in sexual activity, for whether frequent or infrequent, it draws upon the fire of life. Lastly, sexual congress with an old woman is sudden death.'

⁷ The outer shells of pistachios turn yellow or red when the nuts are fully ripe.

When the king heard this, he ordered his secretary to write it all down in letters of red gold and to deposit the manuscript in a chest inlaid with gold. He consulted the precepts every day and applied them scrupulously, with the result that he never had a day's illness in his entire life, until he was overtaken by ineluctable death, from which there can be no escape.

[7.9.4]

We read in the work of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Qāsim, the secretary,⁸ that al-Ḥajjāj once said to his son Muḥammad, 'My son, long ago, Tayādhūq, the physician, gave me a number of recommendations for my health. I have followed them scrupulously, and they have invariably done me good. I went to visit him when he lay near death, and he said to me, "Be sure to follow those recommendations of mine, and do not forget them." So remember always: never drink medicine unless you need it; never eat food while there is already food in your stomach; after every meal, go for a walk forty paces in length; when you are full of food, sleep on your left side; never eat fruit once it has begun to spoil; eat only the meat of young animals; do not have sex with an old woman; clean your teeth with a tooth-stick; and after you have eaten meat, do not eat more meat, for that is enough to kill a lion in the desert.'

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Qāsim's *Reports of al-Ḥajjāj* (*K. Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj*) also contains an account of the events attending the execution of Sa'īd ibn Jubayr,⁹ may God have mercy upon him, at the orders of al-Ḥajjāj. Sa'īd was among the leading *tābi'ūn*.¹⁰ After his capture, he and al-Ḥajjāj engaged in a lengthy dispute, until finally al-Ḥajjāj ordered him executed in his presence. The quantity of blood was such that al-Ḥajjāj was astonished and appalled. 'What is the explanation of this?' he said to his physician, Tayādhūq, The physician replied, 'It is because of his composure. The prospect of death did not distress him, and he was not cowed at your treatment of him, unlike some others whom you have had executed; they were in an agitated state, and consequently there was less blood.'

8 Al-Ḥajjāj's biographer. No references are known to this *Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj*, which is the title of a lost work by Ibn al-Kalbī.

9 A leading 1st/7th cent. legal scholar from Kufa. He took part in the great revolt against al-Ḥajjāj that was led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ash'ath; see *EI*² art. 'Ibn al-Ash'ath' (L. Veccia Vaglieri) and was crushed at the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim in 82/702. Sa'īd escaped, but was subsequently apprehended, and al-Ḥajjāj had him executed in 95/714.

10 The Followers, or Successors, of the Prophet's Companions.

[7.9.5]

Tayādhūq lived to be very old. He finally died in Wāsiṭ¹¹ about the year 90/709.

His works include:

1. A great compendium (*Kunnāsh kabīr*), which he composed for his son.
2. Substitute medications and methods for pulverising, macerating and dissolving (*K. Abdāl al-adwiyah wa-kayfiyyat daqqihā wa-inqā'ihā wa-idhābatihā*).
3. An explanation of the names of medicinal substances (*Shay' min tafsi'r asmā' al-adwiyah*).

7.10 Zaynab, the Physician of the Banū Awd¹

A woman who was known as 'the physician of the Banū Awd'.² She was a skilled medical practitioner, and was particularly renowned among the Arabs for her expertise in treating sore eyes and wounds.

Abu l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, in his work, *The Great Book of Songs* (*K. al-Aghānī l-kabīr*),³ gives an account which he had heard from Muḥammad ibn Khalaf al-Marzubān,⁴ who related the story on the authority of Ḥammād ibn Iṣḥāq,⁵ who had had it from his father, who had heard it from Ibn Kunāsah,⁶ who had had it from his father on the authority of his grandfather. In the words of the last-named of these:

I consulted a woman of the Banū Awd and asked her to treat an inflammation of the eyes⁷ from which I was suffering. She applied some salve,

11 A city built on the west bank of the Tigris by al-Ḥajjāj about 83/702 as his administrative centre for Iraq. He also died there, shortly after having had Sa'īd ibn Jubayr put to death.

1 There appears to be no bibliographic information on Zaynab. The biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 Awd ibn Ṣa'b, a small tribe of the Madhhij group. See e.g. al-Kalbī/Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, i: 270, ii: 206.

3 This corresponds verbatim to al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, xiii:344.

4 An Iraqi religious scholar and translator of the 4th/9th cent. See *ET*² art. 'Muḥammad b. Khalaf' (G. Troupeau).

5 Son of Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (150–235/767–850), a celebrated musician; see *ET*² art. 'Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī' (J.W. Fück).

6 An Iraqi poet and scholar (123–207 or 208/741–823 or 824). See *ET*² art. 'Ibn Kunāsa' (Ch. Pellet).

7 Ophthalmia (*ramad*).

and then said, 'Lie down, so that the salve can spread over your eyes.' I complied, and as I did so I quoted a line of poetry:⁸

Will the vagaries of Fate take me away before I have visited
the physician of the Banū Awd, Zaynab, in spite of the distance?

At this, the woman burst out laughing, and then said, 'Do you know who that verse refers to?' 'No,' I said. 'None other than myself, by God,' she said, 'I am the Zaynab whom the poet mentions; I am the woman doctor of the Banū Awd. Do you know who wrote the verse?' 'No,' I said again. 'It was your uncle!' she said, 'Abū Simāk al-Asadī'.⁹

8 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix: 185, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xiii:344.

9 Unidentified. There was an Abū Simāk al-Asadī at Ṣiffīn (Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*); there is some confusion with Abū l-Sammāl al-Asadī (e.g. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, ii:267).

Syriac Physicians of the Early Abbasid Period

Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter, Emilie Savage-Smith and Geert Jan van Gelder (poetry)

I propose to begin with accounts of Jūrjis, his son Bukhtīshūʿ, and other distinguished members of that family in chronological order, proceeding subsequently to accounts of other eminent physicians of that period.

8.1 Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl¹

[8.1.1]

Jūrjis was experienced in the art of medicine and was knowledgeable about remedies and methods of treatment. He enjoyed the favour of the caliph al-Manṣūr,² who employed him as his physician, and in consequence acquired considerable prestige and substantial wealth. He also translated numerous works from Greek to Arabic at al-Manṣūr's instigation.

We read in the account of Pethion³ the Translator that al-Manṣūr first sent for Jūrjis when he fell ill in 148/765, the year in which he built Baghdad, the City of Peace. His stomach was upset and he had no appetite, and the more his doctors treated him, the worse he felt. Finally he determined to consult them in a body, and accordingly instructed al-Rabī⁴ to have them all brought before him. When they were assembled, al-Manṣūr confronted them and demanded, 'Does any one of you know of a competent physician in any city anywhere?' 'Yes,' they replied, 'at the present time, there is no one who is comparable to Jūrjis, the head physician at Gondēshāpūr.⁵ He is a knowledgeable physician

1 For bibliographic references to Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 209, Ullmann, *Medizin* 108, no. 1; Jūrjis is one of several Arabic forms of Georgius or George. Biographies 7, 17, 32, 33, 35 are missing from Version 1, but are found in Versions 2 and 3.

2 The second Abbasid caliph (r. 136–158/754–775), founder of the city of Baghdad.

3 Pethion the Translator (fl. 2nd half 9th cent.) was the author of a lost ecclesiastical history; see Ch. 9.16 for a brief biographical entry on him. This passage, slightly paraphrased, can be found in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 152–153.

4 Al-Rabīʿ ibn Yūnus ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Farwah, who was born a slave but rose to become al-Manṣūr's chamberlain. See *ET*² art. 'al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus' (A.S. Atiya).

5 Gondēshāpūr (Jundaysābūr) was an ancient city (now ruins) to the southeast of Dizfūl in

and has written important works on the art of medicine.' Upon hearing this, al-Manṣūr at once dispatched an emissary to bring Jūrjis to Baghdad.

When the emissary reached Gondēshāpūr, he ordered the governor of the place to have Jūrjis brought to him. When he appeared, the emissary informed him that they were to travel together to Baghdad at once. 'I have some matters to attend to here first,' said Jūrjis, 'you will have to wait a few days until I am free to go with you.' 'If you will come with me tomorrow morning of your own volition, well and good,' said the emissary, 'otherwise, I am taking you with me, like it or not.' Jūrjis refused, whereupon the emissary had him seized and put under arrest. The leading men of the town, including the Metropolitan, then went in a body to see him and urged him to comply, and in the end he agreed, first designating his son Bukhtīshū' to be in charge of the hospital and all matters pertaining to it and selecting two of his pupils, Ibrāhīm and Sarjis (Sergius),⁶ to accompany him to Baghdad. At this, Bukhtīshū' begged him to select another pupil, 'Īsā ibn Shahlā, to take with him instead. 'Don't leave him here,' he said, 'for he is a serious annoyance to the patients⁷ of the hospital.' Accordingly, Jūrjis left Sarjis behind and took 'Īsā along with him instead, and they all set out for Baghdad.

As Jūrjis was taking leave of his son Bukhtīshū', the young man said to him, 'Why are you not taking me with you?' Jūrjis replied, 'There is no hurry, my boy. You are going to serve kings and achieve great things.'

As soon as the party reached the caliph's court, al-Manṣūr ordered Jūrjis brought before him. Upon entering, he greeted the caliph in Persian and in Arabic. Al-Manṣūr was greatly impressed at his visitor's distinguished demeanour and cultivated speech, and bade him be seated. He then asked the physician about various matters, Jūrjis responding with composure. Finally al-Manṣūr said, 'It seems to me that in you I have found the man I have been looking for,' and he proceeded to describe his illness and its initial symptoms. 'I shall treat you in a way you will like,' replied Jūrjis, whereupon the caliph ordered the servants to bring a robe of honour for him and said to al-Rabī', 'Have one of our best suites of apartments placed at his disposal, and see to it that he is treated as an honoured guest.'

The next morning, Jūrjis went to see al-Manṣūr. He felt his pulse, examined a phial of his urine, and persuaded him that a lighter diet would be benefi-

what is now southwest Iran that was reputed to be a centre of medical learning, complete with a hospital and an academy. For the reasons why much of that reputation is to be regarded as mythical, see Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 20–21.

6 I.e. Sergius.

7 Literally, 'the people (*ahl*) of the hospital'.

cial. With such conservative treatment, the caliph was soon his old self again. Delighted at this outcome, he ordered that the physician's every wish should be granted. A few days later, however, al-Manṣūr said to al-Rabī', 'That man looks discontented to me. You haven't been depriving him of something that he usually drinks, have you?' 'Well,' said the chamberlain, 'we're not allowing him to bring wine into the palace.' At this, the caliph cursed him roundly and said, 'You yourself shall go and obtain for him as much wine as he wants.' So al-Rabī' went out to Quṭrabbul⁸ and brought back as much good wine as he could carry for Jūrjis.

[8.1.2]

After Jūrjis had been in Baghdad for two years, al-Manṣūr said to him, 'Send someone to Gondēshāpūr to bring your son here, for I have heard that he is as skilled in the art of medicine as you are yourself.' 'He is needed there in Gondēshāpūr,' objected Jūrjis. 'If he were to leave, the hospital would go to rack and ruin, and the people of the town would have no one to consult when they fell ill. But I have some of my pupils here with me, young men whom I have taught myself and whom I have trained in the art of medicine until they are as skilled as I am myself.' The caliph ordered him to bring them to him the following morning so that he might put them to the test. The next day, accordingly, Jūrjis brought 'Īsā ibn Shahlā with him to see al-Manṣūr. The caliph questioned the young man on various matters, and found him to be quick-witted and proficient in his understanding of the art of medicine. 'Your description was quite accurate,' said al-Manṣūr to Jūrjis, 'you have taught him well.'

Pethion's account continues:⁹ In the year 151/768, Jūrjis went to see the caliph on Christmas Day. 'What shall I eat today?' enquired al-Manṣūr. 'Whatever the Commander of the Faithful chooses,' replied Jūrjis, and made as though to take his leave, but when he had reached the door, the caliph called him back. 'Who are your servants here?' he asked. 'My pupils,' answered Jūrjis. 'I have heard that you have no wife,' said al-Manṣūr. 'I do have a wife,' Jūrjis said, 'but she is old and frail, and cannot leave home to be with me here,' and he left the caliph's presence and went to the church. The caliph then ordered his eunuch¹⁰ Sālīm to select three attractive Roman slave-girls and to deliver them to Jūrjis, along with the sum of three thousand dinars.

8 Quṭrabbul was a village not far from Baghdad that was celebrated for its good wine. See *ET²* art. 'Quṭrabbul' (J. Lassner).

9 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 153–154.

10 *Khādim*, literally 'servant', is very often used as a euphemism for 'eunuch'.

Sālīm did as he had been ordered to do, and when Jūrjis returned home, his pupil ʿĪsā ibn Shahlā informed him what had happened and showed him the slave-girls. Jūrjis was not pleased. ‘Pupil of Satan!’ he said to ʿĪsā. ‘Why did you let them into my house? Go at once and take them back to their owner.’ Mounting his mule, he rode with ʿĪsā and the slave-girls to the caliph’s palace and handed the girls over to the eunuch. When al-Manṣūr heard of the matter, he sent for Jūrjis and asked him why he had returned the slave-girls. ‘Such persons cannot stay in the same house with me,’ answered Jūrjis, ‘because we Christians marry one woman only, and as long as she lives, we take no other wife.’ Al-Manṣūr was filled with admiration, and immediately gave orders that Jūrjis should be allowed admittance to the quarters of his wives and concubines and that he should serve as their physician. This incident enhanced his prestige even further in the caliph’s eyes.

Pethion’s account goes on: In the year 152/769, Jūrjis fell gravely ill. The caliph sent servants daily to obtain news of him, and when his condition worsened, al-Manṣūr ordered him carried in a litter to the public reception of the palace. There the caliph walked out to greet him and ask how he was. ‘O Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong your life,’ cried Jūrjis, his tears flowing copiously, ‘if you would but permit me to return to my native land to see my wife and children and, if I die, to be buried there with my ancestors.’ ‘Fear God and accept Islam, Jūrjis,’ said the caliph; ‘for I can guarantee that you will see Paradise.’ ‘No,’ replied Jūrjis, ‘I shall die in the religion of my ancestors. I want to be with them wherever they are, be that Paradise or Hell.’ The caliph laughed at this. ‘I have been in the best of health ever since I set eyes on you,’ he said. ‘I used to fall ill all the time, but no longer.’ ‘Suppose I leave ʿĪsā ibn Shahlā here with you,’ said Jūrjis, ‘for I have trained him.’ At this, the caliph ordered that Jūrjis should be given 10,000 dinars and allowed to return to his native land, with a servant to accompany him. ‘If he should die on the way,’ said al-Mansūr to the servant, ‘have his body carried to his home, so that he can be buried there as he desires to be.’ In the event, however, Jūrjis was still alive when they reached Gondēshāpūr.

ʿĪsā ibn Shahlā thus took Jūrjis’ place as physician to al-Manṣūr, but he abused his position to plunder metropolitans and bishops, taking their property for himself. However, he overreached when he wrote to the Metropolitan of Niṣībīn¹¹ demanding various church furnishings that were of substantial value, and uttering dire threats in case the Metropolitan should be slow about com-

11 The modern Nusaybin, Turkey, on the southern border, adjoining the Syrian city of Qamishli. A very ancient and famous city.

plying. 'Are you not aware,' he said in the letter, 'of the power I have over the caliph? I can make him fall ill if I wish, and if I wish I can cure him.' The Metropolitan pondered the contents of the letter, racking his brains for some means of escaping his tormentor. Finally he went to al-Rabī', explained the situation to him and read him 'Īsā's letter. The chamberlain, in his turn, went to al-Manṣūr and informed him of what had been going on. The caliph immediately ordered that 'Īsā ibn Shahlā should be dismissed and all his ill-gotten gains confiscated.

Al-Manṣūr then ordered al-Rabī' to enquire for Jūrjis. 'If he is alive,' he said, 'send someone to bring him here, and if he has died, have his son brought instead.' Accordingly, the chamberlain sent a letter of enquiry to the governor of Gondēshāpūr. It so happened, however, that Jūrjis had recently fallen from the roof of his house and was too weak to travel. When the governor approached him about the matter, he answered, 'Please inform the caliph that I shall send him a competent physician who will serve him until such time as I am well again and can go myself.'

He then sent for one of his pupils, named Ibrāhīm, and the governor sent him off to al-Rabī', with a letter explaining the matter of Jūrjis' state of health. When he arrived in Baghdad, al-Rabī' presented him to the caliph, who spoke to him about various matters. Ibrāhīm proved to be quick-witted and able to answer al-Manṣūr's questions readily, with the result that the caliph granted him advancement, treated him with respect, bestowed a robe of honour upon him, paid him lavishly, and retained him for his exclusive service. Ibrāhīm continued as al-Manṣūr's personal physician until the caliph's death.

Jūrjis is the author of the well-known *Compendium* (*Kunnāsh*), which was originally composed in Syriac; the Arabic translation is by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.

8.2 Bukhtīshū' ibn Jūrjis¹

Bukhtīshū' means 'servant of the Messiah', for in the Syriac language *bukht* means 'servant' and *Yashū'* is Jesus, peace be upon him.² Bukhtīshū' ibn Jūrjis knew as much as his father did about the art of medicine and was no less skilful as a practising physician. The time of his greatest renown was during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, whom he served as personal physician.

1 For bibliographic references to Bukhtīshū' ibn Jūrjis, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 210–211; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 109 no. 2. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 In fact, *bukht* does not mean 'servant', and it is not a Syriac word. It seems to be related to Middle Persian *bōkhtan*, 'to save' (e.g. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, 19), and the name means 'saved by Jesus'. The alternative form Bakhtīshū' is also used.

We read in the *History of Pethion the Translator*³ that when Mūsā al-Hādī⁴ fell ill, he sent an emissary to Gondēshāpūr to bring Bukhtīshū‘ to Baghdad, but the caliph died before he had arrived. Al-Hādī had summoned his physicians – Abū Quraysh ʿĪsā,⁵ ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī⁶ and Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn⁷ – and said to them, ‘You take my money and rewards, and now when I am really in need of you, you desert me.’ ‘It is our duty to do our utmost,’ replied Abū Quraysh, ‘but God grants safety.’ At this, the caliph flew into a rage, but al-Rabī‘⁸ said to him, ‘We have heard reports of a competent physician named ‘Abdīshū‘ ibn Naṣr in Nahr Ṣarṣar.’⁹ The caliph immediately ordered the physician brought to him. ‘As for that lot,’ he added, ‘off with their heads.’ Al-Rabī‘ did not have the latter order carried out, knowing as he did that the caliph was not fully *compos mentis* because of his illness, and also aware that his own situation was secure. He did send to Ṣarṣar for the physician ‘Abdīshū‘, and when he arrived, took him to see Mūsā. ‘Have you seen my phial of urine?’ the caliph asked him. He replied, ‘I have, O Commander of the Faithful, and I am here to prepare a remedy for you. Nine hours from now you will be well and rid of your illness.’ After leaving the caliph’s presence, he said to the three physicians, ‘Do not be concerned. You shall all return to your homes later today.’ The caliph had given ‘Abdīshū‘ ten thousand dinars to enable him to purchase the necessary medicines, but the physician had the money carried to his own home instead. He did have some medicinal materials brought to the palace, however. Calling the physicians together in a room not far from where the caliph lay, he said to them, ‘Pound this stuff vigorously so that he can hear you; that will keep him easy in mind. By the end of the day, there will be nothing to keep you here any longer.’ Every hour, the caliph would call him in and enquire about the remedy, and he would answer, ‘It is almost ready, you can hear my servants pounding the

3 For Pethion, see Ch. 8.1.1n3 above and Ch. 9.16.

4 The fourth Abbasid caliph (r. 169–170/785–786), successor to his father, al-Mahdī.

5 Abū Quraysh ʿĪsā al-Ṣaydalānī, an apothecary by trade who rose to become personal physician to the caliph al-Mahdī as a result of a lucky guess concerning the sex of the unborn child of the caliph’s wife, al-Khayzurān. The story is told in Elgood, *Medical History*, 255.

6 A member of another Nestorian family of physicians of Persian origin. See *EI*² art. ‘Tardjama’ (D. Gutas).

7 See Ch. 6.5.1n90.

8 Al-Hādī’s chamberlain, who had been serving the Abbasid caliphs in that capacity since the days of al-Mansūr. See *EI*² art. ‘al-Rabī‘ b. Yūnus’ (S. Atiya).

9 The name of one of the main canals that carried irrigation water from the Euphrates to districts around Baghdad. There was a town named Ṣarṣar, and the reference here is presumably to it, especially in view of the fact that the next time the physician’s residence is mentioned below, Ṣarṣar alone is used.

ingredients,' whereupon the caliph would say no more. After nine hours the caliph died, and the physicians were allowed to go home. This incident took place in the year 170/786.

Pethion's account continues: In the year 174/790, when Hārūn al-Rashīd was afflicted by a migraine, he complained to Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd,¹⁰ 'These physicians are no good at all.' 'O Commander of the Faithful,' the vizier replied, 'Abū Quraysh served both your parents as physician.' 'I show him respect because of his long and faithful service,' said the caliph, 'but he doesn't know much about medicine. I want you to find me someone who does.' 'When your brother Mūsā fell ill,' said Yaḥyā, 'your father sent to Gondēshāpūr for a man by the name of Bukhtīshū': 'And then allowed him to leave afterward?' said the caliph, 'How so?' 'When the caliph saw that ʿĪsā Abū Quraysh and your mother were hostile to him, he gave him permission to return to his own country,' explained the vizier. 'Have the postal couriers dispatched to bring him here,' said the caliph, 'if he is still among the living.'

It was not long before the elder Bukhtīshū', Bukhtīshū' ibn Jūrjis, reached the court. Upon being presented to Hārūn al-Rashīd, he greeted him in both Arabic and Persian. The caliph laughed. 'You know about dialectics,' he said to Yaḥyā, 'come, discuss some abstruse matters with him, I should like to hear how he argues.' 'No, we should call in the physicians instead,' said the vizier, so the four of them – Abū Quraysh ʿĪsā, 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī, Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn and Serjis¹¹ – were summoned, but as soon as they saw Bukhtīshū', Abū Quraysh said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, none of us is competent to discuss abstruse matters with this man, for he is discussion itself; he, his father and all his clan are philosophers.' 'We shall see,' said al-Rashīd, and he ordered one of the servants to bring a phial of urine from the stables. No sooner had Bukhtīshū' set eyes on it than he exclaimed, 'O Commander of the Faithful, this is no human urine.' 'Wrong!' cried Abū Quraysh, 'this is urine from one of the ladies of the harem.' 'O venerable shaykh,' said Bukhtīshū', 'as I stand here, I declare this is no urine ever excreted by any human being. If the matter is as you say, it would appear that the lady in question has been turned into an animal.' 'What makes

10 Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd 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 the Barmakid Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 303; Tajaddud, 360; Sayyid 2/1, 315–316); *EI Three* art. 'Barmakids' (K. van Bladel); van Bladel, 'Bactrian Background to the Barmakids', 74–86.

11 I.e. Sergius; a man of this name is mentioned in the biography of Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl above as being one of Jūrjis' pupils in Gondēshāpūr. In that account, Sergius is left behind in Gondēshāpūr when Jūrjis goes to treat the caliph in Baghdad.

you so sure that it is not human urine?’ asked the caliph. ‘Its consistency, colour and odour are not those of human urine,’ replied Bukhtīshū‘. ‘Who taught you your art?’ enquired Hārūn. ‘My father, Jūrjis,’ said the physician. ‘It is true, his father’s name was Jūrjis,’ chorused the others, ‘and he had no peer in his time; the caliph Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr had the utmost respect for him.’ The caliph then turned to Bukhtīshū‘ and asked him, ‘What sort of diet would you recommend for the patient who produced this urine?’ ‘Some of your best barley,’ said the physician. This sally caused al-Rashīd to roar with laughter. He then ordered that Bukhtīshū‘ should be given a fine, costly robe of honour and a well-filled purse. ‘Bukhtīshū‘,’ he said, ‘shall henceforth be chief among my physicians; the others shall be under his orders and shall obey him in all matters.’

Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jūrjis is the author of an *Abbreviated Compendium* (*Kunnāsh mukhtaṣar*) and a *Notebook* (*Tadhkirah*) that he compiled for his son, Jibrīl.

8.3 Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘¹

[8.3.1]

Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jūrjis was renowned for his outstanding skill in medical practice. He was a high-minded person, and was very successful, enjoying as he did the favour of caliphs who held him in high regard and treated him with the utmost generosity. Thanks to them, he became wealthier than any other physician.

[8.3.2]

Pethion the Translator informs us that in the year 175/791–792 Ja‘far ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd ibn Barmak² fell ill, and Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed Bukhtīshū‘³ to be responsible for serving and caring for him. One day Ja‘far said to him, ‘I should like you to select a competent physician for me, one worthy of my respect and recompense.’ ‘My son Jibrīl is more competent than I am myself,’ replied Bukhtīshū‘, ‘There is no other physician like him.’ ‘Bring him to me,’ said Ja‘far. Once Jibrīl had taken charge of the case, he had Ja‘far on his feet again

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- 1 For bibliographic references to Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 226; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 109 no. 3, W. Baum in Bautz, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 22:125–128 s.v. ‘Bochtisho, Gabriel’. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.
 - 2 Of the celebrated family of viziers. Ja‘far was executed twelve years later, in 187/803. See *ET*² art. ‘Barmakids’ (K. van Bladel) and below Ch. 8.3.16.
 - 3 I.e. Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jūrjis, the subject of the preceding biography (Ch. 8.2). For Pethion, see Ch. 8.1.13 above and Ch. 9.16.

within three days. As a result, Ja'far loved him like a second self, and could not bear to be parted from him for so much as an hour; they ate and drank together.

[8.3.3]

About that time, one of Hārūn al-Rashīd's concubines, having extended one arm, found herself unaccountably unable to lower it again. The physicians treated her with embrocations and oils, but to no avail. 'This girl is no better,' said al-Rashīd to Ja'far. 'I know of a highly competent doctor,' said Ja'far, 'He is Bukhtīshū's son. Suppose we call him in and consult him about the case; he may know of some way of treating her.' Accordingly, Ja'far had him summoned, and when he arrived, Hārūn al-Rashīd asked him his name. 'Jibrīl,' he replied. 'What do you know about medicine?' asked the caliph. 'I can cool what is unnaturally hot, warm what is unnaturally cold, moisten what is unnaturally dry and dry what is unnaturally moist,' said the physician. The caliph laughed. 'Well, that's what the art of medicine is all about, isn't it?' he said, and then he explained the strange case of the slave-girl. 'O Commander of the Faithful,' said Jibrīl, 'if you won't be angry with me, I do have an idea for a way of treating her.' 'What is it?' asked Hārūn al-Rashīd. 'Will you bring her out here for all to see,' said Jibrīl, 'so that I can do what I want to do, and I beseech you, give me time, without becoming angry at once.'

Hārūn al-Rashīd had the girl brought out, and as soon as Jibrīl saw her he ran toward her, stooped, and seized the hem of her robe, as though intending to lift it revealingly. The girl, in her alarm for her modesty, found that her limbs functioned after all: she lowered her arms, grasped the cloth with both hands, and held it down. 'There, O Commander of the Faithful,' said Jibrīl, 'she is cured,' 'Hold both your arms out, the left and the right,' said Hārūn al-Rashīd to the girl, and she did so, much to the amazement of all the company, including the caliph, who awarded Jibrīl 500,000 dirhams then and there. This feat enhanced his standing in al-Rashīd's eyes even further, and he was made chief of all the court physicians.

Jibrīl was asked about the cause of the girl's illness. 'During coitus,' he explained, 'a thin humour flooded this girl's limbs, owing to the movement and the diffusion of heat. When the movement of sexual intercourse ceased suddenly, the remnant of that humour congealed inside all her nerves, and there was nothing that could release it but further movement. My idea was to cause its heat to diffuse and thus release that remnant of humour.'

[8.3.4]

Pethion continues:

Jibrīl went from strength to strength, to such an extent that Hārūn al-Rashīd got into the habit of saying to his companions, 'If anyone who wants a favour from me, speak to Jibrīl about it; I do anything he asks me to do, and grant him whatever he requests.' Even military commanders used to come to Jibrīl when they needed anything. His situation was unassailable, for Hārūn al-Rashīd never had a day's illness for fifteen years after Jibrīl had entered his service, and the caliph attributed his continued good health to his physician.

At the very end of his life, however, in Ṭūs,⁴ Hārūn al-Rashīd was stricken by the illness that resulted in his death. As his condition worsened, he asked Jibrīl why he did not cure him. 'I have always warned you against harmful food and drink and urged you to have less commerce with women,' replied Jibrīl, 'but you do not listen to me. Now I have asked you to return home, for your native country is better suited to your temperament, but you have refused. This is a serious illness, and I only hope God will restore you to health.' At this, the caliph had Jibrīl imprisoned.

Hārūn al-Rashīd was informed that there was a bishop in Fārs⁵ who understood the art of medicine, and he sent an emissary to bring him to Ṭūs. Upon arriving, he examined the caliph, and said to him, 'Whoever has been treating you knows nothing about medicine.' This further widened the rift between the caliph and Jibrīl. But al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī',⁶ who liked Jibrīl and saw that the bishop was an imposter who was merely seeking to feather his own nest, continued to stand by the physician. Meanwhile, the bishop was treating Hārūn al-Rashīd. As the caliph's condition deteriorated, the rascally bishop would say to him, 'You will soon be restored to health,' adding, 'this illness is all the result of the mistakes made by Jibrīl.' The caliph then ordered Jibrīl put to death, but al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī' would not have that order carried out, for by this time he saw that there was no hope for Hārūn al-Rashīd, and accordingly protected the physician. The caliph died a few days later.

4 A town near the modern city of Mashhad, in Iran. In 193/808, Hārūn al-Rashīd was on his way to the eastern province of Khorasan with an army in an effort to quell a rebellion that had broken out there. See *ET*² art. 'Hārūn al-Rashīd' (F. Omar).

5 A province comprising much of today's southwestern Iran. See *ET*² art. 'Fārs' (L. Lockhart).

6 Vizier to the Abbasid caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn; the son of al-Manṣūr's chamberlain, al-Rabī' ibn Yūnus. See *ET*² art. 'al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'' (D. Sourdel).

At about that same time, al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabīʿ fell ill with a severe attack of colic. The doctors despaired of him, but under Jibrīl's mild, judicious treatment he recovered. This experience caused him to like and admire the physician more than ever.

[8.3.5]

Pethion continues:

When Muḥammad al-Amīn⁷ became caliph, Jibrīl approached him and was very well received; the new caliph treated him with respect and showered money upon him to an even greater extent than his father had done, and would eat and drink only with Jibrīl's approval. But when al-Amīn was defeated and al-Ma'mūn became caliph,⁸ he wrote to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl,⁹ whom he had dispatched to Baghdad in his stead, instructing him to arrest Jibrīl and throw him into prison, for after the death of his father, Hārūn al-Rashīd, the physician had not rallied to his cause, but had thrown in his lot with his brother, al-Amīn.

Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl did as he had been ordered to do, but in the year 202/817–818, he himself fell gravely ill. His physicians treated him, but to no avail, and so he had Jibrīl released from prison and asked him to treat him. Under Jibrīl's care, he recovered within a few days. He surreptitiously rewarded the physician generously, and wrote to al-Ma'mūn explaining what had happened and how he had regained his health thanks to Jibrīl's ministrations. What, he asked, should be done about him? Al-Ma'mūn wrote back that Jibrīl should be pardoned.

Pethion goes on:

When al-Ma'mūn entered Baghdad in the year 205/820–821, he ordered Jibrīl to stay at home and not serve at the palace. He sent for a son-in-law of Jibrīl's named Mikhā'īl, who was a medical practitioner, appointed him in Jibrīl's place and honoured him greatly in order to spite Jibrīl. But then, in the year 210/825–826, the caliph fell seriously ill. He was treated by all the most illustrious physicians, but they were unable to help

7 Son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his successor (r. 193–198/809–813). See *EI*² art. 'al-Amīn' (F. Gabrieli).

8 The civil war between the brothers ended with al-Amīn's defeat and death in 198/813.

9 Al-Ma'mūn's secretary, and later his governor in Iraq. See *EI*² art. 'al-Ḥasan b. Sahl' (D. Sourdel).

him. 'Their potions are only making me worse,' he said to Mikhā'il. 'Summon all the physicians and consult them concerning my case.' At this, the caliph's brother, Abū 'Īsā,¹⁰ said to him, 'O Commander of the Faithful, suppose we were to call in Jibrīl? He has been familiar with our temperaments since we were children.' The caliph pretended he had not heard, and another of his brothers, Abū Ishāq,¹¹ sent for a different physician, Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh,¹² but he was met with a torrent of abuse, insults and vilification on the part of the caliph's personal physician, Mikhā'il. Al-Ma'mūn's condition continued to deteriorate, to the point where he was too weak to take his medicines, and then he was again reminded of Jibrīl, and this time agreed that he should be summoned. When he arrived, he altered the whole management of the case, with the result that the caliph had rallied by the very next day. After three days he was definitely on the mend, much to his satisfaction, and a few days later he had fully recovered. Jibrīl told him that he might eat and drink, and he did.

Subsequently, when al-Ma'mūn and his brother, Abū 'Īsā, were sitting drinking together, Abū 'Īsā said to the caliph, 'There is no one like that man. Would it not be appropriate to honour him?' Al-Ma'mūn thereupon ordered that Jibrīl should receive a million dirhams and 6,000 ass-loads (1,000 *kurr*¹³) of wheat, and that furthermore, all the possessions and properties that had been confiscated from him should be restored to him. When the caliph spoke to him, he would address him familiarly as 'Abū 'Īsā Jibrīl', and he honoured him even more than his father had done. So highly was Jibrīl regarded that anyone who had been appointed to an administrative post would meet with him and pay his respects before going out to take up his new duties. The caliph treated him as though he had been his father, while his former personal physician, Jibrīl's son-in-law Mikhā'il, fell into obscurity and disregard.

[8.3.6]

The following account¹⁴ is by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm:¹⁵

10 Abū 'Īsā Aḥmad ibn Hārūn, who was something of a rake; see, e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, x:187–193, al-Ṣūlī, *Awraq*, 3:88–94.

11 Abū Ishāq Muḥammad ibn Hārūn, who succeeded his brother as the caliph al-Mu'taṣim.

12 The biography of Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh will be found at Ch. 8.26.

13 See the Glossary of Weights and Measures.

14 This anecdote is also found in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 145–146.

15 Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāsib ibn al-Dāyah (d. 265/878), courtier and assistant to Ibrāhīm

I called on Jibrīl at his home on the esplanade one day in July, and found him at a table with a tray of good-sized squabs, roasted and dressed with peppers, upon it. He was eating these squabs, and invited me to join him, but I declined. ‘How can I eat such food at this time of year, being only a young man, as I am?’ I said. Jibrīl then asked me, ‘What does the expression “dietary regime” mean, according to you?’ ‘Avoidance of injurious kinds of food,’ I replied. ‘No,’ he said, ‘that is not what it means,’ and then he added, ‘I do not know of anyone, whether of great or humble station, who can abstain from any particular food throughout his life, unless he dislikes it, with no inclination toward it in his soul. As a rule, a person may refrain from eating something for a while, but then is compelled to do so, perhaps because for some reason there is nothing else to be had, or to help an invalid who is staying in his house, or at the invitation of a friend, or because of a sudden craving for it. When he eats that food, after not having eaten it for a long time, his nature does not accept it and recoils from it, and the result is a series of abdominal upsets, which may even cause his death. The way to good health is to train the body in eating injurious kinds of food until it becomes accustomed to them, by eating one kind of such food every day – never two kinds in the same day; and if the person eats one such kind of food one day, he should not do so again the following morning. If a person has trained his body in this way, his nature will not rebel when circumstances make it necessary for him to eat large quantities of such foods. We know how the body becomes habituated to laxatives when they are taken in excess, with the result that they do not produce their usual effect. Look at the people of al-Andalus: when one of them is suffering from constipation, he has to take three dirhams’ weight of scammony¹⁶ to produce the effect that a weight of half a dirham would produce here in this country. Now, if the body can become habitu-

ibn al-Maḥdī and author of *Akhbār al-atibbā* (‘The Accounts of Physicians’), a source frequently quoted by IAU but preserved today only in quotations by other authors. He was the father of the well-known Ṭulūnid historian, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf (d. between 330/941 and 340/951), who was more widely known as Ibn al-Dāyah, and the author of *K. al-mukāfaʿah wa-ḥusn al-ʿuqūbā* (‘The Book of Requit and Fortunate Outcome’), a biography of Ibn Ṭulūn (*Ṣīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn*), apparently used by IAU in Ch. 14, and credited with a translation of the *Centiloquium*, attributed to Ptolemy. See Faracovi, ‘Return to Ptolemy’. See *ET*² art. ‘Ibn al-Dāya’ (F. Rosenthal); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 231; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 228; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxix:68–69.

16 Sometimes called Syrian Bindweed, a perennial herb (*Convolvulus scammonia*) with many medicinal uses, particularly as a powerful purgative. See Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 280–282.

ated to medicines to the point of preventing them from producing their usual effect, how much more readily can it become habituated to foods, even injurious kinds.'

Yūsuf adds, 'I told this story to Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl. He asked me to dictate it to him while he wrote it down with his own hand.'

[8.3-7]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm also relates the following account:

Sulaymān, a eunuch from Khorasan who was a *mawlā*¹⁷ of Hārūn al-Rashīd's, told me that one time when the court was in al-Ḥīrah,¹⁸ he was standing in attendance on the caliph as he ate his noon meal one day, when in came 'Awn al-'Ibādī al-Jawharī,¹⁹ bearing a platter with a splendid fat fish on it, which he placed before Hārūn al-Rashīd, along with some stuffing for it that he had obtained. Hārūn al-Rashīd made as though to take some of it, but Jibrīl stopped him, making a sign to the steward to indicate that he should take the dish away. The caliph was well aware of the byplay. When the table was cleared and Hārūn al-Rashīd washed his hands, Jibrīl left the room.

Sulaymān went on, 'Hārūn al-Rashīd ordered me to follow him, keeping out of sight, to see what he was up to, and to report back to him. I obeyed, but I think Jibrīl had spotted me, for he acted very cautious. He went to a room in 'Awn's suite of apartments and called for food; when it was brought, it included the fish. He then called for three silver goblets. Into one of these he put a morsel of the fish and over it poured some Ṭiz-anābādh²⁰ wine, without adding any water, and said, "This is for Jibrīl."

17 A dependent, sometimes a manumitted slave. The anecdote occurs in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi:305–308. In Ch. 12.6 below, Sulaymān is referred to as Abū Sulaym; he was civil governor of the Cilician frontier (*al-thughūr*) with al-Rashīd and al-Amin, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 190 n. 22.

18 A town on the Euphrates, southwest of the modern Najaf, in Iraq. See *ET*² art. 'al-Ḥīrah' (A.F.L. Beeston & I. Shahīd).

19 The governor of al-Ḥīrah. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (Bosworth), 216 n. 733. The name al-'Ibādī indicates that he was a member of a Christian sect calling itself al-'Ibād, whose adherents were concentrated about the town of al-Ḥīrah. Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq was one of them: he came from al-Ḥīrah, and he was called al-'Ibādī. See his biography later in this chapter (8.29).

20 A town between Kufa and al-Qādisiyyah, on the pilgrim route; celebrated for its fruit trees and vineyards, and a popular resort; see Yāqūt, *Muḥāmm al-buldān* (Beirut 1995), vi:79.

He put another morsel of the fish in another of the goblets, poured snow-cooled water over it, and said, “This is for the Commander of the Faithful if he does not eat anything else with his fish.” Lastly, he put another morsel of the fish into the third goblet, added several pieces of meat of various kinds, including a slice from a roast, sweets, pickled dishes, chicken, and vegetables, and poured snow-cooled water over all, saying, “This is the food of the Commander of the Faithful if he eats other things with his fish.” He then handed the three goblets to the steward and said to him, “Keep these until the Commander of the Faithful awakens from his siesta.”

The account of Sulaymān the eunuch continues:

Jibrīl then attacked the fish himself and ate until he could eat no more. From time to time, feeling thirsty, he would call for a cup of wine, which he would drink neat. Finally he went to sleep. When Hārūn al-Rashīd awoke, he sent for me and asked me what I had found out about Jibrīl, and whether he had eaten any of the fish or not. When I told him what I had seen, he had the three goblets brought to him. In the goblet into which the wine had been poured, the morsel of fish had disintegrated completely; there was not a scrap of it left. In the second goblet, the one which had had snow-cooled water poured into it, the morsel of fish had swollen to more than double its former size, while the contents of the third goblet, the one with the meat and fish, had developed a putrid odour. Hārūn al-Rashīd immediately ordered me to take five thousand dinars to Jibrīl. ‘Who could blame me for regarding that man with affection, considering the way he looks after me?’ he said. Accordingly, I delivered the money to Jibrīl.

[8.3.8]

Ishāq ibn ‘Alī al-Ruhāwī,²¹ in his book *The Practical Ethics of the Physician*, gives an account that he attributes to ‘Īsā ibn Māssah,²² who asserts that he had it first-hand from Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh.²³ Ibn Māsawayh, he says, told him

21 A mid-to-late 9th cent. physician whose biography is given at Ch. 10.57. He was author of the *Adab al-ṭabīb (Practical Ethics of the Physician)*. For this particular passage, see Ruhāwī, *Adab al-Ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.), 149 and (facs.) 164. There is a translation by M. Levey; see Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Levey). See also Sezgin, *GAS* III, 263–264, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 223. The biography of al-Ruhāwī is given at Ch. 10.57.

22 The biography of ‘Īsā ibn Māssah is in Ch. 8.28; for bibliographic references to him, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 257; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 122.

23 For bibliographic references to Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 231; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 112. His biography will be found later in Ch. 8.26.

that al-Rashīd, while in Mecca on pilgrimage, said to Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘, ‘Do you realize just how highly I value you, Jibrīl?’ ‘How could I not realize it, Sire?’ was the reply. ‘I have frequently invoked God’s blessing on you while we were halted,’ said the caliph. Turning then to the crowd of Banū Hāshim,²⁴ he said, ‘Perhaps you find my words objectionable?’ ‘He is a *dhimmī*,²⁵ Sire,’ they murmured. ‘Yes,’ said the caliph, ‘but my physical health and vigour depend on him, and the welfare of the Muslims depends on me, so it follows that their welfare is contingent on his continued good health and survival.’ ‘That is true, O Commander of the Faithful,’ they acknowledged.

[8.3.9]

The following account²⁶ is taken from a work by an historian, who quotes the physician Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘ as saying, ‘I once purchased an estate for 700,000 dirhams, of which I paid part, but did not have the resources to pay the balance. I had gone to call on Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd,²⁷ whose children were also present. I must have been looking preoccupied, because he asked me whether I had something on my mind. “Yes,” I said, “I have purchased an estate for 700,000 dirhams, and I have paid part of that sum, but just now do not have enough on hand to pay the balance.” Jibrīl’s account continues, ‘He called forthwith for pen and ink and wrote, “Pay to the order of Jibrīl the sum of 700,000 dirhams.” He then passed the order to his children, and both of them wrote in “300,000”’ Jibrīl’s account goes on, ‘I exclaimed, “May I be your ransom! I have paid most of the price; the remainder is only a small sum.” “It is yours to spend,” he said, “you never know what may happen.” I then went to the palace, and when the Commander of the Faithful saw me, he asked me what had kept me. “O Commander of the Faithful,” I said, “I have been to visit your father and brothers,” and went on to tell him of their generosity toward me, “merely,” I concluded, “because of my service to you.” “And what am I?” said the caliph. Calling for his horse, he rode to Yaḥyā’s house. “O my father,” he said, “Jibrīl has told me the whole story. And I? am I not one of your children as well?” “O Commander of the Faithful,” said Yaḥyā, “order what you will, and he shall have it,” whereupon the caliph ordered that I should be given 500,000 dirhams.’

24 The Abbasid extended family and their entourage.

25 A free non-Muslim living in an Islamic country, subject to a capitation tax (*jizyah*) but in return entitled to the protection of the Muslims in respect of life and property.

26 This anecdote is also found in al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn wa-l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally (Giessen, 1902) 196–197.

27 Ibn Barmak, the vizier. See n. 2 above.

[8.3.10]

The following account is taken from a work by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm the astrologer,²⁸ known as Ibn al-Dāyah.²⁹

Umm Ja'far bint Abī l-Faḍl³⁰ held gatherings in the mansion of 'Īsā ibn 'Alī,³¹ where she lived. These were attended exclusively by astrologers and physicians, and whenever she was troubled by some complaint, she would by no means consult a physician without assembling all her regular guests from both professions, who had to wait until she came in and was seated. There were two places where she invariably sat: a window overlooking a large shop just across the way from the main entrance to the house, and a small door opposite the domestic mosque. The astrologers and physicians would take their places near the place she had selected that day, and she would then announce her ailment, whatever it was. The physicians would take counsel together to reach a diagnosis and recommend therapy. If they could not reach agreement, the astrologers would join the discussion, indicating the view that they considered correct. Umm Ja'far would then ask the astrologers to select an appropriate time for her therapy. If they did not agree, the physicians would join the discussion, and would give judgement in favour of the time that seemed to them to be logically the most compelling. It so happened on one occasion that Umm Ja'far fell ill just when she had joined the hajj-caravan and was about to set out on the pilgrimage, for the last time, as it turned out. The physicians agreed that her disorder required bloodletting and that her legs should be cupped, and the astrologers selected a day suitable for the operation. It was Ramadan, and consequently the cupping could be done only at the end of the day. Her regular consulting astrologers included al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Tamīmī, known as al-Abahḥ,³² 'Umar ibn al-Farḥān al-Ṭabarī,³³ and a Jew named Shu'ayb.

28 Literally, 'calculator' (*al-ḥāsib*), i.e. of astronomical observations; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

29 See Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15 above.

30 Ghāḍīd, a favourite concubine of Hārūn al-Rashīd and mother of several of his children. See the biography of 'Īsā ibn Ḥakam al-Dimashqī (Ch. 7.8) for an account of a later occasion when she again consults both physicians and astrologers but dies of her ailment despite her supporting teams of professionals.

31 An uncle of the caliph al-Manṣūr. But there was also a physician named 'Īsā ibn 'Alī; IAU gives him a brief biography later in this chapter (8.34).

32 Meaning 'hoarse'.

33 Both of these appear in the account in Ch. 7.8.

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm's account continues:

If al-Abahḥ chanced to be ill, or for some other reason was unable to attend Umm Ja'far's meeting, I would attend in his place. As it happened, I was on hand when the time for Umm Ja'far's cupping was decided upon, and there I met a son of Dāwūd ibn Sarāfiyūn,³⁴ a young man, looking as though he were not yet twenty years of age. Umm Ja'far had given instructions that he should attend with the physicians in the expectation that he would benefit by associating with more experienced colleagues, and she had asked all her attendant physicians to teach him and give him their attention, out of her regard for his father, whose care she greatly appreciated. When I arrived, he was disputing with a physician from al-Ahwāz,³⁵ who was also a monk, and whom Umm Ja'far had invited to be present that day. He and the young man were discussing the question of the drinking of water by a person who awakens from sleep in the night. Ibn Dāwūd said, 'By God, there is no one more stupid than a person who drinks water after having awakened from sleep!' Just as the young man made that pronouncement, Jibrīl appeared at the door. Even before he had entered the meeting, he said, 'By God, even more stupid than that is the person who has a fire in his liver and fails to extinguish it.' He then entered, and asked who it was who had made the statement he had just heard, and upon being told that it had been Ibn Dāwūd, he reprimanded the young man for what he had said: 'Your father was a distinguished practitioner of the art of medicine, and here you are saying something like what I just heard you say.' Ibn Dāwūd replied, 'Sir, may God honour you, *you* do not hold that a person may drink water upon awakening from sleep, do you?' 'I do hold that that is permissible,' said Jibrīl, 'in the case of a person with a hot temperament whose stomach is dry, or one who has eaten salt food at his evening meal. However, I say that it is not permissible in the case of a person whose stomach is moist or one with salty phlegm, for in the former case, abstaining from drinking water will help correct the moist condition of the stomach, and in the latter, if the patient does not drink water, part of the salty phlegm will consume the rest.'

None of the company said anything to that except me. 'Abū 'Īsā,' I said, 'there is one more issue.' 'What is it?' asked Jibrīl. 'You are assuming that

34 In the name Dāwūd ibn Sarāfiyūn, the father's name is an Arabic spelling of Serapion. See Ch. 8.2, where the name is spelled Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn, and Ch. 6.5, where he is one of the caliph al-Hādī's physicians.

35 A town in the Khūzistān region of what is today Iran.

the thirsty person knows as much about medicine as you do,' I said, 'and will be able to tell whether his thirst is the result of having eaten bitter kinds of food, or whether it is being caused by salty phlegm.' Jibril laughed at that, and then said, 'When you wake up at night feeling thirsty, put one foot out from under the blanket and lie there for a short time. If your thirst increases, it is being caused by a hot temperament or food that should have been taken with water. In that case, you should get up and have a drink. But if instead you find that you have become somewhat less thirsty, your thirst is the result of salty phlegm, and you should not drink any water.'

[8.3.11]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm's account continues:

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī³⁶ once asked Jibril about the disorder known as *warishkīn*.³⁷ 'It is a compound name, from the Persian,' he replied 'made up of the words for "break" and "chest". The word for "chest" in literary Persian is *war*, although the colloquial pronunciation is *bar*, and the word for "break" is *ishkīn*,³⁸ and putting these two words together, we get *warishkīn*, that is, a disorder that necessitates the breaking of the

36 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (d. 224/839), mainly known as a musician, was the son of the caliph al-Mahdī and brother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He was proclaimed caliph by the people of Baghdād when al-Ma'mūn nominated 'Alī al-Riḍā as successor, but his counter-caliphate lasted less than two years (202–203/817–819). Ibrāhīm was the patron of Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāsib ibn al-Dāyah, the transmitter of this anecdote and one of the most important sources of IAU in this chapter; for Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah, see above Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15.

37 *Warishkīn* (or *warshkīn*) is defined by Dozy (*Supplément*, ii:804) as erysipelas, an acute dermatological infection producing a painful rash; he goes on to say that it is equivalent to *rashkīn*, which he elsewhere (i:578) defines as 'St Anthony's fire'. However, St Anthony's fire is not a dematological infection, but food poisoning due to rye ergot, the fungus *Claviceps purpurea*. *Warishkīn* is a very rare term. In Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's treatise on smallpox and measles the term *al-yarishkīn* occurs, which William Greenhill interprets as a corruption of *warishkīn* and translates as 'boils'; see al-Rāzī, *K. fi l-Jadari wa-l-ḥaṣbah* (Greenhill), 125 and 151 Note J; in his note on this word, Greenhill refers to this very passage in IAU, quoting the Latin translation of it by John Freind (Freind, *History of Physic*, 11), and suggests that it must be 'some much more formidable disease than a mere *boil*'. There appears to have been an understandable confusion between severe skin eruptions that appear particularly on the chest, hence the following comparison between an acute erysipelas and measles when the physician is trying to determine if a cure has been successful or not.

38 Cf. Persian *shikan*, 'roughness, severity, breaking, shrinking' (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 755).

chest.³⁹ As a rule, it does not affect the patient very seriously, for they usually recover. However, a recovered patient is at risk of a relapse for a year, unless he has a substantial natural loss of blood, either from the nose or from somewhere lower down, during the course of the illness or some time during the following year. If that happens, he will fully recover.' 'A year!' said Abū Ishāq in astonishment. 'Yes, may God make me a ransom for you! And moreover, there is another disease that people tend to take too lightly, and that is measles.⁴⁰ I can never be certain for a full year that a patient who has caught measles will not suffer a relapse, unless, after the disease has run its course, he has a bowel movement that nearly kills him, or else a large abscess develops on him. Either of those assures me that he will recover.'

[8.3.12]

Yūsuf's account continues:

Jibrīl called on Abū Ishāq one day, following an illness that he had had. Jibrīl had given him permission to eat meat to thicken his blood, but when he sat down he observed that a dish of gruel had been set before his host, and the physician told the steward to have it taken away. I asked him why, and he replied, 'I have never permitted a caliph who had been feverish for even a single day to eat gruel for a full year.' Abū Ishāq asked him, 'Which kind of gruel do you mean, the kind made with sour milk or the kind without?' 'The kind without,' he replied; 'I do not allow a patient to eat it for a year. Logically, however, according to the principles of medicine, gruel made with sour milk should not be eaten either, until three years have passed since the illness.'

[8.3.13]

Maymūn ibn Hārūn⁴¹ relates the following anecdote on the authority of Sa'īd ibn Ishāq al-Naṣrānī,⁴² whose account runs as follows:

Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' told me that he had once been with Hārūn al-Rashīd and his two sons, al-Ma'mūn and Muḥammad al-Amīn, in al-Raq-

39 That is, it causes eruptions on the chest.

40 *Haṣbah*. For the confusion between the symptoms and treatment for erysipelas, smallpox, anthrax and measles, see Richter, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Pocken'.

41 A 'secretary' (*kātib*). See, e.g., al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvi:624–625.

42 Unidentified.

qah.⁴³ ‘Hārūn al-Rashīd,’ he said, ‘was a stout man who enjoyed his food and drink. One day, after having eaten a meal comprising a variety of foods, he went to the latrine, where he fainted and had to be carried out. He subsequently sank more deeply into unconsciousness, to such an extent that all the court was sure that he was about to die. I was sent for, and as soon as I arrived I felt his pulse, which was barely perceptible. I recalled that he had been complaining of a feeling of fullness and palpitations, and I said to the company, “He is about to die. He must be cupped immediately.” Al-Ma’mūn agreed to this, and the cupper was sent for. I had the caliph placed in a sitting position. When the cupper had placed the cups and began to suck, I saw that redness had appeared on the skin of the site. This encouraged me, for I knew that Hārūn al-Rashīd was alive. “Make your incision now,” I said to the cupper, and he did. The blood flowed, and I prostrated myself in thanks for the grace of God. The more blood was taken, the more the caliph moved his head and the better his colour became, and finally he asked, “Where am I?” We spoke encouragingly to him and gave him some breast of francolin⁴⁴ to eat and wine to drink, constantly making the air fragrant with perfumes and scents near his nose, until finally his strength was restored. We then allowed his entourage to enter the room, since God had granted him recovery.’

‘Hārūn al-Rashīd then said to his assembled officers, “I have engaged you for the sole purpose of keeping me safe, and yet when this happened to me, not one of you was of the slightest use to me except this youth. I pay him very little, whereas I pay you handsomely. I want every one of you to take a share of what you have acquired from the grace, favour and generosity that I bestow upon you, and give it to him.” They were not slow to comply: they showered him with estates, properties and cash, and by the time he left he was as wealthy as any caliph.’

‘A few days later, Hārūn al-Rashīd had his captain of the guard brought in and asked him how much his annual stipend was. The captain replied that he earned 300,000 dirhams yearly. The caliph then asked the same question of his chief of police, who answered that he made 500,000 dirhams a year, and his chamberlain, who said that he drew 1,000,000 dirhams per year. Al-Rashīd then said, “I have not been fair to you. Here these officers, who protect me from my human enemies, draw the sti-

43 A city in north central Syria located on the north bank of the Euphrates, about 160 kilometres east of Aleppo. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Raḡḡa’ (M. Meinecke).

44 Arabic *durrāj*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. The francolin is related to the jungle fowl of S.E. Asia and long-billed partridge of E. Asia. Some species are native to Asia, others to Africa.

pends you have just heard, while you, who protect me from illnesses and distempers, earn only the amount that you mentioned,” and he ordered that I was to be paid 100 million dirhams. “Sire,” I said, “I have no need of such a munificent salary. Only give me the wherewithal to purchase some estates.” He did so, and I used his gifts to purchase estates that bring in one million dirhams in revenue. Furthermore, all my estates are my own absolute property, I do not hold them in fief.’

[8.3.14]

The following account is taken from a work by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm:

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī tells how Jibrīl sought refuge with him when his house was sacked by a mob during the caliphate of Muḥammad al-Amīn.⁴⁵ He took the physician into his own house and protected him from people who were trying to kill him. In Abū Ishāq’s own words:

I observed extreme dismay on Jibrīl’s part and intense grief and despair over the destruction of his property; it was difficult to imagine that anyone could feel quite so strongly about worldly goods.

Then, when the Whites revolted and the ‘Alid faction was victorious in Basra and al-Ahwāz,⁴⁶ he came up to me in high spirits, as though he had just come into 100,000 dinars. ‘I see that you are feeling cheerful,

45 Serious disturbances occurred in Baghdad, Syria and elsewhere in the context of the civil war in the second decade of the 9th cent. between the caliph al-Amīn and his brother, the future al-Ma’mūn. The ‘Alids mentioned here are rebels fighting against al-Ma’mūn. It seems that the first episode took place during the last years of al-Amīn’s caliphate, but the one mentioned below occurred after his death. In the next paragraph ‘Then, when the Whites ...’ refers to the time of al-Ma’mūn’s caliphate. There is much confusion about the use of colours, but in this case it seems clear that it refers to the revolt of the ‘Alid rebel Abū l-Sarāyā (see note below). Baghdad suffered serious civil unrest in the last years of al-Amīn’s caliphate and especially after he was killed, to the extent that in the year 201/817 there were three famous ‘vigilantes’ leading popular movements to fight the evildoers. See Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, iii:1008–1012; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh Reunification* (Bosworth), 55–61.

46 This most likely refers to Abū l-Sarāyā’s revolt in Kufa (also mentioned below in 8.18.3). Abū l-Sarāyā was a Shi’ite rebel who revolted against the Abbasids in 199/815, i.e., more than one year after al-Amīn’s death. He seized Kufa and the surrounding areas, including Basra and al-Ahwāz; see *EI*² art. ‘Abū l-Sarāya’ (H.A.R. Gibb). White was the traditional colour of the ‘Alids, but in this period it generally expressed opposition to the Abbasids, be it from pro-‘Alid, pro-Umayyad partisans, or even from adherents of Iranian sects; see Omar, ‘The Significance of the Colours of Banners’. The brother of Abū l-Sarāyā, who also rose in rebellion after his death, adopted white (*tabyīd*) according to al-Ṭabarī; see *Ta’rīkh*, ed. Leiden, iii:1018; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh Reunification* (Bosworth), 69.

Abū 'Īsā,' I said. 'By God, I am,' he said, 'couldn't be happier.' I asked him why, and he replied that the 'Alids had seized his estates and erected boundary markers there. 'You're a strange fellow,' I said, 'when a mob plundered some property of yours, you went nearly mad with grief, yet now, when the 'Alids have got *all* your property, here you are, as lively as can be.' 'I was overcome with horror at what that mob did to me,' he explained, 'because I had been attacked in my own sanctum; I was robbed of my strength, and those whose duty it was to protect me had betrayed me. What the 'Alids have done, on the other hand, is much less horrifying to me. You see, it is utterly impossible for a man like me to live and be regarded with the same benevolence under two different regimes. Had the 'Alids not seized my estates as they have done, had they spared my factors and the bailiffs responsible for my estates and farms – knowing as they did that I was loyal to my patrons, through whose generosity God has showered me with benefits – it would logically have been because they were saying to one another, "Jibrīl has always been favourable to us while his friends were in power, he has always contributed generously to our cause and provided us with information about his patrons," and once word got back to the caliph, he would have had me put to death. That is why I am feeling happy: they have taken my property, but my life has been spared. These ignorant miscreants have got my land, but they have not got me.'

[8.3.15]

Yūsuf's account continues as follows:

I have heard the following story from the eunuch Faraj, known as Abū Khurāsān, who is a *mawlā* of Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Rashīd⁴⁷ and also his agent. In his own words:

My patron, Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Rashīd, was the governor of Basra, and his prefect there was Abū l-Rāzī.⁴⁸ When Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' was having his house built on the esplanade, he asked my patron to give him five hundred teak logs.⁴⁹ Now a teak log costs thirteen dinars, and to my patron that seemed like a pretty costly gift, so he refused, but offered to write

47 One of the sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a brother of the caliph at the time, al-Ma'mūn.

48 Abū l-Rāzī Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd. See, e.g., al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii:454; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Leiden, iii:1099.

49 Teak was extensively used in Baghdad for house construction, among other things. See *ET*² art. 'al-Sādī' (A. Dietrich).

to Abū l-Rāzī and have him ship *two* hundred teak logs to Jibrīl. 'Pray don't trouble yourself,' said Jibrīl, 'I don't need them.'

Faraj continued,

I said to my patron, 'I suspect Jibrīl is planning to do you a bad turn, out of resentment.' 'Jibrīl is no threat to me,' he replied, 'for I never ask him to prescribe medicine for me or to treat me.' Subsequently, my patron decided to visit the Commander of the Faithful, al-Ma'mūn. When he was seated in the caliph's presence, Jibrīl said to al-Ma'mūn, 'You do not look well, Sire,' and he went up to him and felt his pulse. Then he said, 'The Commander of the Faithful should take a drink of oxymel⁵⁰ and postpone his noon meal until we know what is going on.' The caliph did as Jibrīl had advised. The physician took his pulse over and over again, but said nothing. Finally, some of his servants came in with a loaf of bread and some squash, beans and a few more such things. Jibrīl said to the caliph, 'I do not think the Commander of the Faithful should eat any meat today. He should eat only foods like these.' The caliph ate them, and then took his siesta. When he awoke, Jibrīl said to him, 'O Commander of the Faithful, the aroma of date wine causes increased heat. It would be best to withdraw,' and al-Ma'mūn withdrew. All the expense my patron had incurred had gone for naught! Then Jibrīl remarked to me, 'You know, Abū Khurāsān, the saving on the difference between two hundred and five hundred teak logs hardly outweighs the cost of a visit to the caliph.'

[8.3.16]

Another account by Yūsuf runs as follows:

I had this story from Jūrjis ibn Mīkhā'il, who had it from Jibrīl, his maternal uncle. Jibrīl had great respect for that young man because of his extensive learning. I myself do not know of anyone of that family, apart from Jibrīl himself, who was more learned than Jūrjis ibn Mīkhā'il, although he was a very vain and frivolous youth. Jibrīl, he said, had told him that on 1 Muḥarram 187 [30 December 802], he had been concerned because Hārūn al-Rashīd had no appetite. He could find nothing from an examination of the caliph's urine or from his pulse to indicate that he was ill,

50 *Sakanjabīn*. Essentially, nothing but a mixture of honey and vinegar. See Levey, *Medical Formulary*, no. 149; Marin & Waines, 'Ibn Sinā on *Sakanjabīn*'.

so he said to al-Rashīd, 'O Commander of the Faithful, you are in excellent health, praised be God, so I am at a loss to explain why you have not finished your breakfast.' After I had said something to this effect several times, the caliph said to me, 'I think Baghdad is unhealthy, yet I don't want to go far away just now. Do you know of some nearby place where the air is wholesome?' 'What about al-Ḥīrah?' I suggested. 'I have stayed in al-Ḥīrah any number of times,' said he, 'and my visits are a nuisance for 'Awn al-'Ibādī. Besides, it's too far away.' 'O Commander of the Faithful,' I said, 'al-Anbār⁵¹ is a good place, and its climate is even healthier than that of al-Ḥīrah.' He went there, but his appetite was no better. On the contrary, he ate less than ever, and nothing at all on Thursday.⁵² This was two days and a night before he had Ja'far executed.

He ordered Ja'far, who was also fasting, to attend him at supper. Hārūn al-Rashīd ate almost nothing, and Ja'far said to him, 'O Commander of the Faithful, you should try to eat something.' 'If I wished, I could eat more,' said the caliph, 'but I prefer to spend the night without too much in my stomach, so that I feel hungry when I awake and take my morning meal with the ladies of the harem.'

Early Friday morning, the caliph went out on horseback, accompanied by Ja'far ibn Yaḥyā, for a breath of fresh air. As I watched, I saw that he had put his arm into Ja'far's sleeve all the way to his body, drawn him close, embraced him, and kissed his eyes. They trotted off for a distance of more than 1,000 cubits, hand in hand all the way, and then returned. 'By my life,' said Hārūn al-Rashīd to Ja'far, 'you started off with a drink this morning, and you have made it a day of happiness. Now I am going to be occupied with my household.' Then, turning to me, he said, 'Jibrīl, I am going to have something to eat. You stay with my brother here and join him in his happiness.' Accordingly, I went with Ja'far, who had some food brought, and we ate together. He then sent for the blind singer, Abū Zakkār, to perform for the two of us alone. One servant after another came in and whispered something to Ja'far, and every time this happened he would sigh and say, 'This looks bad, Abū 'Isā: the Commander of the Faithful still has eaten nothing. I fear that he is ill, and that is why he has no appetite.' Every time he wished to drink a cup, he would tell Abū Zakkār to sing these lines:⁵³

51 A town on the Euphrates, west of Baghdad, near the modern al-Ṣaqlāwīyyah. See *ET*² art. 'al-Anbār' (M. Streck & A.A. Duri).

52 5 Muḥarram 187/3, January 803.

53 Metre: *sarī'*. See al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii:422–423; al-Shābushtī, *Ḍiyārāt*, 238 (lines 1 and 2); al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, viii:53 (line 1, followed by different lines); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ii:542

When the Banū Mundhir⁵⁴ were finished,
 there where the monk built this church,
 They had become such that no fearful person would fear them
 nor any aspiring person could wish for anything from them.
 Their clothes were made of silk:
 Nobody would bring them wool.
 Their corpse [*sic*] is like a plaything
 Brought by a rider to ...⁵⁵(?)

Abū Zakkār would sing that melody, and Ja‘far never asked him for any other. So we passed the time until after the night-prayer. Then Abū Hāshim Masrūr the elder⁵⁶ and his second-in-command, Harthamah ibn A‘yan,⁵⁷ accompanied by a substantial body of men-at-arms, burst in upon us. Harthamah grasped Ja‘far by the arm and said to him, ‘On your feet, filthy swine!’

Jibrīl’s account continues:

No one said anything to me or ordered me to do anything, so I went home at once, comprehending nothing. But before I had been there for so long

(and i:535, line 4a only); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:339; Ibn Durayd, *Jamharah*, 383; Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam mā ista‘jam* (ed. al-Saqqā), 297 (line 4) s.v. Bīn. In some versions the verses are said to have been found inscribed on a tomb, or a church, or the castle called al-Sadir, all in al-Ḥīrah.

54 The pre-Islamic Lakhmid dynasty of al-Ḥīrah.

55 A puzzling line, not found thus in the other sources. The singular *juththatuhum* jars with its own plural suffix. A has *ilā Libnīn*, explaining in the margin that ‘Libn is a place in China’, where China (*al-Ṣīn*) is apparently an error for Yemen (*al-Yaman*); see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, v:12. S seems to read *ilā Lubnā*, Lubnā apparently being an arbitrary girl’s name. Al-Ya‘qūbī has *ka-annamā jannathumū la‘natun sāra ilā Bīnīn bihā rākībū*, ‘It is as if a curse has covered them, with which a rider has gone to Bīn’; Ibn Durayd and al-Bakrī have *ka-annamā haththathumū la‘natun dāra bihā ilā Bīna bihā rākībū*, ‘It is as if a curse has sped them on, with which a rider has turned to Bīn’ (said to be a place near al-Ḥīrah, but one suspects that this line is the only reason for this identification). Yāqūt (ii:542) has *ka-annahum kānū bihā lu‘batan l sāra ilā ayna bihā l-rākībū*, but elsewhere (i:535) *sāra ilā Bīnīn bihā rākībū*. The bewildering range of variants makes it impossible to reconstruct a plausible original.

56 Hārūn’s executioner, known from many sources, including *Alf laylah wa-laylah*. In the index (by Pellat) of al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, and in the index of al-Jahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā’ wa-l-kuttāb*, ed. al-Saqqā et al., he appears as Masrūr *al-khādīm* (*al-kabīr*) Abū Hāshim. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* (Bosworth) 216–217.

57 One of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s leading commanders. See *ET²* art. ‘Harthama b. A‘yan’ (Ch. Pellat).

as half an hour, a messenger from Hārūn al-Rashīd arrived and said I was to go and see the caliph at once. When I entered, there was al-Rashīd with Ja'far's head in a large basin in front of him. 'Good evening, Jibrīl,' he said. 'Weren't you asking me this morning why I was not hungry?' 'Yes, I was, O Commander of the Faithful,' I said. 'It was because I was thinking about that which you see before you,' he explained, 'but tonight, Jibrīl, tonight I am as hungry as a camel. Bring on supper! You will be astonished at how much more I can eat now. I was eating a bite at a time so as not to overburden my stomach and make myself ill.' He then called for food, fell to at once and ate heartily.

[8.3.17]

Yūsuf relates the following account on the authority of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī.⁵⁸

In the caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad al-Amīn, Ibrāhīm was absent from the caliph's council meeting one evening, having taken a dose of physic. Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' called on him the following morning to convey greetings from al-Amīn and to ask him how his condition was responding to the physic. Then he came close and murmured, 'The Commander of the Faithful is making preparations to send 'Alī ibn 'Isā ibn Māhān⁵⁹ to Khorasan to capture al-Ma'mūn and bring him to Baghdad in silver shackles.'⁶⁰ In Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī's own words:

Jibrīl said that he would renounce the Christian religion if al-Ma'mūn did not defeat and kill al-Amīn and replace him as caliph. I said to him, 'What on earth makes you say such a thing?' 'Because,' he said, 'this caliph is delusional. He became intoxicated last night and told Abū 'Iṣmah al-Shī'i,⁶¹ the captain of the guard, to take off his black clothing and made him put on *my* clothes, including my sash and my hat, and he made me put on the captain's black gown, sword and belt. Then he had me sit in the captain's place and had Abū 'Iṣmah sit in my place until daybreak, and he said to us, "There, I have made you trade places:

58 See above Ch. 8.3.11n36.

59 Commander of the caliph's guard under al-Mahdī and subsequently Hārūn al-Rashīd. See *ET*² art. 'Ibn Māhān' (D. Sourdel).

60 Al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, both sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, fought a civil war over the succession, al-Ma'mūn being ultimately successful. See *ET*² art. 'al-Amīn' (F. Gabrieli).

61 Called Ḥammād ibn Sālim Abū 'Iṣmah in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii:978. Marginal note in MS A: 'Variant reading: al-Shabī'i'. This is an unlikely *nisbah*, not found elsewhere. Probably al-Subay'i, a fairly frequent tribal *nisbah*, is intended. Al-Shī'i would also be strange here. MS has al-Sha'bī.

each of you is now assigned the other's duties." I thought to myself, "God must be about to withdraw His grace from al-Amīn, considering the way he himself abuses it. Here he has made a Christian responsible for guarding and protecting him, and Christianity is the most submissive of religions, for no other religion requires its followers to submit to the hateful actions of an enemy, such as willingly performing labour on demand, walking an extra mile when compelled to walk one, or turning the other cheek when slapped in the face. Only my religion is like that. So I judged that his power must be about to wane. And then, when he chose as his physician – the person in charge of maintaining his life, ensuring his physical welfare and serving his nature – Abū 'Iṣmah, of all people, who knows absolutely nothing whatever of these matters, I judged that God would surely not prolong his life, and that his end was near." Abū Ishāq⁶² adds, 'And indeed, it all fell out as Jibrīl had predicted.'

[8.3.18]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm relates that he heard Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' tell Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī that he had been at the house of al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad⁶³ when a poet had entered and improvised verses in praise of him. Jibrīl said he had listened until the poet uttered the following line:⁶⁴

If one said to al-'Abbās, 'O son of Muḥammad,
say No! and you will live forever,' he would not say it.

Continuing with Jibrīl's account:

I could not contain myself at that, for I knew that al-'Abbās was the meanest sod of the age, so I called out to the poet, 'That was irony, wasn't it? You said "say No", but you really meant "say Yes", didn't you?' Al-'Abbās smiled grimly, and then said to me, 'Leave this house, God's curse on you.'

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say: the poet referred to here is Rabī'ah al-Raqqī.

62 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. See above Ch. 8.3.11n36.

63 A brother of the caliph al-Manṣūr and his governor in Syria. See *EI*² art. 'al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad' (K.V. Zetterstéen).

64 Metre: *kāmil*. The poet is Rabī'ah al-Raqqī, as *IAU* states; see Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, 157, and al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvi:259. The lines are attributed to Abū l-'Atāhiyah in al-'Askarī, *Dīwān al-ma'ānī*, i:105 (see Abū l-'Atāhiyah, *Dīwān*, 613).

[8.3.19]

Yūsuf also relates:

On that same occasion, I heard Jibrīl tell Abū Ishāq that he had gone to call on al-‘Abbās the day after the end of the Christian fast, and had found him with his head aching from all the date wine he had drunk the previous day. This was before Jibrīl had entered the employ of al-Rashīd. He greeted al-‘Abbās with ‘May God exalt the emir! How is Your Excellency this morning?’ ‘Just as you would like to see me,’ said al-‘Abbās. ‘Not at all: not as I would like, not as God would like, and not as Satan would like either,’ returned Jibrīl. ‘What the deuce do you mean, God’s curse on you?’ said al-‘Abbās angrily. ‘I have proof,’ said Jibrīl. ‘Out with your proof, then,’ said al-‘Abbās, ‘otherwise I’ll mend your manners for you: you’ll never enter any house of mine again.’ ‘What I should like,’ said Jibrīl, ‘would be for you to be Commander of the Faithful. Is that the case?’ ‘No’ admitted al-‘Abbās. ‘And what God would like,’ Jibrīl continued, ‘would be for His servants to obey him in respect of the things He has commanded and prohibited. Is that the case with you, O emir?’ ‘No,’ said al-‘Abbās again, ‘I ask pardon of God.’ ‘And what Satan would like,’ Jibrīl went on, ‘would be for God’s servants to disobey Him and reject Him as Lord. Is that the case with you, O emir?’ ‘No,’ said al-‘Abbās, ‘but don’t let me hear you saying this sort of thing ever again.’

[8.3.20]

The following is from Pethion the Translator:

When al-Ma’mūn decided to undertake an expedition into Roman territory in the year 213/828, Jibrīl was very ill. When al-Ma’mūn saw what a serious state he was in, he asked the physician to send his son Bukhtīshū‘ to accompany the expedition. Jibrīl sent for him, and the young man proved to be much like his father as far as his intelligence, knowledge and general merit went. Al-Ma’mūn interviewed him, and when he heard Bukhtīshū’s answers to his questions, the caliph was very pleased, showed him the utmost respect, made him an important member of his entourage, and took him along on his expedition against the Romans.

After al-Ma’mūn’s departure, Jibrīl’s illness dragged on until finally it became apparent that his death was imminent. He made a will naming al-Ma’mūn his executor, handed it to his son-in-law Mikhā’l, and then died. He was given a finer funeral than anyone in his position had ever had,

thanks to his meritorious actions and charitable efforts. He was buried in the Monastery of St. Sergius in al-Madā'in.⁶⁵

When Jibrīl's son Bukhtīshū' returned from the expedition against the Romans, he recruited monks for that monastery and ensured that all their needs were provided for.

[8.3.21]

Continuing with Pethion the Translator:

Jūrjis and his son and the rest of their line were among the people of their time whom God had most abundantly favoured with greatness of soul, loftiness of aspiration, devoutness, kindness, beneficence and charity. They visited poor, unfortunate people when they were ill and succoured the unhappy and afflicted to an extent that beggars description, above and beyond the call of duty.

[8.3.22]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say:

The length of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū's service as Hārūn al-Rashīd's physician, from the time he first entered the caliph's employ to al-Rashīd's death, was 23 years.

An account book was found in Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl's cabinet containing records written by the secretary of the elder Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', with corrections in Jibrīl's handwriting, showing how much he had earned during his service with Hārūn al-Rashīd. His regular salary was 10,000 silver dirhams monthly, which makes 120,000 dirhams a year, and thus in the course of his 23 years he made a total of 2,760,000 dirhams.

For his accommodation, he received 5,000 dirhams monthly, making 60,000 dirhams a year. Over his 23 years, then, he received 1,380,000 dirhams.

In addition, he received a special allowance of 50,000 dirhams in the month of Muḥarram each year, making a total of 1,150,000 dirhams over 23 years.

He also received robes worth 50,000 dirhams every year, making a total of 1,150,000 dirhams over 23 years. The following is a detailed list of his

65 The ancient Ctesiphon, capital of the Parthian and Sassanid empires. It was located on the Tigris, some 32 km southeast of modern Baghdad.

robes: gold brocade, twenty; silk brocade, twenty; Manṣūrī silk, ten; ordinary silk, ten; Yemeni embroidery, three; embroidery from Nisibis, three; cloaks, three. The linings were of sable, fox, marten, ermine, and squirrel. In addition, he was paid 50,000 silver dirhams every year at the beginning of the Christian fast, making a total of 1,150,000 dirhams over 23 years.

Furthermore, every year on Palm Sunday he received a robe of gold or silk brocade, embroidery or other material worth 10,000 dirhams, making a total of 230,000 dirhams over 23 years.

He also received 50,000 silver dirhams on the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr⁶⁶ every year, making a total of 1,150,000 dirhams over 23 years, in addition to robes reportedly worth 10,000 dirhams, making a total of 230,000 dirhams. Every time he bled Hārūn al-Rashīd, as he did twice yearly, he was paid 50,000 silver dirhams, thereby earning 100,000 dirhams in the course of the year, making a total of 2,300,000 dirhams over 23 years.

Similarly, he gave Hārūn al-Rashīd a dose of physic⁶⁷ twice a year, receiving 50,000 dirhams each time, thereby earning 100,000 dirhams in the course of the year, making a total of 2,300,000 dirhams over 23 years.

In addition, from Hārūn al-Rashīd's entourage he received (over and above clothing, perfumes and horses worth 100,000 dirhams) 400,000 dirhams yearly. This makes a total of 9,200,000 dirhams over 23 years. The following is a detailed list of the persons who contributed to his income: ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar,⁶⁸ 50,000 dirhams; Zubaydah Umm Jaʿfar,⁶⁹ 50,000 dirhams; al-ʿAbbāsah,⁷⁰ 50,000 dirhams; Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUthmān,⁷¹ 30,000 dirhams;

66 Festival marking the end of the Ramadan fast.

67 Here the term *dawāʿ* is used to indicate an unspecified medication.

68 A cousin of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, governor of al-Baṣrah under al-Rashīd.

69 Wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd and mother of Muḥammad, the later caliph al-Amīn.

70 Al-ʿAbbāsah bint al-Mahdī ibn Abī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Her name is connected with the fall of the Barmakids through her marriage with Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. According to al-Ṭabarī, Hārūn could not bear to do without the society of either his sister or Jaʿfar, so that, in order to have them both with him at the same time, he had them contract a marriage of convenience. The couple themselves, however, were soon dissatisfied with this arrangement, and when Hārūn discovered what was really going on, he had Jaʿfar executed (see Ch. 8.3.16 above). Serious historians, beginning with Ibn Khaldūn, give little credence to this account. Al-ʿAbbāsah makes an appearance in Ch. 12, where we are informed of her subsequent marriage to a cousin of Hārūn al-Rashīd's, Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣāliḥ. See *ET*² art. "Abbāsa" (J. Horowitz).

71 Ibrāhīm ibn ʿUthmān ibn Nahik, commander of the *shurṭah*. He is mentioned several times in connection with Hārūn al-Rashīd, in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*; *al-Aghānī*, and other sources.

al-Faḍl ibn ibn al-Rabī,⁷² 50,000 dirhams; Fāṭimah Umm Muḥammad,⁷³ 70,000 dirhams; and, in addition, clothing, perfumes and horses totalling 100,000 dirhams.

His revenue from estates in Gondēshāpūr, al-Sūs,⁷⁴ Basra and the *Sawād*⁷⁵ came to 800,000 silver dirhams net of contributions due, making a total of 18,400,000 dirhams over 23 years.

His revenue from surplus contributions due was 700,000 silver dirhams per year, making a total of 16,100,000 dirhams over 23 years.

From the Barmakids, he received 2,400,000 silver dirhams yearly, as follows: Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd, 600,000 dirhams; Jaʿfar ibn Yaḥyā, the vizier, 1,200,000 dirhams; and al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā, 600,000 dirhams. This makes a total of 31,200,000 dirhams over 23 years.

All the above figures relate to the time of Jibrīl's employment in the service of Hārūn al-Rashīd, which was 23 years, and in the service of the Barmakids, which was 13 years. They do not include substantial gifts that are not shown in the account book; these amount to a total of 88,800,000 silver dirhams, comprising one of 85,000,000 dirhams, one of 3,400,000 dirhams, and one of 400,000 dirhams.

The following is a record of expenditures from these revenues, and from the unlisted gifts, for various purposes, according to the account book: in gold, 900,000 dinars, and in silver, 90,600,000 dirhams.

A detailed breakdown of the objects of those expenditures is as follows: personal items, approximately 2,200,000 dirhams yearly, making a total for the above-mentioned period of 27,600,000 dirhams; houses, gardens, parks, slaves, horses and camels, 70,000,000 dirhams; tools, wages, workshop facilities and so forth, 1,000,000 dirhams; estates that Jibrīl purchased as his exclusive property, 12,000,000 dirhams; gems and items of jewellery valued at 500,000 dinars, 50,000,000 dirhams; outlays for charity, donations, good works and alms, and the cost of his share of amounts paid to avoid confiscations during the above-mentioned years, 3,000,000 dirhams; sums written off as a result of defalcation on the part of persons entrusted with investments, 3,000,000 dirhams.

72 Vizier to the Abbasid caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amin. He was the son of al-Manṣūr's chamberlain, al-Rabī ibn Yūnus. See *ET*² art. 'al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' (D. Sourdel).

73 Daughter of one of Hārūn al-Rashīd's favourite concubines, Ghaḍīḍ. She figures in an anecdote in the biography of 'Īsā ibn Ḥakam al-Dimashqī (Ch. 7.8).

74 The ancient Susa in the southwestern Persian province of Khūzistān, the modern Iranian Shūsh.

75 The fertile alluvial plains of southern Iraq.

After all this, when Jibrīl was at the point of death, he made a will bequeathing 7,000,000 dinars⁷⁶ to his son, Bukhtīshū‘, and naming al-Ma‘mūn as executor. The caliph scrupulously saw to it that Bukhtīshū‘ received every dirham of his legacy.

[8.3.23]

It is to Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘ that the poet Abū Nuwās refers in the following verses:⁷⁷

I asked my friend Abū ‘Īsā
 (and Jibrīl is clever);
 I said, ‘I like wine!’
 He replied, ‘A lot of it kills!’
 I said to him, ‘Say how much I can have!’
 He replied – and his word is decisive –
 ‘I have found that human natures
 are four; those are the basis.
 So four for four:
 one pint⁷⁸ for each humour.’

Abū l-Faraj ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Iṣbahānī quotes the following verses in his *Book of Songs Only* (*K. al-Mujarrad fī l-aghānī*):⁷⁹

Ah, say to him who does not belong
 to Islam and the religious community
 To Jibrīl Abū ‘Īsā,
 friend of scoundrels and rabble:
 ‘Is there anything in your medical skills, Jibrīl,
 that can cure those who are ill?
 A gazelle has captured my reason
 without committing a crime or an error.’

76 Or 9,000,000; ‘nine’ is written on the line, but ‘seven’ is written in above it.

77 Metre: *wāfir*. See Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, iii:356; Ibn Buṭlān, *Da‘wat al-aṭibbā’*, 30.

78 A *riṭl* or *raṭl* (derived from Greek *litra*) is a measure of weight (more often than volume) with varying values; translating it as ‘pint’ is probably more realistic than the etymologically more apt ‘litre’. See Glossary of Weights & Measures.

79 Metre: *hazaj*. See Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:191. Not found in either al-Iṣfahānī’s *al-Aghānī* or Ibn Wāṣil’s *Tajrīd al-aghānī*. The source mentioned by IAU, *al-Mujarrad fī l-aghānī*, is in fact by Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Makkī (d. 248/862), one of al-Iṣfahānī’s sources; it is not extant.

According to Abū l-Faraj, the poetry is by al-Ma'mūn, the reference is to Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', the physician, and the setting is by Mutayyam in the light *ramal* rhythm.

[8.3.24]

A number of aphorisms are attributed to Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', including the following: 'There are four things that will destroy life: shovelling in more food before the previous food has been digested; drinking on an empty stomach; sex with an elderly woman; and luxuriating in the bath.'

Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' is the author of the following works:

1. Epistle to al-Ma'mūn on food and drink (*R. ilā l-Ma'mūn fī l-maṭ'am wa-l-mashrab*).
2. Introduction to the art of logic (*K. al-mudkhal ilā šinā'at al-mantiq*).
3. On sexual intercourse (*K. fī l-bāh*).
4. Shorter essay on medicine (*R. mukhtaṣarah fī l-ṭibb*).
5. A compendium (*Kunnāsh*).
6. On the fabrication of incense (*K. fī ṣan'at al-bakhūr*), which was composed for 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn.

8.4 Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl¹

[8.4.1]

Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl was an honourable man, an individual of excellent character, and he enjoyed a highly successful career as well, achieving greater eminence and prestige and acquiring greater wealth than any other physician of his time; his wardrobe and carpets were as fine as any that the caliph al-Mutawakkil² had to show.

Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq³ translated many of the works of Galen into Syriac and Arabic for him.

1 For bibliographic references to Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 243; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 109 n. 4. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 The tenth Abbasid caliph, r. 232–247/847–861. See *ET*² art. 'al-Mutawakkil 'Alā 'llāh' (H. Kennedy).

3 See his biography in this chapter (Ch. 8.29).

[8.4.2]

Pethion the Translator is the source of the following account. During the caliphate of al-Wāthiq,⁴ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt⁵ and Ibn Abī Du‘ād⁶ hated Bukhtīshū‘, for his virtuous character, piety, honour, generosity and general decency made them envious. Accordingly, they took advantage of every opportunity to besmirch his reputation in al-Wāthiq’s eyes whenever they were alone with the caliph, with the result that in the year 230/844–845, al-Wāthiq turned against him, confiscated his property and much of his wealth, and had him exiled to Gondēshāpūr. But then the caliph fell gravely ill with dropsy; he dispatched an emissary to bring Bukhtīshū‘ back to Baghdad, but died before the physician arrived.

During the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil,⁷ however, Bukhtīshū‘’s fortunes improved: he became a man of enormous importance, prestige, reputation, prowess and wealth, His apparel, perfumes, carpets, estates, opulent lifestyle and conspicuous expenditure beggared description, with the result that the caliph became envious and had him arrested.

[8.4.3]

The following account is taken from another chronicle. Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl stood high in favour with al-Mutawakkil, but he made the mistake of treating the caliph with excessive familiarity, and as a result al-Mutawakkil turned against him, confiscating his property and sending him to the City of Peace.⁸ Subsequently, however, the caliph was afflicted with an attack of colic, whereupon he sent for Bukhtīshū‘ and begged his pardon. The physician treated him,

4 The ninth Abbasid caliph, r. 227–232/842–847. See *EI*² art. ‘al-Wāthiq Bi’l-lāh’ (K.V. Zetterstéén, C.E. Bosworth & E. van Donzel). For Pethion, see Ch. 8.1.1 n. 3 and Ch. 9.16.

5 Vizier under the caliphs al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 218–227/833–842) and al-Wāthiq (227–232/842–847), Ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 233/847) was also a patron of letters and a poet himself; his *diwān* contains numerous satiric poems in which he mocks Ibn Abī Du‘ād, towards whom he entertained great – and reciprocated – enmity. See *EI*² art. ‘Ibn al-Zayyāt’ (D. Sourdel).

6 Ibn Abī Du‘ād (d. 240/854), a Ḥanafī scholar, was the chief qadi under the caliphs al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 218–227/833–842) and al-Wāthiq (227–232/842–847), and one of main enforcers of the *miḥnah* (inquisition) promoted by al-Ma‘mūn in 218/833. See *EI Three* art. ‘Aḥmad ibn Abī Du‘ād’ (J. Turner).

7 Both Ibn al-Zayyāt and Ibn Abī Du‘ād fell in disgrace with al-Mutawakkil, who ended the *miḥnah* and sought the support of the Sunnī scholars. Al-Mutawakkil had Ibn al-Zayyāt tortured and executed, and Ibn Abī Du‘ād died shortly after his properties had been confiscated and his sons imprisoned.

8 Baghdad; al-Mutawakkil ordinarily resided in Samarra, on the Tigris some 125 km north of Baghdad. He beautified the city with a number of palaces and the Great Mosque. See Northedge, *Historical Topography of Samarra*.

and he recovered. The grateful caliph responded by restoring him to grace, returning the possessions that he had previously confiscated.

In due course, however, Bukhtīshū‘ fell victim to the machinations of others and again suffered disgrace, the confiscation of all his property and exile, this time to Basra. This came about as follows. ‘Abd Allāh⁹ had advised al-Muntaṣir¹⁰ to appoint Abū l-‘Abbās al-Khaṣībī¹¹ as his personal secretary. Abū l-‘Abbās al-Khaṣībī was an unscrupulous man, and they conspired to have al-Mutawakkil assassinated and al-Muntaṣir installed as caliph in his place. ‘What made you advise al-Muntaṣir to appoint al-Khaṣībī as his secretary?’ said Bukhtīshū‘ to the vizier, ‘you know what an unscrupulous rogue he is.’ This led ‘Abd Allāh to imagine that the physician had got wind of the conspiracy. The vizier reported what Bukhtīshū‘ had said to him: ‘You know how close the caliph and Bukhtīshū‘ are,’ he said to the others; ‘in my view, we shall have to abandon our plan. Is there anything we can do?’ They finally decided that once the caliph was well into his cups, al-Muntaṣir should tear his clothes and bespatter them with blood, and then go to see his father. ‘When he asks you what on earth has happened,’ his fellow conspirators said to him, ‘you must say that Bukhtīshū‘ fomented a dispute between you and your brother, in the course of which you nearly killed one another. “O Commander of the Faithful,” you will say, “that physician ought to be removed from our midst.” He will tell you to do what you think best, and we shall exile Bukhtīshū‘. By the time the caliph thinks to ask for him, we shall have accomplished our design.’ This was done, and brought about Bukhtīshū‘’s downfall and the assassination of al-Mutawakkil.

However, when al-Musta‘īn became caliph,¹² he restored Bukhtīshū‘ to his old position and treated him most favourably.

[8.4.4]

Subsequently, when Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Wāthiq became caliph taking the name al-Muhtadī,¹³ he followed the example of al-Mutawakkil in

9 Unclear. Not to be identified with al-Mutawakkil’s vizier ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Yahyā ibn Khāqān (*EI*² art. ‘al-Mutawakkil ‘Alā ‘llāh’ (H. Kennedy)), who tried to persuade al-Mutawakkil to change his mind and appoint al-Mu‘tazz as heir, instead of al-Muntaṣir, and was not involved in the conspiracy mentioned in this anecdote.

10 Eldest son of al-Mutawakkil.

11 Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṣīb al-Jarjarā‘ī, *kātib* and vizier under al-Mustaṣir, d. 265/879 (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vi:372–373; *EI*² art. ‘al-Djardjarā‘ī’ (D. Sourdel)).

12 Successor to al-Mustaṣir, r. 248–252/862–866.

13 R. 255–256/869–870.

favouring physicians and granting them advancement and privilege, and Bukhtīshū‘ enjoyed particular prestige under al-Muhtadī bi-Allāh.

He told the caliph about the exactions to which he had been subjected during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, and al-Muhtadī ordered that the physician should be given access to the vaults, and that everything which he recognized as belonging to him should be restored to him, with no verification and nothing deducted. Consequently, he recovered everything that he had lost; the caliph allowed him to take it all, and granted him full protection.

One day, Bukhtīshū‘ received a letter from an associate in the City of Peace, stating that he had had difficulty with Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir¹⁴ in the matter of his residential properties. Bukhtīshū‘ showed the letter to al-Muhtadī after the evening prayer, whereupon the caliph sent immediately for Sulaymān ibn Wahb¹⁵ and ordered him to send an official letter, in the caliph’s name, to Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd Allāh, reprimanding him for his behaviour toward Bukhtīshū‘’s agent and ordering him to leave the physician’s residential properties and other assets unmolested. The vizier had the letter dispatched to Baghdad at once by the hand of the trustiest of the caliph’s couriers.

Bukhtīshū‘ was among the last of the company to leave the palace one evening. As he was taking his leave, he said to al-Muhtadī, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, I have not had my blood let or swallowed any medicine for forty years, and now the astrologers have determined that I am to die in the course of this year. I am not dismayed at the prospect of death, but I am sorrowful at having to be parted from you.’ The caliph spoke to him consolingly, saying that astrologers were seldom right. In the event, however, he did die: after he had left that evening, the caliph never saw him again.

[8.4.5]

Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī¹⁶ informs us, in his work entitled *The Light of the Eye and Blossom of Wit*,¹⁷ that Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī¹⁸ and Bukhtīshū‘ the physi-

14 Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, (d. 266/879–880), a member of the famous Ṭāhirid ‘dynasty’ of military commanders, governors and high officials; head of the *shurṭah* of Baghdad and the *Sawād* (fertile alluvial plains of southern Iraq); also known as a poet (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:396, Sezgin, *GAS* II, 611).

15 His vizier. See *ET*² art. ‘Ibn Wahb’ (P. Shinar).

16 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Qayrawānī. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Ḥuṣrī’ (Ch. Bouyahia).

17 Al-Ḥuṣrī’s *Nūr al-ṭarf wa-nawr al-zarf* (*The Light of the Eye and Blossom of Wit*) in the version available does not seem to have this anecdote. However this anecdote, abridged by IAU, is to be found in al-Ḥuṣrī’s work, *Zahr al-ādāb wa-thamar al-albāb* (see al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, i:250). Perhaps IAU confused the two works.

18 A son of the caliph al-Mahdī and briefly caliph himself in 202/817. See *ET*² art. ‘Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī’ (D. Sourdel).

cian once quarrelled before Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād¹⁹ at a magistrate's hearing in a matter of some land in the *Sawād*. Ibrāhīm had made a usurious loan to Bukhtīshū', and was shouting at him, using offensive language. This made Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād angry. 'Ibrāhīm,' he said, 'when you argue with a person at a hearing in our presence, it is fitting for you to seek a straight, well-trodden road; you should be calm and your words moderate. You must allow the caliph's sessions their due measure of mediation, gravitas, competence, and search for truth, for that is more fitting for you, and more becoming a man of your lineage and importance. Do not be hasty, for haste is often followed by regret. May God protect you from error and from foolish words and actions; may He grant you His grace in full, as He did to your fathers before you, for surely your Lord is all-knowing and all-wise.'

Ibrāhīm replied, 'You have bidden me, may God compensate you, behave in a fitting manner and urged me upon the path of right guidance. I shall henceforth refrain from saying or doing anything that would cause you to think the less of me, diminish my worth in your eyes, or fall short in my duty of offering apologies. I therefore do beg your forgiveness for this lapse, as one admitting his fault and acknowledging his offence. Anger lashes me on to do its will, but a man such as yourself teaches me forbearance. That is God's way with you, and with us by your example. He is sufficient for us, an excellent guardian. I hereby renounce my share in this piece of land and cede it to Bukhtīshū'. May this be adequate compensation for the wrong I have done him, for expenditure that serves to teach a lesson is not wasted. God grants success.'

[8.4.6]

Abū Muḥammad Badr ibn Abī l-Iṣba', the secretary, relates the following anecdote, which he says was told to him by his grandfather:

I called on Bukhtīshū' (the old man said) on a very hot day. I found him seated in a sitting-room cooled by several punkahs, with two windows for ventilation and a blacked-out window between them. In the centre was a pavilion with an embroidered cover the material of which was impregnated with rose water, camphor and sandalwood oil. Bukhtīshū', to my astonishment, was wearing a heavy robe of *sa'īdi* Yemeni material and wrapped up in a shawl. When I joined him in the pavilion, however, I found the air icy cold. He laughed, and ordered his servants to bring a

19 This anecdote takes place during the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim or al-Wāthiq, i.e., before the two previous stories.

robe and shawl for me. 'Boy,' he said to one of them, 'uncover the sides of the pavilion,' and there were a number of open doors, and beyond them, banks of snow, with servants fanning it. That was the source of the cold that I had felt. Bukhtīshū' then called for supper, and a most elegant table was brought in, with dainties of every kind upon it. Then came roast chickens, done to a turn; the cook entered and gave each of them a shake, whereupon it fell to pieces. Seeing how impressed I was with their colour and the tenderness of the meat, he explained that the chickens were fed nothing but almonds and cottonseed, and were given pomegranate juice to drink.

I called on him again one bitterly cold day in the dead of winter. I found him wearing a padded robe and gown, sitting in a sort of pergola inside his house, in the midst of a most beautiful garden. The pergola was covered with a fine display of sable fur, surmounted by a cover of dyed silk, felt from the western lands, and Yemeni leather mats. Before Bukhtīshū' stood a gilded brazier, made of silver and pierced with holes, in which a servant dressed in a resplendent tunic of gold and silver brocade was keeping a fire of aloes-wood burning. I joined him in the pergola, and found that it was very warm inside. Bukhtīshū' laughed and ordered the servants to bring me a tunic of gold and silver brocade as well. He then told them to uncover the sides of the pergola, and I beheld adjoining compartments with wooden lattices over iron ones, and in them braziers in which fires of tamarisk²⁰ charcoal were burning, with servants pumping bellows like so many blacksmiths. Bukhtīshū' then ordered supper, which proved to be excellent and impeccable as usual. Some very pale chickens were served. I did not like the look of them, for I feared that they were underdone, but the cook came in and shook them, and they fell to pieces. I asked him about them, and he said that the chickens were fed on shelled almonds and given milk to drink.

Bukhtīshū' used to give presents of incense in one receptacle together with another receptacle containing charcoal obtained from lemon and willow wood and grapevines and sprinkled, when being set alight, with rose water mixed with musk, camphor, Egyptian willow water and aged wine. 'I do not like to give incense without charcoal,' he would say, 'for common charcoal ruins it.' People would say, 'This is the work of Bukhtīshū'!

20 A variety of euphorbia, proverbial for the heat it yielded when used as firewood.

[8.4.7]

The following account is related by Abū Muḥammad Badr ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ, who had had it from his father, who had had it from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Jarrāh,²¹ who in turn had had it from his father. One day al-Mutawakkil said to Bukhtīshūʿ, ‘Invite me to dinner.’ ‘Your wish is my command, Sire,’ said the physician. ‘I want it to be for tomorrow,’ said the caliph. ‘It will be my pleasure, Sire,’ Bukhtīshūʿ replied.

It was summer, and the weather was very hot. ‘Everything seems to be in order,’ said Bukhtīshūʿ to his friends and associates, ‘except that we don’t have enough canvas for punkahs.’ Accordingly, he sent out emissaries to buy all the canvas they could find in Samarra. They brought back the canvas, and they also brought with them all the upholsterers²² and craftsmen they could find. They cut enough canvas to make punkahs for the entire house – courtyards, chambers, salons, apartments and latrines – so that wherever the caliph might go, he would find a punkah. Then Bukhtīshūʿ thought of the smell of new canvas, which disappears only after the fabric has been in use for a time. He ordered his servants to buy as many melons as they could find in the town, and then he had most of his staff and slave-boys sit and rub the canvas with the melons all night long, with the result that in the morning the smell had vanished. He then had his servants hang the punkahs in all the places mentioned above.

The next step was to instruct his cooks to prepare five thousand baskets, each containing a slab of semolina bread or a quantity of flat loaves to a weight of 20 *ratl*,²³ a roast lamb, a cold suckling kid, a *fāʾiqah*,²⁴ two broad-breasted chickens, two young poults, two kinds of meat cooked in vinegar, three kinds of cooked dishes, and a bowl full of sweets.

When al-Mutawakkil arrived and saw how many punkahs there were and how fine they were, ‘How have you managed to get rid of the smell?’ he asked, whereupon Bukhtīshūʿ told him the story of the melons, which astonished him. The caliph, his cousins and al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān²⁵ ate at one table, while the princes and chamberlains were seated at two gigantic leather mats, the like of which had never been seen in the possession of any of Bukhtīshūʿ’ s peers.

21 A 3rd/9th cent. secretary of state under several Abbasid caliphs; an able statesman and accomplished man of letters. See *EI*² art. ‘Ibn al-Djarrāh’ (D. Sourdel).

22 The punkah (*khaysh*) was stuffed. See Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. (‘on le rembourre, etc.’).

23 See the Glossary of Weights & Measures.

24 Unclear. It is read by all MSS. Possibly a feminine or plural noun has been lost before the word (‘a most excellent xxx’).

25 Secretary to the caliph al-Mutawakkil. See *EI*² art. ‘al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān’ (O. Pinto).

The baskets were distributed to the domestics, servants, intendants, equerries, valets, salt-boys and other staff, every man his basket. 'In this way,' Bukhtīshū' said, 'I have escaped opprobrium; for had I seated them at tables, one might have been content and another dissatisfied, one might have said he had eaten enough, while another might have said he had not had sufficient. By giving each one his own basket, I have ensured that there was enough for all.' The caliph looked at the banquet and pronounced it most splendid.

Al-Mutawakkil then said that he wished to take a nap, and asked Bukhtīshū' to put him in a well-lighted room that was free of flies, thinking thereby to cause him embarrassment. But Bukhtīshū' had had urns of treacle placed on the roofs of the house, so that the flies would gather there, and there was not a single fly in the lower apartments. Bukhtīshū' ushered the caliph into a large square chamber the entire ceiling of which consisted of glazed skylights, so that the room was full of light. It was fitted with punkahs, and under the punkahs could be glimpsed fine fabric impregnated with rose water, sandalwood oil and camphor. When al-Mutawakkil lay down for his nap, he began to smell extraordinarily sweet odours that he was unable to identify, for he had not seen any perfumes, fruits or flowers in the chamber, nor any niches or alcoves behind the punkahs where anything of that sort might have been put. The caliph was so puzzled that he told al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān to follow up the fragrance and find out where it came from. He went out and walked around the chamber, and found outside it, in every possible nook and cranny, small, narrow window-like apertures stuffed full of aromatic plants, fruits, perfumes and scents, with mandrake²⁶ in them, and melons with the flesh scooped out and replaced by mint and Yemeni basil sprinkled with rose water, essence of saffron, camphor, aged wine and turmeric. Al-Faṭḥ saw servants who had been stationed at these apertures, and by each servant was a brazier containing incense, which was burning and giving off its aromatic smoke. The inner side of the chamber was painted with a coat of white lead pierced with tiny, imperceptible holes, and it was through these that the delightful odours and perfumes were wafted in.

When al-Faṭḥ returned and told al-Mutawakkil what he had seen, the caliph was greatly astonished, and was consumed with envy of Bukhtīshū' because of his generosity and the impeccable hospitality he had provided. He left the house without spending the remainder of the day there, pretexting a languor, and thereafter felt a brooding hatred toward the physician. A few days later, Bukhtīshū' was out of favour: the caliph dismissed him and confiscated an

26 Marginal note in MSS AS: 'Variant reading, apples.'

incalculable quantity of wealth from him. His wardrobe was found to include 4,000 pairs of pantaloons made of fine *sinīzī*²⁷ linen, each of them with a waistband of Armenian silk. Al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad²⁸ sealed the storeroom, after selecting whatever items he deemed suitable and taking them to al-Mutawakkil; he also sold great quantities. After all this, a good deal of wood, charcoal, date-wine and spices still remained, and al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad bought these for 6,000 dinars.

According to one account, he sold the lot for 8,000 dinars, but then Ḥamdūn²⁹ became resentful, and he was denounced to al-Mutawakkil. He had spent 6,000 dinars for the things that remained in his possession, and those he was allowed to keep; he subsequently sold them for more than double that price. This happened in the year 244/858–859.

[8.4.8]

Pethion the Translator informs us that during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, al-Mu‘tazz bi-Allāh³⁰ fell ill with a fever, but would not eat any food or take any medicine, much to the caliph’s distress and anxiety. Bukhtīshū‘ called on the prince while the physicians were attending him, and saw for himself the patient’s refusal to take anything. Bukhtīshū‘ spoke with him, and they joked with each other. Al-Mu‘tazz put his hand into the sleeve of a heavy Yemeni embroidered robe that Bukhtīshū‘ was wearing, and said, ‘What a splendid thing this is!’ ‘Your Highness is quite right,’ said Bukhtīshū‘, ‘there is nothing like it, and it cost me a thousand dinars. Now, eat two apples for me, and this robe is yours.’ At that, al-Mu‘tazz called for apples and ate two of them. Bukht-

27 The port of Sinīz on the Persian Gulf was famed for its production of fine Egyptian-style linens; hence ‘Sinīzī gowns, like the very air in thinness, like a mirage’. For the quotation, see al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abī l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī*, ed. ‘Abbūd al-Shālījī, 133–134, where wrongly attributed to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī. The translation is from a new edition and translation of al-Muṭaḥhar al-Azdī’s *Ḥikāyat Abī l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī* by Emily Selove and Geert Jan van Gelder that will be published soon.

28 Al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad ibn al-Jarrāḥ, *kātib* and, under al-Mu‘tamid, vizier (d. 269/882); see *ET*² art. ‘Ibn Makhlad’ (D. Sourdel).

29 Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Dāwūd ibn Ḥamdūn was a man of letters and boon companion of the caliphs al-Ma‘mūn, al-Mu‘taṣim, and al-Mutawwakil. According to Yāqūt, he fell into disgrace with al-Mutawakkil after a quarrel with al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān and the caliph had his ear cut off; see Yāqūt *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* (1993), i:165–166. On the Ḥamdūn family see also *ET*² art. ‘Ibn Ḥamdūn’ (C. Vadet). With his son Abū ‘Abd Allāh he figures frequently in anecdotes in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, *passim*, and in Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh Storm and Stress* (Bosworth), 196 n. 570.

30 Son of al-Mutawakkil and subsequently caliph himself (r. 252–255/866–869), after the reign of his cousin al-Musta‘in. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Mu‘tazz Bi ‘llāh’ (C.E. Bosworth).

īshū‘ then said to him, ‘You know, Your Highness, a robe like this should have a shirt to go with it. I happen to have one that would go with it perfectly. If you will just drink a cup of oxymel for me, you shall have that shirt,’ whereupon al-Mu‘tazz swallowed a draught of oxymel. This treatment was consistent with his impetuous nature, and he recovered; he took the robe and shirt, and the illness left him. Al-Mutawakkil was grateful to Bukhtīshū‘ ever afterward for what he had done for al-Mu‘tazz.

[8.4.9]

The following account is related by Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit.³¹ Once, in very hot weather, al-Mutawakkil said that he would like to have some mustard with his meal, but his physicians told him not to, because of his irascible temperament and hot liver, and the harmful effect of mustard. ‘I shall give you some,’ said Bukhtīshū‘, ‘and you may hold me responsible for any harm it does you.’ ‘Pray proceed,’ said the caliph. Bukhtīshū‘ instructed the servants to bring him a squash, which he coated with clay and placed in an oven, and then extracted the liquid from it. He then had the mustard hulled and mixed with the liquid from the squash. ‘Mustard,’ he explained, ‘belongs to the fourth degree of heat, and squash belongs to the fourth degree of moisture, and consequently the one offsets the other. You may eat your fill.’ The caliph spent a comfortable night, and when he still felt well the following morning, he ordered that Bukhtīshū‘ should be given a purse of 300,000 dirhams and thirty chests of clothing of various kinds.

[8.4.10]

The following account is related by Ishāq ibn ‘Alī al-Ruhāwī,³² who quotes ‘Īsā ibn Māssah as follows:³³

I saw Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl one time when he had fallen ill, and the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mutawakkil, had ordered his son al-Mu‘tazz, who had just been designated heir apparent,³⁴ to visit him. Al-Mu‘tazz

31 The biography of Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah will be found at Ch. 10.5.

32 See Ch. 8.3.8. This anecdote can be found in al-Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.), 150–151; cf. facs., 166.

33 A prolific medical writer of the 3rd/9th cent. His biography will be found later in this chapter (8.28).

34 The heir apparent was al-Mustanshir, but the vizier ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān persuaded al-Mutawakkil to change his mind and nominate al-Mu‘tazz, triggering the plot against him.

did so, accompanied by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir³⁵ and Waṣīf the Turk.³⁶ Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Mudabbir,³⁷ told me that al-Mutawakkil had instructed the vizier orally as follows: ‘Write that the estates of Bukhtīshū‘ are my estates and my property. He is to me as my breath is to my body’.

According to ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū‘, this shows how highly al-Mutawakkil regarded Bukhtīshū‘ and how happy he felt in his presence.³⁸

Further evidence of this is to be found in an account that I heard from one of my masters. He said that Bukhtīshū‘ had paid a visit to al-Mutawakkil one day. The caliph was sitting on a divan in the middle of his private apartment, and Bukhtīshū‘ sat down beside him, as he usually did. Bukhtīshū‘ was wearing an outer robe of Roman silk brocade, which was split a little up the front. As the caliph talked with him, he took to playing with the split, which he followed up as far as the edge of the waistband of Bukhtīshū‘’s pantaloons. They had reached a point in their conversation where al-Mutawakkil had occasion to ask Bukhtīshū‘, ‘How can you tell when a confused person is in need of firm treatment and stability?’ ‘When he has followed the split in his physician’s robe up as far as the waistband of his pantaloons,’ answered Bukhtīshū‘, ‘*then* we adopt firm treatment.’ The caliph fell over and lay on his back laughing, and awarded Bukhtīshū‘ splendid robes of honour and a substantial purse on the spot.

35 Governor and chief of police in Baghdad under the caliph al-Mutawakkil; see *EI*² art. ‘Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh’ (K.V. Zetterstéen & C.E. Bosworth).

36 ‘Waṣīf, a slave purchased by al-Mu‘taṣim, was a Turkish army commander who served under him and later became a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) for al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil,’ *al-Ṭabarī* (Kraemer), 37 n. 132.

37 A ‘boon companion’ (*nadīm*) of the caliph al-Mutawakkil; as such, he wielded considerable influence over the caliph and affairs of state. See *EI*² art. ‘Ibn al-Mudabbir’ (H.L. Gottschalk).

38 ‘Ubayd Allāh was an 11th cent. member of the family and author among other important works of a history of physicians used by IAU (Ullmann, *Medizin*, 110–111 no. 7). See his biography at Ch. 8.6. IAU implies he is reading al-Ruhāwī here through him. His *Manāqib al-aṭibbā’* is lost. For this anecdote see also Ibn al-Qifī, *Ta’rikh al-ḥukamā’*, 103.

[8.4.11]

Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī³⁹ relates in his work *Collected Information on Precious Stones*⁴⁰ that al-Mutawakkil was once sitting to receive presents on the day of *nayrūz*,⁴¹ with rare and costly objects of every kind being brought to him, when his physician, Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl, entered. He and the caliph were on friendly terms, and al-Mutawakkil said to him, 'And what have you brought me today, eh?' 'My gift is nothing but a mere beggarly trinket, of no value whatever,' Bukhtīshū' replied, 'but such as it is, here it is,' and from his sleeve he drew out an *étui* of ebony inlaid with gold. He opened it, revealing that it was lined with green silk, and there in the silk lay a great spoon on which jewels glittered like flames. He laid it before al-Mutawakkil. 'I have never seen anything like this,' said the caliph, 'where did you get it from?' 'From some very good people,' answered Bukhtīshū', and then he added, 'My father received 300,000 dinars three times over from Umm Ja'far Zubaydah⁴² for treating her for three conditions. The first was an obstruction in her throat from which she was in danger of suffocation. He advised bleeding, cold compresses, and a broth which he described in detail. The broth was prepared in accordance with his directions, and was brought in in a great porcelain bowl, marvellous to behold, with that spoon in it. My father made a sign to me that I should pick it up, and I did so, wrapping it in my cloak, but the servant grabbed at it and tried to pull it away from me. Zubaydah said to him, "Gently; just tell him to put it back." My father offered her ten thousand dinars for it, but she refused. "Your Highness," he said, "my son has never stolen in his life. I beg you, do not think ill of him for his first attempt, for you will break his heart." She laughed at that, and gave him the spoon.'

Bukhtīshū' was then asked about the other two occasions. He explained that Zubaydah had consulted his father about a deterioration in the smell of the breath, which one of her immediate circle had informed her she had. Death,

39 A polymath of the 4th–5th/8th–9th cent. polymath. See *EI*² art. 'al-Bīrūnī' (D.J. Boilot). His biography will be found in Ch. 11.15 below.

40 *K. al-jamāhir fī ma'rīfat al-jawāhir*, a work on mineralogy. See al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-jamāhir* (Cairo ed), 53; and al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-jamāhir* (trns. Said).

41 *Nayrūz* or *nawrūz*, New Year's Day in the Persian solar year, celebrated in Islamic times toward midsummer. See *EI*² art. 'Nawrūz' (R. Levy & C.E. Bosworth).

42 Granddaughter of the caliph al-Manṣūr and wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd. She was particularly remembered for the series of wells, reservoirs and artificial pools that provided water for pilgrims along the route from Baghdad to Mecca and Medina, which was named the *darb Zubaydah* in her honour. The exploits of Zubaydah and her husband, Hārūn al-Rashīd, form part of the basis for *The 1001 Nights*. On Zubaydah see Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, 137–264.

she had said, would be preferable. He ordered her to fast until the afternoon, and then he force-fed her pickled fish and gave her the dregs of poor-quality date-wine to drink, which nauseated her and caused her to vomit. He repeated this treatment for three days, and then he said to her, 'Go and breathe in the face of the person who told you you had bad breath, and ask her whether it has now vanished.'

The third occasion was when Zubaydah was near death from a severe case of hiccups; her hiccupping could be heard from outside the chamber where she lay. Bukhtīshū's father had ordered the servants to carry some large jars up to the roof overlooking the courtyard, line them up on the edge all the way around, and fill them with water, with a servant behind each jar. When he clapped his hands, they pushed the jars over the edge, making such a crash that Zubaydah started up in alarm – and found that her hiccups had vanished.

[8.4.12]

The following account is related by Abū 'Alī al-Qiyānī,⁴³ who was told it by his father. 'I called on Bukhtīshū' one summer day,' he had said. 'Just as I sat down, he glanced up at his servant and said, "Bring it to me now." The servant brought him a cup with approximately half a *ratl* of aged wine in it and something black spiked on a gold toothpick. He chewed it, washed it down with the wine, and then sat for a time, his face a fiery colour. He then called for trays containing superb mountain plums. Bukhtīshū' began to cut them open and eat them, until he had finished them and quenched his thirst. By then his face had reverted to its normal appearance. "Tell me what that was about," I said to him, "Well, I had a real craving for plums," he explained, "but I feared they would not be good for me, so I used the theriac and wine, dressing the millstones, so to speak, to ensure that they would grind properly."

The following account is also related by Abū 'Alī al-Qiyānī at first hand from his father, who in turn had heard it from Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ. The latter had told him:

Bukhtīshū' the physician was a friend of my father's. We had a companion who enjoyed his food and was very fat. Whenever he met Bukhtīshū', he would say to him, 'I should like you to make up some diet medicine for me'. He badgered him in this fashion until finally Bukhtīshū' wrote out a prescription for him for a preparation containing colocynth pulp and scammony. The physician said to my father, 'The whole point is that he

43 Unidentified.

must keep to a light regime, and then discipline himself to refrain from eating anything harmful.'

He dined at our house on the day he began his diet, and he took only three *ratls* of stewed meat, which he ate with three *ratls* of bread. However, when he had finished it, he asked for more. My father refused, and subsequently kept him in his house until the day was over, meanwhile sending a messenger to his wife to tell her that she should not let him eat anything when he went home. When he realized that the man was becoming restless, he let him go home. Once there, he asked his wife for something to eat, but there was nothing to be had. As it happened, however, she had overlooked a pot on a shelf with breadcrumbs in it; the man found it and ate several *ratls* of the breadcrumbs. The following morning, he took the medicine, but was puzzled, for it had gone down to a full stomach, and consequently had no effect. As the day advanced, he said to himself, 'Bukhtīshū' is a fool,' and proceeded to devour ten *ratls* of slices of meat and ten *ratls* of bread and to drink a carafe of cold water. An hour later, the medicine was trying to find a way out, either at the upper end or at the lower, but was blocked in both directions, and consequently the man's abdomen swelled up and his breathing became stertorous; it appeared that he was about to die. His wife screamed and begged my father for help, and he had the man carried in a litter to Bukhtīshū'.

It was a very hot day, and Bukhtīshū' was in a sour mood at being called out of his house. He asked about the patient until he had heard his entire history. As it happened, there were more than 200 birds in Bukhtīshū's house, sandpipers, rails (?), egrets (?) and the like. There was a large pool for them, filled with water, by now warmed by the sun, in which the birds had deposited their droppings. Bukhtīshū' had his servants bring some ground salt and threw it into the water of the pool, where it dissolved. He then had them bring a funnel, and poured this mixture down the man's throat as he lay unconscious, warning everyone to stand well back, and with reason, as the patient soon vomited and voided copiously. He was very weak afterward, but his strength was sustained with perfumes and francolin broth. A few days later, he had recovered, much to our surprise. We asked Bukhtīshū' about him, and he replied, 'Thinking about the case, I saw that if I were to apply a conventional remedy, the patient would die, because of the length of time it would take to prepare and administer the medicine. We treat severe cases of colic with pigeon manure and salt; there was my pool, with its water that had been warmed by the sun, with the necessary quantity of bird droppings in it, and it was more readily

available than anything else, so I treated him with it, and by the grace of God, it worked.'

[8.4.13]

I have read somewhere that Bukhtīshū' used to prescribe an enema while the moon was in conjunction with Deneb.⁴⁴ This would cure a case of colic on the spot. He would also administer medicine when the moon was in opposition to Venus, and the patient would be better that very day.

After Bukhtīshū's death, his son 'Ubayd Allāh and his three daughters suffered the exactions of viziers and other officials, who took so much of their wealth that in the end they scattered and went their diverse ways. Bukhtīshū' died on a Sunday with eight days remaining in the month of Şafar in the year 256 [29 January 870].

[8.4.14]

A number of aphorisms are attributed to Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl, including the following:

To drink on an empty stomach is harmful; to eat on a full stomach is more harmful still.

Another runs:

It is better to eat a small quantity of something harmful than a large quantity of something beneficial.

[8.4.15]

Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl is the author of a book on cupping, in question-and-answer format.

44 I.e., α *Cygni*, the brightest star in the constellation Cygnus.

8.5 Jibrīl ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū¹

[8.5.1]

Jibrīl ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū‘ was a deeply learned man who was proficient in the art of medicine, both as a skilful practitioner and as a master of medical theory. He is the author of a number of admirable works on the subject. The art of medicine had been practised for several generations in his family, and each of his predecessors had been outstanding in his own time and had been celebrated as the marvel of the age.

[8.5.2]

The following account is taken by me from a biography of our present subject by his son, ‘Ubayd Allāh,² who drew largely on information obtained from his father:

My grandfather, ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū‘, he says, was an official in the financial service, and when al-Muqtadir,³ may God have mercy upon him, became caliph, he invited him to serve at the palace. ‘Ubayd Allāh remained there for a short time, and then died, leaving two young children, a son named Jibrīl, who became my father, and a daughter who lived with them. On the night of his death, al-Muqtadir dispatched eighty chamberlains to carry off all the chattels, furniture and plate that they could find. After he had been interred, his wife, who was the daughter of a very distinguished administrator, a man named al-Ḥarsūn,⁴ went into hiding, with the result that her father was arrested. The caliph compelled him to give up the possessions that Bukhtīshū’s daughter had left in his keeping,⁵ and confiscated much of his wealth; he died shortly thereafter. His daughter, however, fled to ‘Ukbarā⁶ with her son Jibrīl and his sister, both of whom were very young at the time, to escape the exactions of the

1 For bibliographic references to Jibrīl ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū‘, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 314; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 110 no. 6. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 The biography of ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū‘ (Ullmann, *Medizin*, 110–111 no. 7) will be found immediately following the present one (Ch. 8.6). The book is probably no. 2 in the list of his works, *K. al-manāqib al-aṭibbā’*.

3 Abū l-Faḍl Ja‘far ibn Aḥmad al-Mu‘taḍid, known as al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh, Abbasid caliph (r. 295–320/908–932).

4 Unidentified. It could be read as al-Ḥarsūn.

5 We learned in the previous biography that after the death of Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl in 256/870, his son ‘Ubayd Allāh and three daughters suffered the exactions of viziers and other officials.

6 A town located on the east bank of the Tigris, approximately halfway between Baghdad and Sāmarrā.

caliph. Subsequently, she married a physician, leaving her son in the care of an uncle of his, who lived in Daqūqā'.⁷ When she died, not long after her marriage, her husband took possession of everything she had and ordered the boy out.

Young Jibrīl made his way to Baghdad with almost nothing but the clothes he stood up in. There he was taken in by a physician named Tarmirah,⁸ who was a close associate of al-Muqtadir and one of his personal physicians; he provided Jibrīl with a place to stay and taught him the rudiments of medicine. Jibrīl also studied under a physician named Yūsuf al-Wāsiṭī,⁹ and frequented the hospital, where he learned more about the art. There were maternal uncles of his living in the Roman quarter,¹⁰ and sometimes he would go to visit them. They were not sympathetic toward him, criticizing his interest in learning and the art of medicine; they would ridicule him, saying, 'This young fellow wants to be like his grandfather Bukhtīshū' and his great-grandfather Jibrīl; he is not content to be like his uncles.' Jibrīl, however, paid no attention to their jeers.

One day, an emissary arrived from Kirmān,¹¹ bringing Mu'izz al-Dawlah¹² a striped ass,¹³ a man seven *shibr*¹⁴ tall and another man who was only two *shibr* in height. As it happened, he stayed in Qaṣr Faraj,¹⁵ on the east side, not far from the shop¹⁶ where my father Jibrīl carried on his practice. The emissary used to go there frequently, to sit and chat with him in friendly fashion. One day, he sent for my father to consult him as to whether he should have himself bled. My father advised him he

7 A town in the Jazīrah province of Iraq, located some 40km southeast of Kirkūk on the main road between Baghdad and Mosul.

8 Otherwise unknown.

9 Perhaps the father or grandfather of Ibn al-Wāsiṭī, physician to the caliph al-Mustaẓhir (r. 487–512/1094–1118). Ibn al-Wāsiṭī's biography will be found in Ch. 10.61.

10 Dār al-Rūm, a quarter of Baghdad.

11 A province of Persia, lying south of Khorasan.

12 The first of the Būyid emirs of Iraq. From 334–335/945, he was officially recognized as the ruler of Iraq and Khūzestan and given the title Mu'izz al-Dawlah. See *ET*² art. 'Buwayhids or Būyids' (Cl. Cahen).

13 Perhaps a zebra, as no species of Asiatic wild ass has a striped coat. How such an exotic creature as a zebra could have come to be in the possession of a showman from Kirmān is a matter for conjecture.

14 The size of a *shibr* varied by time and place. Taking a value of approximately 32cm, the giant would then have been 2.24m in height, while the small man would have been only 64cm tall, both striking figures. See also the Glossary of Weights & Measures.

15 A quarter in the eastern part of Baghdad.

16 *Dukkān*, the ordinary term for a shop, in this context the shop where a doctor or pharmacist gave advice and mixed compounds.

should have the operation done, performed it himself, and then attended his patient assiduously for two days. Afterwards the emissary sent him, after the fashion of the Daylamites,¹⁷ a tray holding bandages, a metal basin, an ewer, and all the necessary implements. He then summoned my father and asked him to visit his household to see what medical care they might require. The establishment proved to include a slave-girl of whom the emissary was very fond. She was suffering from a chronic loss of blood, which every physician of note in Fārs, Kirmān and Iraq had tried to treat, without success. When my father saw her, he devised a plan featuring a medicine¹⁸ that he made her drink. In less than forty days she was whole and sound, much to the emissary's satisfaction; some time later, he summoned my father and presented him with a thousand dirhams, a gown of siglaton¹⁹ fabric, a Nubian robe, and a turban of gold and silver brocade. 'Ask them to pay you what they owe you,' said the emissary, and when he did so, the slave-girl gave him a thousand dirhams and two of every kind of apparel. In addition, he was given an equipage consisting of a mule and litter and a black slave to run behind. Thus outfitted, he made a more magnificent showing than any of his maternal uncles. When the uncles saw him, they would salute him and receive him graciously, whereupon he would say to them, 'It is the clothes you are honouring, not me!'

When the emissary returned to Persia, his reports of Jibrīl's medical accomplishments caused the physician's renown to spread throughout Fārs and Kirmān. As a result, Jibrīl went to Shīrāz. Upon his arrival there, 'Aḡud al-Dawlah²⁰ (whose career as ruler of Shīrāz was beginning just about that time) was informed of his skill and sent for him. When Jibrīl went to see him, he presented the emir with a monograph on the optic nerve (a subject with which he was familiar from previous experience), written in a very elegant style. 'Aḡud al-Dawlah favoured him and granted him a generous salary and ample allowances. Subsequently, Kawkīn, the husband of a maternal aunt of 'Aḡud al-Dawlah's and the prefect of

17 An Iranian people originally from the Gīlān region. The Būyid dynasty was of Daylamite origin. See *ET*² art. 'Daylam' (V. Minorsky).

18 The Arabic word is *maḡjūn*, which is ordinarily an electuary, i.e., a medicinal paste made with honey or syrup mixed with other ingredients. In this case, the mixture must have been quite thin to allow drinking.

19 A heavy fabric of damask silk, widely used for upmarket clothing, bedding and hangings.

20 Another of the Būyid emirs, the nephew of Mu'izz al-Dawlah (see n.12 above). See *ET*² art. 'Aḡud al-Dawla' (H. Bowen).

the Jūrqaḅ district,²¹ was taken ill, and requested the dispatch of a physician; in response, ‘Aḏud al-Dawlah sent Jibrīl. When he arrived, Kawkīn received him most graciously, showing him great honour. Kawkīn was suffering from pain in the joints, gout, and weakness of the intestines; Jibrīl treated these ailments with a digestive brew²² made from grated apples. This was in the year 357/968. The treatment did Kawkīn a great deal of good, and he rewarded Jibrīl handsomely, showed him respect, and sent him back to Shīrāz with great honour.

Subsequently, ‘Aḏud al-Dawlah entered Baghdad, bringing Jibrīl with him as one of his personal attendants. There, Jibrīl overhauled the hospital, drawing two salaries, one by virtue of his post as ‘Aḏud al-Dawlah’s physician, which was three hundred *shujā’ī*²³ dirhams, and the other by virtue of his post at the hospital, which was also three hundred *shujā’ī* dirhams, over and above his ordinary stipend. He was required to attend at the palace two days and two nights every week.

On one occasion, al-Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād,²⁴ may God be pleased with him, was afflicted with a severe stomach complaint, and wrote to ‘Aḏud al-Dawlah asking him to dispatch a physician. Ibn ‘Abbād was well known for his accomplishments, and accordingly ‘Aḏud al-Dawlah gave orders that all the physicians from Baghdad and elsewhere should be brought before him so that he could consult them to determine which of them was most suitable for him to send to attend the vizier. The assembled physicians unanimously advised him to send Jibrīl, for they were envious of his preferment and welcomed an opportunity of having him removed from their midst. ‘To attend such a man as this,’ they said, ‘there could be no better choice than Abū ‘Īsā Jibrīl, for he reasons incomparably, and moreover he speaks Persian.’ This verdict met with ‘Aḏud al-Dawlah’s approval: he ordered that Jibrīl should be provided with funds adequate to cover the cost of the journey, a fine mount and pack-mules, and sent him off.

When he reached Rayy,²⁵ al-Ṣāhib ibn ‘Abbād received him most hospitably, lodging him in a well-appointed house with a chamberlain, a cook, a treasurer, a factor, a doorkeeper, and other staff. One day, when

21 Unidentified. Perhaps a corruption of Jawzaq, near Nisabur.

22 The Arabic word is *javāriṣh*, which is often translated ‘digestive’, meaning anything that improves appetite and promotes digestion, a ‘stomachic’.

23 The *shujā’ī* or *tājī* dirham, was a coin minted in Baghdād by ‘Aḏud al-Dawlah, bearing the inscription ‘*Aḏud al-Dawlah wa-Tāj al-Millāh Abū Shujā’ī*’; see Abbott, ‘Two Būyid Coins’.

24 One of the great viziers of the Būyid period. See *ET*² art. ‘Ibn ‘Abbād’ (Cl. Cahen & Ch. Pellet).

25 Near the modern Tehran.

Jibrīl had been staying there for a week, the vizier sent for him. When he arrived, he found that his host had invited learned men from various disciplines, and had selected a man of the city who had some knowledge of the art of medicine to debate with him. This person asked Jibrīl various questions about the pulse. Jibrīl saw what the game was, and proceeded to expound aspects of the matter that were beyond the scope of the questions, going into detailed explanations that none of the party had ever heard of, raising difficult points and then resolving them so impressively that there was not a man in the room who could withhold his respect and admiration.

Al-Şāhib ibn ‘Abbād bestowed splendid robes of honour upon him that day, and asked him to write a treatise exclusively devoted to the ailments affecting every part of the body, from head to foot. The result of this commission was Jibrīl’s *Lesser Compendium* (*al-Kunnāsh al-şaghūr*), which discusses nothing but the disorders of every part of the body, from head to foot, just as the vizier had requested. Al-Şāhib ibn ‘Abbād was greatly impressed with it and gave him a present worth 1,000 dinars. After that, Jibrīl never tired of saying, ‘I wrote 200 pages, and I received 1,000 dinars for them.’ When ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah heard of the matter, he was filled with admiration and held Jibrīl in higher esteem than ever. When Jibrīl left Rayy and returned to Baghdad, he brought with him splendid apparel and a numerous train of slaves, domestic staff and servants. ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah received him as generously as anyone could have wished.

[8.5.3]

‘Ubayd Allāh continues:

I have been informed by a person whom I trust that the physicians came to congratulate Jibrīl on his safe arrival. Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Kashkarāyā,²⁶ a pupil of Sinān’s, said to him, ‘O Abū ‘Īsā [Jibrīl], we sowed the seed, and here it is you who have eaten the harvest; we tried to have you removed from our midst, and here you are nearer than ever,’ referring to their scheming, which was mentioned earlier. Jibrīl laughed at these words, and replied, ‘These matters are not in our hands; there is One who manages and rules them.’ He remained in Baghdad for three years.

Some time thereafter, Khusrawshāh ibn Mānādhir,²⁷ the king of the Daylamites, fell ill. His condition deteriorated to such an extent that a

26 His biography will be found in Ch. 10.31. The biography of Sinān ibn Thābit is in Ch. 10.4.

27 Khusrawshāh was the son of a rather unknown Daylamite king referred to in some sources

constant watch was kept on him. As he wasted away, his apprehension grew. He was attended by twelve physicians, from Rayy and other cities, but their ministrations merely aggravated his illness. Finally he wrote to al-Şāhib ibn ‘Abbād, asking him to send a physician. Ibn ‘Abbād replied that he knew of no one who was fit to take on such a case but Abū ‘Īsā Jibrīl, whereupon Khusrawshāh asked him to write to the physician and ask him, in the name of their close relations, to come to his aid. He also wrote to ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah, asking him to send Jibrīl, adding that he was so ill that there was no time to be lost, and the emir responded, sending the physician in honourable style. When he reached the court of the Daylamite king, he said to him, ‘I will treat you only if all these physicians hovering about are dismissed.’ The king dismissed them, thanking them for their services, and Jibrīl stayed with him. Khusrawshāh subsequently asked him to compose a treatise on the course of the disease as it had actually occurred, indicating the treatment that should be selected and relied on. Jibrīl did so, entitling the work *On Headache Due to Association with the Orifice of the Stomach and the Diaphragm* (*Fī alam al-dimāgh bi-mushāraḳat fam al-ma‘idah wa-l-ḥijāb*).²⁸ The last word refers to the partition between the organs of digestion and the organs of respiration named the ‘diaphragm’.

When Jibrīl rejoined al-Şāhib Ibn ‘Abbād, the vizier asked him which of the constituents of the body was pre-eminent. He replied, ‘The blood,’ whereupon the vizier asked him to write a work for him demonstrating that that was the case. In response, Jibrīl produced a treatise elegantly demonstrating the truth of his assertion. At that time he was also busily engaged on the writing of his *Greater Compendium*.

Jibrīl returned to Baghdad after the death of ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah and lived there for many years, devoting himself exclusively to writing. During this time he completed his *Greater Compendium* (*al-Kunnāsh al-kabīr*), which he subtitled *al-Kāfi*, after al-Şāhib ibn ‘Abbād,²⁹ in recognition of the great

as Abū l-Fawāris Mānādhīr ibn Justān (the MSS of IAU read Mubādir instead of Mānādhīr). Almost nothing is known about Khusrawshāh’s life, but dirhams were minted with his name in 361/971–972, see Amedroz, ‘On a dirham of Khusraw Shāh’. On Khusrawshāh and Mānādhīr, see Madelung, ‘Abū Ishāq al-Şabī on the Alids’, 54–55; and Donohue, *The Buwayhid Dynasty in Iraq*, 86 n. 330.

28 The Galenic doctrine of *sumpatheia* allowed impacts from one body part, such as the (cardiac) orifice of the stomach and the diaphragm, on another as a cause of illness. See Holmes, ‘Sympathy’.

29 He was also known by the honorific title Kāfi l-Kufāt; see *ET*² art. ‘Ibn ‘Abbād’ (Cl. Cahen and Ch. Pellat).

vizier's affection for him, and donated a copy of the work to the Dār al-ʿIlm library in Baghdad.³⁰ He also wrote *The Congruity between the Sayings of Prophets and Philosophers* (*K. al-Muṭābaqah bayna qawl al-anbiyā' wa-l-falāsifah*). This work is unique among treatises in the domain of the religious sciences for the large number of quotations given in it, complete with indication of the works from which the author took them. It is also noteworthy for the attention it devotes to the various shades of meaning of obscure, rarely used philosophical terms, whereas it devotes relatively little space to religious terms, as they are unambiguous and in general use.

During the same period, Jibrīl composed a treatise entitled *Refutation of the Jews* (*M. fī l-radd ʿalā l-yahūd*), containing a wide variety of information, including proof of the lawfulness of abrogating parts of the revelations brought by the prophets, evidence of the soundness of the doctrine of the coming of the Messiah and that he has already come, showing that continuing to wait for him is an error, and the validity of the Eucharist and the bread and wine. Besides these, he composed numerous smaller works, including one on why wine is used in the Eucharist although it is of its essence a prohibited substance, and one discussing the reasons why things are lawful or prohibited.

On one occasion Jibrīl travelled to Jerusalem, fasted for a day there, and then went on to Damascus. Al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Muʿizz³¹ (may God have mercy upon him) heard of him and sent him a very gracious, respectful letter inviting him to court.³² Jibrīl, however, put al-ʿAzīz off with excuses, explaining that there were matters with which he must deal in Baghdad; once he had finished with them, he said, he would certainly attend al-ʿAzīz in Cairo. In the event, when he returned to Baghdad he remained there, abandoning the idea of going to Egypt. Eventually the king of the Daylamites sent for Jibrīl and asked him to return to Rayy. Upon arriving there, he brought a copy of his *Greater Compendium* (*al-Kunnāsh al-kabīr*) with him as a donation.

[8.5.4]

ʿUbayd Allāh also says:

I have also heard that it is that copy that governs the procedures of the hospital, and that Jibrīl is known by it, being referred to among the doc-

30 Possibly the one founded by the vizier Abū Naṣr Sābūr ibn Ardashīr in 381/991 or 383/993.

31 The fifth Fāṭimid caliph (r. 355–386/975–996).

32 In Cairo.

tors there as 'Abū 'Īsā [Jibrīl], the author of the *Greater Compendium (al-Kunnāsh al-kabīr)*.'

Jibrīl remained at the court of the King of the Daylamites in Rayy for three years, and then left. The king was furious, but he had sworn most solemnly³³ that whenever the physician wished to leave, no obstacles would be put in his way, and consequently was unable to prevent him from taking his departure.

He went to Baghdad and lived there for a time, but then was summoned to the sickbed of Ḥusām al-Dawlah,³⁴ the ruler of Mosul. During his stay there, he had a most extraordinary adventure which he was never tired of recounting. One of the women of the harem fell acutely ill, and Jibrīl advised that a phial of her urine should be taken. As it happened, he was with Ḥusām al-Dawlah when a slave-girl brought the phial to him. He examined it, then turned to Ḥusām al-Dawlah and said, 'This woman is going to die.' Ḥusām al-Dawlah was distressed at this pronouncement, and the slave-girl, seeing how moved he was, shrieked, tore her clothes, and made as though to retire, but Jibrīl called her back and said to her, 'Is there something you haven't told me about this woman?' The girl swore that no one had done anything that was not accepted practice. 'Have you by any chance been dyeing her with henna?', he asked. When the girl admitted that that was the case, he scolded her, and then, turning to Ḥusām al-Dawlah, he said, 'Good news, O emir: she will be better in three days,' and so it proved.

Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl adds: 'My father found this adventure so enthralling that he told it over and over again, marvelling afresh every time.'

When Jibrīl returned to Baghdad, al-'Amīd,³⁵ who was ill, kept him constantly in attendance, hardly allowing him to leave his side, and assigned him living quarters in his own palace; the physician stood high in his favour.

Subsequently, the emir Mumahhid al-Dawlah³⁶ wrote to Jibrīl and invited him in flattering terms to come up to his court in Mayyāfāri-

33 *bi-l-ṭalāq*, i.e. that he would divorce his wives if he broke his word.

34 The 'Uqaylid al-Muqallad ibn al-Musayyab Ḥusām al-Dawlah, ruler of Mosul 386–391/986–1001.

35 There were two viziers, father and son, Abū l-Faḍl (d. 360/970) and Abū l-Faḥḥ (d. 366/977), each known as Ibn al-'Amīd; see, e.g., *EI*² art. 'Ibn al-'Amīd' (Cl. Cahen). It is impossible, on chronological grounds, that the grandfather, called al-'Amīd, is meant here. Perhaps Abū l-Faḥḥ is meant, and 'Ibn' was mistakenly omitted.

36 One of the Marwānid dynasty that ruled in northern Mesopotamia in the 4th/10th to 5th/11th centuries. See *EI*² art. 'Marwānids' (C. Hillenbrand).

qīn.³⁷ When he finally succumbed to the emir's blandishments and went there, Mumahhid al-Dawlah received him with the respect invariably shown by all who met him.

[8.5.5]

An entertaining anecdote is told about Jibrīl in Mayyāfāriqīn. In the first year of his residence there, he gave the emir a laxative draught, saying to him, 'It is important for you to take this medicine first thing tomorrow morning.' Mumahhid al-Dawlah deliberately took it late in the evening instead. Next morning, Jibrīl rode to the palace, where he went to see the emir, took his pulse, and enquired about the draught he had given him. Mumahhid al-Dawlah, by way of putting the physician to the test, replied that it had had no effect. 'Your pulse tells me otherwise,' said Jibrīl, 'and it is a more reliable informant.' The emir laughed, and then he asked, 'How many bowel movements do you think I shall have with this medicine?' 'In the case of the emir, twenty-five,' replied Jibrīl, 'for someone else, possibly more or fewer.' 'Thus far I have had twenty-three,' said Mumahhid al-Dawlah. 'You will soon have the remainder, just as I said,' grunted Jibrīl. He was offended; after laying out a course of treatment for the emir to follow, he took his leave and ordered his horse saddled and all preparations made for departure. When Mumahhid al-Dawlah heard of this, he sent Jibrīl a message enquiring why he was leaving. 'A man like myself is not to be put to the test,' he replied, 'for my renown is such as to make trial unnecessary.' The emir was so pleased with this answer that he had a mule and a well-filled sack of dirhams sent to Jibrīl.

During this time, the king of the Daylamites sent Jibrīl a number of flattering letters inviting him to pay a visit to his court. Jibrīl wrote to Mumahhid al-Dawlah requesting permission to go, but the emir refused, and as a result Jibrīl stayed in Mayyāfāriqīn for another three years. He died there on Friday 8 Rajab in the year 396 of the Hijrah [10 April 1006], when he was 85 years of age, and was buried in an oratory just outside the city.

[8.5.6]

Jibrīl ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū' is the author of the following works:

1. The greater compendium (*al-Kunnāsh al-kabīr*), subtitled *al-Kāfi*, in five volumes, which he wrote for al-Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād. The work is in question-and-answer format.

37 The modern Silvan, in southeastern Turkey.

2. The lesser compendium (*al-Kunnāsh al-ṣaghīr*) also written for al-Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād.
3. On the optic nerve (*R. fī ‘aṣāb al-‘ayn*).
4. On headache due to association with the [cardiac] orifice of the stomach and the partition, named the ‘diaphragm’, that divides the organs of digestion from the organs of respiration (*M. fī alam al-dimāgh bi-mushāraḳat fam al-ma‘idah wa-l-ḥijāb al-fāṣil bayna ālāt al-ghidhā’ wa-ālāt al-nafas al-musammā dhiyāfragh mā*), which he wrote for Khusrawshāh ibn Mān-ādhir, the king of the Daylamites.
5. On the pre-eminence of the blood amongst the elements of the body (*M. fī anna afdal usṭuqussāt al-badan huwa al-dam*), which he wrote for al-Ṣāhib ibn ‘Abbād.
6. The congruity between the sayings of prophets and philosophers (*K. al-muṭābaqah bayna qawl al-anbiyā’ wa-l-falāsifah*).
7. Refutation of the Jews (*M. fī l-radd ‘alā l-yahūd*).
8. The reason why wine is used in the Eucharist although it is a prohibited substance (*M. fī annahū lima ju‘ila min al-khamr qurbān wa-aṣluhu muḥarram*).

8.6 ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl¹

Abū Sa‘īd ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl was thoroughly versed in the art of medicine, having been not only celebrated for his skill as a practitioner but also familiar with all aspects of medical theory. As such, he ranked among the most distinguished physicians and was an unrivalled master of his profession. In addition to his profound understanding of medicine (on which he wrote numerous works), moreover, he possessed an extensive knowledge of the Christians and their various sects.

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl lived in Mayyāfāriqīn. He was a contemporary of Ibn Buṭlān,² with whom he associated frequently; they were close friends. He died some time during the decade of the 450s [1058–1066].

1 For bibliographic references to ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 59 no. 95, 89, 110–111, 230, 236, Meyerhof, ‘An Arabic Compendium’; see Kahl, ‘*Uбайдallah ibn Buḥtīshū‘ on Apparent Death*’.

2 Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār ibn Buṭlān (d. ca. 457/1065), a celebrated Christian physician in Baghdad, known for his *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah* (*The Almanac of Health*), a Latin version of which was published in 1531 at Strasbourg under the title *Tacuinum sanitatis*; see *ET*² art. ‘Ibn Buṭlān’ (J. Schacht). His biography will be found in Ch. 10.38.

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl is the author of the following works:³

1. On differentiation between [kinds of] milk (*M. fī l-ikhtilāf bayn al-albān*), a treatise which he composed for a friend of his in the year 447/1055.
2. The merits of physicians (*K. manāqib al-aṭibbā’*), a work in which he recounts some of the memorable events in the lives of physicians and some of their noteworthy achievements. He composed it in the year 423/1032.⁴
3. *The Medical Garden* (*K. al-rawḍah al-ṭibbiyyah*), composed for the learned scholar Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī.⁵
4. The maintenance of procreation (*K. al-tawaṣṣul ilā ḥifẓ al-tanāsul*), composed in the year 441/1049.
5. Letter to the learned scholar Abū Ṭāhir ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī, known as Ibn Qaṭramīz,⁶ (*Risālah ilā l-ustādh Abī Ṭāhir ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-ma’rūf bi-bn Qaṭramīz*), written in answer to his question on ritual ablution and why it is necessary (*fī l-tahārah wa-wujūbihā*).
6. Essay on the necessity of the movement of respiration (*R. fī bayān wujūb ḥarakat al-naḥas*).
7. *Extraordinary Questions* (*K. nawādir al-masā’il*), abstracted from the disciplines of the ancient masters in the art of medicine.
8. Memorandum for the Sedentary and Provision for the Traveller (*K. tadhkirat al-ḥāḍir wa-zād al-musāfir*).
9. Book for the specialist on the science of occult properties (*K. al-khāṣṣ fī ‘ilm al-khawāṣṣ*).
10. On the constitutions and characteristics of animals and the uses of their parts (*K. ṭabā’ir al-ḥayawān wa-khawāṣṣihā wa-manāfi’ a’ḍā’ihā*), composed for the emir Naṣir al-Dawlah.⁷

3 For a translation and edition of a treatise on apparent death (*K. Tahrim dafn al-ahyā’*) by ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū’, see Kahl, ‘*Uбайдallah ibn Buhtīshū’ on Apparent Death*.

4 The work (now lost) is often cited by IAU and Ibn al-Qifṭī.

5 Perhaps Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar, a 5th/11th cent. poet, man of letters and Shāfi‘ī *faqīh* of Baghdad; see *ET*² art. ‘Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar’ (Ed.). For an edition of this work, see ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl, *al-Rawḍah al-ṭibbiyyah*.

6 Son of Big Bottle. Unidentified.

7 The identity of this particular emir Naṣir al-Dawlah is uncertain. Anna Contadini suggests that ‘In all likelihood he may be identified with Amir Naṣr (rather than Naṣir) al-Dawlah Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Marwān, the third and most important prince of the Marwānid dynasty of Diyarbakr, who succeeded his brother to the provincial sovereignty in 402/1011, and died in 463/1061’ (Contadini, *World of Beasts*, 40). For various preserved versions of this treatise, see Contadini, ‘The Ibn Bakhtīshū’ Bestiary Tradition’ and Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, entry 230. For a Spanish translation, see Bravo-Villasante, *Utilidades de los animales*. The title is reminiscent of Galen’s famous *De usu partium*.

8.7 Khaṣīb¹

Khaṣīb was a Christian physician who was born and lived all his life in Basra. He was highly skilled in the art of medicine and was a peerless practitioner of that art. We read in an account by Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī² that the poet al-Ḥakam ibn Muḥammad ibn Qanbar al-Māzinī³ once fell ill in Basra. When Khaṣīb was brought to his bedside, he recited the following lines about the physician:⁴

I said to my people
 when they brought Khaṣīb to me:
 'Khaṣīb, by God, is not
 the right doctor for what's wrong with me.
 My illness is known only by someone
 who suffers from the same thing as I.'

Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī also relates the following story:⁵

Khaṣīb the physician was a Christian of admirable character. He administered a medicinal draught to Muḥammad ibn Abī l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ⁶ while he was in Basra, and it made the caliph ill. He was taken to Baghdad, where he died early in the year 150/767.⁷ Khaṣīb was suspected of having caused his death, and accordingly was arrested and thrown into prison, where he remained until he died. When he became ill, he examined his own urine (for he was a learned physician), and declared, 'According to Galen, anyone suffering from this ailment is doomed once his urine has become like this.' 'Galen may have been mistaken,' said his friends.

1 For bibliographic references to Khaṣīb, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 210. This biography is included in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is missing from Version 1. The edition is based on MSS A, Ga, P, R, and S.

2 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, a 2nd/8th cent. traditionist and philologist of the Basra school; see *ET*² art. 'Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī' (Ch. Pellat).

3 A poet of Basra, a contemporary of the subject of this biography. See *ET*² art. 'al-Ḥakam b. Muḥammad b. Qanbar' (Ch. Pellat).

4 Metre: *ramal*. See al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xiv:168; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii:322.

5 It is possible that IAU has taken this story from the *K. al-Aghānī*, where al-Jumaḥī is quoted (it is not to be found in the extant text of al-Jumaḥī's *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*).

6 The first Abbasid caliph (r. 132–136/749–754). See *ET*² art. 'Abu l-'Abbās al-Saffāḥ' (S. Moscati).

7 Al-Saffāḥ in fact died 136/754. The date however is not in *al-Aghānī*.

‘Never have I hoped for that to be the case so ardently as now,’ he replied. But evidently Galen had not been mistaken, for Khaṣīb died of his illness.

8.8 ʿĪsā, known as Abū Quraysh¹

[8.8.1]

The following account is taken from *The Practical Ethics of the Physician* by Ishāq ibn ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī,² who relates it on the authority of ʿĪsā ibn Māssah.³

I have been informed by Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh⁴ that Abū Quraysh was an apothecary whose place of business was near the gate of the caliph’s palace. He was an honest, pious man. Al-Khayzurān, the slave-girl of the caliph al-Mahdī,⁵ had sent one of her maids to take a phial of her urine to the physician. Upon leaving the palace, the maid showed the phial to Abū Quraysh, and he pronounced the urine to be that of a pregnant woman who was carrying a boy. The maid ran back to her mistress with this good news, and al-Khayzurān ordered her to return and obtain further information. When she did so, Abū Quraysh said to her, ‘I told you the truth, but it is good news, and you owe me something for it.’ ‘How much?’ enquired the maid. ‘A bowl of sweet pudding and a fine robe,’ he replied. ‘If this is true,’ the maid said, ‘you have just earned the best and finest of the goods that this world has to offer,’ and off she went.

Forty days later, al-Khayzurān realized that she was indeed pregnant. She had a purse of 10,000 dirhams sent to Abū Quraysh, but said nothing to al-Mahdī. In due course she gave birth to Mūsā, Hārūn al-Rashīd’s elder brother,⁶ and only then did she tell the caliph, ‘A physician at the gate of the palace told me nine months ago that this would come to pass.’ When

1 This physician is not mentioned by either Sezgin or Ullmann. The biography occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 See Ch. 8.3.8. His biography is given at Ch. 10.57. Al-Ruhāwī gives the name as Isrāʾīl al-Kabīr al-maʾrūf bi-Abī Quraysh; see Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.), 151 and (facs.) 166–167.

3 A physician whose biography will be found in Ch. 8.28.

4 Another physician whose biography will be found later in Ch. 8.26.

5 Actually his wife; she had once been a slave-girl, but had achieved upward mobility. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Khayzurān bint ʿAṭāʾ al-Djurashīyyah’ (Ed.). Al-Mahdī was the third Abbasid caliph (r. 158–169/775–785).

6 And subsequently the caliph al-Hādī (r. 169–170/785–786).

Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl⁷ heard of the matter, he scoffed: 'Lies,' he said, 'trickery.' This infuriated al-Khayzurān, and she had a hundred trays of pudding, along with a hundred suits of clothing and a horse, ready saddled and bridled, sent to Abū Quraysh.

It was not long before al-Khayzurān became pregnant again, this time with Mūsā's brother, Hārūn al-Rashīd. 'What about putting this physician to the test yourself?' said Jūrjis to the caliph, so al-Mahdī had a phial of urine sent to Abū Quraysh, who examined it and said, 'This is the urine of the lady⁸ Umm Hārūn, and she is pregnant again, with another boy.' When this was reported to the caliph, he made a note of the date. In due course, al-Khayzurān gave birth to Hārūn, whereupon al-Mahdī sent for Abū Quraysh, had him brought into his presence, spoke with him personally, and inundated him with robes of honour and bags of dinars and dirhams piled up higher than his head. The caliph allowed Hārūn and Mūsā to sit on the physician's knees and addressed him familiarly as 'Abū Quraysh,' which means 'father of the Arabs,'⁹ and said to Jūrjis, 'This is something that I have put to the test myself, personally.' Thus it happened that Abū Quraysh came to be equal in rank to Jūrjis ibn Jibrīl, and even above him. In due course, al-Mahdī died and was succeeded by Hārūn al-Rashīd. Jūrjis then died in his turn, and his son became subordinate to Abū Quraysh in al-Rashīd's service.¹⁰

At his death, Abū Quraysh left 22,000 dinars and ample possessions.

7 Court physician. He had been personal physician to the caliph al-Manṣūr and continued to hold that post under al-Mahdī. His biography is in Ch. 8.1 above.

8 Literally, 'my daughter'.

9 Technically, 'Abū Quraysh' means 'Father of Quraysh', an important tribe as Muḥammad's own.

10 However, Hārūn al-Rashīd was under no illusions about Abū Quraysh's competence. In the biography of Bukhtīshū' ibn Jūrjis, in Ch. 8.2 above, we read: In the year 174, when Hārūn al-Rashīd was afflicted with a migraine, he complained to Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd, 'These physicians are no good at all.' The vizier replied, 'O Commander of the Faithful, Abū Quraysh served both your parents as physician.' 'I show him respect because of his long and faithful service,' said the caliph, 'but he doesn't know much about medicine. I want you to find me someone who does.'

[8.8.2]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm¹¹ says,

I was told by al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Mahdī¹² that Hārūn al-Rashīd had a congregational mosque built in the garden of Mūsā al-Hādī and ordered his brothers and the members of his household to attend there every Friday while he led the prayers. ‘My father, ‘Alī ibn al-Mahdī’ (his account runs) ‘was at that mosque one very hot day. After the prayers were over, he went home to his own house in Sūq Yaḥyā,¹³ but the hot weather had given him such a terrible headache that he could hardly see. He summoned every physician in Baghdad. The last of them to arrive was ʿĪsā Abū Quraysh, and by then the others, having despaired of stopping the headache, had withdrawn to consult together. “By the time that lot have reached a consensus, the man will have gone blind,” said he, and forthwith he called for some oil of violets, rose water, wine vinegar and snow. He poured two dirhams’ weight of the oil into a bowl, poured some of the vinegar and some of the rose water over it, and crumbled some of the snow into it, and then tilted and swirled the bowl until all its contents were mixed together. Next, he ordered the servants to place a handful of the mixture in the centre of ‘Alī ibn al-Mahdī’s forehead, to wait until the skin had absorbed it, and then to repeat the procedure. After this had been done three or four times, the headache had subsided and my father was better.’

[8.8.3]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm also says:

I have been informed by Shiklah,¹⁴ the mother of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, that while she was with al-Mahdī in his camp at al-Rabadhah,¹⁵ on the

11 For Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah, see Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15.

12 Apparently a grandson of the caliph al-Mahdī and nephew of Hārūn al-Rashīd, otherwise unidentified.

13 A district on the eastern side of Baghdad; the name is said to commemorate the vizier Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī.

14 A concubine and *umm walad* of the caliph al-Mahdī. Ibrāhīm was a poet and musician who survived a brief term as caliph in 202–203/817–819. See *EI*² art. ‘Ibrāhīm b. Al-Mahdī’ (D. Sourdel).

15 An important way station on the main pilgrimage route between Kufa and Mecca, where food and drinking water were available for pilgrims. See *EI*² art. ‘al-Rabadha’ (S. ‘A. al-Rashid).

route to Mecca, he called out to her in a voice that seemed altered and sounded unfamiliar to her. She went to him, and found him lying supine. He told her to sit down, and when she did so, he sprang up and embraced her in friendly fashion, as though she had been an acquaintance whom he had met. Then, clutching her tightly, he went into a trance. The bystanders attempted to unclasp his arms from her neck, but to no avail. Physicians were summoned, and their unanimous verdict was that he was suffering from an attack of paralysis.¹⁶ 'Al-Mahdī, the son of al-Manṣūr ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-'Abbās, suffer an attack of paralysis?' said 'Īsā Abū Quraysh, 'never! Neither these men nor any of their line will ever be stricken by paralysis, unless they sow their seed in Roman or Slav concubines or the like. In that case their descendants from those concubines might be liable to attacks of paralysis, but not otherwise.' He called for a cupper and had al-Mahdī bled, and by God! no sooner had the first measure of blood been drawn than the caliph drew back his arms; at the second, he began to speak, and he had recovered his senses before the cupper had completed his work. He sent for Umm Asmā' and impregnated her then and there with his daughter Asmā'.

[8.8.4]

Yūsuf also says,

When Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was very poorly with the illness from which he ultimately died, his jaw became slack and his tongue thick within his mouth, with the result that he had difficulty speaking. When he did speak, persons hearing him had the impression that he was paralysed. He sent for me at the time of the afternoon prayer on Tuesday, the sixth day of Ramadan of the year 224 [22 July 839], and said to me, 'Do you not find it extraordinary that I should have been stricken with this disorder, which has not affected any of my father's offspring apart from Ismā'īl ibn Mūsā the Commander of the Faithful and poor Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ, and in Muḥammad's case it was only because both his mother and his father's mother were Roman women. Ismā'īl's mother was Roman too. But *my* mother was no Roman woman, so how is it, in your opinion, that I have come down with it?'

At this, I realized that he had remembered his mother telling him what 'Īsā Abū Quraysh had said about al-Mahdī and his offspring, that none of

16 *Fālij*, a form of partial paralysis.

them would be affected by paralysis unless they should sow their seed in Roman women, and was hoping that in his particular case the paralysis would not prove fatal. Accordingly, I said to him, 'I cannot imagine why you should think such a malady would strike you, for your mother, she who gave birth to you, was a Dunbāwandī woman, and Dunbāwand¹⁷ is colder than any part of the land of the Romans.' Evidently he believed me and took comfort from my words, for he appeared to be content with what I had said. He died at daybreak on Friday, the ninth day of Ramadan [25 July 839].

[8.8.5]

Continuing Yūsuf's account:

I have heard from Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī that ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar ibn al-Manṣūr¹⁸ was so obese that he appeared to be at risk of death from the very weight of his flesh. Hārūn al-Rashīd was very concerned at this; he became so distressed that he could not enjoy the pleasures of food and drink. He ordered his physicians to treat ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar, but all of them denied any knowledge of a means that would serve, thereby exacerbating Hārūn al-Rashīd's anxiety. But ʿĪsā, known as Abū Quraysh, went to see al-Rashīd in private and said to him:

O Commander of the Faithful, your brother ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar is endowed with a solid stomach and a body that readily absorbs nourishment. Nothing bad ever happens to him; whatever he wishes for comes true beyond his dreams. He has never been afflicted with the death of a loved one, financial catastrophe, or injustice at the hands of jacks-in-office; he has never been treated harshly. When men's natures and circumstances are not perturbed, they may experience now illness, now health, now sadness, now joy; they may dream of dreadful things or pleasant things, they may feel horror on some occasions and happiness on others. No man is safe from destruction if his flesh increases until his bones are too weak to support it, his breathing is impeded, and the powers of his brain and liver are annihilated, and where this is the case, the life is destroyed. As regards your brother, unless you show some sternness toward him, change your behaviour somewhat, perhaps distress him by confiscating some of his money or take some

17 A mountain in northern Persia; Dunbāwand appears to be the oldest form of the name. See *ET*² art. 'Damāwand' (M. Streck).

18 First cousin to Hārūn al-Rashīd; the term 'brother' used below is used loosely as often.

of his women away from him, why, his obesity may increase until it kills him. If you want to keep him alive, I urge you to treat him in that way, for otherwise you soon may not have a brother.

‘I know,’ replied Hārūn al-Rashīd, ‘you have told me before, but I really cannot alter the way I treat him or deliberately set out to worry him in some way. If you know of some means of dealing with his case, please proceed with it. As soon as I see that he has lost weight, you shall have ten thousand dinars from me, and I will see to it that you receive the same amount from him.’ ‘Well,’ said Abū Quraysh, ‘I do have an idea, but I am afraid that it may rouse ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar to a murderous rage and I will be killed then and there. Therefore, O Commander of the Faithful, will you send a sturdy servant with me, accompanied by a number of men who will protect me from him, in case he orders me killed.’ Hārūn al-Rashīd gave the necessary orders, and Abū Quraysh went to see ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar. After taking his pulse, he informed the fat man that he would have to take his pulse for three days before he would be able to suggest any treatment. At this, ʿĪsā told him to go away and come back later. Abū Quraysh complied, returning on the second and third days. Having completed the task of taking ʿĪsā’s pulse, the physician said to him, ‘This is most fortunate, a recommendation that comes neither too soon nor too late, and I consider that the emir would do well to observe it. If nothing untoward happens within the next forty days, I shall administer a treatment that will have you cured of your illness within a mere three days, and you will in better health than before.’

The physician rose from his seat, having implanted such fear in ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar’s heart that he was unable to eat or sleep, and before forty days had passed, his girth had shrunk by some five *bashīzajāt*.¹⁹ During that time, Abū Quraysh said nothing to Hārūn al-Rashīd, for fear he might inform his cousin of the physician’s design to implant fear in his heart and thereby bring the plan to naught. On the eve of the fortieth day, however, he told the caliph that he was quite sure that ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar had lost weight, and suggested that he should invite him to the palace, or else ride over to call on him. Accordingly, al-Rashīd mounted his horse and rode to his cousin’s house, where he found ʿĪsā with the physician. As soon as the caliph entered, ʿĪsā said to him, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, give me leave to kill this infidel, for he has killed me – look!’ and he wrapped his waistband around himself. ‘My enemy here, O Commander of the Faithful, has

19 The term *bashīzajāt* is puzzling. The ending *-ajāt* shows that it is from Persian. According to Steingass (*Persian-English dictionary*), a *pishēza* is something small: ‘the scale of a fish; a small, thin piece of money; the skirt of a tent; a thin layer of metal between the handle and the blade of a knife’. Perhaps here the distance between the perforations of his belt?

shrunk my waist by five *bashīzajāt* from sheer terror.' At this, Hārūn al-Rashīd prostrated himself and thanked God, and then he said to ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar:

My brother, I can continue to have the pleasure of your company thanks to Abū ʿĪsā here (for al-Rashīd frequently referred to the physician as Abū ʿĪsā), after God, for your life has been restored to you. What a stratagem he used on you! I have ordered that he is to receive a purse of ten thousand dinars, and you must do the same.

ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar complied, and the physician took the money home with him. Nor did ʿĪsā ibn Jaʿfar ever become fat again as long as he lived.

[8.8.6]

Another account from Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm:

I have heard from Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī that once when he was in Raqqa with Hārūn al-Rashīd, he fell gravely ill. The caliph gave orders that he should be carried down²⁰ to the home of his mother in Baghdad. Bukhtīshūʿ the grandfather of Bukhtīshūʿ,²¹ who was chief physician at that time, remained at his bedside constantly and supervised his treatment. In due course, Hārūn al-Rashīd went back to Baghdad, bringing Abū Quraysh with him. Ibrāhīm told me that Abū Quraysh had come to visit him, and had observed that the illness had wasted him badly, causing his flesh to melt away and reducing him to despair; in particular, he was running a high fever. In Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī's own words:

ʿĪsā Abū Quraysh said to me, 'By al-Mahdī! beginning tomorrow, I propose to administer a treatment that will have you well again before I have left your house.' He went out of the sickroom, summoned the majordomo and said to him, 'I want you find the three fattest Kashkarī²² chickens in all Baghdad, slaughter them at once, and hang them up with their feathers still on them until I tell you what to do with them first thing tomorrow morning.'

20 Raqqa is on the Euphrates, in present-day Syria, far to the northwest of Baghdad on the Tigris, so the patient had to travel a long way downstream and then some distance overland to reach his mother's place.

21 I.e. the celebrated physician Bukhtīshūʿ ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ, who is the subject of Ch. 8.4 above.

22 An ancient town on the west bank of the Tigris, just opposite the town of Wāsīt, founded by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. See *EI*² art. 'Kaskar' (Streck & Lassner).

Early the next day, he came to see me, bearing three *zamshī*²³ melons which he had kept chilled on snow all night long. He called for a knife and cut a slice from one of them and gave it to me, saying 'Eat this.' I told him that Bukhtīshū' had forbidden me to so much as smell melons, but he retorted, 'And that is why you have remained ill for so long. Eat it, it won't hurt you!' So I ate it, and found it delicious. He told me to go on eating, and so I did, until I had finished two of the melons. Then I felt that I could eat no more, but he cut a slice from the third melon and said, 'What you have eaten so far has been for enjoyment, but this slice is therapeutic.' I choked it down somehow, and then he cut yet another slice, at the same time making signs to the attendants that they should bring a basin, and said to me, 'Eat this one as well.' I had eaten less than a third of it when my gorge rose and I was overcome with a fit of vomiting, regurgitating not only the melon that I had eaten, but great quantities of yellow bile as well. I then fainted. Subsequently, I broke out in a heavy sweat and fell asleep until after the time of the noon prayer. When I awoke, I was so hungry that I was almost out of my mind, although previously I had had not the slightest desire for food. I shouted for something to eat, and the three chickens were brought to me; the meat had been prepared as a vinegar stew, and the cooks had done it to a turn. I ate my fill, and then slept again until the time of the afternoon prayer had passed. When I awoke, I rose from my bed. My illness had vanished, I had recovered. Nor has that illness returned since that time.

8.9 Ibn al-Lajlāj¹

The following account is taken from a work by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm.²

I have been informed by Ismā'īl ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht³ that he had heard from his father, Abū Sahl, that while the caliph al-Manšūr was on

23 The origin of this term is uncertain. An alternative reading is *ramshī*.

1 For biographical information about Ibn al-Lajlāj, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 280; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 112. The biography occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 See Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15.

3 The Nawbakht family, of Persian origin, was prominent in literary, political and theological circles in Baghdad during the first two centuries of the Abbasid dynasty. See *ET*² art. 'Nawbakht' (L. Massignon).

the pilgrimage in the course of which he died, he, Abū Sahl, had become very friendly with the caliph's physician, Ibn al-Lajlāj. While the caliph slept, they would drink together. One day, when Ibn al-Lajlāj had drunk a good deal of date-wine and was feeling the effects of it, he asked Abū Sahl how much longer, in his opinion, al-Manṣūr was likely to live. In Ismā'īl's own words:

My father was so upset at the question that he gave up drinking date-wine and resolved not to associate with the physician any more. He kept this resolution for three days, but subsequently they became reconciled, and as they sat drinking date-wine together again as before, Ibn al-Lajlāj said to Abū Sahl, 'I asked you what you thought about something, but you refused to answer and avoided my company. Listen now while I return good for evil. Al-Manṣūr is a man whose temperament is warm, and his body is drying out as he grows older. He had his head shaved in al-Ḥīrah,⁴ and had musk-and-ambergris perfume rubbed on his head in place of the hair that had been shaved off. Now here we are in the Ḥijāz, and he continues to apply the perfume, paying no attention to me when I advise him to stop doing it. I estimate that before we have got as far as Fayd,⁵ his brain will have become so dry that neither I nor any other physician will be able to restore its moisture. He will have fallen ill before we reach Fayd, if indeed he reaches Fayd at all, and he will be dead before we reach Mecca, if indeed he ever does reach Mecca.'

Ismā'īl's account continues,

'And, by God,' my father said to me, 'by the time we reached Fayd, al-Manṣūr had fallen ill, and before we got to Mecca he had died; he was buried at Bi'r Maymūn.'⁶

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm's account continues as follows:

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī⁷ appreciated this story when I related it to him. Did I, he asked me, know about Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht's name? No, I said, I

4 Located southeast of modern Najaf, in Iraq. See *ET*² art. 'al-Ḥīrah' (A.F.L. Beeston & I. Shahid).

5 A town in the Ḥijāz, located at approximately the halfway point on the pilgrimage route between Iraq and Mecca. See *ET*² art. 'Fayd' (C.E. Bosworth).

6 A well in or near Mecca; its exact location has not been determined.

7 A son of the caliph al-Mahdī, a poet and musician who survived a brief term as caliph in 202–203/817–819. See *ET*², art. 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī' (D. Sourdel). Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah was his personal secretary.

did not. 'It is even more singular that the story that you have just told me about his son,' he said, 'and you heard it here first! I heard it from Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht himself':

When my father was beginning to fail and felt he could not continue in al-Manṣūr's service, he said, the caliph told him to send for his son to serve in his stead. He ushered me into the presence of al-Manṣūr, and when I was standing before the caliph, he said to me, 'Tell the Commander of the Faithful your name,' so I dutifully said it, Kharkhashā Damāh Ṭīmādhāh Mādhariyād Khusraw Abhamshādh. 'Was all that your name?' said the caliph. 'Yes, Sire,' I replied. Al-Manṣūr smiled, and then he said, 'Your father has not been of much use! I propose to offer you a choice between two alternatives.' 'What are they, Sire?' I enquired. 'Either I take that rigmarole you just uttered and shorten it to "Ṭīmādh,"' he said, 'or else I call you by a familiar name, let us say "Abū Sahl", instead of using your real name.' Abū Sahl told me that he liked the idea of being known by that name, so he adopted it and ceased to use his original name.

I told this story to his son, Ismā'īl ibn Abī Sahl. 'Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī was quite right,' he said, 'I have heard that very anecdote from my father.'

8.10 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī¹

[8.10.1]

'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī was a keen-witted and eloquent man, despite a peculiar way of speaking that he owed to his place of origin, for he was a native of one of the villages of the Kaskar district in the *Sawād*. The caliph al-Hadī thought highly of him.

[8.10.2]

The following account is taken from a work by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm.²

I have heard at first hand from al-Ṭayfūrī that he served as physician to Ṭayfūr,³ who liked to assert that he was the brother of al-Khayzu-

1 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī is not mentioned either in Sezgin, *GAS* III or in Ullmann, *Medizin*. Ibn al-Qiftī has an entry on him (Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-hukamā'*, 218). This biography occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 See Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15.

3 It is unlikely that this Ṭayfūr is the father of the well-known literary man and historian, Abū

rān,⁴ but it was widely suspected that he was really her emancipated slave.⁵ ‘When al-Manṣūr sent al-Mahdī to Rayy to campaign against Sunqār,⁶ al-Ṭayfūrī’s account ran:

Al-Mahdī had impregnated al-Khayzurān (with Mūsā, as it subsequently appeared). Ṭayfūr accompanied her to Rayy, she being as yet unaware that God had blessed her with child, and he took me along with him. ‘Īsā, known as Abū Quraysh,⁷ was an apothecary with the army, and once al-Khayzurān realized that she had conceived, she handed a phial of her urine to an elderly retainer and told her to show it to all the physicians in al-Mahdī’s army and all others who were competent in the matter. The elderly retainer set off (we were in Hamadhān at the time), and as she went along she chanced to pass ‘Īsā Abū Quraysh’s tent. A number of slave-boys belonging to men of the army were standing there with phials of urine which they were showing to ‘Īsā, and she decided that she had better not go any further until he had seen the urine she was carrying. Upon scrutinizing it, he said to her, ‘This urine is that of a pregnant woman, and the child she is carrying is a boy.’ Al-Khayzurān’s serving-woman ran back to her mistress to relay this news. Upon hearing it, al-Khayzurān prostrated herself and gave thanks to God, and then manumitted a number of slaves; next, she went to al-Mahdī and told him what her retainer had said. The caliph was more delighted at the news than al-Khayzurān herself; he ordered ‘Īsā brought in and questioned him personally about the serving-woman’s message. When the apothecary confirmed that he had made no mistake, both caliph and al-Khayzurān rewarded him lavishly, and al-Mahdī ordered him to leave his tent and apothecary’s paraphernalia and enter his own service.

l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr. See *EI*² art. ‘Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr’ (F. Rosenthal), since he was certainly not a manumitted slave; cf. Toorawa, *Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr*, 72–73.

4 Wife of the caliph al-Mahdī and mother of Mūsā al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd.

5 *Mawlā*. The Ṭayfūr family was of Persian origin, whereas al-Khayzurān came originally from Yemen. The popular suspicion may thus have had some plausibility.

6 The caliph al-Manṣūr sent his son al-Mahdī to Rayy in 141/758–759 to take up the post of governor of Khorasan, which at that time was the scene of various campaigns against rebels, one of them presumably this Sunqār. See *EI*² art. ‘al-Mahdī’ (H. Kennedy).

7 See his biography in Ch. 8.8. According to the account there given, this incident took place near the gates of the caliph’s palace in Baghdad, not out in Hamadhān.

[8.10.3]

To continue al-Ṭayfūrī's account:

Ṭayfūr, thinking to do me a favour, sent a message to al-Khayzurān. 'My personal physician,' it ran, 'is skilled in the art of medicine. I suggest you send a sample of urine to him and have him look at it.' Al-Khayzurān fell in with this suggestion, sending me a phial of her urine the following day. Ṭayfūr urged me to give the same diagnosis that 'Īsā had given, but I told him that while the urine did indicate a pregnancy, I could not tell whether the child was male or female. He pressed me hard, but I would not agree, having no wish to acquire a reputation as a charlatan. Finally he reported my conclusion to al-Khayzurān, who awarded me a purse of one thousand dirhams and ordered me to join her retinue. The baby, al-Hādī, was born after she had reached Rayy. Al-Mahdī, for his part, had had 'Īsā Abū Quraysh put to the test in every conceivable way, and had ascertained that he was impotent. This was good news for the caliph, and thereafter the apothecary stood higher in his favour than all his eunuchs. That was one reason why I myself obtained advancement, for I became the attendant of Mūsā,⁸ Commander of the Faithful, and was styled his physician during the time of his nursing and while he was being weaned.

We remained in Rayy, and in due course al-Khayzurān gave birth again, this time to Hārūn al-Rashīd. Evidently his birth was al-Hādī's misfortune, for the younger son now enjoyed all, or nearly all, his parents' attention. It was a misfortune for me as well, as it cost me dearly in prestige and income, until Mūsā was older and could see how matters stood. That turn of events marked an improvement in my own fortunes, for he thought well of me and treated me with greater consideration than his mother, al-Khayzurān, had done.

Thanks to God, al-Mahdī was victorious: Sunqār and the Khorasanian princes Shahriyār the father of Mihrawayh and Khālīd, Buskhunnar the father of al-Ḥārīth ibn Buskhunnar, and al-Rab'īn, all met their deaths, while some of their offspring were taken prisoner. Among those so taken were Mihrawayh, Khālīd, a kinswoman of theirs named Shāhak, who had sat at Shahriyār's table and was the mother of al-Sindī ibn Shāhak,⁹ and

8 I.e. the infant al-Hādī.

9 Probably a former slave from Sind who had risen to hold important offices; see *EI*² art. 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī' (Ch. Pellat). His son Ibrāhīm was Prefect of Police in Baghdad under Hārūn al-Rashīd.

al-Ḥārith ibn Buskhunnar. All of these were emancipated slaves (*mawālī*) and natives of Rayy.

When al-Ḥādī reached adulthood and al-Mahdī became caliph, my situation improved and I gained in prestige, for I became the personal physician of the heir apparent. Then al-Ḥādī acquired Amat al-ʿAzīz,¹⁰ who was dearer to him than the skin of his own brow. She bore him Jaʿfar, ʿAbd Allāh, Ismāʿīl, Ishāq, ʿĪsā, known as al-Jurjānī, Mūsā the blind, Umm ʿĪsā, subsequently the wife of the caliph al-Maʿmūn, and Umm Muḥammad and ʿUbayd Allāh, his two offspring. Mūsā al-Ḥādī allowed me to treat all his children as though they were my own, and he told Amat al-ʿAzīz that he was blessed, thanks to me. As a result, she treated me with greater generosity than I could have hoped for from al-Ḥādī himself.

As caliph, al-Ḥādī determined to have his son, Jaʿfar ibn Mūsā, receive the oath of allegiance as his successor.¹¹ He summoned me on the day before the ceremony, bestowed a robe of honour on me, provided one of his own horses, ready saddled and bridled, for me to ride, and ordered a purse of 100,000 dirhams sent to my house. ‘Do not leave the palace,’ he said to me, ‘but spend the rest of today, tonight, and the greater part of tomorrow here, until I have seen your son Jaʿfar receive the oath of allegiance. You are the most honourable of all mankind, having seen to the upbringing of a caliph’s son who became heir apparent, and that heir apparent then became caliph in the house of his son until the latter became heir apparent in his turn.’ Word of the investiture reached Amat al-ʿAzīz, and she responded in much the same way as al-Ḥādī, loading me with presents and having great quantities of clothing sent to my house; however, she did not present me with a horse. I remained in the palace in ʿĪsābādh¹² until sunrise on the day when I received the presents I have just mentioned.

Then al-Ḥādī held a ceremonial session to which he had summoned all the Banū Hāshim,¹³ and they all took the oath of allegiance to Jaʿfar, swearing to uphold him and proclaim Hārūn al-Rashīd replaced as heir apparent. Then it was the turn of the Zāʿidah clan, with Yazīd ibn Mazyad

10 Amat al-ʿAzīz was a *jāriyah* of the vizier al-Rabīʿ, who gave her to al-Mahdī, who in turn passed her on to al-Ḥādī. After al-Ḥādī’s death, Hārūn al-Rashīd married her. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii:597–618.

11 Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Ḥādī’s brother, was the next Abbasid in the succession line. This anecdote gives a fictional account of al-Ḥādī’s attempt to annul the right of Hārūn and appoint his son Jaʿfar as heir apparent.

12 A palace and pleasure ground built by the caliph al-Mahdī on the eastern side of Baghdad.

13 The Abbasid extended family.

being the first to proclaim al-Rashīd deposed and subsequently to swear fealty to Ja'far. Next came Sharāḥīl ibn Ma'n ibn Zā'idah¹⁴ and those of his house, followed by Sa'īd ibn Salm ibn Qutaybah ibn Muslim. After these came the clan of Mālik, with 'Abd Allāh being the first to take the oath, and then the caliph's entourage and all the Arab sheikhs. Last of all were the captains, most of whom had taken the oath before midday.

There was one exception, however. Harthamah ibn A'yan,¹⁵ surnamed 'the unfortunate', had obtained command of a troop of 500 men under the caliph al-Manṣūr but had not been promoted. Even after most of his comrades had died, he was never appointed to replace any of them. Al-Hādī had had him summoned to attend the ceremony, and when his turn came, he was ordered to take the oath. 'O Commander of the Faithful,' he said, 'to whom am I to swear fealty?' 'Swear to Ja'far, son of the Commander of the Faithful,' replied al-Hādī. 'My right hand is occupied with a declaration of fealty to the Commander of the Faithful,' said Harthamah, 'while my left is occupied with a declaration of fealty to Hārūn. Which hand am I to use to make my declaration?' 'You will declare Hārūn deposed and swear fealty to Ja'far,' retorted the caliph, but Harthamah said:

O Commander of the Faithful, I am a man who is greatly in need of your advice and that of the imams of your line, who are the Prophet's family. By God, even if I thought you would have me burned alive for speaking the truth to you, that would not prevent me from doing so. This declaration of fealty, O Commander of the Faithful, is nothing more nor less than an oath. I have sworn fealty to Hārūn in the same words that you are now asking me to utter to swear fealty to Ja'far. If I declare Hārūn deposed today, perhaps I will declare Ja'far deposed tomorrow, and so with all those who had sworn fealty to Hārūn in that way and have now betrayed him.

Al-Ṭayfūrī's account continues:

Mūsā became enraged at these words, and shouted, 'Off with his head!' A mob of *mawālī* and military men surged toward Harthamah, brandishing sticks and iron rods, but al-Hādī waved them back and again ordered Harthamah to take the oath of fealty. At this, Harthamah replied, 'O Commander of the Faithful, I can only repeat what I have already said.' Al-Hādī

14 On Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, see *EI*² art. 'Ma'n b. Zā'ida' (H. Kennedy).

15 Whom we have met previously in the biography of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtishū' in Ch. 8.3.16 above.

said angrily, 'Be off with you, God curse you! May neither you nor your friends swear an oath of fealty for a thousand years.' He ordered him escorted out of the 'Īsābādh palace and stripped of his command. 'Let him go wherever he wishes,' said the caliph, 'and may God not go with him or protect him.' He then remained silent for half an hour or so, ordering none of the assembly either to do or not to do anything, then raised his head and said to his servant, Yandūn, 'Catch up with the filthy swine!' 'Yes, Sire,' was the reply, 'and once I have caught up with him, what am I to do with him?' 'Bring him back to the Commander of the Faithful,' said the caliph.

Al-Ṭayfūrī's account continues:

Yandūn caught up with Harthamah near the place known as Bāb al-Naqb, midway between the Khorasan Gate and the Baradān Gate; he had been on his way to his home on the al-Mahdī Canal.¹⁶ The servant brought him back to the palace, and as soon as he entered, al-Hādī said to him:

You peasant!¹⁷ Here the family of the Commander of the Faithful have pledged their fealty, including his grandfather's paternal uncle, his father's paternal uncle, and his other paternal uncles, his brothers, and all the rest of his family, the most eminent Arab sheikhs have done the same, as have the *mawālī* and the captains, and only you refuse to take the oath?

Harthamah replied, 'O Commander of the Faithful, surely you have no need of a peasant's oath when all the important people you have mentioned have sworn fealty. Yet the matter is as I have told you before: one cannot proclaim Hārūn deposed today, yet remain loyal to Ja'far tomorrow.'

Al-Ṭayfūrī's account continues as follows:

Al-Hādī turned to his assembled throng and said, 'You have disgraced yourselves. By God, Harthamah has spoken the truth and kept his faith, whereas you have been false to yours.' So saying, the caliph ordered that Harthamah was to receive a purse of fifty thousand dirhams, and that the

¹⁶ A description of the route of this canal will be found in Le Strange, *Collected Works*, 280.

¹⁷ Literally, 'weaver'. Weaving was regarded as a low and undignified trade; see *ET*² art. 'Ḥā'ik' (A.J. Beg).

district where Yandūn had taken him was to be granted to him in fee,¹⁸ and to this day that district is known as Harthamah's Camp. The people dispersed in a great state, such as might be felt by any man of importance who had been the cause of embarrassment to the caliph, compounded by apprehension about what they might expect if anything should befall al-Hādī, after they had so hastily proclaimed Hārūn al-Rashīd deposed. The faction that had supported Ja'far had been hoping that their man would become caliph, with wealth for themselves once he had been installed in office, and now it was beginning to look as though Ja'far himself might be killed and that his followers would be fortunate to escape death, persecution and poverty.

Mūsā al-Hādī went to join Amat al-'Azīz, who said to him, 'O Commander of the Faithful, surely no one can ever have seen what we have just seen and heard what we have just heard. This morning we had high hopes for that youth, and now, this evening, we have good reason to fear for his life.' 'As you say,' replied the caliph, 'but I have one thing to add to that.' 'And what is it, O Commander of the Faithful?' she asked. 'When I ordered Harthamah brought back,' he said, 'I fully intended to have him executed. But when he was standing there, suddenly there was something that prevented me from proceeding: I found myself under a compulsion to give him a present and grant him some land. In addition, I intend to promote him in rank and speak favourably of him.' Amat al-'Azīz thereupon burst into tears. 'May God grant you joy!' said al-Hādī, but she, together with all her entourage, imagined that he was intending to have Hārūn al-Rashīd assassinated by means of poison. However, he was not allowed the necessary time, for al-Hādī died only a few nights later. Hārūn al-Rashīd succeeded to the caliphate and by God he treated Ja'far's mother most generously, while Ja'far himself received more benefits than ever, including marriage to Hārūn al-Rashīd's own daughter, Umm Muḥammad.

[8.10.4]

The following account is also taken from Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, who says he had it from Abū Muslim,¹⁹ who in turn had had it from Ḥumayd al-Ṭā'ī, known as al-

18 *Iqtā'*. For a discussion of the meaning of this term, see *ET*² art. 'Iktā'' (Cl. Cahen).

19 Abū Muslim is the son of Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī, who is called Abū Ghānim in the following anecdote.

Ṭūsī.²⁰ Ḥumayd was not really from Ṭūs;²¹ his district as recorded in the *dīwān* was Merv.²² Similarly, the district of Ṭāhir,²³ the ruler of Būshanj,²⁴ was actually Merv. Mūsā ibn Abī l-‘Abbās al-Shāshī,²⁵ for his part, was not from the district of al-Shāsh;²⁶ his district was officially Herat,²⁷ while Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Faḍl al-Ṭūsī was actually registered in the district of Nisā,²⁸ despite his cognomen of al-Ṭūsī. These men, and various officials, carried names derived from places other than their own native places, in some cases because they lived and had estates there, and in others because they governed some particular town for a substantial length of time and thus came to be known by its name.

Abū Muslim’s account, then, runs as follows:

Abū Ghānim (that is, his own father) once fell gravely ill, and the physician al-Ṭayfūrī took charge of the case. Now, Abū Ghānim was an excessively hot-blooded man, and would often hurt his friends’ feelings by making offensive remarks to them. Once, in Qubādir Zubayrūn,²⁹ when I was a young man, I was in attendance upon Abū Ghānim, when al-Ṭayfūrī, the physician, came in, took his pulse, and examined his urine. He then said something to his patient in an undertone, so that I did not understand his words, but Abū Ghānim snarled, ‘Liar! Sucker of your mother’s clitoris!’³⁰ Al-Ṭayfūrī retorted, ‘May God make whichever of us is lying bite his mother’s such and such.’ Listening, I thought to myself, ‘By God,

20 Abbasid general who was chiefly responsible for the victory of al-Ma’mūn over Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī in 203/819. See *ET*² art. ‘Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī’ (D. Sourdel).

21 A town near the modern city of Mashhad, in Iran; see *ET*² art. ‘Ṭūs’ (V. Minorsky). Hārūn al-Rashīd died there; see the biography of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū’ earlier in Ch. 8.3.

22 The modern Mary, in Turkmenistan. In Arabic documents, the name is spelled *mrw*. See *ET*² art. ‘Marw al-Shāhidjān’ (A.Y. Yakubovskii and C.E. Bosworth).

23 Founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty of Khorasan; see *ET*² art. ‘Ṭāhirids’ (C.E. Bosworth).

24 Town in eastern Persia (see *ET*² art. ‘Būshandj’ (W. Barthold & B. Spuler)). Būshanj lay on the frontier between the Arabs and the not fully conquered east-Iranian mountain regions. The islamization of the area was largely completed under the rule of the Ṭāhirids, whose founder was a native of the place.

25 Unidentified.

26 Tashkent, in modern Uzbekistan. See *ET*² art. ‘Tashkent’ (W. Barthold & C.E. Bosworth).

27 Approximately 400 km due south of Merv, in modern Afghanistan.

28 A village near Naysābūr, known for its fertile soil and abundant water, agricultural lands and gardens. Mentioned in Yāqūt’s *Mu’jam al-buldān*. Naysābūr is the modern Nishapur, in northeastern Iran.

29 Unidentified locality. Possibilities include Qanādir in Iṣfahān or Qānariz near Nīsābūr mentioned by Yāqūt.

30 Explicit expletives such as this are quite commonly used in pre-modern Arabic texts, where even caliphs regularly utter them.

al-Ṭayfūrī must be insane.' 'Your mother was an infidel!' shouted Abū Ghānim. 'Miserable wretch! How dare you speak to me like that?' 'By God,' replied al-Ṭayfūrī, 'I never permitted even my lord and master, al-Hādī, to speak a disrespectful word to me, and if ever he did, I would give back as good as I had got. How, then, shall I allow you, who are merely a dog, to fling insults at me?' Abū Muslim swore to me that he saw his father laughing and weeping at the same time, his features indicating in part amusement, in part sadness. Then Abū Ghānim said to the physician, 'By God! Really, you answered back when al-Hādī, the Commander of the Faithful, spoke rudely to you?' 'I did indeed,' replied al-Ṭayfūrī. 'But why, in God's name,' Abū Ghānim cried, 'did you speak so disparagingly of Ḥumayd and abuse him as you did when I insulted you?' and he wept bitterly for al-Hādī.

Yūsuf's account continues:

When I asked al-Ṭayfūrī about this story that I had heard from Abū Muslim, he burst into such a storm of weeping that I feared he might die then and there, so overcome with sorrow was he at the mention of Ḥumayd's name. 'By God,' said he, 'I have never known a finer man, or one with a more noble nature, one who was better company, or who had a keener sense of justice, than Ḥumayd, except for al-Hādī. Of course, he had an army under his command, and that governed his professional conduct, but once he was with his brothers, it was as though he were one of themselves, rather than as one regarded as being superior to them.'

Yūsuf's account continues:

Al-Ṭayfūrī told me that he was with Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī in Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah³¹ in the days when our master³² was capturing Baghdad and territory in its vicinity. A number of Arabs from Jabal Ṭayyi'³³ came to see him, headed by a man whom they had chosen as their leader and whom they had acknowledged as having pre-eminence and authority over them. Ḥumayd received them at a great gathering designed to show off the numbers of his troops, and he said to the leader, 'What brings you here, my

31 A town in Iraq, midway between Baghdad and Kufa.

32 The reference is to al-Ma'mūn's successful campaign against Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī in 203–204/819–820. See *ET*² art. 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī' (D. Sourdel).

33 An upland region in northern Arabia containing, in particular, Mt. Aja' and Mt. Salmā.

cousin?' The leader replied, 'I have come to provide you with reinforcements, since you are engaged in combat against one who claims that to which he is not entitled and which is not his.' He was referring to our master. Ḥumayd replied, 'I accept reinforcements only from those whom I know to be tough and stout of heart, and who can withstand such hard service as would be beyond the capacity of most men. I shall put you to the test. If you succeed, I shall accept you, but if you fail, you shall return to your tribe.' 'Try me as you will,' said the Ṭā'ī leader, whereupon Ḥumayd brought out a heavy stick from under his prayer-carpet and said to the Ṭā'ī, 'Hold out your arm.' The man did so, and Ḥumayd lifted the stick up to his shoulder and brought it down, striking at the Ṭā'ī's outstretched arm. At the last moment, however, the man drew his arm out of the way. 'You evaded my stroke!' said Ḥumayd angrily. The Ṭā'ī man muttered something placatory and invited Ḥumayd to repeat the trial. Again Ḥumayd told him to hold his arm out, again he did so, and again Ḥumayd brought the stick whistling down, and again the man drew his arm back at the last moment, so that the blow missed its target. At this, Ḥumayd had the man seized, taken from his assembly and thrown into prison. He then confiscated his riding animals and those of his companions and drove the men out of his camp, so off they trudged on foot, crestfallen and destitute.

The account by al-Ṭayfūrī continues:

I reproved him for doing this, but he laughed and said, 'I have been known to allow you to laugh at me, poke fun at me and speak disparagingly of me when I have said, in your presence, something about medicine that you knew was wrong. But commanding armies is something you know nothing about, so you have nothing to say concerning a matter on which your opinion is different from mine.' He then said to me,

I am a man of Yemen,³⁴ while the Messenger of God, may God bless and keep him, was a man of Muḍar,³⁵ and it is the men of Muḍar who hold the caliphate. Just as I love my own people, so do the caliphs love their

34 I.e., of South Arabian descent. Arab genealogists have traditionally divided the different stems of Arab tribes into two main groups, the Northern and Southern branches, respectively descendants of two mythological figures 'Adnān and Qaḥṭān. The enmity between these two groups is a recurrent topos in Arabic literature and historiography, as this anecdote shows; on this classification of tribes see Webb, *Imagining the Arabs*, 205–224.

35 Of Northern Arabian descent. Muḍar was one of the ancestors of that tribal lineage.

people. I may display some preference for my people on occasion, at the expense of someone who is closer to the men of Muḍar in terms of kinship, and, similarly, I have no doubt that they incline toward theirs, if the truth be told. I have many men of Nizār³⁶ with me, and it grieves them to know, as they do know, that I harbour a preference for my own people. Mark you, I have tried these men of Nizār and am well aware of their valour. For aught I know, the whole lot of my own people who have rallied to me may not be equal to a single Nizārī man. But I have sought to win the hearts of those whom I have with me, and at the same time I have endeavoured to ensure that when my people come seeking to join me, they are sent away in such a state that others will be warned off rather than encouraged. For when they go hence in discouragement, I am not responsible for their keep, whereas if they were to go their ways as bearers of glad tidings, we should have such a flood of volunteers as we should be unable to provide for with all the resources at our disposal from the *Sawād*.

‘So I knew,’ al-Ṭayfūrī concludes, ‘that Ḥumayd was managing his enterprise well and had adopted a sound approach to the task he had undertaken.’

8.11 Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī¹

The following account is taken from a work by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm.² In his own words:

Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī once said to me: I was with al-Afshīn³ in his camp during his campaign against Bābak.⁴ He had decided to have a list of all

36 Northern Arabs; Nizār is known to the genealogists as the father of Muḍar.

1 There are no bibliographic references to Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī in either Sezgin, *GAS III*, or in Ullmann, *Medizin*. Ibn al-Qiftī has an entry on him under the name Zakariyyā al-Ṭayfūrī (see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 187). This biography occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 See Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15. Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 188.

3 Afshīn: a title traditionally borne by the native princes of Ustrūshanah, the mountainous district between Samarqand and Khujanda, including the upper course of the Zarafshān River. Under the Abbasid caliphs, it was administratively part of Khorasan. In Islamic historiography, al-Afshīn denotes one of those princes in particular, namely Ḥaydar ibn Kāwūs, who served the caliphs al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʾtaṣim as a talented and successful general. See *Et*² art. ‘Afshīn’ (W. Barthold & H.A.R. Gibb).

4 Head of the Khurramī sect, a religious and social movement said to have been derived in

the merchants in the camp drawn up, indicating the locations of their stalls and the trade of each of them.⁵ The list was prepared and brought to al-Afshīn, who had it read out to him. When the reader came to the section on apothecaries, al-Afshīn said, ‘Zakariyyā, I consider that it is more important to have an accurate record of the apothecaries than of the other tradesmen mentioned earlier in the list. I want you to look into the practice of every one of them, to determine which of them are honest professionals, men of integrity, and which are charlatans.’

‘May God preserve the emir,’ I replied, ‘there was an alchemist by the name of Yūsuf Laqwah who was an associate of the caliph al-Ma’mūn and frequently worked in his presence. One day, the caliph said to him, “This is nonsense, Yūsuf! There is nothing in alchemy.” “Indeed there is, O Commander of the Faithful,” Yūsuf replied, “but the art of alchemy is beset by a plague, and the name of that plague is ‘apothecaries.’” “Absurd!” said al-Ma’mūn, “whatever do you mean?” Yūsuf replied:

O Commander of the Faithful, any apothecary, when asked for something or other, regardless of whether he actually has the item or not, will invariably say that he has it, and sell something to the client, saying, ‘Here you are, sir, this is what you asked for.’ If the Commander of the Faithful wishes to test the truth of this for himself, he might make up a fictitious name and send out a number of his servants to try to buy some of it from apothecaries.

“I know just the name,” said al-Ma’mūn, “I shall send them out for some *saqīthā* – that is the name of an estate not far from the Baghdad.” He dispatched a number of emissaries with instructions to ask the city’s apothecaries for some *saqīthā*, and every one of those apothecaries said that he had some in stock, handed over something from his shop, and took the emissary’s money. The emissaries brought various things back to the caliph, in some cases a handful of seeds, in others, a fragment of stone, in still others a bit of fur. Al-Ma’mūn was so pleased with Yūsuf Laqwah’s frankness and honesty that he granted him some land on the canal known as the Nahr al-Kalbah. His descendants hold that land to this day, and live

part from the older Persian religious movement known as Mazdakism. Bābak led a persistent rebellion in the eastern part of the Islamic empire during the reigns of the Abbasid caliphs al-Ma’mūn and al-Mu‘taṣim, which was finally put down by al-Afshīn in 222/837. See *EI*² art. ‘Bābak’ (D. Sourdel).

5 This camp was a substantial affair of some months’ duration; al-Afshīn had established it as a base from which to attack Bābak’s fortress of Badhdh, in northern Azerbaijan. The fortress was finally stormed on 9 Ramadan 222/15 August 837.

from the revenues that it yields. Now, if the emir should think fit, he might put these apothecaries to the test in the same way as al-Ma'mūn did.'

'At this, al-Afshīn had a volume of the registers of Ushrūshanah brought to him and selected approximately twenty names out of it.⁶ He then sent men out to try to buy drugs having those names from the apothecaries in the camp. Some of them said they were not familiar with any such drugs, but others said they had them, took the emissary's money and gave him something out of their stock. Al-Afshīn then had all the apothecaries brought before him, and when they were all assembled, he had licences issued to those who had said that they were not familiar with the names of the drugs his emissaries had asked for. Those apothecaries were allowed to remain in the camp, while all the others were ordered to leave. Not one of them was permitted to stay, and a crier was sent around to announce that any of them who was found in the camp might lawfully be killed. Finally, al-Afshīn wrote to the caliph al-Mu'taṣim, asking him to send out a number of honest apothecaries and physicians. This pleased the caliph, and he sent al-Afshīn some apothecaries and physicians as he had requested.'

8.12 Isrā'īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī¹

[8.12.1]

Isrā'īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī was the personal physician of al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān.² He was a distinguished practitioner of the art of medicine, and was well regarded by caliphs and kings, who showed him great respect. His position as al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān's medical attendant brought him a generous salary and ample benefits. The caliph al-Mutawakkil bi-Allāh had great faith in his judgement and consulted him regularly; his position in the caliph's entourage was unassailable.

6 This anecdote occurs also in the *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, introduced by the words: *wakhadama al-Afshīn Zakariyyā al-Ṭayfūrī*; See: Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 140–141.

1 There are no bibliographic references to Isrā'īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī in either Sezgin, *GAS* III, or Ullmann, *Medizin*. Ibn al-Qiftī refers to him briefly as having been the grandson of 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī and the personal physician of al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān (Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 218). This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 Captain of the palace guard under the caliph al-Mu'taṣim, holder of various posts under the latter's successor, al-Mutawakkil, and a man of letters. See *ET*² art. 'al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān' (O. Pinto).

This point is clearly made in an anecdote related by Ishāq ibn ‘Alī al-Ruhāwī³ in *The Practical Ethics of the Physician*. We read in that work that Isrā’īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī became furious with al-Mutawakkil, the Commander of the Faithful, when the caliph had had himself bled without Isrā’īl’s approval. Al-Mutawakkil was able to appease his offended physician with a purse of three thousand dinars and the grant of an estate that yielded him fifty thousand dirhams a year. The caliph had a formal title issued to confirm the grant.

[8.12.2]

The following is another account related by al-Ruhāwī, on the authority of ‘Īsā ibn Māssah.⁴ In the latter’s words:

I saw al-Mutawakkil one day when he had gone to visit Isrā’īl ibn Zakariyyā. The physician had fainted, and the caliph put his hand under his head as though it had been a pillow. He then said to the vizier, ‘O ‘Abd Allāh,⁵ my life is inextricably entwined with his; if I were to be bereft of him, I could not live.’ The caliph subsequently sent his chamberlain, Sa’īd ibn Šāliḥ, and his secretary, Mūsā ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, to visit Isrā’īl on his behalf.

I have read in some historical work or other that al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān greatly favoured Isrā’īl ibn al-Ṭayfūrī and never tired of recommending him to al-Mutawakkil. Finally the caliph admitted him to his entourage and made him equal in rank to Bukhtīshū,⁶ so that he became an important figure at court. Whenever he rode to the caliph’s palace, he was attended by a train worthy of an emir or a senior military commander, with bodyguards armed with cudgels. When al-Mutawakkil decided to grant his physician some land in Samarra, he ordered Šiqḷāb and Ibn al-Khaybarī⁷ to ride the bounds with him so that he could choose the location he liked. He finally selected a tract fifty thousand cubits in extent, and the caliph’s servants set up boundary markers on it. In addition, the caliph gave him 300,000 dirhams for its maintenance.

3 See Ch. 8.3.8. Cf. Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.), 150 and (facs.). 165.

4 For bibliographic references to ‘Īsā ibn Māssah, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 257; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 122. His biography will be found at Ch. 8.28. Cf. Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.), 150 and (facs.). 165–166.

5 According to *ET*² art. ‘al-Mutawakkil’ (H. Kennedy), al-Mutawakkil’s vizier was not ‘Abd Allāh, but ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khāqān.

6 Bukhtīshū’ ibn Jibrīl; see Ch. 8.4.

7 Šiqḷāb and Ibn al-Khaybarī: unidentified.

8.13 Yazīd ibn Yūḥannā ibn Abī Khālīd¹

[8.13.1]

Yazīd ibn Yūḥannā ibn Abī Khālīd was the personal physician of the caliph al-Ma'mūn.² He was outstanding in his knowledge of the art of medicine, and was also brilliant at treatment and distinguished for his excellence. In addition to al-Ma'mūn, he also practised in the service of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī,³ who treated him with great generosity, rewarded him lavishly, saw to his welfare and paid him a handsome salary. He was also known as Yazīd Būr.⁴

[8.13.2]

The following account is from a work by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm,⁵ who says he had it from Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. According to the latter, the great sheikh Thumāmah al-'Absī al-Qa'qā'ī (the father of 'Uthmān ibn Thumāmah, the ruler of al-Ḥiyār)⁶ was once afflicted with intractable diarrhoea (*khilfah*). In Abū Ishāq's own words,

Hārūn al-Rashīd asked me about the case and how Thumāmah was doing. When I told him that I had no news, he gave me a censorious look and said, 'An outlander of noble birth, a man into whose family 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān⁷ was willing to marry, a man whose sister⁸ bore two caliphs, al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik⁹ and Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik,¹⁰ a man whose

1 There are no bibliographic references to Yazīd ibn Yūḥannā ibn Abī Khālīd in Sezgin, *GAS* III, or Ullmann, *Medizin*. Ibn al-Qifṭī has a brief entry on him under the name Yazīd ibn Abī Yazīd ibn Yūḥannā, 'known as Yazīd Būr' (Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 395). In view of the marginal note in MS A, it must be the same person. This biography occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 R. 198–218/813–833.

3 A brother of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.

4 Marginal note in MS A.

5 See Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15.

6 Unidentified, but clearly of distinguished Arab descent, as he was the brother of Wallādah bint al-'Abbās ibn Jaz' (see nt. 8 below). Al-Ḥiyār, also called Ḥiyār Banī l-Qa'qā', is mentioned in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.

7 The fifth Umayyad caliph, r. 65–86/685–705.

8 Wallādah bint al-'Abbās ibn Jaz', who was from the Banū 'Abs, an important northern Arabian tribe belonging to the confederation known as the Ghaṭafān; see *ET*² art. 'Ghaṭafān' (J.W. Fück).

9 The sixth Umayyad caliph, successor to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān; r. 86–96/705–715.

10 The seventh Umayyad caliph, successor to his brother, al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān; r. 96–99/715–717.

sister your own father¹¹ was prepared to marry, a man for whom I myself, your brother, had sufficient regard to contract marriage with his daughter, a man who was a companion of your grandfather,¹² your father, your sister and your brother, yet you do not consider it to be your duty to go and visit him?' He followed this up with a direct order to visit the sick man. I therefore called on Thumāmah, taking with me my own physician, Yazīd. When I entered the room, I saw a man who appeared to have no more than a breath or two left in his body; I did not think that I could ask him any questions. My physician, Yazīd, had the attending physician sent for. When he appeared, Yazīd asked him about the case. The attending physician replied that the patient went to stool a hundred times in the course of a day and a night. Yazīd then proceeded to question him in detail about the medicines Thumāmah had taken and about the medicinal powders and enemas that had been administered to him. The physician listed them all, adding in every case that it had been tried and had had no effect. Yazīd lowered his head in thought for the space of an hour or so. He then looked up and said, 'There is one further possibility, which I hope will be of use. If it does not help, there will be nothing that we can do.'

[8.13.3]

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī's account continues:

I saw Thumāmah brighten up at Yazīd's words. 'What is this one further possibility?' he asked. 'Tell me, I beg of you.' 'A digestive,'¹³ replied Yazīd. 'I should like to see and smell this digestive,' said the sick man, whereupon Yazīd took from his sleeve a handkerchief containing various drugs, including the potion he had called a digestive. 'Untie it, would you?' said Thumāmah, and when Yazīd untied it, Thumāmah seized the digestive, threw it into his mouth and swallowed it. By God, hardly had it gone down when I heard such sounds that I was sure he would be dead by the time I had reached the door of his house. I arose, along with my physician, well-nigh out of my mind with sorrow, and told a slave-boy, whom

11 The third Abbasid caliph, al-Mahdī (r. 158–169/775–785).

12 The caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 136–158/754–775).

13 *Aṣṭumakhīqūn* (στομαχικόν), defined by Dozy (*Supplément*) as 'stomachique, sorte de remède purgatif'. The more common Arabic term is *jawārishn* meaning a digestive, an agent that improves appetite and digestion. The technical term is stomachic.

I had brought along to carry my astrolabe while I rode, to remain in the house and send me word of Thumāmah when there should be any news. I received a message from him the next afternoon: Thumāmah, he said, had gone to the latrine fifty times between sunrise and noon. When I read that, I said to myself, 'By God, he is a dead man.' A second message arrived that evening, informing me that between noon and sunset, Thumāmah had gone to the latrine twenty times. In the morning, however, the boy himself turned up and reported that between sunset and midnight, the patient had gone to the latrine only three times, and between midnight and dawn, not at all.

Accordingly, after performing the dawn prayer, I rode to Thumāmah's house, where I found him sleeping, something he had been unable to do for some time. When he awoke and greeted me, I asked him how he was, and he informed me that because of pain in his abdomen, he had had no sleep or repose for more than forty nights. When he had swallowed the digestive, however, and its initial impact had passed, the pain had disappeared. Moreover, he had had no desire for any food during all that time, whereas at present he could hardly see me, so hungry was he. He asked Yazīd whether it would be all right for him to eat. Yazīd told him he might eat a stew made from a fat young Kaskarī chicken,¹⁴ followed by a confection of sugar, almonds and vinegar, and so that is what he did.

I then left him and went to call on Hārūn al-Rashīd. When I told the caliph about Thumāmah's recovery, he had Yazīd summoned and said to him, 'Villain! How could you have ventured to dose him with stomachic seed?'¹⁵ 'O Commander of the Faithful,' the physician replied, 'the patient was a man who had a harmful chyme¹⁶ in his stomach that corrupted all the medicine and food that he took. That corrupted food and medicine then became matter for further corruption, and consequently, the malady became progressively worse. I knew that the patient's only hope was a strong medicine that could overcome the action of the chyme, and the strongest medicine that he could take was a digestive. I therefore suggested it to him, taking care, mind you, not to tell him that the draught would

14 Kaskar was an ancient town on the west bank of the Tigris, just opposite the town of Wāsiṭ, founded by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf.

15 *Ḥabb al-aṣṭumakhiqūn*, as though *aṣṭumakhiqūn* were the name of a medicinal plant.

16 'Chyme' nowadays means the semifluid mass of partly digested food that passes from the stomach into the intestines during the process of digestion. The Greek word *χυμός* from which both the English 'chyme' and the Arabic *kaymūs* or *kīmūs* are derived means simply 'juice'.

cure him. No indeed, I merely said that there remained one further possibility, and that if it did not help, there would be nothing more that we could do. I chose those words because I saw that the patient's strength had been seriously sapped by his illness and was nearly gone. I could not be sure that he would not die if he drank it; I hoped it would cure him, but in any case it was clear that he would die if he did *not* drink it.' This explanation satisfied Hārūn al-Rashīd, who ordered that Yazīd should receive ten thousand dirhams.

The caliph then went to visit Thumāmah, and said to him, 'You were really taking a leap in the dark in swallowing that draught, especially since the physician had not definitely said that it would cure you.' 'I had already counted my life as lost, O Commander of the Faithful,' replied Thumāmah, 'and when I heard the physician say that the medicine might be beneficial, I decided to prefer hope to despair, if only for a moment, and so I drank the draught. Therein lay a great blessing from God.'

[8.13.4]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm continues:

This story resembles one that is related of the Messenger of God, may God bless and keep him. A man of the Arabs is said to have come to him and said to him, 'O Messenger of God, my brother is suffering from a grievous stomach ailment. We have treated him, but without effect.' The Messenger of God, may God bless and keep him, said, 'Give him bee-honey.' The man returned and fed the patient honey, but the diarrhoea became worse. The tribesman went back to Muḥammad and said, 'O Messenger of God, his diarrhoea has worsened since I gave him the honey.' 'Give him honey,' repeated Muḥammad. The man gave his brother more honey, only to find that the diarrhoea became still worse. He went back to the Messenger of God, may God bless and keep him, to complain, but Muḥammad replied, 'Give him yet more honey.' The man did so for the third straight day, and this time the diarrhoea dwindled and finally dried up altogether. When he reported this outcome to the Messenger of God, may God bless and keep him, he said, 'You see? God spoke the truth, and your brother's stomach lied.'¹⁷ The reason why the Messenger of God, peace be upon

¹⁷ This hadith is in the canonical collections, see Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vii:123 (no. 5684), vii:128 (no. 5716); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv:1736 (no. 91). The prescription of honey was also a common topic in works on prophetic medicine, and this hadith is discussed (in the context of stomach diseases) in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, 30–34.

him, said that to the man was that he knew that the velvety lining of a sick person's stomach contains certain thick, viscid humours that make the stomach slick, with the result that any binding medication that he takes passes right through without effect, while the humours remain there. Food also slides through, and consequently the diarrhoea continues. When the patient takes honey, the honey dislodges those humours and drives them downward. This causes the diarrhoea to increase at first, as the humours are evacuated, but ultimately they are entirely eliminated, the diarrhoea dries up, and the patient recovers.

When the Messenger of God said, 'God spoke the truth,' he was referring to the knowledge that God, mighty and glorious is He, had given to His Messenger and taught him, and when he said, 'Your brother's stomach lied,' he was referring to the apparent increase in the flux, which was not really a sign of a worsening of the malady, so the stomach might be said to have lied.

8.14 'Abdūs ibn Zayd¹

Abū 'Alī al-Qiyānī² reports, on the authority of his father, that once, within the latter's lifetime, al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh³ fell gravely ill with an attack of colic in the month of July. 'Abdūs ibn Zayd, who was the only physician attending him, gave him a potion consisting of a decoction of roots, including celery root and anise root, to which he added some castor oil and some of the electuary known as *iyārij fiqarā*.⁴ When al-Qāsim had drunk it, the pain left him; he went twice to the latrine, and it was apparent that his condition had improved. The next morning, the physician gave him some barley water and received his patient's compliments in return.

1 For bibliographic references to 'Abdūs ibn Zayd, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 264, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 302. This biography occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 Unidentified. He was mentioned above, in Ch. 8.4.

3 Vizier under the Abbasid caliphs al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh (r. 279–289/892–902) and al-Muktafi (r. 289–295/902–908). The anecdote corresponds to Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 251.

4 The term *iyārij* (pl. *iyārijāt*), from the Greek ἱερά, is the general term (often rendered as hiera) for a purgative compound drug that is rather bitter, containing strong purgatives such as colcyntin, euphorium, scammony and especially aloe (Levey, *Early Arabic Pharmacology*, 85–86; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 296). Hieras were often indistinguishable from theriacs. Some hieras bore specific names, such as *iyārij fiqarā* (the *hiera picra*, from the Greek ἱερά πικρά 'divine bitter'); see Ibn al-Tilmidh, *Dispensatory*, no. 56.

Abū ‘Alī al-Qiyānī also reports that his brother, Ishāq ibn ‘Alī, once became ill with a high fever. He wasted away until he had become so weak that he could eat nothing. In the month of June, ‘Abdūs ibn Zayd dosed him with that same decoction of roots with the electuary and castor oil in it for twenty-four days running, and by the end of that time he had recovered, with his stomach comfortably settled. The physician said to him, ‘At about this time next year, you will be stricken with a high fever which you may not survive, but if you do, I will save you, with God’s permission, exalted is He. The sign of the restoration of your health in the course of the year will be that your nature will take an upward turn on the seventh day. If that happens, you will recover. At the same time, however, your stomach will become so empty that if you were to put a stone into it, it would grind the stone.’

‘A year later,’ al-Qiyānī’s account continues, ‘it was ‘Abdūs who fell ill, while on that very day my brother came down with fever, just as the physician had foretold. From his sickbed, ‘Abdūs displayed constant concern for my brother, asking frequently for news of him. Finally he was informed that my brother’s nature had taken an upward turn. “He is saved,” he sighed, and died the next morning.’

‘Abdūs ibn Zayd is the author of an aide-mémoire on the art of medicine (*K. al-Tadhkirah fī l-ṭibb*).

8.15 Sahl al-Kawsaj¹

[8.15.1]

Sahl al-Kawsaj was the father of Sābūr ibn Sahl, the author of the well-known *Medical Forumlary* (*al-Aqrābādihīn*).² Sahl came from al-Ahwāz, and spoke with the characteristic accent of Khūzistān. He was heavily bearded; his nickname ‘al-Kawsaj,’ which means ‘beardless,’ was some sort of joke. He was knowledgeable about the art of medicine, albeit less learned than his son. Sahl was a great joker, rather to the detriment of his gravitas. He was not comparable to Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh,³ Jūrjis the son of Bukhtīshū’s daughter,⁴ ‘Īsā ibn Ḥakam,⁵ ‘Īsā

1 For bibliographic references to Sahl al-Kawsaj, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 230. This biography occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 In Ibn al-Qiftī it is stated that he was the *son*, rather than the father, of Sābūr ibn Sahl, see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 196.

3 See Ch. 8.26.

4 See Ch. 8.15.2 below for Jūrjis ibn Mikhā’il, whose mother was Maryam bint Bukhtīshū’, Jibril’s sister.

5 See Ch. 7.8

ibn Abī Khālid,⁶ Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī,⁷ Ya‘qūb the superintendent of the hospital, al-Ḥasan ibn Quraysh, ‘Isā the Muslim,⁸ Sahl ibn Jubayr⁹ and other physicians of that generation in terms of eloquence (although he was as competent as any of them with respect to his treatment of patients), but they feared his tongue, for he had an abundant store of abusive language from which none of them was safe. He was a close friend of Sallām al-Abrash,¹⁰ and the latter introduced him to Harthamah ibn A‘yan,¹¹ whom Sallām knew well, during the latter’s siege of Baghdad.¹² Sahl and Harthamah became comrades at once, passing their days, nights and evenings together, and Sahl’s taste for constant jesting made him a pleasant companion.

[8.15.2]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm¹³ tells the story of one of Sahl al-Kawsaj’s merry pranks. In the year 209/824, under the pretext that he was ill, he sent for witnesses and asked them to witness his will, which he wrote out then and there. In it, he listed the names of his children as, first, Jūrjis ibn Mikhā’il, whose mother was Maryam bint Bukhtishū‘, Jibril’s sister; second, Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, and third, fourth and fifth, Sābūr, Yūḥannā and Khudhāwayh, who were known to be his offspring. He stated that he had seduced the mothers of Jūrjis and Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, getting them pregnant with Jūrjis and Yūḥannā respectively.

Another anecdote related by Yūsuf runs as follows:

Once, when I had called on A‘yan ibn Harthamah ibn A‘yan, I found Sahl there. He and Jūrjis were shouting abuse at each other, arguing about a quartan fever from which A‘yan had been suffering for some time,

6 According to Sezgin (GAS III, 263), this ‘Isā ibn Abī Khālid may be identified with Ibn Abī Khālid al-Fārisī, who is stated in al-Rāzī’s *al-Ḥāwī* to be the author of a work entitled *al-Kunnāsh al-Fārisī*.

7 See Ch. 8.12.

8 Unidentified.

9 Unidentified.

10 Sallām al-Abrash is mentioned as a translator of scientific works in Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 244).

11 The military captain who refused to swear the oath of allegiance to Ja‘far ibn Mūsā, son of the caliph al-Hādī, as *wālī al-‘ahd* and to proclaim Hārūn al-Rashīd deposed; the story will be found in the biography of ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī (Ch. 8.10). Under Hārūn, Harthamah was second-in-command of the palace guard, and in that capacity he arrested Hārūn’s vizier, Ja‘far ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak; see Ch. 8.3.16.

12 In 196/812, during the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Ma‘mūn following the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 193/809. Harthamah was an important factor in al-Ma‘mūn’s victory.

13 A source upon whom IAU frequently draws. See Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15.

and Sahl told Jūrjis the same tale that he had spun in the matter of the will that he had had witnessed. Jūrjis turned repeatedly toward those who were to the left of him and then toward those on his right, speechless with fury. At this, Sahl cried, 'Anaphylactic feet, by the tooth of the Masai! Re-shite the Tone-purse into his ear,' by which he meant, 'An epileptic fit, by the truth of the Messiah! Recite the Throne-verse into his ear.'¹⁴

Yet another anecdote, also related by Yūsuf:

Sahl once went out on Palm Sunday to visit the monastery where the Catholics¹⁵ lived and the other places where Christians go on Palm Sunday. As he went along, he chanced to see Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, and observed that he was better dressed than he himself was and was riding a more spirited horse. In addition, he was attended by a number of handsome-looking slave-boys. Sahl felt a pang of envy at this display of prosperity. He went to the captain of the district constabulary and said to him, 'My son is disobedient and conceited. Indeed, he is so self-important and proud that he may have disowned me as his father. There are twenty dinars in it for you if you will throw him to the ground and give him twenty good, hard lashes,' and he took out the twenty dinars then and there. Handing the money to a man whom the captain knew and trusted, he then withdrew a short distance away. When Yūḥannā came by, Sahl said to the captain, 'There he is, that's my disobedient son, who thinks he's better than I am.' Yūḥannā protested that he was no son of Sahl's, but the captain spoke not a word: he threw him to the ground and flogged him, administering twenty stinging lashes.

14 This is presumably an attempt to reproduce Sahl's characteristic Khūzistān accent. The Throne-verse is verse 255 of the second surah of the Qur'an (al-Baqarah). The fun is based on Sahl's mispronunciation of certain consonants, e.g. *wa-hakk al-masih* instead of *wa-ḥaqq al-masīh*.

15 The head of the Nestorian Church.

8.16 Sābūr ibn Sahl¹

Sābūr ibn Sahl spent his professional life in practice at the hospital in Gondē-shāpūr, caring for the patients there. He was an outstanding physician who possessed extensive knowledge of the powers of simple drugs and how they could be compounded. Sābūr enjoyed the favour of the caliph al-Mutawakkil,² who held him in high regard, and of his successors. He died during the caliphate of al-Muhtadī bi-Allāh,³ on Monday with nine days remaining in the month of Dhū l-Ḥijjah in the year 255 [28 November 869].

Sābūr ibn Sahl is the author of the following works:

1. The well-known *Greater Medical Formulary* (*K. al-Aqrābādihīn al-kabīr*), in seventeen chapters.⁴ The hospital relied on this work, as did apothecaries, especially before the publication of the work with the same title composed by Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh.⁵
2. Foods: their efficacies, harmful effects and beneficial effects (*K. Quwā l-aṭ'imah wa-maḍārriha wa-manāfi'iha*).
3. Refutation of Ḥunayn in his work on the distinction between food and laxative medicine (*K. al-Radd 'alā Ḥunayn fī kitābihi fī l-farq bayna l-ghidhā' wa-bayna l-dawā' al-mus'hil*).
4. On sleep and wakefulness (*al-Qawl fī l-nawm wa-l-yaqazah*).
5. On substitute drugs (*K. Abdāl al-adwiyah*).

8.17 Isrā'īl ibn Sahl¹

Isrā'īl ibn Sahl was a leading practitioner of the art of medicine. He treated his patients admirably and was skilful at compounding medications. He is the

1 For bibliographic references to Sābūr ibn Sahl, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 244, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 300. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. For this entry, cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 207, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:300 (22 chapters).

2 R. 232–247/847–861.

3 R. 255–256/869–870.

4 It seems the work circulated in several recensions; see Sābūr ibn Sahl, *Aḍudī recension*, as well as Sābūr ibn Sahl, *Dispensatorium* and Sābūr ibn Sahl, *Small Dispensatory*.

5 For Ibn al-Tilmīdh and his *K. al-Aqrābādihīn*, see Kahl, *The dispensatory*; also Ullman, *Medizin*, 163, 306. For the biography of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, see Ch. 10.64.

1 No bibliographic references to Isrā'īl ibn Sahl have been found. This biography is not included in MS A.

author of a celebrated work on theriac, a splendid achievement over which he took great pains.

8.18 Mūsā ibn Isrāʿīl al-Kūfī¹

[8.18.1]

Mūsā ibn Isrāʿīl al-Kūfī was the personal physician of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī.² The following account is taken from a work by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm:³

This Mūsā did not know much about medicine, compared with the great physicians of his age. Yet he was better company at Ibrāhīm's soirées than they were. He had a number of advantages: he was very well-spoken, he was well informed about astrology, he possessed a fund of anecdotes about various people, and he could recite poetry at length. He was born, so I have been told, in the year 129/746, and he died in 222/837. Abū Ishāq⁴ put up with him because of his social skills. He was certainly a very pleasant fellow, with a manner reminiscent of the boon companions of kings. In his youth, Mūsā had been in the service of the heir apparent, ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad.⁵

To resume the account of Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm:

Mūsā ibn Isrāʿīl told me once that ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā had a Jewish physician named Furāt ibn Shaḥāthā whom the physician Tayādhūq⁶ had considered his best pupil. He had been in the service of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf⁷ in

1 There are no bibliographic references to Mūsā ibn Isrāʿīl al-Kūfī either in Sezgin, *GAS* III or in Ullmann, *Medizin*. Ibn al-Qiftī has an entry for him (*Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 316). This biography occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 A son of the caliph al-Mahdī who was a poet and musician and survived a brief term as caliph in 202–203/817–819. See *ET*² art. 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī' (D. Sourdel).

3 A source upon whom IAU frequently draws. See Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15.

4 I.e. Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī.

5 Nephew of the first two Abbasid caliphs, al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr; designated *walī l-ʿahd*, but subsequently compelled to resign in favour of al-Mahdī. See *ET*² art. 'ʿĪsā b. Mūsā' (D. Sourdel).

6 See his biography in Ch. 7.9.

7 The most competent, and arguably also the most ruthless, of all Umayyad governors (c. 41–95/661–714). A loyal servant of the caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and al-Walīd, he suppressed revolts in Iraq and the eastern provinces, and subsequently promoted agriculture and restored prosperity there. See *ET*² art. 'al-Ḥadjjāj b. Yūsuf' (A. Dietrich).

his youth, but was elderly at this time. Whenever ʿĪsā fell ill, this was the physician whom he would consult.

In Mūsā's own words:

Now, when al-Manṣūr had ordered ʿĪsā to take the field against the ʿAlid rebel Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan⁸ and the banner was flying from his house, he said to Furāt, 'What do you think about this banner?' 'I see it as a banner of discord between you and your people to the Day of Judgement,' replied the physician. 'If you will take my advice, you will move your family out of Kufa – anywhere you like, so long as it is away from Kufa. For Kufa is the stronghold of the adversary against whom you are about to take the field, and if your army is routed, it is certain that none of your family who remain here will survive, whereas if it is you who defeat the enemy and strike down the man who is currently the cynosure of every eye, your success will make the people hate you all the more. You yourself may escape with your life, but assuredly your descendants will not be so fortunate once you are gone.' 'I really can't do that,' replied ʿĪsā, 'for the Commander of the Faithful will not be leaving Kufa,⁹ and why should I take my family away while they are here with him and in his palace?' 'In deciding whether to leave or to remain,' said Furāt, 'the main point you should consider is that if your campaign is successful, the caliph will stay in Kufa, whereas if it is unsuccessful, he will not be able to reside there and will flee, leaving his own family behind, let alone yours.'

ʿĪsā attempted to move his family away from Kufa, but al-Manṣūr would not allow it.

[8.18.2]

Mūsā's account continues:

When God had granted victory to ʿĪsā and he returned to Kufa and slew Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh,¹⁰ al-Manṣūr moved to Baghdad. ʿĪsā's physician

8 See *EI*² art. 'Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, called al-Nafs al-Zakiyya' (F. Buhl). Kufa was a hotbed of ʿAlid sentiment, but the main military action took place in Medina, where Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh had risen in revolt. ʿĪsā crushed the rebellion in 145/762.

9 At this time, al-Manṣūr had not yet built the Round City of Baghdad that subsequently became his capital.

10 Brother and fellow-rebel of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, who had recently met his fate in Medina; see Ch. 8.18.1 n. 8 above.

urged him to ask the caliph for permission to accompany him to his new city, which he had just had built. He did so, but al-Manṣūr refused, saying that he had decided to appoint him governor of Kufa. When ʿĪsā reported this to Furāt, the physician replied, ‘If he is appointing you governor of Kufa, he does not mean you to continue to be the heir apparent, for if that were his intention, he would have appointed you governor of Khorasan, which is the land of your faction.¹¹ Kufa, in contrast, is the stronghold of his enemies and yours, and now you have killed Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh. By God, it looks to me as though he wants you dead, you and your descendants for good measure. Now, in the light of this, you can’t very well expect him to give you Khorasan, but you might ask him to make you governor of the two Jazīrahs¹² or Syria. Whichever of them he gives you, go and settle there.’

‘How is this?’ exclaimed ʿĪsā, ‘you don’t want me to be governor of Kufa, whose people are partisans of the Banū Hāshim,¹³ and you think I should be governor of Syria or the two Jazīrahs, whose people are partisans of the Umayyads!’ ‘To be sure, the people of Kufa call themselves partisans of the Banū Hāshim,’ replied the physician, ‘but they are not thinking of you and your family; they are really only partisans of the descendants of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, some of whom you have just been killing, and thereby earning for yourself the hatred of the people of Kufa, who would not consider themselves bound in duty to obey you. The people of the two Jazīrahs and Syria, for their part, do not favour the Umayyads out of genuine feeling, but only because the Umayyads treated them generously. If you, once you are their governor, display affection and liberality in your dealings with them, they will become your faction. You can see this from the fact that they were willing to follow ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī¹⁴ into battle, despite the fact

11 The Khorasanid troops, both those of Khorasanid origin and the Arabs settled there, had been the main supporters of the Abbāsīd revolution.

12 Presumably referring compendiously to al-Jazīrah (i.e. northern Mesopotamia; see *EI*² art. ‘al-Djazīra’, M. Canard) and Jazīrat al-ʿArab, the Arabian Peninsula.

13 The Banū Hāshim, also called the ‘people of the house’ (*ahl al-bayt*) were the extended family of the Prophet which included the descendants of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (ʿAlids) and the descendants of Abū l-ʿAbbās (Abbasids). This anecdote plays with the ambivalence of this name, which might refer to both branches of the family.

14 Uncle of the first two Abbasid caliphs, al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr, and an important military leader in the Abbasid cause (he was in command of the Abbasid troops at the decisive battle of the Greater Zāb in 132/750, which finally broke the Umayyad power). He was later governor of Syria, where he was implacable in exterminating Umayyads. Ultimately, however, he met an unhappy fate at the hands of al-Manṣūr. See *EI*² art. ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿAlī’ (K.V. Zetterstéen and S. Moscati).

that he had shed a great deal of their blood, when he established good relations with them and showed that he could be open-handed as their governor. And they will be all the more favourably disposed toward you, because you have *not* shed their blood.'

Accordingly, 'Īsā asked to be excused from the post of governor of Kufa and given a different province, but al-Manṣūr refused, on the grounds that Kufa was the capital of the caliphate, and consequently either a caliph or an heir apparent must reside there. However, he said, 'Īsā could spend one year in Baghdad and one year in Kufa alternately, and whenever he himself went to Kufa, 'Īsā could go to Baghdad and live there.

Mūsā's account continues:

When Khorasanians¹⁵ asked for the designation of al-Mahdī as heir apparent, 'Īsā said to his physician, 'What do you think I should do, Furāt? I have been asked to step down so that Muḥammad,¹⁶ the son of the Commander of the Faithful, takes precedence.' 'I hope you will be guided by what I think you should listen to and do, both this day and later,' said the physician. 'Later?' asked 'Īsā. 'Yes,' said Furāt, 'if Muḥammad, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, requires you to step down so that one of his own sons can become heir apparent, you should make haste to do so, for you do not have the power to do otherwise, and cannot thwart the people in anything they ask of you.'

[8.18.3]

Mūsā continues:

The physician Furāt died while al-Manṣūr was caliph. In due course, al-Mahdī required 'Īsā to step down as heir apparent in favour of al-Hādī.

15 These Khorasanians or Khorasanids, referred to in the sources as *ahl Khurāsān* (people of Khorasan), *abnā' al-dawlah* (sons of the dynasty) or *abnā' al-da'wah* (sons of the [Abbasid] cause), were the supporters of the Abbasid revolution, many of whom had settled in Iraq and sided with al-Amīn during the fourth *fitnah*. The term Khorasanian does not necessarily refer to ethnicity in this context, but rather to allegiance: Arab families such as the al-Qaḥāṭibah were also considered part of the *ahl Khurāsān*. After the civil war, the Khorasanid troops newly arrived with al-Ma'mūn would also be known by this name; but here the term *ahl Khurāsān* refers to the influential families that took part in the Abbasid revolution. On this group see Crone, "Abbāsīd Abnā'".

16 I.e., the future caliph al-Mahdī.

‘O Furāt, you devil,’ lamented ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā, ‘how right you were, and with what excellent judgement you spoke, as though you had seen this day with your own eyes.’

Mūsā ibn Isrā’īl adds,

When I saw what Abū l-Sarāyā¹⁷ had done to the houses of the Abbasids, I uttered the same words that ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā had uttered.

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm clarifies this statement as follows:

Mūsā ibn Isrā’īl was in Egypt when he heard about the devastation that the ‘Alids and the people of Kufa had inflicted on the Abbasids, and how ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd¹⁸ had been killed. When the news reached him, he repeated the words of ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā and Furāt the physician.

[8.18.4]

A further account related by Yūsuf runs as follows:

I have heard from Mūsā ibn Isrā’īl, the physician, that ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā once complained to his own physician, Furāt, that in the course of social evenings, he would frequently become sleepy. If he took his supper with his companions, his stomach became heavy, and he would nod off and sleep through the evening’s conversation, and then the next morning he would feel very full and did not want any breakfast. On the other hand, if he did not take supper with the others, he would feel terrible pangs of hunger. ‘What you have just said to me,’ the physician replied, ‘is exactly what al-Ḥajjāj¹⁹ said to my old teacher, the physician Tayādhūq. Tayādhūq gave him advice that was meant to be beneficial but turned out in the event to be harmful instead.’ ‘What was it?’ enquired ‘Īsā. ‘He advised him to snack on pistachios,’ replied Furāt. ‘Al-Ḥajjāj reported this to the women of his

17 Abū l-Sarāyā al-Sarī ibn Manṣūr al-Shaybānī, a Shiite rebel who conquered Kufa and much of southern Iraq in 199/815. See *EI*² art. ‘Abū l-Sarāyā al-Sarī b. Manṣūr al-Shaybānī’ (H.A.R. Gibb). Although not mentioned by name, there is a reference to Abū l-Sarāyā’s rebellion in Ch. 8.3.14.

18 An unidentified Abbasid.

19 See Ch. 8.18.117 above. The story of the pistachio treatment will also be found in the biography of Tayādhūq at Ch. 7.9.

harem, and every single one of them had a quantity of pistachios shelled and a bowlful of them sent to him. All through his social evening with his companions, al-Ḥajjāj was gulping those pistachios, and as a result he was stricken with a bout of diarrhoea with vomiting²⁰ that nearly killed him. He complained to Tayādhūq, whereupon the physician said to him, 'I told you to snack on pistachios. By that I meant that you should take a handful of unshelled pistachios and crack them yourself one by one, for having the shells in your mouth would have been beneficial for the stomach of a bilious youth like yourself, while the taste of them would have made its way to your liver, which would thereby have benefited as well. Then you would have proceeded to eat the kernel and tried to crack another one, but before you had finished doing so, nature would have ensured that you had digested the previous one. Eating them as you did, it is not surprising that you are worse off now than you were before.' 'And,' Mūsā concluded, 'if you, O emir, will eat pistachios as my teacher said they should be eaten, they are sure to do you good.'

Mūsā added that ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā ate pistachios in that way for more than twenty years and found them excellent.

8.19 Māsarjawayh¹

[8.19.1]

Māsarjawayh, 'the physician of Basra', was the one who translated the *Compendium* (*Kunnāsh*) of Ahrun² from Syriac into Arabic. He was Jewish by religion, and a Syriac speaker. When Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī quotes 'the Jew' in his *Comprehensive Book* (*K. al-Ḥāwī*), he refers to Māsarjawayh.

20 *Haydah*, a state of evacuation involving both vomiting and diarrhoea.

1 For bibliographic references to Māsarjawayh, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 206; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 23. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 A shadowy 6th cent. presbyter of Alexandria; see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 166; Ullmann, *Islam*, 88–89. The Arabic version by Māsarjawayh has survived only in the form of numerous quotations in al-Rāzī's *K. al-Ḥāwī* and elsewhere; these have been collected by Sezgin and Ullmann in the passages referred to above.

[8.19.2]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul, informs us³ that Māsarjawayh lived in the time of the Umayyads, and that during the reign of the Marwānids⁴ he produced an Arabic version of Ahrun ibn A'yan's celebrated work. 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz,⁵ may God have mercy upon him, subsequently came upon this Arabic version in a library somewhere and ordered it brought out and placed in his own prayer-room. He then sought guidance from God, through prayer and consultation of the Qur'ani, in an effort to decide whether he should make it available to the Muslims, in case it should be beneficial to them. After reflecting on the matter for forty mornings, he did make it available and endeavoured to ensure that it was widely distributed.

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān states that he heard the above account from Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz in the mosque of al-Tirmidhī⁶ in the year 359/969–970.

[8.19.3]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm said:⁷ I heard this story from Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥakam al-Baṣrī, known as al-Kisrawī,⁸ who was a friend of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhīr ibn al-Ḥusayn⁹ and a man of education and virtue; he possessed an extensive knowledge of famous people and had a large fund of anecdotes about them. In his own words:

Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan ibn Hānī¹⁰ was in love with a slave-girl named Janān who belonged to a woman of the tribe Thaḳīf. The girl and her mis-

3 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 61.

4 The Marwānid dynasty refers to all Umayyad caliphs from Marwān ibn Ḥakam until the Abbasid takeover, from 64/684 until 132/750 (see, e.g. *ET*² art. 'Marwānids', C. Hillenbrand), as distinct from the Sufyānids, the earlier Umayyads.

5 The fifth Umayyad caliph; r. 99–101/717–720.

6 Al-Tirmidhī was a celebrated 3rd/9th cent. collector of Hadith; see *ET*² art. 'al-Tirmidhī' (G.H.A. Juynboll). In Ibn Juljul the mosque is that of al-Qarmūnī, i.e. a native of Carmona in al-Andalus.

7 A source upon whom IAU frequently draws. See Ch 8.3.6 n. 15.

8 Mentioned by Ibn al-Qiftī (*Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 328) as Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥakam al-Baṣrī, chamberlain (*ḥājib*) of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhīr ibn al-Ḥusayn.

9 Perhaps a son of the founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty, al-Ṭāhīr ibn al-Ḥusayn, even though the sources do not mention a son of that name. Since Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥakam is, apparently, a contemporary of Māsarjawayh, chronology rules out the possibility that Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhīr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhīr ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 296/908–909), the last Ṭāhirid governor of Khorasan, is meant here.

10 A celebrated poet of the Abbasid period. See *ET*² art. 'Abū Nuwās' (E. Wagner).

tress lived in the place known as Ḥakamān,¹¹ which is near Basra, and among the mistress' relatives were two men named Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Umayyah. Abū Nuwās was in the habit of setting out from Basra every day, and whenever he met anyone coming from the direction of Ḥakamān, he would ask the person for news of Janān.

Ayyūb's account continues:

One day I accompanied him on his outing, and as it happened the first person we met was Māsarjawayh the physician. Abū Nuwās greeted him and said, 'How are Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Umayyah?' 'Janān is as well as anyone could wish,' replied Māsarjawayh. Abū Nuwās thereupon recited the following verses:

I ask those who come from Ḥakamān
 'How was Abū 'Uthmān when you left him,
 And Abū Mayyah,¹² that refined man, whose support
 one can hope for and expect in difficult times?'
 They say to me, 'Janān is as well
 as would please you, so ask about Janān!'
 What is it to them? May God not bless them!
 How come that my secrecy has not availed?

[8.19.4]

The following account is also taken from Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, again quoting Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥakam.

Ayyūb tells how he was once sitting with Māsarjawayh as he examined phials of urine, when a Khūzistānī man came up to him and said, 'I am suffering from an illness unlike any that anyone has ever suffered from before.' Māsarjawayh asked him about it, and he said, 'In the morning, I find I cannot see clearly, and I have a feeling in my stomach, it is as though it were being devoured by dogs, until I have something to eat. Once I have had some breakfast, these symptoms disappear, but then they recur at midday. I then again have something to eat, and this eases the symptoms, but they return at the time of the evening prayer.

11 An estate near Basra.

12 Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Mayyah are identified by the commentator of Abū Nuwās's *Dīwān* as Khālid ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz and a grandson of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī respectively. Abū 'Uthmān and Abū Mayyah were relatives of the mistress of Janān, the poet's girlfriend. See Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, 39–51 (for a German translation of the poem, see 47).

The only way of treating my condition that I have found is to eat at intervals.' 'The wrath of God upon that illness,' cried Māsarjawayh. 'God made an unfortunate decision in giving it to such a worthless person as yourself. Would that it were to fall upon me and my children instead! I would be willing to give you half of everything I own in exchange for it.' 'Whatever do you mean?' asked the man. 'That illness is known as health,' explained Māsarjawayh, 'and you do not deserve it; I ask God to transfer it to some more meritorious person.'

[8.19.5]

Yet another account from Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, quoting again from Ayyūb ibn al-Ḥakam al-Kisrawī. In the latter's own words:

I once consulted Māsarjawayh when I was troubled with constipation.¹³ He asked me what kind of date-wine I was in the habit of drinking, and I told him that I preferred the kind that was made from garden date syrup heavily laced with St. John's wort.¹⁴ In reply, he told me that I should eat a small cucumber of the kind the people of Basra call *kharībī* every day in the summer, before having eaten anything else.

Al-Kisrawī's account continues:

So I used to have these small cucumbers served to me; they were about the thickness of a finger and about a *fitr*¹⁵ in length, and I would eat five, six or seven of them. The result was that I became afflicted with a copious diarrhoea. I went back to Māsarjawayh and told him about it. Without saying a word to me, he administered an enema consisting largely of fats, resins, marshmallow and Persian rice. Then he said, 'You might have killed yourself by eating all those cucumbers with nothing in your stomach. They were sending yellow bile down your intestinal tract, and it was stripping away the humours that adhere to the intestines and prevent yellow bile from abrading them or causing dysentery (*dūsintariyyā*).'

13 Or some kind of irregularity in the natural functions (*ta'adhdhur al-ṭabīḥ*).

14 The term *al-dādhi* was used for hypericum or St John's-wort and was often applied to date-wine infused with grains of hypericum to make it stronger and more aromatic; see Dozy, *Supplément*, i:419–420. On the other hand, Levey (*Medical Formulary*, 265 no. 94) renders *al-dādhi* as the Judas tree (*Cercis siliquastrum* L.).

15 The distance between the ends of the outstretched thumb and index finger; it is to be distinguished from the *shibr*, the span of the hand. See Glossary of Weights & Measures.

[8.19.6]

Māsarjawayh is the author of the following books:¹⁶

1. A compendium (*Kunnāsh*)
2. On diet (*K. fī l-ghidhā'*)
3. On the eye (*K. fī l-'ayn*)

8.20 Salmawayh ibn Bunān¹

[8.20.1]

Salmawayh was the personal physician of the caliph Abū Ishāq Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh.² He was appointed upon al-Mu'taṣim's accession in the year 218/833, and the new caliph treated him with such generosity that words are inadequate to describe it. When decrees from al-Mu'taṣim relating to appointments and other matters came in to the relevant administrative departments, they would be in Salmawayh's handwriting. Orders and decrees relating to princes and military captains were issued as being from the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, but they would be in Salmawayh's handwriting.

Salmawayh's brother, Ibrāhīm ibn Bunān, for his part, was appointed head of local offices of the Treasury in the cities of the realm, his seal being affixed beside that of the Commander of the Faithful. In al-Mu'taṣim's estimation, those two outranked all others. Salmawayh was a sincere Christian. He performed many good works, led an exemplary life, and was a man of great intelligence and good judgement.

¹⁶ None of these books seems to have come down to us, but extracts have survived in quotations by several authors, especially al-Rāzī (see detailed references in Ullmann, *Medizin*, 24 n. 1 and n. 2). A work by Māsarjawayh on substitute drugs, not listed by IAU, has been edited in Levey, *Substitute Drugs*.

¹ For bibliographic references to Salmawayh, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 227; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 112. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

² Son of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and successor to another son of Hārūn's, al-Ma'mūn; r. 218–227/833–842. See *ET*² art. 'al-Mu'taṣim Bi'llāh' (C.E. Bosworth).

[8.20.2]

The following account is taken from Ishāq ibn ‘Alī al-Ruhāwī’s³ *Practical Ethics of the Physician*, and is there attributed by him to ‘Īsā ibn Māssah.⁴ In the latter’s words:

I have been informed by Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh,⁵ who had the story direct from al-Mu‘taṣim, that he (the caliph) said, ‘I have more regard for Salmawayh, my physician, than I have for the chief justice. The chief justice issues judgements about my property, whereas my physician issues judgements about my life, and my life is more important to me than my possessions and my realm.’

Salmawayh once became ill, and al-Mu‘taṣim’s son came to visit him, at his father’s orders. ‘I am quite sure,’ the caliph said, ‘that I will not survive after he is gone, for he looked after my life and managed the health of my body,’ and in the event he died less than a year after Salmawayh.

[8.20.3]

The following account comes from Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn,⁶ who states that he had it from his father. According to Ḥunayn,

Salmawayh was more knowledgeable about the art of medicine than any of his contemporaries. Al-Mu‘taṣim was wont to address him as ‘My father’. When the physician was ill, the caliph went to visit him, and said to him in tears, ‘Give me some advice that will be useful to me once you have left me.’ ‘You have treated me with the utmost kindness, Sire,’ replied Salmawayh. ‘Beware of that mountebank Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh. When you consult him about some complaint, he is likely to prescribe a number of remedies; if so, take the one that contains the fewest ingredients.’ When Salmawayh died, al-Mu‘taṣim refused to take any food on the day of his death. He ordered that the physician’s bier should be carried to the caliphal palace, and there the full Christian rites

3 A mid-3rd/9th cent. physician, author of *Adab al-ṭabīb*; see Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Levey), (Riyadh edn), 150, and (facs.). 165).

4 ‘Īsā ibn Māssah al-Baṣrī (d. c. 275/888). A prolific medical writer, whose works are preserved only through citations; see *GAL* i:232; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 257–258; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 122–123. His biography will be found later in Ch. 8.28.

5 A Christian physician; his biography will be at Ch. 8.26.

6 Physician and translator, son of the better-known Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and, according to IAU (Ch. 9.3), nearly as good a translator as his father. His biography will be found below in Ch. 8.30. For the story, cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’,* 207.

performed, complete with prayers, candles and incense. The caliph was present throughout, demonstrating to the highest degree his esteem for Salmawayh. He mourned him sadly.

Al-Mu‘taṣim was blessed with a good digestion. Salmawayh had bled him regularly twice a year, administering a laxative afterward, and had put him on a diet from time to time. Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, however, wishing to show the caliph something to which he was not accustomed, administered the laxative before bleeding him, explaining, ‘I am afraid that your yellow bile will become agitated.’ But when his patron took the laxative, his blood became fevered and his temperature rose; he lost flesh, fell prey to a growing array of disorders, wasted away and finally died, twenty months after Salmawayh.

Al-Mu‘taṣim’s death occurred in the month of Rabī‘ 1 in the year 227 [January 842].

[8.20.4]

The following is taken from Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm.⁷

Shortly after al-Mu‘taṣim had returned from his expedition against the Romans⁸ (he had acceded to the caliphate by this time),⁹ he said to Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī,¹⁰ ‘Uncle, your affairs have been in a state of confusion since the early days of the disturbance,¹¹ for while at first you suffered along with everyone else, subsequently you became more particularly a target, with your estates laid waste and encroached upon, because you remained in hiding from the previous caliph¹² for seven years. You imagined that as long as some other misfortune did not befall you first, that would be sufficient protection against him. But in due course the full weight of his animosity became apparent, and the hardships you endured at his hands surpassed all the misfortune that had previously befallen you,¹³ so you are worse off than ever. Now, I have been thinking about

⁷ See Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15.

⁸ I.e., the Byzantines. This expedition was undertaken in 223/838.

⁹ He had succeeded five years earlier.

¹⁰ A brother of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. See *ET*² art. ‘Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī’ (D. Sourdel).

¹¹ The *fitnah*, the civil war between the brothers al-Amin and al-Ma’mūn some years before (194–198/810–813).

¹² I.e., al-Ma’mūn.

¹³ Indeed, in the year 210/825–826 Ibrāhīm’s hiding-place was discovered, and al-Ma’mūn had him imprisoned. However, he was soon released and pardoned.

your situation, and it is clear to me that not a day should go by without my receiving news of you and being informed of what you require for your welfare. To that end, I must designate a servant expressly for the purpose of informing me of your needs. I have thought of two possible candidates. Both of them attend my working meetings and my soirées; indeed, they have access to my presence even in the bedchamber and during my ritual ablutions. Their names are Masrūr Samānah the eunuch¹⁴ and Salmawayh ibn Bunān. You may have whichever of them you wish and make him responsible for seeing to your affairs.' Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī said that he would rather have Salmawayh, whereupon the Commander of the Faithful had him summoned and instructed him to see to it that messages from Ibrāhīm were conveyed to the caliph at all times.

[8.20.5]

The account of Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm continues:

Once Abū Ishāq had introduced me to Salmawayh, the time soon came when we were nearly inseparable. The Commander of the Faithful's departure from Baghdad turned out to be his last. There had been no announcement beforehand that he was setting out for somewhere in particular. However, the people, including some of the Christian clergy, had gathered at the carriage gate to admire the saddle-trappings. The day was Wednesday, seventeen nights having elapsed in the month of Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 220 [1 November 835]. The horses were led out. Al-Mu'taṣim then had the *jammāzah* camels led out as well.¹⁵ He mounted up, and there was not one of us who did not take it for granted that he would be returning that same day. But then he ordered the clients¹⁶ and captains to accompany him; however, none of his family went with him except al-'Abbās ibn al-Ma'mūn and 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī.¹⁷

14 In charge of the treasury in 3rd/9th cent. Samarra. Northedge (*Historical Topography of Samarra*, 116) reads the name as Samāna, but MS A seems to have Sumānah. In *al-Aghānī* (ed. Dār al-Kutub/al-Hay'ah, xix:248) it is Masrūr Summānah. This Masrūr is to be distinguished from Masrūr al-Khādīm al-Kabīr, the 'elder Masrūr' mentioned by IAU in Ch. 8.3.16, who began his career under al-Rashīd and was the executioner of Ja'far ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī in 187/803; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (Bosworth) 216–217.

15 A *jammāzah* is a she-camel that can trot at the pace termed *jamazā*, which acc. to Lane (*Lexicon*) is 'a gentle trot or run'.

16 *Al-mawālī*.

17 Unidentified.

Al-Wāthiq¹⁸ was left behind in Baghdad until he had prayed with the people on the Festival of Sacrifice¹⁹ in the year 220 [5 December 835], and he was then ordered to proceed to al-Qāṭūl.²⁰

Abū Ishāq had sent me on some errand to the gate of the Commander of the Faithful, but al-Mu‘taṣim was constantly moving about, now to al-Qāṭūl and the city of al-Qāṭūl, now to Dayr Banī l-Ṣaqr (which in the time of al-Mu‘taṣim and al-Wāthiq was known as al-Ītākhiyyah and in the time of al-Mutawakkil as al-Muḥammadiyyah),²¹ and finally to Samarra, where he established his camp and stayed. One day, as I stood at the gate of the camp, who should emerge but Salmawayh ibn Bunān. He told me that the Commander of the Faithful had sent him out to find Sawārtakīn al-Farḡhānī²² and to consult his physician in a matter of treatment for an ailment that was currently troubling al-Mu‘taṣim, subject to Salmawayh’s approval. Salmawayh urged me to come with him and return with him afterward, and I did so. As we went along, he said to me, ‘The emir Naṣr ibn Maṣūr ibn Bassām²³ told me this morning that he had been accompanying al-Mu‘taṣim bi-Allāh around this town’ (meaning Samarra). Salmawayh said to me, ‘Naṣr told me that al-Mu‘taṣim had said to him, “Naṣr, it is said that there are people who have selected houses in this town and come to live here. Have you ever heard the like? I wonder what the attraction is. After all, the terrain here is rough and hummocky everywhere, there are numerous hills, and the heat is intense where the stony ground has been baked by the sun. Surely no one would settle here unless he was under compulsion and had no choice, or else was not very particular.”’

Salmawayh said to me, ‘Naṣr ibn Maṣūr went on, “By God, I fear that the Commander of the Faithful is intending to come and live in this town.”’ While Salmawayh was telling me this anecdote about Naṣr, he happened to look toward the east, and at the site of the palace known as al-Maṣīf he saw what must have been upward of a thousand men laying the foundations of a palace. ‘Well, well,’ he said, ‘it would seem

18 His son and successor. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Wathīq Bi’llāh’ (K.V. Zetterstéén, C.E. Bosworth & E. van Donzel).

19 *Yawm al-naḥr*, also known as *Īd al-aḏḥā*: 10 Dhū l-Hijjah.

20 A district of Samarra.

21 According to Yāqūt, al-Ītākhiyyah was a city in Kirmān named after the Turkish general Ītākḥ (or Aytākḥ), then renamed by al-Mutawakkil after his son Muḥammad, i.e. al-Muḥammadiyyah; see *Muḥjam al-buldān*, v:65.

22 Unidentified. Given his ethnicity (Farḡhānā), possibly the Turk Hārūn b. Suwārategin who participated in the assassination of al-Mutawakkil, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* (Kraemer), 179.

23 Grandfather of the 3rd/9th cent. poet and literary man known as Ibn Bassām; see *ET*² art. ‘Ibn Bassām’ (Ch. Pellat). Naṣr held high office under the caliph al-Mu‘taṣim.

that Naṣr ibn Maṣṣūr was right.' This was in the year 221, in the month of Rajab [June–July 836].

[8.20.6]

In the summer of that year, al-Muṭaṣim fasted during the month of Ramadan, and then on the *Īd al-fiṭr* at the end of Ramadan, he gave a breakfast for the people. On the Saturday following, the caliph was cupped in al-Qāṭūl. It so happened that it was the last day of the Christian fast, and Salmawayh ibn Bunān breakfasted with al-Muṭaṣim. He took the opportunity to ask the caliph's permission to go to al-Qādisiyyah,²⁴ where he proposed to spend the remainder of the day and the whole of the night in the church there, to take communion there on Sunday, and then to return to al-Qāṭūl that same day, arriving in time for breakfast. The caliph granted him permission as requested, loaded him with apparel, and gave him musk and many other kinds of incense.

He seemed to be in a mood of gloomy dejection. He urged me to come with him to al-Qādisiyyah, and I agreed. We were in the habit, whenever we travelled together, of halting from time to time, sometimes to discuss an issue of literature, sometimes to exchange donnish pleasantries, but on this occasion he would not fall in with my attempts in either line, but rode along deep in thought, muttering something under his breath, with his right hand constantly moving. The thought crossed my mind that he had detected something unfriendly in al-Muṭaṣim's behaviour toward him. But then I rejected the idea, recalling that the caliph had granted him permission to travel to al-Qādisiyyah and had given him quantities of clothing and perfumes.

I therefore asked him what he was mumbling and thinking about. 'I remember having heard you relate something that one of the kings of Persia used to say about reason,' he replied. 'He maintained that reason had to be uppermost in man. Let me hear it again, would you, and tell me which king it was who said it.' 'It was Anūshirwān,'²⁵ I said, 'who held

24 Probably the town lying on the east bank of the Tigris, some 13 kilometres southeast of Samarra, rather than the site of the celebrated Muslim victory over the Sasanians at some time between 14/635 and 16/637; the latter was near the later city of Kufa.

25 The late Sasanian ruler, r. 531–579. See *EI*² art. 'Kisrā' (M. Morony). This aphorism has also been attributed to Ardashīr, the 3rd cent. founder of the Sasanian dynasty, and others. The Sasanian capital was Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in in the Arabic sources), approximately 35 kilometres south of present-day Baghdad.

that if reason was not uppermost in a man, whatever *was* uppermost in him was bound to ruin him.' 'The devil,' exclaimed Salmawayh, 'that is profoundly true. This prince of ours (meaning al-Wāthiq) has a very retentive memory: he retains everything that he reads, and he has more books read to him than his reason can accommodate. In my view, he has fallen into a bad situation, and I pray God will deliver him from evil.' His eyes filled with tears. I asked him why he was weeping, and he said, 'I advised the Commander of the Faithful not to do any drinking last night, because he was to undergo a cupping today, and I wanted him to be in a clean condition when he got up. But Prince Hārūn,²⁶ Ibn Abī Dā'ūd²⁷ and 'Abd al-Wahhāb²⁸ came by to chat with him. Hārūn fell to denouncing the *Testament* of Ardashīr ibn Bābak,²⁹ running over its contents from beginning to end, and I was afraid that he would become the object of envy on his father's part because of his excellent memory, for the caliph had not been blessed with such a memory himself. I was also afraid that his father would adopt the principle set forth in Ardashīr ibn Bābak's *Testament* to the effect that there should be no public proclamation of allegiance to the heir apparent. In addition, I was afraid for him on the grounds of what Ardāshīr says in the matter of the people's preference for the heir apparent once they are aware of his position, and also because of what Ardāshīr says concerning the risk that the heir apparent may be resented for what his father has done once it becomes known that he is to succeed the latter. By God! I knew, you see, that even a trace of any of this would make his life burdensome, and also that there would never be any proclamation of allegiance to him. That is why I am distressed.' In the event, it all came about just as Salmawayh had feared.

26 I.e. al-Wāthiq.

27 Probably an error for the chief qadi, Ibn Abī Du'ād, who is said to have exercised considerable influence over the caliph. See *ET*² art. 'al-Mu'tašim Bi'llāh' (C.E. Bosworth).

28 This is most likely 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Imām ibn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, governor of Syria in the time of al-Manṣūr and nephew of al-Saffāh, see Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* (Leiden ed.), iii:139 (he is mentioned by al-Ma'mūn next to Ibn Abī Du'ād), *Ta'rikh Reunification* (Bosworth), 229 n. 697.

29 The 3rd cent. founder of the Sasanian dynasty (d. 242). The *Testament* attributed to him, which sets forth the rules governing succession under the Sasanian monarchy, actually dates from the 6th cent. See the Arabic text in al-Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, vii:84–107; the passage referred to below is on p. 96.

[8.20.7]

Yūsuf's account continues:

When Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī wished to see al-Mu'taṣim about various matters, the caliph sometimes kept him waiting in a fashion that Abū Ishāq resented. Accordingly, he drafted a letter giving vent to his feelings, gave it to me, and told me to read it to Salmawayh and see what he thought of it. If he deemed it suitable, I should seal it and send it to the caliph, but if the physician regarded the letter as unsatisfactory, I should bring it back. Accordingly, I read it to Salmawayh. When I had finished, he said:

Say to him, 'The treatment you have enjoyed at the hands of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim (may God empower the latter and have mercy upon the former) should rather incline you to give thanks to God than to come grumbling to me about those two caliphs under any circumstances. You are as favourably placed as heart could wish; you have surpassed the dead, now rival the living! You have been fortunate to the point that you need have no fear of a reversal, and consequently it is inappropriate for you to take umbrage if the caliph slights you because one of your enemies has said something slanderous to him about you, so that he is cross with you for two or three days or so. He will soon recall the importance of family ties and relent, and then your situation will be as satisfactory as ever. There is also a sword of Damocles hanging over you, for which you must be on your guard: it is that you sit with the caliph in his working meetings and soirées with members of his household, his captains, and his leading clients, where he is naturally the object of their eyes and the hope of their hearts. In those meetings and soirées, not a word must escape your lips that does not unequivocally express your support for him. If you were like Ibn Abī Dā'ūd [Du'ād]³⁰ or one of the secretaries, the caliph would have an easier time of it, for he has absolute discretion in matters relating to persons in that category, inasmuch as they are his servants, whereas in matters relating to a member of his own family, a man who is mature and is closely related to him, it would be unseemly for him not to take the person's maturity and relationship into account.'

My view is that the letter should not be sent, and that the matter should be passed over altogether, may God fortify him! until such time

30 See n. 27 above.

as he is back in the caliph's good graces, and when he goes to see him, he should heed my words of warning, for then he will run no risk of retribution or estrangement.

The account continues:

Accordingly, instead of sending the letter I took it back to Abū Ishāq. At his house I found Sīmā al-Dimashqī³¹ bearing a message from al-Mu'taṣim informing him that the caliph desired to see him and bidding him ride to the palace forthwith. I told him what had passed between Salmawayh and myself, whereupon he mounted his horse and set off. He followed Salmawayh's advice, never uttering another word of complaint to the day when he and al-Mu'taṣim were parted by death.

[8.20.8]

Yūsuf's account continues:

On one occasion, Salmawayh and I were talking about Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh. I went on at length about him, saying that I knew how learned he was. 'Yūḥannā is a catastrophe for anyone who consults him,' retorted Salmawayh, 'and for anyone who relies on his treatment, his extensive book-knowledge, his elegant explanations and misleading descriptions of his patients' morbid conditions. The beginning of medicine,' he lectured me, 'is a knowledge of the scope of the disorder, so that a judicious treatment can be applied, and Yūḥannā is the most ignorant of all God's creation both as regards the assessment of an illness and as regards the determination of an appropriate treatment. If his patient is feverish, he treats him with cold medicines and excessively cooling foods in an attempt to drive down his temperature, with the result that the patient's stomach and body become chilled and must be treated with *warming* medicines and foods. Yūḥannā then proceeds in the same way as he did before, taking excessive measures to counteract the chill, and consequently the patient becomes ill from overheating. In short, his patient is always ill from being either chilled or overheated, and that weakens the body. People consult physicians in order to preserve their health while they are healthy and to help restore Nature when they are ill, and Yūḥannā cannot serve either of those

31 Also called Sīmā al-Turkī. He was purchased by al-Mu'taṣim from the vizier Faḍl ibn Sahl. See al-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* (Kraemer), 33 n114. Sīmā al-Dimashqī is said to have been one of the leading Turks of Samarra; see *EI*² art. 'Sāmarrā' (A. Northedge).

functions, owing to his inability to gauge disease and remedy alike correctly. Such a person cannot call himself a physician.’

[8.20.9]

Also from Yūsuf:

Salmawayh’s brother, Ibrāhīm ibn Bunān, was once afflicted with a severe case of indigestion after having gorged himself on plums. He was not far from death when his brother, Salmawayh, administered a dose of *shahriyārān* containing a great deal of scammony.³² This treatment produced a massive laxative effect, more than might have been expected for someone who had ingested the quantity of *shahriyārān* that Ibrāhīm had ingested. However, once the *shahriyārān* had done its work, the patient’s attack of indigestion subsided. ‘Salmawayh,’ I said, ‘I perceive that in treating your brother with a purgative, you adopted the procedure that Yazīd Būr followed when he treated Thumāmah al-‘Absī.’³³ ‘I did not follow a procedure,’ he replied, ‘but rather relied on my judgement, exactly as he did, and achieved the same result.’

[8.20.10]

Another account from Yūsuf:

One day when I had called on Salmawayh and we were recalling the days of the disturbance³⁴ in the Baghdad, when Muḥammad al-Amīn was caliph, he remarked, ‘It was a benefit from God, in those days, that we lived not far from Bishr and Bashīr ibn al-Samayda’,³⁵ for with them we were quite safe.’ Then he said to me, ‘Would you care to ride over to Bashīr’s house and visit him? I had despaired of him the day before yesterday, but by yesterday he had recovered.’ I replied that I should be happy to accompany him, and we rode off to see Bashīr. When we had reached the gate of the street in which he lived, we met the physician Būlus ibn Ḥanūn, who is now the physician of the people of Palestine, coming from Bashīr’s

32 For scammony, see Ch. 8.3.6m16 above. The compound *shahriyārān* is unidentified (cf. *shahr-i yārān*, ‘city of friends’ or the personal name ‘Shahriyār’).

33 The account of the physician Yazīd ibn Yūḥannā ibn Abī Khālid, known as Yazīd Būr, and his patient, the aged Thumāmah al-‘Absī, is related in Yazīd’s biography in Ch. 8.13 above.

34 See n. 11 above.

35 Bishr ibn al-Samayda’ al-Azdī was the governor of Balad, a city on the Tigris (Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* (ed. Leiden), iii:779); Bashīr was, presumably, his brother.

house. Salmawayh asked him how Bashīr was doing, and he answered with a word in Syriac meaning ‘he is in a bad way.’ ‘Surely you told me only yesterday that he was better?’ said Salmawayh. ‘Yes,’ replied the other, ‘but that was then; last night he ate a dish of kid brains, and suffered a recurrence of the diarrhoea.’ At this, Salmawayh turned his mount and said, ‘Let us go; Bashīr will not last the night.’ ‘How so?’ I asked, and he explained that Bashīr was subject to stomach ailments. ‘His illness began in his stomach,’ he said, ‘and after many days the disorder has spread to his liver. Now the dish of brains that he has eaten will remain in his stomach and cause everything within it to coagulate, with the result that any food or medicine that he takes will pass through without effect.’ Accordingly, Salmawayh and I went our way without visiting Bashīr, and he was dead before the night was out.

[8.20.11]

A further account from Yūsuf:

After Abū Ishāq had died,³⁶ I struck up an acquaintance with Abū Dulaf.³⁷ Before we became friends, he had had an upset stomach³⁸ for a matter of fifteen months. His soirées were attended by physicians, for there were a number of them who figured among his regular beneficiaries, including Yūsuf ibn Ṣalībā, Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd ibn Bābān, Yūsuf al-Baṣrī, who was known as ‘the short’, but I do not remember the last part of his name, Būlus ibn Ḥanūn, the physician of Palestine, a son-in-law of his, who was one of the two sons of al-Lajlāj,³⁹ and al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī.⁴⁰ Abū Dulaf’s soirées were also attended by twenty or so other physicians who were not among his regular beneficiaries. I remember how they used to argue over their host’s malady: some thought that he should be dosed with theriac, others that he should be treated with medicines containing opium,⁴¹ such as ‘mithridatum’⁴² or something similar,

36 In Ramadan 224/July 839.

37 Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim ibn ʿĪsā ibn Idrīs, a 2nd–3rd/8th–9th cent. military commander, poet and musician. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Qāsim b. ʿĪsā’ (J.E. Bencheikh).

38 *Mabṭūn*, a general term for having some gastric or intestinal ailment.

39 There is a biography of a physician named Ibn al-Lajlāj given above in Ch. 8.g; this may be the same man.

40 A biography of his father, Ṣāliḥ ibn Bahlah al-Hindī, will be found in Ch. 12.g.

41 *Abyūn* is a variant of *afyūn*, opium; see Tibi, *Medicinal Use of Opium*.

42 A theriac supposedly devised by Mithridates, king of Pontus, in antiquity; see Watson, *Theriac & Mithridatum*.

but all agreed that the course of treatment should feature diet and emetics every ten days or so, for every time he vomited his condition improved for approximately three days. I stayed with him for ten months, and in all that time I do not recall a single day that I spent doing the work that I was supposed to be doing. A messenger arrived one day suggesting that I should attend one of the soirées and pay attention to the different views expressed by the physicians.

The caliph, al-Mu‘tašim, then ordered Ḥaydar ibn Kāwūs⁴³ to place Abū Dulaf in charge of the administration of Qazwīn⁴⁴ and Zanjān⁴⁵ and the surrounding districts, ordered Ibrāhīm ibn al-Buḥturī⁴⁶ to delegate responsibility for the land-tax of the district to him, and ordered Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik⁴⁷ to do the same for its villages. Abū Dulaf, in turn, delegated authority for municipal taxes to his son (meaning Ibn al-Qāsim), and authority for the land-tax and villages to me, and ordered us to set out for that region. I went to see Salmawayh, to take my leave and ask his advice. ‘You are about to leave your native place,’ he said, ‘with a man who has been in a weakened condition for twenty-five months. He will be surrounded by people who have no bonds of kinship with you. They are people of the mountainous region and Isfahan,⁴⁸ and most of them are destitute. What if you had to put one of them to the question at the residence? Would you be safe? I fear not, for if something should happen to your master, you would be in an alien land, a captive in the hands of people who were not of your kind. Conversely, to refuse to go after having agreed to do so would not be proper. But ask him to grant you a delay of seven days before your departure, and use that time to keep track of everything he eats and drinks. He should ingest nothing whatever during that time without your being aware of how much it weighs, precisely. Des-

43 Ḥaydar ibn Kāwūs, commonly referred to as al-Afshīn, served the caliphs al-Ma‘mūn and al-Mu‘tašim as a talented and successful general, particularly in his campaign against the Khurramī rebel Bābak. See *EI*² art. ‘Afshīn’ (W. Barthold & H.A.R. Gibb).

44 A town and district northwest of Tehran and south of Gīlān.

45 A town and district approximately 150 kilometres west of Qazwīn.

46 Probably an error for ibn al-Bakhtārī; see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* (ed. de Goeje), iii:1167; for his great-grandson Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bakhtārī, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii:81.

47 The vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt; see *EI*² art. ‘Ibn al-Zayyāt’ (D. Sourdel).

48 Isfahan lies in the province known as al-Jibāl, which was bounded on the east by the great desert of Khorasan, on the southeast by Fārs, on the south by Khūzistān, on the west and southwest by Azerbaijan, and on the north by the Alburz range. See *EI*² art. ‘Djibāl’ (L. Lockhart).

ignite someone to weigh all the solid material and urine that comes out of him during that week, day by day, and forward the results to you. Then, at the end of the week, come to me with the weights of all the food, drink and other things that he has taken in and the weight of everything that he has put out.'

I followed these instructions most meticulously, going over the figures until I was quite sure I had them right, and I found that the weight of the waste matter that had come out of him was nearly double the weight of the food and drink that had gone in. When I informed Salmawayh of this, he said, 'If the weight of what came out had been equal to the weight of what went in, that would have shown that he was not long for this world. How then when the weight of the output was double the weight of the intake? He is a dead man.' And indeed, a mere ten days or so after this conversation, Abū Dulaf was dead.

[8.20.12]

The following account is taken from a work by Abū 'Alī al-Qiyānī.⁴⁹ He quotes his father, as follows:

My grandfather, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh, and Salmawayh the physician were good friends. My grandfather told me that he had called on Salmawayh at his home on one occasion when he was in the bath. He then emerged, bundled up in clothing and with sweat running down his brow. A servant came to meet him, carrying a small table laden with a roast francolin, some green stuff in a cream-coloured porcelain bowl, three loaves of flatbread, some tamarisk fruits, and some vinegar in a plate. He ate it all, and then called for a quantity of wine amounting to about two dirhams, which he mixed and drank. Finally he washed his hands with water, and then he proceeded to change his clothes, which he perfumed with incense. When he had finished doing all this, he began to speak to me, but I said, 'Before answering that, I want you to tell me what it is that you have just done.' 'I have been treating myself for consumption⁵⁰ for thirty years,' he replied, 'and in the course of those years I have eaten only what you saw just now: a roast chicken, endive steamed and roasted in almond oil, and precisely this much bread. Upon emerging from my bath, I need to take action to neutralize the heat, as otherwise it would act upon

49 One of IAU's regular sources; material from him is quoted in, e.g. Ch. 8.4 and Ch. 8.14. For this anecdote, cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 208.

50 *Sill*, a general wasting disease.

my body and deprive it of some of its humours. Accordingly, I use food to divert it. The heat acts on the food instead, leaving me free for other matters.'

8.21 Ibrāhīm ibn Fazārūn¹

[8.21.1]

Ibrāhīm ibn Fazārūn, head of the secretarial family of the Banū Fazārūn,² was the personal physician of Ghassān ibn 'Abbād.³

[8.21.2]

The following account is taken from Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm:⁴

After having accompanied Ghassān ibn 'Abbād to Sind,⁵ Ibrāhīm ibn Fazārūn told me that the governor had stayed in the region from the day of *nawrūz*⁶ to the day of *mihrajān*,⁷ and during the whole of that time had suffered from a craving for some cold meat, without having been able to obtain any. I asked Ibrāhīm why not, and he explained that after the meat had been cooked, it would have become rancid before it was cold, and would have to be discarded.

Yūsuf's account continues:

Ibrāhīm ibn Fazārūn told me that during all his time in Sind, Ghassān ibn 'Abbād had not found any meat that he liked apart from peacock, but that the flesh of the peacocks of Sind tasted finer than any other kind of meat that he had ever eaten. Moreover, I have heard that same opinion from

1 Ibn al-Qiftī has an entry on Ibrāhīm ibn Fazārūn (Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 74–75). This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 Cf. *EI Three* art. 'Archives and Chanceries: pre-1500, in Arabic' (M.L.M. van Berkel).

3 Governor of Khorasan under the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 198–218/813–833). See *EI²* art. 'al-Ma'mūn' (M. Rekaya).

4 See Ch. 8.3.6. n. 15 above.

5 The lower part of the valley of the Indus, in what is now Pakistan. See *EI²* art. 'Sind' (T.W. Haig & C.E. Bosworth).

6 First day of the Persian solar year, which starts with the vernal equinox. See *EI²* art. 'Nawrūz' (R. Levy & C.E. Bosworth).

7 An Iranian Mazdaean festival traditionally celebrated around the time of the autumnal equinox. See *EI²* art. 'Mihragān' (J. Calmard).

Ibrāhīm ibn ʿĪsā ibn al-Manṣūr, known as Ibn Nazīhah,⁸ who said he had heard it from Ghassān ibn ʿAbbād himself.

[8.21.3]

The following account is also from Yūsuf:

I have heard from Ibrāhīm ibn Fazārūn that while Ghassān ibn ʿAbbād was in Sind, he heard of a kind of fish, resembling a kid, that was said to live in the river known as the Mihrān.⁹ When one of these fish was caught, its head and body down to the vent were coated with clay. Someone then gripped the fish with his hands and held the uncoated part over hot coals and roasted it until it was done to a turn. It was then eaten, or discarded, while the fish was thrown back into the water. Provided its backbone had not been broken, the fish would live and grow new flesh on its bones. Upon hearing this story, Ghassān had a pond dug in his grounds and filled with water and ordered the matter put to the test.

Ibrāhīm's account continues thus:

We had some of these fish delivered every day, and we would roast them in the manner described in the story that had been told to us, breaking the fish's backbone in some cases while leaving it unbroken in others. The former would die, but the latter would not: the flesh grew back and the skin was renewed. However, whereas the original skin of those fish resembles that of a black kid, the new skin of the specimens that we had subjected to our experiments, roasting and removing some of their flesh and then returning them to the water, was more of a whitish colour.

[8.21.4]

A further account from Yūsuf:

I asked Ibrāhīm ibn Fazārūn about the allegation that the Mihrān River is really the Nile. 'I have seen the Mihrān,' he replied, 'and it empties into the ocean. But learned men of India and Sind have told me that the Nile and the Mihrān take their rise from the same large source, the Mihrān flowing through the land of Sind and ultimately emptying into the ocean,

⁸ An Abbasid prince, grandson of al-Manṣūr.

⁹ The River Indus.

and the Nile traversing the land of India and the entire land of the black races, finally emerging in the land of Nubia, whence for the remainder of its course it runs through the land of Egypt, providing it with water, and finally emptying into the Roman Sea.’

Yūsuf adds that he had heard the account of the single source of the Mihrān and the Nile not only from Ibrāhīm but also from ‘Anbasah ibn Ishāq al-Ḍabbī,¹⁰ and that the latter liked to tell the story of the fish as well.

8.22 Ayyūb ‘al-Abrash’¹

Ayyūb, known as ‘al-Abrash’, was well versed in the art of medicine. He also understood the principles of translation, having translated a number of Greek works into Syriac and Arabic. Most of his translations are unimpressive. Toward the end of his life, however, he produced some that are of higher quality than his earlier efforts.

¹⁰ Governor of Daybul, the seaport of Sind, under the caliph al-Wāthiq (r. 227–232/842–847). See *ET²* art. ‘Daybul’ (A.S. Bazmee Ansari).

¹ This biography is included in all three versions of the book. Although IAU does not include al-Ruhāwī in the name, this must be Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī al-Abrash (d. c. 220/835), otherwise known as Iyob or Job of Edessa. Another short biography of him is given in Ch. 9.7. *Al-abrash* (‘the speckled’, or ‘the spotted’) was sometimes used as a euphemism for *al-abraṣ* (‘the leper’), as in the case of the pre-Islamic Jadhīmah, but whether this meaning was applicable to Job of Edessa is unknown. He was a Christian physician, although his exact confession is unknown, and worked as physician for the Abbasid caliphs and the governor of Khorasan, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Tāhir. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq refers to Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī as the translator of thirty-six Galenic works (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, index s.v. Aijūb al-Ruhāwī; *Galen Translations*, s.v. Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī). On this translator, see Roggema, ‘Iyob of Edessa’. For bibliographic references, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 230; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 101.

8.23 Ibrāhīm ibn Ayyūb al-Abrash¹

[8.23.1]

The following account is taken from *The Practical Ethics of the Physician*, by Ishāq ibn ‘Alī al-Ruhāwī,² who is here quoting ‘Īsā ibn Māssah.³ In the latter’s own words:

I was present at the audience of Ibrāhīm ibn Ayyūb al-Abrash with al-Mutawakkil after he had successfully treated Ismā‘īl, the brother of al-Mu‘tazz,⁴ and brought about his recovery. His mother, Qabiḥah,⁵ suggested to al-Mutawakkil that he should give the physician a present. ‘Why not give him one yourself?’ said the caliph. ‘Whatever you give him, I shall match it.’ Qabiḥah promptly ordered a purse of dirhams to be brought for Ibrāhīm. The caliph did the same. Qabiḥah then ordered another purse, and again the caliph followed suit. They continued in this fashion until sixteen purses were heaped about Ibrāhīm’s feet. At that point, Qabiḥah made a sign to her maid to stop bringing them. ‘Don’t stop,’ Ibrāhīm said to her, ‘I’ll give them back to you.’ ‘Take what God has granted you,’ she replied, ‘I can see that you will never be satisfied.’ ‘By God,’ interposed al-Mutawakkil, ‘if you had continued until the morning, I would have continued to match whatever you had given.’ In the event, the purses were delivered to Ibrāhīm’s house.

[8.23.2]

According to Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit,⁶ when al-Mu‘tazz became caliph, he honoured Ibrāhīm ibn al-Abrash above all his other physicians because of the high regard that his mother, Qabiḥah, had always shown him. The caliph was constantly bestowing largesse upon Ibrāhīm.

1 No bibliographic references have been found to Ibrāhīm ibn Ayyūb al-Abrash. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 A mid-3rd/9th-cent. physician whose biography is in Ch. 10.57; see Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.), 150–151 (facs.), 166.

3 A prolific 3d/9th cent. medical writer. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 257–258; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 122–123.

4 Abbasid caliph, r. 252–255/866–869; son of the earlier caliph al-Mutawakkil, but not his successor, the reign of al-Musta‘īn, a cousin of al-Mu‘tazz, having intervened. See *EI*² art. ‘al-Mu‘tazz Bi‘llāh’ (C.E. Bosworth).

5 Al-Mutawakkil’s favourite slave concubine. Her name (‘ugly’, ‘impertinent’) must be some sort of joke, or perhaps it is apotropaic, to ward off the evil eye. See, e.g., Ibn al-Sā‘ī, *Nisā’ al-khulafā’*, 153 n. 106.

6 An eminent physician and historian whose biography will be found at Ch. 10.5.

[8.23.3]

Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Mu‘tazz bi-Allāh was deposed in Samarra and arrested by Ṣāliḥ ibn Waṣīf⁷ on Monday with three days remaining in the month of Rajab of the year 255 [11 July 869]. After having spent five days in prison, he was put to death at the time of the afternoon prayer on 2 Sha‘bān of that year [16 July 869], at the age of twenty-three.

8.24 Jibrīl ‘the oculist of al-Ma‘mūn’¹

Jibrīl, known as ‘the oculist (*al-kaḥḥāl*)’, was the caliph al-Ma‘mūn’s eye care attendant. We read in Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm’s *Accounts of Physicians*² that al-Ma‘mūn appreciated his very light touch; indeed, the caliph often said that he had never met anyone who could treat an eye so delicately as Jibrīl, with his collyrium sticks,³ his instruments for dropping in eye medicaments,⁴ and his probe.⁵ He was the first to attend the caliph every day: as soon as he had performed his morning prayer, Jibrīl would cleanse his eyelids and apply collyrium to his eyes, and he did the same when al-Ma‘mūn awoke from his afternoon siesta. For these services, he was paid a thousand dirhams every month.

But then suddenly Jibrīl fell from grace. I asked him what had happened, and he explained that al-Ḥusayn, the eunuch,⁶ had fallen ill, and that the man’s brother, Yāsir, had been unable to visit him because his duties kept him busy. One day, however, Yāsir happened to be passing the door of the room where the caliph was just as Jibrīl was coming out after having refreshed al-Ma‘mūn’s

7 A Turkish military captain who was the effective ruler in Samarra during the first half of the reign of the caliph al-Muhtadī (r. 255–256/869–870). Among other exploits, he plundered Qabiḥah of all her priceless treasures. However, he was killed soon afterward. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Muhtadī’ (K.V. Zetterstéen & C.E. Bosworth).

1 There is a reference to Jibrīl al-Kaḥḥāl in Ibn al-Qifṭī (*Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 152), an account that is nearly identical with that of IAU; see also Ibn al-‘Ibrī, Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar* (Beirut edn.), 240. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 A well-known historian and one of IAU’s favourite sources, author of the *Akhbār al-aṭibbā’*. See *ET*² art. ‘Ibn al-Dāya’ (F. Rosenthal) and Ch. 8.3.6. n. 15.

3 *Marāwid*, small probes for applying collyrium to the eyelids.

4 *Makāhīl* (pl. of *mukḥulah*), instruments for dropping or blowing into the eye a collyrium or eye powder; see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:456.

5 *Dastaj*, cf. Persian *dastak*, ‘little hand’, in this context apparently meaning a small probe; Dozy, *Supplément*, i:441.

6 This person is mentioned in various other sources, including al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, the *Aghānī*, etc., although none of them gives a lineage or dates for him.

eyelids and applied collyrium to his eyes. Yāsir asked after the caliph, and Jibrīl replied that he was having a nap. Yāsir took advantage of the opportunity to slip away and visit his ailing brother while al-Ma'mūn was asleep. But the caliph awoke before Yāsir had returned, and when he did return, al-Ma'mūn asked him why he was late. 'I had been informed that you were sleeping, Sire,' explained Yāsir, 'so I went to visit my brother, al-Ḥusayn.' 'Who told you that I was sleeping?' asked the caliph, and Yāsir replied that it had been Jibrīl, the eye care attendant.

Jibrīl told me,

Al-Ma'mūn summoned me and said to me sternly, 'Jibrīl, did I employ you as my eye care attendant, or as a source of information about what I was doing? Turn in your instruments for applying eye medicaments and your probes⁷ and leave the palace at once!' I reminded him that I had served him well and faithfully. 'True enough,' acknowledged the caliph, 'he may have a stipend of 150 dirhams a month, but he is not to be allowed in here any longer.'

And to the day he died, Jibrīl never attended the caliph al-Ma'mūn again.

8.25 Māsawayh Abū Yūḥannā¹

[8.25.1]

The following account is taken from Pethion the Translator:²

Māsawayh worked at the hospital in Gondēshāpūr, where he pounded medical ingredients. He did not know how to read so much as a single letter of any language. He could, however, diagnose and treat various disorders, and he could distinguish effective medicines from ineffective ones. The physician Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū³ took him under his wing and treated him generously. In particular, when Māsawayh became infatuated

⁷ *Amyāl*, pl. of *mīl*, the common term for any type of probe used in applying medicaments.

¹ For bibliographic references to Māsawayh Abū Yūḥannā, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 229. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

² A translator and historian whom IAU quotes frequently; see Ch. 8.1.1 and a brief notice on him in Ch. 9.16.

³ Christian physician who served as personal physician to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. His biography is at Ch. 8.3.

with a slave-girl who belonged to Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn,⁴ Jibrīl bought her for eight hundred dirhams and gave her to his protégé. She subsequently bore him his two sons, Yūḥannā and Mikhā'il.

[8.25.2]

The following account is taken from *The Practical Ethics of the Physician*, by Ishāq ibn 'Alī al-Ruhāwī,⁵ who is here quoting 'Īsā ibn Māssah.⁶ In the latter's own words:

Māsawayh Abū Yūḥannā was a trainee at the Gondēshāpūr hospital for thirty years. When he heard of Jibrīl's appointment as personal physician to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, he said, 'Here Abū 'Īsā [Jibrīl] has risen to the stars, while we here at the hospital are never going to get any further.' Jibrīl was responsible for the hospital, and when he heard of the younger man's remark he had Māsawayh dismissed and turned out and his salary discontinued. Finding himself without resources, Māsawayh went to Baghdad, intending to grovel and offer his apologies to Jibrīl. He haunted the physician's door incessantly, but was never invited to enter; when Jibrīl rode by, Māsawayh would utter blessings upon him and implore his pity, but the great man never spoke to him.

Finally, confronted with the prospect of starvation, he went to the Christian quarter known as the *dār al-Rūm*, on the eastern side of the city, and asked the priest there to give him sanctuary in the church. 'It may be that some generous soul will enable me to return to my native place,' he said, 'for Abū 'Īsā [Jibrīl] bears a grudge against me and will not speak to me.' 'You spent thirty years at the hospital,' said the priest, 'surely you know something about the art of medicine?' 'I do, by God,' replied Māsawayh, 'I can dose a patient with physic, cure a sore eye, bind up wounds, or whatever is required.' At this, the priest went and brought out a chest of medical supplies and gave it to Māsawayh, to enable him to treat patients, and set him down at the entrance to the women's quarters in the palace of al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabi'ī, the vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd.⁷ There he sat, occasionally earning a trifle, until by degrees he found he was making a very fair living.

4 One of the personal physicians of the Abbasid caliph al-Hādī (r. 169–170/785–776), mentioned in Ch. 8.2 above.

5 See Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.) 152–153 (facs.) 167–168.

6 For this prolific 3rd/9th-cent. medical writer, see Ch. 8.28.

7 And also to the earlier caliph, al-Amīn. Al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabi'ī was the son of al-Manṣūr's chamberlain, al-Rabi'ī ibn Yūnus. See *Et*² art. 'al-Faḍl b. al-Rabi'ī' (D. Sourdel).

[8.25.3]

It so happened that a eunuch in the employ of al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabīʿ came to be afflicted with an eye complaint. Jibrīl summoned oculists to treat him, and they plied him with various remedies, but to no avail: his pain grew worse and worse, so that he was unable to sleep. One morning, as he emerged from the palace, sleepless and suffering, half out of his mind with pain and in a foul temper, he caught sight of Māsawayh and shouted at him, 'What are you doing here, O shaykh? If you are any good at your trade, make me better; otherwise, be off with you!' 'I am good at my trade, sir,' replied Māsawayh, 'second to none.' 'Come inside with me, then,' said the eunuch, 'and you can treat this eye of mine.' Māsawayh accompanied him into the palace, and there he everted the man's eyelid and applied collyrium to it, dripped one kind of medication on to his head, and made him sniff another. The patient became calm and fell asleep. The next morning, he sent Māsawayh a bowl with a loaf of fine bread, a kid, a chicken, sweetmeats, and a number of dinars and dirhams in it, together with a message: 'This is to be your daily allowance. The dirhams and dinars are to be your monthly stipend from me.' Māsawayh was so overcome that tears came into his eyes. The messenger, however, thought that he was weeping because he did not consider his reward adequate, and said to him consolingly, 'Oh, don't worry, he'll give you more than that, he'll treat you generously.' 'Not at all,' replied Māsawayh, 'I shall be quite content with this, if he provides it every day.' The messenger went back into the palace and informed the eunuch of this exchange, much to the surprise of the latter as his eye recovered under the physician's care.

[8.25.4]

Only a few days later, it was al-Faḍl himself who was suffering from an eye complaint. Jibrīl summoned oculists to treat him, and they dosed him with a number of remedies, but without effect. Then one night the eunuch smuggled Māsawayh into the palace. He applied collyrium to the vizier's eye for a third of the night, then gave him a purgative. After this treatment, al-Faḍl felt better. When Jibrīl came in the next day, the vizier said to him, 'Do you know, Abū ʿĪsā, there is a man here named Māsawayh who is the most skilful and knowledgeable oculist you can imagine.' 'Who is it?' asked Jibrīl, 'you don't mean the fellow who has been sitting outside the gate there?' 'The very man,' said al-Faḍl. 'I know him,' sneered Jibrīl,

'I used to give him menial tasks to do,⁸ but he proved useless, so I gave him the sack. And now he has presumed to set up as a physician, he who has never practised medicine in his life! If you agree, may I suggest that you summon him while I am here.' Jibrīl imagined that when Māsawayh came in he would remain standing and behave respectfully in his presence, but when al-Faḍl sent for him he entered, greeted the company, and sat down facing Jibrīl, quite at his ease. 'Turned physician, then, have we, Māsawayh?' said Jibrīl. 'I have never ceased to be a physician,' replied Māsawayh calmly, 'for I have served at the hospital for thirty years. And you presume to speak to me in such terms!' Jibrīl, alarmed at the possibility that the younger man might go on to say more, made haste to take his leave, greatly disconcerted.

Al-Faḍl then gave orders that Māsawayh was to be paid a monthly salary of six hundred dirhams and fodder for two horses, and that accommodation for five slave-boys should be placed at his disposal. The vizier also ordered him to bring his family from Gondēshāpūr, giving him an ample sum of money to cover the cost of the move. Accordingly, he brought his household to Baghdad. His son Yūḥannā was very young at the time.

[8.25.5]

Shortly thereafter, it was the turn of Hārūn al-Rashīd to suffer from a painful eye complaint. 'O Commander of the Faithful,' said al-Faḍl to his master, 'my physician, Māsawayh, is as skilled an oculist as anyone could imagine,' and he told the caliph the whole story of his eunuch's and his own experiences. 'Have him brought in,' said al-Rashīd, and the vizier had Māsawayh sent for. When he appeared, the caliph asked him whether he knew anything about medicine besides the treatment of eyes. 'Indeed I do, O Commander of the Faithful,' Māsawayh replied, 'it would hardly be possible for me not to, since I have served the patients at the hospital for the past thirty years.' The caliph bade him approach, and Māsawayh looked at his eyes. 'What we want just now is a cupper,' he said. After al-Rashīd's legs had been cupped, Māsawayh dripped medication into his eyes, and two days later the caliph was better. He ordered that the physician should be paid a stipend of two thousand dirhams a month, together with twenty thousand dirhams a year for incidental expenses, fodder for

8 Literally, 'I used to employ him as a ploughman'.

his mounts, and accommodation. Māsawayh joined Jibrīl and the other physicians as a member of the caliph's medical staff. At that time he was on a footing of equality with Jibrīl as far as attendance on the caliph went; Jibrīl, however, was wealthier, for he enjoyed a stipend of ten thousand dirhams monthly and a hundred thousand dirhams yearly for incidentals, besides frequent gifts and estates in fee.⁹

[8.25.6]

After a time, a sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd's, named Bānū, became ill. Jibrīl subjected her to a variety of treatments, but her condition did not improve, much to the caliph's distress. One day, al-Rashīd reflected that he remembered having heard Māsawayh say that he had served the patients at the hospital and knew how to treat various conditions. Resolving to bring him in to treat his sister in the hope that she would find relief at his hands, he sent for both Jibrīl and Māsawayh. Māsawayh asked his colleague to describe the lady's illness and how he had been treating her, and Jibrīl gave him a full account. 'I should say you have managed the case correctly and applied appropriate treatments,' said Māsawayh, 'but I must see her myself.' Accordingly, the caliph ordered that both of them should be admitted to her presence. Māsawayh, accompanied by al-Rashīd and Jibrīl, entered the chamber where Bānū was lying, looked at her attentively, and took her pulse.

The three of them then left her, and once they were out of the room, Māsawayh said to the caliph, 'O Commander of the Faithful, may God grant you long life, this woman is going to die the day after tomorrow, some time between three hours after sunset and midnight.' 'He is wrong, O Commander of the Faithful,' exclaimed Jibrīl, 'she will recover and live.' At this, Hārūn al-Rashīd gave orders that Māsawayh should be confined to an apartment in the palace. 'I intend to get to the bottom of this,' he said, 'and so I have put him on notice, for I have never had cause to doubt my head physician's knowledge.' But when the time came that Māsawayh had named, the princess died. After her funeral, Hārūn al-Rashīd's first concern was to have Māsawayh sent for. He questioned the physician and was filled with admiration at his answers. His native language was Persian, but his judgement in the matter of the treatment of disease was sound, and he possessed extensive experience. Accordingly, the caliph promoted

⁹ *Iqtā'āt*. For a discussion of the meaning of this term, see *EI*² art. 'Iqtā'' (Cl. Cahen).

him to a position of equality with Jibrīl in respect of salary, accommodation, fodder and standing, and he also took an interest in the physician's son, Yūḥannā: he spared no expenditure for the young man's benefit, with the result that in due course he won distinction and renown.

[8.25.7]

The following account is taken from Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm.¹⁰

I visited Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū' in al-'Alth¹¹ in the year 215/830, for in that year he had accompanied al-Ma'mūn upriver, and at this time the caliph was staying at the convent known as the Women's Convent.¹² Jibrīl was ill just then, and I found Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh with him discussing his illness, while Jibrīl nodded approval at the young man's attentiveness, ready replies and descriptive skill. Then Jibrīl raised the matter of his conversion, asking me to think about it and let him know what the prudent course of action would be. Yūḥannā stood up as soon as we began to discuss conversion, and once he had left the *ḥarrāqah*¹³ where we were, Jibrīl said to me, 'No need for you to give any thought to the matter of my conversion, I remember perfectly well what you and others have said to me about religion. No, I only brought it up in order to get rid of Yūḥannā. What I really want to ask you about is something that I have heard about him. Tell me honestly, have you ever heard him say that he knows more about medicine than Galen ever did?' I assured him most earnestly that I had never heard Yūḥannā make any such claim.

Before we had had time to say anything more, I saw *ḥarrāqahs* sailing downstream in the direction of Baghdad. Al-Ma'mūn himself set off that day, which was a Thursday, and we were in Baghdad by Saturday

10 A source upon whom IAU frequently draws; see Ch. 8.3.6n15.

11 A town north of Baghdad, between 'Ukbarā and Samarra, on what was then the east bank of the Tigris (the river has changed its course since then). See *EI*² art. 'Alth' (G. Awad).

12 There were two convents near al-'Alth, one known as Dayr al-'Alth, and one named the Dayr al-'Adhārā ('monastery of the virgins'), which may be the one meant here (see al-Shābushtī, *Ḍiyārāt*, 96–106, and 107–148 respectively). According to al-Shābushtī, the Dayr al-'Adhārā received its name because it hosted a community of 'virgins' who lived in seclusion (*mutabattilāt 'adhārā*). Al-Shābushtī collects anecdotes of several caliphs involving this monastery, including al-Ma'mūn (*Ḍiyārāt*, 144–148), but they are not related to the story reported by IAU. Caliphal visits to Christian monasteries, regarded as *loci amoeni*, and love stories involving the daughters of the monks (who eventually converted to Islam) were a common topic in the genre of *ḏiyārāt* literature, see Sizgorich, 'Monks and their daughters'.

13 Approximately what we would call a yacht.

morning. The entire party entered the city, except for Abū l-‘Abbās ibn al-Rashīd,¹⁴ who stopped at the place known as al-Qalā‘īn, on the western side of Baghdad, across the river from the house of al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā¹⁵ in the Shammāsiyyah Gate quarter;¹⁶ Abū l-‘Abbās ibn al-Rashīd came to own part of it later, during the caliphate of al-Mu‘taṣim. I, along with a number of persons whose houses were near the Baradān Bridge and the al-Mahdī Canal,¹⁷ wanted to call on Abū l-‘Abbās, but did not care to weary ourselves by going to the bridge and then returning all the way to al-Qalā‘īn, that being a considerable distance. Instead, we would go to al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā’s palace, just across from the place where Abū l-‘Abbās was encamped, and wait there for a boatman, for boatmen would bring their craft¹⁸ in to that spot and ferry us across the Tigris. Three days after al-Ma‘mūn had reached Baghdad, I chanced to meet Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayḥ aboard one of these vessels as we were on our way to call on Abū l-‘Abbās.

Yūḥannā asked me whether I had seen Jibrīl lately, and I replied that the last time I had seen him had been the time when we had all been together in al-‘Alth. Then I added, ‘He had heard a vile report about you.’ ‘What was that?’ he asked, and so I told him what Jibrīl had said, that he had heard that Yūḥannā claimed to know more about the art of medicine than Galen himself. ‘May God curse the slanderer who said such a thing about me,’ he exclaimed, ‘for whoever he was, he spoke falsely and unscrupulously.’ This relieved the anxiety I had been feeling, and I told Yūḥannā that I would pass his assurance on to Jibrīl and thereby relieve him as well from the distress that the original report had caused him. ‘I beg you to do so,’ he replied, ‘and tell him this, which is what I actually said, rather than the distorted version that he heard.’ ‘Well?’ I said. ‘All I said,’ he answered, ‘was that, had Hippocrates and Galen lived to hear what I have to say about the art of medicine, they would have prayed to their Lord for all their other senses, sight, smell, taste and touch, to be transmuted into the sense of hearing and added to their original sense of hearing, the better to attend to my wisdom and magisterial exposition. Now, I adjure you by God, tell him that directly from me.’ I implored him not to make me do it, but he insisted.

14 Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd, one of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s eleven sons.

15 Of the Barmakid family; see *EI*² art. ‘al-Barāmika’ (D. Sourdel).

16 A very upmarket quarter in the eastern part of Baghdad where the Barmakids lived.

17 One of the major canals serving the eastern side of Baghdad; see Le Strange, *Collected Works*, i:280.

18 *Zubaydiyyāt*. They may have taken their name from Zubaydah, Hārūn’s wife.

[8.25.8]

Accordingly, I told Jibrīl what Yūḥannā had said. Jibrīl had left his sickbed that very morning, his health restored, but the message I had brought him made him so full of anger and displeasure that I was really in fear of a relapse. He began to curse himself. ‘This,’ he shouted, ‘is what comes of bestowing a benefit where it was not deserved! This is what comes of providing support and guidance for a base individual, and giving access to the noble art of medicine to one who was unfit to practise it!’ Then he asked me whether I knew how it had all come about in the matter of Yūḥannā and his father. ‘No,’ I replied, ‘I am not familiar with the story.’ ‘Well,’ he said, ‘Hārūn al-Rashīd had assigned me responsibility for a hospital, and I decided to bring in Dahishtak, the superintendent of the Gondēshāpūr hospital, to take charge of my hospital. However, he demurred on the grounds that he would not be directly in the employ of the government and thus would not be assured of drawing a regular salary. Managing the Gondēshāpūr hospital, in collaboration with his brother’s son Mikhā’il, was more satisfactory from that point of view. The Catholicos, Timothy,¹⁹ urged me to excuse Dahishtak and his nephew, and in the end I did so.’

‘Dahishtak then said to me, “I should like to offer you a present in return for your kindness in excusing me. It is a present of substantial value, and if you accept it, you will not regret having done so, for it will be very useful to you at your new hospital.” I asked him what his present was, and he explained that it was one of his own men. “He used to pound medical ingredients for us when he was young,” he said. “No one knows who his father was, and he seems to have no family. He has lived at the hospital for forty years; he must be fifty years old by this time, perhaps even older. He cannot read so much as a letter of any language, but he knows every ailment there is, and he also knows what medicines should be used to treat any given disorder. He is the most knowledgeable of God’s creation in assessing medicines, for he can infallibly select good ones and reject bad ones. I am making you a present of him. Assign him to whichever of your pupils you like, then make that pupil superintendent of your

19 Timothy I (d. 207/823), was patriarch of the Church of the East in 780–823; a prolific theologian and translator of Aristotle, he is also known for his theological debate with the caliph al-Mahdī; see Heimgartner, ‘Timothy I’.

hospital; you will find that it will be better run than would be the case if you had appointed me superintendent." I replied that I should be delighted to accept his present.'

'Dahishtak then returned home and sent his man to me. He was shown in, wearing a monk's habit. Upon examination, he appeared to be just as Dahishtak had described him. I asked him what his name was, and he replied that it was Māsawayh. At that time I was serving Hārūn al-Rashīd as his personal physician, while Dāwūd ibn Sarābīyūn was personal physician to Umm Ja'far.²⁰ As it happened, the house where Māsawayh lived was a considerable distance from mine, but not far from Dāwūd's. Dāwūd was a light-hearted, frivolous sort of fellow, and Māsawayh was subject to the weaknesses of the lower orders, so he revelled in the pleasures to which Dāwūd introduced him. It was not long before he came to me dressed quite differently, all in white. I asked him how he was doing, and he informed me that he was in love with a slave-girl who belonged to Dāwūd ibn Sarābīyūn, a Slav girl, he said, named Risālah. Would I buy her for him? I did buy the girl, for eight hundred dirhams, and gave her to Māsawayh, and she subsequently bore him two sons, Yūḥannā and his brother. Nor was that the end of the matter: having bought this Risālah for him, out of respect for his desire for offspring from her, I went on to treat his children as though they had been my own flesh and blood. I furthered their advancement and gave them precedence over the sons of noble practitioners and learned scholars of this profession. I saw to it that Yūḥannā was elevated to a position of responsibility, making him superintendent of the hospital and chief among my pupils. And now he repays me with this absurd allegation, which none can hear without cursing the one who uttered it, thereby giving vent to his own self-importance and talking arrant rubbish! It was precisely because of this sort of pernicious nonsense from jumped-up persons of the lower orders that the Persians strictly prohibited people from engaging in occupations other than those that had been practised by their fathers and grandfathers. To God we turn for help!

²⁰ Ghaḍīd, known as Umm Ja'far, was one of Hārūn al-Rashīd's favourite concubines, and an *umm walad* of his, i.e. the mother of one or more of his children whom he had recognized. See also Ch. 7.8.2.

8.26 Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh¹

[8.26.1]

Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh was a sagacious, learned physician, experienced in the art of medicine as well as a good stylist and the author of well-known treatises. He commanded the respect and enjoyed the favour of caliphs and kings.

[8.26.2]

Iṣḥāq ibn ‘Alī al-Ruhāwī,² in his book *The Practical Ethics of the Physician*, reports:

The physician ‘Īsā ibn Māssah³ said: ‘Abū Zakariyyā Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh told me that the practice of medicine had brought him a million dirhams and, after saying that, he lived another three years’.

Al-Wāthiq⁴ was avidly and tenaciously attached to Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh. One day Yūḥannā was drinking in his company when a cupbearer brought him a drink that was not pure and sweet, as was customary. This was a practice of cupbearers when they were insufficiently rewarded. When Yūḥannā drank the first cup he said: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, when it comes to tastes, I am very knowledgeable and expert, but the taste of this drink is unlike that of any others’.

The Commander of the Faithful was angry with the cupbearers, and announced: ‘They serve my physicians, and in my council gathering, with a drink like this!’ Because of this he ordered one hundred thousand dirhams to be given to Yūḥannā at once, and he told the chief steward, Samānah, to take him the money within the hour. In the afternoon, he asked Samānah if the money had been handed over. He replied ‘Not yet,’ and so the caliph doubled the sum. After the evening prayer he inquired about it again and was told that the money was not yet delivered. So he called Samānah and ordered him to send three hundred thousand dirhams. Samānah said to the treasurer: ‘Send out Yūḥannā’s money this minute or nothing will be left in the treasury.’ So the money was dispatched at once.

1 Ullmann, *Medizin*, 112–115; *ET*² art. ‘Ibn Māsawayh’ (J-C Vadet); Jacquart, ‘Ibn Māsawayh’. For his influence in Europe, where some spurious treatises circulated under his Latinized name Mesue, see Sournia & Troupeau, ‘Médecine arabe’; and De Vos, ‘The “Prince of Medicine”’.

2 See Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.), 149 (facs.), 164–165.

3 See Ch. 8.28.

4 The Abbasid caliph al-Wāthiq (r. 842–847).

[8.26.3]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān⁵ says:

Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh was a Syriac Christian. Hārūn al-Rashīd entrusted him with the responsibility of translating ancient books that he had found in Ancyra,⁶ Amorion,⁷ and other Byzantine cities captured by the Muslims. Yūḥannā served Hārūn, al-Amīn, and al-Ma'mūn and continued in that capacity until the reign of al-Mutawakkil.

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān also says:

The rulers of the Banū Hāshim (that is, the Abbasid caliphs) would not take any food unless he was present. He would stand near them with earthenware vessels holding sweets, digestives, and cooked hot dishes that strengthen the innate heat during winter, and in the summer with cooling beverages and sweets.

[8.26.4]

Ibn al-Nadīm, the bookdealer in Baghdad, says: Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh served as physician to al-Ma'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil.⁸

[8.26.5]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm says:⁹

The teaching sessions of Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh attracted the largest audience of any I have seen in the city of Baghdad, whether conducted by a physician or theologian or philosopher, for every type of educated person assembled there. Yūḥannā was endowed with a great capacity for being funny, which was part of the reason for the large gatherings. His impatience and irascibility surpassed even those of Jabrā'il ibn Bukht-

5 I.e. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aʿibbā'*, 65. Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 380.

6 Modern Ankara. The Byzantine town of Ancyra (Arabic Anqarah), on the northern edge of the central Anatolian steppe, *ET*² art. 'Anḳara' (F. Taeschner).

7 'Ammūriyah; the Arabic name for the stronghold of Amorion/Amorium (Syriac Amūrīn) on the military road from Constantinople to Cilicia, southwest of Ankara; the ruins are today called Asar Kale near modern Emirdağ district of Turkey. See *ET*², art. 'Ammūriya' (M. Canard), 1:449.

8 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:294.

9 See Ch. 8.3.6n15.

īshū‘, his sharpness expressing itself in droll statements. His teaching was especially enjoyable in the sessions when he examined phials of urine.

I, along with Ibn Ḥamdūn ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn ‘Alī, known as Abū l-‘Ibar Ṭarad,¹⁰ and Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl, known as Bayḍ al-Baḡhl (Mule’s Balls), took upon ourselves to memorise his witticisms. I made a pretence of studying the books on logic under his guidance, while the other two pretended to be his pupils studying Galen’s books on medicine.

Yūsuf also says:

One of the witticisms I recall from the time when he was examining [urine phials] is this:

A woman arrived and said to him: ‘Such and such a woman, and another, and yet another, send their greetings to you.’

He answered her: ‘I am better acquainted with the names of the people of Constantinople and Amorion (in the lands held by the Byzantines) than I am with those you have just named. Now show me your urine so that I can examine it for you!’

Yūsuf continues:

And I remember the following: A man complained to him about an illness whose remedy was bloodletting, and Ibn Māsawayḥ advised him to that effect. But the man said that he was not accustomed to bloodletting, to which he replied:

‘I do not think that there is anyone used to it while in his mother’s womb. Similarly, you were not accustomed to the illness before you became ill. Now that this has happened to you, you have to choose between enduring whatever illness nature has inflicted on you, or becoming accustomed to bloodletting so as to recover from it.’

¹⁰ Abū l-‘Abbās Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Hāshimī, known as Abū l-‘Ibar, was a burlesque poet, buffoon, and court jester who died in 252/866; see *ET*² art. ‘Abu ‘l-‘Ibar’ (J.E. Bencheikh).

[8.26.6]

Yūsuf also relates:

A man complained to him about scabies¹¹ that afflicted him. So Ibn Māsawayh directed him to draw blood from the median cubital vein¹² of the right arm, but he informed him that he had already done so. Then Ibn Māsawayh advised him to bleed the median cubital vein of the left arm as well, but the man informed him that he had also done that. So he ordered him to drink a decoction, but he said 'I already did'. Then Ibn Māsawayh ordered him to drink a stomach medicine aiding digestion,¹³ and again the man informed him that he had done it. Then he prescribed drinking cheese-water for a week and churned cow's milk for two weeks, but yet again the man informed him that he had done it.

Ibn Māsawayh then said to him: 'Nothing remains of the prescriptions given by physicians that you have not already done. There is one thing left, however, which was not mentioned by Hippocrates or Galen but which we have observed through experience can work, so try it, for I hope that it might bring about your recovery, God willing.' 'What is it?', the man asked. Ibn Māsawayh said: 'Buy two sheets of paper and cut both of them into small pieces. Then write on each piece of paper "*May God have mercy upon those who pray for the health of the afflicted*". Take half of them to the eastern mosque in Baghdad and the other half to the western mosque, and distribute them at the Friday gatherings. I hope God will answer their prayers, as no medical treatment has helped you.'

Yūsuf also recalls:

I was present when a priest of the church in which Yūḥannā received communion spoke to him and complained of indigestion. Yūḥannā told him to use a stomach-medicine made of nutmegs mixed with other things,¹⁴

11 *Jarab* can mean either a generalised scabies (a skin disease, often contagious, causing severe itching) or, when restricted to the eye, trachoma. It is unclear which is intended here, but probably scabies.

12 Arabic *akḥal*.

13 *Aṣṭumakhiqūn*, a digestive, an agent that improves appetite and digestion; a stomachic.

14 *Jawārishn al-khūzī* (so also in Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn* and Ibn al-Bayṭār) is a class of compound remedies acting as stomachics or remedies for stomach ailments. Perhaps the same as *jawārish* [sic] *jawzī*, the 'nutty stomachic' in Sābūr ibn Sahl, *Aḍudī recension*, 65 and 167 no. 139.

but he said he had already done that. So Yūḥannā said to use cumin,¹⁵ and the man said he had eaten great quantities of it. ‘Take *al-miqdādhīqūn*’.¹⁶ ‘I have consumed a jar of it.’ ‘Then take *al-marūsiyā*!’¹⁷ ‘I’ve used tons of it.’ Then Yūḥannā got angry and said to him: ‘If you wish to recover, then convert to Islam, for it is good for the stomach!’

[8.26.7]

Yūsuf also says:

Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh was afflicted by such a severe illness that his family despaired for him. Now the Christian custom when presented with someone for whom there is no hope is to have a group of monks, priests, and deacons read aloud around the bedside, and this was done for Yūḥannā. But Yūḥannā recovered while the monks were reciting, and so he said to them: ‘O offspring of wickedness, what are you doing in my house?’ They answered: ‘We were praying to our Lord to give you good health.’ But Yūḥannā replied to them: ‘One drop of rose-perfume is better than the prayers of all the people of Christendom from the beginning to the day of Resurrection. Get out of my house!’ And so they left.

Yūsuf again:

During the winter, a merchant complained to Yūḥannā in my presence of severe itching (*jarab*). Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh said: ‘This is not the right season for curing your illness. The treatment for this comes during the spring, when you must not eat anything spoilt, no fresh or salted fish, either small or large, and you must avoid all hot spices and herbs as well as dairy products.’ The man replied: ‘These are things that I simply cannot abstain from eating.’ Yūḥannā exclaimed: ‘If that is the case, then go on eating them and scratching your body, for if the Messiah came to you alone, you would not have benefited from his blessing, in view of your self-confessed greed!’

15 *Kammūn*. The seeds of cumin were used in a range of medical recipes, especially for stomach complaints; see Lev & Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 159–160.

16 Otherwise unknown stomach medicine. In the versions of Ibn al-Qiftī (*Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 386) and Barhebraeus (*Mukhtaṣar*, 131) it appears as *al-q.dādhīqūn* and *al-b.ndādhīqūn*.

17 Otherwise unknown stomach medicine. Cf. *amrūsiyā* (from ἀμβροσία) in Sābūr ibn Sahl, *Dispensatorium*, 39 no. 14.

[8.26.8]

Yūsuf adds:¹⁸

The Christians censured him for taking concubines. They said to him: ‘You have transgressed our religion, even though you are a deacon. Either you follow our code of conduct and confine yourself to one woman and remain our deacon, or you remove yourself from the office of deacon and take any number of concubines you like.’ To which he replied: ‘It is true that in one passage we are commanded not to take two women or two garments.¹⁹ But whoever made the Catholicos, that motherfucker,²⁰ more entitled to take twenty garments than the wretched Yūḥannā to take four concubines? So go tell your Catholicos that if he follows the rules of his religion, then we shall follow them along with him, but if he transgresses them, then we shall as well.’

Yūsuf also says:²¹

Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl used to joke a great deal with Yūḥannā.²² One day while we were in al-Mu‘taṣim’s army camp in Madā’in²³ in the year 220/835, Bukhtīshū‘ said to Yūḥannā, during one of Abū Ishāq’s²⁴ soirées: ‘O you, Abū Zakariyyā, my brother through my father’. Yūḥannā then said to Abū Ishāq: ‘O emir, be my witness to his acknowledgement of this, for, by God, I will take half his father’s inheritance’. At which Bukhtīshū‘ responded: ‘The offspring of adultery cannot inherit or bequeath, and Islam has prescribed stoning²⁵ for the adulterer’. At this, Yūḥannā was silent, for he had no answer.

18 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 387.

19 The ‘two coats’ seem to come from Matthew 10:9–11 ‘Take no gold, or silver, or copper in your belts, no bag for your journey, or two tunics, or sandals, or a staff; for labourers deserve their food’ (Revised Standard), while the clearest Biblical prohibition to polygamy may be 1 Cor. 7:2 ‘But because of cases of sexual immorality, each man should have his own wife and each woman her own husband’.

20 Literally, ‘the biter of his mother’s clitoris’.

21 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 387.

22 For Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl (d. 257/870) see Ch. 8.4.

23 An ancient town (Ctesiphon) 20 miles southwest of Baghdad; see *ET*² art. ‘Madā’in’ (M. Streck & M. Morony).

24 Probably Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī, the half-brother of al-Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd. He appears frequently in *IAU* and is regularly referred to as Abū Ishāq. He was still alive at this time, for he died in 226/839.

25 Bukhtīshū‘ quotes a Prophetic hadith (*li-l-‘āhir bi-l-ḥajar*, though the standard form of the

[8.26.9]

Yūsuf relates as well:²⁸

While in Egypt, Aḥmad ibn Hārūn al-Sharābī told me that the caliph al-Mutawakkil, during the caliphate of [his predecessor] al-Wāthiq, recounted to him that Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh had accompanied al-Wāthiq to a stone bench²⁹ he had alongside the Tigris River. Al-Wāthiq had a fishing rod with a hook that he cast into the Tigris in order to catch fish, but he caught nothing. He turned to Yūḥannā, who was on his right, and said: ‘Get away from my right side, you ill-omened man.’

Yūḥannā replied: ‘O Commander of the Faithful, do not say absurd things (*muḥāl*). Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh is from Khūzistān, and his mother was Risālah the slave, bought for eight hundred dirhams. Good fortune brought him up to be the fellow-drinker of caliphs, their participant in evening conversations, and their close companion – so much so that the riches of the world overwhelmed him, beyond all his expectations. It is absurd (*muḥāl*) to say that such a person is ill-omened. However, if the Commander of the Faithful wishes, I can tell him who really is an unlucky person.’ Al-Wāthiq said ‘And who is such a person?’, to which Yūḥannā replied: ‘He who is the descendant of four caliphs, to whom God entrusted the caliphate but who forsook its palaces and gardens to sit on a twenty-cubit-square stone bench alongside the Tigris River,³⁰ unprotected from the gale-winds that might drown him, in order to be like the poorest and lowest in the world, namely the fisherman.’

Aḥmad ibn Hārūn [al-Sharābī] told me that al-Mutawakkil told him that he observed the speech to have had an effect, even though al-Wāthiq stayed where he was.

Yūsuf adds:

Aḥmad ibn Hārūn also told me that on the same day and while sitting on this same stone bench, al-Wāthiq said to Yūḥannā: ‘O Yūḥannā, are

28 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 387, and in a summarized form also in Ibn Riḍwān’s *Maqālah fī sharaf al-ṭibb* (Istanbul MS Hekimoğlu 691 fol. 133a).

29 The word *dukkān* is in this context a variant form of *dikkah*; Lane (*Lexicon*, 900) gives it as a synonym of *dikkah*, saying it is a wide bench of stone or brick generally built against a wall; Clive Holes, *Dialect* i:180 says under *d-k-k* that it is a step or bench ‘on the sea-front’ for guests.

30 Literally ‘in the middle of the Tigris River’, which does not seem quite right.

you not astonished at this peculiar thing?' Yūhannā asked: 'What do you mean?', and al-Wāthiq replied: 'The fisherman waits for about an hour and then catches fish worth a dinar or so, while I sit here from morning to night and do not catch fish worth even one dirham.' Yūhannā answered: 'O Commander of the Faithful, your astonishment is misplaced. God gives the fisherman his living through catching fish, for this is the food for his family; the livelihood of the Commander of the Faithful, however, derives from the caliphate, and so he is not in need of any fish for a living. Were his living dependant on fishing, the fish would come to him the way they do to the fisherman.'

Yūsuf also reports:

Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī,³¹ the physician of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, told me that he was once in Yūhannā's antechamber awaiting his return from the sultan's palace. It was at the time when 'Īsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nūḥ ibn Abī Nūḥ,³² the scribe of al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān, had become a Muslim. Ibrāhīm said:

When Yūhannā returned, I stood up, along with a group of monks, but he shouted at us: 'Get out of my house, you offspring of adultery! Go and convert to Islam, for the Messiah has just been converted to Islam by al-Mutawakkil'.

[8.26.10]

Yūsuf also relates:

The Nubian chief Jarjah ibn Zakariyyā arrived at Samarra in the month of Ramadān in the year 221 [18 August–17 September 836], and he presented to the caliph al-Mu'taṣim some gifts, among which there were male monkeys (*qiradah*).³³ I was with Yūhannā on the second day of the month

31 Unidentified.

32 Relevant to the joke is that the convert's name could be rendered as 'Jesus, descendant of Abraham, descendant of Noah and his father'.

33 *Qiradah* is a not uncommon plural of *qird*, meaning a male monkey, sometimes translated as ape; see Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, 963, and Lane, *Lexicon*, 2512; the context does not allow the vocalization as *qirdah* 'female monkey'. The reference here is probably to a Barbary ape (*Macaca sylvanus*) or Hamadryas baboon (*Papio hamadryas*) rather than one of the smaller monkeys. The great apes or anthropoids were then unknown. See Savage-Smith, 'Galen's Account of the Cranial Nerves', 79–83; Savage-Smith, 'Attitudes towards Dissection', 84–86.

of Shawwāl in that year [18 September 836], and I was rebuking him for not being present at court, for I had seen that the physicians Salmawayh³⁴ and Bukhtīshū' and al-Ḥarīsh³⁵ had all come, when one of the Turkish servants came to us, and with him was one of the monkeys which the ruler of Nubia had brought as presents. I do not recall ever seeing a larger body (*juththah*) than this one. He said, 'The Commander of the Faithful says for you to mate this male monkey with Ḥamāḥim ('sweet-basil'), your female monkey,' for Yūḥannā had a female monkey that he called 'sweet-basil' (*ḥamāḥim*), and he could not endure an hour away from her. Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh was speechless with anger at this, but then he said to the messenger:

Tell the Commander of the Faithful that my keeping this female monkey is not for the reason the Commander of the Faithful thinks. Rather, I thought about dissecting her and composing a book in the style of Galen's writing on anatomy, and dedicating it to the Commander of the Faithful. But in her body the arteries are small and the veins and nerves thin, and I had no hope that things would become as clear in her as they would be in a large body. So I left her alone so that she might grow large and her body thicken. However, since this male monkey has been provided, the Commander of the Faithful should be informed that I shall write for him a book the likes of which has never been written in Islam.

Then he did that with the male monkey and published a book on it that was so excellent that even his enemies praised it, let alone his friends.³⁶

34 Salmawayh ibn Bunān (d. 225/840) was a Christian court physician to the caliph al-Mu'taṣim. Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq considered him the best physician of his day; see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 227. A biography of him occurs at Ch. 8.20.

35 The physician al-Ḥarīsh is unidentified.

36 This treatise by Ibn Māsawayh on anatomy, based on his own dissections, has not yet been identified. The only recorded treatise of his specifically on anatomy was preserved in a single manuscript that early in the twentieth century was in a private collection in Aleppo; its present location is unknown. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 235 no. 29.

[8.26.11]

Again from Yūsuf:

Yūḥannā once visited Muḥammad ibn Abī Ayyūb ibn al-Rashīd,³⁷ who had a fever that occurred every third day³⁸ that afflicted him on alternate days. Yūḥannā examined his urine and took his pulse, and then asked him about his condition – how he was in the evening, at night, and in the morning – until he got the whole story from him. Yūḥannā then said: ‘This fever of yours is one of the lightest forms of fevers as long as the patient does not eat noxious foods, for its most extreme form consists of seven bouts of fever but the most common form leaves after only four bouts. If however the patient eats noxious foods, the malady can change and sometimes be prolonged and on occasion even cause death.’

Ibn Abī Ayyūb replied: ‘Inform me about what you think is best to do, and I will not disobey you.’ Yūḥannā ordered him to confine himself to bread without the crust, soaked three times in warm water, to be eaten when his appetite was weak. When his appetite became stronger he could progress to vegetarian substitutes, such as pulses, pumpkin, orache,³⁹ cucumber, and the like, but he should avoid foods that he particularly craved. Muḥammad ibn Abī Ayyūb then said: ‘So, this is what you have said I can eat, but tell me what not to eat.’

Yūḥannā answered him: ‘The first thing I forbid you to eat is Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, then a she-mule, then the Catholicos, for his presence is necessary for the Christian community, and finally the two support boats (*zanbariyyatān*),⁴⁰ for they are the two boats on the eastern side of the pontoon bridge and without them the bridge is not safe.’

At that point Yūḥannā stood up, full of anger, swearing at me because I was the cause of his visiting Muḥammad ibn Abī Ayyūb.

37 A grandson of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His father Abū Ayyūb Muḥammad ibn al-Rashīd is mentioned in al-Šūlī’s *Awraq* (iii:94) and al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, v:143.

38 *Ḥummā muthallathah*.

39 *Sarmaq*, a variety or subspecies of *Atriplex*; a common name for some varieties was salt-bush or wild spinach.

40 *Zanbariyyah* is a technical term for a type of large, bulky, heavy boat to which things are anchored. In other words, a boat that supports and anchors pontoon bridges. All the bridges over the Tigris and Euphrates at this time were pontoon bridges.

[8.26.12]

Yūsuf continues:

Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Hādī,⁴¹ known as Ibn Mashghūf (Son of Moonstruck), had been ill for a very long time, and Abū l-'Abbās ibn al-Rashīd⁴² talked Yūḥannā into visiting him. Now Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān often expanded his talk with things whose falseness was not immediately apparent to the listener. So Yūḥannā went to him one day, and I went with him. The patient asked for advice about what he should take, and Yūḥannā replied: 'I was going to advise that you take whatever you do on a normal day, as long as I was satisfied that you wanted good health and well-being. However, since I am certain that you dislike good health and desire illness, I do not think it right to recommend anything.' To which Ibn Mashghūf replied: 'O fool! Who dislikes good health and desires illness?'

Yūḥannā then said to him: 'You do. And the proof of that is that throughout the world good health is comparable to truth, while disease is comparable to falsehood. Since most of the time you converse in falsehoods, your telling lies is the disease-matter⁴³ of your illness. How can you recover from a prolonged illness while most of the time you extend it though falsehoods that aggravate it? Stick to the truth for three days without telling a lie, and Yūḥannā will renounce the Messiah if you are not free from this illness before these three days are over.'

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm continues:

Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh had a son called Māsawayh, whose mother was the daughter of al-Ṭayfūrī, the grandfather of Isrā'īl the physician of al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān.⁴⁴ This Māsawayh resembled his father in his appearance, his speech, and his movements, only he was simple and took a long time to understand anything, and then would forget it a moment later. Yūḥannā used to make a show of loving his son as a precaution against the tongues of al-Ṭayfūrī and his children. But in fact he hated him even

41 A grandson of the caliph al-Hādī (r. 169/785–786), the immediate predecessor of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

42 A son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd; cf. 8.25.7.

43 *Māddah*.

44 For Isrā'īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī, see Ch. 8.12 above. Al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān was a close associate of al-Mutawakkil and was murdered together with him in 247/861; see *EI*² art. 'al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān' (O. Pinto).

more than he hated Sahl the Beardless, who had attacked his honour by claiming that he 'had put it in his mother's vagina'.⁴⁵

[8.26.13]

According to Yūsuf:

At the start of the year 217/832, Ṣāliḥ ibn Shaykh ibn 'Amīrah ibn Ḥayyān ibn Surāqah al-Asadī⁴⁶ came down with an illness that left him at the point of death. For that reason Yūḥannā went to visit him, but found him somewhat recovered. So there took place amongst us some story-telling, and one of the stories was the following:

'Amīrah, his grandfather, lost his full brother who did not leave any children, and the misfortune oppressed him greatly. After his brother's death, a concubine of his showed signs of pregnancy and so some of his grief was lessened. He took her into his home and gave her precedence over his own wife. She gave birth to a daughter, and he fostered the girl and gave her precedence over both his male and female children. When she grew up, he wished to find a suitable husband for her, but no one could ask for her in marriage unless he would submit to scrutiny of his lineage and examination of his character.

One of those wishing to ask for her in marriage was a cousin (*ibn 'amm*) of Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān ibn al-Ahtam al-Tamīmī. 'Amīrah was well acquainted with the looks of the youth and his lineage, so he said to him: 'My son, as to your lineage, there is no need to look into that, for you are a good match for my brother's daughter in that respect. But there can be no agreement for a marriage contract with my daughter without my learning the character of the man to whom she would be bound. If it is convenient for you, stay with me in my house for a year, during which time I shall discover your character traits, just as I have disclosed the lineage and characters of others. You will be made welcome and comfortable. But if that is not convenient for you, then go back to your people. I have already given orders for your move to be arranged and to transport everything you might need until your arrival with your belongings.'

45 Sahl the Beardless (Sahl al-Kawsaj) has a biography given by IAU at Ch. 8.15. In that biography, Sahl al-Kawsaj, by way of a merry prank, had claimed to have seduced Yūḥannā's mother and to be Yūḥannā's biological father. Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 388–391, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:22.

46 See al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab* (Caskel), table 50, where the lineage of Shaykh ibn 'Amīrah ibn Ḥayyān ibn Surāqah is found.

Şāliḥ continued:

I have heard from my father that my grandfather could not get through a single night with being tormented by conflicting views about the character of the man, one time concluding that the youth was the best possible, another time that he was the worst. The contradictions in his information compelled him to reject everything, and he abandoned the entire matter, on the basis that those who praised him were biased in his favour, while those who blamed him were biased against him. So, he wrote to Khālid as follows:

And now to the point of this letter. A certain person proposed to us a marriage contract with your niece, named such and such, the daughter of such and such. If his character is as good as his lineage, then he is a desirable partner for his wife-to-be, and blessings on him who agrees to the marriage contract. But I shall decide on the basis of what you think should be done about your cousin and your niece, and I will act upon your trusted advice, God willing.

Khālid wrote back:

I have understood what you wrote. My cousin's father was indeed both the best and the worst of my family – the best of them through his forgiveness of whoever wronged him and his generosity, but on the other hand he was debased through debauchery and contemptible morals. His mother was the loveliest of God's creatures and the most virtuous, except that she had a bad temper, was stingy and as dull-witted as I have ever seen. This cousin of mine inherited the bad qualities of both his parents but none of their good qualities. If you still wish to pursue the marriage after what I have disclosed to you, then very well. But if you now find it disagreeable, I hope that God might choose someone for our niece.

Şāliḥ then said:

When my grandfather read this, he ordered the man be fed, and when he was finished, he then placed him on a fast dromedary camel and assigned someone to lead him out of the city of Kufa.

[8.26.14]

Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm then continued:

I found this story wonderful and memorized it. When I left the house of Ṣāliḥ ibn Shaykh, I passed by the home of Hārūn ibn Sulaymān ibn al-Manṣūr. I entered with the usual greetings and encountered Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh there. Hārūn asked after my health and whom I had met recently, and so I told him of my visit to Ṣāliḥ ibn Shaykh. He said that I had been in a veritable goldmine of good, delightful stories and asked if I could remember one of them. So, I recounted this tale.

Yūḥannā responded: 'I'll be damned⁴⁷ if this story is not similar to one of myself and my son – more similar in fact than my son is to me. I have been afflicted with a long face, a high cranium, a broad forehead, and blue eyes, but I have been blessed with intelligence and a memory for everything that takes place within my hearing. The daughter of al-Ṭayfūrī was the most beautiful woman I had seen or heard of, although she was stupid and simple-minded, not comprehending what she said and not understanding what was said to her. Our son received all of our bad qualities and was not endowed with any of her⁴⁸ good qualities, and if it had not been for the great meddling of the authorities and their entering into what did not concern them, I would have dissected this son of mine while living, just as Galen dissected apes and humans, so that I might learn by means of his dissection the causes of his stupidity. I would have relieved people of his character, and I would have provided the people in the world with the knowledge of what I would have recorded in my book regarding the structure of his body and the pathways of his arteries and veins and nerves, carefully delineated. However, the authorities prevented it!⁴⁹

Indeed,⁵⁰ in my opinion, Abū l-Ḥusayn Yūsuf⁵¹ told this story to al-Ṭayfūrī and his children, sowing evil and strife between us, so that he could laugh at what would occur between us, and indeed things turned out as he had imagined they would.

47 The idiom is unclear here, but the intent is not. Compare al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, ii:219–220: *'alayhi wa-'alayhi in ghannāka illā ṣawtan wāḥidan ḥattā tanṣarifā, wa-'alayhi 'alayhi in ḥalaftu allā ubirra qasamaka.*

48 Ibn al-Qifṭī has 'our'.

49 Essentially identical account in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 390–391.

50 The story is very condensed compared with Ibn al-Qifṭī.

51 One would expect Abū l-Ḥasan Yūsuf (ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥābis ibn al-Dāyah).

[Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm continued:]⁵²

His son, Māsawayh ibn Yūḥannā, fell ill a few nights later. A messenger from al-Mu‘taṣim arrived from Damascus, in the days when he was there with [his father, the caliph] al-Ma’mūn, to request Yūḥannā’s immediate presence. [After seeing his son] Yūḥannā recommended blood-letting for him, while al-Ṭayfūrī and his sons Zakariyyā and Dāniyāl were of the opposite opinion. Yūḥannā performed the blood-letting on him and left for Syria on the following day. On the third day after his departure, Māsawayh died. At the funeral, al-Ṭayfūrī and his sons swore that Yūḥannā had intended to kill him, and they offered as proof what had been said in the home of Hārūn ibn Sulaymān.

[8.26.15]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have copied the following from the *Book of Gifts and Precious Things*⁵³ of Abū Bakr al-Khālidi and Abū ‘Uthmān al-Khālidi:

Abū Yahyā informed us that al-Mutawakkil told his courtiers and his fellow-drinkers that they should present gifts on the day he was to undergo blood-letting, and each one of them competed with the others in their gifts. Al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān gave him a slave-girl unequalled in beauty, elegance, and perfection. She arrived with a golden cup of the utmost beauty, a crystal jar having no like and filled with a drink beyond description, and a piece of paper on which was written:

When the Imam has finished his treatment,
 which was followed by health and being cured,
 Then there is for him no better medicine than drinking
 some of this wine from this bowl,
 And breaking the [jug’s] seal presented to him:
 This is wholesome after medication.

Al-Mutawakkil found that gift very elegant and beautiful. Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh was present at the time, and he said ‘O Commander of the

52 This portion of the long anecdote is also written on a separate sheet of paper in MS A and is missing from MS P.

53 The *K. al-Tuḥaf wa-l-hadāyā*, as it is generally known, was authored by two famous brothers known as al-Khālidiyyān, poets and men of letters, d. 380/990 and ca. 390/100, respectively; see al-Khālidiyyān, *al-Tuḥaf wa-l-hadāyā*, 3 where the anecdote is found in a similar wording. The epigram was apparently recycled for it is quoted in the same book on two other occasions, in similar anecdotes.

Faithful, by God, al-Faṭḥ is a better physician than I am. Do not fail to do as he advised!

[8.26.16]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – shall record some anecdotes about Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh:

The caliph al-Mutawakkil said to him one day, ‘I sold my house for two castles,’ to which Yūḥannā replied, ‘Delay your breakfast, O Commander of the Faithful’. Al-Mutawakkil intended to say ‘I ate dinner and it disagreed with me,’ because this is its equivalent in [the kind of riddle] called *taṣḥīf*. Ibn Māsawayh answered him with the treatment for what he had intended to say.⁵⁴

Ibn Ḥamdūn al-Nadīm⁵⁵ criticised Ibn Māsawayh in front of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. Ibn Māsawayh answered him saying ‘If your ignorance was replaced with intelligence, and then it was distributed amongst 100 black beetles, each one of them would be more intelligent than Aristotle’.

I found this in the book by Jirāb al-Dawlah:⁵⁶

Ibn Māsawayh the physician attended al-Mutawakkil, and al-Mutawakkil told one of his servants to collect urine from someone in a urine flask and show it to Ibn Māsawayh. When he examined it, he said ‘This is the urine of a mule.’ Al-Mutawakkil asked: ‘How do you know that it is the urine of a mule?’, to which Ibn Māsawayh responded: ‘Have the person who brought this come here so that I can see him and you can determ-

54 This is a highly conscious and extremely artificial way of riddling, based on the written words without diacritical dots, whereby e.g. *bayt* can stand for *bint*, *banat*, *yabuththu*, *nabt*, etc.: if one writes the caliph’s utterance without dots or spaces: *b’tbytybqşryn*, it can be re-dotted to *t’şytfdrny* (note that three “teeth” can stand for one *shūn*) = *ta’ashshaytu fa-darranī*. It is almost unimaginable that Yūḥannā could immediately have understood this, but there are similar anecdotes.

55 Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dāwūd ibn Ḥamdūn; see *EF²* art. ‘Ibn Ḥamdūn’ (J.C. Vadet). Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:295.

56 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:295, mentions this Jirāb al-Dawlah as the nickname of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Allūjah – Al-Şafadī (*Wāfi*, viii: 7) has ‘Allawayh, which could also be read as ‘Allūyah; al-Sijzī (*GAL S I*, 599) has b. ‘Alwīya aš-Şaġarī, wrongly – a musician and wit in the time of al-Muqtadir (early 4th/10th cent.), who wrote a book with anecdotes and jokes (*nawādir wa-madāḥīk*), entitled *Tarwīḥ al-arwāḥ wa-miftāḥ al-surūr wa-l-afrāḥ*.

ine whether I am right or wrong.' Al-Mutawakkil called for the slave, and when he was present Ibn Māsawayh said to him: 'What did you eat yesterday?'. The reply was 'barley bread and fresh water'. 'That, by God,' said Ibn Māsawayh, 'was the food my donkey had today!'

I copied this from a handwritten note of al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Buṭlān:⁵⁷

Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiẓ⁵⁸ and Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh met, as best I can remember, at the table of the vizier Ismā'īl ibn Bulbul.⁵⁹ Amongst the dishes offered were meat cooked in sour milk following a course of fish, and Yūḥannā avoided eating both. Al-Jāḥiẓ said: 'O shaykh, either the fish is of the same nature as the yoghurt (*laban*) or it is contrary to it. If they are opposites, then one is a cure for the other.⁶⁰ If they are of the same nature, then we can count this as eating just one of them until we are full.'

'By God,' said Yūḥannā, 'I am not an expert in speculative theology (*kalām*), O Abū 'Uthmān, but eat everything and see what happens in the morning.' Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiẓ ate in order to defend his argument, but during that night he was partially paralyzed.⁶¹ Yūḥannā commented: 'By God, this was the result of defective logic. What misled al-Jāḥiẓ was the idea that fish had the same nature as yoghurt. But even if we allow that the two of them had the same nature, their mixture had a potency that was not to be found in one of them alone.'

[8.26.17]

Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī⁶² records that al-Ḥusayn ibn Fahm said:

57 The physician al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdūn ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066) is given a biography in Ch. 10.38. The source of the anecdote is unclear.

58 Al-Jāḥiẓ, the famous Arab prose writer and author of works on *adab*, d. 255/869.

59 Ismā'īl ibn Bulbul, Abū l-Ṣāqir, vizier of the Abbasid caliph al-Mu'tamid; died 278/892.

60 *Dawā'*, a medicine or remedy, referring to the medical doctrine of curing by applying a substance possessing the opposite nature.

61 *Falaja*, to be temporarily or partially immobilised or paralyzed. Al-Jāḥiẓ famously suffered from *fālīj* in his old age; perhaps this story refers to al-Jāḥiẓ's first episode of a stroke or hemiplegia.

62 Author of the famous *Tārīkh Baghdād*, where the anecdote is also found: see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, iii:276.

Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, the author of *The Classes of Poets*,⁶³ came to us (in Baghdad) in the year 221/837 and he was afflicted with a severe illness. No-one failed to go and see him, and the most important people sent their physicians to him, one of them being Ibn Masāwayh. When he had felt his pulse and examined him, he said 'I do not detect as much illness as grief.' The patient replied: 'By God, it is not as if I have worldly desires, what with my eighty-two years! But humans are in a state of ignorance until they are made aware of this by illness. If I could stand for one time on Mount Arafat and visit the tomb of the Prophet, may peace be upon him, and perform some of things that are on my mind, then you would see that the severity of this would ease.' Ibn Māsawayh replied to him: 'Do not be grieved, for I detected in your arteries the innate heat and strength that, if God protects you in the present crisis, will give you ten more years to live.'

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Fahm concluded: 'His words were propitious, and he lived for ten years after that.'

Al-Ṣūlī records in the *Book of Folios*:⁶⁴

The caliph al-Ma'mūn went down to the Budandūn,⁶⁵ a river in the province of Tarsus. His brother, al-Mu'taṣim accompanied him and they settled there and put their feet in it to cool them, for the water was very cold, pure, and pleasing. Al-Ma'mūn said to al-Mu'taṣim: 'Right now I would like to eat Azadh dates and drink this cold water with them.' And

63 Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, traditionist and philologist of the Baṣra school, d. c. 231/845. See *EI*² art. 'Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī' (Ch. Pellat); Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*.

64 Al-Ṣūlī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yāhyā ibn al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, man of letters, court companion of several caliphs, expert on poetry and chess, d. 335/947; his main work was *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, 'a collection of accounts (*akhbār*) about the Abbasid caliphs and their poetry, and about their secretaries, ministers and poets'; see *EI*² art. 'al-Ṣūlī' (S. Leder). Three volumes of *Kitāb al-awrāq*, mostly on poets, including caliphs and Abbasid princes who made poetry, has been edited by J. Heyworth Dunne (London, 1934–1936), and a volume on the caliphate of al-Wāthiq, edited more recently (1998) in St Petersburg by Belyayev and Khalidov. This anecdote is not in the published volumes. Iḥsān 'Abbās brought together a handful of quotations from the *Kitāb al-Awrāq* that he found in Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-ṭalab fi ta'rikh Ḥalab* ('Abbās, *Shadharāt*, 403–427), but the anecdote is not there either. It is however close to one recounted in Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Tayfūr, *K. Baghdād*, 189.

65 It was on the Budandūn (also written al-Badandūn and Badhandūn), at a fortress at the Cilician Gates, that the caliph al-Ma'mūn died in 218/833 while on campaign against the Byzantines. The modern Turkish name for the river is Bozanti.

immediately he heard the sound of the post-horses' riggings and bells and someone calling 'This is Yazīd ibn Muqbil of the Iraqi courier system.' He produced a large silver tray with fresh dates on it, and al-Ma'mūn was astonished that his wish had been fulfilled. The two of them ate and drank water and then got up. Al-Ma'mūn took his leave and had a short rest, but then rose from that with a fever. Blood-letting was performed, but on his neck there appeared a swelling of a type he had had before, which the physician treated by letting it 'ripen', open up, and then heal. Al-Mu'taṣim said to the physician, who was Ibn Māsawayh, 'What a peculiar situation we find ourselves in! For you are a physician outstanding and unparalleled in his craft, and yet this swelling repeatedly returns to the caliph. Can you not destroy it and alleviate it by cutting it out so that it does not return? By God, if this affliction returns, then I will have you beheaded!'

Ibn Māsawayh was taken aback⁶⁶ by this speech of al-Mu'taṣim and he left. He later related the event to someone whom he trusted, and the man said: 'Did you detect what al-Mu'taṣim's purpose was?' 'No', was the reply. 'He had directed you to kill him [al-Ma'mūn] so that the swelling would not return. It could be only that, for he knows that a physician cannot keep diseases from attacking people. Indeed, he told you not to let him live by saying that the disease should not return.'

Then Ibn Māsawayh made his excuses and ordered a student of his to attend al-Ma'mūn in his place and examine the swelling. The student returned each day and informed him of al-Ma'mūn's condition and new developments. Then he ordered the student to open the swelling, but the latter exclaimed 'May God protect you! It has not reddened and has not reached the stage of suppuration.' Ibn Māsawayh said to him: 'Go on and open it, as I've told you to do, and do not consult again with me.' And so the student did as directed and opened it, but al-Ma'mūn died, may God have mercy on him.⁶⁷

[8.26.18]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah concludes:

I say that Ibn Māsawayh acted in that way because he was deficient in virtue, in religion, and fidelity. He was not a Muslim, but he did not even hold

66 The meaning of *fa-istaṭraqa* is uncertain.

67 On the suggested intentional killing of al-Ma'mūn, see Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography*, 51–52; Cooperson, *al-Ma'mūn*, 121; Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 112–121.

to his own religion, as is evident from the stories given above related by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm. No sensible person should give credit to, nor a prudent person rely upon, someone who does not have a religion which he follows and to which he is bound.

Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh died in Surra Man Raʿā⁶⁸ on Monday, the 25th of Jumādā II in the year 243 [19 October 857] during the reign of al-Mutawakkil.

[8.26.19]

Some of the sayings of Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh:

1. When asked about what was good without any accompanying evil, he replied: 'Drinking a small amount of a wine that is pure.'
2. When asked about what is evil without any good, he said 'Having intercourse with an old woman.'
3. 'Eating apples restores the soul.'
4. 'You should have food that is new and wine that is old.'

[8.26.20]

The following books were written by Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh:⁶⁹

1. The book of proof (*K. al-Burhān*), in thirty chapters.
2. The book of discernment (*K. al-Baṣīrah*).
3. The book of completeness and totality (*K. al-Kamāl wa-l-tamām*).
4. The book of fevers (*K. al-Ḥummayāt mushajjar*), in branch-diagram format; and he also wrote:
5. The large book on medicine (*K. al-Mushajjar al-kabīr fī l-ṭibb*), in branch-diagram format.⁷⁰
6. On foodstuffs (*K. al-Aghdhiyah*).⁷¹
7. On beverages (*K. al-Ashribah*).
8. The handbook of prescriptions and treatments (*K. al-Munjiḥ fī l-ṣifāt wa-l-ʿilājāt*).
9. On phlebotomy and cupping (*K. fī l-faṣd wa-l-ḥijāmah*).
10. On leprosy (*K. fī l-judhām*), the first book to be written on the topic.

68 I.e., Sāmarrāʾ, Samarra.

69 For further information on his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 235–236; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 113, 114, 119, 205; Levey, 'Ibn Māsawaih and his Treatise on Simple Aromatic Substances'. Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn al-Nadīm list only 19 of these works, hence were not IAU's source here.

70 *Mushajjar* could also mean decorated, suggesting that in this context the text was illustrated with plants; compare Sezgin, *GAS* III, 233 n. 5.

71 See Troupeau, 'Le premier traité arabe de diététique'.

11. On precious stones (*K. al-Jawāhir*).
12. The book of excess weight (*K. al-Rujhān*).⁷²
13. The preparation and administration of laxatives (*K. fī Tarkīb al-adwiyah al-mus'hilah wa-islāḥihā*), with details of each drug and its benefits.
14. The avoidance of harmful foods (*K. Daf' maḍārr al-aghdhiyah*).
15. On unexpected outcomes that would have defeated anyone else (*K. fī Ghayr mā sh'ā mim mā 'ajaza 'anhu ghayruhū*).
16. On the complete secret (*K. fī l-Sirr al-kāmil*).
17. On entering the bath and its benefits and disadvantages (*K. fī Dukhūl al-ḥammām wa-manāfi'ihā wa-maḍārrihā*).
18. Poisons and their treatment (*K. al-Sumūm wa-'ilājihā*).
19. The book of brocade (*K. al-Dībāj*).
20. The seasons (*K. al-Azminah*).⁷³
21. On cooked food (*K. al-Ṭabīkh*).
22. On headache and its causes and its pains and all of its medicaments and on vertigo and the causes of each type and all the therapies (*K. fī al-Ṣudā' wa-'ilalihi wa-awjā'ihī wa-jamī' adwiyatihi wa-l-sadar wa-l-'ilal al-muwallidah li-kull naw' minhu wa-jamī' 'ilājihī*), composed for 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir.
23. Vertigo and dizziness (*K. al-Sadar wa-l-duwār*).
24. A book explaining why physicians should avoid treating pregnant women during certain months of their pregnancy (*K. lima imtana'a al-aṭibbā' min 'ilāj al-ḥawāmīl fī ba'd shuhūr ḥamlihinna*).
25. The examination of the physician (*K. Miḥnat al-ṭabīb*).
26. Knowledge of the oculists' examination (*K. Ma'rifat miḥnat al-kaḥḥālīn*).
27. The defectiveness of the eye (*K. Daghil al-'ayn*).⁷⁴
28. On taking the pulse (*K. Majassat al-'urūq*).
29. On the voice and hoarseness (*K. al-Ṣawt wa-l-buḥḥah*).
30. On barley water (*K. Mā' al-sha'īr*).
31. On black bile (*K. al-Mirrah al-sawdā'*).
32. The treatment of infertile women so that they will become pregnant (*K. Ilāj al-nisā' allawātī lā yaḥbalna ḥattā yaḥbalna*).
33. The embryo (*K. al-janīn*).
34. Regimen for good health (*K. Tadbīr al-aṣiḥḥā'*).

⁷² *Al-rujhān* may be a technical term in weights and measures.

⁷³ On astrological medicine; for a French translation, see Sbath, 'Le livre des temps d'Ibn Massawaih'; Troupeau, 'Le livre des temps de Jean Ibn Māsawayh'.

⁷⁴ Partial German translation by Meyerhof & Prüfer, 'Augenheilkunde des Jūhannā ibn Māsawaih'.

35. On the toothbrush and toothpowders (*K. fī l-Siwāk wa-l-sanūnāt*).
36. The stomach (*K. al-Mī'dah*).
37. On colic (*K. al-Qūlanj*).
38. A book of medical axioms (*K. al-Nawādir al-ṭibbiyyah*).⁷⁵
39. Anatomy (*K. al-Tashrīh*).
40. The administration of laxatives according to seasons and according to temperaments (*K. fī Tartīb saqy adwiyah al-mus'hilah bi-ḥasab al-azminah wa-bi-ḥasab al-amzījah*), and how they should be consumed, by whom and when, how to strengthen the drug when it is weak, and how to avoid severe diarrhoea when taken immoderately.
41. The structure of man, and his component parts and the number of his organs, his joints, his bones, and his blood vessels, as well as knowledge of the causes of pains (*K. Tarkīb khalq al-insān wa-ajzā'ihī wa-'adad a'ḍā'ihī wa-mafāsilihī wa-'izāmihī wa-'urūqihī wa-ma'rifat asbāb al-awjā'*), which he composed for al-Ma'mūn.
42. A book of substitutes (*K. al-Abdāl*).
43. Aphorisms he wrote for Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq after he had enquired about the topics discussed (*Fuṣūl katabahā li-Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq ba'da an sa'alahū al-madhkūr dhālika*).
44. Melancholia and its causes, symptoms and treatment (*K. al-Mālikhūliyā wa-asbābihā wa-'alāmātihā wa-'ilājihā*).
45. A summary of medicine in which there is gathered together what is known to Persian and Byzantine physicians (*K. Jāmi' al-ṭibb mim mā ijta-ma'ā 'alayhi aṭibbā' Fāris wa-l-Rum*).
46. The method for curing (*K. al-Ḥilah li-l-bur'*).

8.27 Mikhā'il ibn Māsawayh¹

[8.27.1]

Mikhā'il ibn Māsawayh, the brother of Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, was personal physician to the caliph al-Ma'mūn.

75 For a French translation, see Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh, *Le Livre des axiomes médicaux*.

1 Neither Sezgin nor Ullmann indicates any bibliographic references to Mikhā'il ibn Māsawayh. There is a notice on him in Ibn al-Qiftī (*Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 328–329), who reports that he learnt all he knew from experience and read nothing. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

[8.27.2]

The following account quotes Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, a client of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī.²

Discussion with this physician was not a pleasant experience, for he never presented evidence in support of his allegations, and he distrusted any innovation that was of less than two hundred years' standing, regardless of the views of other physicians. He would not use oxymel if the rose petals had been prepared with anything but honey, nor would he use rose water unless it had been made from rose petals steeped in hot water, with no sugar. Indeed, he would not use anything at all that had not been used by the great physicians of olden times. I asked him one day what he thought of bananas, 'I have never found them referred to in the works of the great men of olden times,' he replied, 'and consequently I should not venture either to consume them myself or to advise other people to eat them.' Al-Ma'mūn thought highly of him and gave him preference over Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū', so much so that he would address him familiarly as 'Abū so-and-so,' rather than formally by his given name. The caliph would take no medicine that had not been compounded and finished by Mikhā'il. Every physician in Baghdad would treat him more respectfully than anyone else. I have observed this with my own eyes.

[8.27.3]

Another account from Yūsuf:

Mikhā'il ibn Māsawayh, along with a number of other eminent physicians, attended Shiklah³ at the home of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī in mid-Shawwāl in the year 220 [October 835]. The lady was ill, and the caliph al-Mu'taṣim⁴ had summoned these physicians to determine how she was faring and to report back to him. They had all gone to examine her the previous day, scrutinizing her urine and taking her pulse; now, on this day, they examined her again, and they all said that she was on the mend, and that they had no doubt that she would recover. The thought crossed my mind that in thus pronouncing her in good health, they were seeking, or

2 A brother of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and briefly caliph himself in 202–203/817–818; see *ET*² art. 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī' (D. Sourdel). For the story, cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 329.

3 One of al-Mahdī's concubines, and Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī's mother.

4 Brother of and successor to al-Ma'mūn; r. 218–227/833–842.

at any rate most of them were seeking, to please Abū Ishāq.⁵ Accordingly, I followed them when they left and questioned each of them individually about what he really thought about Shiklah's condition. They all told me what they had told the caliph, except Salmawayh ibn Bunān and Mikhā'il. Salmawayh said she was worse than she had been the previous day, while Mikhā'il said to me, 'Yesterday, there was a swelling in the vicinity of her heart; today, we did not observe it. Has that swelling sunk into the ground, do you think, or flown off into the sky? You had better make the necessary preparations for this lady's funeral; she will not last the night.' In the event, she died at the time of the last evening prayer, about ten hours after Mikhā'il had spoken those words to me.

[8.27.4]

A further account from Yūsuf:⁶

I have heard at first hand from Mikhā'il ibn Māsawayh that after al-Ma'mūn had gone to Baghdad,⁷ he and Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn⁸ were regular drinking companions. One day, as they sat with some Qutrabbul⁹ date-wine before them, the caliph said to Ṭāhir, 'Have you ever seen such date-wine as this, Abū l-Ṭayyib?' 'Yes, I have,' he replied. 'The colour, the taste, the smell, all as good as this?' 'Yes, Sire,' said Ṭāhir. 'Where, then?' asked the caliph, and when Ṭāhir explained that he had had equally good date-wine in Būshanj,¹⁰ al-Ma'mūn said that he would like to have some of it.

Accordingly, Ṭāhir wrote to his factor, instructing him to have some of the date-wine sent to him. In due course, a messenger arrived from al-Nahrawān,¹¹ informing the caliph that some wine from Būshanj had been delivered to Ṭāhir. The caliph naturally expected the latter to bring him his date-wine, but day after day went by and it never appeared. Finally al-Ma'mūn asked him point-blank, 'Have you by any chance received some

5 The caliph; his *kunya* was Abū Ishāq.

6 Cf. again Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 329.

7 After his victory over his brother, the caliph al-Amīn, in 198/813.

8 A general who had played an important role in al-Ma'mūn's victory in the civil war and was subsequently appointed governor of the western provinces, and later became chief of police in Baghdad. He was the founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty of governors of Khorasan. See *EI*² art. 'Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn' (C.E. Bosworth).

9 A village not far from Baghdad celebrated for the excellence of its wine.

10 Ṭāhir's native place, a town in eastern Persia. See *EI*² art. 'Būshandj' (W. Barthold & B. Spuler).

11 A town and system of canals further down the Tigris.

date-wine in your postbag lately, Abū l-Ṭayyib?' 'I beseech you, O Commander of the Faithful,' said Ṭāhir, 'do not overwhelm me with disgrace and humiliation.' 'Whatever do you mean?' asked the caliph. 'The wine of which I told the Commander of the Faithful,' answered Ṭāhir, 'was some that I had drunk when I was poverty-stricken and living in a village that I hoped I might some day own; I had no higher aspiration. O Commander of the Faithful, God has now granted me more than I could ever have hoped for, and when I received that wine, I tasted it, and found that it was bad beyond words.' 'Bring me some of it none the less,' said al-Ma'mūn, and when Ṭāhir brought him a flask of it, the caliph ordered the word 'Ṭāhirī' inscribed upon the flask, by way of poking fun at Ṭāhir, whose dreadful wine it was, and the flask stored in the cellars.

There it remained for two years. One day, however, al-Ma'mūn's doctors prescribed an emetic, and told him that there was no better emetic than bad date-wine. Someone remembered that that Ṭāhirī wine was reputed to be the worst in all Iraq, so the flask was brought up from storage. But when the caliph tasted it, he found it to be as good as Quṭrabbul date-wine, if not better. The air of Iraq had done wonders for it, as it does for all crops and the products that are pressed from them.

8.28 Ṭīsā ibn Māssah¹

Ṭīsā ibn Māssah was one of the outstanding physicians of his age and a distinguished practitioner of the art of medicine. He was particularly skilful in the way he treated his patients.

The following is a list of his works in the field of medicine:²

1. On the effectiveness of foods (*K. quwā l-aghdhīyah*).
2. What to do when you cannot consult a doctor (*K. man lā yaḥḍuruhū ṭabīb*).
3. Questions on offspring and descendants (*Masā'il fī l-nasl wa-l-dhurriyah*).

¹ For bibliographic references to Ṭīsā ibn Māssah, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 257; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 122–123. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. In writing Māssah with a doubled 's', we follow Brockelmann, Sezgin and Ullmann. Ibn Māssah was one of the sources of al-Ruhāwī's *Adab al-Ṭabīb*, from which IAU often quotes.

² Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn al-Nadīm only list two works, hence were not IAU's source here.

4. A work in which the author explains why he refrained from treating pregnant women and other matters (*K. yukhbiru fīhi bi-l-sabab alladhī mtanaʿa bihī min muʿālahat al-ḥawāmil wa-ghayr dhālika*).
5. On the rising of the stars mentioned by Hippocrates (*K. fī ṭulūʿ al-kawākib allatī dhakarāhā Buqrāt*).
6. On bleeding and the art of cupping (*K. fī l-faṣd wa-l-ḥijāmah*).
7. On the use of the bath (*R. fī stiʿmāl al-ḥammām*).

8.29 Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq¹

[8.29.1]

This is Abū Zayd Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-ʿAbādī, the first vowel of the *nisbah* being ‘a’ and the ‘b’ undoubled.² The word ‘*abād*’ denotes a number of ancient Arab tribes in al-Ḥīrah³ that embraced Christianity. The relative adjective is ‘*abādī*’.⁴ A poet has said,⁵

[Wine,] poured for you by a fawn from the Banū l-ʿIbād,⁶
who holds his feast day on Sunday.

1 For bibliographic references to Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 247–257; *GAS* IV, 337–338; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 115–119, 205–206, and *passim*; *DSB* art. ‘Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-ʿIbādī, Abū Zayd’ (G.C. Anawati & A.Z. Iskandar); Gutas, ‘Scholars’, 680–704. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. The autobiographical portions of this entry were translated by Michael Cooperson in Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, 107–118; see also Cooperson, ‘Purported Autobiography’.

2 It is generally agreed that the name is actually al-ʿIbādī; see *EI* *Three* art. ‘Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-ʿIbādī’ (G. Strohmaier): ‘His *nisba* al-ʿIbādī indicates that he hailed from the Christian Arab community in al-Ḥīra, the old city of the Lakhmid kings in Southern Iraq, being thus a member of the Syrian “Apostolic Church of the East”, often called Nestorian.’ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, *BD*, mentions al-ʿAbād as an alternative, but it is generally considered an error (e.g. al-Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs*).

3 A town on the Euphrates, southwest of the modern Najaf, in Iraq. It was the capital of the Lakhmid dynasty during the three centuries before the advent of Islam. See *EI*² art. ‘al-Ḥīra’ (A. Beeston & I. Shahīd).

4 Cf. Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 250: ‘with regard to their shameful label of “servants” (using the term *ʿibād*), they were a Christian Syrian sect who aligned themselves with Christianity but lived apart from people in forts they established outside al-Ḥīrah. They called themselves *ʿibād* because the word may only be applied to the Creator whereas the term *ʿabād* (‘servants’) may be applied to the created and the creator’. Cf. also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 172–173.

5 Metre: *munsariḥ*. The poet is Abū Nuwās; see his *Dīwān*, iii:105.

6 I.e., by a young Christian boy.

Ḥunayn was a fluent, eloquent speaker and an accomplished poet. He lived for a time in Basra, where he studied Arabic grammar with al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad.⁷ Subsequently, he removed to Baghdad and acquired an unrivalled mastery of the art of medicine.

[8.29.2]

The following account is taken from Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm.⁸

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq was diligent and keenly interested in learning the art of medicine, but his initial experience in that connection was unfortunate. Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh gave courses in the subject which were attended by educated persons of every kind. I used to see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, the translator, reading, under Yūḥannā's guidance, *On the sects*,⁹ the title of which in both Greek and Syriac is *Peri haireseōn*. At that time, Ḥunayn was constantly asking questions, much to Yūḥannā's annoyance. Another factor that did not endear him to his teacher was the fact that Ḥunayn came of a family of money-changers in al-Ḥīrah, for the people of Gondēshāpūr, and in particular its physicians, looked down on the people of al-Ḥīrah and did not encourage tradesmen's sons to enter their profession. It so happened one day that Ḥunayn asked Yūḥannā a question about a passage that he had read, which he was having some trouble understanding. Yūḥannā lost his temper. 'The people of al-Ḥīrah are not fit to learn the art of medicine!' he said. 'You would do better to go to so-and-so, who is a relative of yours, and borrow fifty dirhams from him. For one dirham you can buy some little baskets; for three more, you can buy some orpiment.¹⁰ Spend the rest on copper coins of Kufa and al-Qādisiyyah, coat them with orpiment, put them into the baskets, and then sit by the roadside crying 'Fine coins for alms and gratuities!' You will make a better living selling such coins than you ever will by practising this profession. Leave my house!' So Ḥunayn departed for home in tears, humiliated and downcast.

7 A 2nd/8th cent. philologist, father of the science of Arabic grammar and metrics. But Ḥunayn cannot have studied under him, since al-Khalīl died before Ḥunayn was born.

8 I.e., Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah. A source frequently quoted by IAU; see Ch. 8.3.6 n. 15. Cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 174–175.

9 *De sectis*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 4.

10 *Zarnīkh*, a sulphide of arsenic, deep yellow in colour, formerly widely used as a pigment, and also of interest to alchemists because of its resemblance to gold.

We saw no more of him for two years. It so happened, however, that the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd had a Roman slave-girl named Kharshā whom he valued highly and had appointed to a post as storewoman. She had a sister (or it may have been a niece) who sometimes brought the caliph an item of clothing or something else that Kharshā kept in her wardrobes. Al-Rashīd noticed eventually that he had not seen her for some time, and asked Kharshā what had become of her, whereupon Kharshā informed him that she had given the girl in marriage to a kinsman. ‘What!’ said the caliph angrily, ‘without first obtaining my permission and purchasing her? for she is my property,’ and he ordered Sallām al-Abrash¹¹ to ascertain the identity of the husband and to chastise him. Sallām soon ran him to earth, and, without so much as saying a word to him, had him seized, thrown down and castrated without further ado. However, the girl had already conceived by him, and in due course gave birth to a son, about the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s expedition to Tus,¹² in the course of which the caliph died. Kharshā adopted the boy and brought him up in the Roman fashion, with the result that he spoke perfect Greek and was able to read works written in that language. His name was Ishāq, and he was known familiarly as Ibn al-Khaṣīy, that is, ‘son of the eunuch’.

[8.29.3]

We would often meet at literary gatherings, and that, I felt, gave him a certain claim on me, so once when he fell ill, I went to visit him. There at his home, what should I see but a man with such a head of hair that it partially covered his face, so that I could not tell who he was. He was walking up and down, reciting some Greek poetry by Homer, the greatest of all the Greek poets, and the sound of his voice put me in mind of Ḥunayn, whom I had not seen for two years and more. ‘That’s Ḥunayn!’ I said to Ishāq ibn al-Khaṣīy. He said no it wasn’t, but did not sound as though he meant it. I addressed the hirsute man tentatively: ‘Ḥunayn?’ and he acknowledged that it was indeed he. ‘The son of that whore Risālah,’¹³ he went on, ‘said

11 Mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 244) as one of the early translators at the time of the ascendancy of the Barmak family.

12 Ṭūs: an ancient city in the Razavi Khorasan [Raḍawī Khurāsān] Province of Iran. It is located near Mashhad. To the ancient Greeks, it was known as Sousia. Hārūn al-Rashīd died there in 193/809 while leading an army to Khorasan in an effort to quell a rebellion that had broken out there. See *ET*² art. ‘Hārūn al-Rashīd’ (F. Omar).

13 Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh. Māsawayh had fallen in love with a slave-girl belonging to the physician Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn, a Slav girl named Risālah. Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘ purchased

that no 'Ibādī was capable of learning the art of medicine. May I renounce the Christian religion if I undertake the study of medicine before I have achieved a more comprehensive mastery of the Greek language than anyone else in this age! No one knows about this apart from my brother here, and if it had occurred to me that you might realize who I was, I should have kept out of your way. But now that my disguise no longer deceives you, I must ask you to keep my identity to yourself.'

After that, it was a good three years, perhaps closer to four, before I saw him again. I had gone to call on Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū,¹⁴ who had just come down from al-Ma'mūn's camp¹⁵ shortly before the caliph's death, and there in his house was none other than Ḥunayn. He had been translating parts of one of Galen's works on anatomy: a Roman editor had taken the work in question and divided it up into sections, and Ḥunayn had translated a number of these sections for Jibrīl. Jibrīl was addressing him with the utmost respect as 'Rabban ('teacher') Ḥunayn.' Seeing my astonishment at this spectacle, Jibrīl said to me, 'You need not consider that I am showing this young fellow undue respect. I tell you, if God preserves him, he will outshine not only Sergius but other translators as well.' I should explain here that the Sergius to whom Jibrīl was alluding was Sergius of Resh 'Aynā,¹⁶ who was the first to translate a number of Roman scientific works into the Syriac language. I remained at Jibrīl's house for quite a long time after Ḥunayn had left, but when I did leave, I found him outside the front door, where he had been waiting for me to appear. After greeting me, he said, 'I once asked you not to divulge what I had been up to, but now I should like you to make the matter known, including what you have just heard Abū 'Īsā say about me.' 'I shall be making Yūḥannā feel like a fool when I tell him how I heard Abū 'Īsā praise you to the skies,' I said. 'To make him feel even more of a fool, show him this,' said Ḥunayn, taking from his sleeve a copy of the translation he had done for Jibrīl, 'without telling him that it was I who translated it, and then, once you see that he

her and gave her to Māsawayh, to whom she subsequently bore two sons, Yūḥannā and Mīkhā'il. The story is told in the biography of Māsawayh Abū Yūḥannā earlier in Ch. 8.25.

14 His biography has been given earlier at Ch. 8.3.

15 The caliph al-Ma'mūn had led an expedition against the Byzantine stronghold of 'Ammū-riyah (Amorium), southwest of Ankara in present-day Turkey, in the year of his death, 218/833.

16 Sergius of Rēsh 'Aynā (d. 536), an important translator of Greek medical texts into Syriac; his biography was given earlier in Ch. 9.24. Rēsh 'Aynā is the modern Ra's al-'Ayn in al-Ḥasakah Governorate, Syria.

thinks it really excellent, *then* tell him.' I hastened to show the manuscript to Yūḥannā that very day, without so much as going home first.

Having read those selections, which covered that part of the work that the Greeks¹⁷ know as the 'Factors', he expressed the utmost astonishment. 'Is it possible for someone in our present age to be inspired by Christ, do you think?' he said. 'No,' I replied, 'neither in our present age nor in any other. Christ has never inspired anyone; it is he himself who was inspired.' 'Spare me the sermon,' said Yūḥannā, 'I am sure this could have been produced only with the help of the Holy Ghost.' 'As a matter of fact,' I said, 'it is the work of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, whom you ordered out of your house and advised to sell doctored copper coins.' 'Impossible!' he gasped. At length, however, he realized that I must be speaking the truth, and he begged me to use my good offices to effect a reconciliation between himself and Ḥunayn. I was able to bring this about, and from then on Yūḥannā treated Ḥunayn with the utmost respect and generosity, showering him with benefits. I observed this to be the case without interruption until I left Iraq in the year 225/840.

This is everything that is recorded by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm.

[8.29.4]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say that Ḥunayn and Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh were closely associated from then on. Ḥunayn became Yūḥannā's pupil and studied the art of medicine under his tutelage. At the same time, he translated numerous medical works for Yūḥannā, including works by Galen in particular, producing Syriac versions of some of them and Arabic versions of others.¹⁸

Ḥunayn possessed a more complete mastery of the Greek, Syriac and Persian languages than any of his contemporaries. His knowledge and skills set him apart from the other translators of the age. In addition, he worked tirelessly to perfect his Arabic, and ultimately attained a position of eminence as an expert on that language as well.

17 Marginal note in MS A: 'Variant reading: those speaking Syriac'. The Arabic title is *al-fā'ilāt*, 'factors', 'effectors', *vel sīm*. It appears that the selections (*fuṣūl*) are part of 'one of Galen's works on anatomy', but it is not clear what the reference is. Equivalents of *fā'il* ('effective', 'productive', 'active') in Greek (e.g. *drastikos*, *poiētikos*) tend to be used of qualities or faculties rather than, say, of muscles or bones that do things, and so the reference might be to a work like *On the Natural Faculties* or *On the Use of the Parts*.

18 Marginal note in MS A: 'Here ends the second of the parts into which the author's draft copy is divided.'

[8.29.5]

The caliph al-Ma'mūn once reported that he had had a dream in which he seemed to see a distinguished-looking elderly gentleman sitting upon a pulpit, preaching; his name, he said, was Aristotle.¹⁹ At that point, al-Ma'mūn awoke. Curious about his dream, he made enquiries as to who Aristotle was, and was informed that he had been a wise man of the Greeks. The caliph then had Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq summoned (for he knew of no other translator of comparable skill) and asked him to prepare Arabic translations of the works of the Greek philosophers. In return, he rewarded him lavishly with gold, silver and presents in abundance.

I have taken the following account from a manuscript in the handwriting of al-Ḥasan ibn al-'Abbās, known as al-Ṣanādiqī,²⁰ may God have mercy upon him, here quoting Abū Sulaymān,²¹ who in turn attributes the story to Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī.²² In the latter's own words:

Al-Ma'mūn said that he had seen in a dream, as one who is asleep may seem to see, a man seated on a chair in the room in which he held his audiences. 'His appearance was so impressive that I was awestruck,' al-Ma'mūn reported afterward, 'so I asked who he was, and was told that he was Aristotle. I shall ask him a question, I said to myself, and did so forthwith: "What is the good?" I asked. "That which reason tells us is good," he replied. "Then what?" I asked. "What revealed law (Sharia) tells us is good," he said. "Then what?" I asked. "What the mass of the people consider to be good," he answered. "Then what?" he himself added. "Then there is no then," he said.'

This dream proved to be an important stimulus to the production of learned works. The caliph wrote to the Roman Emperor requesting his permission to select such scientific works of the ancients as were kept in the land of the Romans and have them brought to his capital. This was after al-Ma'mūn had defeated the Roman Emperor.²³ The Emperor

19 On the different versions of the famous dream about Aristotle, see Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 95–104.

20 Unidentified. Cf. with different wording, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:141–142 (English translation in Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage*, 48–49).

21 Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī al-Manṭiqī, the 4th/10th-cent. philosopher. See *ET*² art. 'Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Bahrām al-Sidjīstānī al-Manṭiqī' (S.M. Stern); Kraemer, *Philosophy*; Cottrell, 'Abū Sulaymān'.

22 A 4th/10th-cent. Christian philosopher and theologian, translator and commentator of the works of Aristotle. See *ET*² art. 'Yaḥyā b. 'Adī' (G. Endress).

23 Al-Ma'mūn conducted a series of campaigns against the Byzantine Empire during the period 215–217/830–832.

initially refused, but finally agreed, whereupon the caliph dispatched a number of learned men for that purpose. These included al-Ḥajjāj ibn Maṭar,²⁴ Ibn al-Biṭrīq,²⁵ Salm, the superintendent of the *Bayt al-ḥikmah*,²⁶ and several others. They brought back a number of the works they found in the land of the Romans, and when they presented them to al-Ma'mūn, he had his scholars translate them. Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh is said to have been a member of the delegation that was sent to the land of the Romans as well.

In addition to the others, al-Ma'mūn had Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq sent for. He was no more than a youth at the time, but the caliph instructed him to translate as many of the Greek philosophical works as he could into Arabic, and to revise the work of other translators. Ḥunayn said that he would do his best.

Al-Ma'mūn is said to have paid Ḥunayn in gold, weight for weight, for the works he translated into Arabic.

According to the account of Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī al-Sijistānī,²⁷ the Banū Shākir – Muḥammad, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan²⁸ – employed a number of translators, including Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, Ḥubaysh ibn Ḥunayn,²⁹ Thābit ibn Qurrah³⁰ and others, paying each of them five hundred dinars monthly in return for his exclusive services.

24 Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar (fl. 169–218/786–833) translated into Arabic Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's work known (later) as the *Almagest*; next to nothing is known of his life or training. See *Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers* art. 'Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar' (S. Brentjes); *EI Three* art. 'Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar' (G. de Young & S. Brentjes).

25 A translator of Greek works into Arabic. A brief notice on him will be found in Ch. 9.32. See also *EI²* art. 'Yaḥyā (or Yūḥannā) b. al-Biṭrīq' (Fr. Micheau).

26 A library, perhaps even a bureau, under al-Manṣūr, modelled on Sassanian royal administration, to house materials relating to translation from Persian (Pahlavi). It helped to foster the general culture of translation but cannot be connected historically with Greco-Arabic activity; Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 53–60; *EI Three* art. 'Bayt al-Ḥikma' (D. Gutas & K. van Bladel).

27 Drawn from Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:143.

28 The Banū Mūsā ibn Shākir were three brothers who were among the most important figures in the intellectual life of Baghdad in the 3rd/9th cent. Amongst other things, they invented a number of automata and mechanical devices. They described a hundred such devices in their *Kitāb al-ḥiyal* or *Book of Ingenious Devices*, which was composed in 850 CE. Cf. *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Banū Mūsā' (D. Pingree) and Hill, *Ingenious Devices*.

29 Ḥunayn's nephew and also a gifted translator, rivalling his celebrated uncle. His biography is given at Ch. 8.31.

30 Another celebrated translator. His biography will be found in Ch. 10.3.

[8.29.6]

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq later confirmed that he travelled to many lands and went to the furthest reaches of the Roman Empire seeking works that he was interested in translating.³¹

The following account is taken from the *Fihrist* of Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm:³²

I have heard Ishāq ibn Shahrām³³ assert at a public audience:

In the land of the Romans there is a temple of antique construction with a door more enormous than any ever seen, made of iron, and with two leaves. In ancient times, when the Greeks worshipped stars and idols, they venerated that temple and prayed there. I asked the Roman Emperor to have the door opened for me, but he refused, saying that it had been closed ever since the time when the Romans converted to the Christian religion. But I continued to press him on the matter, both verbally, when I was attending one of his receptions, and by letter, and finally he ordered it opened. It proved to be built of marble and huge blocks of stone in various colours, with great numbers of strikingly beautiful inscriptions and carvings upon them; I had never heard of or imagined anything like it. In that temple were such quantities of ancient books that a number of camels would have been required to carry them all (in subsequent retellings of this story, Ishāq ibn Shahrām kept making the number larger, until finally he put it at a thousand camels). Some of these books were falling to pieces, others were in good condition, while still others had been devoured by worms.

Ishāq ibn Shahrām's account continues:

There I saw golden instruments that had been used for offerings and various other precious objects. After I had left the temple, the door was

31 An echo of Ḥunayn's comments about his hunt for manuscripts of Aristotle's *On Demonstration* all over the Middle East: see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 47.

32 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:143–144. A version of this account is also given in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 31.

33 Ibn al-Nadīm actually calls him *Abū* Ishāq ibn Shahrām, which is also how he appears in other sources; see, e.g., al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iii:181: 'Abū Ishāq ibn Shahrām, known as the son of Ḍalūm, the singer, who was his (Sayf al-Dawlah's) secretary, and who corresponded with the Byzantine Emperor'; cf. also al-Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, iii:41–42. Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdah* (ed. al-Manṣūr) mentions Abū Ishāq Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Shahrām as the vizier of Sa'd al-Dawlah, and has a longer entry on him in his *Bughyat al-ṭalab* (ed. Zakkar, 4323–4333).

closed again, for the Emperor's permission to me to visit it had been an exceptional favour for me. That was in the days of Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Hamdān.

He also asserted that the temple was located at a place three days' journey from Constantinople. The people of that district, he said, were Šābians³⁴ and Chaldaeans,³⁵ whom the Romans allowed to practise their religions, but collected a tax from them.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah – add here that Ḥunayn's secretary was a man by the name of al-Azraq. I have seen many of the works of Galen and other authors in his handwriting, some of them with annotations in Greek in Ḥunayn's handwriting, and those books bore the seal of al-Ma'mūn.

[8.29.7]

The following account is taken from *The Merits of Physicians*, by 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibril ibn Bukhtīshū'.³⁶

In due course, Ḥunayn became an authority in his domain and his fame became widespread among the physicians of the day, so that the caliph³⁷ himself heard of him. He was summoned to the court, and when he presented himself, the caliph granted him valuable estates in fee and a generous stipend.

Ḥunayn was accustomed to dress his hair in the Roman fashion, and while the caliph heard frequently of the physician's learning, he would not take any medicine prescribed by him until he had consulted another physician, for he harboured a persistent suspicion that Ḥunayn might be acting as an agent for the Roman Emperor against himself. With a view to settling the matter once and for all, he determined to put him to the test. He had Ḥunayn summoned one day, ordered a robe of honour brought for him, and produced a deed granting him an estate in fee that brought in fifty thousand dirhams in revenue. Ḥunayn thanked the caliph for his

34 The Sabians of Ḥarrān, in northern Mesopotamia, 'a community following an old Semitic polytheistic religion, but with a strongly Hellenized elite, one of the last outposts of Late Antique paganism, *ET*² art. 'Šābi' (3)' (F.C. de Blois).

35 *Al-Kaldāniyyūn*. For Greeks and Romans, Chaldaean signalled Babylonian astrology and magic. Scholars of the Islamic era often took the Chaldaeans as a people connected with the Nabataeans.

36 A physician whose biography we have seen earlier in Ch. 8.6. The book is often cited by IAU and Ibn al-Qiftī.

37 Al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861).

generosity, and they spoke of other things. Finally the caliph said, 'I want you to prescribe a potion for me that will kill an enemy whom I should be glad to have out of the way. This cannot be done openly, so I want to have it done discreetly.' 'O Commander of the Faithful,' replied Ḥunayn, 'I know only medicines that do my patients good; I should never have thought that the Commander of the Faithful would seek to obtain any other kind from me. But if you wish, I shall go and learn about harmful ones.' 'That would be a long business,' objected the caliph, and he proceeded to ply Ḥunayn with blandishments and threats by turns, but to no avail: the physician merely repeated what he had originally said. Finally the caliph lost patience and ordered Ḥunayn confined in one of his fortresses, detailing a man to report on him at regular intervals, day in and day out.

Ḥunayn spent a full year in confinement. He showed no discomposure at his situation, but spent the entire time translating, commenting, and composing original works. At the end of the year, the caliph sent for him. When he arrived, he saw a well-filled purse laid out by way of enticement, along with a sword, a leathern mat, and other executioner's instruments. 'We meet again, Ḥunayn,' said the caliph, 'and the matter must be done as I described to you before. If you do as I asked, this purse is yours, and I have more in store for you. Refuse, and you must prepare to meet a dreadful fate.' 'As I have already told the Commander of the Faithful,' replied Ḥunayn, 'I am skilled only in respect of medicines that do good; I have no knowledge of other kinds.' 'Then I shall have you put to death!' replied the caliph. 'I rely on my Lord,' said Ḥunayn calmly, 'for He will justify me in the Great Place. If the Commander of the Faithful sees fit to wrong his own soul, he must do as he pleases.' At this, the caliph smiled. 'Be of good cheer, Ḥunayn,' he said, 'you may trust me: the purpose of all this charade was merely to put you to the test. I knew I was potentially vulnerable because of the wiles of kings and my own admiration for you, so I determined to put my mind at ease and make sure I could have confidence in you and benefit from your skill.'

At these words, Ḥunayn kissed the ground and thanked the caliph. 'Tell me, Ḥunayn,' the caliph continued, 'what was it that prevented you from doing what I had asked you to do, even though it must have looked to you as though I meant what I said, both ways?' 'There were two things, Sire,' Ḥunayn replied, 'my religion and my profession.' 'Pray explain,' said the caliph, and Ḥunayn went on, 'Our religion commands us to do good and to show kindness even to our enemies; how much more, then should we behave in that way toward our friends and associates? And whoever fails to observe this commandment is excluded and banned from the com-

munity. My profession, for its part, prohibits me from doing harm to my fellow creatures, because it was instituted for their benefit and is intended only to do them good. Furthermore, God has made us physicians subject to an obligation, to which we must subscribe by solemn oaths, not to administer any lethal potion, nor anything harmful to our patients. I did not consider that I could contravene this twofold prohibition, and therefore I prepared myself to face execution. I was confident, you see, that God would not abandon one who had given up his life for the sake of His commandments, but would reward me.’ ‘Admirable laws, both of them,’ said the caliph approvingly, and he ordered a robe of honour to be brought for Ḥunayn and placed the purse in his hands, so that Ḥunayn left his presence wealthy and highly respected.

[8.29.8]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – may add here that Ḥunayn had two sons, Dāwūd and Ishāq.³⁸ Both of them studied the art of medicine, and their father composed manuals of instructions for them, designed to teach them its basic principles. He also translated many of the works of Galen for their benefit. I have not found any evidence that Dāwūd was noteworthy as a physician, nor does he seem to have left any written works as monuments to his skill and proficiency, apart from a single *Compendium* (*Kunnāsh*). Ishāq, in contrast, became well known as a distinguished practitioner of the art of medicine and the author of numerous works on the subject. He also translated many Greek works into Arabic, but as a translator he dedicated himself primarily to the works of the philosophers, such as Aristotle and others.

Their father, Ḥunayn, on the other hand, was interested mainly in translating medical works, and more particularly the works of Galen. We may say that, in general, all Galen’s works that we have at our disposal are translated versions by Ḥunayn, or else corrected by him in cases where the Arabic version is the work of another translator. Works that were translated by some other translator, such as Uṣṭāth,³⁹ Ibn Baks,⁴⁰ al-Biṭrīq,⁴¹ Abū Sa‘īd ‘Uthmān

38 Ḥunayn was known as Abū Zayd, so there must have been a Zayd as well. Perhaps he died young, or was undistinguished.

39 The notice on him in Ch. 9.21 reads simply, ‘A mediocre translator.’

40 His biography will be found in Ch. 10.43 with a short notice on him in Ch. 9.37 reading, ‘A well-known physician, and a reliable translator as well.’

41 The notice on him in Ch. 9.31 reads, ‘Lived in the time of al-Manṣūr. The caliph ordered him to undertake the task of translating a number of ancient works. He did so, translating numerous books, but as a translator he is not up to the standard of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq. I have seen Arabic versions of many of the medical works of Hippocrates and Galen that are by al-Biṭrīq.’

al-Dimashqī,⁴² or others, are less highly prized and are deemed less desirable than those that were translated or revised by Ḥunayn. This is owing to the fluency and attractiveness of his style, and also because he possessed extensive knowledge of the opinions expressed by Galen in his works and an effortless mastery of all this material.

I have seen some of Galen's *Sixteen Books*⁴³ in translations from Greek into Syriac by Sergius the physician,⁴⁴ and from Syriac into Arabic by Mūsā ibn Khālid the Translator.⁴⁵ When I read them and studied their phraseology closely, it was quite apparent to me that they were a very far cry indeed from the *Sixteen Books* in the translations of Ḥunayn. There is no comparison; the one version is stammering, the other, eloquence, the one is the earth, the other, the Pleiades.⁴⁶

Ḥunayn was also skilled in the art of treating eye diseases.⁴⁷ He is the author of many works on that subject that are renowned for their excellence.

I have been informed by master Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ṣiqillī,⁴⁸ the grammarian, that Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, along with Sībawayh⁴⁹ and a number of others, was a pupil of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad,⁵⁰ with whom he studied Arabic grammar. This is by no means impossible, for both of them lived during the

42 A biography of Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī is given in Ch. 10.16 with a short notice in Ch. 9.36, where he is said to have been 'a translator of the first order' and to have worked exclusively for the well-known Abbasid vizier, 'Alī ibn 'Īsā.

43 The Galenic treatises that formed the core of the Alexandrian medical curriculum in late antiquity and spawned the majority of summaries translated from Greek or authored in Arabic. See Ch. 6 above.

44 Sergius of Resh 'Aynā, whose biography is given in Ch. 9.24.

45 The notice on him in Ch. 9.20 reads, 'I have found many works translated by this scholar, including Galen's *Sixteen Books* and other works, but in terms of skill he fell far short of the standard of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.'

46 *Ayna l-tharā min al-thurayyā*: said proverbially of widely disparate things.

47 *Ṣinā'at al-kuḥl*.

48 Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xvii:538, mentions (in passing) Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Ṣiqillī (no dates); he is not given an entry himself and is not found in the standard works on grammarians. Brockelman mentions a Mālikī scholar called 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ṣaqalī (or al-Ṣiqillī) who was active in 459/1067. In Ibn al-Abār's *Takmilah* (i:333) he is mentioned as a teacher of the Andalusī grammarian Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Abbādah (d. 501/1107). Thus 'I have been informed' (*hadathani*) may belong to an unacknowledged 5th/11th cent. source, perhaps again 'Ubayd Allāh.

49 His sole work, known simply as *K. Sībawayh*, is 'acknowledged as the founding text of Arabic grammatical science.' See *EI*² art. 'Sibawayhi' (M.G. Carter).

50 Died 175/791 (or possibly 170/786 or 160/776). The founder of Arabic philology and metrics; see *EI*² art. 'al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad' (R. Sellheim).

reign of the caliph al-Ma'mūn.⁵¹ Perusal of Ḥunayn's original works and translations shows clearly what an elegant style he had and what an admirable grasp of Arabic grammar he possessed; indeed, he even composed works on the subject.

[8.29.9]

The following account is taken from the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-l-ḥukamā'*, by Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān:⁵²

Ḥunayn once left Baghdad and went to the land of Persia, where he met al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, the grammarian, who was living there at the time, and became his disciple, with the result that he mastered the language of the Arabs. Subsequently, furthermore, Ḥunayn brought al-Khalīl's *K. al-ʿAyn*⁵³ to Baghdad and made it known there.

In due course, Ḥunayn was appointed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh to be in charge of a great translation project. He was provided with a staff of experienced translators, who produced the draft versions; they were then revised by Ḥunayn. The translators who worked under him included Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl⁵⁴ and Mūsā ibn Khālīd the Translator.⁵⁵

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān's account continues:

Ḥunayn served al-Mutawakkil 'alā llāh as his personal physician, and during that time his career flourished. He always wore the girdle that marked him as a Christian. Alexandria was where he had learned his Greek. He was a master translator: it was he who explained terms used in the works of Hippocrates and Galen, prepared admirable summaries of those works, shed light on difficult passages in them, and resolved their problematic aspects. He also composed a number of elegant original works which are useful and instructive. His approach to the works of Galen was that of the Alexandrians: he recast them very skilfully into question-and-answer form.

51 Not possible, in fact, as al-Khalīl had died some years before Ḥunayn was born. The legend links the founder of grammar with the founder of medical translation.

52 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 68–69.

53 The first dictionary of classical Arabic. Its authorship is not attributable to al-Khalīl exclusively. See *ET*² art. 'al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad' (R. Sellheim).

54 The notice on him in Ch. 9.19 reads: 'Not far short of the standard of Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq himself as far as his ability as a translator goes; however, Ḥunayn's style is smoother and more graceful.'

55 See Ch. 9.20 and n. 45 above.

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq himself states in his treatise on the *Catalogue* of Galen that his entire collection of books was lost, not a single one remaining to him.⁵⁶

[8.29.10]

The following account is taken from the *History* of Abū ‘Alī al-Qiyānī.⁵⁷

Every day, as soon as he had returned from his morning ride, Ḥunayn would enter the bath and have water poured over him. Upon emerging, he would muffle himself up in a heavy wrap. Meanwhile, a silver cup containing a *raṭl* of wine and a cake crumbled and sopped in the wine would have been prepared for him; he would eat the cake and drink the wine, and then he would lie down until he had sweated profusely, sometimes falling asleep. He would then get up and perfume himself with incense, and then his meal would be served. This consisted of a large, well-fattened capon prepared with sugar, almonds and vinegar, and a loaf of bread weighing two hundred dirhams. He would sip the broth, then eat the capon and the bread, and then sleep. When he awoke, he would drink four *raṭls* of old wine. Such was his fare throughout his entire life. Whenever he wanted fresh fruit, he would eat Syrian apples, pomegranates, and quinces.

[8.29.11]

The following account is taken from the work entitled *Amusement and Entertainment* (*K. al-Lahw wa-l-malāhī*), by Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsi,⁵⁸ here quoting the physician Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq:

During the reign of al-Mutawakkil, messengers from the caliph's palace came to my house one night looking for me and saying that the caliph wanted me. They were followed by a whole group of others, then a second group, and finally Zarāfah himself;⁵⁹ he dragged me out of bed and set off with me at a run, finally showing me into the caliph's presence with the

56 The reference is unclear, but perhaps to a work (*maqālah*) on/the translation of Galen's *De libris propriis*; cf. Ch. 5, 37 no. 1.

57 A source whom we have previously found used by IAU in his biography of Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl (Ch. 8. 4) and that of ‘Abdūs ibn Zayd (Ch. 8.14).

58 His biography will be found in Ch. 10.2. He is also the subject of a notice in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 77 and Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 261. See *ET*² art. 'al-Sarakhsi' (F. Rosenthal). The work is apparently unknown.

59 He was al-Mutawakkil's major-domo, *ṣāhib dār al-Mutawakkil*, and died in 252/866 (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v:87; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:429). The name Zarāfah means 'giraffe'.

words, ‘This is Ḥunayn, Sire.’ ‘Pay Zarāfah what I said I would give him,’ said al-Mutawakkil to his attendants, whereupon the servant was given a purse of thirty thousand dirhams. The caliph then turned to me and said, ‘I am hungry. What do you advise me to have for supper?’ so I suggested a menu. After he had finished his meal, I asked them why I had been summoned as I had been, and was informed that a singer had performed before the caliph, and that the caliph had asked who the composer of the song was and had been told that it was Ḥunayn ibn Balū’ al-‘Ibādī. Al-Mutawakkil had then ordered Zarāfah to have him brought to the palace. ‘Unfortunately, I do not know him, O Commander of the Faithful,’ said Zarāfah. ‘I must have him,’ cried the caliph. ‘Bring him here, and you shall have thirty thousand dirhams.’ So he brought me instead, but by the time I got there, al-Mutawakkil had forgotten about the matter, owing to the date-wine that he had imbibed; he knew only that he felt hungry. So I advised him to drink no more date-wine, to have his supper and to retire to bed, and that is what he did.⁶⁰

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – now continue. Ḥunayn was born in the year 194/809–810 and died during the reign of al-Mu‘tamid ‘alā Allāh⁶¹ on Tuesday 1 Kānūn of the year 1188 in the era of Alexander,⁶² which corresponds to 6 Ṣafar 264 [18 November 877], when he was seventy years of age.⁶³ He is said to have died of chronic diarrhoea (*dharab*).

[8.29.12]

The following account is taken from the *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’ wa-l-ḥukamā’*, by Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān, known as Ibn Juljul:⁶⁴

60 This anecdote shows Ḥunayn having to pose as the composer-singer Ḥunayn ibn Balū’, who flourished at al-Ḥīra during the Umayyad era. On him see Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, ii:759–776.

61 R. 256–279/870–892.

62 What we call the Seleucid Era, instituted by Seleucus 1 Nicator after his reconquest of Babylon in 312/11 and one year later in the western part of his empire. It was the most widely and continuously used of the ‘dynastic’ eras and we find it attested well into the Middle Ages; see Leschhorn, *Ären*, 22–35.

63 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, gives Ḥunayn’s date of death as 260/873, which G. Strohmaier argues is to be preferred to the date given by IAU; see *EI Three* art. ‘Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq al-‘Ibādī’ (G. Strohmaier). See also Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq, *Neue Materialien*, 33.

64 *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 69–70. See also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 172. Ibn al-Qifṭī adds that Ḥunayn might have killed himself with poison. This question is later raised within the ‘autobiography’ (Ch. 8.29.15) but in a different way (‘I thought of killing myself ...’). For an abridged version of this story, also mentioning that Ḥunayn might have killed him-

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, died of grief one night during the reign of al-Mutawakkil. I was informed of this by the vizier of the Commander of the Faithful, al-Ḥakam bi-Allāh.⁶⁵ In his own words:

I and various others were with the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustanşir bi-Allāh, talking of this and that, when the caliph said, ‘Do you know how Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq died?’ We all said, ‘No, O Commander of the Faithful.’ ‘Well,’ he said, ‘one day, al-Mutawakkil went out suffering from a hangover, and sat in his usual place, which was in the full eye of the sun. He had two physicians with him, the Christian al-Ṭayfūrī⁶⁶ and Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, and al-Ṭayfūrī said to him, “O Commander of the Faithful, the sun is harmful for a hangover.” “What do you say about that, Ḥunayn?” asked the caliph. “O Commander of the Faithful,” replied Ḥunayn, “the sun is *not* harmful for a hangover.” After listening to the two physicians dispute the matter for a few minutes, the caliph ordered each of them to demonstrate the soundness of his position. “Sire,” said Ḥunayn, “a hangover is the state of the person suffering from that condition. The sun is harmful, not to the hangover, but to the person who has it.” Al-Ṭayfūrī could think of absolutely nothing to say to this, while al-Mutawakkil remarked approvingly that Ḥunayn undoubtedly had a better grasp of the nature and definitions of words than his colleagues.’

‘The very same day al-Ṭayfūrī drew from his sleeve a book in which there was an illustration of Christ on the cross, with a number of people about him, and showed it to Ḥunayn. “Are those the men who crucified Christ, Ḥunayn?” he asked. “Yes,” replied Ḥunayn. “Spit on them, then,” said al-Ṭayfūrī. “No, I will not,” said Ḥunayn. “And why not?” al-Ṭayfūrī demanded. “Because,” Ḥunayn explained, “they are not really the men who crucified Christ, but only a picture of them.” This reply enraged al-Ṭayfūrī, and he went to the caliph and asked him to allow a Christian religious tribunal to pass judgement on Ḥunayn. Al-Mutawakkil consulted the Catholicos and his bishops, and they all concluded that Ḥunayn had merited anathema. Accordingly, he was ceremoniously

self, see Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaşar*, 145. On al-Ṭayfūrī here, see also Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, iii:197–200.

65 The 4th /10th-cent. Andalusī Umayyad caliph, al-Ḥakam II, known as al-Mustanşir bi-Allāh.

66 Isrā’īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī, of whom we are told, ‘The caliph al-Mutawakkil bi-Allāh had great faith in his judgement and consulted him regularly.’ See his biography in Ch. 8.12.

cursed seventy-fold in the presence of the whole Christian community, and his girdle was cut off. The caliph, for his part, announced that henceforth he would take no medicine prescribed by Ḥunayn unless al-Ṭayfūrī had overseen its preparation. Ḥunayn departed to his home and died that very night, it is said of grief and chagrin.’

[8.29.13]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: Such is the account of Ibn Juljul, and I have found a similar account in the work entitled *R. fī l-mukāfā‘ah*, by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm.⁶⁷ The reality is that Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl,⁶⁸ who was consumed with hatred and envy toward Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq because of his learning, his skill, his excellence as a translator and his worldly success, sought to turn al-Mutawakkil against him by means of slander and innuendo. He managed to make the caliph so suspicious that Ḥunayn fell out of favour and ultimately was imprisoned. But then God, exalted is He, came to his aid: Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl’s machinations became known, and Ḥunayn was released and restored to favour in the eyes of al-Mutawakkil, who gave him preference over Bukhtīshū‘ and all the other physicians, and he retained that status for the rest of his life. Ḥunayn finally fell ill and died in the year 264/877.⁶⁹

[8.29.14]

I have been able to ascertain the truth of all this from none other than Ḥunayn himself, for I have come upon an epistle written by him in which he describes the trials and tribulations that befell him at the hands of the celebrated physicians of his time who were hostile to him. The following, then, is his own account, in his own handwriting:⁷⁰

I had to endure much from my enemies and those who persecuted me, displaying rank ingratitude for the benefits they had enjoyed at my hands, refusing to acknowledge my rights, oppressing me and harbouring hostile-

67 Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, better known as Ibn al-Dāyah, died between 330/941 and 340/951. He was the son of IAU’s oft-cited source Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāyah. See *ET*² art. ‘Ibn al-Dāya’ (F. Rosenthal). The story is not in the extant text of *R. fī l-mukāfā‘ah*.

68 See his biography see Ch. 8.4.

69 Regarding this date, see n. 63 above.

70 See title no. 99 in the list of works at the end of this biography (Ch. 8.29.22). The work is not usually considered genuine. The extract in IAU accounts for one third of this chapter. For a translation of it by Michael Cooperson, see Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self*, 107–118. For studies, see Cooperson, ‘Purported Autobiography’; Strohmaier, ‘Ḥunain’; Olsson, ‘Reputation’.

ity toward me. They subjected me to such a series of trials, misfortunes and calamities that I was unable to sleep; I lay miserably with my eyes wide open, and I was unfit to perform my duties. The reason was their envy of me for my learning and for the advantages that God, mighty and glorious is He, had granted me over my contemporaries. Most of them were my own kindred and family members! It was they who were the main source of my hardships and the root of my trials. After them came those whom I had taught, who had studied under me, whom I had treated generously, supported, and favoured over all the other practitioners of the art of medicine in the land. I had introduced them to the science of the great Galen, and in return for the good I had done them they repaid me with evil, in accordance with their natures. They spread the vilest calumnies about me while concealing whatever good qualities I had, with the result that my reputation was tainted; people looked at me askance. I was constantly watched; my words were scrutinized with intense suspicion, so that my slightest utterance, albeit quite innocent in intention, was taken to be full of significance. By these means, my enemies roused hatred against me, not only among adherents of my own religion, but among those of other religions as well; congregations were assembled expressly for the purpose of publicizing malicious interpretations of statements I had made.

I unfailingly praised God and resolved to endure the tribulation, putting my trust in Him. My life became extremely difficult: I was imprisoned, and for a time my hand touched never a dinar, nor a dirham,⁷¹ nor a book; I had not so much as a single page to read. And then God, mighty and glorious is He, looked upon me with a compassionate eye: He restored the blessings He had previously vouchsafed me and renewed His favour as I had known it before. My reversion to prosperity was attributable to a person who had been particularly and persistently hostile to me, and herein we may see that Galen was right in saying that the best men may reap advantage from their worst enemies.⁷² By my life, that man was the best of enemies!

⁷¹ Neither a gold nor a silver coin.

⁷² Cf. Galen's lost *Maqālah fi anna akhyār al-nās qad yantafi'ūn bi-a'dā'ihim* (Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 162).

[8.29.15]

At this point, I propose to relate an account of how all the above came about. How should I not be hated, with the numbers of those who envy me so great and slanderous remarks about me at gatherings of important persons so prevalent? Large sums of money were expended on attempts on my life; those who reviled me grew strong, and those who honoured me were despised. I, for my part, was guilty of no offence; I had not wronged any of them in any way. But they saw that I had outdone them, that I knew more than they did and had achieved greater things than they, that I had translated great scientific works for them from languages that they were far from mastering, or of which they knew nothing at all. They perceived that my translations were admirable models of elegance and clarity, free of errors or defects, containing no bias in favour of any religion, and nothing ambiguous or ungrammatical. In saying this, I rely on the authority of acknowledged Arab experts on eloquence, scholars who are learned in all aspects of grammar and are familiar with uncommon expressions. None of them has ever detected an error of usage, an incorrect vowel-ing, or an injudicious shade of meaning, but only the most mellifluous and readily intelligible style. My works can be understood, admired and appreciated even by someone who is not himself a physician, knows nothing of philosophical method, and does not profess the Christian religion or any other religion; indeed, just such lay individuals regularly pay me substantial sums for works that I have translated, preferring them to the versions produced by others. I may also say unhesitatingly that other educated men of various religious persuasions have appreciated me, have shown me respect, have gratefully accepted what I gave them, and have repaid me handsomely.

But these Christian physicians, whom I have known all their lives and who learned their art under my tutelage, most of them, are the very ones who want to see my blood shed, even though I am indispensable to them. 'Who is Ḥunayn?' they have been known to say. 'He only translates these works because he is paid to translate them, after the fashion of any artisan; we fail to see any difference. A blacksmith may make a sword for a mounted warrior for a dinar or so, earning perhaps a hundred dinars a month by his trade. Now, Ḥunayn is a servant who makes the instrument that we use, but he does not use it himself, just as the blacksmith may be skilful at the craft of making a sword, but not at using one. A blacksmith will never be a mounted warrior. Similarly, a translator has nothing to say about the art of medicine. Ḥunayn has no skill in matters of illness and has never

diagnosed a disease. He wants to be like us, that's all, and to be known as Ḥunayn the Physician rather than Ḥunayn the Translator. He would do better to stick to his craft and desist from talking about our art; that would be advantageous for him, as he would get his hands on more of our money and we should show him more respect if he would stop taking pulses, examining phials of urine and prescribing medicines.' They say, 'Whenever Ḥunayn calls on a patient, regardless of whether the people of the house belong to the cream of society or the common folk, they snigger when he comes in, and they laugh behind his back when he leaves.'

Whenever I heard this kind of thing said, I was distressed to such an extent that I thought of killing myself from sheer exasperation and indignation. I had no way of striking back, for one man alone cannot resist a large number of enemies who are in league against him. All the while, however, I realized that they were doing what they did out of nothing but envy. They were well aware of the vicious nature of their behaviour, but envy has always motivated human actions. Anyone with some knowledge of religion will recall that the first envious person on earth was Cain, who killed his brother Abel because God had not accepted his offering, whereas He had accepted Abel's. Envy thus being a phenomenon of such antiquity, it is not surprising that I, too, should be among those injured by it. But, as the saying goes, 'Envy is its own punishment.' Another saying runs, 'The envious man will kill himself before he will ever kill his enemy.' The ancient Arabs have coined many sayings about envy, and there are numerous passages of poetry dealing with the subject. Here is one example:⁷³

They may envy me; but I don't blame them.
 Before me, people of merit have been envied.
 May I and they remain as we are,
 and may most of us⁷⁴ die from the wrath they feel!
 I am the one they will feel choking their hearts,
 moving neither up nor down!

This poet and others have composed much more in a similar vein; it would be wearisome and unprofitable to quote them all.

73 Metre: *basīf*. The three anonymous lines, included in Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 405–407), are often quoted. They are attributed to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir in al-Washshā', *Muwashshā*, 6, and to al-Kumayt ibn Ma'rūf in al-Marzubānī, *Muḥjam*, 238, who adds that he doubts this attribution and subsequently (352) attributes the first two lines to Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Arzamī.

74 I.e., the enviers but not I (as al-Marzūqī explains).

And yet, most of them, when confronted with a case of serious illness, would come to me to ask me to confirm the nature of the condition, prescribe the appropriate medicine and lay out a course of treatment. This happened so frequently that there can be no doubt that my advice was sound. Yet the physicians who came to consult me and accepted my recommendations were the very ones who denounced me most virulently and subjected me most frequently to vile slander. I, for my part, did not seek to defend myself, relying on the Lord of All to judge between me and my detractors. Why? Simply because there were not merely one, two or three of them, but fifty-six, all members of my own Christian faith. I did not need them, but they needed me; moreover, many of them served caliphs, the lords of the realm, and thus wielded considerably influence. I was weaker than they were in two respects: in the first place, I was alone against them, and in the second place, any people who were well-disposed toward me could not do without the main source of my enemies' power, namely, the Commander of the Faithful.

Despite all this, I did not complain to anyone about my situation, bad though it was. On the contrary, I would praise my detractors on official occasions, in the presence of eminent persons. Sometimes I would be told, 'They openly disparage you and speak ill of you,' but I would pretend that I did not believe such tales and refused to take the allegations seriously. 'I am one of them,' I would say, 'we share the same religion, we are fellow-townsmen, and we practise the same profession; I do not believe that such men would slander anyone, least of all me.' When my adversaries heard of this, they would say to one another, 'He is alarmed, that's why he holds his tongue.' But the more they slandered me, the more I would praise them.

[8.29.16]

Here I propose to tell the story of the final pit that they dug for me, apart from the trouble I had long been having with them, especially that business with the Banū Mūsā⁷⁵ and the Galenists and the Hippocratics, which was the occasion of the first calumny against me.⁷⁶ What I am now about to relate is an account of my last and most recent trial. The physician Bukhtīshū' ibn Jibrīl⁷⁷ had concocted a scheme against me which he

75 See above Ch. 8.29.5 n. 28.

76 The events here referred to have not been identified.

77 His biography has been given in Ch. 8.4.

brought off successfully and thus did me harm, as he had sought to do. He began by obtaining an icon bearing an image of Our Lady Mary holding Our Lord Jesus Christ in her lap, with angels all about them. It was very beautifully painted and most lifelike, and Bukhtīshūʿ had paid a high price for it. He had it sent to al-Mutawakkil, the Commander of the Faithful, taking care to ensure that he was there in person to take it from the hands of the servant who brought it in; he presented it to the caliph himself, and al-Mutawakkil said admiringly that it was very fine. Bukhtīshūʿ then proceeded to kiss the image repeatedly. ‘Why are you doing that?’ asked the caliph. ‘Whose image then should I kiss, Sire,’ answered Bukhtīshūʿ ‘if not that of Our Lady, the lord of all beings?’ ‘Do all you Christians do that?’ al-Mutawakkil asked. ‘Yes, we do, O Commander of the Faithful,’ said Bukhtīshūʿ, ‘and with greater fervour than this, for I am acting with exceptional restraint, being in your presence. But despite the preference of our Christian community, I know of one man who is in your service, enjoying the benefits and drawing a salary. Although a Christian, yet he despises her and spits on her. He is a miscreant and a heretic, who does not affirm the unity of God and knows nothing of the life to come. His Christianity is merely a cloak; in reality, he denies the existence of God and does not believe in the message of the prophets.’ ‘Who is the person you have been describing?’ asked al-Mutawakkil. ‘Ḥunayn, the translator,’ replied Bukhtīshūʿ. ‘I shall have him sent for,’ said the caliph, ‘and if the matter proves to be as you have stated, I shall make an example of him: I shall have him tortured repeatedly and made to suffer severely, and then I shall have him thrown into the Muṭbaq prison⁷⁸ and left there.’ ‘I should be greatly obliged if the Commander of the Faithful would wait an hour or so before having him brought in,’ said Bukhtīshūʿ. ‘Very well,’ said the caliph, and Bukhtīshūʿ took his leave.

Immediately upon leaving the palace, he came straight to my house. ‘Abū Zayd,’ he said, ‘may God honour you, I must tell you that the Commander of the Faithful has been given an icon that he finds most impressive. It is a Syriac piece, I think. But the caliph has been saying how fine it is, and if we leave it in his possession and praise it in his hearing, he will urge us to share his enthusiasm for it on every possible occasion and say, “Look at this painting, it is your Lord and His mother.” He has already been

78 A notorious prison in Baghdad. It was located at the southern fringe of the city, between the Basra Gate and the Kufa Gate. It seems to have consisted of a series of oubliettes, into which, in some cases, prisoners were lowered at the end of a rope and left in inky darkness. See Tillier, ‘Prisons’.

at me about it. "Look at this painting," he said, "isn't it exquisite? Don't you agree?" "Well, Sire," I said to him, "it is a painting such as may be seen in baths and churches and other places that are decorated. It is of no interest and no importance to us." "It means nothing to you, then?" he said. "Nothing," I said. "If you are telling the truth," he said, "let me see you spit on it." So I spat on it, and then took my leave, while he roared with laughter. As you can imagine, I did that only to encourage him to throw the icon away and not keep badgering us about it and constantly throwing us into prominence. Someone might become resentful, and that would make matters worse. So if by any chance he sends for you and asks you the same sorts of questions that he put to me, it would be best for you to do what I did. I have already been to see those of our colleagues who attend his receptions and urged them to do the same.' I swallowed his instructions and he was successful in making a complete fool of me.

[8.29.17]

Not more than an hour after he had left, a runner from the caliph arrived and escorted me to the palace. I saw the icon as soon as I entered; it was set before al-Mutawakkil. 'Ḥunayn,' he said, 'would you not say that this picture is beautiful and impressive?' 'Oh, yes, indeed it is, O Commander of the Faithful,' I agreed politely. 'What do you think of it?' he persisted. 'Why, Sire,' I said, 'it is a painting, such as may commonly be seen in baths or churches or other places that are decorated with paintings.' 'But,' he said, 'is it not a picture of your Lord and His mother?' 'God forbid, O Commander of the Faithful,' I said, 'that God should be portrayed or that there should be a likeness of Him. This is a painting much like those seen in places in which paintings are used for embellishment.' 'In a word, then, it has no power, either for good or for ill?' asked the caliph. 'Exactly, O Commander of the Faithful,' I said. 'If that really is the case,' he said, 'spit on it.' So I did spit on it, and no sooner had I done so than he had me arrested.

The caliph then had the Catholicos,⁷⁹ Theodosius, sent for. As soon as he entered and saw the icon that was set before the caliph, even before having formally greeted al-Mutawakkil, he fell upon it, embraced it, and kissed it repeatedly, his eyes brimming with tears. Some of the servants

79 Head of the Nestorian Christian Church and the official representative of the Christian community to the Abbasid caliphs. See *ET*² art. 'Nasṭūriyyūn' (B. Holmberg), specifically Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques*, 90–101. According to Bar Hebraeus, this patriarch was imprisoned by al-Mutawakkil together with Ibn Bukhtīshū'.

went to restrain him, but the caliph motioned them back. After having kissed the icon at length in this manner, he took it, got to his feet, and treated al-Mutawakkil to an elaborate formal salutation. The caliph returned his greeting and bade the Catholicos be seated, whereupon he took a seat, cradling the icon on his knees. 'What is this?' said the caliph, 'who are you to take something that was set before me and hold it on your knees without my permission?' 'O Commander of the Faithful,' replied the Catholicos, 'I have a better claim to this object that was set before you, even though the rights of the Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his life, are paramount. My religion does not allow me to leave an image of Christ and Our Lady on the floor in a place where its significance is not understood, or where perhaps there is no awareness that it has any significance. An image like this should be hung in a place where due honour is shown it, where lamps with the finest oils are kept burning before it, along with candles that are never snuffed, a place often fragrant with the most precious incense.'

'You may go on holding it for the time being,' said al-Mutawakkil. 'A boon, Sire,' said the Catholicos. 'Would the Commander of the Faithful give me this icon and grant me an estate in fee that will bring me one hundred thousand dinars in revenue yearly, so that I may ensure that the icon is shown the reverence that is its due? Then the Commander of the Faithful may ask of me what he will concerning the matter for which he had me sent for.' 'The image is yours,' said the caliph, 'but what I want you to tell me is, what should be done with a man who spat upon it, in your view?' 'If the man was a Muslim,' replied the Catholicos, 'no blame could be attached to him, for he would not be aware of the significance of this icon. In view of the gravity of his act, however, he should be informed about the matter and sternly rebuked, to ensure that he would not do such a thing again. If the offender was a Christian, but ignorant, so that he did not realize what he had done, he should be publicly rebuked, denounced, threatened with excommunication and anathema, and upbraided until he repented. I should say that, in general, such an act could be committed only by an ignorant person who had no understanding or religion. But if the offender was acting in full awareness of what he was doing, he would in effect have spat on Mary, the mother of Our Lord, and upon Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself.' 'What punishment would you consider appropriate for a person who had done such a thing?' asked al-Mutawakkil. 'O Commander of the Faithful,' replied the Catholicos, 'I have no authority to apply lash or rod, nor do I have a narrow cell in which to confine an offender, but I should declare him anathema, forbid him to enter a church

or to receive the Eucharist, and forbid all Christians to associate with him or speak to him, thereby condemning him to isolation. He would remain an object of abhorrence to us all until such time as he repented and mended his ways. Once he had changed for the better, given some of his fortune as alms to the poor and needy, and purified himself with protracted fasting and prayer, we should apply the words of our Scripture: "Except ye forgive sinners, your sins shall not be forgiven you." The anathema would be withdrawn, and we and he should be once again as we had originally been.' At these words, the caliph told the Catholicos to take the icon and do with it as he would, and ordered that he should be given a bag of dirhams to spend on it. The Catholicos then left, while al-Mutawakkil remained lost in thought for a time, wondering at the prelate's behaviour and his love and veneration for such an object of adoration. 'A strange matter altogether,' he remarked at length.

[8.29.18]

Then the caliph ordered me to be brought in. Calling for a whip and ropes, he ordered his men to strip me and tie me up, and I was given a hundred lashes then and there. He then ordered me held in close confinement and subjected to torture, while a gang of ruffians was sent to confiscate all my goods and chattels, furniture, books and such things. In addition, al-Mutawakkil ordered my houses demolished down to groundwater level. Meanwhile, I remained imprisoned in the palace for six months under dreadful conditions, so that any who caught sight of me could not but pity me. Furthermore, every few days he would send a number of toughs to beat me and torture me anew.

I was subjected to this treatment until, after I had been in detention for three months and five days, the caliph was laid low by a grave illness. He was so severely stricken that he was unable even to move, and was given up for lost. He himself despaired of his life. However, the physicians who were my enemies never left his side for a moment, day or night, incessantly treating him, plying him with remedies, and all the while urging him to do something about me. 'Our master the Commander of the Faithful would do well to dispose of that heretic and miscreant,' they would say, 'for ridding the world of him would relieve religion of a heavy burden.' At length, after having endured some days of this sort of thing, al-Mutawakkil finally asked them, 'What would you have me do with him?' 'Best to relieve the world of him altogether,' they said. To make matters worse, whenever someone sympathetic to me would enquire about me or

speak favourably about me to the caliph, Bukhtīshū‘ would say, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, this is one of his pupils and shares his opinions.’ There were few who were supporting me and many who were working against me, and I despaired of my life.

After all this incessant badgering and insistence, the caliph finally agreed to have me put to death. ‘I shall have him executed tomorrow morning and thus relieve you of him,’ he told his physicians. They were delighted, and went home well pleased with themselves, while a flunky from the palace came to inform me of al-Mutawakkil’s decision. Forthwith I prayed to God mighty and glorious, asking Him to favour me once more with the grace that I had previously known at His hands, for I was sorely distressed and heavy of heart at what was to befall me on the morrow. I had done nothing to deserve such a fate; I was guilty of no crime, but rather was a victim of those who had conspired against me and were determined to have me murdered. ‘O God,’ I prayed, ‘You know that I am innocent, and it is fitting that You should come to my aid.’ Having done this, I lay brooding until finally I fell asleep.

[8.29.19]

The next thing I knew, I was being shaken and a voice in my ear was saying, ‘Arise, praise and glorify God, and take heart, for God has delivered you from your enemies and placed the health of the Commander of the Faithful in your hands.’ I awoke in terror, but then reflected, ‘I have frequently invoked Him while awake; why should I doubt that it is He who has come to me in a dream?’ and I praised and glorified God until the dawn.

In due course the keeper appeared and opened the door of my cell. It was not his usual time, and I thought, ‘This is a bad sign. It is going to happen after all, just as I was told yesterday. My enemies are about to have the satisfaction of witnessing my downfall,’ and I prayed to God for help. But hardly had the keeper taken his seat when a slave-boy entered with a barber in tow. ‘Up you get, you lucky fellow,’ said the keeper, ‘you are about to have your hair cut.’ My hair was trimmed, and then I was taken to the bath, where I was washed clean and anointed with perfume, for so our master, the Commander of the Faithful, had ordered. When I emerged from the bath, I was arrayed in fine clothes and then taken to the keeper’s lodge, where I waited until all the physicians had assembled before the caliph, each in his assigned place. Finally the caliph called out, ‘Bring Ḥunayn in!’ The physicians were quite sure that they were about

to see me executed. I was ushered into the salon. Al-Mutawakkil looked at me and motioned for me to come closer, finally bidding me be seated immediately in front of him. Then he spoke: 'I have forgiven you for the sin you committed, acceding to the request of one who has spoken for you. Praise God, then, for your life. Now take my pulse and prescribe whatever treatment you think fit, for I have been ill for a long time.' I took his pulse and advised him to take purging cassia⁸⁰ fruit pulp and manna,⁸¹ together with the other ingredients in the usual formula for the use of that medication, for he was suffering from constipation. My enemies, the other physicians, urged him not to touch it. 'God forbid, Sire,' they chorused, 'some dreadful mischief is certain to befall you if you take that medicine.' 'Silence, the lot of you!' roared the caliph. 'I have been told to take whatever he prescribes for me,' and he ordered the medicine prepared immediately. It was brought in, and he swallowed it then and there.

Then al-Mutawakkil spoke to me. 'Ḥunayn,' he said, 'I must beg your pardon for what I did to you. A very powerful person has interceded with me on your behalf.' 'I pardon you willingly, Sire,' I replied, 'and how could I do otherwise, since you have spared my life?' The caliph then turned to the assembled physicians. 'I want you all to listen carefully to what I am about to say,' he said to them, and they all hearkened attentively. 'When you all left yesterday evening,' he went on, 'you were aware that I intended to have Ḥunayn put to death this morning, as I had told you I would do. Afterward, I lay awake in severe pain for half the night, but finally fell asleep and had a dream. In my dream, I was sitting in a narrow place. You physicians were there, but you were a long way off, with my household staff and retinue. I was saying to you, "You wretched crew, why are you looking at me like that? What are we doing here? Is this a fitting place for such a person as myself?" but you answered not a word. In the midst of all this, a great, terrifying light suddenly shone upon me in that place. As I sat there petrified with fear, I became aware that somehow there was a man standing beside me, a man with a face glorious in its beauty, and with another man, dressed in fine clothing, standing behind him. He greeted me, and I returned his greeting. Then he asked, "Do you know who I am?"

80 *Khiyār shanbar* is purging cassia (*Cassia fistula* of the family Fabaceae), the fruit of a tall tree native to the Indian subcontinent and adjacent regions of southeast Asia. The pulp of its fruit has laxative properties. See Lev & Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 130–132.

81 *Taranjubūn*. An exudate from the stems and leaves of camel thorn (*Alhagi maurorum* of the Fabaceae family), also with laxative properties. See Lev & Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 445–446.

“No,” I answered, whereupon he said, “I am Jesus Christ.” This caused me to quake with alarm. “Who is that person with you?” I asked. “Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq,” Christ replied. “Please excuse me,” I said, “but I am unable to stand to shake hands with you.”⁸² “You are to excuse Ḥunayn,” he said, “and forgive him for his sin, for that is what God has done. You are also to take whatever he advises you to take. Do that, and you will recover from your illness.”’

[8.29.20]

‘I then awoke,’ the caliph went on, ‘overcome with distress at the suffering I had caused to be inflicted upon Ḥunayn and reflecting on the powerful intercessor who had approached me on his behalf. It is now incumbent upon me to ensure that justice is done. I am dismissing the lot of you: Ḥunayn shall henceforth be my attending physician, in accordance with Christ’s bidding. Furthermore, those of you who demanded that I have him put to death shall be liable for the blood-price. Every one of you who was here last night is to bring me ten thousand dirhams, and any of you who fails to pay that amount will be beheaded. Those who were not present are not liable and are not required to pay.’ Turning to me, he then said, ‘You may take your seat and assume the duties of your office.’ All the assembled physicians hurriedly took their leave, and every one of them returned shortly with ten thousand dirhams. Once all that coin had been gathered together, the caliph ordered an equal amount to be added from his own treasury and the total given to me; it came to more than two hundred thousand dirhams.

By the time the day was drawing to a close, the medicine I had administered had sent al-Mutawakkil to the lavatory three times, with the result that he was greatly relieved and feeling better. ‘Ḥunayn,’ he said, ‘you shall have whatever you wish, for I have the utmost regard for you, and you shall enjoy much greater prestige than you formerly did. I shall compensate you many times over for what you have lost, make your enemies subject to your authority, and raise you in rank above all other practitioners of your art.’ He then ordered that three houses belonging to him should be fitted up for me, such houses as I had never lived in, nor ever known

82 Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *sh*, here quoting from R. Burton, *A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah*, 2nd edition, London, 1857: *Muṣāfahah* is the Arab fashion of shaking hands. They apply the palms of the right hands flat to each other, without squeezing the fingers, and then raise the hand to the forehead.’

any other physician to live in, in all my life. They were valuable houses, worth thousands of dinars. The caliph had them formally conveyed into my possession, with documents signed in the presence of witnesses, for he wished to ensure that they should be my property and the property of my descendants, and that no one should have any grounds for challenging my ownership of them. Once this was done, he had the houses fitted out with everything I might need in the way of vessels, carpets, utensils, books and the like. All this he did out of affection and regard for me.

Once the houses had been fully furnished and fitted and hung with curtains of various kinds in accordance with al-Mutawakkil's instructions, nothing remained but for me to move in. The caliph had the money, by now swollen to a great total, placed in my hands. He then arranged for me to be carried thither with five of his own finest mules, splendidly equipped, and he also gave me three Roman servants. Furthermore, he ordered that I was to be paid fifteen thousand dirhams a month, besides a lump-sum payment covering all the time I had been in prison, which made a very handsome total indeed. In addition to all this, the caliph's household staff, the ladies of the harem, the remainder of his retinue and his family all contributed incalculable quantities of coin, robes of honour and estates in fee. The functions I had formerly performed amid the general populace, outside the caliph's palace, I performed henceforth inside it. I became al-Mutawakkil's chief physician, with all the others, friends and enemies both, subject to my authority. Thanks to the hostility of malevolent individuals, then, I attained complete felicity; as Galen says, good men may benefit from the actions of their wicked adversaries. Galen certainly had to endure severe trials, but, by my life, they were trifling compared to mine!

I found that as often as not, the first person to come to my door in the morning to seek my influence in obtaining a favour from the Commander of the Faithful, or to consult me about some illness that had baffled him, would be one of those enemies at whose hands I had known the hardships that I have described. And, by the truth of my Lord, who is the First Cause, I would promptly do favours for them and act toward them with sincerity. Never did I seek to avenge myself upon a single one of them for what he had done to me. I became an object of wonder for my willingness to oblige these physicians, once it became known what they had said about me, quite openly, and even in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful. Moreover, I would translate books for them, as meticulously as always, without charging them anything, so anxious was I to show my good will

toward them, whereas formerly it had been usual, whenever I translated a work for one of them, for me to be paid a purse of silver dirhams equal in weight to the translated work.

[8.29.21]

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

Resuming Ḥunayn’s narrative:

I have set forth the foregoing account only to help the intelligent reader understand that trial and tribulation may befall anyone, be he wise or foolish, strong or weak, old or young. This being the case, as it undoubtedly is – misfortune may strike anyone – a reasonable man should never despair of God’s providence or the prospect of deliverance from his predicament. Rather, he should cling fast to his trust in his Creator, lauding and glorifying Him. Praised be God, who granted me a second life and enabled me to overcome the wicked machinations of my enemies, raising me above them in rank and position. Praised be He now and forevermore!

Here ends the account of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in his own words, which I have reproduced faithfully in full.

[8.29.22]

A favourite saying of Ḥunayn’s was, ‘The night is the erudite man’s day.’⁸³

83 Quoted anonymously in al-Tha‘ālibī, *al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥāḍarah*, 242. Perhaps he took it from a poem by Muḥammad ibn Yasīr (a contemporary of Abū Nuwās); see Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Shi‘r wa-l-shu‘arā’*, 880, where it appears as *fa-innamā l-layla nahār al-arīb*. The same poem is also ascribed to Yaḥyā ibn Khālid al-Barmakī (al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iv:234) and to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir (al-‘Askarī, *Jamharat al-amthāl*, ii:151–152).

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq is the author of the following works:

1. Questions (*K. al-masā'il*),⁸⁴ which is an introduction to the art of medicine. This work is a compilation of propositions and summaries comprising the principles and fundamental underpinnings of this branch of learning. Not all of it is by Ḥunayn, for it was completed by his pupil, Ḥubaysh al-A'sam.⁸⁵ That is the reason why Ibn Abī Ṣādiq⁸⁶ states in his Commentary:

'Ḥunayn collected the materials for this work on odd sheets of paper and prepared draft versions, but made a final copy of only part of it during his lifetime; it was his pupil and nephew, Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan, who not only edited the rest but added some more material of his own composition to the corpus previously gathered by Ḥunayn. For that reason, the work should properly be entitled *Questions, by Ḥunayn, with additions by Ḥubaysh al-A'sam*. Manuscripts of this work usually contain a statement to the effect that Ḥubaysh's additions are to be found beginning with the part dealing with the four periods of diseases and on from there to the end.'

Ibn Abī Ṣādiq, however, asserts that they are restricted to the part dealing with theriac. As evidence, he points to the statement, 'Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq composed two treatises containing comments on Galen's observations relating to theriac.' Had that statement been Ḥunayn's own, it would have been worded as follows: 'I composed two treatises containing comments,' etc.

Ḥunayn is said to have begun the composition of this work during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, after the caliph had appointed him chief physician in Baghdad.

2. Ten Treatises on the Eye (*K. al-ashr maqālāt fi l-'ayn*).⁸⁷ There is a good deal of variation among manuscripts of this work. Moreover, the several treatises are not organized on the same plan, some of them being brief, covering their subject in a small compass, while others are needlessly discursive and drawn out to an excessive length. That is because each of the treatises was composed as a discrete entity, no consideration having been given to its integration with the others as components of the work as

84 For an English translation, see Ghalioungui, *Questions on Medicine*.

85 Ḥunayn's nephew and a translator in his own right. His biography is given below in Ch. 8.31.

86 Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn Abī Ṣādiq al-Nisābūri, a 5th/11th-cent. Persian physician; a pupil of Ibn Sīnā. Author of numerous works, including a commentary on Ḥunayn's *Book of Questions*. A biography of him will be found in Ch. 11.17.

87 Edition and English translation in Meyerhof, *Ten Treatises*.

a whole, and the reason why that is the case is to be found in the final treatise, where the author tells us, 'In response to requests from various individuals over a period of thirty-odd years, I composed a number of treatises on the eye, dealing with different aspects of the subject.' He goes on to say, 'Ḥubaysh then suggested to me that I should collect them and make a single book out of them, and that to the nine treatises that were already written I should add a tenth consisting of a summary presentation of the compound medicines used by the physicians of antiquity as expounded in their works on disorders of the eye.'

Here follows a list of the subjects with which the treatises comprising this work are concerned.

Treatise I. Nature and structure of the eye.

Treatise II. Nature and functions of the brain.

Treatise III. The optic nerve, the visual pneuma, and the essence of sight itself.

Treatise IV. The factors that are necessary for the preservation of health and its varieties.

Treatise V. Causes of the accidental phenomena observed in the eye.

Treatise VI. Symptoms of disorders that occur in the eye.

Treatise VII. General discussion of the properties of drugs.

Treatise VIII. The various kinds of remedies that are specific to disorders of the eye.

Treatise IX. The treatment of disorders of the eye.

Treatise X. Compound drugs that are appropriate for treating diseases of the eye.

In addition to these, I (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah) have found an eleventh treatise by Ḥunayn that also belongs to this book; it deals with the therapeutic treatment of disorders occurring in the eye.

3. On the eye (*K. fī l-'ayn*),⁸⁸ a work in question-and-answer format that was written for Ḥunayn's two sons, Dāwud and Ishāq. It comprises three treatises containing two hundred and nine questions.
4. Compendium of Galen's *Sixteen Books* (*Ikhtīṣār al-sitt 'ashar kitāban li-Jālīnūs*), a work in question-and-answer format, again prepared by Ḥunayn for his two sons. Indeed, most of Ḥunayn's works in that format were composed for them.
5. On theriac (*K. al-tiryāq*), comprising two treatises.
6. Compendium of Galen's *On Simple Drugs* (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb Jālīnūs fī l-adwi-*

88 French translation by Meyerhof & Sbath, *Le livre des questions*.

- yah al-mufradah*),⁸⁹ comprising eleven treatises. Ḥunayn prepared a compendium of this work in Syriac, but translated only the first part (the first five treatises) into Arabic, at the behest of ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā.⁹⁰
7. Essay listing the works of Galen that have been translated and some that have not (*M. fi dhikr mā turjima min kutub Jālīnūs wa-ba‘ḍ ma lam yutarjam*).⁹¹ Ḥunayn composed this work for ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim.
 8. Treatise consisting of a definitive list of works not mentioned by Galen in the *Catalogue* of his books (*M. fi thabt al-kutub allatī lam yadhkurhā Jālīnūs fī fihrist kutubihī*),⁹² but which in the author’s judgement are undoubtedly by Galen; he reasons that they must be later than *On my Own Books*.
 9. His apologia (*M. fī ‘tidhāriḥī*) for Galen for the seventh book of his *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*.⁹³
 10. Digest of Galen’s *On Types of Abnormal Swellings* (*Jumal maqālat Jālīnūs fī aṣnāf al-ghilaḥ al-khārij ‘an al-ṭabī‘ah*),⁹⁴ arranged in question-and-answer format.
 11. Summary of Galen’s *On the Wasting Disease* (*Jawāmi‘ kitāb Jālīnūs fī l-dhubūl*),⁹⁵ arranged in question-and-answer format.
 12. Summary of Galen’s *The Best Doctor is Also a Philosopher* (*Jawāmi‘ kitāb Jālīnūs fī anna al-ṭabīb al-fāḍil yajibu an yakūna faylasūfīn*),⁹⁶ arranged in question-and-answer format.
 13. Summary of Galen’s *On the Authentic and Inauthentic Works of Hippocrates* (*Jawāmi‘ kitāb Jālīnūs fī kutub Abuqrāṭ al-ṣaḥīḥah wa-ghayr al-ṣaḥīḥah*).⁹⁷

89 *De simplicium medicamentorum*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 78–79.

90 A patron of translators. The notice on him in Ch. 9.41 states: ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā, known as Ibn al-Munajjim. A secretary and companion of the caliph al-Ma‘mūn, who held him in high regard. He was interested in medicine and commissioned the translation of numerous works on that subject.

91 For an edition and German translation, see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*.

92 *De libris propriis*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 114.

93 *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 33.

94 *De tumoribus praeter naturam*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 57. Here and in what follows IAU lists Ḥunayn’s various summaries of Galenic works, not his translations. We refer to the Fichtner number of the Galenic work for convenience.

95 *De marcore*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 56.

96 *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 3.

97 *De Hippocratis scriptis genuinis*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 244. In the *Risālah* (no. 104), Ḥunayn states that he prepared a Syriac translation of Galen’s book and then this epitome (*jawāmi‘*); the Arabic translation of the epitome was made later by his son Ishāq; Gutas, ‘Scholars’, 697 no. 3.

14. Summary of Galen's *Exhortation to the Study of the Arts* (*Jawāmi' kitāb Jālīnūs fī l-hathth 'alā ta'allum al-ṭibb*),⁹⁸ arranged in question-and-answer format.
15. Summary of Galen's *On Semen* (*Jawāmi' kitāb al-manī li-Jālīnūs*),⁹⁹ arranged in question-and-answer format.
16. Fruits of Galen's *Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms* (*Thimār tafṣīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāṭ*),¹⁰⁰ arranged in question-and-answer format, in seven chapters. Ḥunayn translated the whole of this work into Syriac, but only the first four chapters into Arabic; the three remaining chapters were translated into Arabic by 'Īsā ibn Ṣaharbukht.¹⁰¹
17. Fruits of Galen's *Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates* (*Thimār tafṣīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb taqdimat al-ma'rifah*),¹⁰² arranged in question-and-answer format.
18. Fruits of Galen's *Commentary on Hippocrates' Work on Regimen in Acute Diseases* (*Thimār tafṣīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb Abuqrāṭ fī tadbīr al-amrāḍ al-ḥād-dah*),¹⁰³ arranged in question-and-answer format.
19. Fruits of Galen's *Commentary on Hippocrates' Work on Wounds in the Head* (*Thimār tafṣīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb Abuqrāṭ fī jirāḥāt al-ra's*),¹⁰⁴ arranged in question-and-answer format.
20. Fruits of the seventeen extant chapters of Galen's *Commentary on Book I of Hippocrates' Epidemics* (*Thimār al-sab'a 'ashrah maqālah al-mawjūdah min tafṣīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb abidhīmīyā li-Abuqrāṭ*),¹⁰⁵ arranged in question-and-answer format.
21. Fruits of Galen's *Commentary on Hippocrates' Work In the Surgery* (*Thimār tafṣīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb Qāṭīṭrīyūn li-Abuqrāṭ*),¹⁰⁶ arranged in question-and-answer format.

98 *Adhortatio ad artes addiscendas*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 1.

99 *De semine*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 22.

100 *Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarii*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 101.

101 The biography of 'Īsā ibn Ṣaharbukht will be found later in Ch. 8.37.

102 *In Hippocratis prognosticum commentarii* III. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 109.

103 *In Hippocratis librum de acutorum victu commentarii* IV. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 93.

104 *In Hippocratis de capitis vulneribus librum commentarius* Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 383.

105 *In Hippocratis epidemiarum librum primum commentarii* III. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 96.

106 *In Hippocratis librum de officina medici commentarii* III Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 111.

22. Fruits of Galen's *Commentary on Hippocrates' Work on Airs, Waters and Places* (*Thimār tafsīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb Abuqrāt fī l-ahwiyah wa-l-azminah wa-l-buldān*),¹⁰⁷ arranged in question-and-answer format.
23. Explanation of Hippocrates' *On Airs, Waters and Places* (*Sharḥ kitāb al-hawā' wa-l-mā' wa-l-masākin*),¹⁰⁸ unfinished.
24. Explanation of Hippocrates' work *On Food* (*Sharḥ kitāb al-ghidhā' li-Abuqrāt*).¹⁰⁹
25. Fruits of the Third Part of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *On the Nature of Man* (*Thimār al-maqālah al-thālīthah min tafsīr Jālīnūs li-kitāb ṭabī'at al-insān li-Abuqrāt*).¹¹⁰
26. Selections from *Epidemics* (*Fuṣūl istakhrajahā min kitāb abīdhīmīyā*).¹¹¹
27. Hippocrates' *On Eighth-Month Births* (*Thimār kitāb Abuqrāt fī l-mawlūdīn li-thamāniyat ashhur*).¹¹²
28. Selections from *On Airs, Waters and Places*, together with material on airs and places in Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* with Galen's commentary (*Fuṣūl istakhrajahā min kitāb al-ahwiyah wa-l-buldān wa-mimmā fī kitāb al-fuṣūl min al-kalām fī l-ahwiyah wa-l-buldān bi-tafsīr Jālīnūs*).¹¹³
29. Treatise on regimen for convalescents (*M. fī tadbīr al-nāqihīn*), which Ḥunayn wrote at the behest of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā.¹¹⁴
30. On aloes-wood pastilles (*R. fī quraṣ al-ūd*).
31. Letter addressed to al-Ṭayfūrī¹¹⁵ on rose pastilles (*R. ilā l-Ṭayfūrī fī quraṣ al-ward*).
32. Three treatises addressed to al-Mu'tamid¹¹⁶ in reply to his question concerning the distinction between food and purgative medicine (*K. ilā l-Mu'tamid fīmā sa'alahū 'anhu min al-farq bayn al-ghidhā' wa-l-dawā' al-mus'hil, thalāth maqālāt*).

107 *In Hippocratis de aere aquis locis librum commentarii*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 382.

108 *De aere aquis locis*. Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 2.

109 *De alimentorum facultatibus*. Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 61.

110 I.e. the commentary on the Hippocratic *De diaeta salubri*, sometimes known as *In Hippocratis De natura hominis commentarius tertius* (Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 91).

111 *Epidemiarum libri* (*De morbis popularibus I–VII*). Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, nos. 6, 7, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

112 *De octimestri partu*. Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 44.

113 *De aere aquis locis* – Fichtner *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 2, Galen's commentary, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 101. Mss S and B add: 'Selections from the *Epidemics*', a doublet of no. 26.

114 See above Ch. 8.29.5 n. 28.

115 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī, whose biography was given earlier in Ch. 8.10, was a physician from a Nestorian Christian family of Persian origin who became personal physician to the Abbasid caliph al-Hādī.

116 Al-Mu'tamid 'alā llāh, Abbasid caliph (r. 256–279/870–92), son of al-Mutawakkil.

33. Three treatises on the properties of foods (*K. quwā l-aghdhīyah, thalāth maqālāt*).
34. How religion is to be understood (*K. fī kayfīyyat idrāk al-diyānah*).¹¹⁷
35. Questions on urine, extracted from Hippocrates' work *On Epidemics*¹¹⁸ (*Masā'il fī l-bawl intaza'ahā min kitāb abidhīmīyā li-Abuqrāt*).
36. On the development of the chick (*K. fī tawallud al-farrūj*), in which the author explains that the chick develops from the white of the egg, and that the yolk of the egg is what nourishes it.
37. Questions taken from the *Four Books of Logic*¹¹⁹ (*Masā'il istakhrajahā min kutub al-manṭiq al-arba'ah*).
38. On symptoms (*M. fī l-dalā'il*), in which the author describes categories of symptoms that will serve to identify any disorder.
39. On the pulse (*K. fī l-nabḍ*).
40. On fevers (*K. fī l-ḥummayāt*).
41. On urine (*K. fī l-bawl*), consisting of excerpts from material by Hippocrates and Galen.¹²⁰
42. Two treatises on the diagnosis and treatment of abdominal pain (*K. fī ma'rifaṭ awjā' al-ma'idah wa-'ilājihā, maqālātān*).¹²¹
43. On the states of the organs (*K. fī ḥālāt al-a'ḍā'*).
44. On vegetable juices (*M. fī mā' al-buqūl*).
45. On dryness (*K. fī l-yabs*).
46. On preserving the teeth and gums (*K. fī ḥifẓ al-asnān wa-l-lithah*).¹²²
47. On infants born at eight months (*K. fīman yūlad li-thamāniyat ashhur*), in question-and-answer format. Ḥunayn composed this work for an *umm walad*¹²³ of al-Mutawakkil's.

117 See Thomas & Roggema, *Christian-Muslim Relations*, i:775–779 for editions of this short epistle, the most recent being Samīr Khalil Samir.

118 See n. 109 above.

119 The 'four books of logic' probably means the first three books of Aristotle's *Organon* (*Categories, On Interpretation, Prior Analytics*) together with Porphyry's *Introduction* (*Isagoge*). See e.g. Rescher, *Short Commentary, EI² art.* 'Furfūriyūs' (R. Walzer). Gutas suggests that *Posterior Analytics* might have been the fourth book: Gutas, 'Scholars', 688 no. 9.

120 Cf. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, 127–129, 167, 205, 315, 340, 341, 368, *Corpus Hippocraticum* 123, 147 for the various pseudonymous works on this topic.

121 This treatise is preserved in three manuscripts, one incomplete and one which can no longer be located. Only one paragraph has been published; see Iskandar, *Examinations*, 18 n. 2.

122 This treatise is preserved in only two manuscripts, one in Oxford and one in Damascus. For an edition, see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Fī ḥifẓ al-asnān* (ed. al-Dhākri). For studies, see Savage-Smith, *NCAAM-1*, entry no. 166, and Celentano, 'Le petit traité ... sur la prophylaxie et la thérapie des dents'.

123 Slave woman who has borne a child to her owner, one whom he has recognized. Under Islamic law, an *umm walad* becomes free upon her owner's death.

48. On examining physicians (*K. fī imtihān al-aṭibbā'*).¹²⁴
49. On the natures of foods and bodily regimen (*K. fī ṭabā'ī' al-aghdhīyah wa-tadbīr al-abdān*).
50. On the names of simple drugs, arranged in alphabetical order (*K. asmā' al-adwīyah al-mufradah 'alā ḥurūf al-mu'jam*).
51. On his Arabic questions¹²⁵ (*K. fī masā'ilihi al-'arabīyah*).
52. On the nomenclature of parts of the body, in accordance with Galenic ordering (*K. fī tasmiyat al-a'ḍā' 'alā mā rattabahā Jālīnūs*).
53. On the structure of the eye (*K. fī tarkīb al-'ayn*).
54. On the ebb and flow of the tides¹²⁶ (*M. fī l-madd wa-l-jazr*).
55. On the effects of the Sun and Moon (*K. fī af'āl al-shams wa-l-qamar*).
56. On regimen for melancholics (*K. fī tadbīr al-sawdāwīyīn*).
57. On regimen for good health through food and drink (*K. fī tadbīr al-aṣīḥḥā' bi-l-maṭ'am wa-l-mashrab*).
58. On milk (*K. fī l-laban*).
59. On regimen for patients with dropsy (*K. fī tadbīr al-mustasqīn*).
60. On the secrets of compound drugs (*K. fī asrār al-adwīyah al-murakkabah*).
61. On the secrets of the philosophers concerning sexual intercourse (*K. fī asrār al-falāsīfah fī l-bāh*).
62. Summary of the book *On Heavens and the World* (*Jawāmi' kitāb al-samā' wa-l-'ālam*).¹²⁷
63. On logic (*K. fī l-mantiq*).
64. On grammar (*K. fī l-naḥw*).
65. On the creation of mankind, and why human beings' dependent condition is a benefit and a blessing for them¹²⁸ (*M. fī khalq al-insān wa-annahu min maṣlahatihi wa-l-tafaddul 'alayhi ju'ila muḥtajan*).
66. On a course of reading preliminary to the study of the works of Plato (*K. fīmā yuqra' qabla kutub Aflātūn*).

124 Cf. Galen's *De optimo medico cognoscendo* (Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum* 232).

125 Steinschneider suggested the emendation *K. fī masā'ilihi al-ṭabī'īyah*, which, as Ullmann has argued, cannot correspond with the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata Physica*. If this emendation is correct, this might be the work quoted by al-Mas'ūdī in *Murūj*, vii:182–186. See Gutas, 'Scholars', 690–691 no. 15.

126 Some fragments might have survived through quotations in al-Ḥasan ibn al-Bahlūl's *K. al-Dalā'il*, see Gutas, 'Scholars', 691 no. 17.

127 This work is lost in Arabic but has survived in Latin translation (subsequently translated into Hebrew); for a description of its contents see Gutas, 'Scholars', 689–690 no. 14. It is probably the Aristotelian work mentioned in no. 103 below, which is likely to be a doublet (cf. note to no. 99).

128 It has been suggested that this work is identical with the one entitled *Tuḥfat al-alibbā' wa-dhakhīrat al-aṭibbā'*, preserved in a manuscript in Rabat, see Gutas, 'Scholars', 693 no. 30.

67. On the generation of fire between two stones¹²⁹ (*M. fī tawallud al-nār bayna l-ḥajarayn*).
68. Useful extracts (*K. al-fawā'id*).
69. On the bath (*M. fī l-ḥammām*).
70. On lifespans (*M. fī l-ājal*).¹³⁰
71. On ticklishness (*M. fī l-daghdaghah*).
72. On shortness of breath (*M. fī dīq al-nafas*).
73. On differences in taste (*K. fī khtilāf al-ṭū'ūm*).
74. Three treatises on the anatomy of the alimentary system (*K. fī tashrīḥ ālāt al-ghidhā', thalāth maqālāt*).
75. Commentary on Hippocrates' *On Breaths*¹³¹ (*Tafsīr kitāb al-naḥk li-Abuq-rāt*).
76. Commentary on Rufus' *On the Preservation of Health*¹³² (*Tafsīr kitāb ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah li-Rūfus*).
77. Commentary on Galen's *Book of Secret Remedies*¹³³ (*Tafsīr kitāb al-adwiyah al-maktūmah li-Jālīnūs*), in which Ḥunayn comments in detail on Galen's discussion of each medication.
78. On predestination as evidence for the unity of God (*R. fī dalālat al-qadar 'alā l-tawḥīd*).
79. Letter addressed to Salmawayh ibn Bunān¹³⁴ in response to his request for a translation of Galen's *On Habits* (*R. ilā Salmawayh ibn Bunān 'ammā sa'alahū min tarjamat maqālat Jālīnūs fī l-ādāt*).¹³⁵
80. Two treatises on the rules of grammatical inflection, in accordance with the method of the Greeks¹³⁶ (*K. fī aḥkām al-i'rāb 'alā madhhab al-yūnāniyyīn, maqālatān*).

129 This should be ascribed to Thābit ibn Qurrah, according to Gutas; see 'Scholars', 692 no. 22.

130 On this treatise, which survived as ch. 58 of Mu'tamar ibn al-'Assāl's *Majmū' usul al-dīn*, see Thomas & Roggema, *Christian-Muslim Relations*, i:772–774; Samīr, 'Un traité perdu de Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq'; Samīr, 'Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq *M. fī l-ājal*'; and Samīr, *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*.

131 *De flatibus* (Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 27).

132 Rufus of Ephesus, a Greek physician and writer on medical subjects, including melancholy, flourished in the early years of the 2nd cent.; see brief notices on him in Ch. 4.1.10.2 and Ch. 5.1.26.

133 *Liber secretorum ad Monteum*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 409.

134 Personal physician to the Abbasid caliph al-Mu'taṣim. His biography has been given earlier in Ch. 8.20.

135 *De consuetudinibus*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 202. The epistle is not the translation, but rather a discussion of the Syriac translation of Galen's *De moribus* addressed to Salmawayh ibn Bunān; it has survived in the Istanbul MS Ayasofya 3725, ff. 193b–194b. See Gutas, 'Scholars', 687 no. 4.

136 Nothing is known about this work. According to Gutas, the very mention of this title 'would mean that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a was drawing upon a list of Ḥunayn's works that derived from Ḥunayn's successors' ('Scholars', 695 no. 33).

81. How the sea has come to consist of salt water¹³⁷ (*K. fī l-sabab alladhī min aqlihī šārat miyāh al-baḥr māliḥah*).
82. On colours (*M. fī l-atwān*).
83. On the *Categories*¹³⁸ according to the opinion of Themistius¹³⁹ (*K. qāṭi-ghūriyās ‘alā ra’y Thāmistiyūs*).
84. On the formation of calculi (*M. fī tawallud al-ḥaṣāh*).
85. On choosing caustic remedies (*M. fī khtiyār al-adwiyah al-muḥriqah*).
86. On the waters in baths, in question-and-answer format (*K. fī miyāh al-ḥammāmāt ‘alā ṭariq al-mas’alah wa-l-jawāb*).
87. Stories of the philosophers and men of wisdom and of the culture of the teachers of old (*K. nawādir al-falāsifah wa-l-ḥukamā’ wa-ādāb al-mu‘allimīn al-qudamā’*).¹⁴⁰
88. The handbook that he abridged from Paul’s book¹⁴¹ (*Kunnāsh ikhtaṣarahū min kitāb Būlus*).
89. On the classifications of illnesses of the eye (*M. fī taqāsīm ‘ilal al-‘ayn*).
90. On choosing remedies for illnesses of the eye (*K. ikhtiyār adwiyat ‘ilal al-‘ayn*).
91. On epilepsy (*M. fī l-ṣar‘*).
92. On agriculture (*K. al-filāḥah*).
93. On the integration of matters upon which the two great masters, Hippocrates and Galen, were in agreement (*M. fī l-tarkīb mimmā wāfaqahū ‘alayhi al-fāḍilān Abuqrāt wa-Jālīnūs*).
94. On dependency on preserving health and other matters (*M. tata‘allaq bi-ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah wa-ghayrihā*).
95. On celestial influences¹⁴² (*Kalām fī l-āthār al-‘ulwiyyah*).
96. On the rainbow (*M. fī qaws quzah*).
97. On the history of the world: the creation, prophets, kings, nations, caliphs,

137 According to Gutas, this attribution is inaccurate. A similar work has been ascribed to Thābit ibn Qurrah, who is the most likely author, see Gutas, ‘Scholars’, 692 no. 19.

138 I.e., the *Categories* of Aristotle, of which Themistius is said to have composed an epitome.

139 The statesman, rhetorician and Aristotelian philosopher active in the second half of the 4th cent. CE. His philosophical commentaries were well known in Arabic translation.

140 This survives in the epitome of al-Anṣārī, see Badawī, *Ādāb*. Mohsen Zakeri has questioned the authorship of the text as existing at present (Zakeri, *Persian wisdom in Arabic garb*). Cf. Ch. 8.30.6 no. 14.

141 Paul of Aegina, a 7th cent. CE Greek physician who enjoyed a great reputation in the Islamic world. See Ch. 5 and Ch. 6.

142 This work corresponds with the epitome of Aristotle’s *Meteorology* edited in Daiber, *Ein Kompendium der Aristotelischen Meteorologie*. For a description of its contents and bibliography see Gutas, ‘Scholars’, 692 no. 20.

- and kings since the time of Islam (*K. ta'rikh al-'alam wa-l-mabda' wa-l-anbiyā' wa-l-mulūk wa-l-umam wa-l-khulafā' wa-l-mulūk fī l-islām*). In this work, the author begins with Adam and those who came after him. He lists the kings of the Banū Isrā'īl and the kings of the Greeks and Romans, then gives an account of the advent of Islam, the rulers of the Umayyads and those of the Abbasids, down to the time in which Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq himself lived, namely the reign of the caliph al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh.
98. Resolution of some of the doubts of Gessius of Alexandria¹⁴³ about Galen's *On the Affected Parts*¹⁴⁴ (*Ḥall ba'ḍ shukūk Jāsīyūs al-Iskandarānī 'alā kitāb al-a'ḍā' al-ālimah li-Jālīnūs*).
99. On his trials and tribulations (*R. fīmā ašbahū min al-miḥan wa-l-shadā'id*).¹⁴⁵
100. Letter to 'Alī ibn Yahyā¹⁴⁶ replying to his invitation to the author to adopt the Islamic faith (*K. ilā 'Alī ibn Yahyā jawāb kitābihī fīmā da'āhu ilayhi min dīn al-Islām*).
101. Contents of Hippocrates' *Epidemics, Books I, II and III*,¹⁴⁷ arranged in question-and-answer format (*Jawāmi' mā fī l-maqālah al-ūlā wa-l-thāniyah wa-l-thālithah min kitāb Abīdhīmīyā li-Abuqrāt 'alā ṭariq al-mas'alah wa-l-jawāb*).
102. On the development of the foetus, comprising all that Galen and Hippocrates say on the subject (*M. fī kawn al-janīn jam' min aqāwīl Jālīnūs wa-Buqrāt*).
103. Summary of ancient Greek commentaries on Aristotle's work, *On the Heavens and the World* (*Jawāmi' tafsīr al-quḍamā' al-yūnāniyyīn li-kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī l-samā' wa-l-'alam*).¹⁴⁸
104. Questions preliminary to Porphyry's *Isagoge*,¹⁴⁹ which should be read before the *Isagoge* itself (*Mas'āl muqaddamah li-kitāb Furfūriyūs al-ma'rūf bi-l-mudkhal wa-yanbaghī an yuqra' qabla kitāb Furfūriyūs*).

143 A late Alexandrian physician and author of commentaries on the works of Galen. See Ch. 5 and 6.

144 *De locis affectis*. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 60.

145 The purported autobiography of Ḥunayn from which IAU quotes so extensively above. This title marks the end of the list of books in Version 1. The remaining titles are added in Version 2 and Version 3.

146 See n. 90 above (title no. 6).

147 Cf. n. 111 above (title no. 26). Bks 1, 2, 3, and also 6 received a commentary by Galen.

148 Cf. above title no. 62.

149 Porphyry's *Isagoge* (Introduction) is his introduction to Aristotle's *Organon*. Cf. n. 119 above (title no. 37).

105. Interpretation of Aristotle's *Physiognomica* (*Sharḥ kitāb al-firāsah li-Aristū*).¹⁵⁰
106. On counteracting harmful effects from certain foods (*K. dafʿ maḍārr al-aghdhīyah*).
107. On cosmetics (*K. al-zīnah*).
108. On the occult properties of stones (*K. khawāṣṣ al-ahjār*).¹⁵¹
109. On veterinary medicine (*K. al-bayṭarah*).¹⁵²
110. On preserving teeth (*K. ḥifẓ al-asnān*).¹⁵³
111. On the perception of the true nature of different religions (*K. fī idrāk ḥaqīqat al-adyān*).¹⁵⁴

8.30 Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn¹

[8.30.1]

Abū Yaʿqūb Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-ʿIbādī² rivalled his father in respect of his skill as a translator, his knowledge of languages, and his fluent style. However, he translated only very few medical works, in contrast to his voluminous output of Arabic versions of the works of Aristotle on philosophy and commentaries on them.

Ishāq served the same caliphs and officials as he father had served, including in particular al-Qāsim ibn ʿUbayd Allāh,³ to whom he was devoted, and who rewarded him with advancement and entrusted him with confidential matters.

150 This is likely to be Ḥunayn's translation of the Aristotelian work: see Ghersetti, *Il Kitāb Aristātalis*.

151 Cf. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch*, 45–46, with discussion of Ḥunayn's authorship.

152 See Hoyland, 'Theomnestus of Nicopolis, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, and the beginnings of Islamic veterinary science'.

153 Perhaps a doublet of no. 46.

154 Perhaps a doublet of no. 34.

1 For bibliographic references to Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 267f.; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 119; *ET*² art. 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn' (G. Strohmaier); *ET Three* art. 'Ishāq b. Ḥunayn' (G. Strohmaier). See also a short entry in Ch. 9.3. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 IAU has explained in the first lines of his biography of Ishāq's famous father, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (Ch. 8.29), that this *nisbah* is to be pronounced 'abādī, but modern scholarship considers 'ibādī to be correct.

3 Vizier to the caliph al-Muktafī (r. 289–295/902–908).

[8.30.2]

Ishāq possessed a fund of entertaining stories and anecdotes, and he also wrote poetry. The following account is given in his own words:

I once had a patient who came to me complaining of pain in the belly. I gave him an electuary.⁴ ‘Take it first thing in the morning,’ I said to him, ‘and then come to see me in the evening and tell me how you are feeling.’ That evening, his slave-boy appeared bearing a message from his master. I read it, and found that it read as follows:

Dear Sir, I took the medicine, and (as I value you) have had ten bowel movements, some reddish and resembling ropy saliva, and some greenish, the colour of chard, reminiscent of a salad. Afterward, I suffered from colic⁵ in my head and vertigo⁶ in my navel. Would you very kindly take Nature to task for this in such a way as you may deem appropriate, if God, exalted is He, so wills.

After reading this extraordinary missive, I said to myself, ‘Well, there is only one way to answer such a crackpot as this,’ and I wrote back to him, ‘I have received your message. I shall go to see Nature as you ask, and will send you the answer once we have met. Yours faithfully.’

[8.30.3]

Toward the end of his life, Ishāq suffered from paralysis (*al-fālij*), which ultimately proved fatal to him. He died in Baghdad in the month of Rabi‘ 11 in the year 298 [December 910], during the reign of al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh.⁷

[8.30.4]

Ishāq liked to say, ‘Wine in moderation is a friend to the spirit; wine in excess is an enemy of the body.’

The following is a sample of his poetry:⁸

I am the son of those in whom medicine was deposited
and who were named for it, as child, mature man and adolescent.⁹

4 *Ma’jūn*, a medicinal paste made with honey or syrup mixed with other ingredients.

5 *Maghs* is an alternative form of *maghs*, meaning a pain in the belly; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2726.

6 *Hawas*, meaning dizziness or vertigo; Lane, *Lexicon*, 2907.

7 Reigned as caliph 295–320/908–932.

8 Metre: *tawīl*. The verses have not been found in older sources.

9 The odd sequence is due to the rhyme.

Aristotle enlightens me as a brilliant man,
 rectifying my speech that cannot be gainsaid,
 And Hippocrates, in abridging what those had established
 for us of disease and sickness, is a similarly skilled man.¹⁰
 And Galen always heals our hearts
 on account of the natural humours that move in it for us.
 And Yaḥyā ibn Māsawayh,¹¹ and Ahrun¹² before him,
 who¹³ wrote books with many benefits to people.
 He saw(?) that they were acquired about medicine(?), so
 we did not rest from memorizing them(?).¹⁴

[8.30.5]

The following account is taken from a copy of Ibn Buṭlān's¹⁵ epistle entitled *The Physicians' Dinner-Party*,¹⁶ written in his own hand

Al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh once learned that Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq, who was a friend of his, had treated himself with a laxative. The vizier composed the following teasing verses and sent them to Ishāq:¹⁷

Let me know how you were last night
 and how you felt
 And how often the she-camel took you
 to the Empty Abode.¹⁸

10 Translation uncertain.

11 The metre requires reading this as Māsūyah. Yaḥyā is the Muslim Arabic equivalent of Christian Arabic Yūḥannā.

12 Ahrun ibn A'yan 'the Priest' (al-Qass), who lived in Alexandria probably in the 6th cent., author of an important medical compendium; see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 87–89; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 166–168.

13 The plural suffix of *lahum* suggests that Māsawayh, the father of Yaḥyā/Yūḥannā, is included.

14 The verse is not wholly clear. For the expression *rāḥah wa-aṣābi'*, 'rest/hand and fingers' (jestingly mentioned because of the two meanings of *rāḥah*), see a similar verse by Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, iv:586.

15 A 5th/11th cent. Christian physician, theologian and prolific author. His biography will be found in Ch. 10.38. See also *ET*² art. 'Ibn Buṭlān' (J. Schacht).

16 For an edition and German translation of *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'*, see Ibn Buṭlān, *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Klein-Franke) and (trns. Klein-Franke); for French translations, see Ibn Buṭlān, *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'* (trns. Dagher & Troupeau) and (trns. Sedky).

17 Metre (of these lines and the reply): *hazaj*. See Ibn Buṭlān, *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Klein-Franke), 54; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:205; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, viii:410; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:224; attributed to Jaḥzah or an unnamed friend of al-Ṣanawbarī in al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, v:219; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, v:109; see also al-Ṣanawbarī, *Dīwān*, 324–325.

18 An allusion to the euphemistic use of the word *al-khalā'* ('emptiness; open space') for the place where one relieves oneself.

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

[8.30.6]

Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn is the author of the following works:

1. On medical substances (*K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah*).
2. A small-sized compendium known as *The Boot Compendium* (*kunnāsh al-khuff*).
3. On the origins of the art of medicine (*ibtidā' šinā'at al-ṭibb*), in which the names of a number of sages and physicians are mentioned.¹⁹
4. On readily available medicines (*K. al-adwiyah al-mawjūdah bi-kull ma-kān*).
5. On the administration of purgatives (*K. iṣlāḥ al-adwiyah al-mus'hilah*).
6. A synopsis of Euclid's *Elements*²⁰ (*ikhtiṣār kitāb Uqlidis*).
7. The categories (*K. al-maqūlāt*).
8. The *Isagoge*, an introduction to the art of logic (*K. isāghūjī wa-huwa al-mudkhal ilā šinā'at al-manṭiq*).
9. A revision of the Alexandrian summary of Galen's *Explanation of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates*²¹ (*iṣlāḥ jawāmi' al-iskandarāniyyīn li-sharḥ jālīnūs li-kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Buqrāt*).
10. On the pulse, a typology (*K. fī l-nabḍ 'alā jihat al-taqṣīm*).
11. On the promotion of health and memory and the prevention of forgetfulness (*M. fī l-ashyā' allatī tufīd al-ṣiḥḥah wa-l-ḥifẓ wa-tamna' min al-nisyān*). Iṣḥāq composed this treatise at the behest of 'Abd Allāh ibn Sham'un.²²

19 This is his *Ta'riḥ al-aṭibbā' (History of Physicians)*, an important source for IAU in Chs 1–6 that survives today mainly in the *Šiwān al-ḥikmah*, falsely attributed to Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī, and in an epitome. For the edition and translation of the extant fragments, see Rosenthal, 'Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn'; for a study, see Zimmermann, 'Chronology'. See also the essay in Volume One of the present publication, I. Sánchez, 'The Sources Used by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah'.

20 This work is not extant. Iṣḥāq was the author of the Arabic translation of Euclid's *Elements*, of which this was an abridgement. On his translation of Euclid, see De Young, 'Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn'.

21 Cf. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 101.

22 Unidentified interlocutor of Iṣḥāq in his *History of Physicians* (Rosenthal, 'Iṣḥāq b. Ḥunayn', 61/72, 70/80).

12. On medical substances (*K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah*).²³
13. On the art of surgery (*K. ṣanʿat al-ʿilāj bi-l-ḥadīd*).
14. The culture of the philosophers and the stories about them (*K. ādāb al-falāsifah wa-nawādirihim*).²⁴
15. On the divine unity (*M. fī l-tawḥīd*).

8.31 Ḥubaysh al-A'sam¹

Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Dimashqī was the son of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's sister, and studied the art of medicine under his uncle's tutelage. He followed Ḥunayn's example in his work as a translator and also in his speech and conduct, but was by no means the equal of his mentor.

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq mentions his nephew in various passages in his works.² According to him, the younger man was intelligent and perceptive, but did not fully live up to his potential because he did not make the necessary effort. 'Keen intelligence or no keen intelligence,' says Ḥunayn, 'the fact is, he is rather slack.'³ It was Ḥubaysh who completed Ḥunayn's work titled *Questions* (*K. al-masā'il*),⁴ which is an introduction to the art of medicine for students.

Ḥubaysh is the author of the following works:

1. On the administration of purgatives (*K. iṣlāḥ al-adwiyah al-mus'hilah*).⁵
2. On medicinal substances (*K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah*).⁶
3. On foods (*K. al-aḡhdiyah*).
4. On dropsy (*K. fī l-istisqā'*).
5. On the pulse, a typology (*M. fī l-nabḍ 'alā jihat al-taqṣīm*).⁷

23 Doublet of title no. 1.

24 A work with the same title is usually ascribed to his father, Ḥunayn; see Ch. 8.29.22 no. 87.

1 For bibliographic references to Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan al-A'sam al-Dimashqī, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 265–266, Ullmann, *Medizin* 119; *EI Three* art. 'Ḥubaysh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dimashqī' (G. Strohmaier). A short biography is also given in Ch. 9.4. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 Reference unclear.

3 In Ch. 9.4 IAU says of Ḥubaysh that he was 'an admirable translator, worthy to be ranked with Ḥunayn and Ishāq.'

4 It is the first item in the book-list in the biography of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (Ch. 8.29.22 no. 1), For an English translation, see Ghalioungui, *Questions on Medicine*.

5 Cf. the book-list of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, Ch. 8.30.6 no. 5.

6 Cf. the book-list of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, Ch. 8.30.6 nos. 1 & 12.

7 Cf. the book-list of Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, Ch. 8.30.6 no. 10.

8.32 Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū¹

[8.32.1]

Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū¹ was an eminent physician. He was famous for his mastery of the Greek and Syriac languages, and translated numerous Greek works into Syriac. Yūḥannā served al-Muwaffaq bi-Allāh Ṭalḥah ibn Ja'far al-Mutawakkil² as his personal physician. Al-Muwaffaq relied on him on many occasions, and addressed him as *mufarrij karbī* ('my relief from anxiety').

[8.32.2]

The source of the following anecdote is Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās ibn Ṭūmār al-Hāshimī:³

When al-Muwaffaq sat down to drink, a gold platter, a gold washbasin, a crystal jug⁴ and a crystal cup would be set before him. Similar ware was set before Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū¹, who would be seated on his right, and before Ghālib, the physician.⁵ Platters of ordinary varnished ware, common glass vessels, and bitter oranges, would then be set before the other guests.

[8.32.3]

Another anecdote related by Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās is as follows:

I remember once, when Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū¹ had complained to al-Muwaffaq in my hearing about some difficulty he was having in connection with his estates, al-Muwaffaq instructed Ṣā'id⁶ to write a letter addressed to Yūḥannā, clarifying the matter in his favour. Some time later,

1 For bibliographic references to Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū¹, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 258; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 111. This biography is included in Version 2 and Version 3 of the book, but not in Version 1.

2 Al-Muwaffaq bi-Allāh Ṭalḥah ibn Ja'far al-Mutawakkil was a son of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861). He was the regent and virtual ruler of the caliphate during the time of al-Mu'tamid (r. 256–279/870–892). See *EI*² art. 'al-Muwaffaq' (H. Kennedy).

3 Unidentified. The anecdote describes preparation for washing hands, an integral part of meals; cf. e.g. Nasrallah, *Annals*, 505–507.

4 *Khurdādhi*, a type of wine (al-Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs*), but also used for a type of bottle. For a crystal *khurdādhi*, see al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, 1:336, 8:253. See al-Ma'arrī, *The Epistle of Forgiveness*, glossary.

5 IAU has a biography of one Ghālib, 'the physician of al-Mu'taḍid,' in Ch. 10.10.

6 Ṣā'id ibn Makhhlad, al-Muwaffaq's vizier. See *EI*² art. 'al-Muwaffaq' (H. Kennedy).

Yūḥannā again called on al-Muwaffaq. On that occasion, he recalled the great man's kindness and generosity toward him, and then said that Ṣā'id had been working to nullify his master's favourable treatment by sending letters to governors and prefects implying that Yūḥannā's estates and other properties did not really belong to him. Al-Muwaffaq told him to return to his encampment, saying reassuringly that his own view of the matter had not changed. He then sent for Ṣā'id. 'You know perfectly well,' he said to the vizier, 'that there is no one in this world whose company I find more congenial, who sees more deeply into my heart, and who relieves my anxiety more reliably, than Yūḥannā. Yet here you are, persistently scheming to make my life miserable by distracting him from his duty to me, God confound you!' Ṣā'id protested most earnestly – even unbuckling his sword and baldric – that he had done nothing of the sort, but al-Muwaffaq said to him, 'I want you to go at once to Yūḥannā's encampment and take the necessary measures to ensure that his affairs are arranged just as he wants them. Take Rāshid⁷ with you. Write it all down in the proper legal form, and have Yūḥannā write out an acknowledgement that the matter has been settled in accordance with his wishes, and then have Rāshid bring the acknowledgement back to me.'

Ibrāhīm's account continues:

So Ṣā'id set off with Rāshid, accompanied by several of us, myself included. When our party reached the encampment, we found Yūḥannā seated on Sāmān mats in a pavilion that he had had erected. As we approached, Yūḥannā rose to greet Ṣā'id, Rāshid and me, and invited us all to be seated. Ṣā'id then repeated to Yūḥannā the same solemn oath that he had sworn to al-Muwaffaq. 'That's all very well,' replied Yūḥannā, 'but you say one thing and write another; what use is that to me?' Ṣā'id swore his oath yet again and urged most solemnly that he had not acted against Yūḥannā's interests. Calling for a napkin, which was brought and placed in his lap, he took a pen and sheets of paper, and on them wrote and sketched plans confirming Yūḥannā's titles, in accordance with the physician's request. He then had Yūḥannā sign in token of acceptance, asked me and the others to sign as witnesses, and sent Rāshid off to al-Muwaffaq bi-Allāh with the whole packet. The result was that Yūḥannā never had to appeal to al-Muwaffaq's generosity again in any matter.

⁷ Unidentified, but doubtless a member of al-Muwaffaq's household staff.

[8.32.4]

Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshūʿ is the author of a work entitled *Essential Astrology for Physicians* (*K. fimā yaḥtāj ilayhi al-ṭabīb min ʿilm al-nujūm*).

8.33 Bukhtīshūʿ ibn Yūḥannā¹

Bukhtīshūʿ ibn Yūḥannā was a skilled physician who stood high in the favour of caliphs and other prominent persons. In particular, he served al-Muqtadir bi'llāh² as his personal physician; the caliph treated him generously, granting him lucrative estates in fee. Subsequently, Bukhtīshūʿ served the caliph al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh,³ under whom he enjoyed respect and prosperity quite equal to what he had known in the days of al-Rāḍī's father, al-Muqtadir.

Bukhtīshūʿ ibn Yūḥannā died in Baghdad on Wednesday, 27 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 329 [22 September 941].

8.34 ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī¹

ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī was a distinguished physician, but he also took an interest in philosophy; he is the author of various works on that subject. He was one of the most promising students of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, under whose tutelage he learned the art of medicine.

ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī served Aḥmad, the son of the caliph al-Mutawakkil,² as his personal physician. When at length Aḥmad became caliph as al-Muʿtamid ʿalā llāh,³ he treated his old physician most generously, showing him great honour, giving him fine mounts on a number of occasions, and bestowing robes of honour upon him.

ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī is the author of the following works:

1 For bibliographic references to Bukhtīshūʿ ibn Yūḥannā, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 111. This biography is included in Version 2 and Version 3 of the book, but not in Version 1.

2 R. 295–320/908–932. See *ET*² art. 'al-Muqtadir' (K.V. Zetterstéen & C.E. Bosworth).

3 R. 322–329/934–940. See *ET*² art. 'al-Rāḍī' (K.V. Zetterstéen).

1 For bibliographic information about ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī, see Sezgin, *GAS* 111, 259; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 327, and Raggetti, ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī's *Book. xi-xiii*. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 R. 232–247/847–861.

3 R. 256–279/870–892.

1. On the benefits obtainable from the various parts of animals (*K. al-manā-fi‘ allatī tustafād min a‘dā’ al-ḥayawān*)⁴
2. On poisons, in two parts (*K. al-sumūm, maqālatān*).

8.35 ʿĪsā ibn Yahyā ibn Ibrāhīm¹

This physician was another of the pupils of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, who taught him the art of medicine.

8.36 al-Ḥallājī¹

Al-Ḥallājī, commonly known by the name Yahyā ibn Abī Ḥakīm, was one of the personal physicians of the caliph al-Mu‘taḍid.²

Al-Ḥallājī is the author of a work entitled *Regimen for Slim Bodies That are Ill from Yellow Bile* (*K. tadbīr al-abdān al-naḥīfah allatī qad ‘allat’ hā al-ṣafra’*), which he composed for al-Mu‘taḍid.

8.37 Ibn Ṣahār Bukht¹

Ibn Ṣahār Bukht, whose given name was ʿĪsā, was a native of Gondēshāpūr.

ʿĪsā ibn Ṣahār Bukht is the author of a work on the effectiveness of medicinal substances (*K. quwā al-adwiyah al-mufradah*).

4 For an edition, translation and study, see Raggetti, ʿĪsā ibn ‘Alī’s *Book*.

1 For bibliographical information about ʿĪsā ibn Yahyā ibn Ibrāhīm, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 257, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 30, 57. This biography is not included in Version 1 of the book, but is found in Versions 2 and 3.

1 For bibliographical information about al-Ḥallājī and his works, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 263. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:302, is IAU’s source for biographies in Ch. 8.36 to Ch. 8.38.

2 R. 279–289/892–902.

1 For bibliographic information about Ibn Ṣahār Bukht and his works, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 243, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 264, 273. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:302, is IAU’s source for biographies in Ch. 8.36 to Ch. 8.38.

8.38 Ibn Māhān¹

Ibn Māhān was known as Ya‘qūb al-Sīrāfi. He is the author of a work entitled *The Book of Medicine for Travelling and Residing* (*K. al-safar wa-l-ḥaḍar fī l-ṭibb*).

8.39 al-Sāhir¹

This physician's given name was Yūsuf, and he was commonly known as Yūsuf the Priest. He was also knowledgeable about the art of medicine and was an eminent physician in the time of the caliph al-Muktafi.²

According to ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl,³ Yūsuf suffered from a cancer (*saraṭān*) on his forehead which made it impossible for him to sleep, and it was for that reason that he was dubbed al-Sāhir ('the insomniac').

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl's account continues, 'Al-Sāhir is the author of a *Compendium* in which he discusses remedies for a number of disorders, and in it there are indications that he was indeed afflicted with that disease.'

The celebrated *Compendium* (*Kunnāsh*) by which al-Sāhir is best known and which bears his name is his masterpiece. In it, he sets forth the inferences and the results of practical experience that he had collected throughout his life. The work is divided into two parts. The first of these is organized on a plan that reflects the arrangement of the parts of the body, from head to feet; it consists of twenty chapters. The second part, which contains six chapters, does not reflect this arrangement.

1 There are no bibliographic references for Ibn Māhān or his works. This biography is included in all three versions of the book. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid) 2/1:302, is IAU's source for biographies in Ch. 8.36 to Ch. 8.38.

1 For bibliographic information about al-Sāhir and his works, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 268–269, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 124. This biography is included in all three versions of the book.

2 R. 289–295/902–908.

3 ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl was one of the celebrated Bukhtīshū' family of physicians; his biography was given in Ch. 8.6. The extract will be from his *The Merits of Physicians* (Ch. 8.6. title no. 2).

Physicians Who Translated Works on Medicine and Other Subjects from Greek into Arabic, and Their Patrons

Translated and annotated by Bruce Inksetter and Ignacio Sánchez

9.1 Jūrjis¹

The first of those who began the work of translating medical and other works from Greek into Arabic. Jūrjis undertook this task at the invitation of the caliph al-Manṣūr, who treated him with the utmost generosity. An account of his life has been given in an earlier chapter of this work.²

9.2 Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq³

Ḥunayn knew four languages – Arabic, Syriac, Greek and Persian – including rare words as well as common vocabulary. His works are superb examples of the translator’s art.

1 This chapter is included in all three versions of the book. Biographies 9.1–9.38 of this chapter have clear parallels in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 244–245; Tajaddud, 304–306; Sayyid, 2/1:144–149). Both IAU and Ibn al-Nadīm seem to have relied on the same unidentified source, which, in view of the transliterations and the religious affiliation of the translators, must have been originally written by a Christian author in Syriac and later translated into Arabic. IAU is more detailed than Ibn al-Nadīm. The second part of IAU’s account (9.39–9.49) centres on the sponsors of the translation movement and has no parallel in Ibn al-Nadīm; the main source for this list of patrons is Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’s *Epistle (Risālah)*. The identities of the translators mentioned in this chapter have been discussed in Meyerhof, ‘New Light’; Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 121–140; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii:74–91; Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’; Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations*, Appendix 2.

2 See Ch. 8.1.

3 See Ch. 8.29 for the full biography.

9.3 Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn

Ishāq was conversant with all the languages that his father knew, and was comparable to him as a translator. His style was mellifluous and his diction fluent. However, Ḥunayn has more works to his credit, both original compositions and translations, than Ishāq. Accounts of the lives of both Ishāq and his father have been given in an earlier chapter of this work.⁴

9.4 Ḥubaysh al-A'sam⁵

The son of a sister of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, and Ḥunayn's pupil. An admirable translator, worthy to be ranked with Ḥunayn and Ishāq. An account of his life has been given in an earlier chapter as well.

9.5 'Īsā ibn Yahyā ibn Ibrāhīm⁶

Another pupil of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq. An excellent translator: Ḥunayn praised him and held his translation work in high regard. 'Īsā's translations are closely modelled on those of Ḥunayn. He also produced original compositions.

9.6 Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī

He was a translator experienced in languages and accomplished in the philosophical and other sciences. An account of his life and works will be presented later in this work, God willing.⁷

9.7 Ayyūb, known as al-Abrash ('the Speckled')⁸

An unproductive and mediocre translator, until late in life, when he produced a number of translations worthy of Ḥunayn.

4 For these two earlier biographies, see Chs. 8.29 and 8.30.

5 The nephew of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq; his biography will be found in Ch. 8.31. See also *ET Three* art. 'Ḥubaysh b. Ḥasan al-Dimashqī' (G. Strohmaier).

6 A very brief notice will be found at Ch. 8.35. For Ḥunayn's numerous references to his translations, see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah* (index).

7 See Ch. 10.44 for a lengthy biography.

8 Although IAU does not include al-Ruhāwī in the name, this must be Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī

9.8 Māsarjīs⁹

A translator from Syriac into Arabic, and renowned for his knowledge of the art of medicine. He is the author of works entitled:

1. On the effectiveness of foods: their beneficial and harmful effects (*K. quwā al-aṭʿimah wa-manāfiʿihā wa-maḍārrihā*)
2. On the effectiveness of drugs: their beneficial and harmful effects (*K. quwā al-ʿaḡāqīr wa-manāfiʿihā wa-maḍārrihā*)

9.9 ʿĪsā ibn Māsarjīs¹⁰

ʿĪsā ibn Māsarjīs followed in his father's footsteps. He is the author of:

1. On colours (*K. al-abwān*)
2. On scents and flavours (*K. al-rawāʿih wa-l-ṭuʿūm*)

9.10 Shahdā al-Karkhī¹¹

Shahdā, a native of Karkh,¹² was much like the aforementioned¹³ as a translator.

al-Abrash (d. ca. 220/835), otherwise known as Iyob or Job of Edessa. Another short biography of him is given in Ch. 8.22. *ʿAl-abrash* ('the speckled', or 'the spotted') was sometimes used as a euphemism for *al-abraṣ* ('the leper'), as in the case of the pre-Islamic Jadhīmah, but whether this meaning was applicable to Job of Edessa is unknown. He was a Christian physician, although his exact confession is unknown, and worked as physician for the Abbasid caliphs and the governor of Khorasan, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq refers to Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī as the translator of thirty-six Galenic works (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, index s.v. Aijūb al-Ruhāwī; *Galen Translations*, s.v. Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī). On this translator, see Roggema, 'Iyob of Edessa'. For bibliographic references, see Sezgin, *GAS* 111, 230; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 101f.

9 Māsarjīs, also called Māsarjawayh (Persian Māsargōye), was a physician of Judeo-Persian origin. He is one of the few known physicians from the Umayyad period, but the exact dates of his life are unknown: see *ET*² art. 'Māsarjawayh' (A. Dietrich). His biography is also given in Ch. 8.19.

10 ʿĪsā, the son of Māsarjīs, was also a physician. Almost nothing is known about his life. See *ET*² art. 'Māsarjawayh' (A. Dietrich).

11 Little is known about either Shahdā al-Karkhī or his son. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq states that Ibn Shahdā (written Sahdā) had translated Galen's *De Sectis* into Syriac, but was a mediocre translator (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 4; Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations*, 11); he also translated Galen's *Ars medica* and *De pulsibus ad tirones* (*Risālah*, 6; *Galen Translations*, 13, 15).

12 A district of Baghdad. See *ET*² art. 'al-Karkh' (M. Streck & J. Lassner).

13 The expression *qarīb al-ḥāl* is puzzling; it seems to compare Shahdā to translators mentioned before, with *minhum* understood.

9.11 Ibn Shāhdā al-Karkhī

As a translator, he produced work similar to that of his father. The translations he produced later in life, however, are superior to those of his father, although still undistinguished. Ibn Shāhdā al-Karkhī translated from Syriac into Arabic. Among other things, he translated Hippocrates' work on embryos.¹⁴

9.12 al-Ḥajjāj ibn Maṭar¹⁵

Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Maṭar translated for the caliph al-Ma'mūn. Among other works, he produced a translation of Euclid's *Elements* which was subsequently revised and corrected by Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī.¹⁶

9.13 Ibn Nā'imah¹⁷

Ibn Nā'imah – that is, 'Abd al-Masiḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥimṣī al-Nā'imī – was a generally undistinguished translator, although he produced some respectable work on occasion.

9.14 Zarūyā ibn Mānaḥūh al-Nā'imī al-Ḥimṣī¹⁸

He produced facile translations, which, however, did not measure up to those of his predecessors.

14 Ibn al-Nadīm also states that Ibn Shāhdā was the translator of Hippocrates' *On Embryos* (*K. al-Ajinnah; De natura pueri*; see Fichtner, *Corpus Hippocraticum*, no. 46); see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 244; Tajaddud, 305; Sayyid, 2/1:148).

15 Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar (fl. 169–218/786–833) translated Euclid's *Elements* at the request of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 169–193/786–809) and reworked it under the caliph al-Ma'mūn (r. 197–218/813–833); see *EI Three* art. 'al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar' (G. de Young & S. Brentjes). An anecdote about a mission dispatched by al-Ma'mūn to Byzantium, in which this translator is said to have participated, will be found in the biography of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in Ch. 8.29. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid, 1/2:145), records a translation of the *Almagest*.

16 For the biography of Thābit ibn Qurrah, see Ch. 10.3.

17 'Abd al-Masiḥ ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥimṣī al-Nā'imī was a Syriac Orthodox scholar mainly known for his translation of the so-called 'Theology of Aristotle', which is a periphrastic selection from the last three *Enneads* by Plotinus revised by al-Kindī around 225/840. He also translated Aristotle's *Sophistici Elenchi*. See Zimmermann, 'Origins'.

18 The precise form of the name of this little-known translator is uncertain. With the ex-

9.15 Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī¹⁹

His translations are sound, but are lacking in literary style and elegance.

9.16 Pethion the Translator²⁰

I have found his translations barbarously ungrammatical; his grasp of the Arabic language was most imperfect.

9.17 Abū Naṣr ibn Nārī ibn Ayyūb

He produced few translations, and those he did produce are considered less reliable than those of other translators.

9.18 Basīl al-Muṭṭrān²¹

A prolific and passably good translator.

9.19 Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl²²

Not far short of the standard of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq himself as far as his ability as a translator goes; however, Ḥunayn's style is smoother and more graceful.

ception of ms A, all manuscript copies, as well as Ibn al-Nadīm, write the name as Zarūbā, while Zarūyā perhaps reflects a Syriac origin or a masculine equivalent of the Biblical name Zeruah, the sister of David. The second part of the name, Mānaḥūh, may also be doubtful, and Mājūh might be a preferred reading.

19 Hilāl ibn Abī Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī (d. 218/833) was a mathematician associated with the Banū Mūsā, and one of the translators of Apollonius' *Conic Sections* (*K. al-Makhrūṭāt*); see Toomer, *Apollonius' Conics*, xviii, 620, 628. His father, Hilāl al-Ḥimṣī, was a physician and author of a book quoted by al-Rāzī; see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 122; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii:79.

20 Pethion (fl. second half of the 3rd/9th century) was an East Syrian Christian, author of a lost ecclesiastical history. He is one of IAU's and Barhebraeus' main sources for the physicians from Gondēshāpūr, probably via quotations in Elias of Nisibis' *Chronicle*. Although nothing is known about his life, it has been suggested that he is the Pethion of Elam to whom the Catholicos Timothy addressed his ninth letter; see Berti, *L'au-delà de l'âme*, 26–32. For Fathyūn al-tarjūmān, see also Sezgin, *GAS* III: 231.

21 According to Ibn al-Qifṭī, Basīl translated the first four books of Porphyry's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*; see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 39.

22 Little is known about the life of Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl (d. ca. 298/910). Presumably the son of

9.20 Mūsā ibn Khālid the Translator²³

I have found many works translated by this scholar, including Galen's *Sixteen Books*²⁴ and other works, but in terms of skill he fell far short of the standard of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.

9.21 Uṣṭāth²⁵

A mediocre translator.

9.22 Khayrūn ibn Rābiṭah²⁶

Not renowned for the quality of his translations.

9.23 Theodore the Syncellus²⁷

I am familiar with his translations of various philosophical works. They are quite acceptable in terms of quality.

the former translator, Iṣṭifān was a member of the Church of the East and, according to Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, the author of nine translations of works by Galen commissioned by Muḥammad ibn Mūsā; he was also the translator of Oribasius' *Collectiones*. Ḥunayn and Iṣṭifān collaborated in the translation of Galen's *Causes of Breathing* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 24; Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations*, 53), and in the first translation of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*. On this translator see *EI Three* art. 'Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl' (I. Sánchez).

According to a marginal annotation in an Istanbul manuscript containing several works on logic, the translator of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*, Tadhārā Ibn Basīl, was Iṣṭifān's brother (Dāneshpazūh, *Manṭiq*, viii; Lameer, *Al-Fārābī and Aristotelian Syllogism*, 4). On this author, see Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii:79–81; *EI Three* art. 'Greek into Arabic' (C. D'Ancona); Graf, *Geschichte*, ii:131.

23 Mūsā ibn Khālid was a disciple of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq; see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 171.

24 That is, the Alexandrian medical curriculum: see Ch. 6.3 for the account of them by Ibn Riḍwān.

25 Uṣṭāth (Eustathius) (first half of the 3rd/9th c.) was one of the scholars of the circle of al-Kindī, for whom he translated Aristotle's *Metaphysics*; he was also the translator of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. See Endress, 'The Circle of al-Kindī', 52; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, ii:81.

26 An otherwise unidentified translator. In all copies, the first letter is undotted, while the third letter is a *rā'* in three copies (A, P, R) but dotted in MS Sb. Thus the name could be read as Ḥayzūn or Ḥayrūn, but Khayrūn seems more likely.

27 In Arabic al-Sunqal, a transcription of **ܣܘܢܩܐܠ**, the Syriac rendition of the Greek σύγ-

9.24 Sergius of Rēsh ‘Aynā²⁸

Sergius al-Ra’sī was a native of the city of Rēsh ‘Aynā.²⁹ He translated many works, but was undistinguished as a translator. Some of his works were revised by Ḥunayn, and those are excellent, whereas those works that Ḥunayn did not revise are of indifferent quality.

9.25 Ayyūb al-Ruhāwī (Ayyūb of Edessa)³⁰

Not the Ayyūb al-Abrash who was mentioned earlier. This Ayyūb was an excellent translator with a good knowledge of languages, although his Syriac was better than his Arabic.

9.26 Yūsuf the Translator³¹

Abū Ya’qūb ibn Yūsuf ibn ‘Īsā, known as ‘the doctor’³² and ‘the translator’, and also dubbed ‘the sleepless’ (*al-nā’is*), was a pupil of ‘Īsā ibn Ṣaharbukht.³³ Yūsuf

κελλος (referring specifically to the chief minister of the Constantinopolitan patriarch). Nothing is known about this translator. There was a certain Theodore at Mar Saba, brother of Michael the Syncellus, who might correspond to this figure, but Michael and his brothers left for Constantinople after the sack of the monastery in 197/813. See Brock, ‘Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba’.

28 Sergius of Rēsh ‘Aynā (d. 536) was the most important translator of Greek medical works into Syriac. There is a brief notice on him in Ch. 3 6, and he is mentioned several times in IAU’s biography of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in Ch. 8.29. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq reports on his numerous translations in his *Risālah*. On this translator, see also Griffith, ‘Sergios of Reś’aina’; Aydin, *Sergius of Reshaina*.

29 Rēsh ‘Aynā, a city in upper Mesopotamia, is the modern Ra’s al-‘Ayn, in the Ḥasakah Governorate of Syria, near the Turkish border.

30 This is the well-known Ya’qūb of Edessa (ca. 630–708), a Syriac Orthodox polymath who revised previous translations of Severus of Antioch and the translation of the Old Testament. See Salvesen, ‘Ya’qūb of Edessa’. Edessa, in upper Mesopotamia, later known as al-Ruhā (or al-Ruhā), is the modern Şanlıurfa (or simply Urfa) in southeastern Turkey.

31 Yūsuf al-Khūrī or al-Qass (the priest). According to Ibn al-Qiftī, he worked as a physician during the caliphate of al-Muktafi (r. 288–295/902–908) and received the nickname ‘the sleepless’ either because of his habit of studying during the night or due to a tumour in his head that prevented him from sleeping. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq is very critical of his translation of Galen’s *Simple Medicines* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 30; *Galen Translations*, 67). Yūsuf also translated Archimedes’ book on triangles. On this translator, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 124, 319. See also Ch. 8.39.

32 *Al-mutaṭabbīb*, or medical practitioner, not necessarily in a pejorative sense.

33 ‘Īsā ibn Ṣaharbukht was a Christian physician from Gondēshāptūr, student of Jūrjis ibn Ji-

was a native of Khuzestan,³⁴ and suffered from a speech impediment. His translations are unimpressive.

9.27 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt³⁵

A mediocre translator. His work is similar to that of Sergius of Rēsh ‘Aynā.

9.28 Thābit the Translator³⁶

Also mediocre, albeit better than Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt. He was not a prolific translator. Galen’s *Juices*³⁷ is among the works that he translated.

9.29 Abū Yūsuf the Secretary³⁸

An undistinguished translator. He translated a number of the works of Hippocrates.

9.30 Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū³⁹

Translated numerous works into Syriac, but is not known to have done any translation into Arabic.

brīl ibn Bukhtīshū’ and author of a treatise entitled *On the Effectiveness of Simple Drugs*. On this author, see Reinink, ‘Ṣharbokht bar Msargis’. The biography of ‘Īsā ibn Ṣahār Bukht (as he is there called) was given at Ch. 8.37.

34 Khuzestan (Khūzistān) is a province in the southwest of Iran, situated between the Zagros Mountains and the Persian Gulf, bounded on the west by the Iran-Iraq border. The conquest of Khūzistān by Muslim armies between c. 635 and 642 is recorded in a detailed account preserved in a mid-to-late 7th c. east-Syriac history; see Robinson, ‘The conquest of Khūzistān’.

35 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ṣalt was a physician who belonged to the Church of the East. Almost nothing is known about his life. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq mentions him three times as the author of translations into Arabic and Syriac, one sponsored by the Banū Mūsā (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 31, 34, 35; *Galen Translations*, 71, 81, 83).

36 Presumably Thābit ibn Qurrah, whose biography is given in Ch. 10.3.

37 Thābit ibn Qurrah’s translation of Galen’s *Good and Bad Juices* into Arabic is also mentioned by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (*Risālah*, 36; *Galen Translations*, 85) with the title *K. fi l-Kaymūs*. Cf. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 39, and Ch. 5.24 for a long extract from the work.

38 Abū Yūsuf al-Kātib is otherwise unknown.

39 Yūḥannā ibn Bukhtīshū’ (d. ca. 300/912), a Christian physician of the Nestorian church,

9.31 al-Biṭrīq⁴⁰

Lived in the time of al-Manṣūr. The caliph ordered him to undertake the task of translating a number of ancient works. He did so, translating numerous books, but as a translator he is not up to the standard of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq. I have seen Arabic versions of many of the medical works of Hippocrates and Galen that are by al-Biṭrīq.

9.32 Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq⁴¹

Belonged to the circle of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl.⁴² He did not know much of either Arabic or Greek, as he was a Latin⁴³ who was fluent in the contemporary vernacular form of Greek and knew how to write it in its characteristic cursive script instead of the discrete letters of ancient Greek writing.

was the son of Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq states that he collaborated with him in the translation of Galen’s *On Antidotes* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 38; *Galen Translations*, 91). For his biography, see Ch. 8.32, and Ullmann, *Medizin*, III no. 5a; Graf, *Geschichte*, II:111.

- 40 Little is known about al-Biṭrīq, a Byzantine Melkite scholar whose translations, produced mainly under the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (r. 136–158/754–75), are easily confused with those of his son Yaḥyā. He translated medical works by Galen and Hippocrates, and also, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, for the astronomer/astrologer ‘Umar ibn al-Farrūkhān; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 273; Tajaddud, 336; Sayyid, 2/1:232). On this author, see Dunlop, ‘The Translations of al-Biṭrīq’; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, II:81–82.
- 41 Yaḥyā (or Yūḥannā) ibn al-Biṭrīq (d. ca. 200/815) was, according to Ibn Juljul, the client (*mawlā*) of al-Ma’mūn, a status that usually implies a conversion to Islam. Yaḥyā is one of the first translators of philosophical works into Arabic, and the translation of the pseudo-Aristotle’s *Secretum Secretorum* (*Sirr al-asrār*) has also been attributed to him (*Sirr al-asrār*, 69; Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 26). Ibn al-Biṭrīq also composed two medical treatises: *On poisons and their dangers* (*K. al-sumūmāt wa-daf’ maḍāriḥā*) and *On the Classes of Insects* (*K. aḥnās al-ḥasharāt*). On this author, see Dunlop, ‘The Translations of al-Biṭrīq’; *ET*² art. ‘Yaḥyā (or Yūḥannā) b. al-Biṭrīq’ (F. Micheau); *ET Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Biṭrīq, Yaḥyā’ (G. Strohmaier); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 225; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 326; Nasrallah, *Histoire*, II:82–86.
- 42 Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (d. 236/850–851), secretary and governor of Iraq under al-Ma’mūn. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Ḥasan b. Sahl’ (D. Sourdel).
- 43 Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq belonged to a Byzantine Melkite family, had Greek as his mother tongue, and translated directly from Greek (not Syriac). Ancient Greek is here identified with the uncial script. ‘Contemporary vernacular form of Greek’: literally ‘language of the Romans of the day’.

9.33 Tūmā al-Ruhāwī (Thomas of Edessa)⁴⁴

Whenever Ḥunayn had a great deal of translation work in hand and was pressed for time, he would ask Tūmā al-Ruhāwī (Thomas of Edessa) to do some of the translation, subsequently revising what he had done.

9.34 Maṣūr ibn Bānās⁴⁵

Approximately as good a translator as Thomas of Edessa. His Syriac was stronger than his Arabic.

9.35 ‘Abdishū‘ ibn Bahrīz (‘Abdisho‘ bar Bahrīz)⁴⁶

The metropolitan of Mosul. He was a friend of Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘ and one of his translators.

9.36 Abū ‘Uthmān Sa‘īd ibn Ya‘qūb al-Dimashqī⁴⁷

A translator of the first order who served ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā⁴⁸ exclusively.

44 The manuscripts of IAU give the name as Qīdā, but this is an error. Tūmā al-Ruhāwī (Thomas of Edessa) was a contemporary of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq. Ḥunayn refers to him as ‘a certain man from Edessa’. Thomas translated the last part of Galen’s *A Man’s Ability to Know the Imperfections of his Soul* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 49; *Galen Translations*, 121; *De priorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione* and *De animi cuiuslibet peccatorum dignotione et curatione*, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum* nos. 29–30). Nothing is known about his life, but he is mentioned in other major sources: see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 131; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 291; Tajaddud, 349; Sayyid, 2/1:280).

45 Almost nothing is known about this translator. According to Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, Ibn Bānās was a Sabian, author of a deficient Syriac translation of Galen’s *Character Traits* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 49 [written Ibn Athānās]; *Galen Translations*, 121).

46 ‘Abdisho‘ bar Bahrīz was the metropolitan of Harran, Mosul and Ḥazza; see Roggema, ‘Abdisho bar Bahrīz’. For Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘ (d. 212/827), the son of Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jūrjis, see his biography in Ch. 8.3.

47 Sa‘īd ibn Ya‘qūb al-Dimashqī was a very important physician and translator of medical and philosophical texts, including definitive versions of Aristotle’s *Topica* and Porphyry’s *Isagoge*; he is also mentioned in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 409; and Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 298; Tajaddud, 356; Sayyid, 2/1:304). See *ET Three* art. ‘Abū ‘Uthmān al-Dimashqī’ (G. Endress). For his biography, see Ch. 10.16.

48 The well-known Abbasid vizier (d. 334/946), twice vizier under al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh. See

9.37 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Baks⁴⁹

A renowned physician who translated many works into the Arabic language. His translations, too, are highly esteemed.

9.38 Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks⁵⁰

Also a well-known physician, and a reliable translator as well.

The patrons of these translators, other than caliphs, are listed below:

9.39 Sabriṣhū‘ ibn Quṭrub (Sabriṣho‘ bar Quṭrub)⁵¹

He was from Gondēshāpūr and was always generous to translators, constantly bestowing presents upon them; he sought to attract them and obtain books from them by paying them as much as he could manage. It was Syriac transla-

EI Three art. ‘Alī b. ‘Isā b. Dā‘ūd b. al-Jarrāh’ (M.L.M. van Berkel); *EI²* art. ‘Alī b. ‘Isā’ (D. Bowen); Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 72, 132.

49 Ibrāhīm ibn Baks (fl. 4th/10th c.) was a Christian physician active in Baghdad, whose biography is given in Ch. 10.42. Ibn al-Qiftī, who refers to him as Ibrāhīm ibn Bakkūsh al-‘Ashshārī, states that he translated three works. The first one is Aristotle’s *Sophistica*, which he translated into Arabic from Ibn Nā‘imah’s Syriac version (Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 37); according to the colophon of the Paris MS, he collated the Greek original with the help of Yūḥannā ibn Fātilah (see Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, 25). The other two are translations of Theophrastus’ *The Causes of Plants* and *On Sense Perception* (Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 107). Two sources suggest that he was already active during the first half of the 4th/10th century. IAU states that a physician named Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Nafīs commissioned the translation of Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn’s *al-Kunnāsh al-ṣaghīr* in 312/924–925. According to the Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, ‘one Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Nafīs’ was the teacher of Ibn Baks (‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt*, 619), and Ibn Baks was one of the physicians who struggled to fight an epidemic that spread over Baghdad in 330/941–942 (‘Abd al-Jabbār, *Tathbīt*, 619). On this physician, see Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheilmwissenschaften*, 73–74; Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 151.

50 Like his father, ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks (d. 394/1003–1004) was a physician: he worked at the ‘Aḡudī Hospital in Baghdad (Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 235–236). His biography is also given in Ch. 10.43.

51 Sabriṣhū‘ ibn Quṭrub (Syriac, Sabriṣho‘ bar Quṭrub) was a physician from Gondēshāpūr, mentioned by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq as the commissioner of Galen’s *On Sects*, one of his earliest translations, made when he was in his early twenties (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 5; *Galen Translations*, 11). The name in all MSS is written as *Sh-y-r-sh-w-’*. On this author, see Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 162–163.

tions that he prized, rather than Arabic. Sabrīshū‘ ibn Quṭrub was of Khuzestani origin.

9.40 Muḥammad ibn Mūsā the Astrologer⁵²

One of the sons of Mūsā ibn Shākir, who were noted arithmeticians and celebrated for their skill, learning and writings on the mathematical sciences. This one, Muḥammad, was a most generous patron to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, who translated numerous medical works for him.

9.41 ‘Alī ibn Yahyā, known as Ibn al-Munajjim⁵³

A secretary and companion of the caliph al-Ma‘mūn, who held him in high regard. He was interested in medicine and commissioned the translation of numerous works on that subject.

9.42 Tādūrā *al-usqf* (Theodore the Bishop)⁵⁴

A bishop in al-Karkh in Baghdad. He was an avid book-collector, and accordingly sought to win the hearts of translators. In this way he acquired many

52 Mūsā ibn Shākir was an astronomer and companion of the caliph al-Ma‘mūn since the days of his governorate in Khorasan. Mūsā’s three sons, Muḥammad, Aḥmad and al-Ḥasan, played a central role in the intellectual life of 3rd/9th c. Baghdad, especially as sponsors of translations. Muḥammad ibn Mūsā (d. 259/873) is mentioned by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq as the commissioner of numerous translations (see Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, *Risālah*, index). One source also refers to him as the author of a work entitled *On Realms and Routes* (*K. al-Mamālik wa-l-Masālik*); see Contadini, *World of Beasts*, 93. On the Banū Mūsā family, see *EI*² art. ‘Mūsā, Banū’ (D.R. Hill); Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 133–134; Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 167–170.

53 The Banū l-Munajjim were a Zoroastrian family of Persian origin who joined the Abbasid court of al-Manṣūr (r. 136–158/754–775) as astrologers, whence their name. They enjoyed high status for several generations and stand out as one of the most influential families in the intellectual life of the 3rd–4th/9th–10th cc. and as sponsors of the translation movement. Among other works, ‘Alī ibn Yahyā commissioned Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq’s famous *Risālah*. On this family, see *EI*² art. ‘Munadjjim, Banū l-’ (M. Fleischhammer); *EI Three* art. ‘Banū Munajjim family’ (L. Berggren); Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, 128; Micheau, ‘Mécènes et medecins’, 164–167.

54 The Arabic Tādūrā is a transcription of the Syriac rendition of Theodore (ܬܝܘܕܘܪܐ). Theodore the Bishop (*al-usqf*) is to be identified with Theodore of Karkh Guddan, bishop

books. A number of Christian physicians composed important works for him which they published under his patronage.

9.43 Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn ‘Abd al-Malik⁵⁵

A number of medical works were translated for him. He himself was a man of considerable learning and prepared summaries of various books, retaining their valuable parts and discarding those that were of no interest.

9.44 ‘Īsā ibn Yūnus, the Secretary and Accountant⁵⁶

A distinguished scholar of Iraq. He was a keen collector of ancient books and had a deep interest in Greek learning.

9.45 ‘Alī, known as al-Fayyūm⁵⁷

So dubbed because of his tenure as governor of the Fayyūm.⁵⁸ He was generous to translators, who grew fat on his bounty.

of that city, who was a patron of letters and a translator closely associated with Sergius of Rēsh ‘Aynā: see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 12; *Galen Translations*, 27. See Aydin, *Sergius of Reshaina*, sections 2.1.1, 2.1.7, 4.8.

55 The identification of this patron is conjectural, but it is likely that he corresponds to Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām al-Iṣbahānī (Muḥammad is not part of his name). Mūsā ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 246/860–861) was in charge of the land tax (*ṣāhib dīwān al-kharāj*) and the caliphal chancellery (*dīwān al-rasā’il*) under al-Mutawakkil; see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, v:337–341 (n. 750).

56 ‘Īsā ibn Yūnus *al-kātib al-ḥāsib* is unidentified. A ‘civil servant’ was usually either a drafter of documents and epistles (*kātib*) or a financial expert and accountant (*ḥāsib*). For a debate between the two, see al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā’*, i:96, and van Berkel, ‘Accountants and Men of Letters’. Some, like ‘Īsā ibn Yūnus, combined the two. According to the recension B of Ḥunayn’s *Risālah*, Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn translated Galen’s *The Usefulness of Pulse* for ‘Īsā ibn Yūnus, which might refer to the same person; see Bergsträsser, ‘Neue Materialien’, 34; Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations*, 57.

57 Unidentified. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq translated Galen’s *Parts of Medicine* for him (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 32; *Galen Translations*, 73). Since it was a translation into Syriac, ‘Alī al-Fayyūm must have been a Christian; see Meyerhof, ‘New Light’, 720.

58 The Fayyūm (al-Fayyūm) is a large district in central Egypt that had a large Christian population. For a full analysis of the cadastral survey of the Fayyūm by al-Nābulūsī in the mid-7th/13th c., see Rapoport, *Rural Society*, and Rapoport, *Rural Economy and Tribal Society*.

9.46 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Mudabbir, the Secretary⁵⁹

An unfailing source of ample money and benefits for translators.

9.47 Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, the Secretary⁶⁰

He took a great interest in the translation of Greek works into the Arabic language. He was extremely generous toward men of learning and scholarship, including translators in particular.

9.48 ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ishāq⁶¹

He also was deeply interested in having works translated and collecting them.

9.49 Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn al-Zayyāt⁶²

He spent nearly 2,000 dinars a month on translators, scholars and copyists. Many books were translated under his patronage, including Greek works, and

59 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mudabbir (d. 270 or 271/883 or 884) was a high-ranking official at the courts of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil and a man of letters. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq translated for him the *Commentary of the Hippocratic Aphorisms* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 40; *Galen Translations*, 97). On this patron, see *ET*² art. ‘Ibn al-Mudabbir’ (H.L. Gottschalk); Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 172–174.

60 Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā might be the son of the aforementioned (Ch. 9.40) Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Munajjim; see Meyerhof, ‘New Light’, 715; Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 169–170. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq translated for him Galen’s *Commentary on Hippocrates’ Prognosis* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 41; *Galen Translations*, 97).

61 Almost nothing is known about ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ishāq. In recension A of the *Risālah*, Ḥunayn states that he corrected for him a translation of Galen’s *The Best Physician is also a Philosopher* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 47); in recension B, he states that he made a second translation; see Bergsträsser, ‘Neue Materialien’, 37; Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Galen Translations*, 109.

62 Ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 243/847) was vizier under the Abbasid caliphs al-Mu‘taṣim and al-Wāthiq, but fell into disgrace with al-Mutawakkil, who had him imprisoned and tortured. A poet himself, Ibn al-Zayyāt was an important Maecenas who patronized authors such as al-Jāhiz and sponsored the translation of Galenic works. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq states that he translated Galen’s *On Voice* for Ibn al-Zayyāt (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 24; *Galen Translations*, 55), and that he had to postpone his translation of Galen’s *Character Traits* due to his dealings with the vizier (*Risālah*, 49; *Galen Translations*, 121). See also *ET*² art. ‘Ibn al-Zayyāt’ (D. Sourdel); Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 171–172.

a number of distinguished physicians prepared translations for him, including Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh,⁶³ Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘, Bukhtīshū‘ ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘,⁶⁴ Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn,⁶⁵ Salmawayh ibn Bunān,⁶⁶ al-Yasa‘,⁶⁷ Isrā‘īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī,⁶⁸ and Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan.⁶⁹

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- 63 Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh (d. 243/877), the Latin Mesue, was one of the first physicians who wrote medical works in Arabic. His biography is given in Ch. 8.26. On his role as patron and translator, see Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 152–155.
- 64 On the role of the Bukhtīshū‘ family as translators and patrons, see Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 155–158. Their biographies are given in Ch. 8.3 and Ch. 8.4 respectively.
- 65 Meyerhof suggests that Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn corresponds to the Dāwūd al-Mutaṭabbib who commissioned five Syriac translations of Galenic works from Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (*Risālah*, 3, 6, 49; *Galen Translations*, 9, 13, 121); see also Meyerhof, ‘New Light’, 719. Ḥunayn states that Dāwūd was in his thirties when he translated Galen’s *On the Medical Art* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 6; *Galen Translations*, 13). According to Ibn al-Qifṭī, Dāwūd, a native of Beth Garmai, was one of the court physicians under al-Hādī (r. 159–170/775–786) and the brother of Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn, the author of the *Pandectae (al-Kunnāsh)* (Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 431). Ullmann, who has questioned the dating of this work in view of the various quotations from authors who lived in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, argues that the publication of Ibn Sarābiyūn’s *Kunnāsh* should be dated at the end of that century, and that Dāwūd and Yūḥannā were separated by a century (Ullmann, ‘Yūḥannā ibn Sarābiyūn’, 280). IAU also refers to Dāwūd ibn Sarābiyūn as the brother of Yūḥannā and mentions him elsewhere several times, often in connection with the Bukhtīshū‘ family (Chs. 8.2; 8.3; and 8.25); he states that Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Nafis, teacher of Ibn Baks, commissioned the translation of Ibn Sarābiyūn’s *al-Kunnāsh al-ṣaghīr* in the year 313/925–926 (Ch. 6.5). On Dāwūd al-Mutaṭabbib, see also Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 159–161.
- 66 Salmawayh ibn Bunān (d. 225/840) was a Christian physician to the caliph al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 218–227/833–842). His biography is given in Ch. 8.20. He sponsored fourteen Syriac and Arabic translations of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and collaborated with him in the translation of Galen’s *The Method of Healing (K. fī ḥīlat al-bur’)*. Ḥunayn wrote a short epistle addressed to him as an introduction to his Syriac translation of Galen’s *Habits*. See Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 150–152.
- 67 That is, Elisha. A certain al-Yasa‘ commissioned the Syriac translation of Galen’s *Classification of the Diseases of the Internal Parts* to Sergius of Rēsh ‘Aynā; see Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (*Risālah*, 12; *Galen Translations*, 27).
- 68 Isrā‘īl ibn Zakariyyā ibn al-Ṭayfūrī, of the Nestorian church, belonged to a well-known family of physicians. Following in the steps of his father, Ibn al-Ṭayfūrī became the personal physician of the vizier al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān and worked at the court until the time of al-Muntaṣir, whom he was accused of poisoning (Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, iii:1496). Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq reports that he asked him to write a second Syriac translation of Galen’s *Classification of the Diseases of the Internal Parts* (Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, *Risālah*, 13; *Galen Translations*, 29). On this physician (and his father and grandfather), see Micheau, ‘Mécènes et médecins’, 161–162. The biographies of members of the Ṭayfūrī family are given in Chs. 8.10; 8.11; and 8.12.
- 69 The biographies of most of these physicians will be found in Ch. 8. The last-named of them, Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan, is the Ḥubaysh al-A’sam mentioned earlier in Ch. 9.4.

Iraqi Physicians and the Physicians of al-Jazīrah and Diyār Bakr¹

Translated and annotated by Alasdair Watson and Geert Jan van Gelder (poetry)

10.1 Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī²

[10.1.1]

Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī was the Philosopher *par excellence* of the Arabs. Descended from Arabian chieftains, his name³ was Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb⁴ ibn Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ ibn 'Imrān ibn Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays ibn Ma'dī Karib ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Jabalah ibn 'Adī ibn Rabī'ah ibn Mu'āwiyah al-Akbar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn al-Ḥārith al-Akbar ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Thawr ibn Murti' ibn Kindah⁵ ibn 'Ufayr ibn 'Adī ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Murrah ibn Udad ibn Zayd ibn Yashjub ibn 'Arīb ibn Zayd ibn Kahlān ibn Saba' ibn Yashjub ibn Ya'rub ibn Qaḥṭān.⁶

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- 1 For the geographical area covered by Ch. 10, see *EI*² art. 'Irāq' (A. Miquel et al.); *EI*² art. 'al-Djazīra' (M. Canard); *EI*² art. 'Diyār Bakr' (M. Canard et al.); for a map of the area at the time of the Umayyads and Abbasids, see *HIA* art. 'The Fertile Crescent Under the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd Caliphs' (H. Kennedy).
 - 2 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For al-Kindī, see *EI*² art. 'al-Kindī' (J. Jolivet & R. Rashed); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 244–247, 375–376; V, 255–259; VI, 151–155; VII, 130–134, 241–261, 326–327; IX, 232; XIII, 242–243, ... etc. For more recent studies of al-Kindī's life and works and to supplement the earlier bibliographies, see Adamson, *Al-Kindī*; Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī* (where on pp. lxx–lxx 1A U's entry on al-Kindī is translated in full, based on Müller's edition); Adamson, *Studies on Plotinus and al-Kindī*; Endress & Adamson, 'Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī'. See also: Sezgin, *al-Kindī: texts and studies*; McCarthy, *al-Taṣānīf al-mansūbah ilā Faylasūf al-'Arab*.
 - 3 Properly, his name and his *nasab* or lineage. For an introduction to this science see Beeston, *Arabic Nomenclature*; *EI*² art. 'Nasab' (F. Rosenthal).
 - 4 That is Jacob, whose *kunyah* would usually be 'Father of Joseph', with reference to the Patriarchal Prophets.
 - 5 For the *nasab* of Kindah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab* (Ḥasan), i:136ff., where the form Murti' is specified: *wa-innamā summiya Murti'an li-annahu kāna yurti'uhum arḍahum*.
 - 6 For Qaḥṭān, the Biblical Joktan see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab* (Ḥasan), i:131–135; *EI*² art. 'Qaḥṭān' (A. Fischer & A.K. Irvine).

[10.1.2]

His father, Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ,⁷ had been Governor of Kufa⁸ for [the Caliphs] al-Mahdī⁹ and al-Rashīd,¹⁰ and al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays ibn Ma‘dī Karib¹¹ had been a companion of the Prophet – God bless him and keep him – before which he had been the chieftain of all of the tribe of Kindah.¹² Al-Ash‘ath’s father, Qays ibn Ma‘dī Karib,¹³ had also been a chieftain of all of the tribe of Kindah. He was a man of great renown: it is he whom al-A‘shā, that is, al-A‘shā of the Banū Qays ibn Tha‘labah,¹⁴ eulogised in his four long odes, the first of which begins, ‘Upon your life, such a long time it is!; and the second, ‘In the morning, Sumayyah departed on her camels.’; and the third, ‘Are you resolved to see Laylā’s people early in the morning?’; and the fourth, ‘Will you abandon a fair woman, or will you pay a visit?’¹⁵

[10.1.3]

Qays’ own father, Ma‘dī Karib ibn Mu‘āwiyah¹⁶ had been chieftain of the Banū l-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar ibn Mu‘āwiyah in Hadramaut.¹⁷

Ma‘dī Karib’s father, Mu‘āwiyah ibn Jabalah,¹⁸ had also been a chieftain of the Banū l-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar in Hadramaut, and Mu‘āwiyah ibn al-Ḥārith al-Akbar,

7 Briefly mentioned along with two of his poems in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, viii:415–416. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3, ii:465, Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ ‘al-Ash‘athī’ was appointed to a high position in Kufa by al-Mahdī in 159/775, and this continued under al-Rashīd. For more details see Āl Khalīfah, *Umarā’ al-Kūfah*, 523–525.

8 An important city in southern Iraq founded in 17/638 as a garrison town. *EI*² art. ‘al-Kūfa’ (H. Djaīt).

9 Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad, third Abbasid Caliph (r. 158–169/775–785). *EI*² art. ‘al-Mahdī’ (H. Kennedy).

10 Hārūn ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh, fifth Abbasid Caliph (r. 170–193/786–809). *EI*² art. ‘Hārūn al-Rashīd’ (F. Omar).

11 *EI*² art. ‘al-Ash‘athī’ (H. Reckendorf); *Encycl. Islamica* art. ‘al-Ash‘ath b. Qays al-Kindī’ (A. Bahramian & M.D. Pour); Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vi:13–14.

12 On the Kindah tribe and its origins, see *EI*² art. ‘Kinda’ (I. Shahīd & A.F.L. Beeston).

13 Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, v:207.

14 *EI*² art. ‘al-A‘shā’ (W. Caskel). There were several other poets with this epithet which is why IAU is specific.

15 The opening hemistichs of four poems by al-A‘shā Maymūn (metres: *ṭawīl*, *kāmil*, *mutaqārib*, *mutaqārib*, respectively). See al-A‘shā’s *Dōwān*, 205, 150, 80, 196, respectively.

16 Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vii:267.

17 *EI*² art. ‘Ḥadramawt’ (A.F.L. Beeston, G.R. Smith, & T.M. Johnstone).

18 Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, vii:260.

whose father al-Ḥārith al-Akbar, and his father Thawr had all been chieftains over Ma‘add¹⁹ in al-Mushaqqar,²⁰ Yamama,²¹ and Bahrain.^{22,23}

Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī was highly regarded by [the Caliphs] al-Ma‘mūn²⁴ and al-Mu‘taṣim,²⁵ and by al-Mu‘taṣim’s son Aḥmad.²⁶

Al-Kindī composed a number of important works as well as a great many treatises in all disciplines.²⁷

[10.1.4]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān [Ibn Juljul]²⁸ says:

Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī was a Basran²⁹ of noble stock whose grandfather³⁰ had been a provincial governor for the Banū Hāshim.³¹ He settled in Basra³² where his estates (*ḍay‘ah*) were, then moved to Baghdad³³

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- 19 Ma‘add is the collective name for tribes of a North Arabian origin as opposed to Yemeni tribes. See *ET*² art. ‘Ma‘add’ (W. Montgomery Watt).
- 20 *ET*² art. ‘al-Mushaqqar’ (C.E. Bosworth).
- 21 *ET*² art. ‘al-Yamāma’ (G.R. Smith).
- 22 *ET*² art. ‘al-Baḥrayn’ (G. Rentz & W.E. Mulligan).
- 23 The first four paragraphs are a quote (unacknowledged by IAU) from Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 51–52. Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta‘rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 366–367.
- 24 Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh (r. 198–218/813–833), seventh Abbasid Caliph. *ET*² art. ‘al-Ma‘mūn’ (M. Rekaya).
- 25 Abū Ishāq Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 218–227/833–842), eighth Abbasid Caliph. *ET*² art. ‘al-Mu‘taṣim Bi ‘llāh’ (C.E. Bosworth).
- 26 Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. Abbasid emir and patron of al-Kindī known for his *majlis* or salon in Baghdad. For an early episode involving the emir, al-Kindī, and the poet Abū Tammām, see al-Ṣūlī, *Life and Times of Abū Tammām*, 260–263. According to al-Ṣūlī, this Aḥmad was nominated to succeed al-Muntaṣir (d. 248/862) as Caliph, but this was prevented by the intervention of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā (for whom, see below Ch. 10.1.7) because of Aḥmad’s association with al-Kindī, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā’s enemy. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ṭārikh*, 3, iii:1501–1503.
- 27 For a list of al-Kindī’s works, see below Ch. 10.1.14.
- 28 See his entry Ch. 13.36.
- 29 The consensus is that he was, as above, a Kufan. See note in Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, 73.
- 30 That is, al-Ṣabbāḥ ibn ‘Imrān.
- 31 That is, the Hashimites, descendants of Hāshim ibn ‘Abd Manāf, great-grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad. *ET*² art. ‘Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf’ (W. Montgomery Watt); *ET*² art. ‘Hāshimiyya’ (B. Lewis).
- 32 Important city in Southern Iraq founded in the early Islamic period as a garrison town, thereafter a political and intellectual hub. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Baṣra’ (Ch. Pellat & S.H. Longrigg); *ET* *Three*, art. ‘Basra until the Mongol conquest’ (Ch. Pellat & K.H. Lang); *Encycl. Islamica* art. ‘Baṣra’ (B.A. Ahmadian et al.).
- 33 *ET*² art. ‘Baghdād’ (A.A. Duri). For a map showing a plan of Baghdad in the early Abbasid

where he was educated. He was learned in medicine, philosophy, arithmetic, logic, musical composition, geometry, the properties of numbers, and astronomy. Prior to him there had been no philosopher since the advent of Islam. In his compositions he followed the example of Aristotle³⁴ producing many works in various branches of knowledge. Al-Kindī attended the ruling classes and treated them with courtesy. He translated a great many books of philosophy, clarifying their difficult passages, summarizing their complex parts and simplifying their obscure readings.³⁵

[10.1.5]

Abū Ma'shar³⁶ states in Shādhān's *Book of Memoranda* (*K. al-Mudhākārāt li-Shādhān*)³⁷ that the most proficient translators of the Islamic period were four in number: Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq,³⁸ Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī,³⁹ Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī,⁴⁰ and 'Umar ibn al-Farrukhān al-Ṭabarī.⁴¹

[10.1.6]

Ibn al-Nadīm of Baghdad, the bookseller known as Ibn Abī Ya'qūb, says in his book *The Catalogue* (*K. al-Fihrist*):⁴²

period (c. 150–300/767–912), see *HIA* art. 'Baghdād' (H. Kennedy); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Baghdad' (B.A. Ahmadian and others).

34 See Ch. 4.6

35 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 73–74 (also quoted in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 367).

36 *EI* Three art. 'Abū Ma'shar' (C. Burnett); *EI*² art. 'Abū Ma'shar Dja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Balkhī' (J.M. Millás); Sezgin, *GAS* V, 274–275; VI, 156–157; VII, 139–151.

37 That is, Abū Sa'īd Shādhān ibn Baḥr, student of Abū Ma'shar, who authored a *Book of the Secrets of the Stars* (*K. Asrār al-nujūm*) which is another name for the *Mudhākārāt*. Arabic versions of the *Mudhākārāt*, Shādhān's record of his conversations with Abū Ma'shar, are extant in manuscript form, as well as in a medieval Latin version. See Sezgin, *GAS* VII, 15–16 (no. 3), 147 (no. 18); Dunlop, *Dialogues on Astrology*; Pingree, *The Sayings of Abū Ma'shar*; Burnett, 'Albumasar in Sadan in the Twelfth Century'. The translator (AW) consulted incomplete manuscript copies of the *Mudhākārāt* in the University Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge but this passage was not found.

38 See Ch. 8.29.

39 Although Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 98, mentions that al-Kindī translated a book by Euclid on the Geography of the Inhabited parts of the Earth into Arabic, the scholarly consensus is that al-Kindī commissioned and perhaps revised translations but did not actually produce any of his own.

40 See Ch. 10.3

41 For al-Ṭabarī, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 255, 273; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 241–242; Sezgin, *GAS* V, 226.

42 *EI*² art. 'Ibn al-Nadīm' (J.W. Fück).

Abū Maʿshar, that is Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Balkhī, was, at first, a scholar of Prophetic Traditions whose house was on the west side of Baghdad, by the Khorasan Gate. He bore malice towards al-Kindī and would incite the public against him and denounce him because of his knowledge of the sciences of the Philosophers. So al-Kindī foisted someone upon him who made the idea of studying arithmetic and geometry seem appealing to him. Abū Maʿshar embarked on that but did not perfect it. Then, however, he turned to the study of judicial astrology,⁴³ and al-Kindī was relieved of his malice by his study of that science for it was one of al-Kindī's own subjects. It is said that Abū Maʿshar learned astrology after his forty-seventh year and that he showed merit and often hit the mark.⁴⁴ [The Caliph] al-Mustaʿīn⁴⁵ had him flogged because he was correct in predicting a certain occurrence. Hence Abū Maʿshar used to say, 'I was correct, yet I was punished.' He was born⁴⁶ at Wāsiṭ on Wednesday the twenty-eighth of the month of Ramaḍān in the year [...]⁴⁷ and died having passed his hundredth year.⁴⁸

[10.1.7]

Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm,⁴⁹ says in his *Book of Fortunate Outcome* (*K. Ḥusn al-ʿuqbā*),⁵⁰ that he heard the following account from Abū Kāmil Shujāʿ ibn Aslam the Astrologer:⁵¹

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- 43 Lit.: The science of the judgements of the stars or judicial astrology. Abū Maʿshar is said to have studied astrology in the *Khizānat al-ḥikmah*, a great library in a palace on the estate of ʿAlī ibn Yahyā al-Munajjim. See Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraj al-mahmūm*, 157 (quoting al-Tanūkhī).
- 44 For more of Abū Maʿshar's correct predictions (*iṣābāt*), see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraj al-mahmūm*, 157–163.
- 45 Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, twelfth Abbasid Caliph (r. 248–252/862–866). See *EI*² art. 'al-Mustaʿīn' (K.V. Zetterstéen & C.E. Bosworth).
- 46 This is an error as he was *born* at Balkh on 21 Šafar 171 [10 August 787]; see *EI Three* art. 'Abū Maʿshar' (C. Burnett). According to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel, 277), he died at Wāsiṭ.
- 47 Here there are lacunae in all the manuscripts. However, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 277; (Sayyid), 242, gives the date as 28th Ramaḍān 272 [8 March 886].
- 48 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 277. IAU omits the list of Abū Maʿshar's writings recorded by Ibn al-Nadīm. For a major new publication see Abū Maʿshar, *Great Introduction*.
- 49 Known as Ibn al-Dāyah (b. 330/944). See *EI*² art. 'Ibn al-Dāya' (F. Rosenthal).
- 50 Extant and published as *K. al-Mukāfaʿah wa-ḥusn al-ʿuqbā*. See Ibn al-Dāyah, *Mukāfaʿah*.
- 51 *EI*² art. 'Abū Kāmil Shudjāʿ' (W. Hartner); *EI Three* art. 'Abū Kāmil Shujāʿ b. Aslam al-Miṣrī' (G. De Young); Sezgin, *GAS V*, 277–281.

During the time of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil,⁵² Muḥammad and Aḥmad, the sons of Mūsā ibn Shākīr,⁵³ used to plot against all those who had a reputation for advanced learning. They had already caused Sind ibn ‘Alī⁵⁴ to be sent to Baghdad⁵⁵ after having estranged him from al-Mutawakkil, and had plotted against al-Kindī so that al-Mutawakkil had had him flogged. They had also sent people to al-Kindī’s house to confiscate all his books and had placed them in a repository which was given the name ‘Kindiyyah’. They had been able to do this because of al-Mutawakkil’s passion for automata.⁵⁶ The Caliph approached them concerning the excavation of the canal known as the Ja‘farī canal.⁵⁷ The Banū Mūsā delegated the project to Aḥmad ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī⁵⁸ who had built the new Nilometer in Egypt.⁵⁹ Al-Farghānī’s knowledge, however, was greater than his good fortune since he could never complete a work and he made an error in the mouth of the canal causing it to be dug deeper than the rest of it so that a supply of water which filled the mouth would not fill the rest of the canal. Muḥammad and Aḥmad, the two Banū Mūsā protected him, but al-Mutawakkil demanded that they be brought before him and had Sind ibn ‘Alī summoned from Baghdad. When Muḥammad and Aḥmad realized that Sind ibn ‘Alī had come they felt sure they were doomed and feared for their lives. Al-Mutawakkil summoned Sind and said to him, ‘Those two miscreants have left no foul words unsaid to me concerning you, and they have squandered a great deal of my money on this canal. Go there and examine it and inform me whether it has a defect, for I have promised myself that if what I have been told is true, I will crucify them on its banks.’ All of this was seen and heard by Muḥammad and Aḥmad.

52 *EI*² art. ‘al-Mutawakkil ‘Alā ‘llāh’ (H. Kennedy).

53 See brief entry above Ch. 9.40; *EI*² art. ‘Mūsā, Banū’ (D.R. Hill); *Encycl. Islamica* art. ‘Banū Mūsā’ (H.M. Hamedani & J. Esots).

54 For Sind (or Sanad) ibn ‘Alī (d. first half of 3rd/9th cent.), see Sezgin, *GAS* v, 242–243.

55 Presumably from Sāmarrā’ (Samarra), the Abbasid capital between the years 221/836 and 279/892, for which settlement see *EI*² art. ‘Sāmarrā’ (A. Northedge); and Northedge, *Historical Topography of Samarra*.

56 *EI* *Three* art. ‘Automata’ (D. Canavas).

57 The Ja‘farī canal to the north of Samarra (Surra Man Ra‘ā) was built to supply water to the city of al-Mutawakkiliyya, whose construction was begun in 245/859 by the caliph al-Mutawakkil. The canal can still be seen today; see Northedge, *Historical Topography of Samarra*, 211–214 and Fig. 93.

58 For al-Farghānī (d. after 247/861) who was known in the Latin West as Alfraganus, see *EI*² art. ‘al-Farghānī’ (H. Suter & J. Vernet); *EI* *Three* art. ‘al-Farghānī’ (R. Lorch & P. Kunitzsch); Sezgin, *GAS* v, 259–260.

59 *EI*² art. ‘Mikyās’ (J. Ruska & D.R. Hill).

As Sind left with the two Banū Mūsā, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā said to him, ‘O Abū l-Ṭayyib, the power of the freeman dispels his grudges.⁶⁰ We resort to you for the sake of our lives which are our most valuable possessions. We do not deny that we have done wrong, but confession effaces the commission,⁶¹ so save us as you see fit.’ ‘I swear by God,’ Sind replied, ‘you well know my enmity and aversion for al-Kindī, but what is right is right. Do you think it was good what you did to him by taking away his books? I swear I will not speak in your favour until you return his books to him.’ Thereupon, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā had al-Kindī’s books returned to him and obtained his signature that this had been done. When a note from al-Kindī arrived confirming that he had received them to the last, Sind said, ‘I am obliged to you both for returning the man’s books to him. Accordingly I will inform you of something that has escaped your notice: the fault in the canal will remain hidden for four months due to the rising of the Tigris.⁶² Now the Astrologers (*ḥussāb*) agree that the Commander of the Faithful will not live that long. I will tell him immediately that there was no error in the canal on your part so as to save your lives, and if the Astrologers are correct, the three of us will have escaped. But if they are wrong, and he lives longer until the Tigris subsides and the water disperses, then all three of us are doomed.’ Muḥammad and Aḥmad were grateful and mightily relieved to hear these words. Sind ibn ‘Alī then went to see al-Mutawakkil and said to him, ‘They did not err.’ The Tigris indeed rose, the water flowed into the canal, and the matter was concealed. Al-Mutawakkil was killed two months later,⁶³ and Muḥammad and Aḥmad were saved after having greatly feared what might befall them.⁶⁴

60 This could be a reference to the great virtue of *al-‘afw ‘ind al-ma‘qdīrah*, meaning that when one has power over another one should forgive them. Cf. al-Ibshihī, *Mustatraf* [B], i:53, ‘Among the most beautiful of noble traits is the forgiveness of one who has power’ (*min aḥsan al-makārim ‘afw al-muqtadir*); and *ibid.* i:355–372 which is a whole chapter on the virtues of forgiveness and clemency.

61 That is, the confession of wrongdoing effaces the commission of that wrongdoing. The virtually identical saying ‘sincere confession effaces the commission’ (*ḥusn al-‘itirāf yahdim al-iqtirāf*) is attributed to ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (c. 600–640/661). See for example, shaykh Mufid, *Irshād*, i:299. An English translation by I.K.A. Howard in Shaykh Mufid, *The Book of Guidance*, 222, reads, ‘A good confession wipes out the act of committing wrong.’

62 *ET*² art. ‘*Didjla*’ (R. Hartmann & S.H. Longrigg).

63 Al-Mutawakkil was assassinated in Shawwāl 247 [December 861].

64 This passage appears in Ibn al-Dāyah, *Mukāfā‘ah*, 130–132.

[10.1.8]

The Judge Abū l-Qāsim Šā'id ibn Aḥmad ibn Šā'id⁶⁵ in the *Book of the Classes of the Nations* (*K. Ṭabaqāt al-umam*) says of al-Kindī when he mentions his writings and books:

Among his books are those on the science of logic, and these have a general saleability amongst the public but are rarely of benefit for the sciences because they are devoid of the art of analysis without which it is not possible to know truth from falsehood in any subject. Conversely, the art of synthesis, which is what Ya'qūb pursues in these writings of his, can only be of benefit to one who has sound prerequisite knowledge that will enable him to synthesize. However, the prerequisites for every subject can be acquired only through the art of analysis. I do not know whether it was due to ignorance of its value on his part or a desire to conceal it from the public that made Ya'qūb refrain from this great art, but whichever it was, it is to his demerit. In addition, he authored a great number of epistles on many different sciences in which his corrupt opinions and far-fetched doctrines are evident.⁶⁶

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – would say that what Judge Šā'id has said about al-Kindī is unjust and does not detract from al-Kindī's knowledge, nor should it prevent the people from studying his books and deriving benefit from them.

[10.1.9]

The secretary Ibn al-Nadīm of Baghdad in his book the *The Catalogue* (*K. al-Fihrist*) says:

Among al-Kindī's students and copyists (*warrāqūn*) were Ḥasanwayh,⁶⁷ Niṭawayh,⁶⁸ Salmawayh,⁶⁹ and another of the same morphology

65 Abū l-Qāsim Šā'id ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Taghlibī (420–462/1029–1070). Judge and author of Toledo. See *ET*² art. 'Šā'id al-Andalusī' (G. Martinez-Gros).

66 This passage appears in Šā'id al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 52. A similar critique, which might be a paraphrase of Šā'id al-Andalusī, can be found in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 367–368.

67 Or Ḥusnawayh, not identified.

68 Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad (244–323/858–935). Grammarian, lexicographer, scholar of the Qur'an and traditions, and transmitter of poetry. *ET*² art. 'Niṭawayh' (O. Bencheikh).

69 See Ch. 8.20.

(*wazn*).⁷⁰ Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib⁷¹ was one of his students and Abū Maʿshar⁷² also learned from him.⁷³

[10.1.10]

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ibn Qutaybah⁷⁴ says in his book *The Unique Pearls* (*K. Farāʿid al-durr*):

Someone recited the following verses to Yaʿqūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī:⁷⁵

Four things from you are sweet⁷⁶ to four things in me,
and I don't know which one aroused my grief:
Is it your face in my eye, or the taste of you⁷⁷ in my mouth,
or your speech in my ears, or the love for you in my heart?

At which al-Kindī said, 'By God, he has classified the matter philosophically!'⁷⁸

[10.1.11]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – say, among the sayings of al-Kindī are these from his testament:

1. Let the physician be mindful of God, exalted is He, and let him not take risks, for there is nothing that will compensate for the loss of human life.
2. Just as [the physician] likes to be told that he was the cause of the patient's wellbeing and his cure, let him fear lest he be told that that he was the cause of his destruction and his death.

70 Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 376 adds 'Raḥmawayh' as a fourth name instead of 'and another of the same morphology', which may be a scribal joke. Raḥmawayh (or Zaḥmawayh) is a name of the traditionist Abū Muḥammad Zakariyyā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 235/849–850), but the identification is by no means certain.

71 See Ch. 10.2.

72 See above Ch. 10.1.6.

73 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 255, 261. For more on al-Kindī's circle of students and his teaching activities, see Brentjes, 'Teaching the Sciences in Ninth-century Baghdad'.

74 For Ibn Qutaybah (213–276/828–889), see *EI*² art. 'Ibn Qutayba' (G. Lecomte).

75 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Qutaybah's *Farāʿid al-durr* is not preserved. The lines are quoted anonymously in Ibn Ṭabātabā, *ʿIyār* (ed. al-Mānī'), 216–217, al-ʿAskarī, *Dīwān al-maʿānī*, i:229 (1st hemistich only), al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, vi:200 (quoted by Abū l-ʿAynā'), al-Sarī al-Raffā', *Muḥibb*, i:87. As Wadād al-Qāḍī notes in her edition of *al-Baṣāʾir*, a similar epigram, but with five items instead of four, is found in al-Thaʿālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 133, idem, *Tawfiq*, 110 (there attributed to Ibn Ṭabātabā).

76 Read, with other sources, *ḥalat* (note that *ḥallat*, as in A, is unmetrical).

77 *ʿIyār* and *Baṣāʾir*: 'your saliva' (*al-rīq*).

78 MS R adds a marginal note commenting on this poem, see A11.2.1.

3. The intelligent person believes that there is knowledge beyond the knowledge he has and so he always humbles himself to that additional knowledge. The ignorant person believes that he has reached the summit, and for that reason he is detested by the people.

[10.1.12]

Among al-Kindī's words are these from his testament to his son Abū l-'Abbās, which I have quoted from *The Book of Prolegomena* (*K. al-Muqaddimāt*) of Ibn Bakhtawayh:⁷⁹

1. My son, a father is a lord and a brother is a snare and a paternal uncle is an affliction and a maternal uncle is a calamity and a son is a distress and relatives are scorpions.⁸⁰
2. Saying no averts a blow, saying yes dispels blessings.⁸¹
3. Listening to songs is like severe pleurisy,⁸² because a person listens and becomes joyful and then spends of his money to excess and so is impoverished and becomes melancholic (*yaghtamm*) and falls ill and dies.
4. Gold coins are fevered; if you spend them they will die. Silver coins are prisoners;⁸³ if you let them out they will flee.
5. People are at your disposal (*sukhrah*), so take of their things and preserve your own things.⁸⁴
6. Do not accept anything from those who swear falsely, for that turns the land into a wasteland.⁸⁵

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say, if that is part of the testament of al-Kindī, it confirms what Ibn al-Nadīm of Baghdad relates about him in his book where he says that al-Kindī was a miser.⁸⁶

79 That is, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Isā ibn Bakhtawayh. See his entry in Ch. 10.52, where it is mentioned that the above book was composed in 420/1029–1030 and was also known by the title *K. Kanz al-aṭibbā'*.

80 In the Arabic, this saying is in rhymed prose. It is quoted by Abū Manṣūr al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038) in his *al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥāḍarah*, 460.

81 Cf. Al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥāḍarah*, 443.

82 This first part of this saying appears in al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥāḍarah*, 443.

83 Or constipated (*maḥbūs*), to continue on with the medical theme from 'fevered'.

84 Al-Tha'ālibī, *al-Tamthīl wa-l-muḥāḍarah*, 443 has instead, 'Deal with people as if you were a gambler (or chess player); take what is theirs and keep what is yours.'

85 Ar. *balāqī'* sing. *balqa'*, a place void of trees, vegetation or inhabitants. See Lane, *Lexicon*, i:253. The saying is also attributed to the Prophet. See, for example: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vi:411; al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, x:63; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirah*, 582, where *al-ghamūs* for *al-fājirah*.

86 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 255, 'and he [al-Kindī] was a miser (*bakhīl*). MS R adds some anecdotes about al-Kindī's miserliness and ideas, see A11.2.2 and A11.2.3

[10.1.13]

As an example of Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī’s poetry, shaykh Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sa‘īd al-‘Askarī the Lexicographer⁸⁷ says in *The Book of Aphorisms and Proverbs* (*K. al-Ḥikam wa-l-amthāl*):⁸⁸

Aḥmad ibn Ja‘far⁸⁹ quoted the following to me, saying, Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī⁹⁰ quoted the following to me, saying, Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī recited to me the following verses of his own composition:⁹¹

The tail towers above the heads,⁹²
 so close your eyes or bow your heads,
 Diminish your person,⁹³ clasp your hands,
 and find a place to sit on the floor of your house.
 Seek elevation (only) in the eyes of your Lord;
 find genial company today (only) in solitariness.
 For riches are found (only) in the hearts of men
 and glory is found (only) in their souls.
 How often one sees a rich man in trouble
 or a wealthy man being bankrupt,
 Or someone whose body is still standing, though dead,
 only not yet buried!
 If you feed your soul on what it craves,
 it will protect you against all that it sips. [?]⁹⁴

87 Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sa‘īd al-‘Askarī (293–382/906–993). See *ET*² art. ‘al-‘Askarī’ (J.W. Fück); *EI Three* art. ‘al-‘Askarī, Abū Aḥmad’ (B. Gruendler).

88 This book was published in Cairo in 2006; it does not contain the poem.

89 That is, Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ja‘far ibn Mūsā ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, courtier and man of letters of insalubrious appearance, known as Jaḥḥzah (d. 324/936). See *EI*² art. ‘Djahḥza’ (Ch. Pellat).

90 See Ch. 10.2.

91 Metre: *mutaqārib*. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maqāṣid al-ḥasanah*, 297 (lines 1–6); Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh*, xxxvi:318 (also omitting line 7).

92 Probably meaning that low people are raised above the virtuous.

93 Or ‘keep a low profile’.

94 Interpretation not wholly clear. The subjects of *tashtahī* and *tahtasī* could also be ‘you’. P and S have *takhtashī*, which does not even rhyme. ms R adds some extra verses in margin, see AII.2.4.

[10.1.14]

Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī is the author of the following works:⁹⁵

1. On First Philosophy, excluding physics or metaphysics (*K. al-Falsafah al-ūlā fīmā dūn al-ṭabī'yyāt wa-l-tawḥīd*).⁹⁶
2. On internal philosophy, abstruse logical problems, and metaphysics (*K. al-Falsafah al-dākhilah wa-l-masā'il al-manṭiqiyyah wa-l-mu'tāṣah wa-mā fawq al-ṭabī'yyāt*).⁹⁷
3. On the fact that philosophy may only be attained through knowledge of the mathematical sciences (*R. fī annahu lā tunālu al-Falsafah illā bi-'ilm al-riyāḍiyyāt*).⁹⁸
4. On encouraging the study of philosophy (*K. al-Ḥathth 'alā ta'allum al-falsafah*).
5. On the number, arrangement, and purposes of Aristotle's books, and what is indispensable in them for attaining knowledge of philosophy (*R. fī kammiyyat kutub Aristūṭālīs wa-mā yuḥtāju ilayhi fī taḥṣīl 'ilm al-falsafah mim mā lā ghinā fī dhālika 'anhu minhā wa-tartibihā wa-aghrāḍihi fihā*).⁹⁹
6. On Aristotle's intention in *The Categories* and its subject matter (*K. fī Qaṣd Aristūṭālīs fī-l-Maqūlāt iyyāhā qasdan wa-l-mawḍū'ah lahā*).¹⁰⁰
7. His larger essay on the criterion for knowledge (*Risālatuhu al-kubrā fī miqyāsīhi al-'ilmī*).
8. On the divisions of human knowledge (*K. Aqsām al-'ilm al-insī*).
9. On the nature and divisions of knowledge (*K. fī mā'iyyat al-'ilm wa-aqsā-mihi*).

95 Cf. McCarthy, *al-Taṣānif al-mansūbah ilā Faylasūf al-'Arab*; Ibn al-Nadīm *Fihrist* (Flügel), 255–261, (Sayyid) 2/1:184–194; See also: Rescher, *Al-Kindī*; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 244–247, 375–376; V, 255–259; VI, 151–155; VII, 130–134, 241–261, 326–327; IX, 232; XIII, 242–243, *et passim*; Adamson, *Al-Kindī*, 3–20; Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, xlvi–lxxv.

96 See Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 43. For an Arabic edition and French translation, see Rashed and Jolivet, *Œuvres Philosophiques et Scientifiques*, II, 1–117; for English translations, see Ivry, *al-Kindī's Metaphysics*; and Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 3–57. For a study of al-Kindī's metaphysical thought, see Adamson, *Al-Kindī*, 46–73.

97 All the MSS read 'and that which corresponds to the physics' here, corrected on the basis of Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 255; (Sayyid) 2/1:184, and the *dūn/fawq* opposition in the use of *dūn al-ṭabī'yyāt* in the previous title no. 1.

98 For an overview of the mathematical sciences, see *ET*² art. 'al-Riyāḍiyyāt' (R. Rashed). More broadly, the subjects of the trivium and quadrivium were called 'ulūm riyāḍiyyah or ta'lim-īyyah.

99 See Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 43. For an English translation, see Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 279–296.

100 Cf. Ch. 4.5.1, quoting Fārābī's *Iḥṣā'* on the Arabic and Greek titles.

10. On the perfect justice of all of the Creator's acts (*K. fī anna af'āl al-Bārī' kullahā 'adl lā jawr fihā*).
11. On the nature of the infinite, and in what way it is termed infinite (*K. fī mā'yyat al-shay' alladhī lā nihāyah lahu wa bi-ayy naw' yuqālu li-lladhī lā nihāyah lahu*).¹⁰¹
12. An explanation of the impossibility of the infiniteness of the matter of the world but rather its potential for infinity (*R. fī l-ibānah annahu lā yumkinu an yakūna jirm al-'ālam bi-lā nihāyah wa-anna dhālika inna-mā huwa bi-l-quwwah*).¹⁰²
13. On the active and reactive principles in physics (*K. fī al-Fā'ilah wa-l-munfa'ilah min al-ṭabī'yyāt al-uwal*).
14. On the vocabulary of intellectual summaries (*K. fī 'Ibārāt al-jawāmi' al-fikriyyah*).
15. On problems about which he was asked regarding the utility of the mathematical sciences (*K. fī Masā'il su'ila 'anhā fī manfa'at al-riyādiyyāt*).
16. An essay examining the claim¹⁰³ that physical objects act with a single act made necessary by their nature (*K. fī baḥṭh qawl al-mudda'ī anna al-ashyā' al-tabī'yyah taf'alu fī lan wāḥidan bi-ijāb al-khilqah*).¹⁰⁴
17. On skilfulness in the arts (*K. fī l-rifq fī l-ṣinā'āt*).¹⁰⁵
18. On the etiquette of corresponding with great men of state (*R. fī rasm riqā' ilā l-Khulafā' wa-l-Wuzarā'*).
19. On the division of the canon (*R. fī qismat al-qānūn*).¹⁰⁶

101 Cf. Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 45. For an Arabic edition and French translation, see Rashed & Jolivet, *Œuvres Philosophiques et Scientifiques*, ii:149–156; For similar works in English translation, see *Three Texts against the Infinity of the World*, in Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 58–72; Adamson, *Al-Kindī*, 74–105.

102 Cf. Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 45. For similar works in English translation, see *Three Texts against the Infinity of the World*, in Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 58–72.

103 Or 'examining the statement of him who claims etc.'

104 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 256; (Sayyid), 2/1:184 adds at this point: 'On the first sensible things' (*K. awā'il al-ashyā' al-mahsūсах*).

105 Or on gentleness or courteousness in the arts.

106 On the relationship between music and mathematics: the division of a string (monochord) to produce different consonant or dissonant intervals. See Liddell & Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*: 'ἡ κανονική (sc. τέχνη), *theoretical music, in which the notes of the scale are measured acc. to the different ἀρμονία*'. *Qānūn* became the name of the zither-like musical instrument that is still very popular. See Farmer, 'The Music of Islam'. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 266; (Sayyid), 2/1:210, where a book on the division of the canon is also attributed to Euclid.

20. An essay explaining the intellect and its nature (*R. fī Mā'īyyat al-'aql wa-l-ibānah 'anhu*).¹⁰⁷
21. On the Real, Prime, and Perfect Agent, and the imperfect one which is an agent only metaphorically (*R. fī al-Fā'il al-ḥaqq al-awwal al-tāmm wa-l-fā'il al-nāqiṣ alladhī huwa bi-l-majāz*).¹⁰⁸
22. An epistle to al-Ma'mūn on cause and effect (*R. ilā l-Ma'mūn fī l-'illah wa-l-ma'lūl*).
23. An abridgement of Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*Ikhtišār Kitāb Īsāghūjī li-Furfūriyūs*).
24. Many problems of logic and other matters, as well as philosophical definitions (*Masā'il kathīrah fī l-manṭiq wa-ghayrihi wa-ḥudūd al-falsafah*).
25. An exhaustive introduction to logic (*K. fī l-mudkhal al-manṭiqī bi-istifā' al-qawl fīhi*).
26. A brief and abridged introduction to logic (*K. fī l-mudkhal al-manṭiqī bi-ikhtišār wa-ṭjāz*).
27. On the ten categories (*R. fī l-Maqūlāt al-'ashr*).
28. An essay explaining Ptolemy's statement at the beginning of the *Almagest* regarding Aristotle's statement in the *Analytics* (*R. fī l-Ibānah 'an qawl Baṭlamīyūs fī awwal kitābihi fī l-Majisṭī 'an qawl Aristūṭālīs fī Anālūṭiqā*).
29. On guarding oneself against the impostures of the Sophists (*R. fī l-Iḥtirās min khuda' al-Sūfiṣṭā'īyah*).
30. A brief and abridged essay on logical demonstration (*R. bi-ṭjāz wa-ikhtišār fī l-Burhān al-manṭiqī*).¹⁰⁹
31. On the five predicables that pertain to all of the categories (*R. fī al-asmā' al-khamsah al-lāḥiqah li-kull al-maqūlāt*).¹¹⁰

107 See Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 44. For an English translation, see *On the Intellect*, in Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 93–98.

108 See Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 44. For an English translation, see *On the True Agent*, in Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 73–75; For an Arabic edition and French translation, see Rashed and Jolivet, *Œuvres Philosophiques et Scientifiques*, ii:167–172.

109 Also attributed to al-Fārābī for whom, see Ch. 15.01. See Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 44, where title is given as *Liber introductorius in artem logicae demonstrationis*. An Arabic text corresponding to this work appears in the sections on logic in the *Encyclopaedia* of the Brethren of Purity. For Carmela Baffioni's 2010 Arabic edition and English translation of this, see Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *On Logic*, 6, and 129–200 (Arabic edition), 125–155 (English translation), where it appears as Epistle 14 entitled *fī Afūdiqīqā (On the Posterior Analytics)*. The mediæval Latin version was published in 1897 in Nagy, *Abhandlungen*, 41–64. For views on attribution, see Farmer, *Liber introductorius*; Stern, 'Notes on al-Kindī's Treatise on Definitions'; Baffioni, II "*Liber introductorius*".

110 The title in Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Qifṭī reads 'Epistle on the five voices' (*R. Fī l-aṣwāt al-khamsah*) (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:185; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 368).

32. On physics (*R. fī Sam' al-kiyān*).
33. On the use of a tool for making summaries (*R. fī 'amal ālah mukhrijah li-l-jawāmi'*).
34. An introductory epistle on arithmetic, in five parts (*R. fī al-Mudkhal ilā l-Arithmāṭiqī khams maqālāt*).
35. An epistle to Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'taṣim¹¹¹ on the use of Indian arithmetic, in four discourses (*R. ilā Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'taṣim fī kayfiyyat isti'māl al-ḥisāb al-hindī arba' maqālāt*).
36. An essay explaining the numbers mentioned by Plato in the *Republic* (*R. fī l-A'dād allatī dhakarrahā Flāṭun fī l-Siyāsah*).
37. On the order of numbers (*R. fī Ta'līf al-a'dād*).
38. On the unity of God with regard to number (*R. fī l-Tawḥīd min jihat al-'adad*).
39. On revealing what is hidden and concealed (*R. fī Istikhrāj al-khabr wa-l-damīr*).
40. On ornithomancy¹¹² and divination with regard to number (*R. fī l-zajr wa-l-fa'l min jihat al-'adad*).
41. On lines and multiplication using the number of grains of barley (*R. fī l-Khuṭūṭ wa-l-darb bi-'adad al-sha'ir*).
42. On added quantity (*R. fī l-kammiyyah al-muḍāfah*).
43. On temporal relationships (*R. fī l-nisab al-zamāniyyah*).¹¹³
44. On arithmetical tricks and how to conceal them (*R. fī l-Ḥiyal al-'adadiyyah wa-'ilm idmārihā*).¹¹⁴
45. On the sphericity of the world and all that is in it (*R. fī anna al-'ālam wa-kull mā fīhi kurī al-shakl*).
46. On the demonstration of the sphericity of all the primary elements and the outermost body (*R. fī l-Ibānah 'alā annahu laysa shay' min al-'anāšir al-ūlā wa-l-jirm al-aqṣā ghayr kurī*).
47. On the fact that the sphere is the largest of the solid figures, and the circle is the largest of all the plane figures (*R. fī anna al-kurah a'zam al-ashkāl al-jirmiyyah wa-l-dā'irah a'zam min jamī' al-ashkāl [al-basiṭah]*).
48. On spheres (*R. fī l-kuriyyāt*).
49. On determining the vertical point (zenith) of a sphere (*R. fī 'amal al-samt 'alā kurah*).

111 See above Ch. 10.1.1.5.

112 That is, divination from the behaviour of birds.

113 All the MSS corrupt this title. Corrected from Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 256.

114 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Tajaddud), and (Sayyid), 2/1:186 adds at this point a title poorly written in the manuscripts that cannot be found in Flügel's edition, IAU or Ibn al-Qifṭī: *K. al-Dawār d-h-m-z-h*.

50. On the sphericity of the surface of the sea (*R. fī anna saṭḥ al-baḥr kurī*).
51. On flattening the sphere (*R. fī Taṣṭūḥ al-kurah*).¹¹⁵
52. On the construction and use of the 'six rings' (*R. fī 'amal al-ḥalaq al-sitt wa-isti'mālihā*).¹¹⁶
53. The greater discourse on (musical) composition (*Risālatuhu al-kubrā fī l-ta'līf*).¹¹⁷
54. On the arrangement of musical notes which indicate the natures of the heavenly bodies. It resembles the treatise on (musical) composition. (*R. fī tartīb al-nagham al-dāllah 'alā ṭabā'i' al-ashkhāṣ al-āliyah, wa-tushābihu al-Ta'līf*).¹¹⁸
55. An introductory discourse on the art of music (*R. fī l-mudkhal ilā ṣinā'at al-mūsīqī*).
56. On rhythm (*R. fī l-Īqā'*).¹¹⁹
57. On the art of the poets (*R. fī khabar ṣinā'at al-shu'arā'*).¹²⁰
58. An essay informing about the art of music (*R. fī l-ikhbār 'an ṣinā'at al-mūsīqī*).
59. An abridged musical treatise on the composition of tones and the art of the lute, composed for Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'taṣim¹²¹ (*Mukhtaṣar al-mūsīqī fī ta'līf al-nagham wa-ṣan'at al-'ūd allafahu li-Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'taṣim*).¹²²
60. On the parts of knowledge in music (*R. fī ajzā' khabariyyah fī l-mūsīqī*).¹²³
61. On the fact that the sighting of the new moon cannot be actually determined and can only be approximated (*R. fī anna ru'yat al-hilāl lā tuḍbaṭu bi-l-ḥaқиqah wa-innamā l-qawl fīhi bi-l-taqrīb*).

115 That is, drawing or projecting a three-dimensional sphere onto a two-dimensional surface.

116 This probably refers to a 'ringed' celestial globe, with rings representing the horizon, the celestial equator, the 'Arctic' circle, the summer tropic circle, the winter tropic circle, and the 'Antarctic' circle. An armillary sphere, whether demonstrational or observational, would have similar rings but also additional rings representing the courses of the five planets visible to the naked eye as well as the sun and moon. An observational armillary sphere would require further rings for sighting devices. For ringed celestial globes and armillary spheres in antiquity and the early Islamic world, see Savage-Smith, *Islamicate Celestial Globes*, 7–21; and Lorch, 'The astronomy of Jābir ibn Aflah'. Al-Kindī's treatise on the topic is not known to be preserved.

117 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 48.

118 See previous title.

119 For background material and an edition and English translation, see Sawa, *Rhythmic theories*.

120 Possibly read 'khubr' 'On [internal] knowledge of the art of the poets.' MSS PRSb read *khayr* and other MSS are ambiguous.

121 See above Ch. 10.1.1.5.

122 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 47.

123 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 47.

62. On questions posed to him regarding the effects of the planets (*R. fī masā'il su'ila 'anhā min aḥwāl al-kawākib*).
63. An epistle answering questions of physics posed to him by Abū Ma'shar¹²⁴ regarding astral qualities (*R. fī Jawāb masā'il ṭabī'yyah fī kayfiyyāt nujūmiyyah sa'ālahu Abū Ma'shar 'anhā*).¹²⁵
64. On the two differentia (*R. fī l-Faṣṣlayn*).¹²⁶
65. On the zodiacal signs and planets that are associated with each and every locality (*R. fī-mā yunsabu ilayhi kull balad min al-buldān ilā burj min al-burūj wa-kawkab min al-kawākib*).
66. An epistle written when asked to explain the differences he had come across in the forms of [the horoscopes] of nativities (*R. fī-mā su'ila 'anhu min sharḥ mā 'araḍa lahu min al-ikhtilāf fī ṣuwar al-mawālīd*).
67. An epistle on what has been related about the lifespans of people in ancient times and how they differ from those of the current time (*R. fī-mā ḥukiya min a'mār al-nās fī l-zaman al-qadīm wa-khilāfihā fī hādihā l-zaman*).
68. An essay illustrating the use of indicators (*namūdārāt*) in horoscopes and the prorogator (*ḥaylāj*) of their material and spiritual bodies and the indicator of the length of life (*kadkhudhāh*) (*R. fī taṣḥīḥ 'amal namūdārāt al-mawālīd wa-l-ḥaylāj wa-l-kadkhudhāh*).¹²⁷
69. An essay explaining the cause of the retrograde motion of planets (*R. fī iḍāḥ 'illat rujū' al-kawākib*).
70. An essay explaining that the differences found in the heavenly bodies is not caused by the primary qualities (*R. fī l-ibānah anna al-ikhtilāf alladhī fī l-ashkhāṣ al-'āliyah laysa 'illat al-kayfiyyāt al-uwal*).¹²⁸

124 See above Ch. 10.1.6.

125 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 265; (Sayyid), 2/1:186 and Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 370 add at this point the title: 'Epistle on the rays' incidence point' (*R. Fī maṭraḥ al-shu'ā'*).

126 For a full discussion of the technical uses of the term *faṣl*, see Tahānawī, *Kashshāf* – 1, 11, 1138–1140. Possibly this is a logical treatise on definitions by the differentiation of the genus and the species, or on the two types of differentiae, that is the constitutive (*faṣl muqawwim*), and divisive (*faṣl muqassim*).

127 For this complex astrological terminology, see al-Qabīṣī, *Introduction to Astrology*, 109–117; Samsó & Berrani, 'World Astrology'; Yano & Viladrich, 'Tasyīr Computation'; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, 230–231.

128 Only in ms B, that is only in Version 1 of the book. The four *primary qualities* of hot, cold, wet, and dry were thought to give rise to the four elements from which the sublunar world was made. The supralunar world of the heavenly bodies, however, was said to be made from an ethereal fifth element or *quintessence*.

71. On the apparent speed of the motion of the planets when they are on the horizon, and their deceleration as they rise (*R. fī sur‘at mā yurā min ḥarakat al-kawākib idhā kānat fī l-ufuq wa-ibṭā‘ihā kullamā ‘alat*).
72. On rays (*R. fī l-shu‘ā‘*).¹²⁹
73. On the difference between the prorogation¹³⁰ and use of rays (*R. fī faṣl mā bayna al-tasyīr wa-‘amal al-shu‘ā‘*).
74. On the causes of the irregularities of the stellar positions (*R. fī ‘ilal al-awḍā‘ al-nujūmiyyah*).
75. An essay relating to the celestial bodies designated auspicious and inauspicious (*Risālatuhu al-mansūbah ilā l-ashkhāṣ al-‘āliyah al-musammāh sa‘ādah wa-naḥāsah*).
76. On the effectiveness attributed to the celestial bodies indicative of rain (*R. fī l-quwā l-mansūbah ilā l-ashkhāṣ al-‘āliyah al-dāllah ‘alā l-maṭar*).¹³¹
77. On the causes of atmospheric phenomena (*R. fī ‘ilal aḥdāth al-jaww*).¹³²
78. On what causes certain places to be virtually devoid of rain (*R. fī l-‘illah allatī laḥā yakūnu ba‘ḍ al-mawāḍi‘ lā takādu tumṭir*).
79. An epistle to his pupil Zarnab on the secrets of the stars and notes on the principles of procedures (*R. ilā Zarnab tilmīdhihi fī asrār al-nujūm wa-ta‘līm mabādi’ al-a‘māl*).
80. On the cause of the halo effects observed in the sun and the moon and the planets and the luminaries, that is the two luminaries (*R. fī l-‘illah allatī turā min al-hālāt li-l-shams wa-l-qamar wa-l-kawākib wa-l-aḥwā’ al-nayyirah a’nī l-nayyirayn*).¹³³

129 For an English translation, see Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 217–244. For a study and (Latin) translation, see Ottaviani, *De radiis*. See also Travaglia, *Magic, Causality and Intentionality*.

130 MS A reads *al-shayr*, the rest of our MSS read *al-sayr*. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 257; (Sayyid), 2/1:186 reads (correctly) *al-tasyīr*. *Tasyīr* is a technique first used by Ptolemy employing prorogation calculations for predicting length of life by calculating an arc separating two celestial bodies at a given time and viewed from a particular locality on Earth. For further discussion of *tasyīr*, see Samsó & Berrani, ‘World Astrology’; Yano & Viladrich, ‘*Tasyīr* Computation’. For translation of this title based on Ibn Nadīm’s version, and an explanation of the term *tasyīr*, see also Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, liii, lxxiii n. 15.

131 For background to al-Kindī’s work on meteorology, see Bos & Burnett, *Scientific Weather Forecasting in the Middle Ages*, where a Hebrew version and English translation of this treatise may be found on pp. 202–242, and 243–262 respectively.

132 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 46. For an Arabic version and English translation of a similar work on atmospheric phenomena taken from al-Kindī’s *Forty Chapters*, see Bos & Burnett, *Scientific Weather Forecasting in the Middle Ages*, 395–402.

133 For a gloss on the two luminaries (*nayyirān*), see al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātiḥ al-‘ulūm*, 228.

81. An epistle apologizing for his own death before reaching the term of a natural life which is one hundred and twenty years (*R. fī i'tidhārihi 'an mawtihi dūna kamālihi li-sinī l-ṭabī'ah allatī hiya mi'ah wa-'ishrūn sanah*).
82. A discourse on the 'live coals' (*Kalām fī l-jamarāt*)¹³⁴
83. On the stars (*R. fī l-nujūm*).
84. On the purposes of the books of Euclid (*R. fī aghrād kutub Uqlīdis*).¹³⁵
85. One revising the books of Euclid (*R. fī iṣlāḥ kutub Uqlīdis*).¹³⁶
86. On different [theories] of optics (*R. fī ikhtilāf al-manāẓir*).¹³⁷
87. On constructing a [geometric] figure with two medians (*R. fī 'amal shakl al-mutawassiṭayn*).
88. On approximating the arc which a chord of a circle subtends (*R. fī taqrīb watar al-dā'irah*).
89. On approximating the arc which a chord of a ninth subtends (*R. fī taqrīb watar al-tus'*).
90. On the mensuration of a vaulted hall (*R. fī misāḥat aywān*).¹³⁸
91. On the division and construction of triangles and squares (*R. fī taqṣīm al-muthallath wa-l-murabba' wa-'amalihimā*).
92. On constructing a circle equal [in area] to the surface of a given cylinder (*R. fī kayfiyyat 'amal dā'irah musāwiyah li-saṭḥ usṭuwānah mafrūḍah*).
93. A geometrical epistle on the rising and setting of the stars (*R. fī shurūq al-kawākib wa-ghurūbihā bi-l-handasah*).
94. On dividing a circle into three [equal] parts (*R. fī qismat al-dā'irah thalāthat aqsām*).

They are usually the sun and the moon, in which case they have been mentioned twice in this title.

- 134 *Jamrah*, pl. *jamarāt/jimār*, can refer, *inter alia*, to live coals, carbuncles (red garnet gemstones), geothermic heat, or pebbles thrown during the hajj pilgrimage. Al-Bīrūnī writes that it was thought that on the 7th, 14th, and 21st of the month of February, three hot coals, each one greater than the first, would 'fall' or be removed signifying the end of the cold season. He goes on to mention some explanations for this. See al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiyah*, 252–253. Perhaps this is the subject of al-Kindī's discourse here. Cf. al-Qazwīnī, *ʿAjā'ib* (Wüstenfeld), 76–77.
- 135 For Euclid in general, see Sezgin, *GAS* V, 83–120. For this title, see *GAS*, V, 105.
- 136 MS A conflates these titles (84 and 85) and notes that further examination is needed (*yaḥtāju ilā naẓar*). Not in Sezgin, *GAS*.
- 137 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 47. For a study and French translations of several of al-Kindī's works on optics, see Rashed and Jolivet, *Œuvres Philosophiques et Scientifiques*, vol. 1.
- 138 For *aywān* (also *iwān*), see *ET*² art. 'Īwān' (O. Grabar). Given the evident interest in curves and various geometrical problems in the subsequent titles, the term *aywān* (or *iwān*) has here been translated as 'vaulted hall', as in the expression '*iwān Kisrā*', referring to the famous vaulted hall at Ctesiphon (see e.g. al-Buḥturī's poem on it or and al-Tha'ālibī's *Thimār al-qulūb*, 180–182).

95. An essay revising books fourteen and fifteen of Euclid's *Elements* (*R. fī iṣlāḥ al-maqālatayn al-rābi'ah 'ashar wa-l-khāmisah 'ashar min kitāb Uqlīdis*).¹³⁹
96. On geometrical proofs based on astronomical calculations (*R. fī l-barāhīn al-misāḥiyyah li-mā ya'riḍu min al-ḥisābāt al-falakiyyah*).
97. An essay correcting Hypsicles' discourse *On Ascensions* (*R. fī taṣḥiḥ qawl Isiqalāwus fī-l-maṭālī'*).¹⁴⁰
98. On the reversal of views in a mirror (*R. fī ikhtilāf manāẓir al-mir'āh*).¹⁴¹
99. On the geometrical construction of the astrolabe (*R. fī ṣan'at al-aṣṭurlāb bi-l-handasah*).
100. On determining the meridian line and the direction of Mecca using geometry (*R. fī istikhraj khaṭṭ niṣf al-nahār wa-samt al-qiblah bi-l-handasah*).
101. On the geometrical construction of sundials (*R. fī 'amal al-rukhāmah bi-l-handasah*).
102. On the fact that clocks constructed on a metal plate erected on a surface parallel to the horizon are the best of all (*R. fī anna 'amal al-sā'āt 'ala ṣafīḥah tunṣabu 'alā l-saṭḥ al-muwāzī li-l-ufuq khayr min ghayrihā*).¹⁴²
103. On the geometrical construction of clocks upon a hemisphere (*R. fī istikhraj al-sā'āt 'alā niṣf kurah bi-l-handasah*).
104. On omens (*R. fī l-sawāniḥ*).¹⁴³
105. Questions on the surveying of rivers and the like (*Mas'āl fī misāḥat al-anhār wa-ghayrihā*).
106. On temporal relations (*R. fī l-nisab al-zamāniyyah*).¹⁴⁴
107. A discourse on number (*Kalām fī l-'adad*).
108. A discourse on burning mirrors (*Kalām fī l-marāyā allatī tuḥriqu*).¹⁴⁵

139 See Sezgin, *GAS* v, 105. Books 14 and 15 are now generally considered to be non-Euclidean and attributed to Hypsicles and Isidorus of Miletus respectively. See Heath, *Euclid's Elements*, iii:512–520.

140 All our MSS read Isiqalāwus. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 266, reads Ibsiqalāwus (Ibsiqalā'us) and mentions his *Book of Ascensions* (*Kitāb al-Maṭālī'*). See Sezgin, *GAS* v, 145. For a MS not mentioned in *GAS*, see MS British Library IO Islamic 1249, fols. 111^v–116^r (18th cent.), where also Isiqalāwus.

141 For a study of this subject, see Rashed & Jolivet, *Œuvres Philosophiques et Scientifiques*, vol. I.

142 Cf. Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 48.

143 See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1442. Also a title of a Persian work by Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī (d. 1126), translated as 'inspiration from the world of pure spirits'.

144 Cf. above Ch. 10.1.11, nos. 43, 212.

145 For a study and French translation of related texts, see Rashed & Jolivet, *Œuvres Philosophiques et Scientifiques*, II, 97–160.

109. On the impossibility of the existence of a geometry for the outermost heavenly sphere which causes the other heavenly spheres to revolve (*R. fī imtinā' wujūd misāḥah li-l-falak al-aqṣā al-mudīr*¹⁴⁶ *li-l-aflāk*).
110. On the fact that the nature of the heavenly spheres differs from the natures of the four elements and is a fifth nature (*R. fī anna ṭabī'at al-falak mukhālīfah li-ṭabā'i' al-'anāšir al-arba'ah wa-annahū ṭabī'ah khāmisah*).¹⁴⁷
111. On the manifestations of the celestial sphere (*R. fī ḡāhirīyyāt al-falak*).
112. On the outermost world (*R. fī l-'ālam al-aqṣā*).
113. On the fact that the outermost body prostrates itself to its Creator (*R. fī sujūd al-jirm al-aqṣā li-Bārī'ihī*).¹⁴⁸
114. An essay in refutation of the Manichaeans regarding the ten problems of the positions of the spheres (*R. fī l-radd 'alā l-Manāniyyah fī l-'ashr masā'il fī mawḍū'āt al-falak*).
115. On forms (*R. fī l-ṣuwar*).¹⁴⁹
116. On the fact that it is impossible for the body of the world to be infinite (*R. fī annahu lā yumkinu an yakūna jirm al-'ālam bi-lā-nihāyah*).¹⁵⁰
117. On celestial optics (*R. fī l-manāẓir al-falakiyyah*).
118. On the impossibility of the outermost body being subject to change (*R. fī imtinā' al-jirm al-aqṣā min al-istiḥālah*).
119. On Ptolemy's astronomical art (*R. fī ṣinā'at Baṭlamīyūs al-falakiyyah*).¹⁵¹
120. On the finiteness of the body of the world (*R. fī tanāhī jirm al-'ālam*).¹⁵²
121. On the quiddity of the celestial sphere and the concomitant azure colour which is experienced in the sky (*R. fī mā'iyyat al-falak wa-l-lawn al-lāzim al-lāzawardī al-maḥsūs min jihat al-samā'*).¹⁵³
122. On the quiddity of the body which, by its nature, acts as a substrate for colours derived from the four elements (*R. fī mā'iyyat al-jirm al-ḥāmil bi-ṭibā'ihī li-l-alwān min al-'anāšir al-arba'ah*).¹⁵⁴

146 MS S, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 258: *al-mudabbir*; i.e. 'which governs the other spheres.'

147 Cf. Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 45, and title 70 above; Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 187–193.

148 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 45; English translation in Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 173–186; French translation in Rashed & Jolivet, *Œuvres Philosophiques et Scientifiques*, II, 173–204. This treatise was apparently written for Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'tašim.

149 Or possibly on constellations (*ṣuwar al-kawākib*).

150 Cf. Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 58–72.

151 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 45.

152 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 45. Cf. Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 58–72.

153 Cf. Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 47; English translation in Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 139–143; for an English translation with Arabic edition, see Spies, 'Al-Kindī's treatise on the cause of the blue colour of the sky'.

154 English translation in Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 136–139.

123. On the demonstration of the existence of a veiling body and the nature of light and darkness (*R. fī l-burhān ‘alā l-jism al-sātir wa-mā’iyyat al-aḍwā’ wa-l-aẓlām*).
124. On data (*R. fī l-mu’ṭayāt*).¹⁵⁵
125. On the arrangement of the heavenly spheres (*R. fī tarkīb al-aflāk*).
126. On the bodies which descend from a height and how some precede others (*R. fī l-ajrām al-hābiṭah min al-‘uluww wa-sabq ba’ḍihā ba’ḍan*).
127. On the use of the instrument named the ‘compiler’ (*R. fī l-‘amal bi-l-‘alah al-musammāh al-jāmi’ah*).
128. On the quality of the retrograde motion of the planets (*R. fī kayfiyyat rujū’ al-kawākib al-mutaḥayyirah*).¹⁵⁶
129. On Hippocratic medicine (*R. fī l-ṭibb al-Buqrāṭī*).
130. On lethal foods and drugs (*R. fī l-ghidhā’ wa-l-dawā’ al-muhlik*).
131. On vapours that cleanse the air of pestilence (*R. fī l-abkhirah al-muṣliḥah li-l-jaww min al-awbā’*).
132. On the drugs that cure painful flatulence (*R. fī l-adwiyah al-mushfiyah min al-rawā’ih al-mu’dhiyah*).
133. On the method of purging with drugs and drawing out the humours (*R. fī kayfiyyat is’hāl al-adwiyah wa-injihāb al-akhlāṭ*).
134. On the cause of expectoration of blood (*R. fī ‘illat nafth al-dam*).
135. On the regimen for healthy people (*R. fī tadbīr al-aṣiḥḥā’*).
136. On the treatment of poisons (*R. fī ashfiyat al-sumūm*).
137. On the causes of crises in acute diseases (*R. fī ‘illat al-baḥārīn li-l-amrāḍ al-ḥāddah*).
138. An essay identifying the principal organ of the human body and explaining intelligence (*R. fī tabyīn al-‘uḍw al-ra’īs min jism al-insān wa-l-ibānah ‘an al-albāb*).
139. On the qualities of the brain (*R. fī kayfiyyat al-dimāgh*).
140. On the cause of leprosy and its treatment (*R. fī ‘illat al-judhām wa-ashfiyatihī*).
141. On treating those bitten by rabid dogs (*R. fī ‘ilāj man ‘aḍḍahu al-kalb al-kalīb*).
142. On the symptoms occurring due to phlegm and the cause of sudden death (*R. fī l-a’rāḍ al-ḥādithah min al-balgham wa-‘illat mawt al-faj’ah*).

155 That is, the Δεδομένα (*Dedomena*) of Euclid. See Sezgin, *GAS* v, 116, 258.

156 ms B (Version 1) adds the title: ‘On the fact that there is no way to attain knowledge of Philosophy without knowledge of the mathematical sciences’ (*R. fī annahu lā sabil ilā l-tafalsuf illā bi-‘ilm al-riyādiyyāt*). Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’riḥ al-hukamā’*, 372 adds at this point the title: On spiritual medicine (*K. al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*).

143. On the pains of the stomach and of gout (*R. fī waja' al-mi'dah wa-l-niqris*).
144. An epistle addressed to a man who complained to him of a disease in his belly and hands (*R. ilā rajul fī 'illah shakāhā ilayhi fī baṭnihi wa-yadihi*).
145. On the types of fevers (*R. fī aqsām al-ḥummayāt*).
146. On treating sclerosis of the spleen evident from melancholic symptoms (*R. fī 'ilāj al-ṭihāl al-jāsī min al-a'rāq al-sawdāwīyyah*).
147. On the bodies of animals when they decompose (*R. fī ajsād al-ḥayawān idhā fasadat*).¹⁵⁷
148. On regulating food (*R. fī tadbīr al-aṭ'imah*).
149. On making food without using foodstuffs (*R. fī ṣan'at aṭ'imah min ghayr 'anāshirihā*).
150. On life (*R. fī l-ḥayāh*).
151. On tried and tested drugs (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mumtaḥanah*).
152. The medical formulary (*K. al-Aqrābādihīn*).
153. On the difference between insanity caused by satanic interferences and that caused by dyscrasia (*R. fī l-farq bayna al-junūn al-'arīḍ min mass al-shayāṭīn wa-bayna mā yakūnu min fasād al-akhlat*).
154. On physiognomy (*R. fī l-firāsah*).
155. An essay explaining the cause of lethal hot winds known generally as pestilential disease (*R. fī iḍāḥ al-'illah fī l-samā'im al-qātilah al-samā'iyyah wa-huwa 'alā l-maqāl al-muṭlaq al-wabā'*).
156. On the method for dispelling sorrows (*R. fī l-ḥilāh li-daf' al-aḥzān*).¹⁵⁸
157. A summary of Galen's *Simple Drugs* (*Jawāmi' Kitāb al-Adwiyah al-mufradah li-Jālīnūs*).
158. An essay demonstrating the utility of medicine when the art of astronomy is used in conjunction with its indicators (*R. fī l-ibānah 'an manfa'at al-ṭibb idhā kānat ṣinā'at al-nujūm maqrūnah bi-dalā'ilihā*).
159. On speech impediments (*R. fī l-luthghah*).¹⁵⁹
160. On prognosis by deduction via the heavenly bodies, arranged by questions (*R. fī taqdīm al-ma'rifah bi-l-istidlāl bi-l-ashkhāṣ al-'ālīyah 'alā l-masā'il*).
161. An introductory essay on [stellar] judgements, arranged by questions (*R. fī mudkhal al-aḥkām 'alā l-masā'il*).

157 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:190 and Ibn al-Qifī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 372 add the title: 'Epistle on the extent to which the art of medicine is useful' (*R. Fī qadr manfa'at ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*).

158 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 45. For an introduction and English translation, see Adamson & Porrmann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 245–266.

159 For an edition and Italian translation, see Celentano, *Due scritti medici di al-Kindī*, 37–52.

- 162–164. First, second, and third epistles on the art of [stellar] judgements using divisions (*Risālatuhu al-ūlā wa-l-thānīyah wa-l-thālithah ilā šināʿat al-aḥkām bi-taqāsīm*).
165. An essay foretelling the extent of the dominion of the Arabs, which is his epistle on the conjunction of the two inauspicious planets [i.e., Saturn and Mars] in the house of Cancer (*R. fī l-ikhbār ʿan kammiyyat mulk al-ʿArab wa-hiya risālatuhu fī iqtirān al-naḥiṣayn fī burj al-saraṭān*).¹⁶⁰
166. On the extent of the utility of favourable times (*R. fī qadr manfaʿat al-ikhtiyārāt*).
167. On the extent of the utility of the art of [stellar] judgements and on who deserves to be called an ‘astrologer’ (*R. fī qadr manfaʿat šināʿat al-aḥkām wa-man al-rajul al-musammā munajjiman bi-istiḥqāq*).
168. An abridged epistle on the limits of nativities (*Risālatuhu al-mukhtaṣarah fī ḥudūd al-mawālīd*).
169. On adjusting the years of nativities (*R. fī taḥwīl sinī l-mawālīd*).
170. On deducing events from solar eclipses (*R. fī l-istidlāl bi-l-kusūfāt ʿalā l-ḥawādith*).
171. An essay in refutation of the Manichaeans (*R. fī l-radd ʿalā l-Manāniyyah*).
172. An essay in refutation of the dualists (*R. fī l-radd ʿalā l-Thanawiyyah*).
173. An essay on guarding against the deception of the Sophists (*R. fī l-iḥtirās min khudʿ al-Sūfistāʿiyyah*).
174. An essay invalidating the questions of the heretics (*R. fī naqḍ masāʾil al-Mulḥidīn*).
175. An essay affirming the Messengers of God, upon whom be peace (*R. fī tathbīt al-Rusul ʿalayhim al-salām*).¹⁶¹
176. On human capacity to act and when this occurs (*R. fī l-istiṭāʿah wa-zamān kawnihā*).
177. An essay in refutation of those who state that bodies in the atmosphere have periods of stasis (*R. fī l-radd ʿalā man zaʿama anna li-l-ajrām fī huwiyyatihā fī l-jaww tawaqqufāt*).
178. On the error of those who state that between natural and accidental motion there is stasis (*R. fī buṭlān qawl man zaʿama anna bayna al-ḥarakah al-ṭabīʿiyyah wa-l-ʿaraḍiyyah sukūnan*).

160 Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 45.

161 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:190 adds the title: ‘Epistle on the true, first and complete agent and the secondary agent [referred to] metaphorically’ (*R. Fī l-fāʾil al-ḥaqq wa-l-awwal wa-l-tamm wa-l-fāʾil al-thānī bi-l-majāz*); whilst Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 372 reads: ‘Treatise on the confirmation of the true and first agent and the secondary agent [referred to] metaphorically’ (*R. Fī ithbāt al-fāʾil al-ḥaqq wa-l-awwal wa-l-fāʾil al-thānī bi-l-majāz*).

179. On the incorrectness of the assumption that bodies when they first come into being are neither in motion nor static (*R. fī anna al-jism fī awwal ibdā'ihī lā-sākin wa-lā-mutaḥarrik ḡann bāṭil*).
180. On divine unity with exegetical material (*R. fī l-tawḥīd bi-tafsīrāt*).
181. On the error of those who state that particles (atoms) are indivisible (*R. fī buṭlān qawl man za'ama anna juz'an lā yatajazza'u*).
182. On the elements of bodies (*R. fī jawāhir al-ajsām*).
183. On the components of bodies (*R. fī awā'il al-jism*).
184. On the diversity of religions regarding the unity of God and that they agree upon divine unity but all of them go against each other (*R. fī iftirāq al-milal fī l-tawḥīd wa-annahum mujmi'un 'alā l-tawḥīd wa-kull qad khālaḡa ṡāhibahu*).
185. On incarnation (*R. fī l-mutaḡassid*).¹⁶²
186. On demonstration (*R. fī l-burhān*).
187. A theological discourse with Ibn al-Rāwandī¹⁶³ (*Kalām lahu ma' Ibn al-Rāwandī fī l-tawḥīd*).
188. A discourse of his in which he refuted a certain theologian (*Kalām radda bihi 'alā ba'd al-mutakallimīn*).
189. On the nature of that for which infinity is impossible, and that which may be said to be infinite, and in what way that may be said (*R. fī mā'yyat mā lam yumkin lā-nihāyah lahu wa-mā alladhī yuqālu lā-nihāyah lahu wa-bi-ayy naw' yuqālu dhālik*).
190. An epistle to Muḡammad ibn al-Jahm¹⁶⁴ explaining the unity of God, mighty and majestic is He, and on the finitude of the matter of the universe (*R. ilā Muḡammad ibn al-Jahm fī l-ibānah 'an waḡdāniyyat Allāh 'azza wa-jall wa-'an tanāhī jirm al-kull*).
191. On declaring others to be unbelievers or misguided (*R. fī l-ikfār wa-l-taḡlīl*).
192. On the fact that the human soul is a simple, imperishable substance which has agency over bodies (*R. fī anna al-naḡs jawhar basīṡ ḡhayr dāthir mu'aththir fī l-ajsām*).

162 Cf. McCarthy, *al-Taṡānīf al-mansūbah ilā Faylasūf al-'Arab*, 30 no. 162: 'possibly a polemic against Christians' [and their doctrine of the incarnation]; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 259, (Sayyid), 2/1:191 read: 'On glorifying [God]' (*R. fī l-Tamjīd*).

163 Ibn al-Rāwandī, that is Abū l-Husayn Aḡmad ibn Yahyā ibn Ishāq ibn al-Rāwandī (3rd–4th/9th–10th cent.), was a rationalist known for his heretical views. See *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Rāwandī or al-Rēwendī' (P. Kraus & G. Vagda); Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam*.

164 Muḡammad ibn al-Jahm al-Barmakī (fl. 3rd/9th cent.), Mu'tazilite and high-ranking official under the Caliphs al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṡim, known as a philosopher. See *ET*² art. 'Muḡammad b. al-Djāhm' (G. Lecomte).

193. On what the soul recalls from when it was in the intelligible world before its existence in the sensory world (*R. fī-mā li-l-nafs dhikruhu wa-hiya fī 'ālam al-'aql qabla kawnihā fī 'ālam al-ḥiss*).¹⁶⁵
194. On how the philosophers reached consensus about the symbols of love (*R. fī khabar ijtimā' al-falāsifah 'alā l-rumūz al-'ishqīyyah*).¹⁶⁶
195. On the causes of sleep and visions, and commandments given to the soul (*R. fī 'illat al-nawm wa-l-ru'yā wa-mā tu'maru bihi al-nafs*).¹⁶⁷
196. On the fact that human needs are intellectually permissible for them before they are prohibited (*R. fī anna mā bi-l-insān ilayhi ḥājah mubāh lahu fī l-'aql qabla an yuḥzara*).
197. The greater treatise on governance (*Risālatuhu al-kubrā fī l-siyāsah*).
198. On facilitating the paths to virtue (*R. fī tas'hīl subul al-faḍā'il*).¹⁶⁸
199. On public governance (*R. fī siyāsah al-'āmmah*).
200. On ethics (*R. fī l-akhlāq*).
201. An essay encouraging virtue (*R. fī l-tanbīh 'alā l-faḍā'il*).
202. On anecdotes of the philosophers (*R. fī nawādir al-falāsifah*).
203. On the virtue of Socrates (*R. fī khabar faḍīlat Suqrāt*).
204. On the sayings of Socrates (*R. fī alfāz Suqrāt*).
205. On a dialogue which took place between Socrates and Aeschines (*R. fī muḥāwarah jarat bayna Suqrāt wa-Arsiwās*).¹⁶⁹
206. On the circumstances of the death of Socrates (*R. fī khabar mawt Suqrāt*).
207. On what took place between Socrates and the Ḥarrānians (*R. fī-mā jarā bayna Suqrāt wa-l-Ḥarrāniyyīn*).¹⁷⁰

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- 165 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 259; (Sayyid), 2/1:191 and Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 373 add the title: 'On the quiddity of man and its governing organ' (*R. Fī mā'īyyat al-insān wa-l-'aḍw wa-ra'īs minhu*).
- 166 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 259; (Sayyid), 2/1:191 and Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 373 add the title: 'On that which is remembered by the soul from when it was created in the rational world before its creation in the sensible world' (*R. Fīmā li-l-nafs dhikrihi wa-hiya fī 'ālam al-'aql qabla kawnihā fī l-'ālam al-ḥass*).
- 167 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 259, (Sayyid), 2/1:191: 'and what is intimated to the soul' (*wa-mā turmazu bihi l-nafs*).
- 168 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 259, (Sayyid) 2/1:191 and Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 374 add the title: 'On dispelling sorrows' (*R. Fī daḡ' al-aḥzān*).
- 169 cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 259, (Sayyid) 2/1:191: *Arshijānus*; McCarthy, *al-Taṣānīf al-mansūbah ilā Faylasūf al-'Arab*, quotes Flügel's notes (ii:31 n. 76) where he proposes Aeschinus rather than Archigenes (Arshijānus). McCarthy gives other possibilities such as Arcesilaus or Archilaus. Cf. Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, lvii.
- 170 This work seems to have been an abridgement of Plato's *Apology of Socrates*, in which the 'Ḥarrānians' would be the Athenians; see Gutas, 'Tradition arabe', 851; and Endress, 'Building the Library of Arabic Philosophy', 333.

208. On the scope¹⁷¹ of the intellect (*R. fī ḥayyiz al-‘aql*).
209. On the active proximate cause of generation and corruption in entities subject to corruption (*R. ‘an al-‘illah al-fā‘ilah al-qarībah li-l-kawn wa-l-fasād fī l-kā’ināt al-fāsīdāt*).
210. On the cause of the opinion that fire, water, air, and earth are elements common to all entities subject to corruption, and that they, and other things, may be transformed one into the other (*R. fī l-‘illah allatī lahā qīla inna al-nār wa-l-hawā’ wa-l-mā’ wa-l-ard’ anāšir tajmā’u al-kā’inah al-fāsīdah wa-hiya wa-ghayruhā yastahīlu ba‘duhā ilā ba‘d*).
211. On the passage of time during which the powers of the four prime qualities are made manifest (*R. fī ikhtilāf al-azminah allatī tazharu fihā quwā l-kayfiyyāt al-arba‘ al-ūlā*).
212. On temporal relations (*R. fī l-nisab al-zamāniyyah*).¹⁷²
213. On the cause of the change in the year (*R. fī ‘illat ikhtilāf al-sanah*).
214. On the nature of time, the nature of eternity, moments in time and the present (*R. fī mā’iyyat al-zamān wa-mā’iyyat al-dahr wa-l-ḥīn wa-l-waqt*).
215. On what causes the higher reaches of the atmosphere to be cold and those nearer to the earth to be warm (*R. fī l-‘illah allatī lahā yabrudu a’lā l-jaww wa-yaskhanu mā qaruba min al-ard*).¹⁷³
216. On the phenomenon which appears in the atmosphere and is called a star (*R. fī l-athar alladhī yazharu fī l-jaww wa-yusammā kawkaban*).¹⁷⁴
217. On the star which appears and is observed for some days before it disappears (*R. fī l-kawkab alladhī ḡahara wa-rašdihī ayyāman ḡattā idmahall*).
218. On comets (*R. fī l-kawkab dhī l-dhu‘ābah*).
219. On the cause of the cold that arises towards the end of winter during the period called the ‘Days of the Old Woman’ (*R. fī l-‘illah al-ḡādith bihā al-bard fī ākhar al-shitā’ fī l-ibbān al-musammā ayyām al-‘ajūz*).
220. On the cause of the existence of fog and what brings it about (*R. fī ‘illat kawn al-ḡabāb wa-l-asbāb al-muḡdithah lahu*).

171 Or possibly simply *On the Intellect*. cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 259, (Sayyid) iii:192: *fī khabar al-‘aql*.

172 Cf. above Ch. 10.1.11 nos. 43, 119. This title occurs only in MS B, that is Version 1.

173 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 260; (Sayyid), 2/1:192 adds the title: ‘On atmospheric phenomena’ (*R. Fī aḡdāth al-jaww*).

174 This and the following two titles are on comets. MSS APSRB: On the *Anwā’* which appear in the atmosphere and is [sic] called a star (*R. fī l-anwā’ allatī tazharu fī l-jaww wa-tusammā kawkaban*). Corrected from Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 260, (Sayyid) 2/1:192, and Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḡukamā’*, 374: On the phenomenon which appears in the atmosphere and is called a star (*fī l-athar alladhī yazharu fī l-jaww wa-yusammā kawkaban*).

221. On the great phenomenon that was observed in the year 222 of the Hijrah [836–837] (*R. fī mā ruṣida min al-athar al-‘aẓīm fī sanat ithnatayn wa-‘ishrīn wa-mī‘atayn li-l-hijrah*).¹⁷⁵
222. On supralunar phenomena (*R. fī l-āthār al-‘ubwīyyah*).
223. An epistle to his son Aḥmad on the differing inhabited areas of the terrestrial sphere, in which he explains the book *On Habitations* of Theodosius (*R. ilā ibnihi Aḥmad fī ikhtilāf mawāḍi‘ min kurat al-arḍ wa-hādhihi al-risālah sharaha fī-hā Kitāb al-Masākin li-Thāwdhūsiyūs*).¹⁷⁶
224. On the cause of winds inside the earth which bring about many earthquakes and sinkholes (*R. fī ‘illat ḥudūth al-riyāḥ fī bāṭin al-arḍ al-muḥdīthah kathīr al-zalāzil wa-l-khusūf*).¹⁷⁷
225. On the differing times of the year and their progress through four different seasons (*R. fī ‘illat ikhtilāf al-azmān fī l-sanah wa-intiqālihā bi-arba‘at fuṣūl mukhtalifah*).
226. On determining the azimuth (*R. fī ‘amal al-samt*).
227. On the distances between the climes (*R. fī ab‘ād masāfāt al-aqālīm*).
228. On habitations (*R. fī l-masākin*).
229. The greater treatise on the inhabited zone (*Risālatuhu al-kubrā fī l-rub‘ al-maskūn*).
230. On accounts of the dimensions of bodies (*R. fī akhbār ab‘ād al-ajrām*).
231. On determining the distance between the centre of the moon and the earth (*R. fī istikhrāj bu‘d markaz al-qamar min al-arḍ*).
232. On how he constructed an instrument for determining the distances of [celestial] bodies (*R. fī istikhrāj ālah ‘amilahā yastakhrīju bihā ab‘ād al-ajrām*).
233. On how he constructed an instrument for determining the distance of visible objects (*R. fī ‘amal ālah yu‘rafu bihā bu‘d al-mu‘āyanāt*).
234. On determining the distance of mountain peaks (*R. fī ma‘rifat ab‘ād qulal al-jibāl*).

175 The comet now known as Halley’s Comet came within an exceptionally close proximity to the earth in the year 837 and was observed in Iraq. See Cook, ‘A Survey of Muslim Material on Comets and Meteors’.

176 Theodosius lived in the 2nd/1st cent. BC; see *Brill’s New Pauly*, art. ‘Theodosius I [I 1]’ (M. Folkerts). For an edition of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā’s Arabic and Gerard of Cremona’s Medieval Latin versions of Theodosius’ book, see Theodosius, *De habitationibus*. For a short review, see Rashed, *Theodosius’s On Habitations*.

177 The word *khusūf* is often used to refer to a lunar eclipse. However, it is more likely to refer here to the idea of the ground caving in or giving way. Cf. the phrase *khasafa bihi al-arḍ*.

235. An epistle on metaphysics addressed to Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khurāsānī¹⁷⁸ explaining the finiteness of the world (*R. ilā Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khurāsānī fī-mā ba'd al-tabrāh wa-īdāh tanāhī jirm al-'ālam*).
236. On the secrets of prognostication (*R. fī asrār taqdimat al-ma'rifah*).
237. On the prognostication of events (*R. fī taqdimat al-ma'rifah bi-l-aḥdāth*).
238. On prognostication (*R. fī taqdimat al-khabar*).
239. On prognostication (*R. fī taqdimat al-akhbār*).
240. On prognostication through the indications of heavenly bodies (*R. fī taqdimat al-ma'rifah fī l-istidlāl bi-l-ashkhāṣ al-samāwīyyah*).
241. On types of gems and their simulacra (*R. fī anwā' al-jawāhir wa-l-ashbāh*).
242. An essay describing stones and gems and their sources, and those of good and bad quality and their values (*R. fī na't al-ḥijārah wa-l-jawāhir wa-mā'ādinihā wa-jayyidihā wa-radīihā wa-athmānihā*).
243. On making panes of glass (*R. fī talwīḥ al-zujāj*).
244. On dyes used for colouring (*R. fī-mā yaṣbugh fa-yu'tī lawnan*).
245. On kinds of sharp implements and swords and the best kind of these and where they may be obtained (*R. fī anwā' al-ḥadīd wa-l-suyūf wa-jayyidihā wa-mawāḍi' intisābihā*).¹⁷⁹
246. An epistle addressed to Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh¹⁸⁰ on what may be put on sharp implements and swords so that they do not become blunt or dull (*R. ilā Aḥmad ibn al-Mu'taṣim bi-Allāh fī-mā yuṭraḥ 'alā l-ḥadīd wa-l-suyūf ḥattā lā tatathallama wa-lā takill*).
247. On the domestic bird (*R. fī l-ṭā'ir al-insī*).
248. On breeding doves (?) (*R. fī tamzīj al-ḥamām*).¹⁸¹
249. On incubating eggs (?) (*R. fī l-ṭarḥ 'alā l-bayd*).
250. On types of date palm and their best varieties (*R. fī anwā' al-nakhl wa-karā'imihī*).¹⁸²
251. On the manufacture of whistling kettles (*R. fī 'amal al-qumqum al-ṣay-yāḥ*).¹⁸³

178 Not identified.

179 See Arabic edition, English translation and commentary in al-Kindī, *Risālah fī jawāhir al-suyūf*.

180 See above Ch. 10.1.3.

181 Or perhaps more plausibly (but out of context with the preceding and succeeding entries) *On oiling in the baths* (*R. fī tamrīkh al-ḥammām*). Cf. McCarthy, *al-Taṣānīf al-mansūbah ilā Faylasūf al-'Arab*, 37, no. 214. Casiri (*Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, i:356) translated *De columbarum mistione, sive coitu* (*R. fī tamzīj al-ḥamām*).

182 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 261, (Sayyid) 2/1:193: *On bees (al-naḥl) and their best varieties*.

183 The example of the 'whistling' (or shrieking) kettle or boiler also found its way into medieval philosophical texts to demonstrate how sounds occur, or to prove or disprove rar-

252. On perfumes and their types (*R. fī l-ʿiṭr wa-anwāʿihi*).
253. On the chemistry of perfumes (*R. fī kīmīyāʿ al-ʿiṭr*).
254. On names in riddles (*R. fī al-asmāʿ al-muʿammāh*).
255. An epistle warning against the ruses of the alchemists (*R. fī l-tanbīh ʿalā khudaʿ al-kīmīyāʿīyyīn*).
256. On the doubled images perceived in water (*R. fī l-atharayn al-maḥsūsayn fī l-māʿ*).
257. On the ebb and flow of the sea (*R. fī l-madd wa-l-jazr*).
258. On the fundamentals of mechanics (*R. fī arkān al-ḥīyāl*).¹⁸⁴
259. His large treatise on bodies that sink in water (*Risālatuhu al-kabīrah fī l-ajrām al-ghāʾiṣah fī l-māʿ*).
260. On falling bodies (*R. fī l-ajrām al-hābiṭah*).
261. On the construction of burning mirrors (*R. fī ʿamal al-marāyā al-muḥriqah*).
262. On burning mirrors (*R. fī suʿār al-mirʿāh*).
263. On verbal expression, in three parts (*R. fī l-laḥẓ wa-ḥiya thalāthat ajzāʿ awwal wa-thānin wa-thālith*).
264. On vermin, illustrated in an ingenious¹⁸⁵ manner (*R. fī l-ḥasharāt muṣawwar ʿuṭāridī*).
265. An epistle in answer to fourteen questions on natural philosophy put to him by a contemporary (*R. fī jawāb arbaʿ ʿasharah masʿalah saʿalahu ʿanhā baʿd ikhwānihi ṭabīʿīyāt*).
266. An epistle in answer to three questions he was asked (*R. fī jawāb thalāth masʿāl suʿila ʿanhā*).
267. On the story of someone who became a philosopher through being silent (*R. fī qiṣṣat al-mutafalsif bi-l-sukūt*).
268. On the cause of thunder and lightning, and snow and hail, and thunderbolts and rain (*R. fī ʿillat al-raʿd wa-l-barq wa-l-thalj wa-l-barad wa-l-ṣawāʿiq wa-l-maṭar*).
269. An essay showing the falsity and trickery of those who claim to manufacture gold and silver (*R. fī buṭlān daʿwā l-muddaʿīn ṣanʿat al-dhahab wa-l-fiḍḍah wa-khudaʿihim*).¹⁸⁶

efaction (*takhalkhul*). See, for example, Abū Rashīd al-Nisābūrī, *al-Masʿāl*, 155–156; Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Sharḥ Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*, 211–213.

184 Thus in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 261, (Sayyid) 2/1:193. Our MSS read ‘On horses for riding (*arkāb al-khayl*)’ (?). Ibn al-Qiftī ends al-Kindī’s book-lists with the title: ‘On horses and veterinary science’; see below note to title no. 270.

185 Ar. *ʿuṭāridī* ‘mercurial’.

186 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 261; (Sayyid), 2/1:194 adds the title: ‘On loyalty (*R. Fī l-wafāʿ*)’.

270. An essay showing that the differences of the heavenly bodies is not caused by the primary qualities, as is the case for things subject to generation and corruption, but is caused by the wisdom of the Creator of the Universe, mighty and majestic is He (*R. fī l-ibānah ann al-ikhtilāf alladhī fī l-ashkhāṣ al-‘āliyah laysa ‘illat al-kayfiyyāt al-ūlā ka-mā hiya ‘illat dhālik fī llatī taḥt al-kawn wa-l-fasād wa-lākinna ‘illat dhālik ḥikmat mubdi‘ al-kull ‘azza wa-jall*).¹⁸⁷
271. On removing stains from clothes and suchlike (*R. fī qal‘ al-āthār min al-thiyāb wa-ghayrihā*).
272. An epistle to Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh¹⁸⁸ on the soul and its faculties (*R. ilā Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh fī l-naḥs wa-af‘ālihā*).
273. On the triquetrum or parallactical instrument (*R. fī dhāt al-shu‘batayn*).
274. On sensory knowledge (*R. fī ‘ilm al-ḥawāss*).
275. On rhetoric (*R. fī ṣīfat al-balāghah*).
276. On the utility of stellar judgements (*R. fī qadr al-manḥā‘ah bi-aḥkām al-nujūm*).
277. A discourse on the First Cause (*Kalām fī al-mubdi‘ al-awwal*).
278. On the manufacture of inks and inkpads (*R. fī ṣan‘at al-aḥbār wa-l-līyaq*).
279. An epistle to one of his contemporaries on the philosophers’ secrets regarding platonic solids (*R. ilā ba‘ḍ ikhwānihi fī rumūz al-falāsifah fī l-mujassamāt*).
280. On the constituents of inks (*R. fī ‘anāṣir al-aḥbār*).
281. On the five substances (*K. fī l-jawāhir al-khamsah*).¹⁸⁹
282. An epistle addressed to Aḥmad ibn al-Mu‘taṣim¹⁹⁰ on the fact that Almighty God answers the prayers of those who pray to Him (*R. ilā Aḥmad ibn al-Mu‘taṣim fī taḥrīr ijābat al-du‘ā’ min Allāh ‘azza wa-jalla li-man da‘ā bihi*).
283. On the celestial sphere and the stars and why the zodiac is divided into twelve divisions, and on them being designated auspicious and inauspicious, and on the zodiacal houses and their lords and their definitions,

187 Al-Kindī’s book-list in Ibn al-Nadīm ends with this title. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 376 adds a further title with which his book-list ends: ‘On horses and veterinary science’ (*R. Fī l-khayl wa-l-baytarah*).

188 For his entry see above Ch. 8.26.

189 See Rescher, *Al-Kindī*, 43; for an introduction and English translation (from the medieval Latin version, as the Arabic original is not extant), see Adamson & Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*, 312–321.

190 See above Ch. 10.1.3.

using clear geometrical demonstration (*R. fī al-falak wa-l-nujūm wa-lima qusimat dā'irat falak al-burūj 'alā ithnay 'ashr qisman wa-fī tasmiyatihim al-su'ūd wa-l-nuḥūs wa-buyūtihim wa-ashrāfihā wa-ḥudūdihā bi-l-burhān al-handasī al-ẓāhir*).¹⁹¹

10.2 Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī¹

[10.2.1]

Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī² was amongst those who were associated with Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī³ as disciples, and with whom they studied and from whom they took knowledge.⁴ Al-Sarakhsī was a master of a great many of the sciences of the Ancients and the Arabs,⁵ and was knowledgeable and talented, eloquent, wrote beautifully,⁶ and was singular in his knowledge of grammar and poetry. He was fine company,⁷ a good raconteur, and a rake and a wit. He had also learned prophetic traditions and transmitted some of them.

191 MS R adds a marginal note: 'The author left here an additional blank page, perhaps with the hope of adding other works that he had not mentioned.'

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. The fullest study in English is Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī*. See also: *EI*² art. 'al-Sarakhsī' (F. Rosenthal); *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī' (M. Navali, T. Binesh & J. Qasemi); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 259, V, 263, VI, 162–163, VII, 137, IX, 233.

2 This *nisbah* is 'of Sarakhs', a town of northern Khorasan, see *EI*² art. 'Sarakhs' (C.E. Bosworth).

3 See previous biography, Ch. 10.1.

4 For more on al-Kindī's circle of students and his teaching activities, see Brentjes, 'Teaching the Sciences in Ninth-century Baghdad'; Biesterfeldt et al. 'The Beginnings of Islamic Philosophy in the Tradition of al-Kindī'.

5 According to al-Khwārazmī writing in the last quarter of the 4th/10th century, the Arabic sciences are law (*fiqh*), theology (*kalām*), Arabic grammar (*naḥw*), secretaryship (*kitābah*), poetry and prosody (*shī'r*, *'arūd*); the non-Arabic sciences being philosophy, logic, medicine, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, mechanics (*ḥiyāl*), and alchemy. See al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 5–6; *EI*² art. 'Ilm' (Ed.).

6 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 261, (Sayyid), 2/1:195, the text of which seems to better reflect IAU's Version 1, which does not have the following section on Hadith.

7 MS Sb: He was a fine poet.

[10.2.2.1]

For example, Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī narrated, saying: ‘Amr ibn Muḥammad al-Nāqid⁸ related to me, saying: Sulaymān ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh⁹ informed me, from Baqiyyah ibn al-Walīd,¹⁰ from Mu‘āwiyah ibn Yaḥyā,¹¹ from ‘Imrān the Short,¹² from Anas ibn Mālik,¹³ who said: The Messenger of God, may God’s blessing and salutation be upon him, said: ‘When men suffice themselves with men and women suffice themselves with women then may destruction be upon them.’¹⁴

[10.2.2.2]

Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib also relates, from Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥārith, from Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā’inī,¹⁵ from ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak,¹⁶ from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Abī Sālim, from Makḥūl,¹⁷ who said: The Prophet, may God’s blessing and salutation be upon him, said: ‘The most severely tormented of people on the Day of Resurrection are those who curse a prophet, the companions of a prophet, or the paragons (*A’immah*)¹⁸ of the Muslims.’

[10.2.3.1]

During the time of the Caliph al-Mu‘taḍid,¹⁹ Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib took charge of the government inspectorate (*ḥisbah*)²⁰ in Baghdad, having first been a teacher to al-Mu‘taḍid then his boon companion (*nadīm*) and one of his elect.

8 See al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i’tidāl*, narrator no. 6442.

9 That is Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Raqqī. See al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, narrator no. 1843.

10 See al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i’tidāl*, narrator no. 1250.

11 See al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i’tidāl*, narrator no. 8636.

12 See al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i’tidāl*, narrator no. 6313.

13 Abū Ḥamzah Anas ibn Mālik (d. 93/712), a well-known companion and life-long servant of the Prophet and prolific source of traditions. See *ET*² art. ‘Anas b. Mālik’ (A.J. Wensinck & J. Robson); *ET Three* art. ‘Anas b. Mālik’ (G.H.A. Juynboll).

14 For longer versions of this tradition, see al-Bayhaqī, *al-Jāmi‘ li-shu‘ab al-īmān*, vii: 328, traditions nos. 5084, 5085, and 5086.

15 See al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i’tidāl*, narrator no. 5921.

16 See al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, viii: 379.

17 *Makḥūl* (d. 112–116/730–734).

18 That is, Imams, or leaders of the Muslim community, and probably refers here to the Caliphs; see *ET*² art. ‘Imāma’ (W. Madelung).

19 That is, Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Talḥah (r. 279–289/892–902), the sixteenth Abbasid Caliph and son of al-Muwaffaq; *ET*² art. ‘al-Mu‘taḍid Bi’llāh’ (H. Kennedy).

20 For the *ḥisbah* and the office of the *Muḥtasib*, see *ET*² art. ‘Ḥisba’ (Cl. Cahen, M. Talbi, R. Mantran, A.K.S. Lambton & A.S. Bazmee Ansari).

The Caliph used to confide his secrets in him and ask his counsel in affairs of state. Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib, however, was more knowledgeable than he was intelligent, and it was his closeness to al-Muʿtaḍid that was the cause of the Caliph having him put to death, for the Caliph had confided in him a secret relating to al-Qāsim ibn ʿUbayd Allāh²¹ and Badr,²² the servant of al-Muʿtaḍid, but he divulged it and made it public through al-Qāsim's [now famous] deception of him.²³

Al-Muʿtaḍid handed him over to al-Qāsim and Badr who confiscated his property and put him in prison (*maṭāmīr*).²⁴ At the time when al-Muʿtaḍid went out to the conquest of Amida²⁵ and to fight Aḥmad ibn ʿĪsā ibn Shaykh,²⁶ a group of Kharijites²⁷ and others escaped from prison but were captured by Muʿnis al-Faḥl the chief of police (*ṣāhib al-shurṭah*) and al-Muʿtaḍid's representative in the cities.²⁸ Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib remained where he was hoping that he would be saved by this but his remaining there was in fact the cause of his death.

[10.2.3.2]

Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered al-Qāsim to make a list of a group of people who should be put to death so that his mind could be relieved of them. Al-Qāsim did so and al-Muʿtaḍid signed their death warrants. Al-Qāsim subsequently added the name of Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib to the list and he was executed. Al-Muʿtaḍid enquired about him and al-Qāsim mentioned that he had been killed and brought out the warrant which the Caliph did not question. And so Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib went after having reached the heights of the heavens²⁹ in the year [...] ³⁰

21 *EI*² art. 'Wahb' (C.E. Bosworth).

22 *EI*² art. 'Badr al-Muʿtaḍidi' (Ch. Pellat).

23 For a comprehensive discussion of the possible causes of al-Sarakhsi's downfall, see Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sarāḥsī*, 25–39.

24 Ar. *maṭāmīr* (sing. *maṭmūra*): an underground storehouse for grain etc., prison. Cf. En. Mattamore. *EI*² art. 'Maṭmūra' (Ch. Pellat). Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, vii:5, says Aḥmad was beaten and taken to al-Muṭbaq, that is the main prison just outside the inner wall, on the southern side of the old round city of Baghdad. See Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 27, where, al-Maṭbaq.

25 Ar. Āmid. Principal city of Diyarbakr, see *EI*² art. 'Diyār Bakr' (M. Canard, Cl. Cahen, Mükrimin H. Yinanç & J. Sourdel-Thomine). Al-Muʿtaḍid retook Amida in 286/899.

26 *EI*² art. 'ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh' (M. Canard); *EI*² art. 'Shaybān' (Th. Bianquis).

27 *EI*² art. 'Khāridjites' (G. Levi Della Vida); *Encycl. Qurʾān* art. 'Khārijī' (E. Francesca).

28 Muʿnis al-Faḥl (the Stallion) also known as al-Khāzin (the Treasurer) served as a commander to a number of Abbasid Caliphs and died in 301/914. *EI*² art. 'Muʿnis al-Faḥl' (C.E. Bosworth).

29 That is, achieved a lofty station with the Caliph and great renown.

30 There appears to be a lacuna here with the date omitted. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 261–262, (Sayyid), 2/1:196; Ibn al-Qifī, *Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 78.

[10.2.3.3]

Al-Mu‘taḍid’s arrest of Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib was in the year 283/896, and his death was in the month of Muḥarram of the year 286 [January–February 899].

[10.2.4]

Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī wrote the following books:³¹

1. An abridgement of Porphyry’s *Isagoge* (*Ikhtiṣār Kitāb Īsāghūjī li-Furfūriyūs*).³²
2. An abridgement of *The Categories* (*Ikhtiṣār Kitāb Qāṭighūriyās*).
3. An abridgement of *On Interpretation* (*Ikhtiṣār Kitāb Bārīmīniyās*).
4. An abridgement of *The Prior Analytics* (*Ikhtiṣār Kitāb Anūlūṭiqā al-Ūlā*).
5. An abridgement of *The Posterior Analytics* (*Ikhtiṣār Kitāb Anūlūṭiqā al-Thāniyah*).
6. The book of the soul (*K. al-Nafs*).
7. The large book of counterfeits and the art of government regulation (*K. al-Aghshāsh wa-ṣinā‘at al-ḥisbah al-kabīr*).
8. The small book of counterfeit crafts and government inspection (*K. Ghishsh al-ṣinā‘at wa-l-ḥisbah al-ṣaghīr*).
9. The book of the recreation of the souls (*K. Nuzhat al-nufūs*). This was not published under his name.³³
10. The book of entertainments and diversions and recreation for the absent-minded thinker: On singing and singers, boon companionship and conviviality, and all types of stories and anecdotes (*K. al-Lahw wa-l-malāhī wa-nuzhat al-mufakkir al-sāhī fī l-ghinā’ wa-l-mughannīn wa-l-munādamah wa-l-mujālasah wa-anwā’ al-akhbār wa-l-mulaḥī*). This he composed for the Caliph. In this book of his, Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib says that he composed it having passed his sixty-first year.
11. The minor book on governance (*K. al-Siyāsah al-ṣaghīr*).
12. An introduction to astrology (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā ṣinā‘at al-nujūm*).
13. The large book of music (*K. al-Mūsīqī al-kabīr*). In two discourses. It has no equal.
14. The small book of music (*K. al-Mūsīqī al-ṣaghīr*).

31 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 262, (Sayyid), 2/1:196–197; Rosenthal, *Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī*, 40–126; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 259, v, 263, vi, 162–163, vii, 137, ix, 233. See also: Moosa, ‘A new source on Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī’; Rosenthal, ‘Istanbul Materials for Al-Kindī and As-Sarakhsī.’

32 This title is not mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm.

33 An alternative reading is *bi-asrīhi* ‘it was not published as a complete work’; cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 262; (Sayyid), 2/1:197.

15. The book of routes and realms (*K. al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*).
16. The book of arithmetic: on numbers and on reduction and balancing [i.e., algebra] (*K. al-Arithmāṭiqī fī l-a'dād wa-l-jabr wa-l-muqābalah*).
17. An introduction to the art of medicine (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā šinā'at al-ṭibb*), in which he criticises Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.³⁴
18. The book of questions (*K. al-Masā'il*).
19. The book of the merits of Baghdad and its History (*K. Faḍā'il Baghdādih wa-akhbārihā*).
20. The book of cookery (*K. al-Ṭabīkh*), composed according to the months and the days of the week, written for al-Mu'taḍid.
21. Provisions for the traveller and the service of kings (*K. Zād al-musāfir wa-khidmat al-mulūk*).
22. A section from the book of the etiquette of kings (*M. min K. Adab al-mulūk*).³⁵
23. An introduction to the science of music (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā 'ilm al-mūsīqī*).
24. The book of companions and conviviality (*K. al-Julasā' wa-l-mujālah*).
25. A treatise in answer to what he was asked about by Thābit ibn Qurrah (*R. fī jawāb Thābit ibn Qurrah fī-mā sa'ala 'anhu*).
26. On mild leprosy conditions and freckles (*M. fī l-Bahaq wa-l-kalaf*).³⁶
27. On the Sceptics and their quaint beliefs (*R. fī l-Shākkīn wa-ṭarā'if i'tiqādihim*).³⁷
28. The book of the benefits of mountains (*K. Manfa'at al-jibāl*).
29. A treatise on the doctrines of the Sabians (*R. fī waṣf madhāhib al-Ṣābi'īn*).
30. A book demonstrating that created things at the time of their creation are neither moving nor static (*K. fī ann al-mubda'at fī ḥāl al-ibdā' lā mutaḥarrikah wa-lā sākinah*).³⁸
31. On the nature of sleep and dreams (*K. fī māhiyyat al-nawm wa-l-ru'yā*).
32. On the intellect (*K. fī l-'aql*).
33. On the oneness of God – the Exalted (*K. fī waḥdāniyyat Allāh ta'ālā*).³⁹

34 For Ḥunayn, see entries in Ch. 8.29, and Ch. 9.2.

35 For a discussion of a possible extant portion of this work, see Rosenthal, 'As-Sarakhsī (?) on the Appropriate Behavior for Kings.'

36 The title in Ibn al-Naḍīm and Ibn al-Qifṭī is: On spots, and freckles (*M. fī l-Bahaq wa-l-kalaf*) (*Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:197; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'*, 78).

37 Cf. title in the *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:197: On the poor [Flügel: ascetics] and the singular beliefs of the common people (*R. Fī l-masākīn* [Flügel: *al-sālikīn*] *wa-ṭarīf i'tiqād al-'āmmah*).

38 The book-lists in Ibn al-Naḍīm and Ibn al-Qifṭī end with this title.

39 For a translation of a debate involving Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī in which the unity of God is discussed, see Moosa, 'A new source on Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī', 22–24.

34. On the precepts of Pythagoras⁴⁰ (*K. fī waṣāyā Fīthāghūras*).
35. On the sayings of Socrates⁴¹ (*K. fī alfāz Suqrāt*).
36. On passionate love (*K. fī l-‘ishq*).⁴²
37. On the coldness of the ‘days of the old woman’ (*K. fī bard ayyām al-‘ajūz*).⁴³
38. On the formation of fog (*K. fī kaww al-ḍabāb*).
39. On divination (*K. fī l-fa‘l*).
40. On Grandmasters’ chess (*K. fī shaṭranj al-‘ālīyah*).
41. On ethics (*K. fī adab al-naḥs*), written for al-Mu‘taḍid.
42. On the difference between Arabic grammar and [Greek] logic (*K. fī l-farq bayna naḥw al-‘Arab wa-l-mantiq*).
43. A book demonstrating that the principles of philosophy are hierarchical (*K. fī anna arkān al-falsafah ba‘ḍuhā ‘alā ba‘ḍ*). This is entitled the Book of Completion (*K. al-Istifā‘*).
44. On atmospheric phenomena (*K. fī aḥdāth al-jaww*).
45. The refutation of Galen⁴⁴ *On Primary Place* (*K. al-Radd ‘alā Jālīnūs fī al-maḥall al-awwal*).
46. An epistle addressed to Ibn Thawābah⁴⁵ (*R. ilā Ibn Thawābah*).
47. On dyes that darken the hair and the like (*R. fī l-khiḍābāt al-musawwidah li-l-sha‘r wa-ghayr dhālik*).
48. A book demonstrating that particles are infinitely divisible (*K. fī ann al-juz’ yanqasim ilā mā lā nihāyah lahu*).
49. On ethics (*K. fī akhlāq al-naḥs*).
50. The human mode of life (*K. Sīrat al-insān*).
51. A book written to one of his friends on the general principles of the art of dialectics according to the doctrines of Aristotle⁴⁶ (*K. ilā ba‘ḍ ikhwānihi fī l-qawānīn al-‘ammah al-ūlā fī l-ṣinā‘ah al-diyāliqīyiyah ay al-jadaliyyah ‘alā madhhab Aristū*).

40 See Ch. 4.3.5 (*mawā‘iz*).

41 See Ch. 4.4

42 See Rosenthal, ‘As-Saraḥsī on Love.’

43 Five or seven days towards the end of winter, see e.g. Lane, *Lexicon*, 1961.

44 Perhaps the *In primum movens immotum*, Ch. 5.1.37 no. 125, on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, which attracted the refutation of Alexander of Aphrodisias (translation and edition of the Arabic version in Rescher & Marmura, *Refutation of Galen*), and perhaps specifically in reference to the notion of ‘primary place’ in the *Physics*.

45 Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Thawābah ibn Yūnus (d. 277/890–891). An orthodox jurist opposed to geometry. Patron of Ibn al-Rūmī. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 130; (Sayyid), 1/2:402.

46 Probably the *Topics*; see Ch. 4.6.5.1.

52. An abridgement of Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations*⁴⁷ (*Ikhtisār K. Sūfiṣ-ṭīqā li-Aristū*).
53. The book of songstresses (*K. al-Qiyān*).⁴⁸

10.3 Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī¹

[10.3.1]

Thābit ibn Qurrah was one of the Sabians² who lived at Ḥarrān.³ It is said that the Sabians are related to Šāb, that is Ṭāṭ the son of the prophet Idrīs,⁴ may salutations be upon him.⁵

[10.3.2.1]

This particular Thābit is Thābit ibn Qurrah ibn Marwān ibn Thābit ibn Karāyā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Karāyā ibn Marīnūs⁶ ibn Sālābūnūs.

[10.3.2.2]

Thābit ibn Qurrah was a money-changer at Ḥarrān. Then Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākīr⁷ took him as a companion when he left the Byzantine lands because he thought him to be eloquent.

47 See Ch. 4.6.13.1 no. 34; cf. Ch. 4.6.4.3 and Ch. 5.1.

48 MS R adds the marginal annotation: 'The author left a blank space of approximately a page'.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. Rashed (ed.), *Thābit ibn Qurra*, published in 2009 provides the best introduction and supplement to earlier bio-bibliographies such as: *ET*² art. 'Thābit b. Qurra' (R. Rashed & R. Morelon); Sezgin, *GAS* III, 260–263, v, 264–272, vi, 163–170, vii, 151–152, 269–271. See also: *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, art. 'Thābit ibn Qurra' (D.C. Reisman).

2 *ET*² art. 'Šābi' (F.C. de Blois).

3 *ET*² art. 'Ḥarrān' (G. Fehérvári); Pingree, 'The Šābians of Ḥarrān and the Classical Tradition'.

4 *ET*² art. 'Idrīs' (G. Vajda). A prophetic figure mentioned in the Qur'an, and variously identified with the Biblical Enoch, Elijah, and even Hermes. It is said that the name Idrīs is derived from the Arabic root *d-r-s*, to study books, and that he discovered various arts such as writing and sewing, and that God taught him astrology, arithmetic, and astronomy. See, for example: al-Ṭabrisī, *Majma' al-bayān*, vi:329.

5 Cf. Bayḏāwī, *Niẓām al-Tawārīkh*, 9, where the author notes that Methuselah had a son named Šābī from whom the Sabians take their name.

6 MS A also gives Mārīnāsūs.

7 Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākīr (d. 259/873), eldest of the Banū Mūsā, great patrons and sponsors of intellectual endeavour in 3rd/9th century Baghdad, as well as being schol-

[10.3.2.3]

It is said that Thābit was introduced to Muḥammad ibn Mūsā and was educated in his house and that Muḥammad ibn Mūsā felt obliged towards Thābit so he presented him to the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid⁸ and facilitated his association with the astrologers. Thābit was the first of the Sabians to attain a high rank in Baghdad and at the Caliph's court.⁹

[10.3.3]

In his day no other was the equal of Thābit ibn Qurrah in the art of medicine nor in any other branch of philosophy. He authored many works known for their good quality, and in addition, a great many of his descendants and relatives rivalled him in their fine output and skill in the sciences.

[10.3.4]

Thābit also made some fine observations of the sun which he undertook in Baghdad and collected in a book in which he explained his ideas regarding the solar year, his observations of the locus of the sun's apogee, the length of the solar year,¹⁰ the extent of the sun's movement, and the form of the sun's equation.¹¹

[10.3.5]

He was a good translator into Arabic and used beautiful expressions, and had superb knowledge of Syriac and of other languages.

[10.3.6]

Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah¹² says:

ars in their own right. See brief entry above Ch. 9.40; *Encycl. Islamica* art. 'Banū Mūsā' (H.M. Hamedani and J. Esots); *ET*² art. 'Mūsā, Banū' (D.R. Hill).

8 That is, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Ṭalḥah (r. 279–289/892–902), the sixteenth Abbasid Caliph and son of al-Muwaffaq; see *ET*² art. 'al-Muʿtaḍid Bi'llāh' (H. Kennedy).

9 Subsections 10.3.2.1 to 10.3.2.3 above are from Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 272; (Sayyid), 2/1:227–228, with slight differences and omissions. For the influence of the Sabians, see Richter-Bernburg, 'Thābit ibn Qurra and Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn'. See also a useful genealogical table of Sabian families in *ET*² art. 'Ṣābi' (F.C. de Blois).

10 Cf. Thābit ibn Qurrah, *Three treatises*. See book-list below at 10.14 no. 65.

11 This paragraph is found in Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Tabaqāt* (Cheikho), 37. The sun's equation (*ta'dil al-shams*) is the solar equation – that is, the equation, or correction, applied to the mean position to derive the true position. It is the Arabic equivalent of the Latin technical term *aequatio*.

12 See below, Ch. 10.5.

When al-Muwaffaq¹³ became displeased with his son Abū l-‘Abbās al-Mu‘taḍid bi-Allāh he kept him under arrest in the house of Ismā‘īl ibn Bulbul¹⁴ where Aḥmad al-Ḥājib [the Chamberlain]¹⁵ was put in charge of him.¹⁶ Ismā‘īl ibn Bulbul approached Thābit ibn Qurrah so that he might visit Abū l-‘Abbās [al-Mu‘taḍid] and keep him company. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aslam remained constantly with Abū l-‘Abbās who enjoyed Thābit ibn Qurrah’s company immensely. Thābit used to visit him in his confinement three times every day and converse with him and console him and teach him about the lives of the philosophers and about geometry and astronomy and the like. Abū l-‘Abbās was struck with Thābit and his situation became pleasant because of him. When he emerged from house arrest he said to Badr, his servant,¹⁷ ‘Badr, after you, which man has benefitted me most?’ Badr said: ‘Who would it be, master?’ He replied: ‘Thābit ibn Qurrah.’ When Abū l-‘Abbās [al-Mu‘taḍid] became Caliph he endowed Thābit with great estates, and he often used to let him sit with him in the presence of the élite and the commoners alike; and the emir Badr and the vizier would remain standing while Thābit would be sitting next to the Caliph.

[10.3.7]

Abū Ishāq the Sabian scribe¹⁸ says:

Thābit was once walking with al-Mu‘taḍid in al-Firdaws, which was a garden in the Caliph’s palace intended for exercise,¹⁹ when al-Mu‘taḍid leant on the arm of Thābit and they walked together. Suddenly, al-Mu‘taḍid forcefully wrested his arm from Thābit’s arm at which Thābit took fright as al-Mu‘taḍid was very fearsome. When al-Mu‘taḍid wrested his arm from Thābit’s arm, he said: O Abū l-Ḥasan, (in private he would use

13 That is, Abū Aḥmad Ṭalḥah ibn Ja‘far (d. 278/891), son of the tenth Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861) and governing regent at the time of his brother the (nominal) Caliph al-Mu‘tamid (256–279/870–892). See *EI*² art. ‘al-Muwaffaq’ (H. Kennedy).

14 Abū Ṣaqr Ismā‘īl ibn Bulbul al-Wazīr (d. 278/892), vizier to Caliph al-Mu‘tamid and regent al-Muwaffaq; *EI*² art. ‘Ismā‘īl b. Bulbul’ (D. Sourdel).

15 Possibly Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Furāt (d. 312/924), who had recently entered the service of Ibn Bulbul.

16 Al-Mu‘taḍid was placed under house arrest in the year 275/889.

17 See *EI*² art. ‘Badr al-Mu‘taḍidī’ (Ch. Pellat).

18 See *EI*² art. ‘Ṣābi’ (F.C. de Blois).

19 For the palaces of al-Mu‘taḍid, including Firdaws, see Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 250–252, (where Firdūs).

his agnomen (*kunya*) and in public his given name), I absent-mindedly put my arm on your arm and leant upon it and this is not right, for the learned (*‘ulamā’*) should be uppermost and none should be higher than they.²⁰

[10.3.8]

Transcribed from the *Book of Metonyms* (*K. al-Kināyāt*) of the Judge Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī,²¹ who said:

Abū l-Ḥasan Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm²² related to me, saying: My grandfather Abū Ishāq the Sabian²³ related to me, saying: My paternal uncle Abū l-Ḥusayn Thābit ibn Ibrāhīm²⁴ related to me, saying: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī²⁵ related to me, saying: I asked Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah a certain question in public and he declined to answer it in the presence of others. I was still young and he dissuaded me from getting an answer, so I said quoting the following lines:²⁶

O, why is it that Laylā is not seen at my bedside
at night, and that no bird brings her to me?²⁷

Indeed, the speechless birds, if they stirred, would bring me
Laylā; but there is nobody who stirs up the birds.²⁸

The next day I met him in the street and walked with him. He answered my question fully, and said: ‘You stirred up the birds, Abū Muḥammad!’ I was ashamed and I apologised to him, saying: ‘Master, I swear I was not referring to you with these verses.’²⁹

20 Cf. similar anecdotes in al-Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 6–7; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* (1993), v:2332 (web-pagination).

21 Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jurjānī (d. 482/1089), Judge and teacher at Basra. For scant details of his life see al-Jurjānī, *Kināyāt*, 7–11. See also *GAL*, I, 288, S. I, 505. The full title of the book is *The Metonyms of the Lettered and the Allusions of the Eloquent* (*K. Kināyāt al-udabā’ wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā’*).

22 See *EI Three* art. ‘Hilāl al-Ṣābi’ (L. Osti).

23 *EI²* art. ‘Ṣābi’ (F.C. de Blois).

24 *EI²* art. ‘Ṣābi’ (F.C. de Blois).

25 Prominent Imamite scholar and translator (d. 300–310/912–922); see *EI²* art. ‘al-Nawbakhtī’ (J.L. Kraemer). For the family Nawbakht, see *EI²* art. ‘Nawbakht’ (L. Massignon).

26 Metre: *ṭawīl*. The lines are by Majnūn Laylā; see al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ii:49, 73; Majnūn Laylā, *Dīwān*, 89–90.

27 The bird is an auspicious omen auguring her coming.

28 Auguries are derived from the way birds fly after they have been stirred.

29 This entire anecdote including the verses is to be found in al-Jurjānī, *Kināyāt*, 323.

[10.3.9]

With regard to Thābit's wonderful medical treatments, Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Sinān³⁰ relates:

One of my ancestors related to me that one day when my grandfather Thābit ibn Qurrah was passing by a shop on his way to the palace of the Caliph he heard a shrieking and wailing. He said: 'The butcher who had this shop has died!?' Amazed at his words, the people said, 'Yes master, by God, suddenly last night!' Thābit said: 'He has not died. Take me to him.' They took him to the house and he asked the women to stop slapping themselves and shrieking and asked them instead to prepare some food suitable for a convalescent. Then he indicated to one of the servants to strike the butcher on his ankles with a cane, while he put his hand on his pulse point. The boy continued to strike his ankles until Thābit told him to stop. Then he called for a cup and brought out from his sleeve a handkerchief containing a drug which he mixed with a little water in the cup. When he opened the butcher's mouth for him to drink the butcher swallowed the drug. At this, shouts and yells to the effect that the physician had revived the dead man rang out in the house and in the street. Thābit barred the doors and made them secure. The butcher opened his eyes and Thābit fed him the convalescent food, sat him up and sat beside him for a time. When the Caliph's men came calling for him he left with them and there was a great tumult and people were all about him running to and fro until he entered the Caliph's palace. When he came before the Caliph, the Caliph said to him: 'Thābit, what is this Christ-like act of yours I am hearing about?' He said: 'Master, I used to pass by this butcher and noticed him slicing up liver, pouring salt on it and eating it. At first I was disgusted at this, then I realised that he would suffer a stroke³¹ so I began to observe him and when I knew what would be his fate I compounded a drug for the stroke which I kept with me at all times. When I passed by today and heard the shrieks and I asked whether the butcher had died, the people said yes, he died suddenly last night. I knew then that he had suffered the stroke. When I went to him I found he had no pulse so I struck his ankles until the movement of his pulse returned and

³⁰ See below, Ch. 10.5.

³¹ *Saktah*, according to Ibn Hindū (d. 423/1032) 'occurs when there is loss of sensation and movement caused by an excess of blood or a cold thick humour filling the ventricles of the brain, thus preventing the passage of the psychic pneuma and causing the person to look as though he is asleep, although he is not'; Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 71.

The suddenness of his demise did not let him enjoy wealth;
 Many a livelihood arrives and is lost.
 If it were possible for death to be dispelled,
 brave protectors would have defended him against it,
 Trusted friends, who loved him sincerely;
 but there is no one who can turn what God decrees.

10 Abū Ḥasan, do not go far!³⁷ All of us
 are in shock because of your death, crushed by grief.
 Can I ever hope that the truth about any uncertainty will be revealed,
 now that your body is buried and your voice silenced?
 Your fine exposition would dispel blindness;
 when you were speaking every loquacious person was silent.
 It was as if you, when asked a question, were scooping from a sea (of
 knowledge),
 and, if asked to begin speaking, were hewing from a rock.
 Not a single person would seek me in matters of knowledge
 who poured out the vessel of knowledge, after your death.

15 So many loving friends have benefited from you,
 while people other than you who tried to surpass you would stumble.
 I am surprised that on an Earth who made you disappear there would
 not
 forever be established (*li-yathbuta*) a Thābit like you.
 You refined yourself so that nobody could hate you;
 when death murdered you there was no who gloated.
 You excelled to the point that there was no one who could deny
 your merit except a slandering liar.
 Gone is the beacon of science, who was sufficient;
 now none remain but erring, blundering people.

[10.3.12]

One of the students of Thābit ibn Qurrah was ʿĪsā ibn Usayd al-Naṣrānī.³⁸
 Thābit used to give him precedence and honour him. ʿĪsā ibn Usayd translated
 from Syriac to Arabic under the tutelage of Thābit and a book of his is extant

37 An old formula in elegies.

38 Abū Mūsā ʿĪsā ibn Usayd al-Naṣrānī (the Christian). Mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 272; (Tajaddud), 332, where Usayyid, whilst Sayyid edition reads Usayd (2/1:229). A rare manuscript in the British Library dated 639/1242 contains part of these *Questions* and also gives the form of the name as 'Usayyid'; see BL Add MS 7473, fols. 12^v–16^v. Cureton, *Catalogus*, ii:205, reads 'Asad'.

named *The Book of Thābit's Answers to the Questions of 'Īsā ibn Usayd* (*Jawābāt Thābit li-Masā'il 'Īsā ibn Usayd*).³⁹

[10.3.13]

Among the sayings of Thābit ibn Qurrah are:

1. There is nothing more harmful for the older man than to have a skilful cook and a beautiful young servant girl since he will take an excess of food and become ill, and will engage in sexual intercourse to excess and become senile.⁴⁰
2. The repose of the body is in minimum food, and the repose of the soul is in having few sins, the repose of the heart is in having few concerns, and the repose of the tongue is in keeping speech to a minimum.

[10.3.14]

Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī wrote the following books:⁴¹

1. On the causes of the formation of mountains (*K. fī sabab kaww al-jibāl*).
2. Medical questions (*Masā'iluhu al-ṭibbiyyah*).
3. On the pulse (*K. fī l-nabḍ*).
4. On joint pain and gout (*K. fī waja' al-mafāṣil wa-l-niqris*).
5. A summary of [Aristotle's] *On Interpretation* [*De interpretatione*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb Bārūmīnyās*).
6. A summary of [Aristotle's] *Prior Analytics* [*Analytica priora*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb Anūlūṭīqā al-ūlā*).
7. An abridgement of logic (*Ikhtisār al-mantiq*).
8. Rarities preserved from [Aristotle's] *Topics* [*Topica*] (*Nawādir maḥfūzah min Ṭūbīqā*).
9. On the reason for the salinity of seawater (*K. fī l-sabab alladhī min aḥlihi ju'ilat miyāh al-baḥr māliḥatan*).

39 This paragraph from Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 272; (Sayyid), 2/1:229. Part of this treatise is still extant and has been edited. See book-list below, Ch. 10.13 no. 85.

40 This saying is also found in Bayhaqī, *Tatimmat*, 7.

41 Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 228. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 260–263, v, 264–272, VI, 163–170, VII, 151–152, 269–271; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 123–124; Rashed (ed.), *Thābit ibn Qurra*; Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* i:139–673; Morelon, *Oeuvres d'astronomie*; Morelon, 'Le Corpus Des Manuscrits Arabes Des Oeuvres D'astronomie de Thābit b. Qurra'; Sezgin, *The Banu Musa and Thābit ibn Qurra: texts and studies*; Savage-Smith, *NCAM* – 1, entries 24, 25 (two Galenic summaries), and 119, a treatise on therapeutics *The Meadow: On Medicine* (*K. al-Rawḍah fī l-Ṭibb*).

10. An abridgement of [Aristotle's] *Metaphysics* [*Metaphysica*] (*Ikhtisār Kitāb Mā ba'd al-Ṭabī'ah*).⁴²
11. The author's questions promoting study of the sciences (*Masā'iluhu al-mushawwiqah ilā l-'ulūm*).
12. On the fallacies of the Sophists (*K. fī aghālīṭ al-Sufistā'īyyīn*).
13. On the order of the sciences (*K. fī marātib al-'ulūm*).
14. A refutation of those who say that the soul is a temperament (*K. fī l-radd 'alā man qāla inn al-nafs mizāj*).
15. A summary of Galen's book *On Simple Drugs* [*De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb al-Adwiyah al-mufradah li-Jālīnūs*).⁴³
16. A summary of Galen's book *On Black Bile* [*De atra bile*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb al-Mirrah al-sawdā' li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁴
17. A summary of Galen's *On Bad Mixture* [*De inaequali intemperie*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb Sū' al-mizāj li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁵
18. A summary of Galen's book *On Acute Diseases* [*De acutorum victu*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb al-Amrāḍ al-ḥāddah li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁶
19. A summary of Galen's book *On Abundance* [*De plenitudine*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb al-Kathrah [= M. fī l-imtilā'] li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁷
20. A summary of Galen's book *On the Anatomy of the Womb* [*De uteri dissectione*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb Tashrīḥ al-rahīm li-Jālīnūs*).⁴⁸
21. A summary of Galen's book *On Births at Seven Months* [*De septimestri partu*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb Jālīnūs fī l-mawlūdīn li-sab'at ashhur*).⁴⁹
22. A summary of Galen's opinions from his book promoting the art of medicine (*Jawāmi' mā qālahu Jālīnūs fī kitābihi fī tashrīf šinā'at al-ṭibb*).⁵⁰
23. On types of diseases (*Kitāb Aṣnāf al-amrāḍ*).

42 Apparently written for the vizier Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh. For Arabic text, English translation, and commentary, see Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 715–776.

43 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 78.

44 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 31.

45 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 58.

46 See Ch. 5.1.37 no. 78 and note.

47 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 53. For this variant title, see Ch. 5.1.37.1, Ch. 14.22.4.4 no. 44.26, and Ch. 14.25.9 no. 45.

48 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 16.

49 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 323. See Weisser, 'Die hippokratische Lehre von den Siebenmonatskindern bei Galen und Ṭābit ibn Qurra', and, by the same author and including Arabic text, 'Thābit ibn Qurra's epitome of Galen's book on seven-month children'; also: Denooz, *Transmission de l'art médical de la Grèce à l'Islam*.

50 Probably *Ars medica*: Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 7; perhaps the *Adhortatio*, Fichtner no. 1, and see Ch. 5.1.37 no. 110 with note.

24. A book explaining *The Almagest* (*K. Tas'hūl al-Majisṭī*).⁵¹
25. An introduction to *The Almagest* (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā l-Majisṭī*).
26. An extensive book explaining *The Almagest* (*Kitāb kabīr fī tas'hūl al-Majisṭī*). Unfinished, but it is his finest book on the subject.
27. On the pauses in the stasis which occurs between the two opposing movements of the arteries (*K. fī l-waqafāt allatī fī l-sukūn alladhī bayna ḥarakatay al-sharayān al-mutaḍāddatayn*). In two chapters. He composed this book in Syriac as he alludes in it to a refutation of al-Kindī. A student of his known as ʿĪsā ibn Usayd al-Naṣrānī translated it into Arabic which Thābit revised. Others have mentioned that the translator of this book was Ḥubaysh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Aʿsam⁵² but this is an error. Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm known as Ibn al-Kurnayb refuted this book after Thābit's death, but what he said is of no benefit or avail. After Thābit had composed this book he sent it to Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn who approved of it immensely and wrote in his own hand on the last page commending Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit and praying for him and applauding him.
28. A summary of Galen's book *On Phlebotomy* [*De venae sectione*] (*Jawāmiʿ Kitāb al-Faṣḍ li-Jālīnūs*).⁵³
29. A summary of Galen's *Commentary on Hippocrates' Book of Airs and Waters and Countries* [*In Hippocratis de aere aquis licis librum commentarii*] (*Jawāmiʿ tafsiṛ Jālīnūs li-kitāb Ibuqrāt fī l-ahwiyah wa-l-miyāh wa-l-buldān*).⁵⁴
30. On joint pain and gout (*K. fī wajaʿ al-mafāṣil wa-l-niqris*). In one chapter.
31. On using the celestial globe (*K. fī l-ʿamal bi-l-kurah*).⁵⁵
32. On the stones which occur in the kidneys and the bladder (*K. fī l-ḥaṣā al-mutawallid fī l-kulā wa-l-mathānah*).
33. On the whiteness appearing on the body (*K. fī l-bayāḍ alladhī yaẓharu fī l-badan*).
34. On how the physician should question patients (*K. fī musāʿalat al-ṭabīb li-l-marīḍ*).
35. On different types of poor constitution (*K. fī sūʿ al-mizāj al-mukhtalif*).
36. On the regimen for acute diseases (*K. fī tadbīr al-amrāḍ al-ḥāddah*).
37. On smallpox and measles (*R. fī l-judarī wa-l-ḥaṣbah*).

51 For Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d'astronomie*, 1–17.

52 See his entry Ch. 9.4.

53 The *K. al-Faṣḍ* was a conflation of three works, Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, nos. 71, 72, 73. Cf. Ch. 5.1.37 title no. 71 with note.

54 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 382.

55 The placement of a treatise on the celestial globe amongst medical items is curious and suggests it is an error.

38. An abridgement of Galen's *Small Book of the Pulse* [*De pulsibus ad tirones*] (*Ikhtiṣār Kitāb al-Nabḍ al-ṣaghīr li-Jālīnūs*).⁵⁶
39. On cylindrical sections and their planes (*K. fī qiṭʿ al-uṣṭuwānah wa-basīṭihā*).⁵⁷
40. On music (*K. fī l-mūsīqī*).
41. An epistle to 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim [the astrologer] on chapters on the science of music which he ordered him to set down (*R. ilā 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim fī mā amara bi-ithbātihī min abwāb 'ilm al-mūsīqī*).
42. An epistle to one of his contemporaries in answer to his questions on music (*R. ilā ba'd ikhwānihi fī jawāb mā sa'alahū 'anhu min umūr al-mūsīqī*).
43. On transversals (*K. fī a'māl wa-masā'il idhā waqa'a khaṭṭ mustaqīm 'alā khaṭṭayn*).⁵⁸
44. Another treatise on transversals (*Maqālah ukhrā fī dhālik*).
45. On right-angled triangles (*K. fī l-muthallath al-qā'im al-zawāyā*).
46. On amicable numbers (*K. fī l-a'dād al-mutaḥabbah*).⁵⁹
47. On the sector figure (*K. fī l-shakl al-qiṭā'*).⁶⁰
48. On the movement of the spheres (*K. fī ḥarakat al-falak*).
49. A compendium of his known as *The Treasure House*. This he composed for his son Sinān ibn Thābit (*Kunnāshuhu al-ma'rūf bi-l-Dhakhīrah*).⁶¹
50. His answer to a letter from Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib (*Jawābuhu li-risālat Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib ilayhi*).⁶²
51. On dealing with figures of syllogism (*K. fī l-taṣarruf fī ashkāl al-qiyās*).
52. On the composition of the spheres and their nature, number, and the number of the movements of their directions, the stars therein and the extent of their courses and the directions towards which they move (*K. fī tarkīb al-aflāk wa-khilqatihā wa-'adadihā wa-'adad ḥarakāt al-jihāt lahā*

56 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 61.

57 For Arabic text, French translation, and study, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* 1, 458–674. See also: Karpova & Rosenfeld, 'The treatise of Thābit ibn Qurra on sections of a cylinder, and on its surface'.

58 Cf. Text and French translation in Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 64–73.

59 For an Arabic edition and French translation and study, See Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 77–151. See also: Hogendijk, 'Amicable numbers'; Brentjes, 'Notes on Thābit ibn Qurrah and his rule for amicable numbers'.

60 For a study and French translation, see Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 335–390, together with a Latin version, 537–597. See also: Lorch, *Risālat fī al-ṣakl al-qiṭā'*, and Lorch, *On the sector-figure*.

61 For an Arabic edition published in 1998, see Thābit ibn Qurrah, *al-Dhakhīrah*.

62 That is, al-Sarakhsī, see previous entry Ch. 10.2.

wa-l-kawākib fī-hā wa-mablagh sayrihā wa-l-jihāt allatī tataḥarraku ilay-hā).⁶³

53. A summary of *The [Book of] the Inhabited World* (*K. fī jawāmi' al-Maskūnah*).
54. On the balance (*K. fī l-qarastīyūn*).⁶⁴
55. On the religion of the Sabians and their beliefs (*R. fī madhhab al-Šābi'īn wa-diyānātihim*).
56. On the division of the earth (*K. fī qismat al-ard*).
57. On astronomy (*K. fī l-hay'ah*).
58. On ethics (*K. fī l-akhlāq*).
59. On the introductory matters in [the Elements of] Euclid (*K. fī muqaddimāt Iqlīdis*).
60. On Euclid's [geometrical] figures (*K. fī ashkāl Iqlīdis*).⁶⁵
61. On the figures of the *Almagest* (*K. fī ashkāl al-Majisṭī*).
62. On solving geometrical problems (*K. fī istikhraj al-masā'il al-handasiyyah*).
63. On calculating the visibility of the new moon using sines (*K. ḥisāb ru'yat al-hilāl bi-l-ju'yūb*).⁶⁶
64. On the visibility of the new moon using astronomical tables (*K. ru'yat al-ahillah min al-jadāwil*).⁶⁷
65. On the solar year (*R. fī sanat al-shams*).⁶⁸
66. On the proof attributed to Socrates (*R. fī l-ḥujjah al-mansūbah ilā Suqrāt*).
67. On the slow, medium, and fast speed of the movement of the sphere of the Zodiac according to its position in relation to the external sphere (*K. fī ibṭā' al-ḥarakah fī falak al-burūj wa-sur'atihā wa-tawassuṭihā bi-ḥasab al-mawḍi' alladhī yakūnu fīhi min al-falak al-khārij al-markaz*).⁶⁹

63 For Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d'astronomie*, 18–25.

64 For Arabic text, French translation, and commentary, see Jaouiche, *Le Livre du Qarastūn*; See also: Bancel, 'Le traité sur la théorie du levier' d'al-Muzaffar al-Isfizārī: une réécriture du *Kitāb fī al-qarastūn* de Thābit ibn Qurra?

65 Cf. Sesiano, 'Un Complément de Thābit Ibn Qurra Au *Peri Diareseōn* d'Euclide'.

66 All mss read: *bi-l-janūb*, except A which is partially undotted and could rather be read as *bi-l-ju'yūb* (using sines) which is more likely given the liberal use of sines in the calculations. For parallel Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d'astronomie*, 93–112.

67 For Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d'astronomie*, 113–116.

68 For Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d'astronomie*, 26–67.

69 For Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d'astronomie*, 68–82.

68. An answer to a question about the Hippocratics and how many they numbered (*Jawāb mā su'ila 'anhu 'an al-Buqrāṭiyyīn wa-kam mablagħ 'adadihim*).
69. On constructing a solid figure of fourteen sides surrounded by a given sphere. (*M. fī 'amal shakl mujassam dhī arba' 'ashrah qā'idah tuḥīṭu bihi kurah ma'lūmah*).⁷⁰
70. On the yellowness which occurs in the body, its types, causes, and treatment (*M. fī l-ṣufrāh al-'ārīdah li-l-badan wa-'adad aṣnāfihā wa-asbābihā wa-'ilājihā*).
71. On joint pain (*M. fī waja' al-mafāsil*).
72. A treatise describing the generation of the foetus (*M. fī ṣifat kaww al-janīn*).
73. On knowledge of the calendar obtained by use of the verified astronomical tables (*K. fī 'ilm mā fī l-taqwīm bi-l-mumtaḥan*).
74. On shadows (*K. fī l-aḏlāl*).
75. A book describing the disc [of the sun] (*K. fī wasf al-qurṣ*).
76. On regimen for health (*K. fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥah*).
77. On the craft of astrology (*K. fī miḥnat ḥisāb al-nujūm*).
78. On the explanation of [Ptolemy's] *Tetrabiblos* (*K. fī tafsīr al-arba'ah*).
79. On choosing the best time for impregnation (*R. fī ikhtiyār waqt li-suqūt al-nutfah*).
80. A summary of Galen's *Great Book of the Pulse* [*Megapulsus*] (*Jawāmi' Kitāb al-Nabḏ al-kabīr li-Jālīnūs*).⁷¹
81. The Book of the Élite (*K. al-Khāṣṣah*). On promoting the art of medicine and the hierarchy of its proponents and to support the less well-versed amongst them with people and information showing that the art of medicine is the most illustrious of arts. This was written for the vizier Abū l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Sulaymān.⁷²
82. On the correct course to be followed to attain knowledge of geometrical concepts (*R. fī kayfa yanbaghī an yuslaka ilā nayl al-maṭlūb min al-ma'ānī al-handasiyyah*).
83. On atmospheric phenomena observed by the Banū Mūsā and Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah (*Dhikr āthār zaharat fī l-jaww wa-aḥwāl kānat fī l-hawā' mim mā raṣadahu Banū Mūsā wa-Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah*).

⁷⁰ Text and French translation in Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 317–331. See also: Thābit ibn Qurrah, *Three treatises*.

⁷¹ Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 63–66.

⁷² Died 288/901, member of a family of viziers and high officials; see e.g. EI², 'Wahb, Banū' (C.E. Bosworth). In Version 1 this entry ends with this title.

84. An abridgement of Galen's book *On the Properties of Foods* [*De alimentorum facultatibus*] (*Ikhtišār kitāb Jālīnūs fī quwā l-aghdhīyah*). In three chapters.⁷³
85. Thābit ibn Qurrah's answers to questions posed by ʿĪsā ibn Usayd (*Masāʾil ʿĪsā ibn Usayd li-Thābit ibn Qurrah wa-ajwibatuhā li-Thābit*).⁷⁴
86. On Vision and the Faculty of Sight: on knowledge of the eye and its diseases and treatments (*K. al-Başar wa-l-başīrah fī ʿilm al-ʿayn wa-ʿilalihā wa-mudāwātihā*).⁷⁵
87. An introduction to the book of Euclid (*al-Mudkhal ilā Kitāb Iqlīdis*). It is of the utmost good quality.
88. An introduction to logic (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā l-mantiq*).
89. An abridgement of Galen's book *On the Method of Healing* [*Methodi medendi libri xiv*] (*Ikhtišār Kitāb Hīlat al-bur' li-Jālīnūs*).⁷⁶
90. An exposition of [Aristotle's] *Physics* [*Physicae Auscultationes = Physica*] (*Sharḥ al-Samā' al-ṭabīʿ*). He died before completing it.
91. On squares and their diagonals (*K. fī l-murabba' wa-quṭrihi*).
92. On the phenomena and indicators of the moon's eclipse (*K. fī-mā yazharu fī l-qamar min āthār al-kusūf wa-ʿalāmātihi*).
93. On the cause of eclipses of the sun and the moon (*K. fī ʿillat kusūf al-shams wa-khusūf al-qamar*). He wrote most of it but died before completing it.
94. A book written for his son Sinān ibn Thābit encouraging him to gain knowledge of medicine and philosophy (*K. ilā Ibnihī Sinān fī l-ḥathth ʿalā taʿallum al-ṭibb wa-l-ḥikmah*).
95. Answers to two letters sent to him by Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākir on the subject of time (*Jawābān ʿan kitābay Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākir ilayhi fī amr al-zamān*).
96. On the mensuration of plane figures and other planes and figures (*K. fī misāḥat al-ashkāl al-musattāḥah wa-sāʿir al-busuṭ wa-l-ashkāl*).⁷⁷
97. A book demonstrating that weights suspended separately from a single pillar have the same effect as when the weight is combined into a single

73 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 38.

74 For Arabic text, French translation, and commentary on a certain question on infinite beings, see Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 619–673.

75 For an Arabic edition published in 1991, see Thābit ibn Qurrah, *al-Başar wa-l-başīrah*. See also Prüfer & Meyerhof, 'Die angebliche Augenheilkunde des Thābit b. Qurra', where it is argued that since this treatise as preserved today cites al-Rāzī (see Ch. 11.5), it cannot have been by Thābit ibn Qurrah and is in fact a shameless plagiarism of the treatise by ʿAmmār al-Mawṣilī (see Ch. 14.17).

76 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 69.

77 Arabic text and French translation in Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 173–209.

- weight and fixed equally to the entire pillar (*K. fī anna sabīl al-athqāl allatī tu‘allaq ‘alā ‘āmūd wāḥid munfaṣilatan hiya sabīluhā idhā ju‘ilat thaqalan wāḥidan mathbūtan fī jamī‘ al-‘āmūd ‘alā tasāwin*).
98. On the nature and influence of the planets (*K. fī ṭabā‘ī‘ al-kawākib wa-taṭhīrātihā*).
99. A short book on the principles of ethics (*Mukhtaṣar fī l-uṣūl min ‘ilm al-akhlāq*).
100. On sundials (*K. fī ālāt al-sā‘āt allatī tusammā rukhāmāt*).⁷⁸
101. A book explaining the means – mentioned by Ptolemy – by which his [Ptolemy’s] predecessors derived the periodical courses of the moon (*K. fī iḍāḥ al-wajh alladhī dhakara Baṭlamīyūs anna bihi istakhraj man taqad-damahu masārāt al-qamar al-dawriyyah wa-hiya al-mustawiyah*).⁷⁹
102. A book describing equilibrium and disequilibrium and its conditions (*K. fī ṣifāt istiwā’ al-wazn wa-ikhtilāfihi wa-sharā’iṭ dhālik*).
103. A summary of Nicomachus’ book *On Arithmetic* (*Jawāmi‘ kitāb Niqū-mākhus fī l-arithmāṭiqī*). In two chapters.
104. Designs for automata (*Ashkāl lahu fī l-ḥiyal*).⁸⁰
105. A summary of the first book of Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos* (*Jawāmi‘ al-maqālah al-ūlā min al-arba‘ li-Baṭlamīyūs*).
106. Answers to questions put to him by Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī (*Jawābuhu ‘an masā’il sa‘alahu ‘anhā Abū Sahl al-Nawbakhtī*).
107. On regular conic sections (*K. fī qiṭ‘ al-makhrūṭ al-mukāfi’*).⁸¹
108. On the mensuration of regular solids (*K. fī misāḥat al-aqsām al-mukā-fi‘ah*).⁸²
109. On the stages in studying the sciences (*K. fī marātib qirā‘at al-‘ulūm*).
110. An abridgement of Galen’s book *On Critical Days* [*De diebus decretoriis*] (*Ikhtīṣār Kitāb Ayyām al-buḥrān li-Jālīnūs*). In three discourses.⁸³
111. An abridgement of Galen’s *Elements* [*De elementis*] (*Ikhtīṣār Kitāb al-Uṣṭuquṣṣāt li-Jālīnūs*).⁸⁴

78 For Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d’astronomie*, 130–168; Cf. Wiedemann & Frank, *Sonnenuhren*. See also: Thābit ibn Qurrah, *Three treatises*.

79 For Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d’astronomie*, 83–92.

80 See Abattouy, *Greek mechanics in Arabic context*.

81 For Arabic text, French translation, and study, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* I, 151–271.

82 For Arabic text, French translation, and study, see Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* I, 272–457.

83 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 68.

84 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 8.

112. On the types of lines over which the shadow of the gnomon passes (*K. fī ashkāl al-khuṭūṭ allatī yamurru ‘alayhā zill al-miqyās*).⁸⁵
113. On geometry (*M. fī al-handasah*). Composed for Ismā‘īl ibn Bulbul.
114. A summary of Galen’s book *On Purgatives* [*De purgantium medicamentorum facultate*] (*Jawāmi‘ kitāb Jālīnūs fī l-adwiyah al-munaqqiyah*).⁸⁶
115. A summary of Galen’s book *On the Affected Parts* [*De locis affectis*] (*Jawāmi‘ Kitāb al-A‘dā’ al-ālīmah li-Jālīnūs*).⁸⁷
116. On latitudes (*K. fī l-‘urūd*).
117. On things Theon neglected to mention in calculating solar and lunar eclipses (*K. fī mā aghfalahu Thāwun fī ḥisāb kusūf al-shams wa-l-qamar*).
118. An essay on calculating solar and lunar eclipses (*M. fī ḥisāb kusūf al-shams wa-l-qamar*).
119. On the rising and setting of the stars (*Kitāb fī l-anwā’*).
120. The extant parts of his book on the soul (*Mā wujida min kitābihi fī l-nafs*).
121. A treatise examining the subject of the soul (*M. fī l-naẓar fī amr al-nafs*).
122. On the method of attaining virtue (*K. fī l-ṭarīq ilā iktisāb al-faḍīlah*).
123. On ratios (*K. fī l-nisbah al-mu‘allafah*).⁸⁸
124. A treatise on magic number grids (*R. fī l-‘adad al-wafq*).
125. A treatise on striking fire by means of two stones (*R. fī tawallud al-nār bayna ḥajarayn*).
126. On how to use verified tables and the translation of his supplement to the work of Ḥubaysh on verified tables (*K. fī l-‘amal bi-l-mumtaḥan wa-tarjamatihī mā istadrakahu ‘alā Ḥubaysh fī l-mumtaḥan*).
127. On the mensuration of intersecting lines (*K. fī misāḥat qiṭ‘ al-khuṭūṭ*).
128. On the musical pipe (*K. fī ālat al-zamr*).
129. A number of books in Arabic and Syriac on astronomical observations (*Kutub ‘iddah lahu fī al-arṣād ‘arabī wa-suryānī*).
130. On the anatomy of a certain bird (*K. fī tashrīḥ ba‘d al-ṭuyūr*). I think it is the snowy egret (*mālik al-ḥazīn*).
131. On the classification of drugs (*K. fī ajnās mā tanqasim bihi al-adwiyah*). In Syriac.
132. On the classification of drugs (*K. fī ajnās mā tanqasim ilayhi al-adwiyah*). In Syriac.
133. On the types of weights used for drugs (*K. fī ajnās mā tūzan bihi al-adwiyah*). In Syriac.

85 For Arabic text and French translation, see Morelon, *Oeuvres d’astronomie*, 117–129.

86 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 75.

87 Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, no. 60.

88 For Arabic text, French translation, and study, see Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 391–535.

134. On the alphabet and syntax of the Syriac language (*K. fī hijā' al-suryānī wa-i'rābihi*).
135. On verifying problems of algebra using geometrical demonstrative proofs (*M. fī taṣḥīḥ masā'il al-jabr bi-l-barāhīn al-handasiyyah*).⁸⁹
136. A book correcting the first discourse of Apollonius' book on intersecting proportions (*Iṣlāḥuhu li-l-maqālah al-ūlā min kitāb Abulūniyūs fī qit' al-nisab al-maḥdūdah*). In two sections; to the first of which Thābit made fine corrections and explained and clarified and commented upon. The second section was not corrected by him and is unintelligible.
137. A short book on astrology (*Mukhtaṣar fī 'ilm al-nujūm*).
138. A short book on geometry (*Mukhtaṣar fī 'ilm al-handasah*).
139. Answers to questions posed to him by al-Mu'taḍid (*Jawābāt 'an masā'il sa'alahu 'anhā al-Mu'taḍid*).
140. On governance (*K. fī l-siyāsah*). This was found amongst his writings and translated into Arabic.
141. An answer about the reason for the difference between the astronomical tables of Ptolemy and the verified tables (*Jawāb lahu 'an sabab al-khilāf bayna zīj Baṭlamīyūs wa-bayn al-mumtaḥan*).
142. Answers to a number of questions posed to him by Sind ibn 'Alī (*Jawābāt lahu 'an 'iddat masā'il sa'ala 'anhā Sind ibn 'Alī*).
143. A treatise explaining the allusions in Plato's *Republic* (*R. fī ḥall rumūz Kitāb al-Siyāsah li-Aflāṭūn*).
144. An abridgement of [Aristotle's] Categories [*Categoriae*] (*Ikhtisār al-Qāṭi-ghūriyās*).

Among the extant books of Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī al-Šābi' in Syriac about his religion are:

145. On rites, and rules, and laws (*R. fī l-rusūm wa-l-furūd wa-l-sunan*).
146. On shrouding and interring the dead (*R. fī takfīn al-mawtā wa-dafnihim*).
147. On the doctrines of the Sabians (*R. fī i'tiqād al-Šābi'īn*).
148. On ritual purity and impurity (*R. fī l-ṭahārah wa-l-najāsah*).
149. On the reason people speak in riddles (*R. fī l-sabab alladhī li-ajlihi alghaz al-nās fī kalāmihim*).
150. On animals fit and unfit for sacrifice (*R. fī-mā yaṣluḥu min al-ḥayawān li-l-ḍaḥāyā wa-mā lā yaṣluḥ*).
151. On the times of religious devotions (*R. fī awqāt al-'ibādāt*).
152. On the order of reciting the liturgy during prayer (*R. fī tartīb al-qira'ah fī l-ṣalāh*).

89 For Arabic text, French translation, and study, see Rashed, *Thābit ibn Qurra*, 153–169.

153. Prayers of supplication to God – mighty and glorious is He (*Ṣalawāt al-ibtihāl ilā Allāh – ‘azza wa-jall*).

10.4 Abū Sa‘īd Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah¹

[10.4.1]

Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah followed on from his father in his interest in the sciences and his devotion to them and in his mastery of the art of medicine. His aptitude for astronomy was extensive. He was in the service of the Caliphs al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh² and al-Qāhir³ and also served al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh⁴ as a physician.

[10.4.2]

The scribe Ibn al-Nadīm of Baghdad says in *The Catalogue (K. al-Fihrist)*⁵ that the Caliph al-Qāhir bi-Allāh urged Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah to convert to Islam whereupon he fled to Khorasan for fear of the Caliph. Subsequently, however, he did convert, and returned to Baghdad a Muslim, where he died.⁶

[10.4.3]

His death, which was caused by the disease known as *al-dharab*,⁷ occurred on the eve of Friday the 1st of Dhū l-Qa‘dah in the year 331 [7 July 943].⁸

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For Sinān ibn Thābit, see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 190; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 302; (Sayyid), 2/1:313; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 260 *passim*.

2 Abū l-Faḍl Ja‘far ibn al-Mu‘taḍid. Abbasid Caliph (r. 295–320/908–932). See *ET*² art. ‘al-Muḥtadir.’ (K.V. Zetterstéen).

3 19th Abbasid Caliph (r. 320/932–322/934). See *ET*² art. ‘al-Qāhir’ (D. Sourdel).

4 20th Abbasid Caliph (r. 322/934–329/940). See *ET*² art. ‘al-Rāḍī Bi ‘llah’ (K.V. Zetterstéen).

5 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 302; (Sayyid), 2/1:313.

6 Ibn al-Qiftī has instead of this sentence: ‘but he strongly refused. Then al-Qāhir threatened him and Sinān, fearing him and the severity of his strength, entered Islam and settled for a time. Then he witnessed something from al-Qāhir that frightened him and he fled to Khorasan etc’. In the MSS of Version 3 (AR) Ibn al-Qiftī has been used to improve the text, without respecting the quote from the *Fihrist*.

7 One of several terms for chronic or uncontrollable diarrhoea. Ar. *al-dhīrb* (Lane, *Lexicon*, i:959): a certain disease of the liver, slow of cure. Ar. *al-dharab* (Lane 1, 959): an incurable disease because of which the stomach does not digest food; diarrhoea.

8 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 302; (Sayyid), 2/1, 313 gives the beginning of Dhū l-Ḥijjah of the same year [6 August 943].

[10.4.4.1]

Thābit ibn Sinān says in his chronicle:⁹

I remember that the vizier ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā ibn al-Jarrāh¹⁰ once sent a note to my father Sinān ibn Thābit in the days when ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā had been given charge of the offices of state and the administration of the realm by al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh during the time of the viziiership of Ḥāmid ibn al-‘Abbās.¹¹ This was in a year when great many diseases were raging, and at that time my father was in charge of the hospitals in Baghdad and elsewhere.

In the note ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā said:

I have been thinking – may God extend your life – of the state of those who are in the prisons and that, because of their great number and the harshness of their abodes, they must be susceptible to diseases while they are prevented from acting to their own benefit or from seeking advice from physicians about their symptoms. It is necessary then that physicians be assigned to them who will visit them every day and that drugs and sherbets be brought to them. The physicians should go around all the prisons treating the patients there and alleviating their illnesses with the requisite drugs and sherbets. I also suggest that convalescent meals be provided for those who require them.

This my father did for the rest of his life.

[10.4.4.2]

He received another note which said:

I have been thinking of those people who live in the provinces¹² and that there must be ill people there who are not overseen by any physician since the provinces are empty of physicians. Proceed – may God extend your life – and send physicians and a chest of medicines and sherbets to circulate in the provinces and stay in every locality as long as is required and treat any patients there before moving to the next place. My father

9 For a thorough analysis of this text, see Pormann, ‘Islamic Hospitals’.

10 *EI Three* art. “Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Dā’ūd b. al-Jarrāh’ (Maaike L.M. van Berkel).

11 *EI²* art. ‘Ḥāmid’ (L. Massignon).

12 *Ar. Sawād*. See *EI²* art. ‘Sawād’ (H.H. Schaeder).

did this until his colleagues reached Sūrā¹³ the majority of whose population were Jews. He wrote to Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā informing him of the receipt of a letter from his colleagues in the provinces in which they mentioned the many sick people and that most of those people living near Nahr al-Malik¹⁴ were Jews and that his colleagues ask permission to remain with them and treat them but that he did not know how to answer them since he had no knowledge of the vizier’s view on the Jews. My father also informed the vizier that the policy of the hospital was to treat Muslim and non-Muslim alike and he asked him to lay down a rule for him in this matter for him to act upon. The vizier replied saying: ‘I have understood your letter – may God honour you – and there is no disagreement among us that medical treatment of Dhimmis and animals is something correct. However, it should be proposed and acted upon accordingly that humans should be treated before animals and Muslims before Dhimmis. And if after treating the Muslims there is anything left over it should be used for the next group. So act – may God honour you – according to this and write to your colleagues to this effect. And advise them to travel in the villages and places in which there are many epidemics and raging diseases, and if they cannot find people to guard them on their journey then they should cease to travel until the way becomes safe, and if they do this then they will not be attacked, God willing.

[10.4.5]

Thābit ibn Sinān says:

The expenses for Badr al-Mu‘taḍidī’s¹⁵ hospital came from the inviolable funds from the endowment of Shujā‘ the mother of al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh.¹⁶ This endowment was administered by Abū Ṣaqr Wahb ibn Muḥammad al-Kalwadhānī¹⁷ and a portion of it was given over to the

13 A town in southern Iraq situated between al-Madā’in and al-Ḥīrah. See Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries*, 507.

14 The ‘king’s canal’. Yāqūt (*Muḥjam al-Buldān* (Beirut 1995), v:324) says that it is an expansive district at Baghdad beyond Nahr ‘Īsā and it is said to comprise of 360 villages – one for each day of the year. It is said that the first to excavate it was Solomon or perhaps Alexander. Others say that it was Afqūshāh.

15 See *EI*² art. ‘Badr al-Mu‘taḍidī’ (Ch. Pellat).

16 See *EI*² art. ‘al-Mutawakkil ‘Alā ‘llāh’ (H. Kennedy).

17 Identification uncertain. Perhaps a relative of ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Kalwadhānī (active early 4th/10th cent.), vizier to al-Muqtadir, see *EI*² art. ‘Wahb’ (C.E. Bosworth).

Banū Hāshim and another portion for the expenses of the hospital. Abū Ṣaqr used to further the cause of the Banū Hāshim out of fear of them and delay the expenses of the hospital and place it in difficult straits. So my father wrote to Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā complaining of this state of affairs and informing him of the hardship which the patients were subjected to and of the lack of coal and provisions and coverings and the like which was insufficient to meet their needs. The vizier wrote to Abū Ṣaqr on the reverse of my father’s letter saying: ‘You – may God honour you – must come to know of what he has mentioned and which is very serious. You are in particular responsible and I do not think that you are free from blame. You have also quoted me saying something about the Hāshimites which I will not repeat here and how the vicissitudes of circumstances caused the increase or decrease in the funds and their availability or lack. This situation must be rectified and you should take from the funds and give a portion to the hospital. Indeed it should have priority over other things because of the incapacity of those who seek refuge there and the great benefit therein. So inform me then – may God honour you – what is the reason for the lack of funds and the delay in the expenses of the hospital all these consecutive months, and particularly at this time with the winter and the severe cold. You must contrive by all means to ease their situation and hasten to it so that those patients and invalids in the hospital may find some warmth from covers and clothes and coal and they should be provided with rations and given treatment and attention. Answer me telling me what you have done in this matter and discharge this action for me so that I have reason to excuse you, and you must show great concern for the hospital, God willing.’

[10.4.6]

Thābit ibn Sinān said:

On the first day of Muḥarram in the year three hundred and six [14th June 918], my father Sinān ibn Thābit opened the hospital of the Queen Mother¹⁸ which he arranged for her at Sūq Yaḥyā.¹⁹ He remained there and directed the physicians and took in the patients. He had built it by the Tigris and expended six hundred dinars monthly on it.²⁰

18 That is, Shaghab, the mother of al-Muqtadir. See EI¹ art. ‘al-Muqtadir’ (K.V. Zetterstéen).

19 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), iii:284. This market on the east bank in Baghdad was named after Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī, for whom see EI² art. ‘al-Barāmika’ (D. Sourdel).

20 Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 195 adds at this point: ‘provided [i.e. the six-hundred

In the same year my father advised al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh to arrange for a hospital in his name and this he did and it was arranged for him at the Damascus gate. He named it the Muqtadirī hospital and spent on it of his own money two hundred dinars every month.

[10.4.7]

Thābit ibn Sinān continues:

In the year 319 [931–932], al-Muqtadir became aware that a commoner had died due to an error from a physician. He gave orders to Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Baṭḥā²¹ that all the practising physicians be prevented from working except for those my father, Sinān ibn Thābit, had examined and written a note in his own hand stating to what extent he was allowed to practise the art. So they went to my father and he examined them and gave permission to each one of them to practise as was appropriate in the art. In the area of Baghdad they numbered some eight hundred and sixty men not including those who were exempt from examination due to them being known to be advanced in the art or those who were in the service of the Ruler.

[10.4.8]

Thābit ibn Sinān also says:

When al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh died, the governor Abū l-Ḥasan Bajkam²² summoned my father Sinān ibn Thābit and asked him to come over to him in Wāsiṭ. This was something he had not sought from him during the time of al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh because of his service of him. So my father went over to the governor who honoured him and rewarded him and said to him:²³

I wish to rely upon you to take care of my body and examine it and look to its wellbeing, and in another matter which is more important than

dinars] by Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Munajjim (the Astrologer), because Sinān did not contribute to the hospitals' expenses.' On Abū l-Qāsim Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā, member of the Munajjim family, see *ET*² art. 'Munajjdjim [8]' (M. Fleischhammer).

21 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Baṭḥā' ibn 'Alī ibn Masqalah al-Tamīmī (d. 332/943) was *muḥtasib* in Baghdad, see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vii:100 (no. 3165). His name is wrongly given in Ibn al-Qifṭī as 'Abū Baṭīḥah al-muḥtasib' (Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 191).

22 The correct form of this name is Bäckäm. See *ET*² art. 'Badjkam' (M. Canard).

23 Sinān ibn Thābit's speech is quoted by Miskawayh in *Tajārib al-umam*, i:417–418 (tr. iv: 462–463).

the matter of my body, and that is the matter of my character, and this because of my confidence in your intellect and virtue and religion and your friendship. I am troubled at being overcome by excessive anger and wrath to the extent that I come to regret the beating and killing when my anger subsides. I request that you watch what I do and if you come across a defect then do not shy away from telling me the truth about it or mentioning it to me and alerting me to it and then guiding me to treat it so that it passes from me.

My father said: 'I hear and I obey what the governor has ordered! I will do this, but let the governor listen now to the general cure for what he dislikes in himself until the details come in time. Know, O governor, that you are such that the hand of no creature is above your hand and that you are the possessor of all that you wish and are able to do anything any time you want to. No creature is disposed to prevent you from this or come between you and what you desire whenever you want it. When you want something you attain it whenever you wish and no affair you seek escapes you. Know also that anger and wrath and fury cause an intoxication in a person which is much more severe than that of wine. And just as a person when drunk on wine may do things he does not realise he is doing and does not remember them when he sobers up and regrets them when he is told about them and is ashamed of them, the same is the case when he is drunk with fury and wrath, nay it is worse. So whenever anger arises in you and you sense that it has begun to make you drunk, and before it becomes severe and strong and grave and you lose control, then tell yourself to postpone punishment until the next day knowing full well that what you wish to do now you will certainly be able to do tomorrow. It is said that whoever does not fear a missed opportunity will become clement. If you do this and you pass the night and your boiling anger subsides as it must necessarily do and you sober up from your drunken state which the anger has caused – and it is said that the person's vision is most correct when night has passed and day has come – so when you sober up then contemplate the matter which has angered you, and give the command of God, mighty and majestic is He, priority, and fear of Him and avoid being exposed to His displeasure. And do not alleviate your wrath by falling into sin, for it is said that whoever offends his Lord has not alleviated his wrath. And remember God's power over you and that you are in need of His mercy and help in times of hardship, which are times when you can neither help nor harm yourself and when no creature can help you and no-one but He, mighty and majestic is He, can remove what

has come upon you. Know, also, that humans are prone to errors and mistakes and you, like them, will err and make mistakes even though no-one would dare to agree with you on this. And just as you would like God to forgive you, others hope for your kindness and forgiveness. Think of what kind of night a miscreant has spent in anxiety for fear of you and his expected punishment and your power, and recognise the extent of his joy and relief at your pardon and the extent of the reward you will gain. And remember the words of God, exalted is he: *«And let them pardon and forgive. Would you not like God to forgive you? And God is most forgiving, merciful»*.²⁴ And if forgiveness is possible for what has angered you and it would be enough to censure and blame and rebuke and threaten when a misdemeanour occurs then do not go beyond this, and pardon and forgive for it is better for you and closer to God, exalted is He. And God, glory be to Him, says: *«And for you to pardon is closer to piety»*.²⁵ And neither the miscreant nor anyone else will think that you are incapable of correcting him or punishing him or that you had no power to do so. And if there is no possibility of forgiveness then punish according to the crime and do not go beyond this lest you denigrate the religion and corrupt your affairs and besmirch your reputation. This will be difficult to adopt for the first time and the second and the third, then it will become a habit and a trait and will be easy for you.'

Bajkam approved of this and promised to do it and his conduct continued to improve while my father would alert him bit by bit to what he disliked in his character and actions and would teach him how to remove it, until his character became gentle and he refrained from rushing to kill or inflict severe punishments. And he considered the advice to employ justice and equity and take away oppression and tyranny to be sweet and good and correct and would act in accordance, for it was clear to him that justice is much more profitable for the Sultan than injustice and that by it he could gain this world and the next, and that the wares of injustice, even though they might be great and immediate, are quick to decay and vanish and disappear and are annihilated and there is no blessing in them and they cause events which you will consider criminal. Then they result in the destruction of this world and the next. But the wares of justice grow and increase and endure and continue and there are blessings in them and they result in the well-

24 Q al-Nūr 24:22.

25 Q al-Baqarah 2:237.

being and flourishing of the world and attainment and success in the afterlife and a good reputation for all time. This became clear to him and he recognised its correctness and began to put it into practice. And he built a guest house at Wāsiṭ at the time of the famine, and a hospital in Baghdad to treat and nurse the poor and he provided funds for all of this. And he provided for the public and treated them kindly and justly and equitably and beneficently and he saw good results except that his life did not last long and he was killed shortly after – and God's command will come to pass.

[10.4.9]

The following books were written by Abū Saʿīd Sinān ibn Thābit as transmitted by Abū ʿAlī al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Šābi':²⁶

1. A History of the Kings of the Syrians (*R. fī tāriḫ mulūk al-suryāniyyīn*).
2. Epistle on the Meridian (*R. fī l-istiwā'*).
3. Epistle on Canopus (*R. fī suhayl*).
4. Epistle to Bajkam (*R. ilā Bajkam*).
5. Epistle to Ibn Rā'iq (*R. ilā Ibn Rā'iq*).²⁷
6. Letter to Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā, may God show him mercy (*R. ilā Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā*).
7. Official and Personal Correspondence (*al-rasā'il al-sultāniyyāt wa-l-ikh-wāniyyāt*).
8. The biography, comprising several parts and known as *The Book of the Salvific* (*K. al-Nāji*), which he composed for ʿAḍud al-Dawlah and Tāj al-Millah containing the king's great deeds and those of Daylam and their lineages, origins, and ancestors.
9. Epistle on astrology (or astronomy) (*R. fī al-Nujūm*).
10. Epistle explaining the doctrines of the Sabians (*R. fī sharḥ madhhab al-Šābi'īn*).
11. Epistle on dividing Fridays according to the seven planets (*R. fī qismat ayyām al-jum'ah ʿalā l-kawākib al-sab'ah*), which he wrote for Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl²⁸ and another man.
12. Epistle on the difference between the epistolographer and the poet (*R. fī l-farq bayn al-mutarassil wa-l-shā'ir*).

26 See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 190; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 302; (Sayyid), 2/1:313; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 260 *passim*.

27 Muḥammad ibn Rā'iq (d. 330/942). Governor and chief emir for the Abbasids. See *ET*² art. 'Ibn Rā'iq' (D. Sourdel).

28 See *ET*¹ art. 'al-Šābi'' (F. Krenkow).

13. Epistle on the history of his fathers, forefathers, and ancestors (*R. fī akh-bār ābā'ihī wa-ajdādihī wa-salaḥihī*).
14. Sinān translated the *Nomoi* of Hermes into Arabic. Sinān also translated the texts and prayers used by the Sabians in their worship.
15. Revision of Plato's book on the elements of geometry, to which Sinān added a great deal.
16. Treatise that Sinān sent to the ruler 'Aḍud al-Dawlah on geometrical forms composed of straight lines contained within or about a circle (*M. fī l-ashkāl dhawāt al-khuṭūṭ al-mustaḳīmah allatī taqa' fī l-dā'irah wa-'alay-hā*).
17. Derivation of a great many geometrical questions (*Istikhrājuhū li-l-shay' al-kathīr min al-masā'il al-handasiyyah*).
18. Revision of Abū Sahl al-Kūhī's²⁹ style in all of his books, which Abū Sahl had asked him to do.
19. Revision and correction of part of Archimedes' work on triangles that had been translated from Syriac to Arabic by Yūsuf al-Qass (*Iṣlāḥuhū wa-tahdhībuhū li-shay' naqalahū min kitāb Yūsuf al-Qass min al-suryānī ilā l-'arabī min kitāb Arshimīdis fī l-muthallathāt*).

10.5 Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah¹

[10.5.1]

Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah was a physician of merit who followed his father in the art of medicine. In the chronicle he wrote in which he mentions the occurrences and events which took place during the time of al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh² until the time of al-Ṭā'ī' li-Allāh he says that he and his father were in the service of al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh. Subsequently, he says of himself that he served as physician to al-Muttaqī the son of al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh, and also served al-Mustakfī bi-Allāh and al-Muṭī' li-Allāh.

29 Mathematician and astronomer of the 4th/10th century. See *ET*² art. 'al-Kūhī' (J. Vernet).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For Thābit ibn Sinān, see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 109 *et passim*; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 260, where he is identified as the uncle of Thābit ibn Qurrah.

2 Abū l-Faḍl Ja'far ibn al-Mu'taqid. Abbasid Caliph (r. 295–320/908–932). See *ET*² art. 'al-Muqtadir' (K.V. Zetterstéen).

[10.5.2]

He says:

In the year three hundred and thirteen, the vizier al-Khāqānī³ placed me in charge of the hospital provided by Ibn al-Furāt⁴ in al-Mufaḍḍal lane.⁵

[10.5.3]

He also says in his chronicle:

When Abū ‘Alī ibn Muqlah⁶ was handed over to the vizier Abū ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Īsā⁷ by al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh in the year three hundred and twenty-four, he took him to his house on Thursday after three nights of Jumādā I had passed [29 March 936]. Abū ‘Alī ibn Muqlah was beaten with whips⁸ in the house of the vizier ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and his signature was taken for the amount of one million dinars. The one charged with this was Bunān, the chief of the guards of the palace halls (*al-Ḥujariyyah*).⁹ Then he was handed over to Abū l-‘Abbās al-Khaṣībī¹⁰ and put in the hands of Mākird¹¹ and the chief. Al-Khaṣībī gave over questioning of him to Abū l-Qāsim ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Iskāfī who was known as Abū Thughrah, and gave responsibility for making demands for money to al-Dastuwānī at whose hands Ibn Muqlah experienced terrible abominations and hangings and beatings and rackings.¹² What I personally witnessed of this was when Abū l-‘Abbās al-Khaṣībī charged me one day

3 Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Khāqānī (d. 314/926–927), who served al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh as vizier for 18 months until he was dismissed in Ramaḍān 313/November 925. See *EI*² art. ‘Ibn Khākān’ (D. Sourdel).

4 Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Furāt (d. 312/924). Several times vizier to al-Muqtadir. See *EI*² art. ‘Ibn al-Furāt’ (D. Sourdel).

5 Darb al-Mufaḍḍāl. A location in East Baghdad, called after al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Zimām, *mawlā* (client) of al-Mahdī (Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut, 1995, ii:448).

6 Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muqlah (d. 328/940). See *EI*² art. ‘Ibn Muqla’ (D. Sourdel).

7 Abū ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Īsā ibn Dāwūd ibn al-Jarrāh (fl. 325/936). Brother of the vizier ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā and sometime vizier of al-Rāḍī and al-Muttaqī. See *EI*² art. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā’ (H. Bowen); *EI Three* art. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Dā’ūd b. al-Jarrāh’ (Maaikie L.M. van Berkel).

8 Ar. *miqra’ah*, pl. *maqāri’*: a whip; anything with which one beats; a cudgel. (Lane, *Lexicon*, Supp. 2987).

9 For mention of the Turkish slaves of the Caliphs and *al-Ḥujariyyah*, see *EI*² art. ‘Ghulām’ (Halil İnalçık).

10 The vizier Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṣībī (d. AH 328/940). See *EI*², ‘al-Khaṣībī’ (D. Sourdel).

11 Mākird the Daylamite, one of the Sājīyyah regiment of slave troops?

12 Ar. *dahaq*: torture in general, particularly severe pressure using a type of vice. The rack.

with visiting Ibn Muqlah to examine him for a complaint. He also said that should Ibn Muqlah require bloodletting then it should be done by someone in my presence. So I visited him and I found him stretched out on a threadbare mat with a filthy pillow under his head and naked except for an undergarment. And I saw that his body from his head to the tips of his toes was all the colour of an aubergine and none of it had been spared. And I saw that he was extremely short of breath because al-Dastuwānī had hit¹³ his chest. I told al-Khaṣībī that he was in dire need of bloodletting and he said to me: 'He must be subjected to hard demands so what shall we do with him?' I said: 'I don't know except that if he is left without bloodletting he will die and if blood is let and he is subject again to abominations then he will expire.' So al-Khaṣībī said to Abū l-Qāsim ibn Abī Thughrah al-Iskāfī: 'Go to him and tell him that if he thinks that he will find some respite if his blood is let then he thinks mistakenly. Let his blood but he must remember that the demands will continue.' Then he said to me: 'I would like you to go with him.' But I asked to be excused from this but he refused so I went in with al-Iskāfī and he delivered the message in my presence. Ibn Muqlah said: 'If this is the case then I don't wish to undergo bloodletting while I stand before God.' So we returned to al-Khaṣībī and told him what he had said. He said to me: 'What can you do and what is your opinion?' I said: 'I think that his blood should be let and he should be given respite.' He said: 'Make it so!' So I returned to Ibn Muqlah and his blood was let in my presence and he was given respite for the day and his situation became more bearable but he expected the abominations to continue the next day and was terrified out of his wits. Then it so happened that on that day al-Khaṣībī had cause to go into hiding and Ibn Muqlah remained in respite and no-one made any demands of him and he was unexpectedly relieved of his enemy. He returned to his senses and then Ibn Qarābah¹⁴ came to him and gave a guarantee for what he owed and he took charge of him. Prior to this Ibn Muqlah had handed over to al-Khaṣībī some fifty thousand dinars, and just men had been made to swear that he had sold his estates and those of his sons and all his personal effects to the State.

13 *Dahaqa* is an uncommon verb. It can be used for 'to put in stocks' where the feet are held secure, but that seems odd for a person's chest. It can also mean 'to hit or strike', which seems better in this context.

14 Ibn Qarābah is Abū Bakr ibn Qarābah; see the long note on him by al-Shālji in al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍarah*, viii:106 (in a passage told by Ibn Muqlah himself). He is mentioned in various sources, such as al-Ṣūlī's *Awrāq*, Miskawayh's *Tajārib*, always as Ibn Qarābah.

[10.5.4]

In another place in this book of his Thābit ibn Sinān says:

When Ibn Muqlah's hand was cut off, al-Rāḍī bi-Allāh summoned me at the end of the day and commanded me to enter in upon Ibn Muqlah and treat him. So I went to him on the day his hand was cut. I found him to be confined in the cell which was in the arbour court with the door locked. I entered and found him sitting on the base of one of the pillars of the cell and his colour was as grey as the lead he was sitting on. He had become very weak and was in a state of utmost anguish at the throbbing ache in his arm. I saw in the cell that a dome of canvas had been erected for him upon which were two arches of canvas in which there was a prayer mat, and cushions of Ṭabaristān. About the prayer mat there were many dishes of fine fruits. When he saw me he wept and bemoaned his state and what had befallen him and the throbbing pain he was experiencing. I found that his forearm had become severely swollen and that on the cut there was a rough, dark blue cloth of Qarduwān¹⁵ bound with a hempen rope. I addressed him as was necessary and calmed him and untied the rope and removed the cloth under which I found, upon the cut, animal dung. So I ordered that the dung be removed from it and it was removed. Then, I found that the top of his forearm above the cut¹⁶ had been bound with hempen rope and that it had immersed itself into his arm because of the swelling and his forearm had begun to turn black. So I told him that the rope would be untied and that, in place of the dung, camphor would be put and that his forearm would be anointed with sandalwood and rosewater and camphor. He said: 'Master, do what you think fit.' Then the servant who was with me said: 'I need to ask permission of our master for this.' And he went in to ask permission. When he came out he had with him a large chest filled with camphor and he said: 'Our master has given his permission for you to do as you see fit and he commands that you treat him kindly and provide care for him and remain with him until God grants him wellbeing.' So I untied the rope and emptied the chest on the place of the cut and anointed his forearm. And so he lived and found relief and the shock subsided. I asked him whether he had eaten and he said: 'How can I stomach food?' So I arranged for food to be brought and it was

15 *Qarduwānī*: related to an unidentified place called Qarduwān. See al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, iv:469. Not mentioned by Yāqūt.

16 The text reads *asfal al-qaṭʿ* (below the cut), but the English makes better sense as 'above the cut', the hand having been severed at the wrist.

brought but he refused to eat so I was gentle with him and fed him morsels with my own hand and he ate about twenty dirhams of bread and about the same amount in meat of pullets. Then he swore he couldn't swallow another thing. And he drank some cold water and his spirit revived and so I left and the door was locked upon him and he remained alone. In the morning a black servant was permitted to enter and serve him and was confined with him. I went back and forth to see him for many days and he became afflicted with gout in his left leg so I let his blood. He used to be in pain from his right hand which was cut off and from his left leg and would not sleep at night because of the severity of the pain. Then he regained his health and whenever I visited him he would begin by asking about his son Abū l-Ḥasan, and when I told him he was well he became most calm. Then he would mourn for his own self and weep for the loss of his hand and would say: 'With my hand I served the caliphate three times for three Caliphs, and with it I wrote out the Qur'an twice,¹⁷ and it is cut off like the hand of a thief! Do you remember when you said to me: "You are experiencing the last of the calamity and relief is near?"' I said: 'Indeed.' He said: 'You see what has befallen me!' I said: 'Nothing remains after this. Now you should expect relief, for you have been treated as none of your peers have been treated. This is the end of the adversity and after the end there is nothing but relief of the burdens.' He said: 'Don't, for this trial has attached itself to me such as to take me from one situation to the next until it leads me to perdition just as the hectic fever attaches itself to the members of the body and does not leave the sufferer until it leads him to his death.' Then he quoted this verse:¹⁸

Whenever part of you has died, lament another part!
For one part of a thing is closely related to another.

And it was as he said. And when Bajkam closed in on Baghdad, Ibn Muqlah was moved from that place to somewhere even more concealed and no-one had any news of him and I was prevented from seeing him. Then his tongue was cut out and he remained in confinement for a long time. Then he was overcome by uncontrollable diarrhoea¹⁹ and he had no-one to treat him or serve him until I heard that he was drawing up water for

17 Abū 'Alī ibn Muqlah was also renowned for his calligraphy.

18 Metre: *wāfir*. A line by Abū Ya'qūb al-Khuraymī (d. 214/829), see Ibn al-Jarrāh, *Waraqah*, 111; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 855; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvi:401; etc.

19 *Dharab*, one of several terms for chronic or uncontrollable diarrhoea.

himself with his left hand and pulling the well-rope with his left hand and holding it in his mouth and his state was utterly wretched until such a time as he died.'

[10.5.5]

The aforementioned Thābit ibn Sinān was the maternal uncle of Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm the Sabian, the eloquent writer.

Thābit ibn Sinān wrote the book of chronicles in which he mentions the occurrences and events which took place during his time which was from the year two hundred and ninety-five [907–908] until his death. I have found it in his own hand and he demonstrates his merit therein.

Thābit ibn Sinān died in one of the months of the year 363 [973–974].²⁰

10.6 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah¹

Ibrāhīm ibn Sinān was accomplished in the philosophical disciplines, excelled in the medical art, and was the leading scholar of his age. He was a fine writer² and a man of abundant intelligence. He was born in the year 296/908, and died on a Sunday in the middle of al-Muḥarram in the year 335 [16 August 946] in Baghdad. The illness from which he died was a swelling (*waram*) of the liver.

10.7 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī¹

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī was a well-known physician with vast knowledge of the art of medicine. He was a fine practitioner and a good ther-

20 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 110, on the authority of Thābit ibn Sinān's nephew Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin, gives the date of the eve of Wednesday 11th of Dhū l-Qa'dah in the year 365 [11 June 976].

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book. See Sezgin, *GAS* IV, 292–295 etc. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 272; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 57–59. See also: Rāshid, *Ibrāhīm Ibn Sinān*.

2 Ibn Sinān's most important extant works are in geometry and mathematics. As well as references in *GAS*, for some published epistles, see Ibn Sinān, *Rasā'il*. See also: Hogendijk, *Arabic traces of lost works of Apollonius*.

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book. There are brief mentions in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 56; *ET*² art. 'Šābi' (F.C. de Blois).

apist. He died in Baghdad on the eve of Thursday with eleven nights remaining of Ṣafar in the year 309 [29 June 921].

10.8 Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī¹

[10.8.1]

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī was a physician of merit and abundant knowledge and excelled in the medical art. He was a successful therapist and was well-versed in the secrets of medicine. Despite this, he was stingy and did not share what he was good at.

[10.8.2]

I quote here from the treatise of Ibn Buṭlān in his own hand on the reason the skilled physicians changed the regimen for most of those diseases that had, of old, been treated with hot medicines to a cold regimen.²

Ibn Buṭlān says:

The vizier Abū Ṭāhir ibn Baqiyyah³ suffered a stroke in his house on the bank by the bridge in Baghdad. The emir ‘Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtiyār⁴ was present and the physicians were in agreement that he had died. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī, whom I used to accompany in those days, came forward and said, ‘O emir, if he has died then blood-letting will do him no harm, so do you permit me to let his blood?’ ‘Do so, O Abū l-Ḥasan’, the emir answered. When he opened his vein only a small amount of blood leaked from it but it increased until the blood began to flow and the vizier regained consciousness. When I was alone with him I asked him about the case but he was reticent in his words. He said, ‘It was the habit of the vizier every spring season to expel a great amount of blood from the blood-vessels of the buttocks but that this season it had ceased and when I let his blood the strength returned after it had been constricted.’

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 303; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā*, 111.

2 See 10.38 no. 7.

3 *Et*² art. ‘Ibn Baqiyya’ (Cl. Cahen).

4 *Et*² art. ‘Bakhtiyār’ (Cl. Cahen).

[10.8.3]

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl said:

When ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah,⁵ may God have mercy upon him, entered Baghdād,⁶ the first to meet him from amongst the physicians were Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī who was a very aged man, and Sinān⁷ who was younger than Abū l-Ḥasan. They were both learned men of merit and together they used to make the rounds⁸ of patients and go to the palace of the Sulṭān who used to praise them well.

When Abū l-Ḥasan and Sinān entered upon ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah he said, ‘Who are they?’ When he was told that they were physicians he said, ‘We are in good health and have no need of them.’ So the two left embarrassed. When they went out into the courtyard Sinān said to Abū l-Ḥasan, ‘Is it fitting that we, the two venerable men of Baghdad, should enter upon that Lion for him to pounce upon us?’ Abū l-Ḥasan said, ‘What is to be done?’ Sinān said, ‘We will return to him and I will tell him my opinion and we will see what is his reply.’ Abū l-Ḥasan said, ‘Do so.’ So they sought permission to enter and then entered. Sinān said, ‘May God prolong the life of our master the emir. The purpose of our art is the preservation of the health, not the treatment of diseases, and the king, of all people, is most in need of this.’ ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah said, ‘You have spoken truly.’ Then he established for the two of them an excellent commission and they began to take turns along with his own physicians.

[10.8.4]

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl said:

There are many fine stories about the two of them including the story of the liver cook. By the Portico Gate in Baghdad (*Bāb al-Azaj*)⁹ there was a man who used to fry liver and whenever the two physicians passed by he would pray for them and thank them and stand in their honour until they left. One day they passed by but did not see him so they assumed that he was otherwise occupied. The next day they inquired about him and were told that he had just died. They were astonished at this and one said to the

5 That is Abū Shujā‘ Fannā Khusraw (d. 372/983) Būyid emir. See *EI*² art. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla’ (H. Bowen); *EI Three* art. ‘Aḍud al-Dawla’ (J.J. Donohue).

6 He entered Baghdād in Jumādā 1 364/January 975.

7 If Sinān ibn Thābit (above Ch. 10.4) is meant here, then he was the older man.

8 See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1363.

9 See Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-Buldān* (Wüstenfeld), i:232.

other, “We are obliged to him and we should seek him out and see him.” So they both went to see him and after they had looked at him they consulted on letting his blood and asked his family to detain him for a single hour so that they may consider his case. They did this and brought a bloodletter who let his blood thoroughly at which thick blood emerged. As his blood continued to be let his condition was alleviated until at last the man spoke and the two physicians gave him medicine to drink and left. Three days later the man went out to his stall and this was an example of their miraculous cures. They were asked about it and said the cause was the fact that when he used to fry liver he would eat from it and his body would become full of thick blood but he did not sense this until it flowed from the veins into the blood vessels and overcame the innate heat and stifled it just as a great amount of oil stifles the wick of the lamp. When they let his blood it decreased and the heavy burden was lifted from his faculties and the heat dispersed and his body returned to health.

[Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah comments]: This filling up of the body is also found with phlegm, and its causes were mentioned by Galen in his book on prohibiting burial until twenty-four hours after death.¹⁰

[10.8.5]

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl said:

Among the finest things I have heard about Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī is that he became familiar with the great Sharīf Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar,¹¹ may God have mercy upon him. He was a man of noble standing who had been afflicted with acute and severe shortness of breath. Abū l-Ḥasan took his pulse and indicated the medicines he should use. The Sharīf asked Abū l-Ḥasan about letting his blood but he said to him that he did not think it correct even though it might visibly alleviate the affliction. Abū l-Ḥasan left and then Abū Mūsā the physician who was known as Bug (Baqqah) came and examined his pulse and urine flask and advised bloodletting but the Sharīf said to him, ‘Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī has been with me just now and I had asked him advice about bloodletting and that he had said he did not think it appropriate.’ Baqqah said, ‘Abū l-Ḥasan knows best,’ and left. Then a certain physician of lesser rank came and said, ‘Our master should have his blood let, for he will be relieved immediately.’ And he became

¹⁰ For Galen’s treatise, see Ch. 5.1.39 no. 163.

¹¹ Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Yaḥyā (d. 390/1000), Ra’is al-Ṭālibiyyīn, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv: 244–245.

strongly determined to let his blood and did not move until he had done so. When he had let his blood his condition was visibly alleviated and he slept and his condition subsided and he took food and was well. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī returned to him at the end of the day and found him resting and stable. When he saw him in this condition he said to him, 'Your blood has been let!' The Sharīf said, 'How could I do something you didn't prescribe for me?' He said, 'This restful state is due to nothing but blood-letting.' The Sharīf said, 'Since you know this then why did you not let my blood?' Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī said to him, 'Now that our master's blood has been let then let him be warned of the onset of a quartan fever of seventy cycles and even if Hippocrates and Galen themselves were attending him he will not be free of it until it comes to the end of its term.' Then he called for ink and a roll of paper and prescribed his regimen for seventy bouts and passed it to him saying, 'This is your regimen. When its term is ended then I will visit you.' He left and it was only a few days until the fever came and remained as he had said so the Sharīf did not go against his regimen until he was cured.

[10.8.6]

ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl said:

It is told that the Grand Chamberlain used to have a servant boy with whom he was besotted. One day the Chamberlain invited the magnates of the realm to a great banquet. While occupied with arranging the banquet the servant boy was struck with an acute fever at which the Chamberlain became very anxious and worried. He summoned Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī and said to him, 'O Abū l-Ḥasan, I wish the boy to be in my service tomorrow. Do all you can and I will reward you for it.' Abū l-Ḥasan said, 'O Chamberlain, if you leave the boy to complete the days of his illness he will live. If not, then by my attending him he may undertake to serve you tomorrow, but next year on the same day he will be struck with an acute fever and no matter which physician attends to him treatment will be to no avail and he will die either in the first or second crisis. Consider which of these you prefer.' The Chamberlain said, 'I wish him to be in my service tomorrow and by next year it will be resolved,' thinking that these words were refutable. Abū l-Ḥasan attended him and the next day the boy woke and began service. The Chamberlain gave Abū l-Ḥasan a fine robe and a great deal of money and honoured him to the utmost. On the same day the following year the fever returned to the boy and he remained feverish for seven days and then died. Abū l-Ḥasan's opinion greatly affected the

Chamberlain and many other people and his station became high in their eyes, and this episode was something of a miracle.

[10.8.7]

Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm the Sabian scribe said:

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Nawbakhtī¹² related to me, saying, ‘al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn Yaḥyā related to me that he wished to buy an intelligent maidservant from the house of the Banū Khāqān¹³ for eleven thousand dirhams. The broker in this was to be Abū l-Musayyab Fahd ibn Sulaymān. Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar said to Abū l-Musayyab, “I would like you to take the advice of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī after you charge him with seeing her.” So Abū l-Musayyab went to him and asked him to ride with him to the house to see the girl who was suffering from a complaint. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī saw her and took her pulse and examined her urine flask and then said to Abū l-Musayyab in private, “If last night she ate any dish of sumac, or sour grapes, or cucumbers of any sort, then buy her, but if not, then do not concern yourself with her.” So we asked about what she had eaten that night and were told that she had eaten one of the things mentioned by Abū l-Ḥasan. So he bought her, and we were astonished at this affair as were those who heard about it.’

[10.8.8]

Al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm said:

The sons of Abū Ja‘far ibn al-Qāsim ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh¹⁴ used to slander our uncle Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī accusing him of killing their father. I asked my father Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl about this and he said, ‘Abū Ja‘far was my uncle Abū l-Ḥasan’s enemy and was determined to kill him on account of things he held against him, and he had already arrested him and had him imprisoned. It so happened that Abū Ja‘far fell ill with his terminal illness and he was advised to consult Abū l-Ḥasan who was in prison. Abū Ja‘far said, “I do not trust him and am not comfortable with him since he knows my bad opinion of him.” He relied then on another physician. Abū l-Ḥasan was visited by one of his brothers who told him about how Abū Ja‘far was treating his illness. Abū l-Ḥasan said to him in

12 For the Nawbakht family, see *EI*² art. ‘Nawbakht’ (L. Massignon).

13 For the Khāqān family of viziers, see *EI*² art. ‘Tbn Khāqān’ (D. Sourdel).

14 See *EI*² art. ‘Wahb’ (C.E. Bosworth).

confidence, “You know that man’s opinion of me, but as long as he continues with this treatment he will inevitably perish and we will be relieved of him sooner rather than later. Hence I would like you to prevent him from consulting me and confirm his opinion in ignoring me.” Abū Ja‘far’s illness intensified and he went the way of all flesh ten days after al-Qāhir bi-Allāh had had him arrested.’

[10.8.9]

Al-Muḥassin also said:¹⁵

I was struck with an acute fever that came upon me suddenly. Our uncle Abū l-Ḥasan came and took my pulse for a while then he rose and said nothing. My father said to him, ‘What is your opinion of this fever, uncle?’ He said to him secretly, ‘Do not ask me about it until fifty days have passed.’ And I swear by God that the fever left me on the fifty-third day.

[10.8.10]

Abū ‘Alī ibn Makīkhā the Christian scribe relates, saying:¹⁶

When ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah reached The City of Peace in the year three hundred and sixty-four [975], I was summoned by Abū Maṣṣūr Naṣr ibn Hārūn who had arrived with ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah at that time. He asked me about the physicians of Baghdad so I met with ‘Abd Yashū‘ the Catholicos and asked him about them. He said, ‘Here, there are a number who are not to be relied upon but the ones who should be referred to are Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī who is an intelligent man without peer in the medical art, and also Fayrūz¹⁷ who is of little learning. Abū l-Ḥasan is my friend so I will send him to be of service and show him my approval of it and advise him to continue it.’ The Catholicos spoke to Abū l-Ḥasan about seeking out Abū Maṣṣūr Naṣr ibn Hārūn and he did so. Naṣr ibn Hārūn proposed that he visit the palace of ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah and examine his condition and his regimen. Abū l-Ḥasan agreed on the condition that he should be

15 Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukama’*, 114.

16 Abū ‘Alī ibn Makīkhā, nicknamed Qafā’ (‘Nape’), was the Christian treasurer of ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah and Ibn Ṭāhir; see al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā’*, 43; and Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, 197. This anecdote is in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 112–113.

17 Müller left a blank space in his edition (‘Lücke von mir gelassen’); in the ‘Lesarten’ he gives the readings Firrawz and Fahrūn (this is the reading in MS Sb). MS R and Ibn al-Qiftī (*Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 113) give Fayrūz. Lippert mentions in footnote the lacuna in Müller and also two MSS in Berlin which give the reading Fahrūz.

informed of ‘Aḡud al-Dawlah’s manner in eating and drinking and in his private affairs. Abū Maṣṣūr watched ‘Aḡud al-Dawlah’s manner and Abū l-Ḥasan came to the palace and learned everything he wanted to know. Then he came back and forth to the palace for a few days and then stopped coming altogether. When the Catholicos met with him he reproached him for breaking off relations and told him that this was not approved of. Abū l-Ḥasan said, ‘There is no benefit in me going there and I don’t think it is right for me. The king has many virtuous, intelligent, and knowledgeable physicians who know his nature and regimen such that he may dispense with the service and attendance of all others.’ The Catholicos persisted and asked him the reason for this and what his excuse was. He said, ‘When the king has remained in Iraq for a year his mind will become corrupt and I would not like that to happen at my hands and when I am his physician and responsible for his regimen.’ When the Catholicos denied what I had said I argued with him and swore by God and on pain of apostasizing that what I had said was true and that he would be responsible for what he knows. The Catholicos refrained then and concealed the subject, but when ‘Aḡud al-Dawlah returned to Iraq the second time, that which Abū l-Ḥasan had predicted came to pass.

[10.8.11]

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī died on the eleventh of Dhū l-Qa‘dah in the year 365 of the Hijrah [11 July 976] at Baghdad.¹⁸ He was born in Raqqah on the eve of Thursday with two nights remaining of Dhū l-Qa‘dah in the year 283 [6 January 897].

[10.8.12]

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī wrote the following books:¹⁹

1. A revision of certain books from the *Kunnāsh* of Yūḡannā ibn Sarābiyūn.²⁰
2. Answers to questions posed to him.

18 Ibn al-Qifṭī gives a different date: ‘he died in Baghdad, at the end of a Friday, when there were eleven nights remaining of the month of Shawwāl of 369 [i.e. 18 Shawwāl 369 = 12 May 980]’ (*Ta’rikh al-ḥukamā’,* 115).

19 According to Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel) 303, (Sayyid), 2/1:315 and quoted in Sezgin, *GAS* III, 154–155, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarrānī also translated a book of [the sons of] Philagrius (fl. AD 4th cent.) into Arabic.

20 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 241.

10.9 Ibn Waṣīf al-Ṣābi¹

[10.9.1]

Ibn Waṣīf al-Ṣābi' was a physician who was skilled in treating diseases of the eye. In his time no one was more knowledgeable, nor anyone more experienced than he was in this matter.²

[10.9.2]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān – Ibn Juljul – said 'I heard the following account from Aḥmad ibn Yūnus al-Ḥarrānī':³

I was with Aḥmad ibn Waṣīf al-Ṣābi', who had brought seven people to have their eyes couched. Among them was a man of Khorasan whom Aḥmad had bade sit before him while he inspected his eyes. He saw fluid in them, showing that couching was indicated. The man asked what the fee would be. Aḥmad named a figure, but finally agreed the sum of eighty silver dirhams with the man, who swore he had no more than that. The man having sworn, Aḥmad was convinced and embraced him, but upon raising his hand to the man's upper arm ('*aḍud*'), he found there a small belt containing gold dinars. 'What is this?' said Ibn Waṣīf. The man from Khorasan flushed. 'Do you swear falsely by God, yet hope for your sight to be restored?' Ibn Waṣīf said. 'I swear by God, I will not treat you, since you tried to deceive⁴ your Lord.' The man asked him again, but Aḥmad refused and gave back the eighty silver dirhams without couching his eyes.⁵

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. In *ET*² art. 'al-Waṣīfi' (U. Sezgin), Ibn Waṣīf above is 'reasonably identified' with al-Waṣīfi, Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf Shāh. However, Ismā'il Bāshā Bābānī (Bābānī, *Hadīyyat al-ʿarīfīn*, i:16) gives 596/1199–1200 as death date for Ibrāhīm ibn Waṣīf Shāh the historian, for whom Brockelmann gives a date of before 606/1209, which is the date his history ends. For a biography of Aḥmad ibn Waṣīf al-Ṣābi' who flourished in the mid-4th/10th century, see Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:231; Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 81–82; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tarīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 436–437, and 395¹⁹, where he is named Ibn Waṣīf al-Kaḥḥāl (the oculist); IAU mentions Ibn Waṣīf al-Ṣābi' again in Ch. 13.19.

2 Cf. Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 81.

3 See Ch. 13.19. In 330/942, Aḥmad ibn Yūnus, together with his brother 'Umar, left Andalusia for Baghdad where they worked with Ibn Waṣīf treating eye diseases.

4 All our MSS and Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 82, give verb form I: *khada'ta rabbaka*/you have deceived your Lord. Müller, i:230, and Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tarīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 437 give form III: *khāda'ta rabbaka*/you tried to deceive your Lord, which seems a better reading as God, presumably, cannot be deceived. Cf. Q *al-Baqarah* 2:9, and *al-Nisā'* 4:142.

5 This passage appears in Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 81–82; also Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tarīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 437.

10.10 Ghālib, the Physician of al-Mu‘taḍid¹

[10.10.1]

Ghālib was famed for his service to al-Mu‘taḍid bi-Allāh² but he had previously been with al-Muwaffaq Ṭalḥah,³ the son of al-Mutawakkil,⁴ whom he had served exclusively since the days of al-Mutawakkil’s caliphate. All al-Mutawakkil’s other children were suckled on the same milk as Ghālib’s, and Ghālib delighted in them. When al-Muwaffaq acceded to the caliphate, he gave Ghālib lands and money and enriched him. Ghālib was like a father to al-Muwaffaq and would sit with him at table and anoint him with perfume with his own hands.

[10.10.2]

Ghālib once treated al-Muwaffaq for an arrow wound in his breast. Upon his recovery, the caliph gave Ghālib a great amount of money, lands, and robes of honour, and said to his servants, ‘Whoever wishes to honour me, let him honour and reward Ghālib.’ So Masrūr⁵ sent him ten thousand gold dinars and one hundred robes. The other servants did the same, with the result that Ghālib became possessed of great wealth.

[10.10.3]

When Ṣā‘id and ‘Abdūn were arrested,⁶ a number of Christian mamluke servant boys belonging to ‘Abdūn⁷ were taken. Those of them who converted to Islam were given a stipend and set free. Those of them who did not convert to Islam were sent to Ghālib – seventy servant boys, some tethered and others not. When they arrived with a messenger from the Chamberlain,⁸ Ghālib said, ‘What am I do to with this lot?’, and rode out immediately to al-Muwaffaq and

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- 1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. Cf. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:232.
 - 2 That is, Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Ṭalḥah (r. 279–289/892–902), the sixteenth Abbasid Caliph and son of al-Muwaffaq. *EI*² art. ‘al-Mu‘taḍid Bi’llāh’ (H. Kennedy).
 - 3 That is, Abū Aḥmad Ṭalḥah ibn Ja‘far (d. 278/891), son of the tenth Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861) and governing regent at the time of his brother the (nominal) Caliph al-Mu‘tamid (256–279/870–892). See *EI*² art. ‘al-Muwaffaq’ (H. Kennedy).
 - 4 That is, tenth Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232–247/847–861). *EI*² art. ‘al-Mutawakkil ‘Alā’llāh’ (H. Kennedy).
 - 5 Masrūr was a powerful eunuch at the Abbasid court. See *EI*² art. ‘Ghulām’ (Halil İnalçık).
 - 6 Ṣā‘id ibn Makhlad *Dhū l-wizāratayn* (d. 276/889), his brother ‘Abdūn, and his two sons were arrested by al-Muwaffaq on 9th Rajab 272 [20 December 885]. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii:2109; *EI*² art. ‘Ibn Makhlad’ (D. Sourdel).
 - 7 ‘Abdūn, unlike his brother Ṣā‘id, had not converted to Islam and remained a Christian.
 - 8 For this office, see *EI*² art. ‘Ḥāḍjib’ (D. Sourdel, C.E. Bosworth, and A.K.S. Lambton).

said, 'This lot will consume the wealth of my estates as well as my own portion!' At this, al-Muwaffaq laughed and ordered Ismā'īl⁹ to add the *Ḥarasiyyāt*¹⁰ to Ghālib's holdings. The *Ḥarasiyyāt* were magnificent estates yielding revenues of seven thousand gold dinars, and they were given to Ghālib at the low rate of fifty thousand silver dirhams per annum.

[10.10.4]

After serving al-Muwaffaq Ṭalḥah, Ghālib served al-Muwaffaq's son, al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad, who held the physician in high regard, esteemed him greatly and treated him generously, relying as he did upon his medical treatment.

[10.10.5]

Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit¹¹ is the author of the following account:

Ghālib the physician, who stood high in the Caliph's esteem, died while with al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh at Amida.¹² Ghālib's son, Sa'īd,¹³ was also with al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh at Amida. Al-Mu'taḍid enjoyed Sa'īd's company and favoured him above all the other physicians. News of Ghālib's death reached al-Mu'taḍid before Sa'īd had come to know of it, so when Sa'īd entered the caliph's presence, al-Mu'taḍid spoke first, offering him his condolences. 'O Sa'īd,' he said, 'may you live long after what has befallen you.'

Sa'īd left for his encampment, sad and grieving, whereupon al-Mu'taḍid sent the greatest of his servants – Khafif al-Samarqandī, Bunān al-Ruṣāṣī, and Surkhāb of the Robes – after him, and they sat with him for a long time. When the news became public, all the leading men of the caliph's entourage, from the vizier al-Qāsim ibn 'Ubayd Allāh¹⁴ and Mu'nīs al-Khādim,¹⁵ to those of lesser rank such as the Chief Eunuchs (*Ustādhīn*),

9 That is, Abū Ṣaqr Ismā'īl ibn Bulbul al-Wazīr (d. 278/892), vizier to Caliph al-Mu'tamid and regent al-Muwaffaq. *EI*² art. 'Ismā'īl b. Bulbul' (D. Sourdel).

10 Reading uncertain and not in Yāqūt. The MSS read *al-Ḥ-r-siyyāt*. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 222, mentions the *nisbah* al-Ḥarashī after one of the caliph al-Mahdī's generals so perhaps these estates were associated with him.

11 See Ch. 10.5.

12 Ar. Āmid. Principal city of Diyarbakr, see *EI*² art. 'Diyār Bakr' (M. Canard, Cl. Cahen, Mükrimin H. Yinanç, and J. Sourdel-Thomine). Al-Mu'taḍid retook Amida in 286/899.

13 See his entry Ch. 10.11.

14 See *EI*² art. 'Wahb' (C.E. Bosworth).

15 That is Mu'nīs al-Khādim as opposed to Mu'nīs al-Khāzin or al-Faḥl. See *EI*² art. 'Mu'nīs al-Muẓaffar' (C. Bowen).

the emirs, the commanders, and the governors according to their ranks, visited Sa'īd ibn Ghālib and offered their condolences for the loss of his father.

At noon al-Mu'taḍid sent trays of food and ordered Sa'īd not to retire before he and Dānīl, the scribe of Mu'nīs, and Sa'dūn, the scribe of Yānis, who were Sa'īd's brothers-in-law, being married to his two sisters, had all eaten from it. This he did, and al-Mu'taḍid continued to visit him every day, divert him with conversation, entertain him and send trays of food, and this for seven days. The caliph also conferred upon Sa'īd all the privileges his father had enjoyed, such as his salary and pupils, and granted him the enjoyment¹⁶ of his father's lands and estates, which, with his son, he held until the end of his life.

10.11 Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ghālib¹

Sa'īd the son of Ghālib² was a learned and knowledgeable physician, a good therapist who was renowned for his practice of the medical art. He served al-Mu'taḍid bi-Allāh,³ who favoured him and treated him generously and kindly.

Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ghālib died in Baghdad on a Sunday with six days remaining of Jumādā 1 in the year 307 [22 October 909].

10.12 'Abdūs¹

[10.12.1]

'Abdūs was a physician of renown in Baghdad. He was a fine therapist and a good practitioner, was conversant with many compound drugs, and made many fine observations and effective interventions in his practice of medicine.

16 These were *iqṭā'āt* and as such technically not the property of the beneficiary. See *ET*² art. 'Iḳṭā' (Cl. Cahen).

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book.

2 See previous entry Ch. 10.10.

3 That is, Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Ṭalḥah (r. 279–289/892–902), the sixteenth Abbasid Caliph and son of al-Muwaffaq. *ET*² art. 'al-Mu'taḍid Bi'llāh' (H. Kennedy).

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book. See Sezgin, *GAS*, iii: 264–265; and Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 251 (not followed by IAU).

[10.12.2]

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī² says in his *Chronicles*:

The following account is attributed to the two physicians, Dāwūd ibn Daylam³ and ‘Abdūs:

Al-Mu‘taḍid’s illness was dropsy and corruption of the constitution, with a number of causes. When it had become grave and he feared for his life, he summoned us and all the other physicians and said to us, ‘You say, do you not, that if the disease is known, its remedy will be known, and when the patient is given that remedy he will become well?’ ‘Indeed,’ we replied. ‘Then,’ he said, ‘do you know my disease and its remedy, or do you not?’ ‘We know them,’ we said. ‘Then why is it,’ he said, ‘that you treat me but I do not become well.’ Suspecting that he meant to cause our downfall, we were at a loss, but ‘Abdūs said, ‘O Commander of the Faithful, we stand by what we have said in this matter, but the problem is that we do not know the amount of the parts of the disease so that we may counter them like for like with the remedy. Indeed, we proceed in this matter by guesswork, beginning with the most proximate and then the next most proximate. We will examine this matter and counter the illness with what is most effective, God the exalted willing.’ At this, he let us go, and when we were alone we decided to place him in an oven, so we heated it up and placed him in it, and when he sweated his condition was alleviated, due to the illness entering his innards. Then it spread to his heart and he died after a few days, and so we were saved from what we had feared.⁴

Al-Mu‘taḍid died on the eve of Tuesday with seven days remaining of the month of Rabī‘ 1 in the year 289 [7 March 902].

[10.12.3]

‘Abdūs is the author of *The Aide-mémoire on Medicine* (*K. al-Tadhkirah fī l-ṭibb*).⁵

2 Polymath (d. 310/923) known for his monumental books of universal history and Qur’anic commentary which are extant. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Ṭabarī’ (C.E. Bosworth).

3 See Ch. 10.15.

4 This particular passage was not found in the published *History* of al-Ṭabarī, but a very similar story is related therein of the death from dropsy of the Caliph al-Wāthiq (d. 232/847). See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii:1363.

5 This work was often quoted in al-Rāzī’s *Ḥāwī* and once in al-Bīrūnī’s *K. al-Ṣaydanah*, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 265.

10.13 Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr ibn ʿAbdūs¹

[10.13.1]

Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr ibn ʿAbdūs, whose agnomen was Abū Maṣṣūr, was at first a bloodletter in the hospital at Baghdad, after which he occupied himself with the practice of medicine and so distinguished himself that he became one of its great proponents and prominent personalities.

[10.13.2]

I quote here from the treatise of al-Mukhtār ibn Ḥasan ibn Buṭlān² in his own hand on the reason the most skilled physicians changed the regimen for most of those diseases, such as partial paralysis, facial paralysis, and lassitude, and the like, that had, of old, been treated with hot medicines to a cold regimen, and in doing so went against the prescriptions of the ancients. Ibn Buṭlān says:

The first person in Baghdad to become aware of this method and to alert others to it and treat patients accordingly and dispense with other methods was shaykh Abū Maṣṣūr Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr ibn ʿAbdūs the physician, may God show him mercy. He would treat patients by letting their blood, and giving them cooling and moisture-inducing remedies and would not allow patients to take food. This regimen was very successful and he became foremost of his time after having been a bloodletter in the hospital. He became the chief physician upon whom kings depended for their regimens. In the hospital, Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr ibn ʿAbdūs changed the regimen of the patients from the hot salves (*maʿājīn*) and pungent medicaments that were in use to barley water and the juice of seeds, and this method of treatment worked wonders.

[10.13.3]

An example of this is what was related to me [Ibn Buṭlān] at Mayyāfāriqīn³ by the Chief Abū Yaḥyā the son of the vizier Abū l-Qāsim al-Maghribī,⁴ who said:

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr ibn ʿAbdūs, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 337, where he is placed in the first half of the 10th-century.

2 See below Ch. 10.38.

3 A town in the northeast of Diyār Bakr. See *EI*² art. 'Mayyāfāriqīn' (V. Minorsky & C. Hillenbrand).

4 On Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, known as al-Wazīr al-Maghribī and al-Kāmil Dhū l-Wizāratayn (d. 418/1027) see *EI*² art. 'al-Maghribī. 4' (P. Smoor).

At al-Anbār, the vizier was struck by severe colic because of which he remained in the public baths and underwent a number of enemas and drank a number of potions but did not experience any improvement. Then we sent a messenger to Šā'id who, when he came and saw the vizier's condition whereby his tongue had shrunk from thirst and from drinking hot water and sugar, and his body was inflamed because of remaining in the baths and being treated with hot electuaries and sharp enemas, he called for a cup of iced water which he gave to the vizier who at first hesitated to drink it. Then he summoned up both his desire to drink it and his reluctance to go against the physician's orders and drank it and immediately felt better. Šā'id summoned a bloodletter and let a great amount of his blood and gave him the juice of some seeds, mandrake root,⁵ and oxymel, and transported him from the bath chamber to the courtyard. He said to him, 'The vizier – may God prolong his well-being – will sleep after the bloodletting and will sweat. Then he will wake and will make a number of evacuations having been favoured by God with good health.' Then he sent away the servants so that he might sleep and the vizier got into his bed having found that his condition was alleviated after the bloodletting. He slept for five hours then woke shrieking for the bed attendant. Šā'id said to the bed attendant, 'When he stops shrieking, tell him to try to go back to sleep so that he does not stop sweating.' When the bed attendant came out from being with him he said, 'I found that it was as if his clothes had been dyed with saffron water. He made an evacuation and then slept.' The vizier continued in this way making evacuations a number of times until the end of the day after which he was fed a light dish and given a drink of barley water. This continued for three days until he was completely cured. After this, the vizier always used to say, 'Blessed is he who lives in Baghdad in a shore-house and whose physician is Abū Maṣṣūrah and whose secretary is Abū 'Alī ibn Maṣṣūrah,⁶ and to whom God grants his wishes.'

5 Ar. *lu'āb*. See Lev & Amar, *Materia Medica*, 212.

6 The Banū Maṣṣūrah were originally a Christian family, some of whose members converted to Islam to enter the caliphal administration. The first member recorded in the sources seems to be Wahb al-Maṣṣūrah; his son, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan is presumably the one mentioned by IAU. See Van Renterghem, *Les élites bagdadiennes*, 231, and genealogical table 7–2 (vocalised Maṣṣūrah); and Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques*, 217 (vocalised Mūṣūrah).

[10.13.4]

I quote also from the hand of Ibn Buṭlān that Ṣāʿid the physician treated the venerable al-Murtaḍā,⁷ may God be best pleased with him, for a scorpion sting by dressing the area with camphor whereby the pain immediately subsided.

[10.13.5]

I quote Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī from the autograph copy of his book *The Perils of Patricians due to the Errors of Physicians*, who said:

The vizier ʿAlī ibn Bulbul, who was in Baghdad, had a nephew who was struck with a sanguineous apoplexy but his true condition was not discovered by any of the physicians of the city. Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr was present amongst them but remained silent until all the physicians had pronounced the patient's death and all hope had been lost and the vizier had begun to prepare for his funeral and the people had gathered to offer condolences and the women had gathered to beat their breasts and lament. When Ṣāʿid did not leave the vizier's chamber the vizier said to him, 'Is something the matter?' He said, 'Yes, Master, and if you permit and order it then I will speak of it.' The vizier said. 'Come, and tell me what is on your mind.' Ṣāʿid said, 'This is a sanguineous apoplexy and so there would be no harm in inserting a scalpel once to see what happens. If it succeeds then we will have achieved our aim and if not then no harm will have been done.' At this the vizier became overjoyed and went about sending away the women and assembling the necessary embrocations, warm compresses, vapours, and inhalants, employing what was necessary. Then Ṣāʿid bound the patient's upper arm and sat him in the lap of one of those in attendance and introduced the scalpel after explaining what was to be done for his condition. The blood flowed and the house erupted with joy and the blood continued to flow to the amount of three hundred drachms. Then the patient's eyes opened although he did not yet speak. His other arm was bound and he was given such inhalants as were necessary and his blood was let once more to the same amount as before or even more. The patient spoke and was given food and drink as necessary and he was cured and his body was restored to health. On the fourth day he rode out to the grand mosque after which he went to the Caliph's court. And he praised Ṣāʿid and showered him with a great amount of gold dinars and

⁷ That is, al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, Imami scholar (d. 436/1044). See *ET*² art. 'al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā' (C. Brockelmann).

silver dirhams which made Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr the physician the possessor of great wealth. The Caliph and the vizier esteemed him highly and promoted him and praised him and he became foremost of all the people of his time.

[10.13.6]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – say: In his book on hypochondria,⁸ Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr mentions the terrors he saw and the fearsome things he witnessed in his time as follows:

We have experienced the oppression of the times and are occupied with seeking the bare necessities and are surrounded by fear, danger, and alarm, and the disputes of Rulers, not to mention the trials of constantly moving from place to place and losing books or having them stolen as well as other fearsome things for the alleviation of which we have only hope in God, hallowed be His name.

Thus he relates of the disputes between the Islamic kings in his time while the people themselves were safe and secure from murder and captivity. Had he witnessed what we have witnessed and seen what we have seen in our time from the Tatars who have annihilated God's creatures and destroyed the land and who, whenever they come to a city, have no thought but to kill all the men therein and enslave the children and women and pillage and raze castles and cities, had he seen all this he would reckon what he has mentioned to be little and count what he has seen as being nothing in comparison. But there is no calamity that is not surpassed by a greater calamity and no event which does not lead to a graver event, and may God be praised for safety and well-being.

[10.13.7]

Ṣāʿid ibn Bishr composed for one of his contemporaries a work on hypochondria and its treatment (*M. fī Maraḍ al-marāqqīyyā wa-mudāwātihī*).

8 *Maraḍ al-marāqqīyyā*, apparently a form of hypochondria. Michael Dols renders *marāqqīyyā* as 'hypochondriac melancholia' (Dols, *Majnūn*, 66). The term does not apparently occur in the recent study of Rufus of Ephesus's treatise on melancholy (Pormann, *Rufus of Ephesus*), although a hypochondriac variety of melancholy is certainly discussed.

10.14 Daylam¹

[10.14.1]

Daylam was a physician of note in Baghdad and was one of the foremost practitioners of the art of medicine. He used to visit al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad, the vizier of al-Mu‘tamid, and was in his service.

[10.14.2.1]

I have found in a certain chronicle that al-Mu‘tamid ‘alā Allāh, that is, Aḥmad ibn al-Mutawakkil, wished to have his blood let and said to al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad, ‘Write down the names of all the physicians who are in our service, so that I may have you reward each of them according to his merit.’ When al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad wrote the names, he included the name of Daylam the physician, who was in his own service. Al-Mu‘tamid duly signed underneath the names, authorizing the rewards.

[10.14.2.2]

Daylam himself continues:

I was sitting in my house when the messenger from the treasury arrived with a moneybag containing one thousand gold dinars, which he handed over to me and left. I did not know the reason for this, so I rode out at once to al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad, who was at that time the vizier, and informed him of it. ‘The Commander of the Faithful underwent bloodletting,’ he explained, ‘and he ordered me to write down the names of all the physicians, so that he might reward them. I included your name with them, and one thousand gold dinars was your due.’

10.15 Dāwūd ibn Daylam¹

Dāwūd ibn Daylam was a distinguished physician of Baghdad who excelled as a therapist. He was in the service of al-Mu‘taḍid bi-Allāh and was favoured by him. The Caliph’s decrees used to be issued in the handwriting of Ibn Daylam, owing to the physician’s high position and the Caliph’s regard for him. He often

¹ This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book.

¹ This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book.

used to visit the palaces of al-Mu'taḍid, from whom he received many great benefits and favours.

Dāwūd ibn Daylam died on Saturday the fifth of Muḥarram in the year 329 [10 October 940] in Baghdad.

10.16 Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī

Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī was a physician of note in Baghdad who translated a great many books of medicine and other subjects into Arabic. He served the vizier 'Alī ibn 'Īsā as his personal physician.²

According to Thābit ibn Sinān, the physician:³ In the year 302/924–925 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā, the vizier, founded the hospital at al-Ḥarbiyyah⁴ at his own expense and placed Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī as physician in charge of it and of all the other hospitals in Baghdad, and in Mecca and Medina.

One of the sayings of Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī is: 'Patience is a faculty of the intellect, and the strength of one's patience will be commensurate with the strength of one's intellect.'

Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb al-Dimashqī is the author of the following works:

1. Questions compiled from Galen's book *On Character Traits* (*Mas'āl jama'ahā min kitāb Jālīnūs fī l-Akhlāq*).⁵
2. A treatise on the pulse, in branch-diagram format⁶ (*M. fī l-Nabḍ mushaj-jarah*), compiled from Galen's *Small Book of the Pulse* (*K. al-Nabḍ al-ṣaghīr li-Jālīnūs*).⁷

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. A short notice about him is given in Ch. 9.36. For references, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 298; (Sayyid), 2/1:304; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 409, and Sezgin, *GAS* III, 82, 85, 159, 166 (where some of Abū 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī's translations are mentioned).

2 Twice vizier under al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh. See *EI* *Three* art. "Alī b. 'Īsā b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāh" (Maaiké L.M. van Berkel).

3 See Ch. 10.3.

4 Al-Ḥarbiyyah is a great and well known quarter by the Ḥarb gate in Baghdad near to the tombs of Bishr al-Ḥāfi, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and others. Named after Ḥarb ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Balkhī, also known as al-Rāwandī, one of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr's generals. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Wüstenfeld), ii:234.

5 *De moribus*; Fichtner no. 412.

6 For a discussion, with illustrations, of Galenic summaries arranged in branch-diagram (*tash-jīr*) format, see Savage-Smith, 'Galen's Lost Ophthalmology', 122–134.

7 *De pulsibus ad Tirones*; Fichtner no. 61.

10.17 al-Raqqī¹

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Khalīl al-Raqqī was eminent in the practice of the art of medicine and conversant with all its principles and branches. He was a good teacher and a fine therapist, and is the first person I know of to have commented on the medical questions of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq.² He composed his commentary on that book in the year 330 [941–942].

According to ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl:³

It is said of al-Raqqī that he would work on his commentary only while drunk, and in this he was quite a rarity. Though I have seen the same thing in a person who used to engage in writing poetry: whenever he wished to compose a few lines, he would find some way of obtaining date-wine,⁴ which he would drink and then sit down to compose. This was because the brain tends to be cold, but when heated by the vapours of the date-wine it would be stimulated and acquire the propensity for action.

Al-Raqqī is the author of a commentary on the [*Medical*] *Questions* of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (*Sharḥ Masā’il Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*).⁵

10.18 Quwayrā¹

Quwayrā, whose given name was Ibrāhīm and whose agnomen was Abū Ishāq, was eminent in the philosophical sciences and was among those who taught

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn*, ii:36; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu’jam al-mu’allifīn*, ix:279. The *nisbah* al-Raqqī relates to the well-known city of al-Raqqah. See *ET*² art. ‘al-Raqqā’ (M. Meinecke).

2 For Ḥunayn and his work, see Chs. 8.29, and 9.2.

3 This work is likely *The Merits of Physicians* (*K. Manāqib al-aṭibbā’*), which IAU and Ibn al-Qifṭī quote often. See Ch. 8.6 no. 2.

4 Ar. *nabīdh*, a mildly alcoholic drink made from honey, barley, raisins, or dates fermented in water. See *ET*² art. ‘Nabīdh’ (P. Heine).

5 For this work of Ḥunayn and extant commentaries, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 249–251, where al-Raqqī is not mentioned.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 262; (Sayyid), 2/1:197–198 (which is virtually identical to IAU’s version); Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rikh al-ḥukamā’*, 77, and Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn*, i:5, where his death date is given as approximately 295/907–908. IAU’s manuscripts give the form *F-w-th-r-y*. Quwayrī/Quwayrā is mentioned in the cycle of Alexandria-to-Baghdad narratives (by al-Mas‘ūdī and al-Fārābī)

the science of logic. He was a commentator. Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnān² was his student.

Quwayrā's books are disregarded and avoided because his style was vague and obscure.

He is the author of the following works:

1. Commentary on the *Categories*, in branch-diagram format (*K. Tafṣīr Qāṭi-ghūriyās mushajjar*).
2. *On Interpretation*, in branch-diagram format (*K. Bārīmīniyās mushajjar*).
3. *Prior Analytics*, in branch-diagram format (*K. Anūlūṭiqā al-awwal mushajjar*).
4. *Posterior Analytics*, in branch-diagram format (*K. Anūlūṭiqā al-thānī mushajjar*).

10.19 Ibn Karnīb¹

Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn Abī al-Ḥusayn Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zayd² al-Kātib, who was known as Ibn Karnīb, was counted amongst the theologians and was a proponent of the doctrines of the natural philosophers. He was a man of the utmost merit, possessing deep knowledge and expertise in the ancient natural sciences.

Abū Aḥmad ibn Karnīb is the author of the following works:

1. Refutation of Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah's denial of the necessity of the existence of two stases between every two equal motions (*K. al-Radd 'alā Abī l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Qurrah fī nafyihī wujūb wujūd sukūnayn bayna kull ḥarakatayn mutasāwiyatayn*).³
2. Treatise on genera and species (*M. fī l-Ajnās wa-l-anwā'*), that is, on general matters (*al-umūr al-'ammīyyah*).⁴

as one of the pupils of the Ḥarranians who brought the Aristotelian tradition to Baghdad. See Gutas, 'Alexandria', 165.

2 See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 263; (Sayyid), 2/1:201.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 263; (Sayyid), 2/1:198; and Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 169.

2 All the editions of Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* and Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'* read 'Yazīd'.

3 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 262.

4 Or 'universals'.

3. On determining the passage of the hours of the day by the altitude [of the sun] (*K. kayfa yu'lam mā maḍā min al-nahār min sā'ah min qibal al-irtifā'*).

10.20 Abū Yahyā al-Marwazī¹

Abū Yahyā al-Marwazī was a physician of renown in the City of Peace [Baghdad] and was a philosopher of distinction. Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnān² studied under him. He was a man of great merit. However, he was a Syrian, and all his books on logic and other subjects are in Syriac.

10.21 Mattā ibn Yūnān¹

Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnān al-Qunnā² was from Dayr Qunnā² and was educated at the School of Mar Mārī.³

Mattā was a pupil of Quwayrā,⁴ Rūfil,⁵ Binyāmīn, Yahyā al-Marwazī,⁶ and Abū Aḥmad ibn Karnīb.⁷ He translated from Syriac to Arabic and was the

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 263; (Sayyid), 2/1:200; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 435, where the name appears as 'al-Marwalrūzī [clearly after Marw al-Rūdh (town in Khorasan), not to be confused with Marw/Merv] *wa-yuqālu lahu al-Marwazī'* The *nisbah* refers firstly to Merv, and secondly to al-Marāwizah, a quarter in Baghdad contiguous with al-Ḥarbiyyah where the people of Merv used to dwell. See Yaqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (Wüstenfeld), iv:480, who says that the quarter was a ruin at the time of his writing. Both Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Qiftī add right after this entry the biography of another physician named Abū Yahyā al-Marwazī.

2 See next biography, Ch. 10.21.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 99, 100, 229, 235–236; *EI*² art. 'Mattā b. Yūnus' (G. Endress); Endress, 'Die Bagdader Aristoteliker', 290–300; Sezgin, *The School of Baghdad (4th–5th/10–11th cent.) and its achievements*.

2 A famous Nestorian monastery on the banks of the Tigris south of Baghdad. See *EI*² art. 'Dayr Ḳunnā' (D. Sourdell); *EI*² art. 'Nasṭūriyyūn' (R. Holmberg).

3 The school of Mar Mārī was within the monastery of Dayr Qunnā, and is thought to have been named after Saint Mari, that is, Palūṭ Bishop of Edessa (c. 200 AD), church missionary to Mesopotamia and Persia. See *Bibliotheca Orientalis* iii, 2: cmxxx. For the life and works of Mar Mārī, see Saint-Laurent, *Missionary stories and the formation of the Syriac churches*, 56–71.

4 See Ch. 10.18.

5 This name appears as Rūfil, Rūbil or Rūbēl, all transcriptions of the Hebrew Reuben (רְעֻבֵן). On this scholar see Kraemer, *Philosophy in the Renaissance of Islam*, 99. He is mentioned in Ch. 15.1.

6 See Ch. 10.20.

7 See Ch. 10.19.

principal logician of his time. He was a Christian and translated many books of Aristotle⁸ and others into Arabic.⁹

Abū Bishr Mattā died in Baghdad on a Saturday the eleventh of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 328 [20 June 940].

Mattā is the author of the following works:¹⁰

1. Treatise on prolegomena (*M. fī l-muqaddimāt*), with which he prefaced the *Book of Analytics* (*K. Anūlūṭiqā*).
2. On hypothetical syllogisms (*K. al-Maqāyīs al-sharṭiyyah*).¹¹
3. Commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*Sharḥ K. Isāghūjī li-Farfūriyūs*).¹²

10.22 Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī¹

[10.22.1]

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī ibn Ḥamīd ibn Zakariyyā, the logician, was the leading scholar of his time in knowledge of the philosophical disciplines.

8 See Ch. 4.6.

9 For Mattā as translator, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Flügel), 244, 248–251 (for works of Aristotle), 263–264 (biography); (Sayyid), 2/1:161–172 and 201–202 respectively; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 240, VII, 229; and generally, Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*; Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*; Endress, 'Die Bagdader Aristoteliker'.

10 For bibliography including extant MSS and published works, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 240; *EI*² art. 'Mattā b. Yūnus' (G. Endress); Endress, 'Die Bagdader Aristoteliker'. To this the following publications may be added: An Arabic version and French translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Peri pronoiās*; see also Ch. 4.8 (no. 12), apparently translated by Mattā into Arabic as *M. fī l-'Ināyah*, see Thillet, *Traité de la providence*, and for an Italian translation of the same, see Fazzo & Zonta, *La provvidenza*; A study of Mattā's extant commentaries on the *Physica* with a useful introduction to his life is to be found in Janos, 'Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus's Cosmology'; For Mattā on the *Poetica*, see Edzard, 'A new look at the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic versions of Aristotle's Poetics'. For recent work on Mattā's famous discussion with al-Sīrāfī on the relative merits of logic and grammar as related by al-Tawḥīdī, see Ouyang, 'Literature and Thought', and Adamson & Key, 'Philosophy of language in the medieval Arabic tradition'.

11 Syllogisms in which the premises are conditionals (*sharṭiyyah*) were not considered to be true syllogisms by Aristotle but were developed by his pupil Theophrastus. See, for example, Barnes, *Terms and Sentences*; Speca, *Hypothetical Syllogistic and Stoic logic*.

12 For a modern English translation of the *Isagoge*, see Porphyry, *Introduction*.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* I, 620; III 303–304, 349; V, 309; VII, 226, 230; VIII, 113; IX, 230, 235; *EI*² art. 'Yaḥyā b. 'Adī' (G. Endress); Endress, 'Die Bagdader Aristoteliker', 301–324; Sezgin, *The School of Baghdad (4th–5th/10–nth cent.) and its achievements*.

He studied under Abū Bishr Mattā,² Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī,³ and others, and was peerless in his age. He was a Jacobite Christian.⁴ He had a good knowledge of translation and translated from Syriac to Arabic. Yaḥyā wrote a great deal, and I have found a number of books written in his hand.⁵

[10.22.2]

Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Nadīm of Baghdad says in his book *The Catalogue*:⁶

Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī said to me one day in the stationers’ market, after I had reproached him for the amount of his copying, ‘What is it that amazes you about me now? Is it my patience, since I have made two copies in my own hand of the Qur’anic Commentary of al-Ṭabarī⁷ and sent them to the rulers of the various regions, have copied countless numbers of the books of the scholastics, and have taken it upon myself to write one hundred folios or fewer in a single day and night?’

[10.22.3]

The emir Abū l-Wafā’ al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik⁸ says:

My master, Abū l-Ḥasan, who is known as al-Āmidī,⁹ related to me that he had heard from Abū ‘Alī ibn Ishāq ibn Zur‘ah¹⁰ that Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī, when he was dying¹¹ in the Church of St. Thomas at Qaṭī‘at al-Daqīq, had asked him to have the following two verses inscribed on his grave:¹²

2 See Ch. 10.21.

3 See Ch. 15.1.

4 That is, The Syrian Orthodox Church. See *ET*² art. ‘Ya‘kūbiyyūn’ (H.G.B. Teule).

5 This paragraph follows Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Flügel), 264; (Sayyid), 2/1:202.

6 This passage appears in Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Flügel), 264; (Sayyid), 2/1:202. The anecdote is also quoted in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 361.

7 That is, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* or *K. Jāmi’ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān*. The 1903 Cairo edition of this monumental work runs to 30 volumes. For Abū Ja’far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, see *ET*² art. ‘al-Ṭabarī’ (C.E. Bosworth).

8 Fl. 5th/10th century. See Ch. 14.23; *ET*² art. ‘al-Mubashshir b. Fātik’ (F. Rosenthal).

9 See Ch. 15.22; *ET*² art. ‘al-Āmidī’ (D. Sourdel).

10 See Ch. 10.23.

11 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 363, gives the date of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī’s death as 21 Dhū l-Qa’dah 364 [2 August 975].

12 Metre: *khafīf*. The lines are by ‘Īsā ibn al-wazīr ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā; see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf), xii:515; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xv:30–31. They are also quoted in Ch. 14.22 (entry on Ibn al-Haytham).

Many a dead man has come to life again through his knowledge,
and many who are spared are already dead in their ignorance and
impotence.¹³

Therefore, acquire knowledge so that you may live forever;
do not think a life spent in ignorance is worth anything.

[10.22.4]

Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī is the author of the following works:

1. A treatise refuting the arguments put forward in support of the doctrine that human acts are creations of God and acquisitions of man (*R. fī naqq ḥujaj kāna anfadhahā fī nuṣrat qawl al-qā’ilīn bi-ann al-af‘āl khalq li-Allāh wa-iktisāb li-l-‘ibād*).
2. A commentary on Aristotle’s *Topica* (*Tafsīr K. Ṭūbīqā li-Aristūṭālīs*).
3. A treatise on “the four investigations” (*M. fī l-buḥūth al-arba‘ah*).
4. A treatise on self conduct (*M. fī siyāsāt al-nafs*).
5. A treatise on the nature, essence, and subject of the art of logic which he named “Guidance to the Path of Salvation for those who Stray” (*Hidāyah li-man tāha ilā sabīl al-najāh*).
6. A treatise on the “five requisites” of the “eight headings” (*M. fī l-maṭālib al-khamsah li-l-ru’ūs al-thamāniyah*).¹⁴
7. A book on the benefits, dangers, and practice of sexual intercourse (*K. fī manāfi‘ al-bāh wa-maḍārrihi wa-jihat isti‘mālih*), written at the suggestion of the Sharīf Abū Ṭālib Nāṣir ibn Ismā‘īl the companion of his majesty who resides in Constantinople.¹⁵

10.23 Abū ‘Alī ibn Zur‘ah¹

[10.23.1]

Abū ‘Alī ‘Īsā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur‘ah ibn Marqus ibn Zur‘ah ibn Yūḥannā, a Christian of Iraq, was a prominent scholar in the domains of logic and the philosoph-

13 *Tārīkh Baghdād* has *ghayyā*, ‘error’, instead of ‘*‘iyyā*’.

14 For an edition, English translation, and study of this treatise which has only recently come to light, see Wisnovsky, ‘Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī’s Discussion’. Cf. al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, i:101–102, where he quotes ‘Democritus’; al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, i:3. (Cairo edition).

15 See, Sezgin, *GAS* III, 304.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 264; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 245; Sezgin, *GAS* III 147, 148, 351, 352; Endress, ‘Die Bagdader Aristoteliker’, 325–332.

ical sciences, and was also a good translator. Ibn Zur‘ah was born in the month of Dhū l-Ḥijjah in the year 371 [May-June 982]² in Baghdad where he grew up. He was a frequent companion and associate of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī.³

[10.23.2]

I quote here from a manuscript of the treatise of al-Mukhtār ibn Ḥasan ibn Buṭlān,⁴ written in his own hand, on the reason the skilled physicians changed the regimen for most of those diseases that had, of old, been treated with hot medicines to a cold regimen, such as hemiplegia,⁵ facial paralysis, lassitude and the like, and in doing so went against the prescriptions of the Ancients.

Ibn Buṭlān says:

The first person in Baghdad to conceive of this method and to alert others to it and treat patients accordingly, dispensing with other methods, was shaykh Abū Maṣṣūr Ṣā‘id ibn Bishr the physician,⁶ may God show him mercy. For I heard him say:

The first time it occurred to me to introduce this change was in the case of the hemiplegia that struck our master Abū ‘Alī ibn Zur‘ah, may God show him mercy. Abū ‘Alī was a man with an emaciated body and a sharp mind. He was loquacious and delightful company, and he constantly taught, translated, and wrote books. He loved cold, pungent, and fried foods, salt fish, and all types of cold foods prepared with mustard. Towards the end of his life he was intent on preparing a treatise on the eternity of the soul. He spent nearly a year thinking about it, remaining awake at night, intent as he was on working on it. He was also involved in trade with Byzantines, but had encountered difficulties in that connection, because he had a number of competitors, Syrian traders, who had taken him to court several times, with the result that his goods had been impounded, and he had had a number of distressing experiences. In sum, because of the combination of his inherent hot temperament, his unwholesome diet, the fatigue of

2 This birth-date is obviously wrong, as can be seen from the date of composition of the last work listed below. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 264; (Sayyid), 2/1:204; and Ibn al-Qifī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 245 give the birth-date 331/942–943.

3 See Ch. 10.22.

4 See Ch. 10.38.

5 That is, total or partial paralysis of one side of the body only.

6 See Ch. 10.13.

his mind from writing, and his troubles with competitors and dealings with the authorities, he was stricken with an acute illness and disorder of the mind which culminated in hemiplegia, just as other patients' illnesses may culminate in inflammations and the like. The public thought highly of him due to his learning, and the skilled physicians such as Ibn Baks,⁷ Ibn Kashkarāyā⁸ the pupil of Sinān,⁹ the sons of Kazūrā, and al-Ḥarrānī, came together and proposed a regimen based on that which is prescribed in the medical compendiums. I, who was unable to disagree openly with the other physicians because of their status, used to say, 'By God they are mistaken, for this is hemiplegia resulting from an acute illness in a person of a hot constitution.' Eventually the other physicians wearied of this regimen of theirs, and I changed it to moisture-inducing foods, whereupon his situation was a little alleviated and a cure was in sight. After a time he died in the year 448 [1056–1057]¹⁰ of a regimen excessive in dry and cold foods, resulting in a petrification in the rear of the brain arising from atrabili-ous humours.

[10.23.3]

Abū 'Alī ibn Zur'ah is the author of the following works:

1. Abridgement of Aristotle's book *On the Inhabited World* (*Ikhtisār Kitāb Aristūṭālīs fī l-ma'mūr min al-arḍ*)¹¹
2. On the aims of Aristotle's logical books (*K. Aghrāḍ kutub Aristūṭālīs al-manṭiqiyyah*).
3. On the concepts of Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*M. fī ma'ānī Kitāb Īsāghūjī*).
4. On the concepts of a portion of book three of [Aristotle's] *On the Heavens* [*De Caelo*] (*M. fī ma'ānī qiṭ'ah min al-maqālah al-thālithah min Kitāb al-Samā'*).
5. On the intellect (*M. fī l-'aql*).
6. On the cause of the illumination of the planets although they and the spheres which bear them are of a single substance and are non-com-

7 See Ch. 10.42.

8 See Ch. 10.31.

9 See Ch. 10.4.

10 IAU's date is mistaken. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 246, quotes Hilāl ibn al-Muḥassin ibn Ibrāhīm (the Sabian) as giving the date of death for Ibn Zur'ah as Friday with seven days remaining of Sha'bān in the year 398; this day is, however, a Sunday. If we read *tisa'*, 'nine' instead of *saba'* 'seven', which is a common scribal mistake, this would give Friday 20th of Sha'bān [6 May 1008].

11 Unclear.

pounded (*M. fī ʿillat istinārat al-kawākib maʿa annahā wa-l-kurāt al-ḥāmi-lah lahā min jawhar wāḥid basāʾit*).

7. Epistle to one of his friends, written in the year 387 [997–998].¹² I – Ibn Abī ʿUṣaybiʿah – say that in this epistle there are refutations against the Jews. I have found an epistle of Bishr ibn Bishī, who is known as Ibn ʿAnāyā the Israelite, in which he refutes ʿIsā ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Zurʿah in reply to this epistle of his.

10.24 Mūsā ibn Sayyār¹

Abū Māhir Mūsā ibn Yūsuf ibn Sayyār was a physician renowned for his mastery and excellent knowledge of the art of medicine.

Mūsā ibn Sayyār is the author of the following works:

1. On bloodletting (*M. fī l-Faṣḍ*).
2. Addenda to the 'Boot Compendium' of Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (*al-Ziyādah allatī zādahā ʿalā Kunnāsh al-Khuff li-Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn*).²

10.25 ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Majūsī¹

ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Majūsī² was from al-Ahwāz.³ He was an excellent physician who distinguished himself in the practice of medicine.

It was ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās who composed the famous book known as *The Royal Book* (*al-Kitāb al-Malakī*) for the ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawlah Fannā Khusraw ibn

12 This is most likely the treatise edited by S bath from a manuscript that presents it as: *wa-lahu maqālah ʿamilahā li-baʿḍ al-yahūd fī sanat sabaʿ wa-thamānīn wa-thalāthimīʾah, wa-huwa Bishr ibn Finḥās ibn Shuʿayb al-Ḥāsib*. See S bath, *Vingt traités*, 19–52.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 See Ch. 8.30.6 no. 2 for Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's treatise. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 317, mentions a commentary by Mūsā Ibn Sayyār on the *Kunnāsh* of Ibn Sarābiyūn but not of Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 232; Sezgin, *GAS* III 320–322, *EI*² art. "Alī b. al-ʿAbbās" (C. Elgood), *EI* *Three* art. "Alī b. al-ʿAbbās al-Majūsī" (F. Micheau).

2 Al-Majūsī' means 'the Zoroastrian', which here refers to his ancestors, because he himself was a Muslim, as his name proves.

3 Town in Susiana (Khūzistān) Province, Iran. See *EI*² art. 'al-Ahwāz' (L. Lockhart).

Rukn al-Dawlah Abī ‘Alī Ḥasan⁴ ibn Buwayh al-Daylamī.⁵ It is a magnificent book treating of all parts of the medical art, both the theoretical and the practical.

‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbās al-Majūsī studied the medical art with Abū Māhir Mūsā ibn Sayyār⁶ and became a disciple of his.

‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbās al-Majūsī is the author of *The Royal Book of Medicine* (*K. al-Malakī fī l-ṭibb*), in twenty discourses (*maqālāt*).⁷

10.26 ‘Īsā the Physician of al-Qāhir¹

Al-Qāhir bi-Allāh, whose name was Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn al-Mu‘taḍid, relied implicitly on ‘Īsā, his physician, and would confide in him.

‘Īsā, the physician of al-Qāhir, died in Baghdad in the year 358/968–969, having become blind two years before his death.

Thābit ibn Sinān² says in his chronicle:

‘Īsā told me that he [‘Īsā the physician] had been born in the middle of Jumādā I in the year 271 [November 884].

4 Also: *al-Ḥasan*.

5 Būyid Emir (d. 372/983). See *EI*² *art.* “Aḍud al-Dawla’ (H. Bowen); *EI Three*, “Aḍud al-Dawla’ (J.J. Donohue).

6 See Ch. 10.24.

7 This book is also known as *The Complete Book of the Medical Art* (*K. Kāmil al-ṣinā‘ah al-ṭibbiyyah*). See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 321–322; Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 193–206. For the *Royal Book*’s influence on the Latin west, see Burnett & Jacquart, *Constantine the African and ‘Alī ibn ‘Abbās al-Maǧūsī*. The scribe of ms R adds in margin a quote from Barhebraeus: ‘Abū l-Faraj says: “This is an excellent book, greatly appreciated by [al-Majūsī’s] contemporaries; it continued to be studied until the appearance of Ibn Sinā’s *Canon*, which gained the favor of people whilst the *Royal Book* was left aside.” He also says: “The *Royal Book* is more far-reaching in terms of practical knowledge, and the *Canon* more reliable for the theoretical aspects”. End [of the quote].’ (Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar* (Beirut edn.), 175). For its influence on the Latin west, see Burnett & Jacquart, *Constantine the African and ‘Alī ibn ‘Abbās al-Maǧūsī*.

1 This biography appears in Version 2 and 3 of the book. Ibn al-Qifṭī has a short entry in which the name of this physician appears as ‘Īsā ibn Yūsuf known as Ibn al-‘Atṭārah (‘the son of the female perfume maker’), see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 250.

2 See Ch. 10.5.

10.27 **Dāniyāl the Physician**¹

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl² reported:

Dāniyāl the Physician was of a delicate disposition, with malformed limbs. He was a man of mediocre learning, although he had some converseance with therapeutics. He was heedless and arrogant.

Dāniyāl was in the service of Mu‘izz al-Dawlah ibn Buwayh. One day he visited the emir. ‘Dāniyāl,’ said the emir, and Dāniyāl replied, ‘At your service, my lord.’ ‘Is it not your opinion,’ said the emir, ‘that quince causes constipation if taken before food, but has a purgative effect if taken after food?’ ‘Indeed,’ Dāniyāl replied. ‘Well,’ said the emir, ‘when I took it after food, it bound my viscera.’ ‘This is not natural in humans!’ said Dāniyāl, whereupon Mu‘izz al-Dawlah struck Dāniyāl’s chest with his hand and said to him, ‘Go, and don’t come back until you learn the etiquette of service to kings!’ Dāniyāl left, coughing up blood, and continued to do so until he died shortly afterwards.

Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl continues:

This is an example of a fatal error on the part of the learned. There have been other such cases. Some stomachs are weak and are unable to expel their contents, but quince strengthens them and assists in expelling their contents, so that nature performs its duty. I myself have seen someone who, whenever he wished to induce vomiting, drank sweetened wine or quince oxymel and was able to vomit as he wished.

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl goes on to say:

My father Jibrīl³ related that whenever the emir Abū Maṣṣūr Mumahhid al-Dawlah, may God show him mercy, drank a quince beverage it would purge him. The causes of these matters are well known, and this was naught but an error on Dāniyāl’s part that led to his demise.

¹ This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

² See Ch. 8.6. The work in question is *Merits of Physicians* (*K. manāqib al-aṭibbā’*).

³ See Ch. 8.5.

10.28 Ishāq ibn Shaliṭā¹

Ishāq ibn Shaliṭā was a physician of Baghdad who was very skilled in medicine. His skill brought him advancement, until he entered the service of al-Muṭṭī' li-Allāh, whom he served exclusively. He died during al-Muṭṭī's lifetime.

He was succeeded by Abū l-Ḥusayn 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Daḥlī.² Ishāq shared the medical care of al-Muṭṭī' with Thābit ibn Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī the Sabian.³

10.29 Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn 'Umar ibn al-Daḥlī¹

Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn 'Umar ibn al-Daḥlī was a physician to the Caliph al-Muṭṭī' li-Allāh, who held him in high regard and whom he served exclusively.

'Ubayd Allāh [ibn Jibrīl]² says,

Someone in whom I have confidence related to me that Ibn al-Daḥlī was not in the least bit shy of al-Muṭṭī', and when al-Muṭṭī' dismissed Abū Muḥammad al-Ṣillḥī, his secretary, Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn al-Daḥlī was the go-between in favour of Abū Sa'īd Wahb ibn Ibrāhīm, who in due course was appointed to the post of the Caliph's secretary, in which he remained for a time.

Later, Abū l-Ḥusayn intervened on behalf of the son-in-law of Abū Bishr al-Baqarī, and he was appointed secretary. Abū Sa'īd Wahb had remained in post until, when al-Ṭā'i' became Caliph, he was arrested and was imprisoned until Bakhtiyār and 'Aḍud al-Dawlah entered Baghdad and the Caliph had fled. When the gates of the prisons were broken down, he was released.

1 This biography appears in Version 3 of the book.

2 See Ch. 10.29.

3 See Ch. 10.5.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 See Ch. 8.6.

10.30 Fannūn the Physician¹

Fannūn was a prominent physician employed exclusively in the service of Bakhtiyār, who valued him greatly and honoured him.

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl² says:

One anecdote about Fannūn is the following: Once, when Bakhtiyār was suffering from ophthalmia, he said to Fannūn, ‘O Abū Naṣr! By God, you will not leave my side until my eyes are cured, and I want them to be cured in a single day.’ He wouldn’t take no for an answer.

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl continues,

I have heard from Abū Naṣr himself that he said to Bakhtiyār, ‘If you wish to be cured, order the chamberlains and servants to obey my orders instead of you this day. I will take your place, and whoever disobeys my orders I will kill.’ This Bakhtiyār did. Abū Naṣr ordered a vessel full of sugar syrup to be brought, and when it came he plunged Bakhtiyār’s two hands into the syrup and then set about treating his eyes with white eye powder and other medications suitable for ophthalmia. Bakhtiyār began to shout for the servants, but none of them would answer him, and Fannūn continued to treat his eyes until the end of the day, when he was cured. Fannūn was also the mediator between Bakhtiyār and the Caliph. Whenever robes of honour were to be bestowed, it was he who bestowed them. He himself had more of them than anyone else.

10.31 Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Kashkarāyā¹

Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Kashkarāyā was a knowledgeable physician who was renowned for his skill and proficiency in the art of medicine, having been known

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 See Ch. 8.6.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 309. Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Kashkarāyā is not to be equated with Ya‘qūb al-Kashkarī (or al-Kaskarī), who worked in Baghdadi 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’; and Pormann, ‘Al-Kaskarī’.

as a good practitioner. He was in the service of the emir Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān, but when ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah built the hospital which bears his name in Baghdad, he employed Ibn Kashkarāyā in it and furthered his career.

Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Kashkarāyā was loquacious and loved to embarrass other physicians by questioning them and taking them unawares. He had a brother who was a monk. He also invented an enema which was effective in expelling afterbirths and acute disease matter. Hence he was known as the ‘Master of the Enema’.

Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Kashkarāyā studied the art of medicine with Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah² and was one of his greatest students.

Abū l-Ḥusayn ibn Kashkarāyā is the author of the following works:

1. A medical compendium known as the Comprehensive Book (*al-Ḥāwī*).
2. Another medical compendium named after its patron.

10.32 Abū Ya‘qūb al-Ahwāzī¹

Abū Ya‘qūb al-Ahwāzī was renowned as a practitioner of medicine with impressive methods. He was one of the physicians placed by ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah in the hospital he founded in Baghdad that bears his name.

Abū Ya‘qūb al-Ahwāzī is the author of a treatise on the fact that oxymel made from seeds is hotter than theriac (*M. fī anna al-sikanjubīn al-buzūri aḥarr min al-tiryāq*).

10.33 Nazīf al-Qass al-Rūmī¹

Nazīf the Roman (Melkite) Priest was an expert in languages and used to translate from Greek to Arabic. He was highly regarded in the art of medicine, and ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah employed him in the hospital he founded in Baghdad. ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah used to regard Nazīf as a bad omen, but the public used to love him

2 On Sinān ibn Thābit see Ch. 10.4. Ibn al-Qiftī says that he was known as ‘the student of Sinān’ (*Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 403).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 436.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 337 (as Nazīf al-Nafs al-Rūmī) and Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 175.

whenever he visited any patient. It has been related that ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah once sent Naẓīf to one of his generals who had fallen ill. When Naẓīf had left, the general called for his trusted servant and sent him to ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah’s chamberlain to inquire about the emir’s attitude toward him. If the emir was no longer favourably disposed toward him, he said, the servant should ask permission for him to tender his resignation and leave, for the physician’s visit had made him anxious. The chamberlain asked the servant about the reason for this, and he said, ‘I only know that Naẓīf the physician came to him and said, “Master, the emir has sent me to visit you in your illness.”’ The chamberlain went and repeated this conversation to the emir, who laughed and ordered him to go and assure the general of his continued good will, and to explain that he had simply been concerned for him and had sent Naẓīf to visit him. Fine robes of honour were also sent out to the general. As a result, he was relieved and his anxiety left him, and for that reason he always loved Naẓīf.

10.34 Abū Sa‘īd al-Yamāmī¹

Abū Sa‘īd al-Yamāmī was renowned for his skill, knowledge, and proficiency in the art of medicine, excelling as he did in its principles and branches. He wrote a number of admirable works.

Abū Sa‘īd al-Yamāmī is the author of the following:

1. Commentary on the [*Medical*] *Questions* of Ḥunayn (*Sharḥ Masā’il Ḥunayn*).
2. Treatise on the examination and classification of physicians (*M. fī imtiḥān al-aṭibbā’ wa-kayfiyyat al-tamayyuz bayna ṭabaqātihim*).

10.35 Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Sa‘īd al-Yamāmī¹

Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Sa‘īd al-Yamāmī was knowledgeable about the art of medicine and a distinguished scholar in the philosophical sciences. He met with the master Ibn Sīnā² and they discussed many questions in the art of medicine and other domains.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 407, who states that al-Yamāmī died between 421/1030 and 430/1039.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 See Ch. 11.13.

Abū l-Faraj ibn Abī Saʿīd al-Yamāmī is the author of an epistle on a medical question he had discussed with *al-Shaykh al-Raʿīs Ibn Sīnā* (*R. fī masʿalah ṭib-biyyah dārat baynahu wa-l-Shaykh al-Raʿīs Ibn Sīnā*).³

10.36 Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā¹

Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā was a physician of renown who was knowledgeable in the art of medicine and an excellent practitioner.

I quote here from a manuscript of the treatise of Ibn Buṭlān,² written in his own hand, on the reason the master physicians changed the regimen for most of those diseases that had, of old, been treated with hot medicines to a cold regimen, such as hemiplegia, facial paralysis, lassitude and the like, and in doing so went against the prescriptions of the ancients. Ibn Buṭlān says:

The eminent shaykh Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd ibn Yaḥyā, the physician at Anṭākiyah, this paragon of our own times who was a banner of knowledge and foremost in religion and *humanitas* and who wrote magnificent works, related the following account to me:

A servant boy of the Emperor came to us from Constantinople. He was a Byzantine and a youth who had a poor and hot temperament, a hardening of the spleen, and a changed complexion due to a preponderance of yellow bile. His urine was red most of the time, and he had a thirst. One physician gave him a purgative, then let his blood, and then he gave him an emetic, but his condition worsened. A Byzantine physician made him enter the bath-house and smeared his entire body with a depilatory paste (*nūrah*),³ after which he smeared it with the honey of bees and bound his stomach with a hot bandage. The boy's temperament intensified, his thirst became severe, and he lost his appetite

3 Abū l-Faraj wrote an epistle criticizing Ibn Sīnā that received a refutation from the philosopher, see Ch. 11.13, no. 23 (*Maqālah fī l-quwā al-ṭabīʿiyyah ilā Abī Saʿīd al-Yamāmī*). The name there is given in IAU's MSS as Abū Saʿīd instead of Saʿīd. Although the name Abū Saʿīd seems to refer to his father (10.34), the addressee is clear from the title in al-Bayhaqī's *Tatimmat: R. Ilā Abī l-Faraj al-Yamāmī*. For Ibn Sīnā's refutation see Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 516 (GMed 10).

1 This biography appears in Version 2 and 3 of the book.

2 See Ch. 10.38.

3 *Nūrah* as used in the bathhouse as a depilatory, is a paste containing lime and quicklime, sometimes with arsenic and other substances. See Levey, *Medical Formulary*, 340–341 no. 309.

and was immediately stricken with hemiplegia in his right side. He was given barley water frequently, and his lassitude was cured on the fortieth day. Then his system⁴ stopped working: he was given enemas, and he passed a number of movements consisting of thick black blood. Nothing would avail him: his appetite ceased completely, and eventually he was overcome by persistent sleeplessness and died on the sixtieth day.

10.37 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib¹

[10.37.1]

Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib, the philosopher, paragon, and scholar, was secretary to the Catholicos and was a distinguished Christian of Baghdad. He taught the art of medicine in the ‘Aḍudī Hospital where he also treated patients.

[10.37.2]

I have found Abū l-Faraj’s commentary on Galen’s book written for Glaucon² which was read back to him and authorised in his own handwriting in the ‘Aḍudī Hospital on Thursday the eleventh of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 400 [28 April 1010]. Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib was a physician renowned in the art of medicine and was of great importance and station and with vast knowledge. He composed a great deal and was expert in philosophy and greatly occupied by it. He wrote commentaries on many of the philosophical books of Aristotle, and commented on many books of Hippocrates and Galen in the art of medicine. He had a great capacity for composition, and most of what is extant of his compositions were transmitted from him by way of dictation in his own words. He was a contemporary of the principal master Ibn Sinā who used to praise Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib’s discourses on medicine. However, he used to criticize his philosophical discourses.

4 That is, his bowels would not move.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 223 (not followed by IAU).

2 *Ad Glauconem de methodo medendi*. Fichtner no. 70.

In this regard, Ibn Sīna says in an epistle composed to refute him:³

I came across some medical books written by the shaykh Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib and I found them correct and satisfactory, contrary to his works on logic, natural philosophy and related topics.

[10.37.3]

The master Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq ibn al-Quff the Christian⁴ related to me that two men from Persia once came to Baghdad to meet with Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib and to study with him and occupy themselves with him. When they arrived they entered Baghdad and inquired about the house of Abū l-Faraj but were told that he was in the church for prayer. They went there, entered the church and were shown a certain venerable man who was Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib. At that moment Abū l-Faraj was to be seen wearing a woollen garment, bareheaded and carrying a thurible on chains in which incense was burning. He was traversing the four corners of the church with the thurible spreading incense. The two men regarded him, conversed together in Persian and continued to stare at him in amazement to see him in such a manner and doing what he was doing, he being a great philosopher whose great reputation in philosophy and medicine had reached the remotest lands. Abū l-Faraj understood what the two men were thinking and when the prayer had ended and the people left the church, Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib also left and donned his usual clothes and his mule was given to him and he rode off with his servants about him. The two Persian men followed him to his house and informed him that they had come from Persia to seek him out so that they might find occupation with him and join his students. Abū l-Faraj summoned them to his salon and they listened to his discourses and the lessons for those who were studying with him. Then he said to them, 'Have you never been on the pilgrimage?' They said, 'No.' So he postponed allowing them to study with him until the pilgrimage season came which was quite near. When the pilgrimage was announced he said to them, 'If you wish to study with me and for me to be your teacher then you must go to the pilgrimage. And when you return safely, God willing,

3 Ibn Sīnā and Ibn al-Ṭayyib disliked each other, see Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, 59–60, 62–63; and Riesman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*, 123 n. 32. Their mutual animosity is also reported by al-Bayhaqī (*Tatimmat*, 27–28), but omitted by Ibn al-Qiftī, who simply states that Avicenna praised Ibn al-Ṭayyib (*Tārīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 223). IAU's quote comes from Ibn Sīnā's refutation of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *On the Natural Faculties*, edited in Ülken, *Ibn Sina risâlerî*, i:66–71.

4 See Ch. 15.60.

you will have all the occupation you seek from me.' They accepted and went on the pilgrimage. When the pilgrims returned the two men came to him shortly afterwards. They were bald,⁵ and emaciated because of the heat of the sun and the travelling. Abū l-Faraj asked them about the rituals of the pilgrimage and what they had done there and they gave him an idea of it. Then he said to them, 'When you saw the pillars were you clothed only in the 'sash',⁶ and did you have stones in your hands and run and pelt them?' When they said that they had he said, 'This is as it should be. Religious matters are learned from tradition and not by means of the intellect.' What he meant by this is that he only told them to go on the pilgrimage so that they would realise that the state they saw him in which amazed them is rooted in religious matters which are learned from the authorities and accepted and abided by in all nations. After this they occupied themselves with him until they distinguished themselves and became two of the greatest of his students.

[10.37.4]

Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib⁷ in *The Comprehensive Book of Medicine* says that Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib studied with Ibn al-Khammār⁸ and his own students were Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Buṭlān,⁹ Ibn Badraj, al-Harawī, the sons of Ḥayyūn, Abū l-Faḍl Kutayfāt,¹⁰ Ibn Uthrudī, 'Abdān, Ibn Maṣūṣā, and Ibn al-'Ulayyiq. Physicians contemporary to Abū l-Faraj were Ṣā'id ibn 'Abdūs,¹¹ Ibn Tuffāh, Ḥasan the physician, the sons of Sinān,¹² al-Nātilī, with whom Ibn Sinā studied,¹³ the principal Abū 'Alī ibn Sinā,¹⁴ Abū Sa'id al-Faḍl ibn 'Īsā al-Yamāmī,¹⁵ who, I have been told, was a student of Ibn Sinā, 'Īsā ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl the scribe who I think is known as Baks, 'Alī ibn 'Īsā al-Kaḥḥāl,¹⁶ Abū l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,¹⁷ Rajā' the physician of Khorasan, and Zahrūn.

5 Presumably because shaving the head is one of the duties of the pilgrim.

6 Presumably 'sash' refers to the *iḥrām* pilgrims' garment.

7 See his entry Ch. 10.60.

8 See Ch. 11.8.

9 See Ch. 10.38.

10 See also Ch. 10.58.2.

11 See Ch. 10.13.

12 See Ch. 10. 3–5.

13 Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Khurshīd al-Ṭabarī al-Nātilī, editor and adaptor of the Arabic translation of Dioscorides' *Materia medica*, see Ch. 11.13.2.3. ff.

14 See Ch. 11.13.

15 See Ch. 10.34.

16 See Ch. 10.50.

17 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 340.

[10.37.5]

Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib wrote the following books:¹⁸

1. A commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* (*Tafsīr K. Qāṭiḡhūrīyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).
2. A commentary on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* (*Tafsīr K. Bārīmīniyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).
3. A commentary on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* (*Tafsīr K. Anālūṭiḡā al-ūlā li-Aristūṭālīs*).
4. A commentary on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* (*Tafsīr K. Anālūṭiḡā al-thāniyah li-Aristūṭālīs*).
5. A commentary on Aristotle's *Topics* (*Tafsīr K. Ṭūbiḡā li-Aristūṭālīs*).
6. A commentary on Aristotle's *Sophistic Refutations* (*Tafsīr K. Sūfiṣṭiḡā li-Aristūṭālīs*).
7. A commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (*Tafsīr K. al-Khiṭabah li-Aristūṭālīs*).
8. A commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* (*Tafsīr K. al-Shi'r li-Aristūṭālīs*).
9. A commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Animals* (*Tafsīr K. al-Ḥayawān li-Aristūṭālīs*).¹⁹
10. A commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics* (*Tafsīr K. Abīdhūmiyā li-Buqrāt*).²⁰
11. A commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* (*Tafsīr K. al-Fuṣūl li-Buqrāt*).
12. A commentary on Hippocrates' *Nature of Man* (*Tafsīr K. Ṭabī'at al-insān li-Buqrāt*).
13. A commentary on Hippocrates' *Humours* (*Tafsīr K. al-Akhlāṭ li-Buqrāt*).
14. A commentary on Galen's *Sects* (*Tafsīr K. al-Firaḡ li-Jālīnūs*).²¹
15. A commentary on Galen's *Small Art* (*Tafsīr K. al-Ṣinā'ah al-ṣaḡhīrah li-Jālīnūs*).
16. A commentary on Galen's *Small Book of the Pulse* (*Tafsīr K. al-Nabḡ al-ṣaḡhīr li-Jālīnūs*).
17. A commentary on Galen's *To Glaucon* (*Tafsīr K. Aḡlawqun li-Jālīnūs*).

18 For mention of medical works, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 30, 35, 38, 41, 80–85, 87, 90–91 *et passim*.

19 This includes the *Historia animalium* and related works. see *EI* *Three*, art. 'Aristotle and Aristotelianism' (C. d'Ancona).

20 Cf. Ch. 4.1.9.1 no. 8, Ch. 5.1.37 no. 95. For the following three titles, see Ch. 4.1.9.1 nos. 4, 2, 9.

21 For the Galen works, see Ch. 5.1.37 nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 8 (with note on *On Anatomy, To Beginners* = *Small Book of Anatomy*, and title no. 21 *Anatomical Procedures* = *Great Book of Anatomy*), 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 84 (with 85 for the title *Regimen for Healthy People*). For the Sixteen Books and the *Summaria Alexandrina* (title 30), see Chs 5.2.1, 6.1.1 (John the Grammarian and others), Ch. 6.3 (Ibn Riḡwān's account of the Sixteen in his *Useful Book*). As with the list of commentaries ascribed to John in Ch. 6, the order and wording of the Galen works in titles 14–29 here reflects Ibn Riḡwān's presentation.

18. A commentary on Galen's *Elements* (*Tafsīr K. al-Uṣṭuquṣṣāt li-Jālīnūs*).
19. A commentary on Galen's *Mixtures* (*Tafsīr K. al-Mizāj li-Jālīnūs*).
20. A commentary on Galen's *Natural Faculties* (*Tafsīr K. al-Quwā al-ṭabī'yyah li-Jālīnūs*).
21. A commentary on Galen's *Small Book of Anatomy* (*Tafsīr K. al-Tashrīḥ al-ṣaghīr li-Jālīnūs*).
22. A commentary on Galen's *Causes and Symptoms* (*Tafsīr K. al-'Ilal wa-l-a'rāḍ li-Jālīnūs*).
23. A commentary on Galen's *Classification of the Diseases of the Internal Parts* (*Tafsīr K. Ta'arruf 'ilal al-a'ḍā' li-Jālīnūs*).
24. A commentary on Galen's *Great Book of the Pulse* (*Tafsīr K. al-Nabḍ al-kabīr li-Jālīnūs*).
25. A commentary on Galen's *Fevers* (*Tafsīr K. al-Ḥummayāt li-Jālīnūs*).
26. A commentary on Galen's *Crises* (*Tafsīr K. al-Buḥrān li-Jālīnūs*).
27. A commentary on Galen's *Critical Days* (*Tafsīr K. Ayyām al-buḥrān li-Jālīnūs*).
28. A commentary on Galen's *Method of Healing* (*Tafsīr K. Ḥīlat al-bur' li-Jālīnūs*).
29. A commentary on Galen's *Regimen for Healthy People* (*Tafsīr K. Tadbīr al-aṣīḥḥā' li-Jālīnūs*).
30. Anthology of Galen's Sixteen Books (*Thimār al-sittah 'ashr kitāban li-Jālīnūs*); this is an abridgement of the *Summaries*.
31. An exposition of a selection from the *Medical Questions* of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (*Sharḥ thimār Masā'il Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*), which he dictated in the year 405 [1014–1015].
32. Book of medical and philosophical topics and selections (*K. al-Nukat wal-thimār al-ṭibbiyyah wal-falsafiyah*).
33. A commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*Tafsīr K. Īsāghūjī li-Furfūriyūs*).
34. On the natural faculties (*M. fī l-Quwā al-ṭabī'yyah*).
35. On the reason that drugs exist to expel all the humours except for blood (*M. fī l-'illah lima ju'ila li-kull khilṭ dawā' yastafrighuh wa-lam yuj'al li-l-dam dawā' yastafrighuh mithl sā'ir al-akhlāṭ*).
36. Notes about the eye (*Ta'ālīq fī l-'ayn*).
37. On dreams and distinguishing between true and false ones according to the doctrines of philosophy (*M. fī l-aḥlām wa-taḥṣīl al-ṣaḥīḥ minhā min al-saqīm 'alā madhhab al-falsafah*).
38. On diviners who inform about things lost and proving the authenticity of this by religious, medical, and philosophical means (*M. fī 'arrāf akhbara bi-mā dā'a wa-dhikr al-dalīl 'alā ṣiḥḥatih bil-shar' wa-l-ṭibb wa-l-falsafah*).
39. On wine (*M. fī l-sharāb*).

40. A treatise which he dictated in answer to a question posed to him about refuting the belief in indivisible particles [atomism] (*M. amlāhā fī jawāb mā su'ila 'anhu min ibṭāl al-i'tiqād fī l-ajzā' allatī lā tanqasim*). This question was posed to him by Zāfir ibn Jābir al-Sukkarī. I have found the following in the handwriting of Zāfir ibn Jābir al-Sukkarī in a copy of this treatise saying, 'This book is in the hand of our master the great teacher Abū Naṣr Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Barzaj the student of the master Abū l-Faraj, may God prolong his life and crush his enemies, who dictated it to him in Baghdad at the behest of Zāfir ibn Jābir ibn Manṣūr al-Sukkarī the physician, and this is the epitome of a book on the subject.'
41. An exposition of Galen's *Uses of the Parts* (*Sharḥ K. Manāfi' al-a'ḍā' li-Jālīnūs*).
42. A short treatise on love (*Maqālah mukhtaṣarah fī l-maḥabbah*).
43. An exposition of the Gospels (*Sharḥ al-Injīl*).

10.38 Ibn Buṭlān¹

[10.38.1]

Abū l-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdūn ibn Sa'dūn ibn Buṭlān, a Christian of Baghdad, had become associated with Abū l-Faraj 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib² and became one of his students. Under his tutelage he became proficient in many books of philosophy and other topics. He also kept the company of the physician Abū l-Ḥasan Thābit ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zahrūn al-Ḥarrānī³ and studied with him and benefitted from his knowledge of the art and practice of medicine.

[10.38.2]

Ibn Buṭlān was a contemporary of the Egyptian physician 'Alī ibn Riḍwān,⁴ and the two of them exchanged extraordinary letters and shocking and astonishing writings. Neither of them would compose a book nor form any opinion without the other responding to it and exposing the folly of his opinion. I – Ibn Abī

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 157–158, 192; *EI*² art. 'Ibn Buṭlān' (J. Schacht); *EI Three*, art. 'Ibn Buṭlān' (H. Elkhadem); *DSB*, art. 'Ibn Buṭlān' (R. Arnaldez); Conrad, 'Ibn Buṭlān in *Bilād al-Shām*'.

2 See Ch. 10.37.

3 See Ch. 10.8 above.

4 For biography, see Ch. 14.25.

Uṣaybi‘ah – have seen examples of their correspondence and their criticisms of one another.⁵

Ibn Buṭlān travelled from Baghdad to Egypt intending to see ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān and meet with him. He made this journey from Baghdad in the year 439 [1047–1048]. When he reached Aleppo, he settled there for a time and was treated kindly and greatly honoured by Mu‘izz al-Dawlah Thimāl ibn Ṣāliḥ.

[10.38.3]

Ibn Buṭlān entered Fustat (Old Cairo) at the beginning of Jumādā 11 in the year 441 [November 1049] and remained there for three years. This was during the reign of al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, one of the Egyptian Caliphs.

Many incidents took place between Ibn Buṭlān and Ibn Riḍwān during that time including some entertaining stories that are not without useful lessons. A great deal of it is contained in a book composed by Ibn Buṭlān after he left Egypt following his meeting with Ibn Riḍwān, who also wrote a book in reply.⁶ Ibn Buṭlān was more eloquent, charming, and more distinguished in belles-lettres and the like than Ibn Riḍwān. This is proven by what Ibn Buṭlān includes in the epistle of his which he named *The Banquet of the Physicians*. Ibn Riḍwān was the better physician and was more learned in the philosophical and related disciplines.

Ibn Riḍwān was swarthy in colour and was not handsome in appearance. He composed a treatise on this subject in reply to those who had faulted him for his ugliness. He claims to demonstrate in this treatise that the physician of merit does not need to have a beautiful face. Most of Ibn Buṭlān’s criticisms of ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān were of this type. Hence, in his epistle that he named *The Battle of the Physicians (Waḳ‘at al-aṭibbā’)*, Ibn Buṭlān says of Ibn Riḍwān:⁷

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

He also used to nickname Ibn Riḍwān the Crocodile of the Jinn.

5 See Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy* for texts and translations of the bitter correspondence between the two men.

6 As IAU states below (title no. 4) and Schacht and Meyerhof point out, Ibn Buṭlān wrote the first of his epistles refuting Ibn Riḍwān while being in Cairo (*Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, p. 110 n. 6). It is likely that the book referred to by IAU is Ibn Buṭlān’s *Waḳ‘at al-aṭibbā’*, a satire against Ibn Riḍwān from which he quotes below.

7 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḳl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:238.

[10.38.4]

Ibn Buṭlān journeyed from Egypt to Constantinople where he remained for a year. During this time many pestilential diseases occurred. I quote the following from what he wrote in his own hand about this matter:

One of the famous calamities of our time was that which occurred when the 'star leaving traces'⁸ rose in Gemini in the year 446/1054. By the autumn of this year fourteen thousand souls were buried in the Church of St. Luke after all the other burial grounds in Constantinople had been filled. By midsummer of the year 447/1055 the Nile had not risen and most of the inhabitants of Fustat and Damascus died along with all the foreigners, except those whom God spared. The devastation then went on to Iraq and destroyed most of its inhabitants, and it suffered ruin from the blows of aggressor armies. This continued until the year 454/1062. In most of the lands people suffered from melancholic ulcers (*qurūḥ sawdāwīyyah*) and swellings of the spleen (*awrām al-ṭiḥāl*), and there was a change in the pattern of paroxysms during fevers and the normal system of crises was disturbed. Consequently the ability to predict was affected.

After this, Ibn Buṭlān continues:

Because this 'star leaving traces' rose in the sign of Gemini, which is the ascendant of Egypt,⁹ the pestilence occurred in Fustat, with the Nile failing to rise during its appearance in the year 445 [1053–1054],¹⁰ and Ptolemy's¹¹ warning of woe to the people of Egypt when one of the com-

8 Ar. *al-kawkab al-āthārī* (the star leaving traces), apparently referring to the supernova that appeared in 1054 (SN1054). A similar terminology was used by Ibn Riḍwān when describing a supernova that appeared in 1006. See *ET*² art. 'al-Nudjūm, iii: other celestial objects' (P. Kunitzsch); Goldstein, 'Evidence for a supernova'; and Velusamy, 'Guest Stars: historical supernovae and remnants'.

9 The zodiacal sign rising at the local eastern horizon was called a 'rising sign' or 'ascendant'. The assignment of an ascendant to countries, cities, and even rivers can be found in an anonymous cosmography composed in Egypt between 1020 and 1050; see Rapoport & Savage-Smith, *Egyptian Guide*, 467, 473, 494. It is not, however, a common feature of medieval astrology.

10 Here a mistake was made in that the year should have been given as 446, as in the previous paragraph; the mistake is repeated in all copies.

11 The reference is to the 2nd-century AD Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy and his defence of astrology, known as the *Tetrabiblos* ('the four books'). See Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, though this particular statement has not been identified in the Greek treatise.

ets¹² ascends and becomes abundant in Gemini came true. When Saturn descended into the sign of Cancer, the ruin of Iraq, Mosul, and al-Jazīrah was complete, and Diyār Bakr, Diyār Rabī'ah, Diyār Muḍar, Fārs, Kirmān, the lands of the West, the Yemen, Fustat, and Syria became desolate. The kings of the earth were in disarray, and war, inflation of prices, and pestilence proliferated, and Ptolemy's words that when there is a conjunction of Saturn and Mars in Cancer the world will be in upheaval proved true.¹³

I quote the following also from Ibn Buṭlān's own hand regarding what he had to say regarding the great pestilences that affected learning through the loss of scholars during his time. He says:

What happened over the course of a dozen or so years was the loss of the venerable al-Murtaḍā,¹⁴ the shaykh Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī,¹⁵ the Jurist Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qudūrī,¹⁶ Chief Justice al-Māwardī,¹⁷ and Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī,¹⁸ may God's good pleasure be upon them. And among the proponents of the sciences of the Ancients there was Abū 'Alī ibn al-Haytham,¹⁹ Abū Sa'īd al-Yamāmī,²⁰ Abū 'Alī ibn al-Samḥ,²¹ Ṣā'id the

12 The phrase *al-kawākib dhawāt al-dhawā'ib* (stars possessing wisps of tails) was the common designation of both comets and meteors. That IAU earlier used the much less common term *al-kawkab al-āthārī* (the star leaving traces) suggests that he did not make a clear distinction between comets, meteors, and nova. The text here suggests a meteor shower in Gemini.

13 For a study of the famine, devastation, calamity and political upheaval that spread across Iran, Iraq, and Egypt following the year 1054, see Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean*, 59–160.

14 That is, al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), the famous Imāmī theologian; see *EI*² art. '*al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*' (C. Brockelmann).

15 Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), the Mu'tazilite theologian; see *EI*² art. 'Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī' (W. Madelung).

16 Abū l-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) al-Qudūrī (d. 428/1037), Ḥanafī jurist; see *EI*² art. 'al-Qudūrī, Abū l-Ḥusayn/al-Ḥasan Aḥmad' (M. Ben Cheneb).

17 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), Shāfi'ī jurist; see *EI*² art. 'al-Māwardī' (C. Brockelmann).

18 Qadī Abū l-Ṭayyib Ṭāhir ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058), Shāfi'ī jurist; see *EI*² art. 'al-Ṭabarī' (E. Chaumont).

19 Ibn al-Haytham (d. c. 430/1039); see his biography in Ch. 14.22.

20 See above biography 10.34.

21 Schacht and Meyerhof suggest that this is the Andalusī astronomer Abū l-Qāsim Aṣṣbagh ibn al-Samḥ, on whom see Ch. 13.6. He might also be identified with the Iraqī logician and Aristotelian commentator Abū 'Alī ibn al-Samḥ (d. 418/), whose biography can be read in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'*, 411.

physician,²² and Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib.²³ Among those at the forefront in literature and writing there were ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā al-Raba‘ī,²⁴ Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Nisābūrī,²⁵ Miḥyār the poet,²⁶ Abū l-‘Alā’ ibn Nazīk,²⁷ Abū ‘Alī ibn Mawṣilāyā,²⁸ the chief Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ṣābi‘ī,²⁹ and Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī.³⁰ And so the lanterns of learning were snuffed out and, after their passing, the minds of men remained in darkness.

[10.38.5]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that Ibn Buṭlān composed a great deal of poetry and amusing anecdotes, some of which he included in the treatise of his which he named *The Banquet of the Physicians*, and in other books of his.

Ibn Buṭlān died without ever marrying or fathering a child. Hence he says in some of his verses:³¹

If I die no one will lament my death, weeping,
except my medicine class and books.

[10.38.6]

Ibn Buṭlān wrote the following treatises:

1. A compendium for monasteries and monks (*Kunnāsh al-adyirah wa-l-ruhbān*).³²

22 That is, Ṣā‘id ibn Bishr ibn ‘Abdūs, see above biography 10.13.

23 See above biography 10.37.

24 ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Raba‘ī (d. 420/1029), the Baghdadi grammarian. See *EI*² art. ‘al-Raba‘ī’ (G. Troupeau); also al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, xiii:463, Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xiv:78, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:374.

25 Schacht & Meyerhof (*Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 63 n. 23) suggest that this might be identified with the scholar and littérateur Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī (d. 406/1015–1016), on whom see *EI*² art. ‘al-Nisābūrī’ (F. Malti-Douglas).

26 Miḥyār b. Marzawayh al-Daylāmī (d. 428/1037), the famous Shī‘ī poet; see *EI*² art. ‘Miḥyār’ (Ch. Pellat).

27 Schacht & Meyerhof (*Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 63 n. 25) suggest that this might be a misspelling for ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Bābak (d. 416/1019), a Baghdadi poet.

28 The Christian secretary of the vizier Abū al-Qāsim al-Maghribī, see above 10.13.3.

29 Abū l-Ḥasan Hilāl al-Ṣābi‘ī (d. 448/1056), the famous secretary and man of letters with whom Ibn Buṭlān corresponded; see *EI*² art. ‘Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi‘ī’ (D. Sourdel).

30 Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī (d. 449/1058), the famous Arabic author; see *EI*² art. ‘al-Ma‘arrī’ (P. Smoor).

31 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

32 See Jadon, ‘Ibn Buṭlān’s Medical Manual for the Use of Monks’.

2. On the purchase of servants and inspecting slaves and maidservants (*Ris-ālah fi shirā' al-'abīd wa-taqīb al-mamālīk wa-l-jawārī*).³³
3. A tabular guide to health (*Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥah*)³⁴
4. On drinking purgatives (*Maqālah fī shurb al-adwiyah al-mus'hilah*).
5. An essay on how nutriment enters the body, is digested, and the waste expelled, and the giving of purgatives and their composition (*Maqālah fī kayfiyyat dukhūl al-ghidhā' fī l-badan wa-haḍmih wa-khurūj faḍalātih wa-saqy al-adwiyah al-mus'hilah wa-tarkībihā*).
6. An essay addressed to 'Alī ibn Riḍwān (*Maqālah ilā 'Alī ibn Riḍwān*) when he [Ibn Buṭlān] arrived in Fustat in the year 441 [1049–1050], answering what he had written to him.³⁵
7. An essay on the reason the skilled physicians changed the regimen for most of the diseases which were, of old, treated with hot medicines to a cold regimen such as hemiplegia, facial paralysis, lassitude, and the like, and by doing so went against the prescriptions of the Ancients in their compendia and medical formularies (*M. Fī 'illat naql al-aṭibbā' al-maharah tadbīr akthar al-amrād allatī kānat tu'ālaj qadīman bi-l-adwiyah al-ḥārrah ilā al-tadbīr al-mubarrad ka-l-fālij wa-l-laḡwah wa-l-istirkhā' wa-ghayrihā wa-mukhālafatihim fī dhālika li-mastūr al-qudamā' fī l-kanānīsh wa-l-aqrābādhnāt*). And how they gradually brought this into practice in Iraq and its environs beginning in the year 377 [987–998] until 455 [1063–1064]. Ibn Buṭlān composed this essay in Anṭākiyah in the year 455 [1063–1064], at which time he had begun to build the hospital at Anṭākiyah.³⁶
8. An essay using logical methods on objections to those who held that the hatchling is hotter than the pullet. This he composed in Cairo in the year 441 [1049–1050].³⁷
9. An introduction to medicine (*K. al-Mudkhal fī l-ṭibb*).

33 See Swain, *Economy, Family and Society*, 270–279 with bibliography.

34 See Elkhadem, *Tacuinī sanitatis*.

35 This is the third treatise edited in Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 47–71 (Ar. Section).

36 IAU quotes from this treatise several times in this chapter.

37 This is the refutation of a treatise by al-Yabrūdī (Ch. 15.3, no. 1) which stirred a quarrel with Ibn Riḍwān, who was friends with al-Yabrūdī. For an edition of this treatise see Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 34–39 (Ar. section); for a study of the polemic see Conrad, *Scholarship and Social Context*.

10. The banquet of the physicians (*K. Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʿ*),³⁸ which he composed for the emir Naṣr al-Dawlah Abū Naṣr Aḥmād ibn Marwān.³⁹ I quote from Ibn Buṭlān's own hand where he says at the end of it, 'I, the compiler, being Yawānīs the physician known as al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbdūn, at the monastery of the Munificent King Constantine on the outskirts of Constantinople, completed copying this at the end of September of the year 1365.⁴⁰ These are his words, and according to the Islamic calendar this was in the year 450/1058.
11. The battle of the physicians (*K. Waqʿat al-aṭibbāʿ*).⁴¹
12. The banquet of the priests (*K. Daʿwat al-qusūs*).⁴²
13. An essay on treating a child suffering from [bladder or kidney] stones (*M. fī mudāwāt ṣabiyy ʿaraḍat laḥū ḥaṣwah*).

10.39 al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī¹

Al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī was very well versed in the sciences, eminent in the art of medicine, and good at treating patients. He served as physician to the emir Naṣr al-Dawlah ibn Marwān.

Al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī is the author of a treatise on the names of diseases and their etymologies (*M. fī asmāʾ al-amrād wa-ishtiqāqātihā*), which he wrote for one of his contemporaries, namely Yūḥannā ibn ʿAbd al-Masiḥ.²

38 Ibn Buṭlān, *Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʿ* (trns. Klein-Franke); Ibn Buṭlān, *Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʿ* (ed. Klein-Franke); Ibn Buṭlān, *Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʿ* (trns. Dagher & Troupeau); Ibn Buṭlān, *Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʿ* (trns. Sedky).

39 Naṣr al-Dawlah Aḥmad ibn Marwān, the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn and Diyār Bakr (r. 401–453/1010–1060).

40 As Schacht & Meyerhof (*Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 66 n. 38), this is the Seleucid Era (*Anno Graecorum*), which starts in 312/11 BC.

41 The text is currently being edited and studied by I. Sánchez.

42 Edited in Khalifah, *Daʿwat al-qusūs*; for a French translation see Ibn Buṭlān, *Le banquet des prêtres*.

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book. Mentioned briefly in Sezgin, *GAS* 111, 337, where 'al-Tikrītī'. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), i:861) confirms Takrīt (*bi-faṭḥ al-tāʾ*) as the correct form of this well-known town between Baghdad and Mosul, while he says it is popularly pronounced Tikrīt (as indeed it still is today).

2 See Sezgin, *GAS* 111, 337. Yūḥannā ibn ʿAbd al-Masiḥ is the author of a medical work entitled *al-Zubad al-ṭibbiyyah*, which has survived (Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 232 no. 117).

10.40 **Abū Naṣr Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī¹**

Abū Naṣr Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī was equal to his brother² in knowledge, eminence, and distinction in the art of medicine. He was still alive in the year 472 [1079–1080].

Yaḥyā ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī is the author of the following works:

1. Selections on astrology (*K. al-Ikhtiyārāt fī ‘ilm al-nujūm*).
2. On coitus and the benefits and harm of sexual intercourse (*K. fī l-Bāh wa-manāfi‘ al-jimā‘ wa-maḍārrihi*).
3. Epistle (written for Kāfi l-Kufāh Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jahīr)³ on the benefits and practice of exercise (*R. fī manāfi‘ al-riyāḍah wa-jihat isti‘mālihi*).⁴

10.41 **Ibn Dīnār⁵**

Ibn Dīnār lived in Mayyāfāriqīn⁶ during the time of the emir Naṣr al-Dawlah ibn Marwān.⁷ He was eminent in the art of medicine, good at treating patients, and an expert in compounding remedies.

I have found a medical formulary of his which is beautifully composed and eloquent, finely chosen, and well tested.

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book.

2 That is al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī. See previous entry Ch. 10.39.

3 See Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥyāt*, v:134.

4 A marginal note in MS R states: ‘Gloss: Abū Naṣr is also the author of *The Opener* [of the Ways] of Wisdom (*K. al-Fātiq fī l-ḥikmah*), a treatise demonstrating that man is a *microcosmos* (*K. fī l-bayān* [sic] *kawn al-insān ‘ālamān ṣaghīran*), (Cf. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, *Risālah* no. 26: *fī qawl al-ḥukamā’ inna l-insān ‘ālamān ṣaghīr*); the *Treasure of the proficient physician* (*K. Dhakhīrat al-ṭabīb al-māhir*), a treatise on why the hot medicines used by Hippocrates and Galen in their time have been abandoned today (*Maqālah fī l-sabab alladhī li-‘ajlihi turika fī hādha l-zamān isti‘māl al-adwiyah al-ḥārrah allatī kāna yasta‘miluhā Buqrāṭ wa-Jālīnūs fī zamānihim*).’ The topic of this last treatise was also treated by Ibn Butlān in a treatise from which IAU quotes several times in this chapter and elsewhere, see 10.38 no. 7.

5 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book.

6 An important town in the northeast of Diyār Bakr. See *ET²* art. ‘Mayyāfāriqīn’ (V. Minorsky & C. Hillenbrand).

7 Naṣr al-Dawlah Aḥmad ibn Marwān, (r. 401–453/1011–1061), Marwānid ruler of Diyār Bakr and Mayyāfāriqīn. See *ET²* art. ‘Naṣr al-Dawla’ (H. Bowen); Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 89–90.

It was Ibn Dīnār who formulated the potion known as the ‘Dīnārī potion’, which is named after him. It is widely used and well-known amongst physicians and others. The potion is mentioned in this book of his in which he says that he formulated it.⁸

Ibn Dīnār is the author of a medical formulary (*al-Aqrābādihīn*).

10.42 Ibrāhīm ibn Baks (Bakūs)¹

Ibrāhīm ibn Baks was expert in the science of medicine and translated many books into Arabic.² He became blind, despite which he used to practise the art of medicine according to his capacity. He used to teach medicine in the ‘Aḍudī hospital after ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah³ had built it, and from this he earned enough for his needs.

Ibrāhīm ibn Baks is the author of the following works:

1. A medical compendium (*Kunnāsh*).
2. A medical formulary, as an appendix to the compendium (*K. al-Aqrābādihīn al-mulḥaq bi-l-Kunnāsh*).
3. On the fact that pure water⁴ is colder than barley water⁵ (*M. bi-anna al-mā’ al-qarāḥ abras min ma’ al-sha’ir*).
4. On smallpox (*M. fī l-judārī*).

8 For the composition of the *Sharāb al-Dīnārī*, see Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirah*, i:203, where the author attributes its invention to Bukhtīshū’ (for whom see above Ch. 8.2) and says it was called *dīnārī* because the amount of one *dīnār* would be administered for each dose.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. MS A: a note above the name states that according to the author’s copy (*bi-khaṭṭihī*) the correct form is Bakūs. Ibn al-Qifṭī (*Ta’rikh al-ḥukamā’*, 3715, 1078) gives the form Bakūsh and Bakūs respectively when mentioning some of his translations and also gives the *nisbah* al-‘Ushārī. Ibn Baks/Bakūs is mentioned as a translator in Ibn al-Nadīm, where the *kunya*h Abū Ishāq is also given. See *Fihrist* (Flügel), 249, 251, 252; (Sayyid), 2/1:164, 167, 172.

2 For Ibrāhīm ibn Baks as translator, see Ch. 9.37.

3 That is Abū Shujā’ Fannā Khusrāw (d. 372/983) Būyid emir. See *ET² art.* ‘Aḍud al-Dawla’ (H. Bowen).

4 MSS P and S include a gloss here quoting the lexicon of al-Jawhārī, who said that *al-mā’ al-qarāḥ* is ‘water that is untainted by anything’. See al-Jawhārī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 396, art. *q-r-h*.

5 An English translation of a recipe for barley water from a 10th-century Baghdadi cookbook is given in Nasrallah, *Annals*, 454–455, where it is used as a basis for other cooling drinks.

10.43 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks¹

'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Baks was a physician of merit and renown who was learned in the art of medicine. He was also a skilled translator who translated many books into Arabic.²

10.44 Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī¹

[10.44.1]

Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān (Ibn Juljul) said:²

Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī was a Christian by faith and was a skilled physician, a man of great merit, a philosopher, and an astrologer, learned in geometry and arithmetic. He lived during the reign of al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh.³

[10.44.2]

Ibn al-Nadīm al-Kātib of Baghdad said:⁴

Qusṭā excelled in many branches of learning including medicine, philosophy, geometry, arithmetic, and music and was beyond reproach. He was eloquent in the Greek language and expressed himself well in Arabic. Qusṭā died in Armenia while in the service of a king there, and it was from there that he replied to the letter of Abū 'Īsā ibn al-Munajjim⁵ about the prophethood of Muḥammad, God bless him and keep him. In Armenia he also wrote his book *Paradise: On Chronology* (*K. al-Firdaws fī l-ta'rikh*).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 235–236, where he is named Ibn Baksh, and the *kunya*h Abū l-Ḥasan is given.

2 See also Ch. 9.38 for entry on 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm as translator.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. For Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 270, and *GAS* V, 285–286; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 126–128; *ET*² art. 'Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā' (D.R. Hill).

2 Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 76.

3 Abū l-Faḍl Ja'far ibn al-Mu'taḍid. Abbasid Caliph (r. 295–320/908–932). See *ET*² art. 'al-Muḳtadir' (K.V. Zeterstéén).

4 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), 2/1:293.

5 This correspondence has been published in Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *Une correspondance islamo-chrétienne*. See also Swanson, 'A curious correspondence'; and Rashed, *New evidence*.

[10.44.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that Qusṭā translated many books of the Greeks into Arabic and that he was a good translator, eloquent in the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic tongues, and also revised many translations. He was of Greek origin and composed many epistles and books on the art of medicine and other subjects, expressed himself beautifully and was very talented.

[10.44.4]

‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl⁶ said:

Qusṭā was induced by Sanḥārīb⁷ to come to Armenia, where he settled. In Armenia there was Abū l-Ghiṭrīf al-Biṭrīq who was a man of learning and merit for whom Qusṭā composed many important and beneficial books of great significance, concise in expression, and on a variety of topics. There he died and was buried, and a dome was built over his tomb which was honoured as the tombs of kings and religious leaders are honoured.⁸

[10.44.5]

Qusṭā ibn Lūqā wrote the following books:⁹

1. On the pains of gout (*K. fī Awjā‘ al-niqris*).
2. On odours and their causes (*K. fī l-Rawā‘ih wa-‘ilalihā*).
3. An essay in question and answer format addressed to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad¹⁰ on the conditions and occasions of sexual intercourse (*R. fī Aḥwāl al-bāh wa-asbābihi ‘alā ṭarīq al-mas’alah wa-l-jawāb*).¹¹

6 One of the Bukhtīshū‘ clan and contemporary of Ibn Buṭlān with whom he was an intimate. See Ch. 8.6. The work quoted by IAU is the lost *The Merits of Physicians* (*K. manāqib al-aṭibbā’*); see Ch. 8.6 title no. 2.

7 The identity of this Armenian ruler named Sanḥārīb is uncertain; for various options, see Wilcox, ‘Qusṭā ibn Lūqā’, 101–103.

8 This paragraph did not occur in Version 1 or Version 2, where instead the following sentence was found: I [IAU] say, ‘He travelled to Armenia and there he died and a dome was built over his tomb which was honoured as the tombs of kings and religious leaders are honoured.’

9 For further information on his treatises, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 270–274 and v, 285–286; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 126–128.

10 Served under al-Mutawakkil as head of the department assessing taxes for injury or death, and served as vizier to al-Mu‘tamid in 885–886. See Wilcox, ‘Qusṭā ibn Lūqā’, 100.

11 See Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *Das Buch über die Geschlechtlichkeit*.

4. On contagion (*K. fī l-ʿIdāʿ*),¹² which he composed for al-Biṭrīq, the Commander of the Faithful's Champion.
5. A comprehensive book forming an introduction to the science of medicine (*K. jāmiʿ fī l-dukhūl ilā ʿilm al-ṭibb*), written for Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad, who was known as Ibn al-Mudabbir.¹³
6. On date wine and its consumption at banquets (*K. fī l-Nabīdh wa-shurbihi fī l-walāʿim*).¹⁴
7. On the elements (*K. fī l-Uṣṭuqussāt*).
8. On insomnia (*K. fī l-Sahar*),¹⁵ which he wrote for Abū l-Ghiṭrīf al-Biṭrīq, client of the Commander of the Faithful.
9. On thirst (*K. fī l-ʿAṭash*), which he wrote for Abū l-Ghiṭrīf, client of the Commander of the Faithful.
10. On strength and weakness (*K. fī l-Quwwah wa-l-ḍaʿf*).
11. On nourishment (*K. fī l-Aghdhiyah*), arranged according to universal rules (*ʿalā ṭarīq al-qawānīn al-kullīyyah*), which he composed for the Biṭrīq al-Baṭāriqah Abū Ghānim al-ʿAbbās ibn Sunbāt.
12. On the pulse, knowledge of fevers, and types of critical days (*K. fī l-Nabḍ wa-maʿrifat al-ḥummayāt wa-ḍurūb al-buḥrānāt*).
13. On the cause of sudden death (*K. fī ʿIllat al-mawt fajʿatan*), which he composed for Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, secretary to the Biṭrīq al-Baṭāriqah.
14. On numbness, its types, causes, and treatment (*K. fī Maʿrifat al-khadar wa-anwāʿihi wa-ʿilalihī wa-asbābihī wa-ʿilājih*),¹⁶ which he composed for the Chief Judge Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad.
15. On critical days in acute diseases (*K. fī Ayyām al-buḥrān fī l-amrād al-ḥāddah*).¹⁷
16. On the four humours and what is common to them all (*K. fī l-Akhlāṭ al-arbaʿah wa-mā tashtariku fih*), a compendium.

12 For an edition and German translation, see Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, 'Abhandlung über die Ansteckung'.

13 One of two brothers who were courtiers, men of letters, and poets in Samarra as well as in Egypt and Syria in the ninth century; Abū Ishāq died in 279/892; see *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Mudabbir' (H.L. Gottschalk).

14 This might refer to his translation of Rufus' *On the Use of Wine* (*M. Fī stiʿmāl al-shirāb*) (Ch. 10.2 no. 11), also known as *K. Fī l-Nabīdh*.

15 For edition, trans., comm., see Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, 'On Sleeplessness'.

16 For edition, trans. comm., see Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *On Numbness*.

17 For a translation of a treatise on this topic in question-and-answer format by Qusṭā, see Cooper, 'Rational and Empirical Medicine'.

17. On the liver, its constitution and what diseases may occur in it (*K. fī l-Kabid wa-khilqatihā wa-mā ya'riḍu fihā min al-amrād*).
18. On fans and the causes of wind (*R. fī l-Mirwahah wa-asbāb al-rīh*).
19. On the sequence of reading medical books (*K. fī Marātib qirā'at al-kutub al-ṭibbiyyah*), which he wrote for Abū l-Ghiṭrīf al-Biṭrīq.
20. On medical regimen for travelling on the Hajj pilgrimage (*K. fī Tadbīr al-abdān fī safar al-Ḥajj*),¹⁸ which he composed for Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad.
21. On repelling the harm of poisons (*K. fī Daf' ḍarar al-sumūm*).
22. Introduction to geometry in question and answer format (*K. fī l-Mudkhal ilā 'ilm al-handasah 'alā ṭarīq al-mas'alah wa-l-jawāb*),¹⁹ which he composed for Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā,²⁰ the client of the Commander of the Faithful.
23. The proper conduct of philosophers (*K. Ādāb al-falāsifah*).
24. On the difference between rational and non-rational animals (*K. fī l-Farq bayn al-ḥayawān al-nāṭiq wa-ghayr al-nāṭiq*).
25. On the generation of hair (*K. fī Tawallud al-sha'r*).
26. On the difference between the soul and the spirit (*K. fī l-Farq bayn al-naḥs wa-l-rūḥ*).²¹
27. On the rational animal (*K. fī l-Ḥayawān al-nāṭiq*).
28. On the atom (*K. fī l-Juz' alladhī lā yatajazza'*).
29. On the movement of the arteries (*K. fī Ḥarakat al-shiryān*).
30. On sleep and dreaming (*K. fī l-Nawm wa-l-ru'yā*).
31. On the principal organ of the body (*K. fī l-'Uḍw al-ra'īs min al-badan*).
32. On phlegm (*K. fī l-Balgham*).
33. On blood (*K. fī l-Dam*).
34. On yellow bile (*K. fī l-Mirrah al-ṣafrā'*).
35. On black bile (*K. fī l-Mirrah al-sawdā'*).
36. On the figure of the sphere and the cylinder (*K. fī Shakl al-kurah wa-l-ustuwānah*).
37. On astronomy and the arrangement of the spheres (*K. fī l-Hay'ah wa-tarkīb al-aflāk*).

18 For an edition and translation, see Quṣṭā ibn Lūqā, *Medical Regime*.

19 For a translation and commentary, see Quṣṭā ibn Lūqā, *Introduction to Geometry*.

20 i.e., Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Munajjim (d. 888/275), whose biography is given at Ch. 9.41. See also *ET*² art. 'Munadjjim' (M. Fleischhammer); Wilcox, 'Quṣṭā ibn Lūqā', 99.

21 For an English translation, see Livingston, 'Quṣṭā ibn Lūqā's psycho-physiological treatise'.

38. On calculation of linear equations by reduction and balancing [i.e. algebra] (*K. fī Ḥisāb al-talāqī ‘alā jihat al-jabr wa-l-muqābalah*).
39. On the translation of Diophantus' treatise *On Reduction and Balancing* (*K. fī Tarjamat Diyūfantus fī l-jabr wa-l-muqābalah*).²²
40. On the use of the celestial globe (*K. fī l-‘Amal bi-l-kurah al-nujūmiyyah*).²³
41. On the use of the instrument on which are inscribed the assemblage of data from which nativities are produced (*K. fī ‘Amal al-‘alah allatī tursamu ‘alayhā al-jawāmi‘ wa-tu‘malu minhā al-natā‘ij*).
42. On pleasure (*K. fī l-Mut‘ah*).
43. On burning mirrors (*K. fī l-Marāyā al-muḥriqah*).
44. On weights and measures (*K. fī l-Awzān wa-l-makāyīl*).
45. The book of governance (*K. al-Siyāsah*), in three chapters.
46. On the cause of the blackening of coarse linen and its change after being sprayed with water (*K. fī l-‘Illah fī iswidād al-khaysh wa-taghayyurihi min al-rashsh*).²⁴
47. On the steelyard balance (*K. fī l-Qarastūn*).
48. On prognosis by examining types of urine (*K. fī l-Istidlāl bi-l-naẓar ilā aṣnāf al-bawl*).
49. An introduction to logic (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā l-mantiq*).
50. A commentary on the method of the Greeks (*K. Sharḥ madhhab al-Yūnāniyyīn*).
51. On dyeing (*R. fī l-Khidāb*).
52. On doubts about the book of Euclid (*K. fī Shukūk Kitāb Iqlīdis*).
53. The book of bloodletting (*K. al-Faṣḍ*), in ninety-one chapters composed for Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Mudabbir.
54. An introduction to the science of the stars (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā ‘ilm al-nujūm*).

22 For books 4–7 of Diophantus' 13-book *Arithmētika*, which are preserved in Arabic (six other books are known in Greek), see Sesiano, *Diophantus*; in general, see Brill's *New Pauly* art. 'Diophantus [4] Greek Mathematician' (M. Folkerts).

23 Preserved today in two versions. A partial English translation is found in Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, 'On Use of Celestial Globe' and a German translation in Schnell, *Die Kugel*. See also Savage-Smith, *Celestial Globes*, 20–22, 25, 73–74, 78–81.

24 For references and a brief description of the use of dampened *khaysh* for the purpose of air conditioning, see *Et²* art. 'Khaysh' (Ch. Pellat). Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel), 295, lists this title as *The Book of the Cause of the Blackening of the Abyssinians and their Change after Being Sprayed with Water* (*K. al-‘Illah fī iswidād al-ḥabash wa-taghayyurihi min al-rashsh*); however, Tajaddud (*Fihrist*, 535), and Sayyid (*Fihrist*, 2/1:293) read *khaysh*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'*, 263, lists the title as *The Book of the Cause of the Blackening of the Abyssinians and others* (*K. al-‘Illah fī iswidād al-ḥabash wa-ghayrihim*).

55. The bathhouse (*K. al-Ḥammām*).
56. *Paradise*: on chronology (*K. al-Firdaws fī l-taʿrīkh*).
57. On solving arithmetical problems in the third book of Euclid (*R. fī Istikhrāj masāʾil ʿadadiyyāt min al-maqālah al-thālithah min Iqlīdis*).
58. A translation of three and one-half books from the book of Diophantus on arithmetical problems (*Tafsīr thalāth maqālāt wa-niṣf min Kitāb Diyūfanṭus fī al-Masāʾil al-ʿadadiyyah*).²⁵
59. On the terminology of books on logic (*K. fī ʿIbārat kutub al-manṭiq*), which is an introduction to the *Isagoge*.²⁶
60. On vapour (*K. fī l-Bukhār*).
61. A letter addressed to Abū ʿAlī ibn Bunān ibn al-Ḥārith, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, on questions he had posed to him regarding the reasons for the differing of people’s morals, behaviour, desires, and choices (*R. fī ʿIlal ikhtilāf al-nās fī akhlāqihim wa-siyarihim wa-shahawātihim wa-ikhtiyārātihim*).²⁷
62. Questions on definitions according to the opinions of the philosophers (*Masāʾil fī l-Ḥudūd ʿalā raʾy al-falāsifah*).

10.45 Miskawayh¹

Miskawayh, whose name was Abū [...] ² was a distinguished scholar in the philosophical disciplines. He was also an expert in the art of medicine and was proficient in its fundamentals and branches.

25 For edition and English translation, see Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *Books IV to VII of Diophantus’ Arithmetica*; for an edition and French translation, see Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *Les Arithmétiques*.

26 This *Isagoge* or ‘Introduction’ is no doubt the Εισαγωγή of Porphyry (d. c. 305AD) whose introduction to Aristotelian logic became a standard medieval textbook. For an English translation of and commentary on Porphyry’s original work, see Porphyry, *Introduction*.

27 For edition and translation, see Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *Livre des caractères*.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For an up-to-date biographical and bibliographical study, see Endress, *Abū ʿAlī Miskawayh*. See also Sezgin, *GAS* III, 336, IV, 291; *GAL* I, 342, S I 582; *ET*² art. ‘Miskawayh’ (M. Arkoun.); *Encycl. Islamica* art. ‘Abū ʿAlī Miskawayh’ (A. Emami & S. Umar). Abū ʿAlī Miskawayh served ʿAḍud al-Dawlah ibn Buwayh and died about 421/1030.

2 Here there are lacunae in all the mss. His name was Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb.

Miskawayh is the author of the following works:³

1. On beverages (*K. al-Ashribah*).⁴
2. On cookery (*K. al-Ṭabīkh*).⁵
3. On the refinement of character (*K. Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*).⁶

10.46 Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath¹

[10.46.1]

Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath was endowed with an abundant intellect and sound judgement. He loved what is good,² was very tranquil and dignified, and was well-versed in matters of religion.

Aḥmad was long-lived and had a number of students and was eminent and distinguished in the philosophical disciplines with many writings to his credit on these subjects which indicate the extent of his knowledge and his high station. He authored a book on metaphysics which is of the utmost good quality. I have seen a copy of it in his own hand, may God the exalted show him mercy.

Aḥmad was knowledgeable and expert in the books of Galen³ and well-versed in their secrets and commented on many of them. It was Aḥmad who gave divisions to each one of the sixteen books of Galen by sentences, chapters, and sections, and divided them such as none before him had done and thus provided a great aid to those who study the books of the eminent Galen. For it

3 A number of other works were written by Miskawayh, many of which are mentioned in the references above. See also translation and study of Miskawayh's *R. fī l-Ladhḍah wal-ālām* in Adamson, *Miskawayh on Pleasure*; also Wakelnig, *A philosophy reader from the circle of Miskawayh*.

4 See notice of Ibn al-Tilmīdh's abridgement thereof at Ch. 10.64.20 no. 5.

5 Sezgin, *GAS* III, 336 gives the alternative title *On the preparation of all kinds of food* (*K. fī Tarkīb al-bājāt min al-a'īmah*) for this work (also favourably mentioned in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 332), and adds two further works: *On dispelling anxiety about death* (*R. fī Daf' al-ghamm min al-mawt*); and *On Simple Drugs* (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah*).

6 For an English translation of this work, see Zurayk, *The Refinement of Character*.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 301–302; V, 413; *GAL* I, 237; *EI*² art. 'Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath' (A. Dietrich); *EI* Three art. 'Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath' (R. Kruk); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 138–139; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 143–145.

2 Ar. *al-khayr*, referring to charity and piety in general.

3 See Ch. 5.1.

is now easy to find all that one seeks therein and his divisions are as landmarks which point to what one wishes to read and by which every section of the book, its contents, and purpose may be known.

He also made divisions to many of the books of Aristotle⁴ and others. All of the writings of Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath on the art of medicine and otherwise are perfect in their import and are unparalleled in their quality.

[10.46.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – quote from the book of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukht-īshū⁵ who said:

Among the reports told to me about Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath, may God show him mercy, is that at the beginning of his life he didn't profess medicine but was a wealthy man. Then his wealth was confiscated and he was arrested. He was originally from Fārs⁶ but fled from his land and entered Mosul⁷ in a very bad state, naked and starving. It so happened that Nāṣir al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān⁸ had a child who was sick with a case of passing blood and membrane.⁹ Whenever physicians had tried to treat him his condition had only become worse. Aḥmad made approaches until he was able to visit the boy and said to his mother, 'I will treat him', and began to show her the errors in the regimen prescribed by the other physicians. At this she became confident in him and so he treated the boy and he was cured. Aḥmad was rewarded and well treated and he remained in Mosul until the end of his life. He took on a number of pupils of whom his favourite and the most prominent was Abū l-Falāḥ who excelled in the art of medicine, then Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawṣilī, and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī.¹⁰

4 See Ch. 4.6.

5 See Ch. 8.6. The work quoted is most likely *The Merits of Physicians* (*K. manāqib al-aṭibbā'*) (Ch. 8.6 no. 2).

6 Region in south-west Iran. See *ET*² art. 'Fārs' (L. Lockhart).

7 An important city in Northern Iraq on the west bank of the Tigris near to the ancient Nineveh. See *ET*² art. 'al-Mawṣil' (E. Honigmann, C.E. Bosworth & P. Sluglett).

8 Nāṣir al-Dawlah, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. 357/968?), prince of the Ḥamdānid dynasty and governor of al-Mawṣil. See *ET*² art. 'Nāṣir al-Dawla' (H. Bowen).

9 That is, the caul or membrane that encloses the child in the womb or part thereof. See Lane, *Lexicon*, vi:2247, art. *gh-r-s*.

10 This last reference to Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawṣilī (see Ch. 10.47), and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī (see Ch. 10.48) appears only in Version 3, as does biography 10.47. Abū l-Falāḥ is the *kunyah* of Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawṣilī.

[10.46.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath – may God show him mercy – died in the year three hundred and sixty-odd of the Hijrah [970–979]. He had a number of children of whom I found that the most renowned in the art of medicine was Muḥammad.

[10.46.4]

Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath wrote the following books:¹¹

1. *On simple drugs* (*K. al-Adwiyah al-mufradah*), in two chapters. The reason for writing this was that a group of his students asked him to. Here are Aḥmad’s words from the beginning of the book:

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī¹² asked me to write this book, and previously Muḥammad ibn Thawāb¹³ had asked me. I have written this book for them according to their level and began it in the month of Rabī‘ 1 in the year 353 [March-April 964]. Aḥmad and Muḥammad are at the level of those who have passed the stage of basic learning in medicine and have entered the group of those who have a deeper understanding into what is known of this art and who branch out and use analogy and deduce new things. To those among my students who are at a similar level or those who use my books as a guide, then whoever wishes to read this book of mine and has passed the level of basic learning to the level of deep understanding then they will be the ones who will benefit from it and will attain to the knowledge therein and will be able to deduce knowledge of things which are potentially in the book but which I did not mention. They will be able to branch out from what I have mentioned and build upon it. And I say this to all people except those with unique talents which allow them to understand this and more through their rational faculties. For them the task of gaining knowledge will be made easy and what would be a lengthy process for others would be a short one for them.

2. *On animals* (*K. al-Hayawān*).¹⁴

¹¹ According to Kruk (*EI Three*), several of these books are extant but none have been edited. See Sezgin, *GAS III*, 301–302; V, 413; *GAL I*, 237; *EI*² art. ‘Ibn Abi l-Ash‘ath’ (A. Dietrich); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Abi l-Ash‘ath’ (R. Kruk); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 138–139; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 143–145.

¹² See Ch. 10.48.

¹³ See Ch. 10.47.

¹⁴ For an overview of this book, see Kruk, *Ibn Abi-l-Ash‘ath’s Kitāb al-ḥayawān*.

3. On metaphysics (*K. Fī l-ʿilm al-ilāhī*), in two chapters which he completed writing in Dhū l-Qaʿdah in the year 355 [October–November 966].
4. On smallpox, measles, and a pox associated with children¹⁵ (*K. al-Judārī wal-ḥaṣbah wal-ḥumayqāʿ*), in two chapters.
5. On vertigo, and pleurisy and their treatment (*K. fī l-Sarsām wal-birsām wa-mudāwātihimā*), in three chapters which he composed for his student Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawṣilī¹⁶ and dictated it to him in his own words. Muḥammad ibn Thawāb wrote it in his hand and mentioned the date of the dictation and writing as being in Rajab in the year 355 [June–July 966].
6. On colic and its types, treatment, and beneficial drugs for it (*K. fī l-Qūlanj wa-aṣnāfihi wa-mudāwātihī wal-adwiyah al-nāfiʿah lah*), in two chapters.
7. On leprosy, and tetters and their treatment (*K. fī l-Baraṣ wa-l-bahaq wa-mudāwātihā*), in two chapters.
8. On epilepsy (*K. fī l-Ṣarʿ*).
9. Another book on epilepsy (*K. ākhar fī l-Ṣarʿ*).
10. On dropsy (*K. fī l-Istisqāʿ*).
11. On the prevalence of the blood (*K. fī Zuhūr al-dam*), in two chapters.
12. On melancholia (*K. fī l-Mālinkhūliyā*).
13. On the composition of drugs (*K. Tarkīb al-adwiyah*).
14. On sleep and wakefulness, a treatise (*M. fī l-Nawm wa-l-yaqḏah*). He wrote this for Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Zayd ibn Fuḏālah al-Baladī¹⁷ in answer to his question asked for him by ʿAzūr ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baladī al-Yahūdī.¹⁸
15. On nourishment and being nourished (*K. al-Ghādhī wal-mughtadhī*), in two chapters, which he completed writing at the Castle of Barqā in Armenia¹⁹ in Ṣafar of the year 348 [April–May 959].
16. On diseases of the stomach and their treatment (*K. fī Amrāḏ al-miʿdah wa-mudāwātihā*).
17. Commentary on Galen’s *Sects* (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-Fīraq li-Jālīnūs*),²⁰ in two chapters, which he completed in Rajab in the year 342 [November–December 953].
18. Commentary on Galen’s *Fevers* (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-Ḥummayāt li-Jālīnūs*).²¹

15 *Ḥumayqāʿ* is another form of pox, one associated with children. It is related to *judārī* and *ḥaṣbah*, which are usually rendered as smallpox and measles. It is the modern term for chicken-pox.

16 See Ch. 10.47.

17 Not identified.

18 Not identified.

19 Not identified.

20 See Ch. 5.1.37 no. 3.

21 See Ch. 5.1.37 no. 17.

10.47 Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawṣilī¹

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Thawāb ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Thallāj, was from Mosul. He excelled in the art of medicine and was well-versed in its theory and practice. Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath² was his teacher in the art of medicine, and Muḥammad ibn Thawāb was attached to him and studied under him with distinction. He copied many books in his own hand.

10.48 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī¹

The great teacher Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā was from the city of Balad.² He was an expert in the art of medicine and was good at treating and curing patients. He was one of the greatest of the students of Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath,³ to whom he was attached for some years and with whom he studied with distinction.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī is the author of a treatise on regimens for childbearing women, babies, and children, the preservation of their health, and the treatment of the diseases that occur in them (*K. Tadbīr al-ḥabālā wa-l-atfāl wa-l-ṣibyān wa-ḥifẓ ṣiḥḥatihim wa-mudāwāt al-amrāḍ al-‘arīḍah lahum*). He composed this work for the vizier Abū l-Faraj Ya‘qūb ibn Yūsuf, who was known as Ibn Killis,⁴ the vizier of al-‘Azīz bi-Allāh⁵ in Egypt.

1 This biography only appears in Version 3 of the book. It is found in MS A, on a paper insert, and in MS R. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 301, where the names Ibn al-Thallāj and Muḥammad ibn Thawāb al-Mawṣilī are treated as separate persons. It is likely that the name Abū l-Falāḥ mentioned in Ch. 10.46 as the most distinguished student of Ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath is a misreading of Ibn al-Thallāj, and indeed, the form given in MS A could be read as Abū l-Falāj.

2 See Ch. 10.46.

1 This biography appears in Version 2 and 3 of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 318, 301; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 146–147.

2 See Yaḥyā, *Muḥjam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), i:715–717, 721. The most likely of the many places named Balad as the *nisbah* for Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī is the ancient city of Balad (Balat) on the Tigris above Mosul (where he studied with Ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath), and not, as Sezgin suggests (*GAS* III, 318), the city of the same name in Persia.

3 See Ch. 10. 46.

4 See *EI*² art. ‘Ibn Killis’ (M. Canard).

5 See *EI*² art. ‘al-‘Azīz Bi’llāh’ (M. Canard).

10.49 Ibn Qawsayn (Qūsīn)¹

Ibn Qawsayn was a physician renowned in his time who was conversant with the art of medicine. He lived in Mosul and was a Jewish convert to Islam.

Ibn Qawsayn is the author of a treatise in refutation of the Jews (*M. fī l-radd ‘alā l-Yahūd*).²

10.50 ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā ibn ‘Alī al-Kaḥḥāl¹

‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā ibn ‘Alī al-Kaḥḥāl was renowned for his mastery of the oculists’ art and his distinction therein. His discourses on the diseases of the eye and their treatment are exemplary, and his book, known as *The Aide-mémoire for Oculists* (*K. Tadhkirat al-kaḥḥālīn*), is indispensable for all those who practise the oculist’s art. It has been and continues to be favoured by people over all other books which have been composed about this art.

‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā’s discourses on the practical aspects of the oculist’s art are of a better quality than his discourses on its theoretical aspects.

He died in the year four hundred and [...] [after 1009].²

‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā is the author of an *aide-mémoire* for oculists (*K. Tadhkirat al-kaḥḥālīn*), in three chapters.³

10.51 Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī¹

[10.51.1]

Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf ibn Shibl was born and raised in Baghdad and was a philosopher and theologian of merit, a talented littérateur, and a fine poet. He died in Baghdad in the year 474 [1081–1082].

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 See Steinschneider, *Polemische und Apologetischer Literatur*, 98.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 337–340; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 208–209, 270–271; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 180; *EI*² art. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā’ (E. Mittwoch).

2 All MSS have lacunae here.

3 For an English translation, by Casey A. Wood, see ‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā al-Kaḥḥāl, *Memorandum Book*.

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book. For references, see *EI*² art. ‘Ibn Shibl’ (B. Scarcia Amoretti); see also van Gelder, *The Doubts of Ibn al-Shibl al-Baghdādī*; Jubūrī, *Ibn Shibl al-Baghdādī, ḥayātuhu wa-shi‘ruhu*; Ibn Shibl, *Dīwān*.

[10.51.2]

Among his poetry is this fine poem on philosophy which shows the strength of his knowledge of philosophical disciplines and theological mysteries. Some attribute it to Ibn Sīnā,² but he is not the author of it. Here is the poem:³

By your Lord! O revolving celestial sphere,
 is that course of yours your intention or by necessity?
 Your orbit, tell us, in what does it revolve?
 For we are dazzled in our understanding of you.
 In you we see empty space: is there another empty space
 than this in which you are made to revolve?
 Is it to you that spirits are raised, or
 will they perish together with their bodies?
 5 And that Milky Way,⁴ is it waves or the glitter of a sword
 that blazes on a deep sea of coats of mail?
 In you the sun raises its beams
 on wings with short primaries.
 Is your crescent moon an arch among the stars
 at night, or is it a hand with a bracelet?
 And are they flames, those lightning flashes, or wicks of lamps
 on which *markh* and *ʿafār*⁵ are set ablaze?
 Your stars, are they inlaid gems or liquid bubbles,
 brought together by the abundant depths of a sea?

2 For Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), see Ch. 11.13.

3 Metre: *wāfir*. According to IAU and Yāqūt (*Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:23) also attributed, but incorrectly, to Ibn Sīnā (one notes that Ibn al-Shibl is called Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh, like Ibn Sīnā; but al-Qiftī, Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:11 call him Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh). The poem is also quoted in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:24–30 and Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:110–112; 12 lines in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, i:34–35; 13 lines in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam* (xvi:213–214, yr. 473; quoting what he says is *mā yadullu ʿalā fasād ʿaqīdatihī*, ‘an indication of his corrupt belief’; the quoted passage *yakfi fī bayān qubḥ ʿaqīdatihī*, ‘sufficiently exposes his bad belief’); 14 lines in Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:341–342; 15 lines in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:11–12. As Ibn Shākir and al-Ṣafadī observe, the beginning of the poem echoes the opening of a poem by al-Buḥturī: *anātan ayyuhā l-falaku l-madāru! | a-nahbun mā taṭarrafu am jubārū?* (*Dīwān*, 959). On this poem see also van Gelder, *The Doubts of Ibn al-Shibl al-Baghdādī*.

4 All IAU sources (A, P, S, as well as Müller, Najjār, and Ridā) have *dhā l-majarratu*, whereas one would have expected *dhī l-majarratu*, as in Yāqūt; Ibn Shākir and al-Ṣafadī have *fa-ṭawqun fī l-majarrati am laʿālin | hilāluka am yadun fihā siwārū*.

5 *Markh* (*Cynanchum viminalis*) and *ʿafār*(?) are trees used for striking fire by means of friction.

- 10 Their points are spread at night, and folded up
 at day, as a loincloth is folded up.
 Created beings tarnish, in spite of polishing,
 while *their* edge will never tarnish.
 They vie in contest⁶ and then slink back
 and hide as a herd of cows hides in a covert.
 While the sun that rises in the east precedes them
 they undergo a sinking in the west.
 In this manner it went in the past and thus will pass
 long wishes and short terms,⁷
- 15 And days – we got to know how long they last –,
 always sliced away by our breaths(?),⁸
 And Fate, scattering lives
 as a branch scatters leaves,
 And a world where, whenever it gives birth to a baby,
 wet-nurses feed it on the world's miseries.
 Blind and aimless: what it tramples is mere chaff;
 dumb: what it wounds will not be indemnified.
 Thus from one day without a yesterday to a day
 without a tomorrow to which we are driven,
- 20 And from two breaths in give-and-take
 the spirit of a man is dispersed in his body.⁹
 How many souls, after having been combined
 with bodies, were made to fly away from where they were perched!
 Were they not once friendly with the body's limbs?
 But so often by their proximity it turned into aversion.¹⁰
 If Adam made his sons wretched
 with a sin, he has no excuse for it.
 Knowledge of the names did no avail him,¹¹
 nor did the prostration¹² or the proximity (to God).

6 *Tubārī* (or *tabārā*, for *tatabārā*); Yāqūt has *tubādī* 'they show'.

7 MS R glosses this verse in margin, see AII.3.1.

8 *Shifār* is editorially glossed in Yāqūt as 'narrow', which does not look convincing. Perhaps it means 'knives' or 'blades', the image being that of breaths 'cutting away' one's life-span.

9 Reading, with S and the editor of Yāqūt, *nafasayn*, 'two breaths' rather than *nafsayn*, 'two souls'; the 'give-and take' would then refer to breathing out and in, alternately.

10 Yāqūt: 'But aversion followed after that friendship'.

11 See Q al-Baqarah 2:31: «[God] taught Adam all the names [of all things]».

12 Q al-Baqarah 2:34: «We said to the angels, "Prostrate yourselves to Adam!"; and they prostrated themselves».

- 25 So he was expelled and made to descend and then he perished;
the dust of the dust-raising winds became his undergarment.
With God's knowledge of the words in him,¹³
forgiveness of his sin reached him.
But after being forgiven and pardoned
he is still being blamed as long as day follows night.
The Enemy¹⁴ attained his desires from us
and ignominy settled on Adam and on us.
We went astray, lost, like the people of Moses,
though no calf or lowing sound¹⁵ led us astray.¹⁶
- 30 O bite, from which there is still
on us a retribution and on him a shame!¹⁷
We are punished in (Adam's and his children's) loins,¹⁸ not yet having
been born –
a camel calf is sometimes slaughtered in its mother's womb.
We expect disasters and misfortunes;
thereafter, we can expect (God's) threat.¹⁹
We leave (this world) reluctantly, as we entered it,
as a lizard leaves, expelled from his hole.
So what is the favour granted to an existence
where the choice is not given to those made to exist in it?
- 35 They would have been blessings if for coming into being
a choice had been given beforehand, or if we had been consulted.²⁰
Is this the illness for which there is no cure?
Is this a fracture for which there is no mending?
Everyone of subtle understanding is perplexed about it.
the depth of their wound cannot be probed.

13 Meaning not wholly clear.

14 Satan.

15 MS A has *ḥuwār* ('young camel') instead of *khuwār*, but the latter is correct not only because *ḥuwār* appears in line 31 but also in view of the Qur'anic parallel (see next note).

16 See Q al-A'rāf 7:148: «*When he had left the people of Moses made a calf from their ornaments, a body that made a lowing sound*»; also Ṭā-hā 20:88 and cf. Exodus 32.

17 See Q Ṭā-hā 20:121.

18 See Q al-A'rāf 7:172: «*And when your Lord took from the children of Adam, from their loins, their progeny*».

19 Riḍā, less pessimistically, takes this as a question.

20 Yāqūt: 'Our existence would have been good if we | had been given a choice beforehand, or had been consulted' (nearly identical in al-Ṣafādī).

When the enveloping snatches the sun away from us
 and a scattering snatches the stars of the night,²¹
 And we are given another earth instead of this earth,²²
 and the heavens will be swept away by a breaking asunder,²³
 40 And nursing mothers will neglect their children,²⁴
 in their bewilderment, and camels ten month pregnant are unten-
 ded,²⁵
 And the full moon will be covered, from fright and terror, by
 an eclipse,²⁶ because of the threat, and there is no last night of the
 month,²⁷
 And the mountains are moved and become dunes
 of scattered sand, and the seas are made to boil,²⁸
 Then where is the stability of a person of insight among us,
 and how can we suffer being pelted with stones?²⁹
 How can someone with understanding comprehend what
 is intended with us, and how can one contemplate it?³⁰
 45 Where has an insight disappeared that once was in us,
 from the brilliance of which your light was borrowed?³¹
 No earth has disobeyed Him, nor any heaven,
 so for what reason are the stars snatched away by a sweeping?³²
 It was loyal in obedience to Him, when it was
 smoke,³³ its ...³⁴ not having sparks.

21 Q al-Takwīr 81:1: «When the sun is enveloped»; al-Infiṭār 82:2: «When the stars are scattered».

22 Q Ibrāhīm 14:48: «On the day this earth will be changed into another earth».

23 Q al-Infiṭār 82:1: «When the heaven is rent asunder».

24 Q al-Ḥajj 22:2: «Every nursing mother will neglect the child she is nursing».

25 Q al-Takwīr 81:4: «When camels ten month pregnant are untended».

26 Q al-Qiyāmah 75:8 «And when the moon is eclipsed».

27 The end of the Islamic lunar month can only be observed if the moon is visible.

28 Q al-Takwīr 81:3: «When the mountains are moved»; al-Muzzammil 73:14: «When the mountains become a dune of scattered sand»; al-Takwīr 81:6: «When the seas are made to boil».

29 The Qur'an mentions pelting with stones in connection with the satans (Q al-Mulk 67:5) but not in the context of the Last Day.

30 The irregular *hamzah* of *l-ʿitibārū* is needed for the metre.

31 It is not clear who is addressed with 'your light'; if it is still the celestial sphere it is odd that it is said to have borrowed its light from an 'insight' (*lubb*) in the speaker.

32 Q al-Takwīr 81:2: «When the stars are swept down».

33 Q Fuṣṣilat 41:11: «Then He moved the sky, which was smoke»; cf. al-Dukhān 44:10–11: «When the sky will bring a visible smoke, which will envelop the people».

34 Riḍā, Yāqūt: *li-qātirihī*; Najjār: *li-ghāʾirihī*; ms A: *li-nārihī*, 'corrected' in margin to *li-fātiratin* (which is also found in L); P: *li-fāyidatin*. None of these gives a convincing sense.

He determined it as seven (heavens)³⁵ and the earth as a cradle;³⁶
 He spread it out³⁷ and it was an abode for the dead.
 There is no ending to the elevation of what He raised,
 nor is there a bottom to the depth of what He anchored down under.
 50 But in all this terror there is
 for someone with understanding an admonition and a chiding.

[10.51.3]

He composed an elegy on his brother Aḥmad:³⁸

Extreme sorrow and joy is an ending (of life):
 a living one cannot survive after someone who died.
 Labīd did not die of grief for Arbad,
 and al-Khansā' was consoled for her brother.³⁹
 Just as a young man decays in the dust,
 so sorrow and weeping after his death decay.
 But the dead disappear and leave a choking feeling
 that the living cannot swallow away.
 5 We live only between tooth and claw
 of dire events, ferocious lions.
 We make wishes, and among these wishes is a short life,
 but next we are maltreated with what we used to be pleased with.
 A man's good health is a road towards sickness,
 and the road of annihilation, that is what lasts.⁴⁰

35 Q Fuṣṣilat 41:12: «*He determined it as seven heavens in two days*».

36 Q Tā-hā 20:53, al-Zukhruf 43:10: «*He who made the earth a cradle for you*».

37 Q al-Nāzi'āt 79:30: «*He spread it (viz. the earth) out*».

38 Metre: *khafif*. Also in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, x:39–45, where the brother is called Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Yūsuf; 16 verses in Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:340–341, 19 verses in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:12–13. Al-Ṣafadī says that 'many people ascribe this poem to Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, which is excusable because it is in his vein'. MS R adds two poems in margin related to this elegy, see A11.3.2 and A11.3.3; and another poem by Ibn Hānī, see A11.4.

39 Arbad, who died struck by lightning, was the brother of the famous pre-Islamic poet Labīd (who survived until early Islamic times). Al-Khansā' lamented in many poems her brother Ṣakhr, who died before the coming of Islam from battle wounds (Ṣakhr is mentioned in the version of Yāqūt: *wa-salat Ṣakhran-i l-fatā l-Khansā'ū*).

40 A gloss in MS R states: 'A wise man from the past said about his state something close to the words of al-Aṣma'ī: "How is the condition of someone whose existence fades away, whose health decays into sickness, and whose time expires?". This saying occurs in a number of *adab* works ascribed to different authorities. It is attributed to a Bedouin (*a'rābī*) in Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī, *Maṣūn*, 151; and Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Ṣinā'atayn*. The most likely source

We die and live by what we feed on:
 the most deadly disease for the souls is a cure.
 What we experienced of the treachery of this world: may it not
 be, may there not be what it takes and gives.

10 Its generosity returns to itself: whatever
 the morning gives is taken back by the evening.
 Would that I knew if Fate moves us on in a dream,
 or whether things are not endowed with reason!⁴¹
 From a corruption that existence reaps for the world,⁴²
 human souls cannot protect themselves.
 God curse a pleasure that harms us,
 procured by mothers and fathers!
 But for existence we would not suffer loss:
 being made to exist is for us an affliction.

15 Only for a short time does the soul accompany the body,
 so why this sorrow, why this suffering?
 God has supported human minds
 for which the first creation serves as proof for the return,⁴³
 Although some people claim something about the dead
 that skins and limbs find abhorrent.
 If people differ about matters than can be seen,
 how could hidden things be clear in the unseen?
 Since the day of Aḥmad⁴⁴ only darknesses have
 befallen us and no light has shone clearly.

20 O my brother, since your death water has turned
 to poison, and that soft breeze to a hot sand-storm.⁴⁵
 Copious tears have turned to fire,
 from the hot breaths sent up by deep sighs.
 I consider life a treachery, even though it is
 a life that pleases one's enemies.

of this marginal note is al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb* (p. 270), in which the saying is attributed to a wise man from the past (*ba'd al-ṣāliḥīn*) quoted by al-Aṣma'ī.

41 Reading *ta'qīlu*; if read *tu'qalu* (as in Sb and Yāqūt), it could mean: '(whether things) can be understood'.

42 *Wāfi: min fasādīn yakūnu fī 'ālamī l-kawni*, 'from a corruption that happens in the world of existence'.

43 In a hereafter.

44 i.e., the death of his brother Aḥmad.

45 Or 'simoon/simoom' (*samūm*, with paronomasia with *samm*, 'poison').

Where are now these good traits, this prudence,
 where is the resolve, where the brilliance, where the splendour?
 How could the bliss of that shade perish
 so soon, and that wealth of support?⁴⁶

25 Where is the tongue that you used to unsheathe
 in a gathering where cutting swords⁴⁷ were unsheathed?
 How can I hope to be cured of what I suffer,
 when there is no cure for me but dwelling with you in earth?
 Where is that pleasant countenance, that pleasing speech,
 that modesty, that pride?
 The dust may have effaced your beauty, but
 my tears will not be effaced from the surface of my cheeks.
 You may have departed, but the old affection has not departed;
 you may have died, but praise of you has not died.

30 I have buried half of my soul while the other half remains,
 full of longing, wishing to be extinct.
 If the hands of Doom have made him go first,
 those who are slow will also go to those who went before.
 Death reaches every living being, even though Orion
 may keep it hidden from him in its house.⁴⁸
 I wish I knew, since everything created must perish,
 how prophets are distinguished.
 The deaths of that scholar, endowed with excellent speech,
 and of that roaming dumb animal are alike.

35 The earth does not smile for the loss of a sinner
 and heaven does not cry for a pious man.
 The lights of so many faces have been extinguished
 by the wasteland beneath the slabs of its tombs!
 So many full moons, so many suns, so many
 lofty mountains of wisdom⁴⁹ have been obliterated!
 So many a morning has effaced the stars' bright blaze,
 and then darkness reduced⁵⁰ their light!

46 Yāqūt reads *al-ghinā'* ('singing'), which is clearly inappropriate, as is *al-anā'* ('misery', S). Read (with A) *al-ghanā'* ('wealth, sufficiency, avail').

47 Here apparently metaphorically for eloquent tongues.

48 It is not clear why Orion is singled out or how it could 'hide' death.

49 Yāqūt: *majdīn* ('of glory').

50 Yāqūt: *akhfat* ('hid'). One would expect it to be followed by *diyā'ahū* ('its light', referring to 'morning') instead of *diyā'ahā*.

People come on the heels of those who have gone;
the beginning of some is an ending for those who come last.⁵¹

[10.51.4]

He also said:⁵²

And it is as if in a human being there is something other than he,⁵³
being formed, while the beauty⁵⁴ in him is borrowed,
Which is in charge, having been giving the power to decide,
made responsible, as if it has choice.
At times good fortunes direct him to the right course, and at other times
destinies change his right course into error.
His insight is blind but he sees after his ability to perceive
cannot not regain what has escaped him.⁵⁵
One sees him, his heart taken out of his breast
and restored in it after fate⁵⁶ has run its course.
He keeps striking himself with blame
in regret, when thoughts toy with him.
He does not know he has fallen short in his arriving
until his going explains it to him.⁵⁷

A line from a longer poem:⁵⁸

If Time afflicts a noble man
it lends his friend the heart of an enemy.

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- 51 Reading, with A, *li-l-ākhirīna*; if read *li-l-ākharīna*, as in Yāqūt, it means 'for the others.'
- 52 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:35–36; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:342; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:14; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:112 (lines 1–2). The poem poses many difficulties.
- 53 Taking *fihī* to refer to *al-īnsān* and reading *ghayruhū* (with A), whereas Yāqūt has *minnā ghayrahū* and *mutakawwinun* instead of *mutakawwinan*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh has *fihī ʿibratun mutalawwinan*; N has *fa-takawwanā*.
- 54 The editor of Yāqūt thinks the line only makes sense if *al-ḥusn* ('beauty', found in all sources) is emended to *al-ḥiss* ('sense perception').
- 55 Perhaps meaning that insight is acquired only in retrospect, too late.
- 56 Perhaps this is the sense of *al-miqdār* ('the measure') here; cf. Muḥammad Ibn Baʿīth, in a poem: *jarā l-miqdāru bi-l-qalamī* (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, III, iii:1388, al-Marzubānī, *Muʿjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, 385).
- 57 Meaning unclear. The words for 'arriving' and 'going' are *irād* and *īṣdār*, originally referring to arriving at a watering-place and leaving it, respectively.
- 58 Metre: *wāfir*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:14.

He also said:⁵⁹

Meet the guest of worry with fortitude; you will make him depart,⁶⁰
 for worries are guests that feed upon souls.
 A misfortune will not increase without (subsequently) decreasing
 and whenever one is in a tight spot one will be relieved.
 So revive your soul with distraction and it will be content with it;
 relief may come any moment.

He also said:⁶¹

Console yourself for everything with life, for
 an accident may be unimportant after⁶² the substance remains.
 God will replace wealth that you have wasted,
 but there is no replacement for the soul if you waste it.

He also said:⁶³

And blame a man in proportion to his wit
 and beware of reverence that may turn into irreverence.
 So many a friend has turned into an enemy when he was blamed,
 and many an enemy, by means of forbearance, has become a friend.

He also said:⁶⁴

The passion for you that we experience will surely suffice you:⁶⁵
 take it easy, act gently with us, gently!
 By the sacredness of my affection, may I never be consoled for the love
 of you,
 and may I never wish to be severed and freed from it!

59 Metre: *basīf*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:36–37, al-Qifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, 362–363; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:112.

60 One would expect *turḥīlu* instead of *turḥīluhū*. Yāqūt has *hīna atā* ‘when he arrives’.

61 Metre: *basīf*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:37, al-Qifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, 370.

62 al-Qifṭī: *ʿinda* (‘when’) instead of *baʿda*.

63 Metre: *khafīf*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:37, al-Qifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, 370.

64 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:33–34; lines 1–2 in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mudʿhish*, 206 without attribution.

65 Reading *la-yakfikumū* (A, P, S, R); Yāqūt and Ibn al-Jawzī have *li-yakfikumū* (‘Let ... suffice you!’).

I shall rebuke a heart that wishes to be consoled for love
 and I shall abandon it if it does not die with passionate love for you.
 I have obstructed passion, my friend, until I became familiar with it;
 now the more it weakens me it cures me, the more it destroys me it
 keeps me alive.
 No fortitude is found, nor does yearning leave,
 my tears do not extinguish the flame and do not stop flowing.
 I fear, whenever the night lowers its curtains,
 that my heart⁶⁶ will burn and my eyes will drown.
 Is it proper that I am requited with harshness instead of reunion
 and that my eyes delight while my heart is miserable?
 Is this only my lot, or is it thus for every passionate lover,
 to be wronged and not spared,⁶⁷ to thirst and not made to drink?
 Ask Time: perhaps Time will unite us,
 for I have never seen a creature persisting in one state.

[10.51.5]

He also said:⁶⁸

If you are distressed by my tears
 when they flow, then protect them;
 Or if you see one day
 a master who forgives, then be him.
 I cannot bear to be without those
 for whom one cannot be permitted to bear being without.
 Every sin in love I can be forgiven
 as long I have not betrayed my love.

He also said:⁶⁹

The glasses, that came to us empty, were heavy;
 but as soon as they were filled with unmixed wine
 They became light and almost flew up with what they contained.
 Thus bodies are light with their spirits.

66 Literally, 'my liver' (considered to be the seat of emotions).

67 Yāqūt: *yamūtu wa-lā yaḥyā* ('to die and not to live').

68 Metre: *ramal*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:39; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:343; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:14.

69 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:37–38, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:112.; attributed in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, ii:33 and al-Ṣafadī, *Nuṣrat al-thāʾir*, 224 to 'someone from

He also said:⁷⁰

They say: contentment is power, sufficiency is wealth,
 while the soul's greed and avidity are ignominy and shame.
 You are right: but if he who is content with allaying his hunger
 cannot allay it,⁷¹ with what should he be content?

He also said:⁷²

They said, when I was distressed by the death of a loved one
 and by my passion for him, wanting to make me forget him:
 There is some other one living who is quite as beautiful! I replied:
 But where do I find another passion quite like it?

He also said:⁷³

Guard your tongue and do not speak openly about three things,
 if you can: your secret,⁷⁴ your wealth, and your (religious) views,
 Since for these three you will be afflicted by another three:
 One who calls you an unbeliever, an envious person, and one who
 calls you a liar.⁷⁵

the West' (*ba'd al-Maghāribah*); attrib. to Idrīs ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Yamān al-Andalusī (d. 470/1077–1078) in Ibn Sa'īd, *Rāyāt al-mubarrizīn*, 126; idem, *al-Mughrib*, i:400; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, i:162; and al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, viii:328; also in Ibn Hījjah, *Khizānah*, iii:98, but emended by the editor to Ibn al-Sā'atī; attrib. to Ibn Hānī' in Usāmah ibn Munqidh, *al-Badī*, 227; al-Irbilī, *Tadhkirah*, 213, thinks the poet is Ibn Durayd.

70 Metre: *basīf*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, x:38; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:343; al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:14–15; al-Qifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, 372; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:112.

71 Taking *sadd jū'atihī* as the subject of *yusibhu* (*pace* the editor of Yāqūt, who thinks it is *riḍāhu*).

72 Metre: *basīf*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, x:45; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:343; al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:15. In S and P this epigram comes after the following one.

73 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, x:37; anonymously ('recited by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Bazzār') in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Şayd al-khāṭir*, 127 and 349, and attrib. to this Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah* (yr 535), xii, 217.

74 Instead of *sirr* several sources (e.g. *Şayd al-khāṭir* and *Bidāyah*) have *sinn* ('[your] age'), which is likely to be a corruption rather than the original version.

75 Manuscripts GaPSb add at this point a saying similar to the first verse: 'On this same topic but using paronomasia (*jinās*) and in prose, someone said: men do not speak about their gold (*dhabab*), their religious views (*madhhab*), and their depart (*dhabāb*)'.

He also said:⁷⁶

In despair there is one kind of relief for someone who loves,
 although another kind of relief is torment.
 I am chaste while there is passion in me, I am consoled while there is
 ardour in me,
 though my bones and skin are melting.
 I scorn for my concern to be being hindered by a virgin girl⁷⁷
 with her glances, or for my thirst to be slaked by saliva.⁷⁸
 So do not find it odd⁷⁹ that a noble man is powerful when suffering:
 when predators are hungry they are feared.

[10.51.6]

He also said:⁸⁰

In us there are feelings of longing for the monastery at Durtā;⁸¹
 do not blame us, since blame is of no avail.
 May you not be far away, even if time has passed
 in which we enjoyed days and night of entertainment.
 So many youthful desires did I fulfil there,
 to my profit, though so many desires yet remain with me!
 As long as joys are in the ascendant and allow it,
 delight and enjoy! For life is fitful.
 5 Before the nights move on – they are borrowed,
 and the delight of this world are loans –⁸²

76 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:35. Line 4 (with three others) in al-Qifṭī, *Muḥammadūn*, ii:361.

77 Yāqūt: *an taṣṭāda qalbiya kāʾibun* ‘for my heart to be hunted by a full-breasted girl!.

78 i.e., by kissing a loved one.

79 Addressing a woman; Yāqūt has *tunkirū* (plural, masculine).

80 Metre: *basīf*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, x:31–32 (line 10 is missing); idem, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ii:508–509 (s.v. Dayr Durtā; last line missing but adding two lines after line 1); Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:343–344; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii:15–16; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:112 (lines 1, 3–4, 6, 12–14).

81 Said to be West of Baghdad (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ii:508 and cf. ii:449–450). In the version of *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* the monastery is said to be at Kūthā (a place not far from Baghdad on the road to Kufa, see *ET*², s.v.).

82 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*: *minaḥu l-dunyā gharāmātū*.

Come, unveil the morning sun⁸³ in the sphere of darkness,
 where the zodiacal signs are always⁸⁴ drinking cups and bowls.
 Perhaps, when death calls us,
 we will die while our souls are replete.
 How should we divert ourselves, but for this,⁸⁵ in a time
 in which the living, accustomed to care, are like the dead?
 It⁸⁶ went round greeting us and we matched its greeting,
 while it was full of fears on account of the terror of mixing;⁸⁷
 10 A virgin whose appearance, in going round, was hid for us;⁸⁸
 nothing remained of its spirit save a few last breaths.
 It extended a canopy of lightning from the wine jugs
 endowing the one opposite with scintillations,
 As a result there appeared bracelets on the arms of the wine-pourers
 of gold, and cups on the throats of the drinkers.⁸⁹
 Time has written a motto⁹⁰ in a line on its page:
 'May joys never part from the drinker of wine.'
 Take what will go quickly and leave what you have been promised,
 as a sensible man would do, for postponing is harmful.
 15 Happiness has its favourable moments
 that give joys; sorrows have other moments.

83 Wine, compared to a sun.

84 Instead of *al-dahra* Yāqūt (both works) has *al-zuhru* 'the radiant (signs)'.
 85 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*: *lawlā l-rāḥ* ('but for wine'), idem, *Mu'jam al-buldān*: *lawlā l-ka's*

('but for a glass of wine').

86 The wine.

87 Wine was regularly mixed with water; the mixing of (feminine) wine with (masculine) water is often used for sexual metaphors.

88 Due to the corrupt text (see note to the Arabic) the translation is very uncertain.

89 *Mu'jam al-udabā'*: *fa-lāḥa fī sāqithā khalākhilu min | tibrin wa-fī awjuhi l-nudmāni shārātu* ('As a result there appeared anklets of gold on the wine-pourer and marks on the faces of the drinking companions').

90 For *tawqī'* ('signature, apostille, motto'), see *ET*² s.v. 'Tawqī'' and Gruendler, 'Tawqī' (Apostille).

10.52 Ibn Bakhtawayh¹

Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Īsā ibn Bakhtawayh was a knowledgeable physician and lecturer from Wāsiṭ. His discourses on the art of medicine are the discourses of one who is well versed in the writings of the ancients which he had studied and of which he had knowledge. His father was also a physician.

Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Bakhtawayh is the author of the following works:

1. Prolegomena (*K. al-Muqaddimāt*) which is also known as the ‘Treasure of the Physicians’ (*K. Kanz al-aṭibbā’*), written for his son in the year 420 [1029–1030].²
2. Abstinence in medicine (*K. al-Zuhd fī l-ṭibb*).
3. On seeking knowledge of bloodletting (*K. al-Qaṣd ilā ma’rifat al-faṣd*).

10.53 Abū l-‘Alā’ Ṣā‘id ibn al-Ḥasan¹

Abū l-‘Alā’ Ṣā‘id ibn al-Ḥasan was eminent and distinguished in the art of medicine, and was intelligent and eloquent. He lived in the city of al-Raḥbah,² and there he wrote the book ‘Medical persuasion’ (*K. al-Taṣwīq al-ṭibbī*) in the month of Rajab in the year 464 [March-April 1072].

10.54 Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’¹

[10.54.1]

Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’ – that is, Abū Sa‘īd Maṣṣūr ibn ‘Īsā – was a Nestorian Christian whose brother, known for his virtue, was the Archbishop of Nasi-

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 335.

2 See above Ch. 5.1.22 for a brief quotation from this book. The copyist of MS A also quotes this work in a marginal note glossing the word *sā‘ūr*, see below Ch. 10.64.1.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 225.

2 A town on the Euphrates in Syria, the modern al-Mayādīn, see *ET*², ‘al-Raḥba’ (E. Honigmann & Th. Bianquis).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’ means the ‘abstinent scholar.’

bis.² Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’ served Naṣr al-Dawlah ibn Marwān³ (for whom Ibn Buṭlān had composed *The Banquet of the Physicians*)⁴ as his personal physician. Naṣr al-Dawlah used to respect and depend upon Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’ for his skill in the art of medicine, and was kind to him. It was Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’ who built the hospital at Mayyāfāriqīn.⁵

[10.54.2]

Shaykh Saḍīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah, the physician,⁶ related to me that the hospital at Mayyāfāriqīn came to be built because a beloved daughter of Naṣr al-Dawlah became ill there. Naṣr al-Dawlah vowed to donate her weight in silver dirhams to charity if she became well, and when Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’ treated her and she recovered, he advised Naṣr al-Dawlah to dedicate all the silver he was donating to the building of a hospital, which would benefit the people and earn him a great reward and a good reputation. Naṣr al-Dawlah ordered the building of the hospital and spent a great amount of money on it. He endowed it with estates that would meet its needs and fitted it out with equipment and all that was needed for it, at great expense. Hence it was unsurpassed in its quality.⁷

[10.54.3]

Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’ is the author of the following works:

1. On hospitals (*K. al-Bīmāristānāt*).⁸
2. On aphorisms and questions and answers (*K. fī l-Fuṣūl wa-l-masā’il wa-l-jawābāt*). This is in two parts: the first contains the memoranda, notebooks, papers and the like found in the author’s library and recorded by al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl.⁹ The second is by way of aphorisms, questions, and answers which the author answered in the learned gatherings held in the *Fāriqī* hospital.

2 Ar. Naṣībīn, ancient town of northern Mesopotamia, now modern-day Turkey. Zāhid al-‘Ulamā’s brother was the renowned Christian theologian Elias of Nisibis (d. 438/1046–1047), for whom see *EI Three* art. ‘Elias of Nisibis’ (D. Bertaina).

3 Naṣr al-Dawlah Aḥmad ibn Marwān, the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn and Diyār Bakr (r. 401–453/1010–1060). See also above Ch. 10.38, and 10.41.

4 For Ibn Buṭlān, see above Ch. 10.38. and 10.38.6 no. 10.

5 An important town in the northeast of Diyār Bakr. See *EI²* art. ‘Mayyāfāriqīn’ (V. Minorsky, C. Hillenbrand).

6 For his entry, see Ch. 15.46.

7 According to Ibn al-Azraq, *Tārīkh al-Fāriqī*, 123, the hospital at Mayyāfāriqīn was built in 414/1023–1024.

8 This work has not survived. Some fragments are quoted in Ibn al-Muṭrān, *Bustān* (facs.), 33, 36, 61, 63.

9 Unidentified. Clearly cannot be the famous official of the same name who served at the court of the Abbasid al-Ma’mūn and died in 236 [850–851].

3. On dreams and visions (*K. fī l-Manāmāt wa-l-ru'yā*).
4. On that which students of medicine should prioritize in their learning (*K. fī-mā yajibū 'alā l-muta'allimīn li-ṣinā'at al-ṭibb taqdīm 'ilmih*).
5. On diseases of the eye and their treatment (*K. fī amrāḍ al-'ayn wa-mudā-wātihā*).

10.55 al-Muqbilī¹

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Muqbilī was eminent and distinguished in the art of medicine and one of its notable proponents.

Al-Muqbilī is the author of the following works:

1. On wine (*M. fī l-Sharāb*).
2. Abridgement of the [Medical] Questions of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (*Talkhūṣ K. al-Masā'il li-Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq*).²

10.56 al-Nīlī¹

Abū Sahl Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nīlī was renowned for his eminence and knowledge in the art of medicine. Good in composition, he was well versed in literary matters and an outstanding poet as well as prose writer.

Among his poems are the following:²

O you whose incipient beard and cheeks and figure
 I would ransom with my life – and I don't think this is much!
 And you who from the 'sickness' of your eyes³ lends me a sickness:
 may I always be wasting away with it, and may you always lend it!⁴

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 For Ḥunayn and his books, see Ch. 9.2.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 334, 251; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 206. The *nisbah* al-Nīlī refers not to the river Nile, but to al-Nīl, a town in Iraq near al-Ḥillah.

2 Metre: *khaḥif*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xi:218; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:240; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:239 (lines 3–4).

3 Referring to the beloved's 'languid eyes', deemed attractive.

4 Instead of *dumtu/dumta* A, S, and P have *rimtu/rimta*, which means the opposite, surely incorrectly.

Pour me wine, and you⁵ will cure the anguish of a heart
 that at night, since you left, is a companion of worries.
 It is wine when in the cup, but as soon as it is
 poured inside me it changes into joy.

Al-Nīlī is the author of the following works:

1. Abridgement of the [Medical] Questions of Ḥunayn (*Ikhtīṣār K. al-Masāʾil li-Ḥunayn*).⁶
2. Epitome of Galen's commentary on *Aphorisms*, with points from the commentary of al-Rāzī (*Talkhīṣ Sharḥ Jālīnūs li-Kitāb al-Fuṣūl maʿa nukat min sharḥ al-Rāzī*).⁷

10.57 Ishāq ibn ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī¹

Ishāq ibn ʿAlī al-Ruhāwī was a distinguished physician who was knowledgeable in the discourses of Galen² and wrote excellent treatises on the art of medicine.

Ishāq is the author of the following works:

1. The proper conduct of the physician (*K. Adab al-ṭabīb*).³
2. Compendium (*Kunnāsh*). This he compiled from the ten treatises of Galen known as *The Mayāmir on Compound Remedies* [arranged] According to the Diseases of the Bodily Parts from the Head to the Foot (*al-Mayāmir fī tarkīb al-adwiyah bi-ḥasab amrāḍ al-aʿḍāʾ min al-raʾs ilā l-qadam*).⁴

5 Or 'it'. The reading *shaffa* (A, S, P) does not make sense.

6 For Ḥunayn, see Ch. 9.2.

7 Only one copy of this treatise is recorded, and its title does not include the reference to the commentary of al-Rāzī; see Savage-Smith, *NCAm-1*, 6–8 Entry 2. For Galen see Ch. 5, and for al-Rāzī see Ch. 11.6.

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book. A mid- to late 3rd/9th-cent. physician, author of the *Adab al-ṭabīb* (*Practical Ethics of the Physician*). See Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 89–91. For bibliographic references to al-Ruhāwī, see Sezgin, *GAS* 111, 263–264, 257; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 223; Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*. The *nisbah* al-Ruhāwī refers to al-Ruhā, the Arabic name of Edessa, now called Urfa, in modern Turkey.

2 For Galen, see above Ch. 5.

3 For an edition and a facsimile of *K. Adab al-Ṭabīb*, see Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Riyadh edn.) and Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (facs.). For an English translation, see Ruhāwī, *Adab al-ṭabīb* (Levey).

4 See Ch. 5.1.37, no. 79. The Arabic term *Mayāmir* is based on the Syriac *mēmar*, 'treatise' (not *al-tariq*, 'way', as IAU glosses it when describing the work in Ch. 5).

3. Summaries (*Jawāmiʿ*). These he compiled from the four books of Galen which were arranged by the Alexandrians as the first of his books, namely, *Sects* (*K. al-Firaq*), *The Small Art* (*K. al-Şināʿah al-şaghīrah*), *The Small Book of the Pulse* (*K. al-Nabḍ al-şaghīr*), and *To Glaucon* (*K. Ilā Aglawqun*).⁵ He arranged these summaries according to the method of aphorisms, the first of which is placing them in alphabetical order.

10.58 Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allāh¹

[10.58.1]

Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn was a physician who distinguished himself in the art of medicine as well as being eminent and renowned in the philosophical disciplines. He lived during the time of al-Muqtadī bi-amr Allāh² whom he served as physician. He also served al-Muqtadī's son al-Mustazhir bi-Allāh.³

[10.58.2]

Abū l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib⁴ said in *The Comprehensive Book of Medicine* that medicine reached its peak in our age with Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn who was born on the eve of Saturday the twenty-third of Jumādā 1 in the year 436 [16 December 1044]. He studied under Abū l-ʿAlāʾ ibn al-Tilmīdh,⁵ Abū l-Faḍl Kutayfāt,⁶ and ʿAbdān the scribe⁷ and composed many books on medicine, logic, philosophy, and the like. He died on the eve of Sunday the sixth of the month of Rabīʿ 1 in the year 495 [29 December 1101], and lived for fifty-six years,⁸ leaving behind a group of students who are with us now.

5 See Ch. 5.1.37, nos. 3–6.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see *GAL* I, 486; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 160–161 *et passim*.

2 Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, 27th Abbasid caliph (r. 467–478/1075–1094). See *ET*² art. ʿal-Muqtadīʿ (A. Hartmann).

3 Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, son of al-Muqtadī, 28th Abbasid Caliph (r. 487/1094–512/1118).

4 See below Ch. 10.60.

5 The father of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, see below Ch. 10.64.1.

6 See also Ch. 10.37.4.

7 Unidentified, but not the Ismaili propagandist of the same name and *laqab* (d. 286/899).

8 MS A contains an interlinear addition to say that these are Coptic years.

[10.58.3]

The sage Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd ibn Yaʿqūb, the Christian,⁹ related to me that Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allāh used to take charge of treating the patients at the ʿAḍudī hospital. One day Saʿīd was at the hospital and while he was in the lunatics' ward examining their cases and treating them, a woman approached him and asked his advice about how to treat a son of hers. He said, 'You must make sure that he takes cooling and moistening things.' At this one of the patients staying in the ward mocked him and said, 'It would be proper that you give this prescription to one of your students who has studied medicine and understands some of its laws. What does this woman know of cooling and moistening things? You should prescribe something specific for her which she can rely upon.' The man continued, 'Not that I blame you for what you have said, for you have already done what is even more astonishing!' When Saʿīd asked him what it was the man said, 'You composed a short book and named it *The Book of Medicine which Dispenses with all other Books*. Then you composed another book on medicine, an explanatory one, which is many times the size of the first book and you named it *The Book which Satisfies* when the names should have been the other way round!' Saʿīd confessed the truth of this in front of all present and said, 'I swear to God, had I been able to swap the names of the two books I would have done so, but people have continued to publish them and each one of them has become known by the name I gave it!'

[10.58.4]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – say that Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allāh was alive in the year 489 [1095–1096] because I have found his handwriting for this date on his book *The Epitome for Niẓām*¹⁰ when Abū l-Barakāt¹¹ studied it with him.

[10.58.5]

Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allāh wrote the following books:

1. The book of medicine that dispenses with all other books (*K. al-Mughnī fī l-ṭibb*),¹² which he composed for al-Muqtadī bi-Allāh.¹³
2. On prescriptions for compounding drugs referred to in 'The book of medicine that dispenses with all other books' (*M. fī Ṣifāt tarākīb al-adwiyah al-muḥāl ʿalayhā fī K. al-Mughnī*).

9 See below Ch. 14.56.

10 See title 4 in book-list below.

11 See below Ch. 10.66, Awḥad al-Zamān.

12 For an Arabic edition published in 2011, see Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allāh, *al-Mughnī*.

13 Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, 27th Abbasid caliph (r. 467–478/1075–1094). See *EI*² art. 'al-Muqtadī' (A. Hartmann).

3. The book that satisfies (*K. al-Iqnā'*).
4. The epitome for Niẓām (*K. al-Talkhīṣ al-Niẓāmī*).¹⁴
5. On the generation of the human being. (*K. Khalq al-insān*).¹⁵
6. On jaundice (*K. fī l-Yaraqān*).
7. On definitions and differentia (*M. fī Dhikr al-ḥudūd wa-l-furūq*).¹⁶
8. On defining and enumerating the principles of verbal sayings (*M. fī Taḥ-dīd mabādi' al-aqāwīl al-malfūz bihā wa-ta'dīdihā*).
9. Answers to medical questions (*Jawābāt 'an masā'il ṭibbiyyah su'ila 'anhā*).

10.59 Ibn Jazlah¹

[10.59.1]

Yaḥyā ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Alī² ibn Jazlah³ lived during the time of al-Muqtadī bi-amr Allāh,⁴ to whom he dedicated many of the books he composed. Ibn Jazlah was renowned in the theory and practice of medicine and was a student of Abū l-Ḥasan Sa'īd ibn Hibat Allāh.⁵ Ibn Jazlah also studied the literary arts and used to write in a good, proportioned script.⁶ Indeed, I have seen a number of his own books and the books of others in his handwriting that demonstrate his merit and speak of his knowledge.

Ibn Jazlah was a Christian, but then he converted to Islam and composed an epistle in refutation of the Christians that he sent to the priest Elias (Iliyyā').⁷

14 The Niẓām here is likely to be the famous statesman Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092). See *ET*² art. 'Niẓām al-Mulk' (H. Bowen, C.E. Bosworth).

15 For an Arabic edition published in 2003, see Sa'īd ibn Hibat Allāh, *Khalq al-insān*. See also Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 405–411, entry 100.

16 For an Arabic edition published in 1995, see Sa'īd ibn Hibat Allāh, *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-furūq*.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin *GAS* III, 246; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 160; *ET*² art. 'Ibn D̲jazla' (J. Vernet); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii, 249–250; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 365; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:267–268; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, viii, 161–162; Graziani, *Arabic medicine in the eleventh century*.

2 Ms A: Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī ibn 'Īsā.

3 Al-Ṣafadī (*Wāfi*, xxviii:249), and Ibn al-Qiftī give Ibn Jazlah's *kunya* as Abū 'Alī, whereas, Bodleian ms. Huntington 51, fol. xx, gives Abū Zakariyyā.

4 Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad, 27th Abbasid caliph (r. 467–478/1075–1094). See *ET*² art. 'al-Muqtadī' (A. Hartmann).

5 See previous entry Ch. 10.58.

6 See Moustafa & Sperl, 'The Cosmic Script'.

7 Thomas & Roggema, *Christian Muslim Relations*, iii:153–154. The identity of this Elias is unknown, but he is not the famous Elias of Nisibis, who died in 1046–1047.

[10.59.2]

Ibn Jazlah wrote the following books:⁸

1. Regimens for Human Bodies (*K. Taqwīm al-abdān*), which he composed for al-Muqtadī bi-amr Allāh.⁹
2. The course of explanation for what is useful to people (*K. Minhāj al-bayān fīmā yasta'miluhu l-insān*) which he also composed for al-Muqtadī bi-amr Allāh.¹⁰
3. The book of advice in the distillation of expressions, and useful medical canons for regimens for health and the preservation of the body (*K. al-Ishārah fī talkhīṣ al-'ibārah wa-mā yusta'malu min al-qawānīn al-ṭibbiyyah fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥah wa-ḥifẓ al-badan*), which he epitomized from his book *Regimens for Human Bodies*.
4. In praise of medicine and of its conformity to the Divine Law and in refutation of those who criticise it (*R. fī Madḥ al-ṭibb wa-muwāfaqatihi l-shar' wa-l-radd 'alā man ṭa'ana 'alayh*).
5. A letter addressed to the priest Elias (Iliyyā')¹¹ by Ibn Jazlah when he entered Islam. This was in the year 466/1074.¹²

10.60 Abū l-Khaṭṭāb¹

Abū l-Khaṭṭāb – that is, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib – lived in Baghdad and studied the art of medicine under Abū l-Ḥasan Sa'īd ibn Hibat

8 Sezgin *GAS* III, 246; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 160; Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 101–104; *GAL* I 485; NCAM-1, 573 575, 595–603.

9 See Graziani, *Ibn Jazlah's eleventh-century tabulated medical compendium* (Ph.D thesis); Lev, An early fragment of Ibn Jazlah's tabulated manual; Tubbs et al., *Historical vignette*. Arabic text published Damascus, 1915; Cairo, 2007; Tehran, 2014. It was translated into Latin by Faraj ben Salim as *Tacuini aegritudinum* and printed in 1532.

10 For a brief discussion, see Garbutt, 'Ibn Jazlah: The Forgotten 'Abbāsīd Gastronome'. Arabic text published Tehran, 2014.

11 Not identified, but not Elias of Nisibis, who died in 1046–1047.

12 The letter has yet to come to light. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:249, says that it was transmitted by Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 513/1119), the author of the encyclopaedic *K. al-Funūn*, for whom see *ET*² art. 'Ibn 'Aqīl' (G. Makdisi). Ibn Khallikān, who read the epistle, gives a short description, see *Wafayāt*, i:267–268. For a short notice, see Thomas & Roggema, *Christian Muslim Relations*, iii:153–154.

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book. For references, see also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, i:148, quoting IAU.

Allāh.² Abū l-Khaṭṭāb was distinguished in medicine and its practice. I have seen his handwriting on a book of his composition that was read back to him, and it has many grammatical errors, which goes to show that he hadn't studied much Arabic. His dating of this was the ninth of the month of Ramaḍān in the year 500 [4 May 1107].

Abū l-Khaṭṭāb wrote *The Comprehensive Book of Medicine* (*K. al-Shāmil fī l-ṭibb*), which he composed in question and answer format, on medical theory and practice. It consists of sixty-three discourses (*maqālah*).

10.61 Ibn al-Wāsiṭī¹

Ibn al-Wāsiṭī was physician to al-Mustaẓhir bi-Allāh,² with whom he held a high station.

It so happened that Abū Sa'īd ibn al-Mu'awwaj was placed in charge of a state treasury (*dīwān*) and he took up an estate owing a debt for a village to the amount of three thousand gold dinars. He weighed out two thousand dinars from it, but remained owing one thousand dinars and asked for a year's postponement until the returns came in. When the amount became due the crops and the fruits failed and nothing accrued to him from his estates that he was able to expend on the debt.

Now his chamberlain and confidant was Muẓaffar ibn al-Dawātī, who advised that he go to Ibn al-Wāsiṭī and seek him in his house and ask him to speak to the Caliph al-Mustaẓhir bi-Allāh about postponing the debt for another year until the returns came in. When he had finished with the business of the treasury he motioned his men to leave, saying he wished to go to his house. When they had gone away, he and the chamberlain Muẓaffar ibn al-Dawātī went out and when he arrived sought permission to enter. Ibn al-Wāsiṭī emerged from his house and kissed Ibn al-Mu'awwaj's hand and said, 'Heavens! Who is Ibn al-Wāsiṭī that our master should come to his house?' When he entered and sat before him, Ibn al-Mu'awwaj motioned to Muẓaffar the chamberlain and said to him, 'Send the people away so we are alone, then return by yourself.' When they had gone to the courtyard he said to him, 'Make fast the door', which he did. When Muẓaffar returned Ibn al-Mu'awwaj said to him, 'Tell the doctor why

2 See above Ch. 10.58.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see also Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:239, mostly quoting IAU.

2 Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad, son of al-Muqtadī, 28th Abbasid Caliph (r. 487–512/1094–1118).

we have come.' So the chamberlain said to Ibn al-Wāsiṭī, 'Our master has come to you to tell you that he has taken up an estate and owes for a village to the amount of three thousand dinars. Now he has paid two thousand of it but a thousand dinars remains owing. He has already asked the Caliph for a postponement until the harvest but nothing came to him from his estates this year. The treasury has sent people and put the pressure on, and he [our master] has already pawned the books in his house for five hundred dinars. Our master is asking you to ask the Caliph to postpone the remainder for another year until the harvest.' Ibn al-Wāsiṭī said, 'I hear and obey! I am at your service and will do my utmost and say what is appropriate.' Then Ibn al-Mu'awwaj left him and in the morning, after he had finished with the treasury, he dismissed the staff as usual and said, 'O Muḏaffar, go to him and if he has spoken to the Caliph then we will hear the answer. If he has not yet spoken to him then this will act as a reminder to him.' Muḏaffar went to him and asked permission to enter and it was granted and Ibn al-Wāsiṭī came to the door and kissed his hand as before and said a prayer for him. When he entered and sat down, Ibn al-Wāsiṭī brought out the signature of the Caliph to the effect that he had received the five hundred dinars. Then he said, 'Here are the books of the household which were pawned by our master. May he accept them from his servant.' (Ibn al-Wāsiṭī had redeemed them with his own money). Muḏaffar thanked him and took the books and the Caliph's receipt and left, but as he crossed the courtyard Ibn al-Wāsiṭī called him and brought out some towelling in which there was a silken doublet, a ministerial turban of fine linen, an undershirt of Antioch, robes from Damietta with silken waistbands, and a pouch containing fifty dinars. Ibn al-Wāsiṭī said, 'I wish that our master favour me by wearing these clothes so that I see him wearing them. These fifty dinars are for the expenses of the bathhouse. I give the chamberlain a silken robe and twenty dinars, I give the secretary a silken robe and five dinars, and I give the groom two dinars.' Then he said, 'I ask our master to honour his servant by accepting this.' The chamberlain took everything to Ibn al-Mu'awwaj and explained what had happened, and Ibn al-Mu'awwaj accepted it all from him.

10.62 Abū Ṭāhir ibn al-Barakhshī¹

[10.62.1]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAbbās, known as Ibn al-Barakhshī,² was an inhabitant of Wāsiṭ³ and was eminent in the art of medicine and accomplished in the literary arts. I have seen things written in his own hand that demonstrate the soundness of his intellect and the extent of his merit. He lived during the time of al-Mustarshid bi-Allāh.⁴

[10.62.2]

Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Karīm al-Baghdādī⁵ related the following to me:

Aḥmad ibn Badr al-Wāsiṭī told me that the physician Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Barakhshī was treating a patient at Wāsiṭ who had a form of dropsy. His illness became chronic and no treatment was of benefit to him and he did not keep to the prescribed diet. Abū Ṭāhir then allowed him to take whatever food and nutriment he wished and which his nature inclined towards. So the patient, unrestrained, ate whatever he felt like. One day a man selling locusts which had been boiled with water and salt passed by and the patient felt a craving for them so he summoned the man and bought some from him and ate them. This resulted in a severe laxative effect at which the physician ceased his visits. Then the patient came round after a few days and his constitution began to improve and he began to get well and eventually regained his full health despite the doctor having despaired at it ever improving. When Abū Ṭāhir learnt of his condition he visited him and asked him what he had taken and what had caused the relief. The patient said that he didn't really know except that he had begun to get better ever since he had eaten boiled locusts. The doctor thought about this for a long time and said, 'This is not an effect of locusts and is not one of their properties.' Then he asked the patient about the seller of the locusts. The patient said, 'I don't know where he is, but if I saw him I would recognise him.' So the doctor began

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 For a discussion of this *nisbah*, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-ʿIrāq)* iv, i:400–402, where it is related to Warakhshah/Farakhshah, a city near Bukhārā.

3 See *ET*² art. 'Wāsiṭ' (R. Darley-Doran).

4 ʿAbbāsīd Caliph (r. 512–529/1118–1135). See *ET*² art. 'al-Mustarshid' (C. Hillenbrand).

5 An author of the 7th/13th century known for his *Book of Cookery*.

to look for and inquire about everyone who sold locusts and he would bring them one after another to the patient until he recognised the one he had bought them from. The doctor said to the man. 'Do you know the place where you caught the locusts which my patient ate?' The man said, 'Yes'. The doctor said, 'Let us go there'. So they went together to the place, and there was a herb there that the locusts were grazing on. The doctor picked some of the herb and then used it to treat the patients for dropsy and cured a number of people from this illness, and this is well known in Wāsiṭ.

[10.62.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say that this is an old story and it has already been mentioned.⁶ The herb which the locusts were grazing on was mezereon.⁷ The story was also told by the Judge al-Tanūkhī in *The Book of Relief after Hardship*.⁸

Abū Ṭāhir al-Barakhshī was still living in Wāsiṭ in the year 560 [1164–1165]. He was a great littérateur and had knowledge of versification and prose.

Among his poems is this one he composed about a servant boy who handed him a toothpick:⁹

He handed me something (slender) like his waist
and (thin) like a lover, long rejected, wasting away,
And said, '*khilālī?*' (my toothpick / my characteristics). 'All fine,' I said,
'apart from killing a lover who is wholly¹⁰ perplexed about you.'

He composed this about an evil man who had gone on the Ḥajj pilgrimage from one of the villages of Wāsiṭ:¹¹

6 See Ch. 1.9, where they are 'fried locusts'.

7 Ar. *Māzariyūn*, a variety of *Daphne mezereum* L, known in English as mezereon as well as dwarf bay, flowering spurge, spurge olive, or spurge laurel; see Levey & al-Khaledy, *Medical Formulary of Al-Samarqandī*, 226; Ibn al-Tilmīdh, *Dispensatory*, nos. 27, 39, and 40, where recipes are given including mezereon specifically for the treatment of dropsy.

8 The following story is also found in al-Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, iv:210–212 and in his *Nishwār al-muḥādarah*, iii:161–163. For Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin ibn 'Alī al-Tanūkhī (329–384/941–94), see EI² art. 'al-Tanūkhī' (H. Fāhndrich). For an Italian translation of al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah*, see al-Tanūkhī, *Il Solievo* (Ghersetti); for German selections, see al-Tanūkhī, *Ende gut, alles gut* (Hottinger), 260–263.

9 Metre: *ṭawīl*. The following three verses are quoted in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-'Irāq*), iv, 1:401; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:241; al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāli'*, ii:64.

10 *bi-asrihī* ('wholly') could also be rendered as 'by his having been captured'.

11 Metre: *sarī'*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-'Irāq*), iv, 1:401.

When you went on pilgrimage Wāsiṭ rejoiced,
 as did Qūliyāthā and Murshid's young man.¹²
 But wailing moved towards Mecca,
 and to the Kaaba's Cornerstone and Black Stone.

He composed this poem when he saw someone writing a letter to a friend of his and wrote at the beginning 'the learned':¹³

When noble customs and deeds are obliterated
 and mankind's face has become stupid and gloomy,
 And when they are content with mere names without meaning,
 such as 'friend', they write to one another 'Learned scholar!'

Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Mu'allim al-Hurthī¹⁴ the poet of Wāsiṭ wrote to Abū Tāhir having recovered from an illness after he had prescribed him a diet and forbidden him food:¹⁵

May you be proud in all your wishes and may your status
 be raised above the Pleiades,
 O you who saved me from the circles of perdition,¹⁶
 be it far from you to kill me with starvation!

Then Ibn al-Barakhshī wrote in reply:¹⁷

I followed your decree, O noble man
 (may your decree always be followed!).

12 Qūliyāthā (not found elsewhere) is identified in the margin of A as 'one of the estates near Wāsiṭ' and *Fatā Murshid* as 'a person living there'. *Kharidah* has *Fatā Mazyad*. The context rather suggests a place name (perhaps it is a corruption of e.g. Qanā Murshid, 'Murshid Canals').

13 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharidah* (*al-'Irāq*), iv, 1:402.

14 The *nisbah* is of Hurth, the name of a village on the Ja'far canal near Wāsiṭ. See Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), iv:959–960, where Abū l-Ghanā'im al-Hurthī is mentioned and his birth and death dates are given as 501 and 592 [1107–1108 and 1195–1196] respectively. See on him also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, v:5–9, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:165–168.

15 Metre: *sarī*.

16 The expression *ḥalaqāt al-radā* is not found elsewhere and the sense of the 'circles' or 'rings' is not clear; *kh.Lqāt* (S, P) does not seem better.

17 Same metre and rhyme, as in the following rejoinder.

But my fear for him about whom
 strange reports came to be heard
 Made it necessary to postpone the taking of food that day;
 but tomorrow you shall amend and starve again.
 Be patient, for it is only for a short period:
 Even if you tarry, a week only!

Then he [Abū l-Ghanā'im] replied to him:

O learned man, who, wherever his saddle rests,
 lets fountains of knowledge stream:
 Why is it that you believe that lives can be continued,
 while sustenance, morning and evening, is cut off?
 By God, if I spend the night and my poetry will not
 avail me and be of no use, O excellent man,
 Hunger will surely strip me of shame
 and I shall shred your knowledge to pieces.¹⁸

10.63 Ibn Ṣafīyyah¹

[10.63.1]

Abū Ghālib Ibn Ṣafīyyah was a Christian.

[10.63.2]

A certain person of Iraq said that Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh² was a harsh, vigilant, and rash Caliph. His vizier was Abū l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā ibn Hubayrah.³ When the vizier died,⁴ the Caliph appointed in his place Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Baladī⁵ who followed the same course as his predecessor. Now in the realm there were some great emirs, the foremost of whom was Quṭb al-Dīn Qāymāz,⁶ who was Armenian in origin. He had become very powerful and had

18 There may be a pun with *taqṭī'*: 'cutting to pieces' and 'scanning poetry'.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. Found also in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:595–597, which is largely a paraphrase of 1AU.

2 See *ET*² art. 'al-Mustandjīd' (C. Hillenbrand).

3 See *ET*² art. 'Ibn Hubayra' (G. Makdisi).

4 He died in the month of Jumādā 1 560/March 1165. (Source *ET*²).

5 See *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Baladī' (K.V. Zetterstéen).

6 See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiv:175.

risen in station until he had gained control of the land and assumed the governance of the realm and remained unopposed and without a competitor. He had married off his daughters to the great emirs of the realm, but between him and the vizier [Ibn al-Baladī] there was a quarrel.

Then it happened that the Caliph fell ill and his doctor was Ibn Ṣafīyyah Abū Ghālib the Christian. The vizier Ibn al-Baladī used to warn the Caliph and cause him to fear the rise to power of Quṭb al-Dīn and his allies the emirs and when the doctor, who sought advancement with the emir Quṭb al-Dīn, came to know something of this he related the conversations to the emir and this continued for some time. When the Caliph fell ill he decided to arrest Quṭb al-Dīn and his associates, and when Ibn Ṣafīyyah learnt of this he went to Quṭb al-Dīn and informed him and said, 'The vizier has done such-and-such, so have him for breakfast before he has you for dinner!' Quṭb al-Dīn then began to think long and hard about the vizier's plots. Meanwhile, the Caliph's illness worsened and he was distracted from the plans he had made with the vizier to arrest the emirs. Quṭb al-Dīn came to the decision to kill the Caliph and then be left free to do away with the vizier and he came to the conclusion along with Ibn Ṣafīyyah the physician to prescribe hot baths for the Caliph. Ibn Ṣafīyyah visited the Caliph and advised hot baths but the Caliph, who felt himself to be a little weak, refused. Then Quṭb al-Dīn and some of his associates entered in on the Caliph and said, 'Master, the physician has advised hot baths,' The Caliph said, 'We see fit to postpone them.' Then they overturned his decision and placed him in the bathhouse which had been fired for three days and nights and barred the door for a time until he died. Quṭb al-Dīn and the emirs exhibited great grief and went to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan the Caliph's son and appointed him as Caliph on their own terms and pledged allegiance to him and he was given the name al-Mustaḍīr bi-amr Allāh.⁷

Some time passed and the Caliph continued to feel resentment for what they had done. He had appointed 'Aḍud al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj ibn Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'⁸ as vizier, and Ibn Ṣafīyyah, as before, continued in his service of him. Then the Caliph and his vizier began to act despotically and independently of Quṭb al-Dīn Qāy-māz, and whenever Ibn Ṣafīyyah learnt of anything he would relate it to Quṭb al-Dīn as he frequented the Caliph's palace and was not prevented from entering since he was the serving physician. One night, the Caliph summoned Ibn Ṣafīyyah and said to him, 'Physician, there is someone I detest the look of and I wish to dismiss him but in a graceful and not disgraceful way.' Ibn Ṣafīyyah

7 See *EI*² art. 'al-Mustaḍīr' (K.V. Zetterstéen).

8 See *EI*² art. 'Aḍud al-Dīn' (Anon.).

said to him, 'Then we will prepare for him a potion both powerful and effective which he will drink and you will be rid of him as you wish.' Then he went and compounded a potion as he had described and brought it back at night to the Caliph who opened it, examined it, and said, 'Physician, swallow this potion so we can test its efficacy.' The physician recoiled from that and said, 'Master, remember God, remember God, with regard to me!' The Caliph said, 'Whenever a physician oversteps his bounds and traverses his limits he will fall into the likes of this. There is no escape for you except by the sword.' So the physician swallowed the potion which he had himself compounded and fled from perdition to perdition. Then he left the Caliph's palace and wrote a letter to the emir Quṭb al-Dīn informing him of the events and saying to him, 'After me it will be you!' Then he died.

As for Quṭb al-Dīn, he was determined to bring down the Caliph but God, glory be to Him, made his plot backfire. His wealth was plundered and he fled Baghdad for his life and went to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [Saladin] in Syria but the King refused to accept him. He returned by way of the desert to Mosul but fell ill on the way and died after reaching Mosul.⁹

[10.63.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say, in contrast to this story is what was told to me by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Karīm al-Baghdādī,¹⁰ who heard it from a certain teacher of Baghdad who said: The Sultan Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Khwārazmshāh¹¹ had come¹² to Baghdad in the year five hundred and [...] ¹³ While in his camp on the outskirts of the city he fell ill, and the Caliph al-Muqtafi Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Mustaẓhir¹⁴ also fell ill inside Baghdad. The Sultan sent a messenger seeking out the chief Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh,¹⁵ who was brought to the outskirts of the city and he would treat the Sultan there and would treat the Caliph inside Baghdad. Once, the Sultan's vizier said to him, 'Chief, I have just been with the Sultan and I told him of your virtue, education, and excellence, and he wishes to gift you ten thousand gold dinars.' Ibn al-Tilmīdh replied:

9 al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:175, gives the date of Quṭb al-Dīn's death as 570/1174–1175.

10 An author of the 7th/13th century known for his *Book of Cookery*.

11 See *EI*² art. 'Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh' (C.E. Bosworth).

12 MSS. PS: read 'had laid siege to Baghdad'.

13 There is a lacuna here in all the MSS consulted, also in Müller. C.E. Bosworth (*EI*² art. 'Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh') gives the date of this siege as the month of Dhū l-Qa'dah 551/December 1156–January 1157.

14 See *EI*² art. 'al-Muqtafi' (K.V. Zetterstéen).

15 See Ch. 10. 64.

Master, I have already been offered twelve thousand dinars from Baghdad. Will the Sultan permit me to accept them? Master, I am a mere physician and I do not go beyond the duties and obligations of physicians. I know nothing other than barley water, infusions, and the beverages of violets and lilies, and when I am removed from this I don't know a thing.

The vizier had, in his conversation, in fact said something which indicated that he was planning to do away with the Caliph, but God – glory be to Him – ordained that both the Caliph and the Sultan would recover, and they came to a truce on the Caliph's terms. This shows the intelligence, religiosity, and trustworthiness of the Ra'īs Amīn al-Dawlah who used to say:

A physician should not involve himself in the secrets of Kings and should not go beyond the aforementioned barley water, infusions, and beverages; for if he goes beyond this he will perish, and it will be the cause of his downfall.

And he used to recite the following verses:¹⁶

When God the Guardian makes wings grow
 on ants, He lets them fly to their destruction.
 Every human has a limit
 and a man's perdition lies in overstepping the limit.¹⁷

10.64 Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh¹

[10.64.1]

Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, namely al-Ajall Muwaffaq al-Mulk Amīn al-Dawlah² Abū l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh ibn Abī l-'Alā' Ṣā'id ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Tilmīdh, was the foremost of his age in the art of medicine and in its practice.

16 Metre: *khafif*.

17 MS R adds in margin a verse on the same motif, see AII.9.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see *GAL* I, 487; Sezgin, *GAS* III, 244, 268, 280; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 340; *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Tilmīdh' (M. Meyerhof).

2 These three epithets may be translated as 'The Most Majestic, Propitious of the Realm, Trustee of the State.'

This is indicated by what is known of his writings and his glosses on medical books, as well as the great many people I have seen who bear witness to this. He was practitioner (*sā'ūr*)³ in the 'Aḍudī Hospital in Baghdad until his death.

At the beginning of his career he had travelled to Persia⁴ and remained there in service for many years. He was a calligrapher and would write in a proportioned script⁵ of the utmost beauty and correctness. He was also expert in the Syriac and Persian tongues and deeply-versed in the Arabic language and wrote delightful poetry with fine motifs, although most of his extant poems consist of only two or three verses each and I have found only a few long poems of his.

Amīn al-Dawlah also wrote many good epistles and I have seen a great volume of his, all of which contains letters and correspondence. Most of his family were secretaries, and Amīn al-Dawlah's father, Abū l-'Alā' Ṣā'id was a physician of merit and renown.

[10.64.2]

Amīn al-Dawlah and Awḥad al-Zamān Abū l-Barakāt⁶ were both in the service of al-Mustaḍīr bi-amr Allāh. Abū l-Barakāt was better than Ibn al-Tilmīdh in the philosophical disciplines in which he wrote fine books, and had he written no other book than the one known as *Lessons in Wisdom (al-Mu'tabar)*⁷ it would have been sufficient. Ibn al-Tilmīdh, however, had more insight into the art of medicine and was renowned more for it. The two hated each other and were enemies, but Ibn al-Tilmīdh was possessed of more intellect and a better nature than Abū l-Barakāt.

An example of this is that Awḥad al-Zamān had written a note in which he accused Ibn al-Tilmīdh of things that the likes of him could not possibly have done. Then he bribed a servant to secretly throw the note in the path of the Caliph so that no-one would know. This in itself displays a great evil. When the Caliph found the note he took it very badly indeed at first and intended to bring down Amīn al-Dawlah. Then he came to his senses and was advised to

3 The term *sā'ūr*, a Syriac borrowing, is glossed in the margin of MS A, quoting from Ibn Bakhtawayh's *Prolegomena* (see above Ch. 10.52.1): 'Gloss from Ibn Bakhtawayh's *Prolegomena* (*K. al-Muqaddimāt*): "Theory in Syriac is *thawriyā* [i.e. ܛܘܪܝܝܐ], and practice *sa'ūruthā* [i.e. ܣܘܪܘܬܐ]; that is why someone who [tends] the sick in the hospital is called *sā'ūr*, because he takes care of their treatment"'.
 4 Ar. *bilād al-'ajam*.

5 Ar. *khaṭṭ mansūb*. See Sperl & Moustafa, *The Cosmic Script*.

6 On him, see Ch. 10.66.

7 A book on Metaphysics. Published several times including at Hyderabad, 1938–1939, as *K. al-Mu'tabar fī l-ḥikmah*; and Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2012, as *al-Kitāb al-Mu'tabar fī l-ḥikmah al-Ilāhiyyah*.

investigate and get to the root of the matter and to get the servants to confess as to who had accused Ibn al-Tilmīdh of this act. When the Caliph did this he discovered that Awḥad al-Zamān had written the note to bring down Ibn al-Tilmīdh so he became greatly angered at him and put Awḥad al-Zamān's life,⁸ all his wealth, and his books into the hands of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh. Ibn al-Tilmīdh, however, who had such a noble nature and great charity, did not encroach upon any of this, but Awḥad al-Zamān was banished from the Caliph for this and lost his station.

Among the natural⁹ verses by Amīn al-Dawlah about Awḥad al-Zamān are these:¹⁰

We have a Jewish friend whose stupidity
 is apparent from his mouth when he speaks.
 He wanders bewilderedly (*yatīh*) – a dog is above him in status –
 as if he were still wandering in the wilderness (*al-tīh*).

A certain person wrote the following about Amīn al-Dawlah and Awḥad al-Zaman:¹¹

Abū l-Ḥasan the physician¹² and his epigone,
 Abū l-Barakāt, are poles apart:
 One is in his humility among the Pleiades,
 the other in his haughtiness in the abyss.

[10.64.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – quote from the manuscript of the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī¹³ who relates the following about Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh:

-
- 8 Lit., he gifted his blood, all his wealth, and his books to Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh.
 9 Ar. *maṭbū'*, natural, as opposed to artificial (*maṣnū'*, *mutakallaf*). For a discussion of the two concepts, see Mansur Ajami, *The Neckveins of Winter*.
 10 Metre: *basīṭ*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 343; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:74; Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā'*, xix:278; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:280; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:243.
 11 Metre: *wāfir*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 346; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:75; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:280; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:243. Anonymously in IAU, it is attributed in these three sources to al-Badī' Hibat Allāh al-Aṣṭurlābī (the same in a marginal note in R); he contrasts Ibn al-Tilmīdh's humility with Abū l-Barakāt's arrogance.
 12 Ibn al-Tilmīdh.
 13 See his entry below Ch. 15.40.

Amīn al-Dawlah was good company, of noble morals, had generosity and *humanitas*, produced works of renown in medicine, and came to correct conclusions. An example of this is when a woman was brought to him on a stretcher and whose family didn't know whether she was alive or dead. It was wintertime so he ordered that she be undressed and that cold water be poured over her frequently and continuously. Then he ordered that she be carried to a warm room which had been fumigated with aloes-wood and *nadd*¹⁴ and she was wrapped in all kinds of furs for a while. Then she sneezed, moved, sat up, and went out walking with her family towards her house.

He [ʿAbd al-Laṭīf] also said that a man weak from blood-loss and sweating blood entered upon Amīn al-Dawlah during the summertime. Amīn al-Dawlah asked his students who were fifty in number but they did not recognise the complaint. Amīn al-Dawlah told him to eat barley bread with grilled aubergine which the man did for three days and was cured. When his students asked him about the cause, Amīn al-Dawlah said that his blood had become thin and his pores had opened up, and the effect of this nutriment was to thicken the blood and condense the pores.

He [ʿAbd al-Laṭīf] also said that an example of Amīn al-Dawlah's decent character was that the back of his house used to adjoin the Niẓāmiyyah School and whenever a scholar became ill he would take him in and attend him in his illness, and when he recovered he would give him two gold dinars and send him on his way.

Among that which he [ʿAbd al-Laṭīf] also related about Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh (and it seems he exaggerates in this story) was that Amīn al-Dawlah would not accept any gifts except from a caliph or sultan. A certain king whose abode was distant became chronically ill and he was told, 'There is nothing for you except Ibn al-Tilmīdh but he does not seek out anyone.' So the king said, 'I will go to him.' When he arrived he appointed palaces for himself and his servants and expended what was necessary on stipends and remained a while and the king was cured and returned to his lands. Then he sent four thousand gold dinars, four wardrobes¹⁵ of *ʿattābī* cloth,¹⁶ four slaves, and four horses to

14 Ar. *nadd*, a certain type of perfume composed of aloes-wood, musk, and ambergris, or ambergris alone, used for fumigation.

15 Per. *takht*, Ar. pl. *tukhūt*. The word has a number of meanings including couch, throne, capital city, but the Persian gloss of the word to mean *jāmah-dār* (wardrobe) seems best here.

16 *ʿAttābī* cloth is said to be a silk-cotton stuff of different colours woven in the ʿAttābiyyah quarter of Baghdad, hence the name. It is the origin of the English word 'tabby', See Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 110, 437; EI² *Glossary and Index of Terms*, 'attābī.'

Amīn al-Dawlah with a certain merchant but Amīn al-Dawlah refused to accept them saying, 'I have taken an oath not to accept anything from anyone.' The merchant said, 'This is a great amount.' He said, 'When I swore I did not make any exceptions.' The merchant stayed a month cajoling him but he staunchly refused. When the merchant bade him farewell he said, 'Now I will travel and will not return to my master but I may enjoy the wealth and you may take on the obligation but not have the benefit of the wealth and no-one will know that you refused it.' Amīn al-Dawlah said, 'Do I not know within myself that I didn't accept it? I myself will attain honour from this whether the people know of it or not.'

[10.64.4]

Our shaykh, the Sage Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī,¹⁷ related to us that the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān¹⁸ related to him that his father related to him that Ismā'īl ibn Rashīd related to him that Abū l-Faraj ibn Tūmā and Abū l-Faraj al-Masiḥī related to him, saying: Once, al-Ajall Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh was sitting with us when a woman with a young boy asked permission to enter. When she had entered and he saw the boy Amīn al-Dawlah spoke up before she could and said, 'This boy of yours has a burning sensation when he passes urine and he passes sand'¹⁹ The woman said, 'Yes.' Amīn al-Dawlah said, 'Then he should take such-and-such a medicine.' Then the woman left. The two narrators continue, 'So we asked him about the sign which indicated that this was what he was suffering from and that had the problem been with the liver or the spleen then the indication would have been in concord with the boy's colour.' He said, 'When the boy entered I saw that he was obsessed with his urethra and was scratching it. I also saw that his fingernails were broken, coarse and dry, so I knew that the scratching was because of the sand and that that sharp material which brings about itching and burning probably touched his fingernails when he became obsessed with his penis and so became broken and dry. This is what I concluded and it was appropriate.'

[10.64.5]

Among the interesting stories associated with Amīn al-Dawlah and his fine allusions is that one day he was with al-Mustaḍīr bi-amr Allāh.²⁰ Amīn al-Dawlah

17 See entry below Ch. 15.50.

18 See entry below Ch. 15.23.

19 MS A has 'blood' here instead of sand.

20 A version of this anecdote in which the caliph is al-Muqtafi occurs in Ibn al-Qifti, *Ta'rikh al-hukamā'*, 341.

was at that time very advanced in age and when he rose to get up he leant on his knees. The Caliph said to him, 'You have become old, O Amīn al-Dawlah!' He said, 'Yes, and my flasks²¹ are smashed.' The Caliph thought about what Amīn al-Dawlah had said and realised that he had only said it for a reason. So he inquired about it and was told that the Imām al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh had gifted to Amīn al-Dawlah an estate called *Qawārīr* which he had held tenure of for a time. Then, three years previously, the vizier had taken hold of it. The Caliph was amazed at Amīn al-Dawlah's good manners and the fact that he hadn't brought the matter up with him before nor set about requesting the estates. The Caliph then commanded that the estates be returned to Amīn al-Dawlah and that, in future, none of his possessions were to be encroached upon.

[10.64.6]

Another of the anecdotes about Amīn al-Dawlah's rarities is that the Caliph had delegated to him the position of Chief Physician in Baghdad. When the rest of the physicians met with him so that he could examine their knowledge of the art, among those present was an old shaykh with an aura and a good demeanour and who was very tranquil and Amīn al-Dawlah honoured him. This shaykh had some experience of medical treatment but he had nothing but a superficial knowledge of the theory of the art of medicine. When his turn came Amīn al-Dawlah said to him, 'For what reason has the shaykh not taken part in the discussions with the rest of the group so that we may see his knowledge of the art?' The shaykh said, 'Master, and is there anything that they have spoken of which I do not know? Indeed, I have understood more than that many times over.' Amīn al-Dawlah said to him, 'So with whom did you study the art?' The shaykh said, 'Master, when a person reaches a certain age it is more appropriate to ask him how many students he has and who is the most distinguished of them. As for my teachers, they died a long time ago.' Amīn al-Dawlah said, 'O Shaykh, this is something normal and it does no harm to mention it. However, we will let it pass. Tell me, what medical books have you studied?' Amīn al-Dawlah's intention was to assess his knowledge. The shaykh said, 'Glory be to Almighty God, have I reached the point where youngsters are inquiring about me and asking what books I have studied! Master, one should say to the likes of me, "What books have you composed in the art of medicine and how many books and treatises have you written?" It seems I must introduce myself to you!' Then he rose and went next to Amīn al-Dawlah and sat with him and said in

21 Ar. *qawārīr* meaning 'flasks' or phials or any long-necked vessels Although the word can refer to wine flasks, the allusion for a medical man is perhaps to urine flasks.

secret to him, 'Master, know that I am an old man and I am well-known for this art but I have no knowledge other than common phrases to do with medical treatment. All my life I have earned a living by the art and I have dependents. So, Master, I beg you in the name of God to let me carry on and do not expose me in front of everyone.' Amīn al-Dawlah said, 'On one condition, and that is that you do not treat a patient with anything you have no knowledge of and you do not prescribe bloodletting or purgatives except for common diseases.' The shaykh said, 'That has been my method from the start. I do not go beyond oxymel and rosewater.'

Then Amīn al-Dawlah said aloud so everyone could hear, 'O Shaykh, excuse us, for we had not recognized you but now that we do, continue as you are and no-one will trouble you.' Then he returned to his business with the others and said to one of them, 'With whom did you study this art?' And he began to examine him. The man said, 'Master, I am one of the students of that shaykh whom you have just recognized and it is with him I studied the art of medicine.' Amīn al-Dawlah understood what he was getting at, smiled, and carried on with the examination.

[10.64.7]

Amīn al-Dawlah had friends and associates who would visit him from time to time. One day, three people came to his house: an astrologer, a geometer, and a littérateur. They inquired about Amīn al-Dawlah of his servant Qanbar who told them that his Master was not at home and that he was not present at that particular time. The three left but then returned at another time and asked Qanbar about him who told them the same as he had before. The three were discerning poets, and the astrologer came forward and wrote on the wall by the door of the house:²²

We are afflicted, in the house of the most auspicious
of people, with an inauspicious thing.

After which the geometer wrote:

With a short person who takes a long time
and a tall one who falls short.²³

22 Metre: *khafif*. In Ibn Zāfir al-Azdī, *Badā'i'*, 226–227 the three are identified as Abū l-Faḍl al-Baghdādī, Ibn al-Dahhān al-Qurṭubī, and Ibn Ṣalāh, respectively.

23 The meaning is not quite clear.

Then the *littérateur*, who was a little indecorous, came forward and wrote:

How often do you say 'Qanbar'?
Let Qanbar's head roll!²⁴

Then they left and when Amīn al-Dawlah came, Qanbar said to him, 'Master, three men came here looking for you and when they didn't find you they wrote this *rajaz* poem on the wall.' When Amīn al-Dawlah had read it he said to those with him, 'It is almost as if this first verse is in the hand of so-and-so the astrologer, and this second verse in the hand of so-and-so the geometer, and the third in the hand of so-and-so our friend, for each verse indicates something practised by its author.' And the fact of the matter was exactly as Amīn al-Dawlah had concluded. This house of Amīn al-Dawlah's in which he lived in Baghdad was in the Perfume Market whose gate is adjacent to the Willow Tree Gate (*Bāb al-Gharabah*) by the Caliph's Great Palace in the street leading to the banks of the Tigris.

[10.64.8]

Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh said: One day I was thinking about the subject of religious sects. Then I saw a herald in a dream who was reciting to me these verses:²⁵

I am swimming in your sea, hoping that I might see
in it the bottom of what I seek;
But I see nothing but one wave
pushing me on to another.

[10.64.9]

Sa'd al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī Sahl al-Baghdādī al-'Awwād,²⁶ who was of a great age, related to me, saying, 'I saw Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh and met with him. He was an old shaykh of average height, a thick beard, a beautiful character, and with many rarities.' The narrator continues, 'He loved the art of music and was inclined towards musicians.'

24 Ibn Zāfir has *qaṭṭi'ū* 'cut to pieces!'

25 Metre: *sarī'*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:279–280.

26 That is the lutenist or lute-maker.

[10.64.10]

Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar,²⁷ may God show him mercy, related to me that the Imām Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Māridīnī,²⁸ who was a friend of Amīn al-Dawlah and was his companion for a time, said that al-Ajall Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh was among those who distinguished themselves in the Arabic language. A great many people would attend his classes in the art of medicine and study with him. Two grammarians would also frequent his class and they received kindnesses and attention from Amīn al-Dawlah. Whenever one or other of his students would make many grammatical errors when reading, or have a speech defect, Amīn al-Dawlah would remain silent and leave it to one of the two grammarians to read instead and he would listen and then order the student to promise to give the grammarian something for reading instead of him.

[10.64.11]

Amīn al-Dawlah had a son but he did not comprehend the art of medicine and was, in all respects, far removed from the station of Amīn al-Dawlah, who said of him:²⁹

I complain unto God about a surly companion
 whose soul helps him (*tus‘ifuhū*) while he wrongs it (*yu‘sifuhā*).
 We are like sun and new moon together:
 the former lends the latter its light, but is eclipsed by it.

Amīn al-Dawlah also used to scold his son with this verse:³⁰

And time is the most precious thing that one³¹ is bound to preserve,
 but I see that to you it is the easiest thing to waste.

[10.64.12]

The shaykh and Imām Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī,³² the physician, may God show him mercy, related to me saying, ‘In Baghdad I met with the son of Amīn al-Dawlah and as we conversed, among that which he said was, “In the sky towards the

27 That is Ibn Raqīqah, see his entry below Ch. 15.46.

28 For his entry, see below Ch. 10.75.

29 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:281, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245.

30 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:283.

31 A has *‘unīta*, *Wāfi* has *‘unītu*.

32 See his entry Ch. 15.36.

South there is a vent into which smoke rises and from which winds descend.” And he told us many things of that ilk which go to show that he had neither any verified knowledge nor a sound disposition.’³³

[10.64.13]

The shaykh al-Sanī al-Ba‘labakkī, the physician, related to me, saying, ‘Three Christian physicians left us in Damascus for Baghdad. (Then he named them). When they had settled there they heard about Amīn al-Dawlah’s son and said, “His father’s reputation is great. It is fitting that we go to him and greet him and be of service to him. Then we will have met him before we travel to Syria.” So they sought his house and entered upon him and informed him that they were Christians who wished to have the honour of meeting him. Amīn al-Dawlah’s son welcomed them and bade them sit with him.’

The shaykh al-Sanī al-Ba‘labakkī related to me that it became clear to them that Amīn al-Dawlah’s son was simple-minded with weak ideas. This is because during their conversation he said, ‘They say that Syria is beautiful and Damascus is pleasant and I have decided to see them. However, I am going to construct something based on science and geometry so that when I travel there it will be a simple matter and I will experience no inconvenience.’ We said, ‘How will you construct it, Master?’ He said, ‘You know that Syria is lower than the clime of Baghdad and is below it, and this is mentioned in astronomy and the elevation of places one above the other.’ We said, ‘Yes, Master.’ He said, ‘I propose to use wooden wheels with large pulleys, above which will be planks laid out and nailed and upon which I will place all that is necessary for me. And when we set the wheels in motion they will move quickly with the pulleys in a downhill direction and will continue in this way until we reach Damascus with the least amount of effort.’ The narrators continued saying, ‘We were astounded at his heedlessness and ignorance.’

Then Amīn al-Dawlah’s son said, ‘By God, you must not leave until you be my guests and eat some food with me.’ Then he called for the attendant who

33 MS P has a marginal gloss connecting this anecdote with the story about the device reported below. The script is difficult to read and the translation conjectural and incomplete:

‘The one speaking about the vent is perhaps Amīn al-Dawlah’s son, who invented the wheel to Syria mentioned below after a few lines. He (the father?) was surprised by how this land-device worked (?). But speaking about an opening in the sky is not far-fetched. His father said about him: ‘We are like the sun and new moon together: the former lends the latter its light, but is eclipsed by it’. This son [... *illegible word* ...] sometimes [it is said] ‘it eclipses the sun’ (*yaksifu al-shams*), and sometimes ‘it obscures the sky’ (*yakhsif al-samā’*). The scribe made an error because this belongs to the class of things that produce eclipses.’

brought a costly dining table upon which he spread an exquisite white cloth,³⁴ the finest that could be, which appeared to be *naṣāfī* cloth of Baghdad,³⁵ a vessel in which was vinegar, and choice endives which he placed about him. Then he said, 'Eat, in the name of God.' So we ate a small amount since we were not accustomed to such food. Then he stopped eating and said, 'Servant, bring the washbasin.' And he brought a silver washbasin and a large piece of soap from Raqqah and poured water for him while he washed his hands and lathered the soap. Then he wiped his mouth and face and beard until his eyes and face were covered with soap and he all white with lather and looking at us all the while. One of our number was someone who couldn't restrain himself from laughing. It was too much for him and he rose and left us. Amīn al-Dawlah's son said, 'What is wrong with him?' So we said, 'Master, he is a little light-headed and this is normal for him.' He said, 'If he were to stay with us we would cure him.' Then we bade him farewell and left, begging God to save us from such ignorance as his.

[10.64.14]

A certain man of Iraq related that Amīn al-Dawlah had a friend whose son died. He was a man of good manners and knowledge but Amīn al-Dawlah did not send his condolences. When they met later the man scolded him for not sending his condolences for his son for the sake of their friendship. But Amīn al-Dawlah said, 'Do not blame me for this, for by God, I deserve more condolences than you since your son has died yet someone like my son is still alive.'

[10.64.15]

I have found these words of Amīn al-Dawlah contained in a letter he wrote to his son, who was known as Raḏī al-Dawlah Abū Naṣr. He says:

Turn your mind away from these trifles and towards attaining an understanding by which you may distinguish yourself. And avail yourself of the method I have repeatedly alerted you to and directed you to. And take the opportunity to do what is possible and understand its value and occupy yourself with thankfulness to God for it. And attain a valuable portion of knowledge such that you are confident that you have grasped it and mastered it, not merely read it and transmitted it, for all other portions are subservient to this portion and adhere to those who have attained it.

34 Ar. *ruqāq*. Thin, fine, or delicate when applied to garments, cloth, or bread etc.

35 Ar. *naṣfyyah*, pl. *naṣāfī*: a cloth of silk and linen. See Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:680.

Whoever seeks other portions without this one will either not find them, or, if he finds them, will not rely on them or have confidence that they will endure. And I seek refuge in God lest you choose to aspire to that which does not befit someone of high-mindedness, strength of character, and self-respect. And, as I have repeatedly advised, do not be intent on saying anything unless it is refined in both its meaning and its form of words and it is appropriate for you to say it. And you should be more intent on listening to that which is of benefit to you rather than what merely entertains you or is a source of pleasure to the naïve and the foolish – may God raise you above their station. And it is true what Plato said that virtues are bitter to drink but sweet afterwards, and vices are sweet to drink but bitter afterwards. And in the same vein, Aristotle continued, saying that vices are not sweet to drink for someone of an exalted disposition. Rather, the perception of their ugliness in his mind disturbs him so much that it spoils for him that which others think to be delightful. Similarly, a person of an exalted nature will be able to distinguish between what should be sought and what should be avoided, like a person in full health whose senses are enough for him to distinguish between what is beneficial and what is harmful. So do not choose for yourself – may God preserve you – anything that does not befit someone of your station, and overcome fanciful thoughts with the determination of the men of sound mind and aspire to this and you will be left under the control of your intellect and you will find joy within yourself and, as this continues, you will find yourself every day in a high station and on an elevated path to bliss.

[10.64.16]

Amīn al-Dawlah died in Baghdad on the twenty-eighth of the month of Rabīʿ 1 in the year 560 [12 February 1165] at the age of ninety-four years. He died as a Christian and left behind great wealth, much property, and books of peerless quality all of which was inherited by his son who lived on for a time. Amīn al-Dawlah's son was later strangled in the courtyard of his house during the first portion of the night and his property was taken and his books were carried by twelve porters to the house of al-Majd ibn al-Şāhib.³⁶ Amīn al-Dawlah's son had become a Muslim before his death, and it is said he was an old shaykh nearing eighty years of age.

36 Hibat Allāh ibn 'Alī Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Şāhib, *ustādh Dār al-Khilāfah* (d. 583/1187); see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:302–303, where he is described as powerful and particularly nasty, vile, stingy, wicked (*sayyi' al-ṭarīqah yartakibu l-ma'āşī bakhilan khasīs al-nafs sāqiṭ al-murū'ah madhmūm al-aḫl*).

[10.64.17.1]

In a letter from al-Sayyid al-Naqīb al-Kāmil ibn al-Sharīf al-Jalīl³⁷ to Amīn al-Dawlah I found this ode in which he eulogizes the latter:³⁸

Amīn al-Dawlah, may you be preserved for bestowing benefits,
 despite foes and enemies,
 And for the favours that you spread around, whenever
 misfortunes and hardships come in turns.
 You are the man who is found, when you are called,
 to be generous with his possessions newly acquired and inherited,
 Close to his friend despite distance,
 affectionate, never swerving from his affection,
 5 With sound opinion and speech, someone whose mind
 disdains to stray from what is right.
 I shall thank you for the benefits you have bestowed
 on me, whether we were close or far apart,
 And praise you, since praise is due to you,
 for the favours done to me in every company.
 But can my gratitude, with the passing of time,
 reach the extent of my loyalty and firm belief?
 I called upon you when Time was refractory,
 but then it became easy to handle for me.
 10 I called it and it heard me, while before
 it was aloof to me, deaf to the caller.
 So many boons you have given, unmatched,
 without condescension³⁹ or regard;
 So many benefactions that have lodged in my heart,
 in the deepest part of which you dwell.
 I find the yearning feelings towards you in my heart
 are like the fire in the flintstone:
 Whenever a thought of you is kindled by it,
 my homeland almost ejects me because of the heat of my ardour.

37 Unidentified.

38 Metre: *wāfir*.

39 For the expression *bi-lā mann* cf. a line by al-Najāshī al-Ḥarīthī (*bi-lā mannin ‘alayka walā bukhli*; Ullman, *Das Gespräch*, 111–112: ‘ohne dies als eine gnädige Herablassung dir gegenüber zu betrachten, und ohne Geiz’). It can also be connected with the Qur’anic expression (*ajrun*) *ghayru mannūn*, usually interpreted as ‘(a reward) unfailing’ (e.g. Q Fuṣṣilat 41:8).

- 15 My riding animals yearn, and I yearn, full of longing,
 when a thought of a meeting enters my heart.
 I am eager to sleep, hoping you will visit me in a dream,
 but how could my eyes fall asleep?⁴⁰
 I shall send them,⁴¹ eliminating (i.e., crossing) the deserts (*tubīdu l-
 bīda*)⁴²
 with a fast pace, recklessly through the dark, without a leader.
 If the Pleiades were to go along with them as a guide,
 they would be bewildered and complain of lengthy lack of sleep.
 Turn with me towards al-Zawrā' as a nightly vision (*zawran*),⁴³
 as parched camels turn to the water!
- 20 And if time passes – but who could make time
 pass for me according to what I wish? –
 And a visit would be possible for me, because
 misfortunes, I swear, have prevented me from visiting you,
 Then who could help me so that camels could transport me
 to you, even though I were to travel by night without provisions?
 I say to a friend who does not know what ignorance is:
 Are you trying to lead me astray or to guide me on the right path?
 If you are friendly, consider whom you befriend,
 and if you are hostile, consider to whom you are hostile.
- 25 If you love, you will know what it is to go to the end
 of things, so consider their beginnings;
 And let me praise a beneficent man: thereby you will know
 the difference between my being right and my being wrong.
 (Praise of) someone unique in excellence, having risen
 to the furthest heights, builder⁴⁴ of favours,
 A man of wise judgements that testify for him,
 evident (*bawādīn*) among settled people and nomads (*bawādī*).
 If they were compared (*qīsa*) with those of Quss,⁴⁵ he would fall short;
 and we know Quss's status in the tribe of Iyād.

40 The genitive of *wa-l-ruqādi*, required by the rhyme, is odd; one would expect an accusative (*wāw al-ma'īyyah*) or possibly a nominative.

41 The pronoun refers to the camels of line 15, but could also refer to the present poem.

42 Or, adopting the reading of Müller, Riḍā, and Najjār: 'stirring (the dust of) the deserts'.

43 Reading an imperative (*talaffat bī*). Al-Zawrā' is the name of several places, including a part of Baghdad, and it can refer to the river Tigris (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*).

44 Reading *mubnī*. The metaphor is unusual.

45 Quss ibn Sā'idah al-Iyādī, legendary pre-Islamic orator proverbial for his eloquence.

- 30 If you were his neighbour you would live next to a rain-cloud
 whose generosity⁴⁶ melts in a rainless year.
 Or if you ask him for help, he, a resolute man,
 would help you against Fate, as its enemy.
 He is generous with what his hands contain
 whenever someone calls out: Is there any generous man?
 He responds even before you call for his munificence
 and he provides for any calamity that befalls a gathering.
 A man of magnanimity, seldom blamed,
 whose enemies confirm that he confers benefits.
- 35 A man with the character of good wine, mixed
 with cold pure water, cooled by the north wind.
 With the least effort he gained high honours
 while others floundered despite their exertions.
 At the race's finish, when horses press on,
 the halfbred is separated from the thoroughbred.
 Abū l-Ḥasan, listen to me when I utter praise
 that is sweet, devoid of repeated motifs,
 Like the breaths of meadows over which the east wind
 has blown, after which they became scented:
- 40 I call your name in it, and the rhymes
 are perfumed not by Su'dā or Su'ād.⁴⁷
 I present it to you, asking your protection
 with your sense of justice, against the injustice of criticism.
 Someone like you sees how rhymes are directed
 to him and speaks about them with fairness.
 May you be rewarded with good deeds, for you are entitled to them,
 and may you be watered by the stars that bring the morning clouds.⁴⁸
 May you live through time, even though everything,
 in the course of time, comes to an end.

46 *Nadā* also means 'dew, moistness'; generosity is commonly compared to rain, sea, or other watery things.

47 Women's names often mentioned in love poetry.

48 In ancient and popular Arab meteorology some stars and constellations were associated with rain.

[10.64.17.2]

Al-Sharīf Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad ibn al-Habbāriyyah al-ʿAbbāsī⁴⁹ said, in a poem in praise of al-Ajall Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh:⁵⁰

O Sons of al-Tilmīdh,⁵¹ if I gave you your due
 my soul would not be passionate about my own family
 And I would console myself about my young children with you
 and my waist would become heavy of ...⁵²
 I have repudiated Kirmān⁵³ in exchange for you:
 you are its substitute to me, and such a noble one!
 The Leader of Sages,⁵⁴ whose blessing is hoped for:
 he is to me a heavenly garden where fruits can be plucked.
 5 My worldly affairs have prevented me from coming to ʿAmīd al-Mulk;⁵⁵
 my worldly life is unjust and unfair.
 If Hibat Allāh Abū l-Ḥasan, the unique one, saw me,
 it would be a precious gift from him,
 For he is the blossom of my epoch's palm-tree,
 sweet to the taste, all others being inferior dates.
 The world, with all in it together,
 because of his lofty qualities acknowledges these lofty qualities.⁵⁶
 The wishes of mankind, all of them,
 are scooped from the favours of his generosity,
 10 And wrapped in the mantles of his noble shade
 that protects from the vagaries of perdition.

49 al-Sharīf Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ Ibn al-Habbāriyyah (d. 504/1110–1111 or 509/1116), see *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Habbāriyya.' (Ch. Pellat), *EAL* 327 (C. Hillenbrand), al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-ʿIrāq*), ii:70–140, al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, i:130–132.

50 Metre: *ramal*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-ʿIrāq*), ii:129 (lines 1 and 3, preceded by four lines not in IAU; said to have been written to Ibn al-Tilmīdh 'on his illness', presumably the poet's). Fifteen lines (1, 3–4, 11–12, 14, 16, 21–22, 24–29) in al-Dalajī, *al-Falākah*, 110–111.

51 Addressing Ibn al-Tilmīdh's family; for his brother Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā, see the next entry, 10.65.

52 The sense of *al-m.nṣ.fah* is unclear.

53 Ibn al-Habbāriyyah, because of his lampoons on many leading persons, was forced to leave Baghdad for Isfahan and subsequently Isfahan for Kirmān, at an unknown date, where he died at a very advanced age, probably in 509/1115–1116.

54 *Raʿīs al-ḥukamāʾ*; Amīn al-Dawlah Ibn al-Tilmīdh is called thus in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xvi:287, and see line 28 below.

55 'Prop of the Realm', apparently another honorific of Amīn al-Dawlah (but above he was called Muwaffaq al-Mulk).

56 The repetition in *li-ʿulāhu bi-l-ʿulā* (if it is a repetition) is somewhat strange.

A sun of glory that you will never see
 eclipsed from the skies of noble deeds.
 His glory is too illustrious to be grasped by being described:
 he is greater than any description.
 He is the excuse of Fate,⁵⁷ or rather its beneficence,
 while all other creatures are dry and shabby.
 If I could, I and all that is mine would
 withdraw to the corners of his house.
 15 He established, as a religion for lofty deeds,⁵⁸ customs
 that are admired and considered charming.
 In him the world glories, that
 has come to spurn all others.
 My lord, how many sorrows have you dispelled,
 their gloom being lifted!
 And manifold favours you bestowed
 with a hand⁵⁹ that can still be asked for boons.⁶⁰
 From you there spread flashes of lightning that,
 when we took them as rain's harbingers, did not disappoint.
 20 From you a benevolence was seen that makes it impossible
 for any tongue and lip to show due gratitude.
 I present this eulogy to the sons of al-Tilmīdh,
 since each of them is full of knowledge.
 Yaḥyā's son among them, reviver of generosity,
 is even more munificent than those whose progeny he is;
 He excels in excellence
 all those who know him or don't know him.
 He made real his father's cognomen⁶¹
 by the nobility he has and the nature to which he is accustomed.

57 Reading, with AP, *'udhr* rather than *ghadr* ('treachery') as incorrectly in S, Müller, Riḍā, Najjār. Fate can use him as an excuse, as compensation for its evil; cf. Abū 'Alī al-Manṭiqī in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xv:226: *in kunta 'udhra l-dahri fi sū'i mā janat |jadāhu*; and al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-'Irāq)*, i:116, in a poem by the author: *anta 'udhru l-dahryā wāḥidahu |wa-laqaḍ a'ẓama lawlāhu jtirāmā*.

58 Reading *dīnan fi l-ma'ālī* (A, P) instead of *dunyā fi l-ma'ālī* (S) or *fi dunyā l-ma'ālī*, 'in the world of lofty deeds' (Müller, Riḍā, Najjār), which is a possible and perhaps better reading.

59 Paronomasia: *ayādīn* ('hands', 'favours'), *yad* ('hand').

60 The literal meaning of *murtashafah*, '(to be) sipped, sucked, drained' is, even considering the common metaphor 'moisture = generosity', only slightly less odd in Arabic than in English.

61 The *kunyah* (teknonym when indicating a son but often a nickname) of Yaḥyā was Abū l-Faraj 'Father (i.e., possessor) of Relief'.

- 25 They are descended from noble ancestors through Ṣā'id,⁶²
 I would give my father in ransom for their glory: how unsullied it is!
 Do not compare them with all mankind,
 or you would compare a lion of al-Sharā⁶³ with a frizzy wolf(?).⁶⁴
 And Ibn Ibrāhīm, a deity in lofty qualities:
 whoever calls him human would not do him justice.⁶⁵
 O leader of sages, uncover this (poem),
 an opulent virgin of the daughters of thought!⁶⁶
 I have dispatched my progeny, aiming (for you),
 while complaining of a fate of little fairness,
 30 Having indulged in the hope of your blessing,
 that it may lift the enveloping calamities.
 So remain the one who is in charge of glory, as long as⁶⁷ a sturdy she-
 camel
 brays from exhaustion, having travelled at a trot.
 You all have bestowed so many former generations of blessings,
 the younger sister of which is now hoped for.
 Renew their coming, my noble lords,
 with resumed favours from you!

[10.64.17.3]

Abū Ismā'īl al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī⁶⁸ wrote to Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh:⁶⁹

My lord, the love for whom
 is to me a spirit whereby the body lives:

62 Ṣā'id ibn Ibrāhīm (or, as in Ibn Khallikān, Ṣā'id ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Ibrāhīm) was the father of Amīn al-Dawlah Hibat Allāh and Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā.

63 Al-Sharā, said to be in Yemen, was a region proverbial for its lions.

64 The word *ja'dafah* (thus in all versions) has not been found anywhere. As Professor Manfred Ullmann points out (private communication), it appears to be a nonce word coined by the poet to suit the rhyme, based on *abū ja'dah*, a nickname of the wolf.

65 Najjār records a restrained marginal manuscript comment on this rather blasphemous line: 'There is no power and no might except through God! This is not befitting for al-Sayyid al-Sharīf in his poem of gratitude for the addressee.'

66 The poet refers to his poem, describing it, with a common metaphor, as 'virgin' in its originality.

67 One of many similar Arabic expressions for 'always'.

68 Abū Ismā'īl al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī (d. 515/1121), administrator, vizier, alchemist, and poet of the celebrated ode called *Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam*; EI² art. 'al-Ṭuḡhrā'ī' (F.C. de Blois), *EAL*, 783 (C. Hillenbrand).

69 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:279.

I seek help for pain in my back; but
 can a back feel pain that is supported by you?

Muḥammad ibn Jakkīnā⁷⁰ had fallen ill; Amīn al-Dawlah visited him. Then Ibn Jakkīnā said on him,⁷¹

You came to my place and thereby my status
 was raised – may my soul be ransom for such a visitor!
 The world has never yet seen
 a river⁷² that moved to someone who drank from it.

A certain poet in Baghdad came to Amīn al-Dawlah, complaining about his condition and asking him for a prescription. Amīn al-Dawlah wrote a suitable prescription for the illness that the man complained of. Then he handed to him a purse containing some dinars and said, ‘This will pay for a vegetarian broth (*muzawwarat zīrbāj*)’. The man took it and was cured after a few days. Then he wrote to Amīn al-Dawlah:⁷³

I came to him complaining of an illness,
 being in need of a cure and support.
 I said, when he was kind to me and cured me:
 ‘This is a doctor on whom there is a *zīrbāj*.’⁷⁴

70 Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Jakkīnā (one also finds Jakīnā and Ḥakīnā), d. 528/1133; a poet mainly of epigrams. See al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, ii:230–248, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xi:387–391.

71 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, ii:245, Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, iv:382, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xi:391.

72 A metaphor for generosity, *baḥr*, usually ‘sea’, can also mean ‘large river’, more compatible with drinking.

73 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ascribed (with another line between the two) to Ibn Jakkīnā in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, ii:234 and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:71. *Zīrbāj* is a dish involving meat, wine-vinegar, almonds, and various condiments, see Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, 43, 135, 472, 494–496; in this case the dish was without meat (*muzawwarah*), suitable for the sick (Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, 443).

74 Read *zīrbājū* instead of the normal form *zīr(a)bājū*, which would not scan correctly. The sense of the expression, perhaps involving a pun, is not clear; the attempt of the editor of *Wafayāt* to connect it with Persian *zawr-bāz* or *zawr-bāzū*, ‘strong’ or ‘of strong arm’, is not convincing.

[10.64.18]

Among the sayings of Amīn al-Dawlah: Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah⁷⁵ related to me, saying, ‘Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī⁷⁶ related to me, saying, Amīn al-Dawlah used to say to us’:

Do not assume that you can have full experiential knowledge of most diseases, for knowledge of some of them will come to you by way of Samāwah.⁷⁷

He also used to say:

When you see a thorn in someone’s body half of which is protruding, do not assume that you can pull it out as it may have broken up.

He also used to say:

The intelligent person should choose a manner of dress such that neither the commoners envy him for it nor the élite look down on him for it.

[10.64.19.1]

Among the poetry of al-Ajall Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh is the following, which was recited to me by Muhaddhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khiḍr al-Ḥalabī,⁷⁸ who had heard it from his father, who said: Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh recited the following to me, as being his own poetry:⁷⁹

My love of Sa’īd is a stable substance,
his love of me is an evanescent accident.

75 See Ch. 15.46.

76 See Ch. 10.75.

77 Samāwah: the steppe and desert land between Kufa and Syria; it was ‘crossed by important caravan routes connecting Iraq via Palmyra with Syria. See *ET*² art. ‘Samāwa’ (C.E. Bosworth).

78 Also known as al-Suṭayl (d. 655/1257); poet and accountant (*ḥāsib*). See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, i:178.

79 Metre: *sarī*. According to Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:73 and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:283, this was addressed to Amīn al-Dawlah’s son Sa’īd. The epigram (with *li-‘Amrin* instead of *Sa’īdan*) is ascribed to the Mu’tazilite al-Nazzām (d. between 220/835 and 230/845), addressing al-Jāhiz, in al-Tha’alibī, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 73.

My six directions⁸⁰ are occupied with him,
while he inclines along them to someone else.

He also recited to me, saying: My father recited to me, saying: The aforementioned recited to me⁸¹ as his own poetry:⁸²

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 brightly before it dies down?

He also recited to me, saying: My father recited to me, saying: The aforementioned recited to me as his own poetry:⁸³

Perish analogical reasoning! The case of passionate love
is not conducted on the path of one's intellect.
Part of it is the persistence of longing, which in our usage⁸⁴
is an accident, whereas bodies cease to exist rather than it.

[10.64.19.2]

He also recited to me, saying: My father recited to me, saying: The aforementioned recited to me as his own poetry, on the vizier al-Darkazīnī.⁸⁵

80 Front, back, left, right, up, down.

81 Of the three occurrences of *anshadanī* ('he recited to me') only the last is appropriate, because the verb is not used for uttering prose. The same oddity is repeated several times.

82 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245. Attributed to 'Īsā ibn Hibat Allāh ibn 'Īsā al-Naqqāsh al-Baghdādī (d. 544/1150) in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xviii:75 (yr 544); al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-ʿIrāq)*, iii:50; Ibn Sa'īd, *Murqīṣāt*, 67; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:165; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:277; and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:527–528. This epigram is also found below, in the entry on Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn al-Naqqāsh (15.13), attributed to his father.

83 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:72 (where the author adds that he has also found these lines attributed to Ibn al-Dahhān al-Mawṣili), al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:284.

84 *Wafayāt* and *Wāfi* have *bi-za'mihim* ('as they assert') instead of *bi-'urfīnā*.

85 Metre: *rajaz*. 'Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt ibn Salamah al-Darkazīnī was executed in 521/1127. For a similar epigram by Ibn al-Habbāriyyah, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-ʿIrāq)*, ii:77–78, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:454, the last line of which, preceded by the first of the present poem, is found anonymously in al-Ṣafadī, *Ghayth*, ii:205.

They said, 'So-and-so has become vizier (*wazar*)!'
 I said, 'O no! There's no refuge! (*lā wazar*)'⁸⁶
 I swear by God, if I had been made to judge him⁸⁷
 I would have made him herd the cows.'

He also recited to me, saying: My father recited to me, saying: The aforementioned recited to me as his own poetry:⁸⁸

People said, having seen how prominent
 he had become despite his youth:
 Who is this person who oversteps his worth?
 I replied, He who is made to advance with the rear.⁸⁹

He also recited to me, saying: My father recited to me, saying: The aforementioned recited to me as his own poetry:⁹⁰

I said to the venerable, magnanimous
 Sheikh, Abū l-Muẓaffar:
 Remember me to So-and-So-al-Dīn!⁹¹
 He replied: An effeminate will not use a member.⁹²

He also recited to me, saying: My father recited to me, saying: The aforementioned recited to me as his own poetry, a riddle on fish:⁹³

They have donned cuirasses, for fear of death,
 and put helmets on top of their heads;
 But when death came to them they perished
 by inhaling the pleasant soft breeze.

86 A quotation from Q al-Qiyāmah 75:11; one could also interpret it as 'O no! He cannot be a vizier!'

87 There is a metrical irregularity in *fīh(i)*.

88 Metre: *kāmil muraffal*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245.

89 Like the English, the Arabic contains an obscene innuendo.

90 Metre: *kāmil muraffal*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245. Attributed to Ibn al-Habbāriyyah in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-'Irāq)*, ii:88, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Adhkiyā'*, 184 and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, i:31.

91 Someone (a Muslim) whose 'honorific' name ends in al-Dīn, such as 'Alā' al-Dīn or Fakhr al-Dīn.

92 An English play on words instead of the untranslatable Arabic one: *al-mu'annathu lā yudhakkār* can mean 'an effeminate cannot be made to remember' or 'the feminine cannot be made masculine'.

93 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, ii:29.

[10.64.19.3]

Among the poetry of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh is also:⁹⁴

Drive yourself with knowledge to perfection,
 and you will reach happiness through its door;
 And do not hope for anything you have not caused yourself,
 for things occur only through their own causes.

Also:⁹⁵

If there were no veil before the soul that keeps it
 from reaching the truth concerning all eternity,
 It would understand everything that is difficult to attain,
 even the truth about cause and effect.

Also:⁹⁶

Knowledge is an increase for an astute man
 and a shortcoming for a stupid and frivolous man,
 Just as the day gives more light to people's eyes
 but covers the eyes of bats.

Also:⁹⁷

With two glasses I spent my lifetime
 and on them I always relied:
 A glass filled with ink
 and a glass filled with wine.
 With one I established my wisdom
 and with the other I removed the worries of my breast.

94 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

95 Metre: *basīf*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xix:282.

96 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xix:282, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245.

97 Metre: *kāmil muraffal*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:284. Attributed to al-Fārābī in al-Dalajī, *Falākah*, 107.

[10.64.19.4]

Also:⁹⁸

He humbles himself like the full moon that shines for the onlooker
 on the surfaces of water, though it is (in fact) high,
 Whereas those lower than he rise up to glory
 just as smoke rises above fire, though being lowly.

Also:⁹⁹

When you are envied you are an eyesore
 in people's eyes, so apply to them the kohl of humility.¹⁰⁰

Also:¹⁰¹

Do not despise an enemy who seems feeble,
 even though he has little force or toughness:
 The fly has the power to inflict a festering wound,
 a power of which a lion falls short.

Also:¹⁰²

A blemish in an ignorant, obscure person is obscured,
 whereas a blemish in a noble, well-known person is well known:
 Like the white of a fingernail, hidden by its insignificance,
 while its like in the black of the eye is noticed.

98 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Anonymously in Ibn Abī l-ʿIṣbaʿ, *Tahrīr al-tahbīr*, 512; attributed (obviously incorrectly) to Mūsā ibn ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Zarzārī (b. 658/1260) in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvi, 531. A version beginning *tawāḍaʿ takun ka-l-najmi* ('Be humble and be like the Pleiades') is frequently quoted on the internet.

99 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

100 Kohl was used as a medicine for eye diseases as well as for adornment.

101 Metre: *basīṭ*. Attributed to *al-amīr* Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Fulayḥ al-Zāhirī in al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i:353.

102 Metre: *basīṭ*. Attributed to Ibn Hindū in al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 63, to Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Makhzūmī al-Baṣrī in al-Thaʿālibī, *Tatīmmah*, 29, to Abū Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī in al-Thaʿālibī, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 207, to al-Makhzūmī in al-Ḥarīrī, *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ*, 90, anonymously (but said to be prior to Abū Tammām) in al-Khafājī, *Sirr al-faṣāḥah*, 72.

[10.64.19.5]

Also:¹⁰³

The soul of an honorable, generous man will last
 in him, even though his skin be touched by emaciation.
 A noble man is noble even though harm befall him,
 for there is modesty and disdain of sin in him.
 A scoundrel will not be led to a noble deed
 because such a disposition is perverted.
 A drop is venom if contained by the mouth
 of a viper, but a pearl if held by an oyster-shell.¹⁰⁴

Also:¹⁰⁵

The luxuriousness of youth was an intoxication,
 but I sobered up and began to live a decent life,
 And I sat down, anticipating extinction,¹⁰⁶ like a rider
 who knows the place to alight but spends the night outside the dwell-
 ing.

Also:¹⁰⁷

They said, 'A man's youth is treacherous,
 whereas grey hairs are loyal: they do not depart'.
 I replied, 'You are making a far-fetched analogy:
 the former is beloved, the latter imposed.'

103 Metre: *munsariḥ*.

104 For the popular belief that pearls have their origin in raindrops, see *ET*² art. 'lu'lu' (A. Dietrich).

105 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukama'*, 341; Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥayāt*, vi:71; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Trāq)* ii:129; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:282; al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī, *al-Īdāh*, 580. Attributed to Abū l-Faraj al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Mastūr (d. 392/1001–1002) in Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā'*, x:166. The second line is said to be a quotation from Muslim ibn al-Walīd (see his *Dīwān*, 338).

106 Thus according to the vowelling in A, Yāqūt, and al-Qazwīnī (*al-fanā'*); the *Dīwān* has *al-finā'*, '(looking at) the fore-court', which is a possible interpretation here (perhaps the ambiguity is intended).

107 Metre: *basīṭ mukhalla'*.

Also:¹⁰⁸

And I see the defects of other people, without seeing
 a defect in myself, even though it is closer to me,
 Just as the eye reveals other faces, while its own face,
 though close to it, is hidden from it.

Also:¹⁰⁹

Truly, it is one of the characteristics of harsh Time
 to be unjust to those who are already grieving,
 Just as you can see that one of the humours
 will most often pour its harm into a weak organ.

[10.64.19.6]

Also:¹¹⁰

One glass quenches the flame of thirst,
 A second helps to digest one's food,
 The third helping of wine is for joy,
 And one's mind is driven out by adding another cup.

Also:¹¹¹

You, who shot at me from the bow of his separation
 with the arrow of avoidance, the remedy for which has a high price:
 Be pleased with someone whose absence is absent from you,
 for that is a sin that carries its own punishment.
 If the only torment that would afflict him were
 being far from you, that would suffice him.

108 Metre: *kāmil*. Attributed in al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038), *Tatimmat*, 93, to Abū l-Ghawth ibn Niḥrīr al-Munayḥī, an earlier poet.

109 Metre: *wāfir*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245.

110 Metre: *rajaz*. The first line only scans if one reads *yutaffī* (instead of the normal *yutfī* = *yutfī'u*), but the second verbal form is not in the dictionaries.

111 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukama'*, 341; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:70; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:281–282. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-'Irāq)*, ii:236 quotes the second line, attributing it to Ibn Jakkīnā/Ḥakkīnā.

Also:¹¹²

I reproached you, since your apparition did not visit (me, in a dream)
and I was robbed of sleep, yearning for it.
But then it visited me, making me happy; and it reproached me,
as it is said: dreams are topsy-turvy.

Also:¹¹³

The sword of your eyelids is superior to
keen swords in their sheaths:¹¹⁴
The latter can kill but cannot
restore souls, warding off death,
Whereas your eyes, looking askance, kill me
but revive me with a furtive glance, quietly.

Also:¹¹⁵

His beautiful traits are perfect, apart from his freckles,
sweetly placed, adorned with a cheerful expression.
They branded with these his brightly shining countenance,
on purpose, so that it be known that he is a full moon.¹¹⁶

Also:¹¹⁷

Do not think that the blackness of his mole is a defect
of Nature, or that it was made to appear by mistake:
Rather, the pen, depicting the curve of his brow,
made a full stop on his cheek.¹¹⁸

112 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:71; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:282; Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, *Dīwān al-ṣabābah*, 125.

113 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

114 The common metaphor, in Arabic poetry, of the 'killing' glances of the beloved is supported by the fact that *jafīn* means 'sword-sheath' as well as 'eyelid'.

115 Metre: *kāmil*.

116 The moon (a very positive image for a man) is often described as spotted or freckled.

117 Metre: *basīṭ*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245; attributed to al-Ḥayṣ Bayṣ in al-Irbilī, *Tadhkirah*, 131.

118 The image revolves on the shape of the Arabic letter N: a curve with a dot (◌).

[10.64.19.7]

Also:¹¹⁹

He who chided me for my love saw him,
 not having seen him before.
 He said to me, 'If you were in love with this one,
 people would not blame you for being in love!
 Tell me, who is the other one you love,
 for there is no one but him that should be loved!
 And thus, unwittingly, he commanded me to love
 the one whom he had forbidden.

Also:¹²⁰

O you, for whose sake I have dressed in clothes of emaciation,
 pale-yellow, streaked with red tears:¹²¹
 Take the last remnant of a soul which, if it has not yet melted
 in longing for you, I would banish from my ribs!

Also:¹²²

You are always on my mind, in every situation: when I sleep
 by means of your apparition in a dream and when I wake, by remembering.
 My nights are long, because of your abandoning me (may it not last!)
 and my yearning for those short nights.

119 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basīṭ*. Ascribed to Ibn al-Tilmidh in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix:282, but to 'Alī ibn Wakī' al-Tinnīsī (d. 393/1003) in al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatimah*, i:380–381 and (lines 1–2, 4) to Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn Bishr al-Ramlī in al-Tha'ālibī, *Tatimmat*, 45, where al-Tha'ālibī (apparently forgetting that he has already quoted them as being by Ibn Wakī') adds that he has seen these lines in the *Dāvān* of the physician-poet Abū l-Faraj ibn Hindū (d. 420/1029).

120 Metre: *kāmil*. Ascribed to Ibn Maṭrūḥ (d. 649/1251) in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:262; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, i:128 ascribes the lines to Abū Naṣr al-Sa'dī, adding that they are also said to be by Ibn Maṭrūḥ.

121 Tears are conventionally described as bloody.

122 Metre: *khafif*.

Also:¹²³

Passion has pared me down like a penknife, and your avoidance
 has made me waste away so that I have become thinner than yesterday,¹²⁴
 I cannot be seen until I see you: dust particles are visible
 only when the sun is at the horizon.

Also:¹²⁵

A gazelle (*ghazāl*), surpassing the sun (*al-ghazālah*) in beauty,
 with languid looks and sickly-drooping eyelids:
 'May God make you angry!' he said, when I desired him.
 Would that he had said it with a friendly face!

Also:¹²⁶

Though you have acquired a substitute for being with me,
 You must not think that I will not have a substitute too!
 With my strength of mind, well known to you,
 I pre-empt the seeking of consolation by rejecting you.

Also:¹²⁷

There was a time when I considered
 a meeting with you the most precious gain.
 But, having found consolation,
 my reason's sky is bright again.
 Why should I be besotted with beauty
 that becomes the cause of ugliness?

123 Metre: *tawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245. Attributed to al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī Abū l-Jawā'iz al-Wāsiṭī (d. 460/1067–1068) in Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, i:350.

124 Note that the Arabic does not seem to mean 'thinner than I was yesterday' (which would have been *anḥala minnī amsī*), but is metaphorical. This rather odd proverb-like phrase has not been found elsewhere.

125 Metre: *khafīf*.

126 Metre: *basīṭ*.

127 Metre: *mujtathth*.

[10.64.19.8]

Also:¹²⁸

If a willow twig could walk as well as she can walk,
 bending, it would not walk modestly.
 On her chest are two luminous stars, carried by
 two columns that never approached a touching hand,¹²⁹
 And which she preserves in the silk of her gowns.
 Thus we are in the profane, and the two columns in the sacred pre-
 cinct.

Also:¹³⁰

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

Also:¹³¹

Do not think that I avoid you because I am bored of you:
 you do not have to fear I will forget you.
 Often separation is a better motive for being together,
 and often being together is a better motive for separation.

Also:¹³²

My newly sprouted beard (*'idhār*) once was her excuse (*'udhr*) for being
 with me;
 now it is grey and has become her excuse for rejecting me.
 How strange: something that one day led to love,
 then changes and, the next day, leads to rejection.

128 Metre: *basīt*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xix:281.

129 The two 'columns' (the woman's legs) are also the 'cornerstones' of the Kaaba, touched by pilgrims' hands. The 'sacred precinct' (*al-ḥaram*) in the next line alludes to the holy area in Mecca of which the Kaaba is the centre.

130 Metre: *basīt*. Attributed to the poet al-Abīwardī (d. 507/1113) in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xvii:258, al-Abīwardī, *Dīwān*, 176.

131 Metre: *khafīf*.

132 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

[10.64.19.9]

Also, a riddle on clouds:¹³³

One that comes over us, but not being hostile,
 Dwelling in one place after another,
 Whose crying and laughing is all the same:¹³⁴
 When he cries he makes everyone on earth laugh.

Also, a riddle on a balance:¹³⁵

What is a thing that has different inclinations,¹³⁶
 That is just on earth and in heaven,
 That judges justly, without hypocrisy,
 Blind, but showing the right course to everyone who can see,
 Dumb, but not through a defect or illness,
 That can dispense of plain speech and hints,
 That answers, when called by someone who doubts,
 The call by raising and lowering?¹³⁷

Also, a riddle on a coat of mail:¹³⁸

A white one, whose shape is not for the white (swords) and brown
 (lances),¹³⁹
 that has been made correct by the mutual assistance of heat and
 cold;

133 Metre: *rajaz*.

134 A cloud is 'laughing' when it shows flashes of lightning, promising rain.

135 Metre: *rajaz*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:69, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:281, both with an extra line at the end.

136 Ibn al-Khallikān and al-Ṣafadī have *mukhtalifu l-asmāʾ* (having different names), explained (*Wafayāt*, vi:70) as 'the balance of the sun, which means astrolabe' (which explains vs. 2), 'the balance of speech, which is syntax', 'the balance of poetry, which is metre', 'the balance of meaning, which is logic', and the (proper) balance or scales. However, it is unlikely that the poet thought of any but the ordinary sense of *mīzān*, on earth and, at the Resurrection, in heaven (see Q al-A'rāf 7:8, al-Anbiyā' 21:47, al-Rahmān 55:7 etc.).

137 There is untranslatable word-play with grammar: *rafʿ*, *khafḍ*, *nidāʾ* mean 'raising', 'lowering', 'call', respectively, but also 'nominative', 'genitive', 'vocative'. The verse added in *Wafayāt* and *Wāfi* is: 'That is eloquent when suspended in the air'.

138 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

139 Perhaps the sense is 'a white (thing) but not a white woman to be conquered as a prize in a raid'.

One that reveals itself to us as grains,¹⁴⁰ yet has not been in a mill,
 but has been subjected to hammering and filing:
 With this one I protected myself, and it was like
 the sun, by which a bright star¹⁴¹ is obscured.

Also, a riddle on a needle:¹⁴²

One that earns a living of which another gains possession,
 but she receives neither praise nor a fee for it.
 She disperses assemblies but it is her wont to join things;
 she serves people but is herself served by ten.
 When she moves she proudly drags the hems of her trains:
 a trait belonging to pride, but there is no pride in her.
 You see all people dressing themselves in the clothes she sheds;
 generous to all, though she has no abundant riches.
 She is of a glorious family(?),¹⁴³ that is undisputable:
 cutting Indian swords¹⁴⁴ can be traced back to its might.
 She has suffered from emaciation, like me,
 even though being abandoned does not dismay her as it dismays me.

Also, a riddle on the shadow:¹⁴⁵

A thing of bodies yet not itself embodied;
 at times it moves, or it is still.
 It is completed at the moments it comes into being or perishes,
 but when it is alive there is a waning:
 When lights are clearly visible (*bānat*) it is visible to the onlooker,
 but when they disappear (*bānat*), it is invisible (*laysa yabīnū*).

140 The ringlets of the mail.

141 On *al-kawkab al-fard* see Lane, *Lexicon*, 2364: either any bright star or a specific one in the constellation Hydra.

142 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

143 Syntax and sense are unclear. The drift is apparently that needle and swords are both made of iron or steel.

144 'Indian' is a stock epithet, not to be taken literally, of good quality swords already in pre-Islamic poetry. See also below, Ch. 11.19.2.6; Ch. 13.58.4.3; Ch. 13.58.4.4; Ch. 14.32.4; Ch. 14.54.15.

145 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Manẓūr, *Surūr*, 127.

[10.64.19.10]

Also, verses written on a mat:¹⁴⁶

I spread my cheek for guests; the trait of humility always
 belongs to any astute and clever person.
 My humility raised my status among them at times,
 and I occupied the place of honour in the session.

Also, the same theme:¹⁴⁷

Many a lover's meeting have I witnessed, and enjoyed
 an embrace from both lovers together.
 They found in me one worthy of love, a hiding-place for
 secrets, and one who obeys a friend.

Also, on a censor:¹⁴⁸

If being abandoned kindles the fire of passion,
 then my heart is fired for a union of lovers.¹⁴⁹
 I divulge the secrets that I harbour,
 which become apparent secretly or openly.
 When a friend keeps my story to himself,
 my good fragrance can only spread it.

Also, on the same:¹⁵⁰

Each fire is kindled by being abandoned
 but my fire is lit at a lover's union.
 If am upset by being rejected, the passion subsides
 and love is not on my mind.

146 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:245.

147 Metre: *khafif*.

148 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

149 Ignoring the text and translating as if it read *li-l-waṣl* (see note to the Arabic).

150 Metre: *khafif*.

Also, on the same:¹⁵¹

Lovers complain of ardent love
 when they are separated or far from each other,
 But I suffer worst from the fire of yearning
 on the days of lovers' union.

Also, on the same:¹⁵²

Many a private space, of unattainable status, have I allowed
 myself to be in, unveiled,
 While seeing me reveals to whoever looks at me
 the fire of a lover and the fragrance of a loved one.

Also, on a washbowl for the wine-glasses:¹⁵³

If you address a loved one among people
 then be like me and you will be considered a true friend.
 When they have taken from each cup all of its limpid content,
 I am content with the dregs they have left.

[10.64.19.11]

He said also:¹⁵⁴

Do not pray to God asking Him to torment someone who loves
 her ugly appearance with not being united with her.

Also:¹⁵⁵

You have slurped a lot of eggs so that
 your prick might stay erect for a long time.
 What cannot stand with the help of your own 'eggs'¹⁵⁶
 will not stand with the help of someone else's eggs.

151 Metre: *kāmil muraḥḥal*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 341.

152 Metre: *munsariḥ*.

153 Metre: *ṭawīl*. For a similar epigram see below, Ch. 10.67.4.4.

154 Metre: *kāmil*.

155 Metre: *kāmil majzū' muraḥḥal*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix: 246, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:284.

156 *Bayḍah*, 'egg', can also mean 'testicle'.

Also, lampooning someone for having the evil eye:¹⁵⁷

One with rounded ankle:¹⁵⁸ make use of him
 for striking down newly planted crops or overthrowing thrones!
 If his eye looked at the Pleiades
 it would cause them to move to Ursa Major.¹⁵⁹

Also:¹⁶⁰

O abode, do not find it strange that a man turns at you,
 after separation from his loved ones has made his tears flow!
 Once I knew a little moon who dwelt in you, who was my close friend
 for a while, my eyes seeking the places where he rises in the sky.

Also:¹⁶¹

A friend went far away from me; when he had gone I had
 love-pain that stayed, to replace the unclouded good life.
 Fate's vagaries, jealous of him, snatched him away;
 before long they shall join me with him.

Also:¹⁶²

Be not surprised about my heart's longing
 for them, excuse my passion:
 A bow, though being lifeless,
 moans when arrows part from her.

157 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīf*. Attributed to Yūsuf ibn Durrah, known as Ibn al-Darrī (d. 545/1151) in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vii:230 and al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-'Irāq)*, ii:327.

158 i.e., unlucky, ill-omened; see al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, ii:389 (*mudawwar al-ka'b: yuḍrabu fī l-shu'm*), al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā'*, ii:163 (*qīla: mudawwar al-ka'b, wa-fulān mash'ūm*). Since *ka'b* also means 'cube', the expression *mudawwar al-ka'b* has the same incongruent ring as, in English, 'a square peg in a round hole'.

159 *Banāt Na'sh* can also be Ursa Minor. The Pleiades (*al-Thurayyā*) are a very favourable constellation; Ursa Major/Minor in Arabic is *Banāt Na'sh*, literally 'the daughters of the bier'.

160 Metre: *basīf*.

161 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

162 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīf*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix:281.

Also:¹⁶³

How can I delight in living in a town
 where the inhabitants are not those who inhabit my heart?
 Even if it were 'Paradise brought near'¹⁶⁴
 I would not be pleased with it unless its Riḍwān were there.¹⁶⁵

[10.64.19.12]

Also, an elegy:¹⁶⁶

For how long will you stick to the delusion of wishes?
 Did you get a safe-conduct from this world of yours?
 Can one be pleased with a life after pleasure has gone?
 No, not even if one's soul could live forever!¹⁶⁷
 The sky is grieving for the loss of him,
 its winds being the breath of the sad sufferer,
 The rain its tears, and what flashes in it
 the fire of love-pain, and the thunder the moaning.
 If those who blame me for weeping tasted the pain of losing him
 they would scorn smiles and solace.
 They followed you when they performed the ritual prayer for you
 and you remained like the Pleiades, guiding them everywhere.
 You were the one placed at the front ranks, whether fighting in a cam-
 paign
 with worthy opponents, or when reciting the Qur'an.
 May you not be far!¹⁶⁸ A faraway one is not he who has gone away
 but is alive, but a far one is he who is near.¹⁶⁹

163 Metre: *sarī*.

164 See Q al-Shu'arā' 26:90, Qāf 50:31, and al-Takwīr 81:13.

165 'Riḍwān' is apparently the name of an absent friend. It is also the name of the guardian angel of Paradise in Islamic lore; he is not mentioned in the Qur'an but the name may be based on Q Āl 'Imrān 3:15 and other verses that mention God's *riḍwān* ('pleasure').

166 Metre: *kāmil*.

167 Reading, with A, *khulūda janānī* ('eternity of soul'); but perhaps one could read *khulūda jinānī*, 'eternity of (Paradisial) gardens'.

168 An ancient formula used in laments for the dead.

169 Meaning, apparently, that someone who has died, though nearby, is truly far away, unlike the distant living.

[10.64.19.13]

Also, an elegy on the *amīr* Sayf al-Dawlah Ṣadaqaḥ ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Dubays al-Asadī¹⁷⁰ when he was killed:¹⁷¹

Let those who used to ask you for favours weep for you, son of Maṣṣūr,
 when a bitterly cold crosswind blows,
 And let him remind them of those who repelled them with a frown:
 a man who used to meet them with a cheerful and help them.
 When he reached above the sky, with an ambition
 for which the eyes of the envious are averted and are made to water,
 Fate struck him, or rather struck us with his loss,
 just as when the full moon in the dark, on its brightest night, is
 eclipsed.
 Farewell! Our hearts will forever be wholly devoted to grief,
 as long as the wind blows,¹⁷²
 And may the eye of the sky never cease to pour abundantly,
 on a grave that hides you, its dripping rain.

Also, congratulating someone on receiving a robe of honour:¹⁷³

Though its lineages are noble and exalted,
 it is led as a bride to a noble, worthy equal,¹⁷⁴
 To someone who adorns it and is adorned by it,
 just as do the locks and the earrings of a pretty girl.

[10.64.19.14]

The *raʿīs* Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn Aflaḥ,¹⁷⁵ who had recovered from an illness, wrote to Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh:¹⁷⁶

170 Mazyadid ruler of al-Ḥillah, who was killed in battle in 501/1108; see *EI*² art. 'Ṣadaqa b. Maṣṣūr b. Dubays' (K.V. Zetterstéen).

171 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

172 i.e., forever.

173 Metre: *wāfir*.

174 The word for 'robe of honour' (*khil'ah*) is feminine.

175 Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī ibn Aflaḥ (d. 535/1141), *kātib*, poet, and critic. See al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-ʿIrāq)*, ii: 52–69, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:389–391, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx:435–438.

176 Metre: *ramal*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:73 (together with the following reply as well as two further replies in verse by Ibn Aflaḥ and Ibn al-Tilmīdh).

I am hungry! Save me
 from this starvation!
 My deliverance lies in a bite of bread,
 even though it be coarse, of bad quality.¹⁷⁷
 Don't say to me, 'Wait a while!'
 – I cannot wait-a-while.
 Today my empty stomach will not accept
 any intercession on behalf of hunger.

Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh replied:¹⁷⁸

Thus it is, guests¹⁷⁹ of those like me
 complain of famine;
 But I don't think I can intercede
 on behalf on something harmful.
 Therefore be content with porridge instead:¹⁸⁰
 that is better than coarse bread.
 Upon my life, say as you write it,
 'I hear and obey!'

[10.64.19.15]

He sent the literary anthology *Discussions of the Lettered* (*K. al-Muḥāḍarāt*) by al-Rāghib¹⁸¹ as a present to the vizier Ibn Ṣadaqah, writing to him:¹⁸²

When it was impossible to remain in the illustrious
 presence of our lord the vizier al-Ṣāḥib,
 And I wished to be remembered in the presence of his glory,
 I made him remember by means of the *Discussions* by al-Rāghib.¹⁸³

177 This gloss is found in MSS APS: The word *quṭā'ah* means 'coarse flour, cut from bran; when baked it is called *quṭā'ah*'; compare Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

178 Metre: *ramal*.

179 'Guests' apparently stands for 'patients' here.

180 *Sawīq* is a kind of gruel made of wheat or barley.

181 Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. early 5th/11th century), author of works on ethics, theology, philology, and of the literary anthology *Muḥāḍarat al-udabā' wa-muḥāwarāt al-shu'arā' wa-l-bulaghā'*. See Key, 'Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī'; *Encycl. Iranica*, art. 'Rāgeb Eṣfahānī' (Geert Jan van Gelder).

182 Metre: *kāmil*.

183 There is a play on words, for one could also translate 'by means of the presentations of a desiring one'.

Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Faḍl¹⁸⁴ had addressed some worrying reproach to Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, who in reply sent him a plain black dress (*qamīṣ*),¹⁸⁵ on which he had written:¹⁸⁶

I like you in black, dragging its train,
as a preacher,¹⁸⁷ but not while mentioning my faults.

He said also:¹⁸⁸

A book reached me that did not increase my understanding
of the lordly quality and the excellence (or favour) of the one who
donated it to me,
So I said, since you put me to shame with its beginning:
'Excellence must needs come to those who deserve it.'¹⁸⁹

[10.64.19.16]

He wrote to the vizier Sa'd al-Mulk Naṣīr al-Dīn,¹⁹⁰ at the beginning of a letter:¹⁹¹

May your fortune be continually propitious,
and the fortune of your opponent dented with humiliation!
And may you never be deprived of a gift from the Merciful
that again fills your abode with those who seek your favours!
You are a man with wonderfully open hands, when
a base man's hands, fettered, withholds favours.
His hands are generous with wealth, without being asked, and when
his eloquence is asked he outstrips mankind in speech.

184 Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl, a colleague, see below, Ch. 10.68.

185 It is said to be *muṣmat*, which could mean 'plain coloured, unpatterned' or 'made of a single material'; the former seems more likely here.

186 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

187 'According to al-Māwardī (...) the *khaṭīb* ["preacher"] ought preferably to wear black clothes, according to al-Ghazzālī, white' [*EI*² art. 'Khaṭīb' (J. Pedersen)].

188 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

189 The sense is rather obscure. It is apparently addressed to someone called Faḍl or Abū l-Faḍl; the last hemistich is also found (as a first hemistich) in a later poem by al-Qalqashandī, on Abū l-Faḍl al-Musta'in, Abbasid caliph in Cairo, 808/1406–816/1414 (al-Qalqashandī, *Subh*, ix:180).

190 Abū l-Mahāsīn Sa'd al-Mulk, vizier of Muḥammad ibn Malik-Shāh in 496/1103 and of Malik-Shāh II in 498/1105.

191 Metre: *basīṭ*.

- 5 He is not happy to seek excuses,
 while a miser thinks of some explanation for his stinginess.
 He hastens to be generous, even before being asked, thinking that
 giving it quickly after people have humbled themselves is in fact a
 delay.
 No wonder that when the noontime sun is eclipsed and appears again
 people are full of glorification¹⁹² and exultation.
 For you are the sword of Ghiyāth al-Dīn,¹⁹³ which he has sheathed
 for protection, but which turns to the enemies unsheathed.
 May the throne¹⁹⁴ never be without a rain when people despair,
 the dew¹⁹⁵ of which may continue to be liberally given to those who
 seek it.
- 10 For it is not fitting to be supported¹⁹⁶ by any other than Sa'd [al-Mulk],
 even though they lend it reverence and glorification.
 Hail to thee forever, in pure bliss free from misfortunes,
 feared and hoped for!¹⁹⁷

[10.64.19.17]

At the opening of a letter, replying to Jamāl al-Ru'asā' Abū l-Faṭḥ Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn Ṣā'id,¹⁹⁸ he wrote:¹⁹⁹

The fragrance of the meadows' breaths, being sickly,²⁰⁰ when
 their visitors are dew and dripping rain,²⁰¹
 On a soft, smooth ground, its face adorned and endowed
 by St John's wort and oxeeye,

-
- 192 Instead of *tasbīḥan* (implying praise of God) Najjār and Riḍā have *tabjīlan*, 'veneration'.
 193 The Seljuq ruler Muḥammad ibn Malik-Shāh Abū Shujā' Ghiyāth al-Dunyā wa-l-Dīn (498/1105–511/1118).
 194 *Dast* is 'place of honour', 'throne', or a synonym of *majlis*, 'assembly, place of gathering' (class room, literary salon).
 195 Both 'rain' (*ghayth*, an allusion to Ghiyāth al-Dīn) and 'dew' are common metaphors for generosity.
 196 Translation uncertain. *Musnad* or *misnad*, 'cushion' perhaps has the sense in which Ibn Baṭṭūṭah uses it, referring to the 'vizier's' portico in China (see Dozy, *Supplément*).
 197 Feared by opponents, hoped for by others.
 198 Another member of the Ibn al-Tilmīdh family; he is called a *kātib* (state secretary) in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xvi:283.
 199 Metre: *kāmil*.
 200 'Sickly' is here not to be taken in a negative sense but rather as 'languidly'.
 201 The predicate comes only in the last line of the piece.

Its abundance guaranteed by a permanently staying cloud,
 its thirst relieved by a abundantly flowing brook,
 Where the sky has cried and made it laugh, just as
 when I cry and, in the morning, Nawār²⁰² laughs at me,
 And when the sun faces it, it shines
 and the light-giving (sun?) intermingles with the blossom,²⁰³
 And the east wind struts proudly in the branches,
 and he who yearns as well as others have a desire to shed tears,
 And when birds sing everywhere,
 remembrance showing the anxieties in his (their?) breast –
 All this is not better than your protection, whether you are present
 or absent and reports bring you near.²⁰⁴

[10.64.19.18]

In a letter to him, Jamāl al-Mulk Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Aflāh wrote:²⁰⁵

Truly, since you left
 my day is all yearning, my night all moaning.
 Never before have I known a man like me
 with a body that remains and a heart that departs.
 Someone free of care says, seeing that my fondness
 for your memory does not abate:
 ‘Console yourself!’ Then I reply: ‘May you be struck by separation!
 Do you know from where the love-pain of parting comes?
 And how I could find consolation,
 while my grief is loyal and my patience treacherous?’

In reply, Amīn al-Dawlah wrote:²⁰⁶

And, I swear by the love for you, since I parted
 from you, my heart is sad and my tears flow copiously.

²⁰² A woman's name.

²⁰³ Following A in reading *al-nawwāru wa-l-nuwwāru*; the translation of *al-nawwār* is uncertain.

²⁰⁴ The poem is an exercise in extended enjambment of the type ‘X (... , several lines intervening) is not better than ...’, one of many modelled on a famous passage by the pre-Islamic poem al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī.

²⁰⁵ Metre: *mutaqārib*. Lines 1, 2, and 5 in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam* xvii:340 (yr 533).

²⁰⁶ Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xvii:341, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:246 (lines 1, 3, 6).

Helpful patience betrayed my expectation
 and the witness of my claim²⁰⁷ is a fountain of tears.
 God, how good were those bygone days!
 Would that yearning could bring back the past.
 I keep cherishing the sincere friendship we knew
 and a well-kept affection will preserve it for you.
 I shall guard the love for you against any slanderer;
 the love of noble people is a precious thing.
 Why should it not be, since we are two hands
 of which you, with your excellence are the right hand!
 Whenever I say, 'I shall forget you!' passion replies,
 'Impossible! That is what will not happen.'
 How could I aspire to forget
 while my patience is treacherous and my affection faithful?

[10.64.19.19]

In the opening of a letter to al-'Azīz Abū Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid, *mustawfi l-mamālik*,²⁰⁸ he wrote:²⁰⁹

By the life of your father! Whenever good things come to anybody
 he is praising (*ḥāmid*) Ibn Ḥāmid.
 It is as if they are thanking Āluh²¹⁰ with their gratitude
 for his lofty qualities, but there is no gratitude like that of Ibn Ṣā'id.²¹¹
 They were informed about him and gave praise for a good deed,
 and I have the best testimonies for what you have been praised for.

207 All versions except A have 'my complaint'.

208 Abū Naṣr al-'Azīz Aḥmad ibn Ḥāmid ibn Muḥammad (d. 525/1130–1131), who was *mustawfi* ('accountant-general') under the Seljuq Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh; see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:188–190, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vi:299–300. His nickname is spelled Aluh in *Wafayāt* and *Wāfi*, but metre and etymology (from Persian *ālūh*, 'eagle') require reading Āluh.

209 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

210 Not surprisingly this is misspelled *al-ilāh* ('God') in Müller and Riḍā, and as *li-ilāh* in Najjār. The ambiguity of Aluh/*ilāh* and *dāna* 'to owe thanks' and 'profess belief' seems to be intended.

211 Ibn Ṣā'id is Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh himself.

He wrote to Ibn Aflah:²¹²

You wronged me when you decide to travel:
 now my worries are united by the scattering of our union.
 A man whose nearness makes al-Muwaffaq happy²¹³
 yet leaves him willingly is surely not fortunate (*muwaffaq*).

He wrote to Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad,²¹⁴ when he visited Sāwah²¹⁵ and entered its library, which had been founded as a *waqf* by the latter:²¹⁶

May God make you prosper with good things,²¹⁷ since you bestowed it generally
 on those who seek it, Muwaffaq al-Dīn!
 You have brought near to the people a garden that brings together
 choice parts of excellence more delightful than the black-eyed heavenly damsels,²¹⁸
 Where the fruits of the intellect are within reach
 in clusters,²¹⁹ in sweet varieties.
 May you forever rise with every pious deed,
 helped with fortunate power and ability,
 And may God have mercy on every listener
 who follows my prayer with saying Amen!

[10.64.20]

Amīn al-Dawlah wrote the following books:

1. *The Medical Formulary (al-Aqrābādhīn)* in twenty chapters whose renown and circulation amongst the people is greater than his other books.²²⁰
2. The abridged medical formulary for hospitals (*al-Aqrābādhīn al-mūjaz al-bīmāristānī*), which is in thirteen chapters.

212 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

213 Amīn al-Dawlah's honorific is Muwaffaq al-Mulk.

214 Not identified.

215 A town in northern Persia; see *EI*² art. 'Sāwa' (V. Minorsky and C.E. Bosworth).

216 Metre: *munsariḥ*.

217 With word-play on the addressee's name (*wuffiqta*/Muwaffaq).

218 Alluding to Q al-Shu'arā' 26:90 («*The garden will be brought near to the god-fearing*») and the several Qur'anic passages mentioning the black- or wide-eyed paradisaical damsels.

219 Q al-Ḥāqqah 69:23: «*its clustered fruit within reach*».

220 For an Arabic edition, English translation, and study, see, Ibn al-Tilmīdh, *Dispensatory*.

3. A treatise for Amīn on drugs for hospitals (*al-Maqālah al-Amīniyyah fī l-adwiyah al-bīmāristāniyyah*).
4. Selections from the *Comprehensive Book* of al-Rāzī (*Ikhtiyār Kitāb al-Ḥawī li-l-Rāzī*).
5. Selections from Miskawayh's *Book of Beverages* (*Ikhtiyār Kitāb Miskawayh fī l-ashribah*).²²¹
6. An abridgement of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms* (*Ikhtišār Sharḥ Jālīnūs li-Kitāb al-Fuṣūl li-Buqrāt*).
7. An abridgement of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Prognosis* (*Ikhtišār Sharḥ Jālīnūs li-Kitāb Taqdimat al-ma'rifah li-Buqrāt*).
8. A completion of the Alexandrians' summary of Galen's *Method of Healing* (*Tatimmat Jawāmi' al-Iskandarāniyyīn li-Kitāb Hilat al-bur' li-Jālīnūs*).
9. Commentary on the *Medical Questions* of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in the form of notes (*Sharḥ Masā'il Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq 'alā jihat al-ta'līq*).
10. Commentary on prophetic traditions concerning medicine (*Sharḥ Aḥādīth Nabawiyyah tashtamil 'alā ṭibb*).
11. An abridged medical compendium (*Kunnāsh mukhtaṣar*).
12. Glosses on al-Ra'īs Ibn Sīnā's *Canon* (*al-Ḥawāshī 'alā Kitāb al-Qānūn li-l-Ra'īs Ibn Sīnā*).²²²
13. Glosses on al-Masīḥī's *The Hundred [Discourses]* (*al-Ḥawāshī 'alā Kitāb al-Mī'ah li-l-Masīḥī*).²²³
14. Comments on *Kitāb al-Minhāj* that are also attributed to 'Alī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Uthrudī al-Baghdādī (*al-Ta'ālīq 'alā Kitāb al-Minhāj*).
15. On Bloodletting (*Maqālah fī l-Faṣd*).²²⁴
16. A book of letters and correspondence (*Kitāb yashtamil 'alā tawqī'āt wa-murāsālāt*).
17. Comments derived from *al-Masīḥī's The Hundred [Chapters]* (*Ta'ālīq is-takhrajahā min Kitāb al-Mī'ah li-l-Masīḥī*).
18. Selections from Galen's *Book of Substitute Drugs* (*Mukhtār min Kitāb Ab-dāl al-adwiyah li-Jālīnūs*).

221 For Abū 'Alī Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) see Ch. 10.45.

222 For Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), see Ch. 11.13, and for the *Canon of Medicine*, see Ch. 11.13.7. no. 7.

223 That is Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī. See Ch. 11.12, and his book-list no. 1.

224 For an Arabic edition, see, Ibn al-Tilmīdh, *Maqālah fī l-Faṣd*. For an Arabic edition of another treatise on bloodletting, see, Ibn al-Tilmīdh, *al-Risālah al-Amīniyyah fī l-Faṣd*.

10.65 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Tilmīdh¹

[10.65.1]

Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Tilmīdh, namely, al-Ajall al-Ḥakīm Mu‘tamad al-Mulk² Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Ṣā‘id ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Tilmīdh, was notable for the philosophical disciplines and proficient in the medical art. He was graced with refined behaviour and erudition in which he attained the highest rank. Similarly, Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh³ had a group of relatives each one of whom was attached to virtue and the humanities. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have seen writings of Yaḥyā ibn al-Tilmīdh in his own hand that demonstrate his excellence and worthiness. He was a renowned teacher of the art of medicine and had numerous students.

[10.65.2]

The honourable Abū Ya‘lā Muḥammad ibn al-Habbāriyyah al-‘Abbāsī⁴ said in an ode in which he eulogises the Ḥakīm Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn Ṣā‘id ibn al-Tilmīdh, Ibn al-Habbāriyyah having come to him in Iṣfāhān where he received a great amount of wealth from the emirs and notables:⁵

And everything I acquired and amassed
 from them, and which I earned by means of my poetry,
 Was through the favour of Abū l-Faraj, the son of Ṣā‘id,
 who never ceased to be my proxy in gaining earnings.
 It was he – may I never be without his lofty qualities! – who acquired all
 I had hoped for: he pressed the udder’s teats and I collected the milk.
 Yaḥyā ibn Ṣā‘id⁶ ibn Yaḥyā never ceased
 to steer deeds of generosity in my direction.
 5 My hopes that had died were revived⁷ by a man
 whose habit it is to revive manliness and virtue.
 His liberality never ceased to quicken me when I was present,
 or to be my proxy in requests, when I was absent,

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 These honorifics can translate as *The Most Majestic, The Sage, Pillar of the Realm*.

3 His brother. See the preceding entry Ch. 10.65.

4 See mention of him above, Ch. 10.64.16.

5 Metre: *kāmil*.

6 The metre requires reading *Ṣā‘idīni bni*, instead of the correct *Ṣā‘idi bni*.

7 *Aḥyā*, playing on the addressee’s name Yaḥyā.

At the court of Sayf al-Dawlah, son of Bahā' al-Dawlah,⁸
 and likewise that of Naṣīr al-Dīn, he spoke.
 I wrote to him about my needs and stirred him,
 and I found him to be a cutting sword.⁹
 Likewise at the court of al-Agharr¹⁰ and others
 I spoke to him about my circumstances.
 10 His liberality never ceased to make me thrive,¹¹ and
 I remained, in the world, 'betroted' to his lofty qualities.¹²

And from the same ode:

Do not make your friend, no, your slave-servant,
 son of your servant, rely on strangers!
 For you are better for me, because you made me used to it,
 than those who are in their origins related to me.
 May I never cease to praise you for what you have bestowed on me.
 always observing and practising eulogies,
 And may you remain a storehouse to me, may you always enjoy
 glory and trail its mantles,
 15 As a man trusted by the caliphate, master of sages, support
 of kings,¹³ philosopher, and secretary of state.
 Why don't you write to me? For your letters are a pleasure ground
 in beauty: one fancies them battalions on account of their sublimity,
 And a garden on account of their charm and subtlety,
 and clouds on account of their eloquent usefulness.
 Jest and banter as much as you can, for he is not a true man
 who does not jest and banter;

8 The Mazydid ruler Sayf al-Dawlah Ṣadaqaḥ ibn Maṣṣūr (479–501/1086–1108) was the son of Bahā' al-Dawlah (Maṣṣūr ibn Dubays, 474–479/1082–1086). The problem is that they ruled in al-Ḥillah and northern Iraq rather than Isfahan. I have not been able to identify Naṣīr al-Dīn with certainty.

9 The verb 'to stir' (*ḥazza*) also means 'to brandish (a sword)'.

10 The Mazydid ruler Dubays ibn Ṣadaqaḥ (501–529/1108–1135); cf. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties*, 87: 'Dubays II. b. Ṣadaqa I, Abu 'l-A'azz (al-Agharr?)'. It seems that al-Agharr is a poetic licence for Abū l-Agharr.

11 Literally, 'to plant me'.

12 Translation somewhat uncertain. The root *KhTB* is prominent in this passage (*mukhāṭibā* twice as rhyme-word, *khaṭb*, *khāṭibā*), which seems to suggest that *khāṭib* does not again mean 'making a speech'.

13 *Mu'tamad al-mulūk*, referring to Ibn al-Tilmīdh's honorific Mu'tamad al-Mulḥ, 'Support of the Realm'.

And may people who merely add to the defects of the time
 give their lives for you, redeeming you from time's calamities and
 vicissitudes.

[10.65.3]

Among the poetry of Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn al-Tilmīdh: I quote from the book *The Adornment of the Age* (*K. Zīnat al-dahr*) by 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Abī l-Ma'ālī Sa'd ibn 'Alī al-Ḥaẓīrī,¹⁴ who said, 'I have found in the hand of al-Ajall al-Ḥakīm Mu'tamad al-Mulk Yaḥyā ibn al-Tilmīdh written for himself as a conundrum (*luḡhz*) about a needle':¹⁵

One with a wide open mouth in her foot –
 but she does not swallow any food with it.
 Slender in the stomach, with in her head
 a tongue unable to speak.
 She attacks with a sting that is clearly visible, and poison;¹⁶
 but those who taste it will not die.
 She always drags behind her a captive,
 just as the hand of the camel-driver holds the nose-rope.
 He is invincible, possessing powers,¹⁷ yet you can see him,
 gripped by her, humble and wronged.
 You will find him in her prison, dwelling there
 forever, and he does not refuse to say there.
 How strange: a black one in appearance,
 but she shows you noble, bright¹⁸ characteristics.
 She is naked, without any clothing,
 but the surplus of her train clothes mankind.

14 Abū l-Ma'ālī Sa'd ibn 'Alī ibn al-Qāsim (not 'Alī ibn Yūsuf) al-Ḥaẓīrī (d. 568/1172) known as Dallāl al-Kutub (Bookbroker) wrote *K. Zīnat al-dahr wa-ūṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr* as an appendix to Abū Ḥasan 'Alī al-Bākhari's *K. Dumyat al-qaṣr*. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:366–368; Ḥājji Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (Flügel), iii:571.

15 Metre: *wāfir*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:246–247.

16 The Arabic has an untranslatable pun on the word *samm* or *summ*, which means 'poison' as well as 'eye of a needle'.

17 Another pun: *quwā* means 'powers, strengths' and 'strands of a rope (or thread)'.

18 Literally, 'white'.

He [‘Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Abī l-Ma‘ālī Sa‘d ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥazīrī] also said, ‘I have found in his hand about a new palace built by Sayf al-Dawlah Ṣadaqah¹⁹ which caught fire on the day of its completion’:²⁰

O builder of a glorious dwelling! May you be made to enjoy it for a long
time,
in order to make it loftier than Saturn.²¹
I knew you erected it only
for the sake of glory, munificence, and benevolence.
So it emulated your habits and raced
to receive guests with fires.²²

Also among the poetry of Abū l-Faraj Yaḥyā ibn al-Tilmīdh is this conundrum about a bow:²³

What is something with a crooked stature
that moans and bends when excited?
It has a hidden cunning²⁴ when it stretches itself,
like the cunning of wine in a glass cup.

He also said:²⁵

Love for her clings to the heart,²⁶ when it is empty,
as a wick clings to the bowels of an oil lamp.
It is forever impossible to separate the two,
until the moment all shapes are sundered.

19 Mazyadid ruler of al-Ḥillah, who was killed in battle in 501/1108; see *ET*² art. ‘Ṣadaqa b. Maṣūr b. Dubays’ (K.V. Zetterstéen).

20 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 364, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:247.

21 In the Ptolemaic system of celestial spheres Saturn is the last and the ‘highest’ of the seven heavenly bodies below the sphere of the fixed stars.

22 Alluding to the motif, very common in traditional panegyric poetry, of hospitality and feeding guests.

23 Metre: *wāfir*.

24 Here apparently meaning that its arrows penetrate just as wine penetrates body and mind.

25 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-udabā’*, xx:20, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:247.

26 The vowelling of ms A and Yāqūt makes the heart the subject of the verb, which is possible but seems less appropriate.

He also said:²⁷

Parting from you is to me a parting from life,
 so do not finish off someone sick to death!
 I have been attached to you like fire to its candle,
 so you shall not part or else it will be extinguished.

He also said:²⁸

His fragrance, when he arrived, became evident to us
 and it cooled the burning thirst in someone hovering about.²⁹
 It revived my heart, in spite of his distance;
 a nightly phantom sometimes delights a dreamer.

He also said criticising a singer:³⁰

We have a singer. When he sings
 his insipidness³¹ buries us.
 Thus his departing from the beat (*khurūjuhū*)³² is our death,
 and our revival is his exit (*khurūjuhū*).

The first time he says 'goes out' it means he goes out of the rhythm, and for the second time it means he goes out from our presence.

27 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 365; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xx:20; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:247.

28 Metre: *sarī'*. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 365 (first line only), Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:247.

29 Reading *hā'im* ('someone madly in love, or very thirsty'), as in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'* would seem better, but all other sources have *ḥā'im* ('hovering', e.g. round about the water by reason of thirst, or around an object of desire).

30 Metre: *rajaz*.

31 Literally, 'his ice' or 'his snow'. In Arabic, 'coldness' stands for insipidness as well as lack of emotion.

32 See e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, vi:304.

10.66 Awhād al-Zamān [Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī]¹

[10.66.1]

Awhād al-Zamān – that is, Abū l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh ibn ‘Alī ibn Malkā al-Baladī – was born in Balat² then settled in Baghdad. He was a Jew who subsequently became a Muslim and was in the service of al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh.³ His compositions are of the utmost good quality and he had a far-reaching interest in the sciences and a great talent for them.

When Abū l-Barakāt started to learn the art of medicine Abū l-Ḥasan Sa‘īd ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn⁴ was a distinguished teacher in the art of medicine who had numerous students who would come to him every day to study with him but he would not allow a Jew to study with him at all. Abū l-Barakāt was desirous of meeting with him and learning from him and pressured him in every way but he was not able to. He used to do services for Abū l-Ḥasan Sa‘īd ibn Hibat Allāh’s porter and would sit in the shaykh’s courtyard so that he could hear all that was being read with him and all the discussions which went on, and whenever he heard anything he endeavoured to understand it and internalize it. After a year or thereabouts a question arose from the teacher and his students investigated it but could not find an answer and continued to seek for a solution. When Abū l-Barakāt realized this he entered and put himself at the shaykh’s service and said, ‘Master, if you permit I will speak about this question.’ The shaykh said, ‘If you have any knowledge about it then do so.’ So Abū l-Barakāt answered with some words of Galen and said, ‘Master, this was already discussed on such-and-such a day of such-and-such a month at such and such a session and it has remained in my mind since that day.’ The shaykh was astounded at his intelligence and his keenness and inquired about the place where he had been sitting. Abū l-Barakāt told him and the shaykh said, ‘It is not lawful to refuse knowledge to a person such as this.’ And from that time on the shaykh kept him close and he became one of his greatest students.

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- 1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. Awhād al-Zamān (which means ‘the Unique One of his Time’) is better known as the philosopher Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (d. after 560/1164), see *ET*² art. ‘Abū l-Barakāt’ (S. Pines).
 - 2 That is the ancient city of Balad (Balat) on the Tigris above Mosul. See Yaqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (Wüstenfeld), i:715–717, 721.
 - 3 Abbasid caliph, r. 555–566/1160–1170.
 - 4 See above, Ch. 10.58.

[10.66.2]

A rare anecdote told about Awḥad al-Zamān's treatment of patients occurred when a patient in Baghdad was struck with melancholia and believed that he had an amphora on his head which remained there at all times. Every time the man walked he would avoid places with low ceilings and would walk very carefully and not allow anyone to approach him lest the amphora lean or fall from his head. He remained thus afflicted for some time and experienced hardship because of it. A group of physicians treated him but to no beneficial effect. Then his case came to Awḥad al-Zamān who thought that nothing remained to cure him but illusion so he said to the man's family, 'When I am in my house then bring him to me.' Then Awḥad al-Zamān ordered that one of his servants, after the patient had entered and he had begun talking with him, and upon his signal, should strike above the head of the patient and at some distance from him with a large club as if he wanted to break the amphora which the patient thought was on his head. He asked a second servant, who had made ready an amphora and taken it with him up to the roof of the house, to quickly throw the amphora he had down to the ground when he saw that servant strike above the head of the melancholic. When Awḥad al-Zamān was at home and the patient had come he began to speak to him and converse with him and reproached him for carrying the amphora. Then he signalled his servant without the patient knowing and the servant came up to him and said, 'By God, I must break that amphora and relieve you of it!' Then he waved his club and struck above the man's head with it at the distance of about a cubit. At the same time, the other servant threw down the amphora from the roof which shattered into pieces with a tremendous crashing. When the patient saw what had been done to him and saw the broken amphora he gasped because they had broken it but did not doubt that it was the one that had been on his head, as he thought, and the illusion had such an effect that he was cured of that malady.⁵

This is a great type of treatment and a number of the ancient physicians such as Galen and others had similar cases of treatment by illusion, and I have mentioned a great deal of this in another book.

[10.66.3]

The shaykh Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī⁶ narrated to me, saying that Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭṭrān narrated to him saying al-Awḥad ibn al-Taḳī narrated to him, saying that his father narrated to him,

5 For another translation of this passage, see van Gelder, 'Antidotes and Anecdotes', 67–68.

6 See below, Ch. 15.50.

saying that ‘Abd al-Wadūd al-Ṭabīb had narrated to him that Abū l-Faḍl, the pupil of Abū l-Barakāt (who was known as Awḥad al-Zamān) recounted the following:

We were in the service of Awḥad al-Zamān in the ruler’s barracks. One day a man came with whitlow except that the abscess was broken and pus was flowing from it.

The narrator continues, saying, ‘When Awḥad al-Zamān saw this he quickly amputated the man’s finger at the phalanx.’ We said, ‘Master, you have done an injustice to the treatment. It would have been enough to treat him with that which others treat such a case and preserve his finger.’ We reproached him, but he didn’t utter a word. That day passed and on the next day another man came with exactly the same condition. Awḥad al-Zamān motioned to us to treat him and said, ‘Do with him as you see fit.’ So we treated him with that which whitlow is treated but the area expanded and the nail was lost and it spread and the first of the phalanges of the finger was lost. We tried all possible treatments and remedies, and poultices and purgatives despite which his finger was deteriorating quickly and the matter ended up with amputation, and so we understood that above every person of knowledge there is someone with greater knowledge.⁷

The narrator said, ‘This disease was widespread during that year and a group [of physicians] were unaware of the need for amputation and so some people’s cases ended up with the loss of their hands and some with the loss of their lives.’

[10.66.4]

I quote from the manuscript of the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī⁸ in which he mentions that Ibn al-Dahhān al-Munajjim⁹ said that the shaykh Abū l-Barakāt became blind at the end of his life and used to dictate the book *Lessons in Wisdom* (*K. al-Mu‘tabar*) to Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Faḍlān, and ‘Alī ibn al-Dahhān al-Munajjim, and Yūsuf the father of the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, and al-Muhadhhab ibn al-Naqqāsh.¹⁰

[10.66.5]

It is also said that Awḥad al-Zamān became a Muslim when one day he attended the Caliph. All those present rose except the Chief Judge who was present

7 Cf. Q Yūsuf 12:76.

8 See below, Ch. 15.40.

9 Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Ibn al-Dahhān al-Baghdādī (d. 580/1194), see *GAL*, i:392 [491–492].

10 See below, Ch. 15.13.

but did not think he should rise with the others since Awḥad al-Zamān was a *Dhimmi*.¹¹ Awḥad al-Zamān said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, if the Chief Judge does not agree with the others since he believes I am not of his religion then I will enter Islam in the presence of our Master and will not let him belittle me in this way.' Then he became a Muslim.¹²

[10.66.6]

The shaykh Sa'd al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Sahl al-Baghḍādī al-'Awwād, who was, at the beginning of his life, a Jew who lived in the Jewish quarter of Baghdad near to the house of Awḥad al-Zamān whom he did not see much of but when he was a youngster he used to enter his house, told me that Awḥad al-Zamān had three daughters and did not leave behind a male child although he lived for nearly eighty years.

[10.66.7]

The Judge Najm al-Dīn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Kuraydī, told me that there was enmity between Awḥad al-Zamān and Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh. After Awḥad al-Zamān had become a Muslim, he frequently used to renounce the Jews and curse them and insult them. One day, in the chamber of one of the great and good and with a group of people present including Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, the subject of the Jews came up and Awḥad al-Zamān said, 'May God curse the Jews.' At this Amīn al-Dawlah said, 'Yes, and the sons of the Jews!' Awḥad al-Zamān was dumbfounded and knew that Amīn al-Dawlah had alluded to him, but he did not speak.

[10.66.8]

Among the words of Awḥad al-Zamān: al-Ḥakīm Badr al-Dīn Abū l-'Izz Yūsuf ibn Makkī told me that Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn Habal¹³ told him: I heard Awḥad al-Zamān saying:

Lusts are bricks used by souls in constructing the natural world so they may be distracted from the accompanying fatigue and exhaustion. Those souls who use them most are the most base, and those souls who use them least are the most sensitive.

11 One of the *Ahl al-Dhimma* or non-Muslim persons living under Islamic Law and granted a protected status. See *Er*² art. 'Dhimma' (C. Chehata), and art. 'Ahl al-Kitāb' (G. Vajda).

12 MS R copies in the margin an alternative story of Awḥad al-Zamān's conversion from Barhebraeus, see A11.5.

13 See below, Ch. 10.81.

[10.66.9]

Awḥad al-Zamān [Abū l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī] wrote the following books:

1. Lessons in Wisdom (*K. al-Mu'tabar*), which is his greatest and most renowned book, on philosophy.¹⁴
2. On the cause of the appearance of the stars at night and their disappearance during the day (*Maqālah fī Sabab zuhūr al-kawākib laylan wa-khafā'ihā nahāran*), which he composed for the great Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Abū Shujā' Muḥammad ibn Malik Shāh.
3. An epitome on anatomy (*Ikhtišār al-Tashrīḥ*), which he compiled from the words of Galen and abbreviated using the briefest of phrases.
4. The Medical Formulary (*K. al-Aqrābādihīn*), in three chapters.
5. On the medicament he compounded and named 'Instant Relief' (*Barsha'thā*)¹⁵ (*Maqālah fī al-Dawā' alladhī allafahu al-musammā Barsha'thā*), in which he deals with its recipe and explains its component drugs.
6. On another electuary he compounded and named 'The Trustee of the Spirits' (*Maqālah fī Ma'jūn ākhar allafahu wa-sammāhu Amīn al-Arwāḥ*).
7. On the intellect and its nature (*R. fī al-'Aql wa-māhiyyatih*).

10.67 al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī¹

[10.67.1]

Al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī – that is, Badī' al-Zamān Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādī – was a sage of merit, an accomplished littérateur, a learned physician, and a philosopher-theologian deeply versed in philosophy, theology, and mathematics. He was proficient in the science of the stars and in stellar observations. Al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī was a friend of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh,² and it is told that he met with Amīn al-Dawlah at Isfahan in the year 510 [1116–1117].

14 For studies, see Pavlov, *Abu'l Barakat al-Baghdadi's scientific philosophy*, and Pavlov, *Abu'l Barakat al-Baghdadi's metaphysical philosophy*.

15 Approximately, 'instant relief'. For this medicine, see Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirah*, 72. Dozy, *Suppl.*, vowels it as *barshī'thā*. Al-Anṭākī says it is Syriac for *bur' sā'ah*, 'the cure of an hour', which conveys the sense correctly, but it is apparently from Syriac *bar-sha'athā*, 'son of an hour'.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 See his entry Ch. 10.64.

[10.67.2]

Muhadhhdhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khiḍr al-Ḥalabī³ told me that al-Badīʿ al-Aṣṭurlābī was unique in his time in the theory and practice of the astrolabe and in the mastery of its construction. Hence he became known for this.

[10.67.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – say that Muhadhhdhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr's father was from Ṭabaristan. He was known as al-Burhān al-Munajjim [the Proof and the Astrologer] and many wondrous stories are told about him, some of which I have mentioned in the book *The Correct Predictions of the Astrologers* (*K. Iṣābāt al-munajjimīn*). Al-Badīʿ al-Aṣṭurlābī also wrote good verse with fine motifs.

[10.67.4.1]

Among the poetry of al-Badīʿ al-Aṣṭurlābī that Muhadhhdhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī recited to me and which he had heard from his father, who said that al-Badīʿ al-Aṣṭurlābī recited it for him saying:⁴

O son of those who passed away in the religion of generosity,
 those who stabbed the front parts of destitution:
 Their faces are the qiblas⁵ of noble deeds and their hands
 are the clouds of generosity and the pulpits of pens.

He also reported to me 'my father told me that [al-Aṣṭurlābī] himself said to him':⁶

I present (this) to your noble gathering:
 but I only present what I gained from its favours:
 Likewise the sea is rained upon by the clouds, but they are not
 bestowing a true favour on it, because the rain came from its water.

3 See above, Ch. 10.64.19.

4 Metre: *kāmil*.

5 Qibla: the direction towards the Kaaba in Mecca, to be faced in Muslim ritual prayer.

6 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xix:275, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:51, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:271.

And he also reported from his father:⁷

He aimed his instruments at the sun
 to distinguish the lucky constellations from the unlucky ones.
 'Where stands the sun?' I asked. The young man replied,
 'In the Bull (Taurus).' I said, 'The bull stands in the sun.'⁸

And he also reported from his father:⁹

They said to me, 'You fell in love with him when his cheeks
 were smooth. But now it is said he has grown a fine beard!
 I said, 'A peacock chick is at its most beautiful
 when he has grown feathers.'

And he also reported from his father:¹⁰

Did pens stumble when writing the line of his cheek-down,
 stretching the letters, the mole being the spot where they tripped?
 Or did the line become a circle when the dot became
 the centre of that orbit?
 And, since his saliva is wine, are his teeth then
 the pearly bubbles, neatly strung by the wine?¹¹

And he also reported from his father:¹²

One with a shapely appearance, proudly showing a geometric mole,
 for which I die and am revived at every moment:
 His face encompasses the marks of prettiness;
 it is as if Euclid speaks of it:¹³

7 Metre: *sarī*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xix:275, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:108. Attributed to Ibn Jakkīnā in al-ʿṢafadī, *Wāfi*, xi, 388.

8 *Thawr* ('bull, or Taurus') is used for a stupid, dull-witted person.

9 Metre: *khafif*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:51, al-ʿṢafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:270, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:108.

10 Metre: *sarī*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:109 (lines 1–2). Attributed to Abū Ḥanīfah al-Astarābādī in al-ʿAbbāsī, *Maʾāhid*, i, 218.

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

12 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xix:274.

13 One would like to read (with Riḍā) *kāna bihī uqlīdisu yataḥaddathū* ('of which Euclid used to speak'), but this is unmetrical and all other sources have *ka-anna* instead of *kāna*. This

His cheek-down is an equator and his mole
a point on it, and his cheek a triangle.

[10.67.4.2]

My father also reported from [al-Aṣṭurlābī] that al-Qaysarānī had written to him with an ode which begins as follows:¹⁴

Excellence expressed, through Badī' al-Zamān ('the Wonder of the Age'),
ideas that were difficult to the ancient Greeks.
He did not follow them, when he followed them, but
they missed the target in the contest.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad said, that he [al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī] replied with an ode of which only these verses remain in my memory:¹⁵

O master who praised me
with a eulogy like pearls that exceeded the bounds for me,
And which enhanced my position and my status
and humbled those who hate me (*shānī*) by magnifying my state
(*shānī*)!
But I bit my lip(?),¹⁶ that is, because of what was said about me by
him with the responsive nature and gentle soul;
I prepared myself to respond, but I was unable
and my demon,¹⁷ fleeing, stole away,
Totally suffering from poet's block,¹⁸ saying: 'Fear God!
I have no power to do what you desire!
Do you think then that lowlands are like hills,
or do you imagine that a half-breed (*hajīn*) is like a purebred (*hijān*)?'

would require *uqlīdisan*, which is found only in Yāqūt; the others must be read either as *uqlīdisun* (a syntactical error) or *uqlīdisa* (a metrical error).

14 Metre: *khafif*. Al-Qaysarānī is the poet Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Ibn al-Qaysarānī (d. 548/1154).

15 Metre: *khafif*.

16 Translation of *ta'anfaqtu* uncertain; no verb derived from *'anfaqah*, 'tuft of hair between lower lip and chin', is given in the standard dictionaries. Perhaps it means 'to be annoyed'. The verb occurs in modern Arabic usage.

17 A reference to the old belief that poets were inspired by a demon or jinnee, sometimes called *shayṭān* ('devil').

18 *ajbala*: 'He (a poet) experienced difficulty in diction, so that he said nothing original, nor anything in the way of repetition' (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*).

Or will you let a noble horse (*tirf*), too fast for the eye (*tarf*), run,
 when the two run together somewhere,
 With a donkey that cannot keep up even with an invalid cripple,
 if they are let loose on the morning of the race?
 Therefore protect my reputation; for my poetry, together with my hand-
 writing,
 when they appear to someone who sees them, are two weak spots!¹⁹

[10.67.4.3]

And he said about a young man with an incipient beard whom he loved:

Behave as you wish: I have made
 myself a heart of steel
 And I sat down to look at the sun's eclipse;
 this is not far-fetched.²⁰

Also among the poetry of al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī, he said:²¹

My heart is divided in its love for several people:
 my passion is suspended to every young man of them.
 My heart is the centre and they are to it
 a circumference, and my passions are radii to it.

And he also said:²²

There is a young gazelle, whom to love is 'good practice' (*sunnah*),
 which has made my love for him a religious duty.²³
 I am pleased (*arḍā*) to make my cheek
 an earth (*arḍā*) for him to walk on, with shoes on.

19 One could also translate 'two pudenda'.

20 Following mss A, S, R and the *Dīwān*; the editions have 'but not from far'. In either case the sense is somewhat unclear. The point seems to be that the appearance of the beard heralds the end of the boy's beauty, a very common motif.

21 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Attributed to Abū 'Alī al-Muhandis al-Miṣrī in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 410 and al-Iṣfahānī, *Khariḍah (Miṣr)*, ii:199), and to Amīn al-Dawlah Ibn al-Tilmīdh or Abū 'Alī al-Muhandis al-Miṣrī in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:72.

22 Metre: *sarī'*.

23 *Sunnah* can mean 'good practice', more specifically 'the practice of the Prophet Muḥammad', and as a category in Islamic law, 'something that is strongly recommended' but not to the point of being a religious duty (*farḍ*).

And he also said:²⁴

He made me taste the 'redness' of Death
 when he clothed himself in the 'greenness' of beard-down.²⁵
 'Blackness' has appeared in him,
 but 'my flour is still being weighed'.²⁶

And he also said:²⁷

I fled from youths with fine beards; then I turned
 to scold all those who still love them.
 I did not cease to upbraid them (*alḥāhum*) for their love of beardless
 boys,
 until I myself was afflicted by their beards (*alḥāhum*).

And he also said:²⁸

He is haughty to people, with his seductiveness:
 'Beware of me! I have an eloquent tongue!
 – He may be correct in his speech
 but his deeds are ungrammatical.

And he also said:²⁹

Awake, but when asked to receive a guest
 he becomes one of those who sleep.
 You can see him among the rabble
 when he sees food being chewed.
 His grave (*'iḏām*) vices are evident
 at times when bones (*'iḏām*) are stripped of meat.

24 Metre: *basīṭ*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix:275, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:51 (who says he found them attributed to al-Badī' in al-Ḥaḏīrī's *Zīnat al-dahr*, but elsewhere to Ibn Jakkīnā).

25 In pre-modern Arabic the word normally translated as 'green' (*akhḍar*) is often applied to anything dark.

26 As Ibn Khallikān explains, this is a Baghdadi saying meaning 'my troubles are not yet at an end' (see also Dozy, *Supplément*, κWR).

27 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

28 Metre: *sarī'*.

29 Metre: *kāmil muraffā'*.

[10.67.4.4]

And he said, lampooning a bloodletter:³⁰

That phlebotomist has drawn his scalpel
 as if he has come to war.
 A useless bleeding, its only result being
 blood pouring from a puncture.
 If he merely walked outside on a road
 those indoors in the alley will die.
 Take him if enemies assault you
 and you will not need any other allies.

And he also said after a great deal of snow had come to Iraq:³¹

Prominent people of the time! It is no snow
 what we have seen in the regions of Iraq:
 Your injustice has covered all the land, so that
 the locks of even the furthest parts have whitened.

And he said about a wash-basin for drinking-glasses, called *jur'a-dān*:³²

Whenever I am present in a gathering
 I am counted as one of the utensils of joy.
 When I am placed in the foremost place in their sessions
 they spoil my pleasure with what is left in the cup.

[10.67.5]

Al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī wrote the following books:

1. Abridgement of the poetical works of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥajjāj (*Ikhtisār Dīwān Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥajjāj*).³³

30 Metre: *sarī'*.

31 Metre: *khafīf*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix:275; anonymously in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xvii:197 (yr 515) and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, x, 596 (yr 515); al-Ṣafadī, *Nuṣrat al-thā'ir*, 217.

32 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:109. In the superscript, read (with R) *jur'a-dān* (Steingass, *Persian-Arabic dictionary*: 'drinking-glass'), explained in *Masālik* as *alladhī yūda'u fī majālis al-kubarā' li-ṣabb tak'ib al-qadaḥ*.

33 For an edition, see al-Aṣṭurlābī, *Durrat al-tāj* (al-Ṭāhir). Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1001) was a poet from Baghdad best known for his obscene and scatological poems, which were very popular. See *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Ḥadjdjādī' (D.S. Margoliouth & Ch. Pellat).

2. Astronomical tables that he named *al-Mu'rib al-Maḥmūdī*, composed for the Sultan Maḥmūd Abū l-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad (*Zij sammāhu al-Mu'rib al-Maḥmūdī*).

10.68 Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl¹

[10.68.1.1]

Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl² was a Baghdadi born and raised. He used to concern himself with the art of medicine and practise of it and was counted among those who are known for the art. He also used to be an oculist, but was, above all, a poet. He was a man of many anecdotes, was foul-tongued and authored a collection of poetry.

Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl and the emir Abū l-Fawāris Sa'd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ṣayfī, the poet named Ḥayṣa-Bayṣa [that is 'Pell-Mell'],³ hated and reviled each other. From time to time they would call a truce but then continue as of old. Pell-Mell was so named because, once, the army in Baghdad had been preparing to leave the city to confront the Seljuk Sultan. This was in the time of al-Muqtafi li-amr Allāh, and the people were full of talk and excess activity because of this and Abū l-Fawāris said, 'Why is it I see the people at pell-mell?' and so he was nicknamed with this name, and the one who attached this epithet to him was Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl. Pell-Mell always sought exaggerated eloquence and obscure language in his discourses and his epistles.

[10.68.1.2]

An example of this is that a certain man of Iraq told me that Pell-Mell had recovered from an illness during which Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Faḍl visited him and prescribed that he eat a francolin. Pell-Mell's servant went and bought a francolin and as he passed by the door of an emir where young Turkish boys were playing, one of the boys snatched the francolin from the servant and made off with it. The servant returned to Pell-Mell and told him what had happened so he said, 'Bring me ink and paper.' The boy brought them and Pell-Mell wrote, 'Now had the one who dispossessed me of my francolin been a supple-winged eagle, contracting its wings to descend, overcome by hunger whether circling

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 Also known as Ibn al-Qaṭṭān. See *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Qaṭṭān' (Ch. Pellat).

3 See *ET*² art. 'Ḥayṣa Bayṣa' (J.W. Fück). He was called Sa'd ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī and died 574/1179.

or swooping low, which soars and swoops to the ground at such a time when the soles of the feet of the camels become worn it would have been obligatory to hurry to my aid, so how about when it happened in the midst of your noblesse? With peace.'

Then he said to his servant, 'Take it and be a good emissary in delivering it to the emir.' So the boy went off and handed it over to his chamberlain. The emir summoned his secretary and gave him the letter and he read it and considered it in order to convey its meaning to the emir. The emir said to him, 'What is it?' The secretary said, 'The import of it is that one of the emir's boys took a francolin from the man's servant.' The emir said, 'Then buy him a cage full of francolins and take them to him.' And he did so.

[10.68.1.3]

Our teacher, the sage Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm,⁴ may God show him mercy, told me that Pell-Mell the poet at Baghdad wrote the following letter to Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh⁵ asking him to send over some eye-salve made with lead:⁶

I would apprise you, O learned, solicitous, skilful, precious, and experienced medic – may weal abide with you always, and may ruin stumble blindly and never find you – that I am overcome and sense in my oculi⁷ a tendling,⁸ neither like the slege⁹ of a scorpion, nor like the prick of a needl,¹⁰ nor yet like the slite¹¹ of a nathdrack,¹² but rather like the scorching of gledes.¹³ Hence, I, from vigilae¹⁴ to vespers,¹⁵ do not know the nocturnal from the diurnal, nor can I distinguish between the serenous¹⁶ and the nubilous.¹⁷ Indeed, often I fall, legs in the air; at times I am angry and

4 See his entry Ch, 15.50.

5 See his entry Ch. 10.64.

6 *Shiyāf ābār*, the term *shiyāf* being a general term for any eye-salve, this one made with lead. See Dozy, *Supplément* i:2.

7 Lat. eyes.

8 OE. burning, stinging.

9 OE. sting.

10 ME. [Shakespearean]. needle.

11 OE. bite (of a serpent).

12 Celtic. Anglicized from Nathair (Nathrach), snake.

13 OE. live coals.

14 Lat. morning (prayers).

15 Lat. evening (prayers).

16 Eng., from Lat. serene or clear (of a day).

17 Eng., from Lat. cloudy.

foul-tempered, at others I curl up, and sometimes I stretch out, all of this with a great sighing, and rasping of breath, and sorrow. My soul desires that I raise my voice with a cry of 'giddy-up' towards a to-ing and fro-ing, and such I am on Sunnandaeg, Monandaeg, Tiwesdaeg, Wodnesdaeg, Thunresdaeg, Frigedaeg, and Saeturnesdaeg. I can neither flee nor hurry, neither sirmounte nor subiugue. So send at once some lead eye-medicine to salve my disease and slake my thirst.

When Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh read the letter he rose at once and took a handful of burnt lead eye-medicine and told one of his companions, 'Take it to him quickly so we don't have to bear reading another one of his letters.'

[10.68.1.4]

Pell-Mell wrote seven notes to al-Muqtafī li-amr Allāh when he requested Ba'qūbā¹⁸ from him:

The first: *Lo, herewith the heralds of affection, bearing a letter of laudation, trilled by the drover of a hope, in fulfilment of the abode.*

The second: *I gallop¹⁹ the steeds of praise in the courtyards of glory, as one who gallops a dashing high horse without goad or effort, petitioning the conclusion of the matter, by your honour.*

The third:²⁰ *Be magnanimous, O Commander of the Faithful, by offering an abundance neither scanty nor paltry for an eloquent poetizer seeking the depths of the sea (metre), searching for the apparel of the world; for the rhyme is enchanting and the listener is virtuous and the reward is liberal.*

The fourth:²¹ *Both Mosul and al-Īghārān²² are the fiefdoms of two Seljuk kings. Formerly they were the rewards of two poets of Ṭayyī²³ from two*

18 A place 40 miles N.E. of Baghdad, famous for its date and fruit gardens, see *ET*² art. 'Ba'qūba' (S.H. Longrigg).

19 As a transitive verb, to make a horse go at full speed (OED).

20 Also in al-Īsfahānī, *Kharīdat (al-'Irāq)*, i:364 (amidst a much larger sample of such epistles by Ḥayṣ Bayṣ).

21 Also in al-Īsfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-'Irāq)*, i:365–366, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, i:420.

22 The 'two privileges' of lands surrounding al-Karaj and al-Burj originally afforded to Abū Dulaf al-'Ijlī (d. between 225/840 and 228/843). See *ET*² art. '(al-) Karadjī' (Ed.), and art. 'Īghār' (Cl. Cahen); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* i:420.

23 That is Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī. According to Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-buldān* i:420), Abū Tammām was appointed as head of the postal service in Mosul.

*well-received*²⁴ Caliphs, one of which is *al-Muṭaṣim bi-Allāh*, and the other *Mutawakkil ‘alā Allāh*. The highest edifice is greater and his reward is more abiding, so wherefore the withholding?

The fifth: *The fifth of the servants petitioning for the downpours of generosity, from the greatest sanctuary. A gift of verse: running like a fleeing she-camel in a desert to be crossed, guiding on the journey, making ease of hard ground; the best decision would be to fulfil her hopes!*

The sixth:²⁵ *Lo, beyond the lowered veil stands the loftiest of towering peaks and a bountious sea overflowing.*²⁶ *Silencing when he spoke, his generosity dispelled famine, his majesty was dazzling, his power was overwhelming, his riches were given generously. May God bless him as long as the wind blows and the wormwood grows.*

The seventh: *O Commander of the Faithful, one hundred verses of poetry, or seven notes in prose; should they be driven away from fortune as are parched camels? Nay, the origins are prophetic, the noble qualities are Abbasid, the intelligence is ingenious, and glory is a sufficient reckoner.*²⁷

What can I say? Transmitters intone
 my poetry in pure language on the just Imam,²⁸
 Eloquent people approve of an ode
 on the most lofty patron and the most eloquent speaker,
 Their bodies swaying; it is as if
 every rhyming verse contains the vintage wine of Babel.²⁹
 They bend, straight after the poetry and during it,
 wondering about generosity and who will receive it.

24 Reading either *marḍīyyayn* (well-received, approved of [often by God]) or *murḍīyyayn* (gratifying, giving satisfaction).

25 Also in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Trāq)*, i:364–365.

26 Ar. *Ayham ṭawd wa-khiḍamm yamm*. According to al-Tha‘ālibī, *Fiqh al-lughah*, 315, the word *ayham* is third from the ultimate in the hierarchy of words for raised ground, the next highest being *qahb* and highest of all *khushām*. The word *ayham* can also mean the ‘bravest of the brave’ being the ultimate word for braveness in Arabic. See al-Tha‘ālibī, *Fiqh al-lughah*, 106. *Ṭawd* is also a lofty peak but only tenth from the ultimate according to al-Tha‘ālibī’s hierarchy. For the verse, see al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, viii:133.

27 Metre: *kāmil*. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xi:205. The poet Sa‘d ibn Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (d. 574/1179) was nicknamed Ḥayṣ Bayṣ (or al-Ḥayṣ Bayṣ), on account of his highfaluting diction.

28 The word *imām* (‘leader’) is often used for the caliph.

29 Babel (Bābil) was associated with wine and magic.

Given, O Commanders of the Believers, that I am
the Quss³⁰ of eloquence, what is the answer to him who asks?

Abū l-Qāsim ibn al-Faḍl died in the year 558/1163.³¹

[10.68.2.1]

Among the poetry of Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl, and from his collected poems (*dīwān shi'rihi*), which I transmit from Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī who said that Badī' al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Maṣṣūr ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Dā'im al-Wāsiṭī, who was known as Ibn Sawād al-'Ayn, told him that 'Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl recited these verses, which he composed himself':³²

We, in the Victorious Army, are a despicable gang;
such a lowly gathering we are!
Take our wits from our hanging together(?),³³ in
the lowliness, the stupidity, and the recklessness you can see.
Takrit makes us powerless,³⁴ and we, in our ignorance,
march on to take Tirmidh from Sanjar!³⁵
As for al-Ḥuwayzī,³⁶ that pretender, he is
a bucket(?)³⁷ mixed with arrogance and ridicule.

30 The legendary pre-Islamic orator Quss ibn Sā'idah is proverbial for his eloquence.

31 The precise date of his death is given as 28 Ramadān 558 [30 August 1163]. See *ET*² art. 'Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭān' (Ch. Pellat).

32 Metre: *kāmil*. Lines 1–3 are quoted anonymously by Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 41, to illustrate the weakness of the later Abbasid Dynasty; lines 3 and 10 in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:60; lines 5–6, 9–10 in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-'Irāq)*, ii:276; lines 4–6, 9–10 in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, viii:122.

33 It is not clear which of the several meanings of *'aqd* is intended here.

34 According to Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā this refers to a rebellion in Tikrit (or Takrit, a town some 100 miles north of Baghdad) against the Abbasids.

35 Tirmidh: a town on the Oxus river, part of the Seljuq lands in the time of the long-reigning Sultan Sanjar (r. 490–552/1097–1157). Needless to say, it was very remote from the shrunken Abbasid authority.

36 Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Abū l-'Abbās, from al-Ḥuwayzah in Khuzistan, was called 'al-'Abbāsī' as if he were a member of the Abbasid family, but it is said that the name derives from the al-'Abbās river from which he came (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, viii:122).

37 The word *dabw*, 'bucket' (thus in A, S, R) can mean 'calamity', but it is strange; perhaps it can be connected with *usjilat* ('filled to the brim') in the next line. Al-Ṣafadī has *nadhulun yashūbu raqā'atan bi-takabburī*, 'a scoundrel, mixed with depravity together with arrogance'.

- 5 He is called Abū l-‘Abbās, whereas he has been condemned
to baseness, filled with ... (?)³⁸
On the hands and feet of his father
there are indelible traces of indigo and safflower.³⁹
He walks eagerly to the apartments of the singing-girls
and he creeps in the prayer niche towards the pulpit.
When he speaks, of things true or false,
his speech is never devoid of weirdness and joking.
On seeing a peashooter⁴⁰ he trembles with fear.
Those ‘Hāshimis’ were originally from Khaybar.⁴¹
10 The claim to kinship with al-‘Abbās is equalled in weakness
only by that of ‘Abbasid’ green beans.⁴²
Al-Ḥayṣ Bayṣ advances fighting with his lance
and I, with my brilliance,⁴³ am the army doctor.
As for the former, he cannot be feared to kill a gnat,
and I cannot be hoped to cure anyone suffering from an ulcer.⁴⁴
With my scalpel I let the blood flow, while his sword
is in its sheath and will not even bother a little finger’s nail.
His adversary in a battle will have a long and healthy life,
while those felled by my treatment are in a bad way(?).⁴⁵

38 The meaning of *uṣjilat bi-mu‘ammar*, found in all sources, is not clear. The editor of *al-Kharīdah* emends it to *bi-mughammir* but his explanation does not sound convincing.

39 Possibly an allusion to the despised dyer’s trade. *Wāfi* has ‘his nails’ instead of ‘his feet’.

40 *Birkil* (spelled *firjil* in *Wāfi*) is explained in *Lisān al-‘Arab* as ‘something childred shoot pellets with’; possibly a toy crossbow. One wonders if it could be connected with Latin *virgula*, ‘small rod’.

41 The Hāshimis are the Abbasids, after their ancestor Hāshim, the uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad and grandfather of al-‘Abbās (even though in the early days of the Abbasid movement the term Hāshimiyah seems to have referred to a certain Abū Hāshim). Khaybar is a famous oasis some 95 miles from Medina where Jewish tribes had settled in pre-Islamic times; it seems that al-Ḥuwayzī is accused of claiming to be a true Arab while being a Jew.

42 A verse said to have been famous (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:60). As al-Iṣfahānī explains (*Kharīdah* [‘*Trāq*], ii:276) street-sellers in Baghdad would call green beans ‘Abbasid’.

43 Translation uncertain; the verb *sha’sha’a* has several meanings (‘to mix, make shine, mix wine with water’).

44 Taking *mudabbar* (vowelled thus in A) to be derived from *dabarah*, ‘ulcer, sore (usually of a camel)’.

45 The meaning of *bi-wajhin mudbiri(n)* is uncertain.

[10.68.2.2]

He said⁴⁶ eulogizing Sadīd al-Dawlah Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Anbārī, the secretary for state letters (*kātib al-inshā’*) at Baghdād:⁴⁷

O woman who left me and did not care!
 Will union with me reign again?
 I do not expect, O my heart’s torment,
 my mind to be happy again in loving you.
 My eyes are weeping because of your aloofness
 my body, as you see, is wasting away,
 And my heart, as you used to know it, is foolishly in love,
 burning with anguish and passion.
 5 Yearning will stay in my thoughts:
 it will not be permitted to depart.
 You who have wounded the innermost of my heart
 with grief and the semblance of madness:
 Alas, there is no chance, since you robbed me of slumber,
 I will be able to see your phantom in a dream.
 If you wish, you may stop at a limit
 that is not granted by you in your flirtation.
 It will not harm you to raise my hopes
 of being with you, in an impossible meeting.
 10 I love you dearly, though someone else is now lucky to have you,
 you who kill me – what can I do?
 Being killed is motto, for my outward appearance, (?)
 if you glory in your conceitedness.
 This sentence, who has imposed it on me?
 Who has made me cheap to anyone who is dear?

46 Manuscripts with Versions 1 and 2 read: He [Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī] also recited to me, saying that al-Badī‘ Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Wāsiṭī recited to him, saying ‘The aforementioned [Ḥibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl] recited to me a poem he composed’.

47 Metre: a non-classical metre, related to the Persian *dūbayt*, sometimes called *silsilah* (see on this poem van Gelder, *Sound and Sense*, 125–127). Lines 1–3, 9–10, 13–14, 17–18, 26–27, 12 in al-Ḥafāhānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, ii:274–275; cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xviii:158 (lines 1–2, 9–10, 13–14, 18, 26–27, 12); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (ed. Yūsuf al-Daqqāq), ix:464 [end of yr 558] (lines 1–3, 9–10), see the translation (somewhat freer than the one offered here) in Richards (tr.), *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, ii:142; the same lines in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:308–309. On Sadīd al-Dawlah Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm, known as Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 558/1162–1163), see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:279–280. He was employed in the chancery for some fifty years.

Those black days of my suffering for you,
 how much they resembled nights!
 Those who blamed me about you scolded me
 for loving you – what have I to do with them?
 15 My passion is so heart-piercing that I am distracted
 from thinking of anyone except you.
 The fire, even when its flames subside
 in my breast, burns (anew?) with a blaze.⁴⁸
 O you who enjoin me to forget her:
 I am the one who loves, and you the one who forgets.
 Saying I should give her up is right –
 how good it would be if it were right for me!
 Leave me with my flirting with a young woman
 who looks and makes soft sounds like a gazelle,
 20 With lustrous black eyes, whose glances are arrows
 more penetrating and hurtful than real ones,
 That inflict wounds on the heart
 that are incurable and will kill.
 Therefore have mercy on someone distressed and mortally stricken
 on her account, and forgive him, for ...⁴⁹
 It is not fitting that you should blame a lover
 if he is besotted with a beautiful woman.
 Stop and leave me with my woe
 in my passion, submitting to my state.
 25 If you consider this proper,
 leave me, for my guidance lies in erring.
 In obeying her, without being able to choose,
 through love for her my imperfection becomes correct.
 I have divorced, triply and irrevocably, my steadfastness,
 while foolish infatuation is still bound to me.
 Where and how could I find the fortitude
 to be without the beauty of the one whose equal is far to seek?
 I have not achieved anything with her
 except the frills of the impossible.
 30 How often did she shrink back (*nakalat*) after a pledge,
 so that my heart was punished (*fī nikāl*) for it!

48 Sense not wholly clear (it is tempting, but metrically difficult, to derive *kh.b.t* from the verb *khubī'a*, 'to be hidden').

49 I do not understand *fa-mā l-'idhāru khāli*.

How often did her deceit delude me
 on the plain, while thirsting for pure water!⁵⁰
 Why was she not true, like a liberal person
 from the most noble kin and family,⁵¹
 Hoping to receive, in his proximity,
 blessings casting wide protecting shadows?
 The abundant rain that pours from his hands is not
 like the abundant rain that flows in his actions.
 35 Those who have a refuge on the heights of Sadīd
 al-Dawlah, with his freely given generosity,
 Will not expect Fate to have
 its will with them in wronging them.
 ...⁵²
 The hand of success gives him to drink
 as much pure cold water as he wishes,
 In an abode blessed with gifts
 for a time of dearth, where rain-clouds open their spouts.
 40 I cry from it for help, when I am distressed
 with hardship, to the most compassionate of masters.
 In the munificence of his hands I have a guarantor,
 at a time of want, of a stipend for those who depend on me.
 He looks only after my wellbeing
 if he sees me in adverse circumstances.
 He never ceases – never ceases from nature –
 to give generously, without minding.
 He is not surprised by the blame of someone telling him
 not to defend his lofty status with money;
 45 For lordly qualities are all gathered
 in the house of the distributor of gifts.
 He who meets Muḥammad⁵³ with a ode of praise (*madḥ*)
 praises (*yamdaḥḥu*) him for the best of qualities.
 Passion for a young, big-hipped woman
 or something greater than it(?) is like flaws;⁵⁴

50 The image suggests that the beloved is compared to a *fata morgana* in the desert.

51 At this point there is a transition from the conventional amatory introduction to the panegyric.

52 See note to the Arabic text.

53 Sadīd al-Dawlah.

54 Translation uncertain. There is a play, in this and the preceding line, on two different meanings of *khilāl*. S lacks this rather odd line.

But generosity from the hand of a magnanimous man
 is one of the best virtues of men.
 My lord! This is the call of one who seeks your protection
 appeals to you on account of his incurable disease:
 50 Most generous benefactor, on whom
 I rely in giving me my desires,
 Take care of my tribulations; perhaps your bounty
 will cure and heal my wound.
 So often an evil creditor has put me in the position,
 when he stood confronting me,
 Of a bankrupt Jew from Hatra,⁵⁵
 in the grip of a tax-collector among the emigrants.
 I was unable to escape from him
 except through your substantial payments.⁵⁶
 55 The custom in rectifying my destitution
 is my asking for a repetition of the same!
 To extol you, as long as you live, is my habit,
 spelled with -ol (not -ort), to sooth my conscience.⁵⁷
 I do not cure eyes⁵⁸ with lampoons,
 but my occupation is phlebotomy on your hands.
 I make your honour fat
 and leave your purse chronically lean.
 If one treats a constitution in this manner,
 skilfully, as good as perfectly,
 60 Then the benefit, if it comes to him spontaneously,
 arrives at him as legal livelihood.

55 Identified in an editorial note in Riḍā as the ancient town of Hatra, near Mosul. This is, however, usually spelled al-Ḥaḍr in Arabic. Haṭrā, as here, is spelled Hāṭrā (*sic*, with over-long syllable) in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* and said to be a place near Samarra where most inhabitants were Jews. Yāqūt adds: ‘Even today they say in Baghdad: “It is as if you are one of the Jews of Hāṭrā!”’.

56 See Dozy, *Supplément* (ṢḤḤ): *yuʿīl-māl ṣahāḥan*; but the adjective *thiqāl* proves that here it should be *ṣihāḥ* (as vowelled also in A).

57 The Arabic has ‘*taqrīz* ... with *z*’, intending ‘not *taqrīd*’, i.e., ‘not “finding fault” or “cutting”’. The letters *z* and *ḍ*, though different phonemes, were (and are) regularly pronounced identically, resulting in frequent confusion. A note (left margin) in MS R explains: ‘*Taqrīz*, with *z*, means praising a person when he is alive; *taqrīd*, with *ḍ*, is either praise or blame.’

58 As IAU says at the beginning of his entry on Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, ‘he was also an oculist, though poetry dominated’.

O best of people from whom one may hope to receive,
 for whom my camel-saddles are loaded with poems of praise:
 My mind has not done you justice,
 since it has evidently become tired.
 If I praise you I demonstrate my inability
 properly to describe someone of sublime loftiness.
 Your qualities in their glory surpass
 in number the grains of sand.
 65 The long spears of al-Khaṭṭ are shorter
 than your 'spears' at the time of battle.⁵⁹
 How many a pen (*yarā'*) in your hand, of extensive reach,
 has frightened (*rā'a*) spears!⁶⁰
 Your pens are deadly arrows
 and their ink⁶¹ is like arrow-tips.
 The tribes of Thu'al and al-Qārah attest
 one can be proud of them at a time of strife.⁶²
 If they quarrelled with lances they would be, in the mind,
 tall spears [or: lance-tips] for the hand holding them.
 70 Or if they touched the blades of swords they would blunt
 the two edges of the sparkling burnished blades.
 Or if they composed a model decree⁶³ they would produce
 something more refined and more lofty than the model,
 Dictating paragraphs full of ideas
 that make up for any want of lofty qualites.
 They spit upon the pretty white pages a black night,
 to say nothing of their licit magic:⁶⁴

59 There is an untranslatable play on *khaṭṭ*, 'handwriting', and al-Khaṭṭ, a place in eastern Arabia proverbial for its spears, often called *khaṭṭī* after it. The 'spears' of the chancery official Sadīd al-Dawlah are his pens.

60 Since *yarā'* can also mean 'coward' and *rā'a* is also 'to fear', an alternative translation, though syntactically more awkward, is possible: 'Many a coward feared, through you, the "spears" in your hand ...'

61 Reading *al-niqsu* ('ink'), with A, is better than *al-naqshu* ('picture, engraving', S), even though this is not impossible.

62 Both tribes were famous as archers (see e.g. al-Tha'ālībī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, 120, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, iv:456, and a line by Ibn al-Qaysarānī quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix:79).

63 The precise meaning of *mithāl* here is not clear; cf. Dozy *Supplément*: 'ordre écrit'.

64 'Spitting' (here pens letting the ink flow) is associated with (black) magic; cf. Q al-Falaq 113:4. There is a play on words with *ṣibāḥ* 'pretty', cognate with *ṣabāḥ* 'dawn, morning', contrasting with *layl*, 'night'. Superior eloquence is often compared to 'licit magic'.

- Writings that guarantee, unconditionally,
 the utter destruction of mighty squadrons.
 75 If they reached Hārūt he would flee
 without giving a thought to Babel.⁶⁵
 They contain jet⁶⁶ on silver
 higher in value than pearls,
 In their fragrance⁶⁷ like the faces of virgins
 covered in expensive perfumes.
 Your words have made for the mountain goats
 a place to come down from the summits.⁶⁸
 You kill enemies with cunning,
 peacefully, without fighting.
 80 So many people unwilling to be hobbled, defying reason,⁶⁹
 have you tamed, restraining them again.
 May you always remain successful in your serious
 efforts, and be given intercession in what you ask,
 While your affairs are made to obey your wishes,
 O best of all remaining men!
 O most noble father of a son
 who will succeed him, with refined characteristics!
 How noble is that young man of yours, as a supporter
 of the dynasty,⁷⁰ a devoted follower!
 85 If he is generous (*jāda*) he puts the morning rain-clouds⁷¹ to shame;
 or if he speaks he excels (*ajāda*) in his speech.
 O sun of loftiness, that boasts a full moon
 with which the crescent moon cannot be compared:

65 Hārūt and Mārūt, mentioned in the Qur'an (al-Baqarah 2:102), were two fallen angels, sent to Babylon on earth, teaching mankind forbidden arts such as black magic.

66 Reading *subah*, 'beads' (Müller, Riḍā, Najjār) seems to make a good contrast with 'pearls' but the point is the blackness (jet/ink) contrasting with white (silver/page). Ibn al-Qaṭṭān couples pearls with jet in another poem, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-Ṭrāq*), ii:280.

67 An untranslatable play on two meanings of *nashr* ('fragrance; publication'). Perhaps there is an allusion to writing with perfumed ink (compare al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt*, 54, at the end of *al-Maqāmah al-Iṣfahāniyyah*).

68 Reading *al-qilāl* (SBR) instead of the meaningless *al-filāl* (A). Mountain goats or ibexes are often mentioned as being normally unreachable, impossible to bring down.

69 The word 'aql is punningly used in two senses ('hobbling', 'reason, intellect').

70 *min waliyyin li-l-dawlah*; one wonders if the son's honorific name was Wali al-Dawlah.

71 Reading *al-ghawādī* (S,B,R) rather than *al-a'ādī* ('the enemies', A).

May he never cease to shine and give light
 in your protective shade, always perfect,
 As long as feastdays⁷² will return for you with joy,
 while you look after him well and comprehensively,
 In the most ample bliss and easy life,
 with good things continually succeeding one another.
 90 May your loftiness never cease to be firmly established,
 never submitting to decrease!
 My supplication for your long and lasting life comes
 from a most devoted intention, sincerely.
 What is true and sound will never be confused
 – by God! – for you with what is absurd.

[10.68.2.3]

He [Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī] also told me that al-Badīʿ al-Wāsiṭī recited to him, saying, ‘The aforementioned [Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl] recited to me a poem he composed himself’:⁷³

I do not praise despair, but it gives
 more comfort to one’s heart than hope.
 May he prosper who sees the green herbage of wishes
 being grazed but has not himself grazed and gone into the pasturage.

He [Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī] also told me that al-Badīʿ al-Wāsiṭī recited to him, saying, ‘The aforementioned [Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl] recited to me a poem he composed himself’:⁷⁴

O people, time to depart, time to depart!
 The bloated-bellied coward⁷⁵ sits on the throne!
 He has started to command and prohibit among us;
 I had hoped he would not.

72 It is possible that this ode was offered on the occasion of a religious feast.

73 Metre: *sarīʿ*. Attributed to ‘Ibn al-Faḍl’ in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, v:355–356.

74 Metre: *sarīʿ*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:252 (lines 1–2, 4). According to *Masālik* it is Ibn Hubayrah who is lampooned here.

75 *Hirdabb* is glossed as ‘coward, with bloated belly who has no heart; or a big coward with little sense’ (*Lisān al-Arab*).

Every time I said: 'It's a mere speck in the eye that will clear off,
 a gloomy moment that will soon lighten up',
 I opened my eyes and the dynasty was still the same
 dynasty, and the Sheikh the vizier was still vizier.

He [Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī] also told me that al-Badī' al-Wāsiṭī recited to him, saying, 'The aforementioned [Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl] recited to me a poem he composed himself that he wrote about the poet Pell-Mell who had been barked at by a bitch with puppies so he killed one of her puppies with his sword':⁷⁶

O people! Al-Ḥayṣ Bayṣ has done a deed
 that earned him shame in town.⁷⁷
 He is a coward, who showed his courage
 towards a weak, defenceless little puppy.
 Its mother, having lost her child, exclaimed:
 'Little Spot's blood be avenged by the One and Eternal God!'
 'I say to myself, by way of consolation and condolence:
 'One of my hands struck me, involuntarily.'⁷⁸
 Each of the two is a substitute for the loss of the other:
 this is my brother when I call him, and that is my son.'

[10.68.2.4]

He [Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī] also told me that al-Badī' al-Wāsiṭī recited to him, saying, 'The aforementioned [Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl] recited to me a lampoon poem he composed himself':⁷⁹

Ibn al-Murakhkhim, you have become a judge among us.
 Has Time got into its dotage, you think, or has the celestial sphere
 become mad?

76 Metre: *basīṭ*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:55 (with an added line), al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:309; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:251–252. In their versions it is the puppy itself that had barked.

77 In the other versions the poem opens with 'O people of Baghdad!'

78 This verse and the next are taken from Abū Tammām's famous anthology *al-Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 207). They are by an unknown Bedouin, who refused to kill his brother in retaliation for the murder of his son. The quotation insinuates that Ḥayṣ Bayṣ is a dog himself; the puppy's mother leaves vengeance to God and she will not kill the killer.

79 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:125. Abū l-Wafā' Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd, known as Ibn al-Murakhkhim (d. 555/1160), was not only a physician and astrologer but also chief qadi in Baghdad during the reign of al-Muqtafi, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:141–145.

If you give rulings on the basis of the stars, perhaps (it is all right);
but as for Aḥmad's Sharia,⁸⁰ where do you find it?

He [Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī] also told me that al-Badī' al-Wāsiṭī recited to him, saying, 'The aforementioned [Hibat Allāh ibn al-Faḍl] recited to me a poem he composed himself lampooning al-Badī' al-Aṣṭurlābī':⁸¹

No wonder that the pilgrims were struck with misfortune
and have suffered a disaster:
Al-Badī' went on pilgrimage, with his wife
and his son. Now look: what a company!
Three from one dwelling:
a catamite, a pimp, and a whore.

He also composed this poem lampooning Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh:⁸²

This is that well-known 'humility' of yours, springing from baseness,
for which you have become suspected of an excess of vileness.⁸³
You let down the hope of a petitioner, though you stand up for him:
this is jumping at those who seek your help, rather than jumping up
for them.

[10.68.2.5]

He also said:⁸⁴

A gazelle who is fond
only of minted gold coins:
He is never pleased with my expressions
coined in verse or prose.⁸⁵

80 Aḥmad is another name of the Prophet Muḥammad.

81 Metre: *kāmil muraffal*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:252.

82 Metre: *basīṭ*. In al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-ʿIrāq*), ii:277, Ibn al-Qaṭṭān is said have lampooned the vizier Anūsharwān ibn Khālīd with these verses. They are attributed to Ibn al-Habbāriyyah (on the same vizier) in Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 414, and to Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Wafā' ibn Aḥmad al-ʿUmarī, known as Ibn al-Qabiḍī (fl. 610/1213), otherwise unknown, in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, i:260.

83 *Kharīdah*, *Fakhrī*, and *Bughyah* have *kibr* ('haughtiness, arrogance'), which makes a better contrast with *tawāḍu'*.

84 Metre: *ramal*.

85 There is a play on two meanings of *maṭbū'*: 'imprinted' and 'natural, free of artificiality'.

He also said:⁸⁶

Bravo, Army of the Religion of True Guidance,
 routed amidst 500,000 men!⁸⁷
 Its marching was like that of the rope-maker:
 steadily proceeding backwards.

He also said:⁸⁸

Say to Yaḥyā, the vizier of all people:⁸⁹
 You have obliterated the Sharia with a stroke of your pen;⁹⁰
 You have destroyed the ‘Sound’ (*ṣiḥāḥ*) Hadith collections by ‘correcting’
 (*taṣḥīḥ*) them
 and you struck at their roots.
 You did not aim at ‘revising’ them (*li-tahdhībihā*),
 but at uttering drivel with them (*li-tahdhī bihā*) in public.⁹¹

He also said:⁹²

They said, ‘Master will not receive you!
 He is in a private place.’
 I replied, ‘My verse will open the locks
 and enter. The cold is a burglar.’

86 Metre: *sarī*.

87 Although the orthography of ‘hundred’ is in classical Arabic (*mīati*), the line scans correctly only when read as vernacular (*mīt-i*). It is not clear to which battle the epigram refers; the number is obviously a poetic licence.

88 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Attributed to Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī shujā‘ al-Muẓaffar ibn Hibat Allāh in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, i:156.

89 Abū l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Hubayrah, was vizier for sixteen years until his death in 560/1165, poisoned, it is said, by his physician. He was also a considerable scholar and author of works on Islamic law and Prophetic tradition, such as a commentary, entitled *al-Iṣṣāḥ ‘an ma‘ānī l-Ṣiḥāḥ*, on the two canonical collections of Hadith by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, each called *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ‘The [collection of] Sound [traditions]’.

90 Literally, ‘as lines of writing are deleted’.

91 Interpretation of *fī l-ṣudūr* uncertain.

92 Metre: *wāfir*. According to al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfī*, xix:255, the lines are by ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn al-Ḥusayn, known as Abū Tammām al-Bārid (‘the Cold One’), on Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Ṣadaqaḥ (i.e., al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Ṣadaqaḥ, appointed vizier under al-Mustarshid in 513/1119–1120). The reference to coldness supports this attribution; at the same time it could be a self-deprecating joke, for insipid poetry is often called ‘cold’.

[10.68.2.6]

He also said in praise of the medicine known as Barsha'thā when Awḥad al-Zamān compounded it:⁹³

I swallowed a draught of *barsha'thā* when my condition was 'ruffled'
 (*ash'ath*),
 and after that no ruffling ailment has befallen me.
 If it were possible to revive the dead after Jesus,
 all the dead would live by means of this *barsha'thā*.

He also said:⁹⁴

This one says, 'We are relieved',
 Another says, 'We have been wronged'.
 Both are lying, and whoever of us
 believes it is talking nonsense.

He also said:⁹⁵

Often have I gone to the privy⁹⁶
 and swallowed bitter medicine.
 Then, when God finally make me
 succeed and I deposited a load,
 It contained no more 'wheat'
 than a mouse's nibble.

He also said:⁹⁷

Sometimes I praise him, and I talk nonsense about him
 at other times. I do not expect him to support me:

93 Metre: *ṭawīl*. For this medicine, see Ch. 10.66.9 no. 5, and, at some length, Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirah*, 72. Dozy, *Suppl.*, vowels it as *barshi'thā*. Al-Anṭākī says it is Syriac for *bur' sā'ah*, 'the cure of an hour', which conveys the sense correctly, but it is apparently from Syriac *bar-sha'athā*, 'son of an hour'.

94 Metre: *mujtathth*.

95 Metre: *ramal*.

96 *Taraddada* means 'to hesitate; visit frequently'. Here it seems to have the special sense given in Dozy, *Supplément*, 'Aller souvent à la selle, avoir la diarrhée', with the difference that the poet's problem was constipation rather than diarrhoea.

97 Metre: *sarī'*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:252.

Like an imam among villagers,
 who prays with them while the olive oil comes from him.

He also said:⁹⁸

You who fear being lampooned:
 you may feel safe against being touched by it.
 You, with that reputation of yours among people,
 are like shit: untouchable.

[10.68.2.7]

He also said:⁹⁹

Whenever I say, 'My people have become
 Baghdadized', they Homsify themselves.¹⁰⁰
 It is nothing but a curtain that is raised
 and a plastered gate,
 And canopies on top
 with stuccoed decorations,
 And skylights and belvederes,
 and prancing horses;
 While I am a dog that wags his tail
 every day to a monkey.¹⁰¹
 Whenever fortune applauds them
 I get up and dance.

98 Metre: *sarī*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:252.

99 Metre: *khaḥif majzū*. For longer versions of this poem and for its occasion, see Ibn Khalikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:59 (11 lines) and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:312 (9 lines). The poet had been merry and had danced in the presence of the vizier al-Sharīf Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Ṭirād al-Zaynabī, *naqīb al-nuqabā'* (d. 561/1166), who did not like it, for it reminded him of the common saying 'Dance for the monkey the day he is powerful'. Compare the *rajaz* lines by al-Attābī: 'Prostrate yourselves to the evil monkey in its heyday (...) | And flatter him as long as you are in his power!', al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, i:355, cf. vii:166; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, ii:443; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, ii:246; as a proverb: al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, i:452. Abū Nuwās had said of the Barmakid family of viziers, 'This is the time of monkeys, so submit: | Listen to them and obey!' (*Dīwān*, ii:51).

100 This and several other lines remain obscure. The form *taḥamṣaṣū* is irregular, for one would rather expect *taḥammaṣū* (but this could be wrongly interpreted as 'they shrivelled').

101 The versions in *Wafayāt* and *Wāfi* reverse 'dog' and 'monkey', but the above reference to the common saying proves that the reading of IAU is better.

When shall I hear the call,
‘Rescue has come!’?

[10.68.3]

Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh composed the following works:

1. Medical notes (*Ta‘ālīq ṭibbiyyah*).
2. Questions and answers on medicine (*Masā’il wa-ajwibatuhā fī l-ṭibb*).
3. The collected works of his own poetry (*Dīwān shi‘rihi*).¹⁰²

10.69 al-‘Antarī¹

[10.69.1]

Al-‘Antarī – that is, Abū l-Mu‘ayyad Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Mujallī ibn al-Ṣā’igh al-Jazarī – was a renowned physician, and a notable scholar, good at treating patients and providing regimens. He was of abundant merit, a philosopher, distinguished in letters, and wrote a great deal of poetry about philosophy and other subjects.

The Ḥakīm Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar, may God have mercy upon him,² told me that al-‘Antarī at first used to write the legends about ‘Antar al-‘Absī³ and became known by this name.

[10.69.2]

Among his words of wisdom, he said:

1. My son, seek learning, for if you gain nothing else in this world, you will at least be free of those who would enslave you whether by truth or by falsehood.
2. My son, rational wisdom will show you that the world is being driven by the reins of ignorance to error and rectitude.
3. The ignorant person is a slave who cannot be emancipated from bondage except through knowledge.

102 MS Sb ends here. In the colophon it adds a riddle epigram, see AII.6.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Ṣā’igh al-‘Antarī’ (G.J. van Gelder); *GAL S* i:462; M. b. al-Maḥallī [*sic*] *b. aṣ-Ṣā’igh* at Ṭabīb’ mentions *al-Mukhtār al-sā’igh min dīwān Ibn al-Ṣā’igh*; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:384–386.

2 See Ch. 15.46.

3 The famous pre-Islamic poet ‘Antarah ibn Shaddād al-‘Absī became the hero of a lengthy popular epic, in which his name was truncated to ‘Antar. *EI*² art. ‘Antara’ (A. Jones) and art. ‘Antar, Sirat’ (P. Heath).

4. Wisdom is the lantern of the soul which, when lacking, the soul is blind to the truth.
5. The ignorant person is drunk and will not sober up except through knowledge.
6. Wisdom is the nourishment and adornment of the soul. Wealth is the nourishment and adornment of the body. When they both come together in a person his imperfection ceases, his perfection is complete, and his mind is at ease.
7. Wisdom is the cure for everlasting death.
8. A person without knowledge is like a body without a soul.
9. Wisdom is the nobility of those without noble ancestry.
10. Education adorns a person more than his lineage, and has priority over his nobility, and protects his honour more than his wealth, and exalts his memory more than his beauty.
11. Whoever would like his name to be praised then let him be much concerned with his knowledge.
12. The man of knowledge who is destitute is more noble than an ignorant person who is well-provided for.
13. Nothing is more unfruitful than lack of knowledge.
14. The ignorant person seeks wealth while the person of knowledge seeks perfection.
15. Sorrow is the night of the heart and joy is its day. To drink poison is easier than to suffer oppressive thoughts.

[10.69.3.1]

Among the poetry of Muḥammad ibn al-Mujallī al-ʿAntarī which the Ḥakīm Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar ibn Raqīqah recited to me, who had it from the Ḥakīm Muʿayyad al-Dīn, the son of al-ʿAntarī, who had it from his father the aforementioned. He said:⁴

My dear son, memorize my admonition and act by it,
 for all medicine is gathered in the text of my speech:
 Before all medication for a sick one, be concerned
 with preserving his strength from day to day.
 Existing health is preserved with likes,
 but in opposites lies the cure of every sickness.

4 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Ṣāʿigh, *Mukhtār*, 339–340, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:70. Line 4 in al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, iv:385.

Have as little sexual intercourse as you can, for it is
 the water of life that is poured into wombs.
 5 Have only one meal a day
 and beware of taking food before the previous food is digested.
 Do not think lightly of a trivial illness, for it is
 like fire that may turn into a blaze.
 If an external condition changes for you,
 attempt to reverse the undoing of what was well-ordered.
 Do not shrink from vomiting, but avoid everything
 the chyme⁵ of which is a cause of illnesses.
 A diet is a helpful assistant of nature,
 that cures diseases and agues.
 10 Do not drink immediately after eating,
 nor eat straight after drinking wine.
 Vomiting and diarrhoea⁶ too are prevented by these two things,
 though not every kind of diarrhoea.
 And take medicine when the constitution is disturbed
 by nocturnal emissions or frequent dreams.
 And when the constitution has purified the inside,
 then the cure of what the skin contains is by means of the bath.
 Take care not to stick to only one kind of food,
 and thus lead your constitution to harm by the reins,
 15 And increase the humours: if they decrease *bihī*(?)
 they increase(?); so diminish their excess with *qawām* (proper treat-
 ment?).
 All medicine can be summed up, if you investigate it critically,
 as the loosening and binding of the natural constitution of bodies.
 Understanding the management of the humours has a virtue
 by which the sick are cured, and (also) by illusions(?).⁷

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that this ode is also attributed to the *shaykh al-raʿīs* Ibn Sīnā⁸ and also attributed to al-Mukhtār ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Buṭlān.⁹ The

5 Arabic *kaymūs*, from Greek χυμός (*chymos*), ‘(gastric) juice’, also came to mean ‘mixture (of the four humours), constitution’, but is here used in the sense of harmful acidic juices from certain foods, as in Galen’s *Good and Bad Juices* (*K. al-Kaymūs al-jayyid wa-l-radī*).

6 For this meaning of *qiyām*, see the dictionaries such as Lane and Dozy.

7 Unclear.

8 See his entry Ch. 11.13.

9 See his entry Ch. 10.38.

truth is that is by Muḥammad ibn al-Mujallī because of what I have previously said – that is, that Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar¹⁰ recited it to me as being among that which Mu’ayyad al-Dīn ibn al-‘Antarī¹¹ recited to him of what he had heard from his father. I have also found that al-‘Antarī mentioned the ode in his book named *The Blossom Plucked (al-Nawr al-mujtanā)*¹² where he says the ode is by himself.

[10.69.3.2]

He also said:¹³

In my being there is something of every composite kind,
 from the realm¹⁴ that can be comprehended by the intellect and is
 composite.
 My mind is a niche, my soul is a glass
 that shines with the burning lamp of understanding,
 And my light is from the divine Light that is always
 cast on to my essence, without being poured out,
 And my oil is from the olive tree with its sweet oil,
 that is exalted above description in East or West:
 It is as if I, with my description, am the light of a monk,¹⁵
 in whose translucent lamp shines the noblest star.

He also said:¹⁶

... Until it was as if his soul were like a garden
 where all kinds of birds warbled everywhere;

10 See his entry Ch. 15.46.

11 See his entry Ch. 10.69.

12 The full title is given below as *al-Nawr al-mujtanā min rawḍ al-nudamā’ (The Blossom Plucked from the Garden of Drinking Friends)*; see also al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭālī’*, i:142 (with *riyād* instead of *rawḍ*).

13 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn al-Ṣā’igh, *Mukhtār*, 452.

14 Although A vowels it as *‘ālim*, it should be read *‘ālam*. For the following lines, compare the famous Quranic verse (24:35, Arberry’s translation): ‘The likeness of His Light is as a niche wherein is a lamp (the lamp in a glass, the glass as it were a glittering star) kindles from a Blessed Tree, an olive that is neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil wellnigh would shine, even if no fire touched it.’

15 The image is already found in pre-Islamic poetry, e.g. Imru’ al-Qays: ‘When night falls she lights up the dark as if she were a lamp in the night cell of an anchorite (*manāratu mumsā rāhibī*)’, tr. Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 253.

16 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn al-Ṣā’igh, *Mukhtār*, 268 (with four lines preceding and one following).

It reflected on(?) the seven layers (of heaven)¹⁷ and separated,
elevated from it, from the prisons of the elements.¹⁸

He also said:¹⁹

Our being is a mixture, continually,
of the world of light and of darkness.
Some of use choose it²⁰ as their home
while others ascend to the stars.

[10.69.3.3]

He also said:²¹

The truth is denied by the ignorant one because he
is bereft of imagination and assent.
Thus he is the enemy of everything he does not know;
but when he does imagine it, he turns into a friend.

He also said:²²

If you knew everything that all of mankind knows
you would be the friend of the whole world.
But you are ignorant, so you think that everyone who
loves something different from what you love is not learned.
You should be ashamed that reason laughs
at what you say, while you are like someone asleep.
If you would hear what I have heard and if you knew
what I know, you would be shamefaced like someone who repents.
God has laid dissent among people
in their nature, until it became something inevitable.

17 Q al-Mulk 67:3 «*Who has created seven heavens in storeys*» (tr. Alan Jones).

18 Translation uncertain.

19 Metre: *sarī*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 352.

20 It is not clear to which noun this feminine pronoun refers (perhaps *al-dunyā*, 'this world' or *al-arḍ*, 'the earth' is understood).

21 Metre: *kāmil*.

22 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 261–262, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:69 (lines 1–3).

He also said:²³

Tell all the world about me that
 all my knowledge is imagination and analogy.
 I have investigated things in fact until
 they appeared to me without ambiguity,
 And I learned about men through knowing, whereas
 other people learn knowledge through men.

He also said:²⁴

They say, 'You are content, you most learned among people,
 with the true nature of things as they come from their Creator,'²⁵
 While you pass through the doors of obscurity!²⁶ I replied,
 'Unwillingly; I am not someone ignorant who is content with them.
 I have an ambition that is shackled; if it encountered
 good fortune, without obstacles that prevented it,
 Space would not be wide enough for them; the celestial spheres,
 would be unable to contain them, so lofty are they.
 Why are there so many intentions whereas on my intentions
 the Divine Decree (*al-qaḍā'*) has hung space (*al-faḍā'*) and wilder-
 ness?(?).²⁷
 I fold up the Nights with desires, while their vagaries
 unfold me a multiple of what I fold up.²⁸
 I endure the vicissitudes of Time;
 either my lifetime will come to an end²⁹ or it will wear them out.
 Whatever lasts I have preserved,
 and I do not give a thought to transient things.'

23 Metre: *khafīf*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 436, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv:385, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:69 (lines 2–3).

24 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv:385.

25 Since the verb *raḍīya* ('be pleased or content with, approve of') can be construed with the prepositions *bi-* and *'an* (as well as a direct object), another translation could be: 'You are content, you who among all people knows best about the true nature of things, with their Creator'; but *rāḍīhā* in the following line shows that *ḥaqā'iq al-ashyā'* are the object of the verb.

26 The sense is that al-'Antarī, despite his knowledge, is not famous.

27 Translation and interpretation unclear.

28 Interpretation unclear.

29 Perhaps instead of *sa-yufnī l-'umru* one could read *sa-yufnī l-'umra*, 'they will wear out my lifetime'.

[10.69.3.4]

He also said:³⁰

Dear son, preserve knowledge, reject
 all that people are concerned with, and you will earn a (true) lineage.
 A man may become a gentleman without being descended
 from noble stock: through knowledge, until he reaches the meteors.
 Nurture all knowledge by much memorizing and it will increase
 steadily;
 fire extinguishes if it does not find any firewood.
 In my view non-being is more proper for a human being than
 a life in which he does not gain knowledge or property.
 He spends his life and when he dies in his funeral cortège
 are ignorance and poverty: with hardship has he finished them of.

He also said:³¹

Be rich if you can, or else
 be wise; all things but these two are useless.
 A man's power lies in wealth and knowledge;
 poverty and ignorance have never reigned.

He also said:³²

Divide your lifetime into three parts and listen,
 dear son, to my sincere advice and guidance.
 Seek wisdom in the first part,
 acquire knowledge and travel in the world for it.
 Earn money in the second, eat
 and drink wine, and do not desire wickedness.³³
 And look forward to the end of your life. Then, if
 death comes to you, you will have got what you want.
 But if death visits you already in one of the two earlier parts,
 you will have achieved a holy endeavour.³⁴

30 Metre: *basīṭ*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 257, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:385–386.

31 Metre: *khafīf*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 253, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:385–386.

32 Metre: *ramal*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 306.

33 Drinking wine is apparently not deemed a grave sin.

34 The Arabic has *jihād*, which does not mean 'holy war' here.

This is the conduct of a fortunate man,
 who has followed the right course for this world and the next.

[10.69.3.5]

He also said:³⁵

Dear son, learn wisdom of the soul: it is
 a road to a man's right course and a guide.
 Do not seek the world, for much of it
 amounts to little, and after a slumber it will cease.
 He who covets the world will remain
 sad in his heart and despicable.
 But to him who abandons the world and becomes God-fearing
 harm will never find a way.

He also said:³⁶

My soul demands that I act according to its nature,
 while my reason restrains it from lusts.
 The soul knows that this is a duty
 but nature pulls it towards customary (bad) practices.
 Nature falls short of what is desired by both;
 thus both are wholly given to sorrows.
 The soul will wake up, in the midst of the hosts of the dead,
 from the wine of life and its intoxication.

He also said:³⁷

Do not offer a man who loves you openly
 your love, when the opposite of his affection is in his nature,
 And shun your friend if his love has changed for the worse:
 a diseased limb is cured by amputating it.

35 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 288.

36 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 289.

37 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:69.

He also said:³⁸

He who keeps to silence acquires respect
 which hides his bad qualities from people.
 The tongue of him who is intelligent is in his heart,
 while the heart of him who is ignorant is on his tongue.

[10.69.3.6]

He also said:³⁹

Balance your constitution as well as you can and be not
 like someone who procrastinates and is destroyed by badly mixed
 humours.⁴⁰
 Preserve your (innate) heat with moisture
 that remains,⁴¹ for if you fail to preserve it you will be remiss.
 Know that you are like a lamp that will last
 as long as there is oil at the tip of the wick.

He also said:⁴²

The sluggishness of the body draws its nourishment
 seeking to survive and to last;
 When it sees that dissolution is in its nature
 it replaces itself, leaving behind its like through nourishment and
 food.

[10.69.3.7]

He said about apples:⁴³

A slender-waisted youth came to visit me at dawn,
 with in the flirtation of his eyes the magic of Hārūt,⁴⁴

38 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:386.

39 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:69.

40 *Takhlīṭ* can also mean 'insanity, delirium'.

41 One is tempted to emend *tabqā* to *tabqa*, 'and then you will last' (cf. the following line), but it is unmetrical; perhaps it a solecism for *tabqa*.

42 Metre: *khafīf*.

43 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 54.

44 See above, Ch. 10.68.2.2 vs. 75.

Carrying a rosy-red apple,
 like a large pearl inlaid with ruby:
 It looked as if the Star (? *al-najm*), blazing,
 were in conjunction with the full moon in the sky in Pisces.

The Star (*al-Najm*) is Venus (*al-Zuharah*), the exaltation of which is in Pisces.⁴⁵

He also said: Bishr ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Kātib gifted to me at al-Raḥbah a dish of apples more red and juicy than I had never seen. I had written to him as he had requested a simile on apples so I said to him that when I have apples I will make a simile about them. He sent them so I wrote to him:⁴⁶

Get up, you two,⁴⁷ for the cock has got up and crowed,
 night has departed, so pour me some wine!
 A wine that relieves worries and whose nature
 bans sickness and refreshes the spirits.
 The Boss has given – and in his generosity there is a trait
 that gives precious things, morning and evening –
 A bowl of apples; I am always fond
 of fruit and I love apples!
 Nature and constitution were partners
 in creation when they brought them into being, magnanimously;
 They moulded them as camphor, but their skin
 they dressed in a sash of blood.
 It is as if they have taken a firebrand from the colour of my love
 and as if they exhale the fragrance of Bishr’s nature.

45 This comment (presumably a gloss by IAU) is probably mistaken. In poetry, *al-Najm* almost always refers to the Pleiades. Although they are near Pisces they can of course not be in conjunction with it. In poetry however, especially after ‘it looked as if’, everything is possible; and in any case the conjunction is with the moon rather than with Pisces. For a conjunction of the Pleiades (unambiguously called *al-thurayyā*) with the moon in several verses, see Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-‘Arab*, 128–129.

46 Metre: *kāmil*. Bishr ibn ‘Abd Allāh has not been identified.

47 An example of the ancient convention of addressing, without naming them, two companions at the beginning of a poem.

And he said about oranges:⁴⁸

Pour me, from the secluded ones⁴⁹ in amphoras,
 a 'daughter of the vine', red like purple dye,
 And pass it round in a gathering elated by
 the melodies of flutes and lutes!
 The glasses there are like stars
 raised by the hands of beautiful full moons;
 And it began, after traversing the sphere of good fortune,
 to sink wholly in our bodies.
 And the oranges, amidst the drinking companions,
 were like balls sculpted from saffron.

And he said about sour pomegranates:⁵⁰

There was a bright-faced young gazelle, like a full moon,
 with whom I was drinking wine one night until dawn.
 All night he kept averting harm
 from drinking several cups of wine,
 By taking pomegranate immediately after them,
 fearing the bad effects of drunkenness:
 As if he (an expert in these things)
 were breaking a ruby with pearls.

[10.69.3.8]

He also said:⁵¹

There was a boy with magic of Babel⁵² in his glances, like the moon,
 who had become a temptation for mankind on earth.
 On him were bestowed all grace,
 beauty, and charm by the Giver of Forms.

48 Metre: *khafif*.

49 *Mukhaddarah* (less commonly *mukhdarah*), 'secluded woman', is a common metaphor for wine (as is the following 'daughter of the vine'); perhaps there is a play with *mukhaddirah* 'numbing, soporific, narcotic'.

50 Metre: *sarī*.

51 Metre: *munsariḥ*.

52 A common expression for 'bewitching eyes' (cf. above, Ch. 10.68.2.2 vs. 75).

I was afraid of Scorpio with the moon in it;
so what about two scorpions in a moon?⁵³

He also said:⁵⁴

There was a slender boy, who overwhelms the eyes;
one drowns in the billows and waves of the 'water' of the beauty of
his face.⁵⁵

Nature's pen and Jupiter have drawn him,
while Mercury dictates to him from his apogee.⁵⁶

And he said about boys swimming in the Tigris:⁵⁷

A flock of slender youths at the bank of the river Tigris had shed
their clothes and thrown off all other burdens.
In the midst of waves of the water they all looked
like pearls in the sea, stripped of their shells.

And he said about a boy in the bathhouse:⁵⁸

The bath stripped him of every piece of clothing
and showed me what I intended to see of him:

53 The two 'scorpions' are his side-locks. In medieval astrology, following an older system of Babylonian origin, each planet was assigned one degree along the zodiac (or ecliptic) at which it has its greatest influence – called the 'exaltation' (*sharaf*) – and one degree in the zodiacal sign opposite that was a degree of least influence – called the "fall" (*hubūt*). In the case of the Moon, its 'fall', or point of least influence, is 3° Scorpio. Therefore, for the Moon to be in Scorpio means that all the good effects that the Moon might have are nearly negated by the basically rather unpleasant attributes of Scorpio. The 'falls' and 'exaltations' of planets were very important in prognostications, and they even were occasionally illustrated allegorically. For an example of such an illustration, see the Appendix (A Technical Discourse on Star Lore and Astrology) in Rapoport & Savage-Smith, *Lost Maps of the Caliphs*, where there is an illustration of the Moon in Scorpio from a copy of *Kitāb al-Bulhān*, produced in Baghdad during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad (r. 1382–1410). Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl Or. 133, fol. 27a.

54 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 21.

55 'Water' often metaphorically stands for lustre and freshness.

56 Translation uncertain. MSS A and R (margin) add: *awj 'uṭārid fī l-'aqrab* ('The apogee of Mercury is in Scorpio'), perhaps again a reference to side-locks, as in the preceding epigram.

57 Metre: *basīṭ*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 31.

58 Metre: *khafīf*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 31.

A body like the dawn appearing under a night sky
 dark black in colour, not curly.⁵⁹
 Water poured on a body that resembled silver
 until it was clothed in a rose-coloured veil.

[10.69.3.9]

And he said in a letter to a friend:⁶⁰

Sha'bān has come, warning of the fasting to come,⁶¹
 so pour me wine, mixed with water from the clouds,
 A choice old wine, like the sun in colour
 and luminescence, purer than imaginings;⁶²
 And pour it me from the right hand of a fair white antelope,
 one of the Turks, like a full moon.⁶³
 The reddish wine in all its beauty, together with the wine-pourer
 and the bubbles floating on the wine,
 Are like a sun in the afternoon, held in the hand of a full moon, topped
 by a string of pearls that resemble stars in the dark,
 Especially now that Spring is lush⁶⁴ with roses:
 one day of it would be bought for the price of seventy years.

He also said:⁶⁵

I write to you, with a passion in me on account of an ardent yearning
 and sorrow; a passion that weakens my powers and front-feath-
 ers.(?)⁶⁶
 Were it not for the hope that God will bring us together
 as happily as we were before, I would have come to you earlier.
 But I pray to the One who sees everything
 that He may bring you back safe and sound.

59 The 'dark sky' is his hair.

60 Metre: *khafif*.

61 Sha'bān, the eighth month of the Muslim calendar, is followed by Ramadan. Many Muslims who have few qualms about drinking wine (though forbidden at all times) will refrain from it during Ramadan.

62 'Purer', in the sense of 'less corporeal'.

63 Young Turks are very common in Arabic and Persian erotic poetry.

64 A adds a gloss for this rare sense of the word: *'āfīn ay kathīr al-nabt* ('*'āfīn*, i.e., with much vegetation').65 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 190–191.

66 Translation uncertain.

And he said:⁶⁷

You who live in Damascus⁶⁸ and for whom
 happy people pray: 'Live forever!',
 Do not seek a substitute for her:
 she is God's garden that He promised.
 Spend your time and do not sell, out of greed,
 hard cash for a promise you hope to get tomorrow;
 And drink there a limpid, yellow wine
 that banishes cares and takes grief away,
 5 A wine that, when decanted in vessels,
 casts froth at the rims.
 When an intelligent, astute man
 obtains his desires in a dwelling, he stays there.
 I love drinking a limpid wine
 mixed with water from the river Baradā,
 Taken from the hand of a woman loved by one's heart
 who goes round there with it when the night grows cold (*baradā*),
 Pouring it for drinking companions like stars
 with bright faces: you would think they were hail stones (*baradā*),
 10 While we meet only people of intelligence
 who impart their knowledge, or a singer who warbles.

[10.69.3.10]

He also said:⁶⁹

A greeting like the breaths of a garden in 'Ālij,⁷⁰
 brought by the east wind to the land of Damascus,
 To someone who dwells there with the same feeling in his heart,
 staying there, detained, until we meet again;
 To the paradise on earth, together – I wish
 I had one day made my camels kneel down there,

67 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Šā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 191.

68 Jilliḳ is properly a site near Damascus (see *ET*² art. 'Djilliḳ' [N. Éliasséff]), but it often (and probably here and in the next poem too) stands for Damascus itself.

69 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn al-Šā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 191–192.

70 'Ālij, of uncertain location, is usually said to be a sandy place in Arabia; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*.

When you were there. Wine is not delicious
 unless with a sincerely loving, affectionate drinking companion,
 5 One who listens and obeys his friends, with a love pure,
 without impurity, like vintage wine.
 I am summoned to you, every moment, by passion
 and the warbling of ring-doves.
 A greeting, continually, from the 'southern Sirius'
 to its glittering northern sister!⁷¹
 Though wilful Fate may have ripped apart our union,
 my affection is not torn.
 It has given me as a substitute aloofness from you; now my condition
 is like that of someone in bonds, held captive in a foreign land.
 10 Among the hardships of tyrannical Fate and its vagaries
 is that a philosopher (*faylasūf*) is made a neighbour, unwillingly, of a
 fool.

He also said:⁷²

O Ḥujjat al-Dīn,⁷³ go forth, holding fast to God,
 and do not grieve because of a separation that was destined.
 The planets have an excuse in their movement
 from their houses in order to occupy their exaltation.
 But for the necks of pretty women pearls would not fated to come forth,
 sometimes, from their shells.
 So go to a king whose utmost degree has not been obtained
 and who has not been encompassed by kings on earth in past genera-
 tions.⁷⁴
 He is the primordial matter,⁷⁵ you are the body that receives
 all kinds of lofty qualities ...⁷⁶

71 The Arabic for 'southern' (*yamānī*) and 'northern' (*shāmīyyah*) can also be read as 'Yemeni' and 'Syrian' (or 'Damascene'), respectively. 'The two Sิริuses' (*al-Shī'rayān*) are Sirius proper (*al-shī'rā al-'abūr*) and Procyon (*al-shī'rā l-yamāniyah* or *al-ghumayṣā*'). See also the note at Ch. 10.69.4 no. 4.

72 Metre: *basīṭ*.

73 Literally, 'Proof of the Religion'; it is probably Ḥujjat al-Dīn Marwān mentioned below, who was made a vizier under Zangī, and to whom al-'Antarī also addressed a congratulatory epistle. He is Marwān ibn 'Alī ibn Salāmah al-Fanakī (d. after 550/1155), see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-Shām*), ii:407–415, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxv:461–462.

74 Translation and interpretation uncertain; the identity of this 'king' is unclear.

75 *Ḥayūlā* (from Greek ὕλη) is 'primordial matter, matter before it has been given form'.

76 The meaning of *qabūlan ghayra mukhtalifi* ('with an accepting that does not differ') is not clear.

[10.69.3.11]

And he said, 'al-Raḍī the vizier of al-Jazīrah invited me to his house on a rainy night so I wrote to him via his servant':⁷⁷

Say to the vizier – may God perpetuate his blessings
 in a dynasty whose authority is over the settled and nomadic people:
 'You sent someone to fetch me when rain was pouring down
 and mud prevents those who come and go from walking.
 I hereby send back the one you sent to fetch me;
 now send me a riding animal and a horse blanket!'

So he sent me what I sought.

He also said in a letter to a certain state secretary:⁷⁸

Stop this never-ending deferring!
 Making excuses makes my heart sick!
 Give me a Yes or a No, without further dithering,
 for despair is easier to bear than yet more delay.
 In my thwarted ambition I am like someone who has
 'tangled dreams'⁷⁹ without an interpretation.

[10.69.3.12]

And he said lampooning 'Alī ibn Mus'hir the poet:⁸⁰

No female demon of the jinnees of 'Abqar⁸¹ has ever given birth
 to an uglier person than 'Alī ibn Mus'hir.
 He has a bald head on top of a figure that is
 crooked, hunchbacked, in the compass(?) of a little finger.⁸²

77 Metre: *basīṭ*. The identity of this vizier is unknown.

78 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 216.

79 A reference to the dreams that Yūsuf/Joseph was able to explain (Q Yūsuf 12:44, al-Anbiyā' 21:5).

80 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Mus'hir died in 543/1148 or 546/1151–1152, nearly ninety years old. See Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 203; Ibn Khalīkān, *Wafayāt*, iii:391–395; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxi:129–133.

81 'Abqar is a legendary place inhabited by jinnees. The evil female demon *si'lā'* is the counterpart of the male *ghūl*.

82 The sense of *fi dawri l-khinsir* is unclear.

A dung-beetle is lurking between his jaws
 that spits shit from his mouth in every company.
 When he complained to me of an old disease in his posterior,
 and of a disease in his mouth that smells bad,
 I said to him, 'The cure of the posterior is a stab of a smooth one,
 broad of neck, naked, bald, one-eyed,
 With which you are fucked between the thighs of a madman,
 who is possessed by demons, one like a wild ass, frantic, priapic(?),⁸³
 And the complaint of your filthy mouth is cured
 with a toothbrush of dung excreted by the dunghole of a man from
 Khaybar.⁸⁴
 And eat the "stomachic"⁸⁵ of bellies, for it is
 more wholesome for your disease than Caesar's stomachics.⁸⁶
 For there are in you so many ills that if they were distributed
 among all mankind you would find only unfortunate people.'

And he said:⁸⁷

I saw on top of the Chief an infidel lout,
 a black one, mounting him like a donkey,
 Burying in the ivory something ebony,
 and making the night enter into the day.⁸⁸

And he said about a woman:⁸⁹

There came an ogre from among the girls,
 looking from behind her decorated veil.⁹⁰

83 Translation unclear. *Ayyir*, according to the dictionaries, is one of the names of the east wind; a derivation from *ayr* 'prick' seems more likely here. The vowelings in *Riḍā*, *ayyur*, does not give any sense.

84 Khaybar is an oasis 95 miles N. of Medina. The allusion is not clear. It is notorious for its bad climate.

85 *Jawārishn* is a variant form of *jawārish* (from Persian), 'stomachic, digestive medicine promoting appetite'.

86 See Ibn Sinā, *Qānūn* (Būlāq), iii:358, 412.

87 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basīf*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix: 70.

88 The last hemistich is an obscene variation on the Qur'anic «*God makes the night to enter the day and makes the day to enter into the night*» (Q al-Ḥajj 22:61 and several other places).

89 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basīf*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:386, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:70 (lines 1–2).

90 Translation of *mu'lam al-niqāb* uncertain (*mu'lam* means 'marked').

One of the worst disasters, I said,
 is a lock on a ruined mansion.⁹¹
 The best place you could be is in a cloak,
 with your head wrapped in a sack.

[10.69.3.13]

And he said in praise of the merits of the sacred law:⁹²

The Sharia, with its salvation, has been composed
 for the world with all its opposites and intermixtures.
 The Law has reformed every recalcitrant errant person
 and has killed the evil of every stray criminal.⁹³
 But for the Sharia mankind would not be held together
 and in good order, and they would be afflicted by raging evil.
 The Sharia is wisdom and benefits
 for internal things and advantages for internal things.
 Reason is God's light, but it does not mingle
 with the world that is perceived by the senses.
 When you have contented yourself with an internal act of your reason
 your external affairs will all come to nought.
 The prophets are stars that guide to
 the paths of true guidance, for those travelling at night.⁹⁴

And when he gave up wine and repented of it and of eulogizing in poetry he said:⁹⁵

Since the fire of wine and the fire of thought have consumed
 my body, I have given up wine, for fear of the Fire.
 The cup, by its nature, causes the reason of the drinker to rust,⁹⁶
 and inebriation robs him of the wisdom of the Creator.

91 Proverbial; cf. al-Ābī, *Nathr al-durr*, vi:503, al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abī l-Qāsim*, 57: 'ajūz muntaqībah: *qufl 'alā khirbah*.

92 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 252.

93 The words *jānin mārij(in)* seem to allude to Q al-Raḥmān 55:15 «*He created the jinn (al-jānna) of a smokeless fire (mārijin)*».

94 The Arabic has two words here: *dhawī l-surā* 'those travelling at night' and *al-dālij*, 'he who journeys from the beginning of the night'.

95 Metre: *basīṭ*. Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Mukhtār*, 291–292.

96 There is a play on words with *ṭab*, 'nature' and *ṭaba'* or *ṭib*, 'rust'.

He also said:⁹⁷

I have abandoned red wine,⁹⁸ since I found it
 disagreeing with my nature and my character,
 And have given myself, instead, cups of wisdom,
 with which I diverted myself,⁹⁹ and I increased in longing for the
 Pourer.¹⁰⁰

[10.69.4]

Al-ʿAntarī wrote the following books:

1. Blossoms plucked from the gardens of the boon-companions and the mementos of the meritorious sages and the delectation of the worldly life (*K. al-Nawr al-mujtanā min rawḍ al-nudamāʾ wa-tidhkār al-fuḍalāʾ al-ḥukamāʾ wa-nuzhat al-ḥayāt al-dunyā*), which he arranged according to the seasons of the year and included in it poetry and fine anecdotes by many men of letters and also by himself and in which he displays his merit.
2. *The Pearl*: on nature and metaphysics (*K. al-Jumānah fī l-ʿilm al-ṭabīʿi wa-l-ilāhī*).
3. The medical formulary (*K. al-Aqrābādhūn*), which is a great medical formulary in which the author treats of compound drugs, and it is an excellent compilation.
4. The letter of the Southern Sirius to the Syrian Sirius,¹⁰¹ which he wrote to ʿArafah the grammarian in Damascus, in reply to a letter the latter had written to him from Damascus.
5. On the motion of the world (*R. Ḥarakat al-ʿālam*) in which he congratulates a vizier who was invited to another land, namely Ḥujjat al-Dīn Marwān when he was made vizier to Atabeg Zangī ibn Āq Sunqur.¹⁰²

97 Metre: *tawīl*. Ibn al-Ṣāʿigh, *Mukhtār*, 291.

98 'Red wine' (*al-ṣahbāʾ*) usually stands for wine in general; it does not mean that he will only drink white or rosé.

99 Translation of *taʿallatuhā* uncertain; normally the verb is constructed with *bi-* instead of a direct object.

100 The *sāqī*, 'wine-pourer', is here apparently God who pours out His wisdom.

101 The 'Southern Sirius' (*al-shīʾrā l-yamāniyah* or *al-ghumaysāʾ*) is Procyon (α Canis Minoris), distinguished from Sirius proper (*al-shīʾrā l-ʿabūr*, α Canis Majoris). ʿArafah the grammarian has not been identified.

102 ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī ibn Āq Sunqur (r. 521–541/1127–1146), also often spelled Zengi, founder of the Zangid dynasty that ruled in Mosul and Aleppo, see *ET*² art. 'Zangids' (S. Heidemann). On Ḥujjat al-Dīn Marwān, see above in the poem addressed to him by al-ʿAntarī.

6. On the difference between timeless time [eternity] and time, and unbelief and belief (*R. al-Farq bayn al-dahr wa-l-zamān wa-l-kufr wa-l-īmān*).
7. On divine and natural love (*R. al-Ishq al-ilāhī wa-l-ṭabīʿī*).

10.70 Abū l-Ghanāʾim Hibat Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Uthrudī¹

Abū l-Ghanāʾim Hibat Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Uthrudī was an inhabitant of Baghdad. He was a philosopher of distinction, with merit in the art of medicine, and renowned for the excellence of his theory and practice.

He wrote the following books:

1. Medical and philosophical notes (*Taʿālīq ṭibbiyyah wa-falsafiyah*).
2. On sensual pleasure during sleep and at what time it occurs (*Maqālah fī al-Ladhdhah fī l-nawm fī ayy waqt tūjad minh*). He composed this treatise for Abū Naṣr al-Takrītī,² physician to the emir Ibn Marwān.³

10.71 ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Uthrudī¹

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Uthrudī was an inhabitant of Baghdad and a physician of merit, renowned for his prominence in the art of medicine and his excellent knowledge of it. He was good at treating patients and a fine writer.

He is the author of an exposition of the questions in the book *The Physicians' Banquet* (*sharḥ masʿal Kitāb Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʾ*),² which he composed for Abū l-ʿAlāʾ Maḥfūz ibn al-Masīḥī al-Mutaṭabbib.³

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3. For references, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:303–304; Thomas & Roggema, *Christian-Muslim Relations*, iii:277–279.

2 The son of al-Faḍl ibn Jarīr al-Takrītī, see above 10.39–40.

3 Abū Naṣr's father served the last Marwanid emir Naṣīr al-Dawlah Maṣṣūr (d. 489/1096), as, presumably, did Abū Naṣr himself. See *ET*² art. 'Marwānids' (C. Hillenbrand).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:282; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v:30.

2 *The Physicians' Banquet* was written by Ibn Buṭlān, for whom see above Ch. 10.38. For an Arabic edition and French translation of Ibn Uthrudī's response, see Dagher & Troupeau, *Réponses aux questions posées par Ibn Butlan dans le Banquet des médecins*; there is also a German translation in Franke, *Das Ärztebankett*, pp. 147–204. Also mentioned in Ullmann, *Medizin*, 225, where also Ibn Athradī, and *Sharḥ Mushkil Daʿwat al-aṭibbāʾ*.

3 Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:282, has al-Musabbihī for al-Masīḥī.

10.72 Saʿīd ibn Uthrudī¹

Abū l-Ghanāʾim Saʿīd ibn ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Uthrudī was one of the renowned physicians of Baghdad. He was the practitioner in the ʿAḍudī hospital and foremost during the time of al-Muḩtafi li-amr Allāh.²

10.73 Abū ʿAlī al-ḩasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Uthrudī¹

Abū ʿAlī al-ḩasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Uthrudī was learned in the art of medicine, a good practitioner and excellent at treatment. He was much appreciated in Baghdad.

10.74 Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Uthrudī¹

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-ḩasan ʿAlī ibn Abī l-Ghanāʾim Saʿīd ibn ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Uthrudī was of merit and learned in the art of medicine, distinguished in its theory and practice.

Once, the poet Humām al-Dīn al-ʿAbdī² had borrowed the *Medical Questions* of ḩunayn (*K. Masāʾil ḩunayn*)³ from Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Uthrudī. Humām al-Dīn wrote the following poem in praise of Jamāl al-Dīn and composed a eulogy on him by way of jesting that the borrowed copy of the *Medical Questions* was now required by him.⁴ This was in the year 580/1184.⁵

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. See also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:247.

2 Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḩammad ibn al-Mustaḩhir, the twenty-ninth Abbasid Caliph. See *ET*² art. ʿal-Muḩtafiʾ (K.V. Zetterstéen).

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the book. See also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:138, where this entry is conflated with that of Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī (Ch. 10.74).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. See also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi:133(?).

2 Abū ʿAlī al-ḩasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Naṣr al-ʿAbdī al-ʿIrāqī Humām al-Dīn (d. 596/1199); see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:129–130.

3 See Ch. 8.29.

4 *Qad waqaʿa khtiyāruhu ʿalayhā*, literally ʿ(that) his choice had fallen on themʾ; meaning he would like to keep them.

5 Metre: *kāmil muraʿḩal*. Lines 1–3 in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:138 (where the rhyme is given as *-im*, but since all verse allow reading it as *-imī*, this is to be preferred).

May a glistening life-giving rain greet you
 from me, and a light, brisk breeze!
 For you have a noble character
 and you have a comely appearance,
 With fingers flowing richly with generosity,
 and a nature suited to bestowing blessings.
 Whenever he smiles (*iftarra*), the gloom
 of dark night's army flees (*farra*).
 5 With a fresh charm, like doves
 that move over the flowers of full-grown plants,
 Easy in moments of opulence,
 rich in joys for the drinking companion.
 Never bored, never contentious,
 never ignorant, never carping.
 Rather, he pairs subtle words
 with ample and huge power.
 Call out to mankind, crying for help:
 'Is there any friend or soul-mate,
 10 Someone who carries the burdens of his fellow,
 unassailable as to the protection of the sacrosanct?'
 And summon the noble: no one will answer
 save Abū l-Ḥasan, the sage.
 Please listen, Jamāl al-Dīn, to the words
 of a true loving friend:
 Could the *Problems* return one day
 to their old home?
 Ah, what an idea! The most impossible wish
 of a stud is to impregnate a barren female!
 15 But between you and me there is a bond
 of bestowing favours and all-encompassing kindness,
 And the most splendid bond is a praiseworthy
 loyalty to the Awesome Tiding.⁶
 Surely we are united in being loyal
 to the Straight Path.⁷

6 Q al-Naba' 78:1–3: «Of what do they question one another? – About the awesome tiding on which they are at variance.»

7 Q al-Fātiḥah 1:6: «Guide us on the straight path».

He also said, praising him:⁸

Ask why slumber shuns my eyelids
 after he who departed went far away;
 And he who took my fortitude into the distance,
 why did he leave sorrow in my heart?
 And say to him who imagines passion
 (tell me!) is possible at a distance and believes it:⁹
 Love's ardour did not, and will not, remove
 what separation has left behind;
 5 Nor will my heart find rest
 after having found solace.
 You who believes that love is one of
 the most trivial events:
 Love is what turns a man's clothes
 into a man's shroud.
 It is not (merely) what makes tears flow
 and thus makes the secret public.
 Ah, one with a slender figure,
 drowsy-eyed, with a moaning voice,
 10 Raising a neck as if of a gazelle with calf,
 who seeks her young not yet full-grown:
 I yearn for a young man
 who does not follow up a favour (*mann*) with idle talk of favours
 (*minan*);¹⁰
 And you will never see anything better than
 my yearning for Abū l-Ḥasan,
 One by whom any man would be charmed
 who would not be charmed but for his love for him.
 I long (for him) in yearning and passion:
 if only he would yearn and long (for me)!
 15 I am always asking about him,
 but is he asking about (me)?¹¹

8 Metre: *rajaz*.

9 Reading *waṭan* instead of *wa-ẓan(n)* would also give some sense: 'And say to him who imagines that passion (tell me!) at a distance is a home'.

10 For the ambiguity of *minnah* (pl. *minan*), see al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs* (MNN); and cf. Q al-Baqarah 2:263 «*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').

11 Unusual ellipsis of the pronoun after a preposition.

No chance! What has someone free of love to do
 with one who is full of passion and sorrow?
 He who loves has no protection
 against the arrows of ardent love;
 His soul almost flows away,
 were it not attached to the body.
 How could I not be enamoured by him whose gifts
 and eloquence are honeyed?
 20 What he gives away generously is for glory,
 what he stores is for being munificent.
 His munificence lies in his intelligence,
 for there is sagacity in acts of munificence.
 May the throne of his lucky star never be toppled,
 never weaken, never flag!
 I praise him, not seeking
 a price from him for my praise,
 Nor with the love of someone
 who has abandoned gazelles and protection.¹²
 25 So stay alive for us as long as there is
 a dove cooing on a branch,
 And walk, as you prefer, on the path
 of glory as is your custom!
 And congratulations with the feast,¹³
 with which your enemies may not be congratulated.¹⁴

10.75 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī¹

[10.75.1]

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī – that is, the Imām Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-Sātir al-Anṣārī – was unique of his time and the most learned of his age in the philosophical disciplines. He had a powerful intellect, was a noble soul, and had a good know-

12 Translation uncertain.

13 The poem was probably made on the occasion of a feast (*‘īd*, possibly the ‘Eid’ at the end of Ramadan).

14 Taking *tuhan(n)* to be a shortening of *tuhanna* (for *tuhanna*’).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

ledge of the art of medicine and undertook practice of the art. He was given to much research, and was an elevated soul who loved the good, was proficient in language and a master of Arabic. While he was born in Māridīn, his forefathers were from Jerusalem.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī's father was a judge, and when Najm al-Dīn Ilghāzī ibn Artuq conquered Jerusalem he sent Fakhr al-Dīn's grandfather 'Abd al-Raḥmān to Māridīn where he and his children settled.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī's teacher in philosophy was Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, that is, Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Aḥmad ibn al-Sarī,² a Persian from Hamadān who had been summoned by Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh ibn Ilghāzī ibn Artuq.³ Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ excelled in philosophy and had a good knowledge of it and was expert in its intricacies and secrets and authored books on the subject. At the end of his life he settled in Damascus and died – may God show him mercy – in the year [...] ⁴ and was buried in the graveyard of the Ṣūfis by the Bānyās canal outside Damascus.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī studied the art of medicine with Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh. The Ḥakīm Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar, who was known as Ibn Raqīqah, told me that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī studied the *Canon* of Ibn Sīnā with Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh and discussed it with him and went far in correcting it and copying it with him. Ibn al-Tilmīdh studied logic with Fakhr al-Dīn and among the books he studied with him was *The Medium Jurjānī Abridgement* (*K. al-Mukhtaṣar al-awsaṭ al-Jurjānī*) of Ibn Sīnā.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī settled in the city of Ḥīnī for many years and was in the service of Najm al-Dīn ibn Artuq.

[10.75.2]

Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar, who had accompanied Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī in the city of Ḥīnī⁵ and had studied the art of medicine with him and remained with him for a long time, would never part with him either when he travelled or was at home. He said the following:

2 See Ch. 15.17.

3 Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn, r. 516–548/1122–1154, see Bosworth, *New Islamic Dynasties*, 194.

4 The manuscripts leave a blank space. In the entry on Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ IAU says he died 'on Sunday in the 540s', that is, after 1145.

5 A town in the region of Diyār Bakr, also known as Ḥānī (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldan*, s.v. Ḥānī and Ḥīnī).

The shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī – may God show him mercy – arrived in Damascus, and I was with him, in the year 587 [1191–1192]. In Damascus he taught the art of medicine and he had a public teaching session. Among those who studied with him in Damascus was the shaykh Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī⁶ who studied some of the *Canon* of Ibn Sīnā and corrected it with him. The shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī remained in Damascus until the end of the month of Ramadan of the year 589 [September 1193], when he left for his home town. After Fakhr al-Dīn had decided to make the journey he was visited by the shaykh Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn who asked if it was possible for him to remain in Damascus so that he could complete his study of the *Canon* and that his deputy would receive three hundred Nāṣirī dirhams monthly by way of an allowance.

Fakhr al-Dīn did not do so and said, ‘On principle, learning should not be sold. Rather whoever is with me I will teach him wherever I am.’ However, it was not possible for Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn to go with him. When Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī was on his way to Aleppo, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent out to summon him, as he had admired his discourses, and requested that he remain with him. Fakhr al-Dīn made his apologies to him but al-Malik al-Ẓāhir did not accept them and gave him a great deal of wealth and finery. Fakhr al-Dīn attained a great station with the king and remained in his service for nearly two years, and then travelled to Māridīn.

[10.75.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī – may God show him mercy – died on Sunday the twenty-first of Dhū l-Ḥijjah of the year 594 [24 October 1198] at Āmid at the age of eighty-two years. All of his books were made an endowment of the shrine that Ḥusām al-Dīn ibn Artuq endowed. Ḥusām al-Dīn himself was of merit, a sage and philosopher who had also endowed the shrine with philosophical books. The books endowed by the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn are among the best of books and are his own copies, most of which he had studied with his teachers and produced fair copies of and went to great lengths in correcting and perfecting.

Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar, who had been present at the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī’s deathbed, told me that when the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn sensed death was near he did not cease from invoking God’s name and glorifying Him and did not tire of this until he died. The last thing we heard him

6 See Ch. 15.50.

say was, ‘O God, I have faith in you and in your Prophet – may God’s blessings and salutation be upon him – who spoke the truth. God will be ashamed to torment an old man.’⁷

[10.75.4]

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī wrote the following books:

1. A commentary on the shaykh Ibn Sīnā’s poem that begins ‘There descended unto you from the highest place ... (*Habaṭat ilyka mina l-maḥalli l-arfaʿi* ...).’⁸ He composed this commentary at the request of the emir ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Khiḍr ibn Abī l-Ghālīb Naṣr al-Azdī al-Ḥimṣī.
2. An essay in which he exposes certain people who accused him of having sympathies for a condemnable doctrine.

10.76 Abū Naṣr ibn al-Masīhī¹

[10.76.1]

Abū Naṣr Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Khayr ibn ʿIsā ibn al-Masīhī was distinguished in the art of medicine, excelled in it and was notable for it.

[10.76.2]

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Karīm al-Baghdādī told me that the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh fell gravely ill in the year 598 [1201–1202]. It was an illness associated with sediment² and he developed an extraordinarily large stone in his bladder and his pain became severe. The illness became chronic and his physician was Abū l-Khayr al-Masī-

7 This echoes a non-canonical tradition of the Prophet about God’s respect for age. See, for example, Ibn Khamīs, *Manāqib al-abrār*, ii:130.

8 For this poem, see Ch. 11.13.7.1.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 *Al-maraḍ bi-raml* (a disease with sand) is an unusual phrase in the medical literature, but apparently refers to a condition in which a sediment settles in a phial of urine after it has been shaken, which was a diagnostic aid at this time to identifying a calculus in the bladder, kidneys or urethra. It might also be read as *al-maraḍ bi-ramal* (a disease with only a small quantity of rain or water; Lane, *Lexicon*, *r-m-l*), perhaps referring to a disease associated with dysuria, or the passing of only a small quantity of urine, again another indication of a calculus. For the diagnosis and treatment of calculi in medieval Arabic treatises, see Britschai & Brodny, *Urology in Egypt*, 66–113; al-Rāzī, *Traité sur le calcul* (de Koning).

ḥī,³ who was a fine shaykh of old age. He had been in the Caliph's service for a long time and was an expert in the medical art. The physician died near his hundredth year, but the Caliph's illness carried on and he resented the constant treatment. Then he was advised that the bladder should be cut open to extract the stone, and he enquired about master surgeons and was told of one man called Ibn 'Ukāshah who lived at al-Karkh to the west side of Baghdad. He was brought and looked at the afflicted organ and the Caliph ordered him to cut it open. Ibn 'Ukāshah said, 'I need to consult the master physicians about this.' The Caliph said, 'Do you know anyone in Baghdad who is good in this art?' He said, 'Master, there is no-one in the entire land who can be compared to my mentor and teacher Abū Naṣr ibn al-Masīḥī.' The Caliph said, 'Then go and order him to come.'

When Abū Naṣr entered into the presence of the Caliph, he said, 'at your service', and kissed the ground. The Caliph bade him sit and he sat for a while and did not address him or bid him do anything until his awe subsided. When the Caliph sensed this he said to him, 'Abū Naṣr, pretend that you are in the hospital and you are treating a patient who has come down from one of the estates. I would like you to attend to my cure and treat me in this illness as you would someone like that.' Abū Naṣr said, 'I hear and obey. However, I need to know from this previous physician about the onset of the illness and its states and changes and how he treated it from the beginning until now.'

The shaykh Abū l-Khayr was brought and began to relate to him the beginnings of the illness and the changes in its states and how he treated it from beginning to end. Abū Naṣr said, 'The regimen was correct and the treatment was proper.' The Caliph said, 'This shaykh has made an error and I must crucify him.' Abū Naṣr stood up, kissed the ground, and said, 'Master, by the truth of God's blessings upon you and your pure forebears who have gone before you, do not decree this custom for physicians. The man did not err in his regimen but it was his pure bad luck that the illness didn't end.' The Caliph said, 'I forgive him, but he will not visit me again.' Abū l-Khayr left.

Then Abū Naṣr began to treat the Caliph and gave him drinks and anointed the member with emollient oils and said, 'If we can possibly ease the situation such that the stone will come out without incision then that is desirable and if it doesn't come out then we will not have lost anything. This continued for two days and on the eve of the third day he expelled the stone. It is said that it weighed seven *mithqāls* or perhaps five, and it is said that it was the size

3 Judging by Abū Naṣr ibn al-Masīḥī's full name, Abū l-Khayr al-Masīḥī would appear initially to have been the father of Abū Naṣr ibn al-Masīḥī. However, as the story develops it is evident that that was not the case.

of the largest ever olive stone. The Caliph recovered and his cure continued and he entered the bathhouse. He ordered Abū Naşr to enter the treasury and take whatever gold he was able to carry, which he did. Then robes of honour and dinars arrived from the Caliph's mother and from his two sons the emirs Muḥammad and 'Alī, and from the vizier Naşir al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Maḥdī al-'Alawī al-Rāzī,⁴ and from the rest of the great emirs in the state. The Caliph's mother and sons and the vizier and Najāḥ al-Sharābī⁵ each gave him one thousand dinars and the same came from the great emirs and the others according to their stations. I have been told that he obtained twenty thousand dinars in coin as well as a great deal of robes and clothes. Abū Naşr continued his service of the Caliph, who gave him a valuable stipend and wages and a dwelling, and he continued in service until al-Nāşir died.

[10.76.3]

A certain physician told me that Ibn 'Ukāshah the surgeon had made Abū Naşr vow to give in charity one-quarter of what he had earned to the Church of the Tuesday Market, and that he took two hundred and fifty dinars to the church.

Abū l-Khayr al-Masīḥī was dismissed from service before which his station with the Caliph had been great and his position high and the Caliph had given him great presents and gifts. Among the things he gave him was the library of al-Ajall Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh. The Caliph became ill often but then was cured at his hands and Abū l-Khayr gained a great amount because of it.

The shaykh Abū l-Khayr died during the reign of al-Nāşir, and it is said of him that he died leaving a backward son and a great amount of wealth, and he said that his child should not be prevented from inheriting from his father since that which we spend will not return to us.

[10.76.4]

Abū Naşr ibn al-Masīḥī wrote the following books:

1. The Epitome, in question and answer format (*K. al-Iqtīdāb 'alā ṭarīq al-mas'alah wa-l-jawāb*), on medicine.
2. Selections from the Epitome (*K. Intikhāb al-Iqtīdāb*).

4 Naşir al-Dīn Naşir ibn Maḥdī al-'Alawī al-Rāzī (d. 617/1220), see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvi:660–663, Ibn al-Ṭīqtaqā, *Fakhrī* (ed. Beirut: Dār Şādir, n.d.), 325–326.

5 Najāḥ al-Sharābī *al-amīr* Najm al-Dawlah (d. 615/1218), a powerful official at the caliphal court. See al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvi:716–717.

10.77 **Abū l-Faraj ibn Tūmā¹**

[10.77.1]

Šā'id ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Tūmā² was a Christian of Baghdad and was a distinguished physician and a great notable.

[10.77.2]

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Karīm al-Baghdādī told me that Abū l-Faraj ibn Tūmā was the physician of Najm al-Dawlah Abū l-Yumn Najāḥ al-Sharābī³ and that his station rose until he became his vizier and secretary. Then he entered the service of al-Nāšir and used to be among the physicians who visited the Caliph during his illnesses. Later he attained the Caliph's full favour and was given responsibility for a number of areas of service and he oversaw a number of *dīwāns* and secretaries. Abū l-Faraj ibn Tūmā was murdered in the year 620/1223⁴ and the reason for this was that he had summoned a group of soldiers for whose wages he had responsibility and addressed them in a way they disliked so two of them ambushed him and killed him with daggers. Then his estate was prevented from being inherited, and the Caliph ordered that all moneys be conveyed to the treasury while the cloth and other property would remain with his children. A certain person of Baghdad told me that eight hundred and thirteen thousand dinars were taken from his house to the treasury while the furnishings and property to the sum of nearly one hundred million dinars⁵ were left to his children.

[10.77.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say that I found al-Šāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Qiftī has related the following about the life of the aforementioned Šā'id ibn Tūmā saying:

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 Müller, i:302 includes a marginal note which reads: "This is an error by the author for in fact his name is Šā'id ibn Yahyā ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Tūmā. As for Šā'id ibn Hibat Allāh, the author mentions him subsequently. Thus in the margin of the exemplar: 'On Šā'id ibn Yahyā ibn Hibat Allāh see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 212–214, al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:239–240.

3 Najāḥ al-Sharābī *al-amīr* Najm al-Dawlah (d. 615/1218), a powerful official at the caliphal court. See al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvi:716–717.

4 The precise death date is given by Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 214, and quoted by IAU at the end of this biography.

5 MS A gives the figure of 100 million dinars, MSS Gc and B give 1 million.

He was a wise man and a physician, good at treating patients, frequently correct in his diagnoses, successful in his treatments in most cases, and had great good fortune in this regard. He was honourable and trustworthy and advanced during the reign of al-Nāṣir until he attained to a rank equal to the viziers. The Caliph entrusted him with custody of the property of his courtiers and would deposit it with him and send him on secret missions to his viziers and depend upon him at all times. Abū l-Faraj was a good arbiter and had beautiful manners and helped many people in need and by his arbitration prevented many evils. For a long time, the days favoured him and all were grateful to him and spoke well of him. Towards the end of his reign the Caliph al-Nāṣir's sight became weak and he was distracted most of the time because of great sorrows which had overwhelmed his heart. After he had become unable to inspect the petitions he summoned a woman of Baghdad who was known as Lady⁶ Naṣīm and took her into his inner circle. Her handwriting resembled the Caliph's and so she would sit with him and write letters and notes assisted in this by a eunuch⁷ named Tāj al-Dīn Rashīq. Al-Nāṣir's condition worsened and the woman began to write the letters off her own back in which, at times, she would be correct but at others she would err, aided all the while by Rashīq. It so happened that al-Qummī the vizier known as al-Mu'ayyad⁸ wrote an enquiry and by return received the woman's answer which was clearly defective. The vizier was taken aback and found it reprehensible. Then he called for the Ḥakīm Ṣā'id ibn Tūmā and confided in him as to what had happened and asked him to explain the situation. Ṣā'id ibn Tūmā told him of the Caliph's loss of sight and the distraction which befell him most of the time and what the woman and the servant were doing with regard to the letters. At this the vizier ceased work on most of the matters which came to his attention. The servant and the woman, who had opportunistically sought to bring about certain worldly goals for themselves, realized this and guessed that the Ḥakīm Abū l-Faraj had made the vizier aware of the situation. Rashīq plotted with two soldiers in the Caliph's service to assault the Ḥakīm and kill him. The two men were known as the sons of Qamar al-Dawlah and were of the Wāsiṭī soldiery, one of whom was in active service and the other with no duties. One night they watched the Ḥakīm until he came to the house of the vizier then left to return

6 Ar. *sitt*, a colloquial form of *sayyidah* or Lady.

7 Context suggests that *khādim* means 'eunuch' here.

8 Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qummī (d. 629/1231 or 630), see Ibn al-Ṭīqtaqā, *Fakhrī* (ed. Dār Ṣādir), 326–328, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, i:147–148.

to the Caliph's palace. The two men followed him until he reached the gate of the dark Ghallah Lane where they fell upon him with their knives and killed him. The Ḥakīm fled after falling to the ground because of the pain of the knife wounds until he reached the gate of Khirbat al-Harrās⁹ with the killers following him. Someone saw them, so the Ḥakīm shouted 'seize them' but they returned to him and killed him and wounded the lamp bearer who was with the Ḥakīm. The Ḥakīm ibn Tūmā was carried dead to his house and was buried there that very night. Some of the Badriyyah Guard were sent to his house and that of the vizier to guard the trust deposits which he had kept for the ladies and the servants and the courtiers. A search was made for the killers and their arrest was ordered, undertaken by Ibrāhīm ibn Jamīl¹⁰ by himself. Ibrāhīm brought the two killers to his house and early next morning they were brought out to the execution place, their bellies were slit open and they were crucified on the gate of the slaughterhouse opposite Bāb al-Ghallah where the Ḥakīm had been stabbed. The Ḥakīm's death and murder was on the eve of Thursday the twenty-eighth of Jumādā I in the year 620 [29 June 1223].

10.78 Abū l-Ḥusayn Ṣā'id ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Mu'ammil¹

Abū l-Ḥusayn Ṣā'id ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Mu'ammil was a Christian whose origin was from al-Ḥazīrah² but who settled in Baghdad. His name was also Mārī, which is an ecclesiastical name amongst the Christians who name their children at birth with certain names and then, when they baptize them, they name them with one of the names of the righteous among them.

Abū l-Ḥusayn was a physician of merit who served at the Caliphal Palace and became very close to the Caliph. Through his service and friendship to the Caliph, he became very wealthy, earned abundant respect, and a great station.

Abū l-Ḥusayn had studied belles-lettres with Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Aṣṣār,³ and with Abū Aḥmad 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khashshāb

9 This gate in Baghdad is otherwise unidentified.

10 Unidentified.

1 This biography appears in Versions 2 and 3 of the work. See also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 214, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:240.

2 'A large village near Baghdad, toward Takrīt' (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*).

3 d. 576/1180; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xiv:10–11.

al-Naḥwī,⁴ and with Sharaf al-Kuttāb ibn Jiyā,⁵ and others. He had a perfect knowledge of logic, philosophy, and all types of wisdom, but could be arrogant, stupid, foolish, and presumptuous and he is charged with excess wrongdoing. He remained thus copying books of philosophy and engaging in medicine and close to the Caliph until he died on the twentieth day of Dhū l-Ḥijjah in the year 591 [25 November 1195] in Baghdad and was buried in the Christian church there.⁶

10.79 Ibn al-Māristāniyyah¹

Abū Bakr ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Abī l-Faraj ‘Alī ibn Naṣr ibn Ḥamzah was known as Ibn al-Māristāniyyah.

Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Karīm al-Baghdādī al-Kātib told me that Ibn al-Māristāniyyah was eminent in the art of medicine and its practice. He had heard some prophetic traditions and was distinguished and learned. He also wrote some sermons which he used to show to our shaykh Abū l-Baqā’ ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn al-‘Uk-

4 Grammmarian and polymath of Baghdad who died in 567/1172; *EI*² art. ‘Ibn al-Khashshāb’ (H. Fleisch); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Khashshāb’ (J. Hämeen-Anttila).

5 Sharaf al-Kuttāb Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥamzah ibn Jiyā (or Jiyā’), d. 579/1183; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xvii:270–277; al-Qiftī, *Muḥammadūn* (Hyderabad, 1966), i:40–43; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ii:112–113.

6 At this point ms R adds in the margin a quote from Barhebraeus (*Mukhtaṣar*, 238–239): ‘The excellent Shaykh Abū l-Faraj ibn Ḥakīmā, known as “Holy Father”, says in his *History*: Two of the physicians of the court of the imam al-Nāṣir [li-Dīn Allāh] were Ṣā’id ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Mu’ammil Abū l-Ḥasan, the Christian physician from Ḥazīrah, and his brother Abū l-Khayr, the Archidiakon; they were the sons of the Katholikos known as Ibn al-Masiḥī. Ṣā’id was at the service of the caliph al-Nāṣir who held him very dear; he had a comprehensive knowledge of medicine and logic and composed a small book entitled *The Quintessence (al-Ṣafwah)* in which he compiled theoretical and practical sections of medicine. At the end of the first section from the second part there are even three aphorisms on circumcision, because it was entrusted to physicians in Baghdad, even when no word about it has ever been heard from anyone in the past or the present. [Ṣā’id ibn Hibat Allāh] used to copy scientific books. He died at the end of 571 [1176]. The Archidiakon was also an excellent [scholar] who wrote an epitome in which he summarised the studies of the book on generalities (*kulliyāt*) of [Ibn Sinā’s] *Canon*, he called [this book] *The Epitome (al-Iqtidāb)*, then he wrote an abridgment of it to which he gave the title *Selections from the Epitome (Intikhāb al-iqtidāb)*. From the History of Abū l-Faraj ibn ‘Ibrī.’

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. See also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xix:390–392.

barī² who approved of them. Ibn al-Māristāniyyah took up the post of inspector in the ‘Aḡudī Hospital; then he was arrested and imprisoned for two years. He was released and composed a history of the City of Peace [Baghdad] which he named *The Greater Record of Islam* (*Dīwān al-islām al-a‘zam*) and wrote a great deal of it but did not complete it. In the month of Ṣafar in the year 599 [October–November 1202] he was sent from the *dīwān* on a mission to Tbilisi and was given a black robe and shawl and set off there. He delivered the message and returned but died before he reached Baghdad at a place known as Jarkh Band³ on the eve of Dhū l-Ḥijjah in the year 599 [10–11 August 1203] and was buried there.

10.80 Ibn Sadīr¹

Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh was from al-Madā’in² and was known as Ibn Sadīr, Sadīr being the nickname of his father. He was a physician learned in the art of medicine and in treatment, and he used to compose poetry and was gentle and jocular. He died suddenly in al-Madā’in during the last ten days of Ramadan in the year 606 [18–28 March 1210].

Among the poetry of Ibn Sadīr: al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Dubaythī al-Wāsiṭī³ said in his book that Ibn Sadīr recited the following poem he had composed:⁴

O who can save me from people who grow ever more base!
 It defies my medicine and my doctor’s skill is humbled by it.
 When one of them falls ill, that is my health;
 but if he stays alive I almost give up the ghost.
 I treat them, though not for baseness, for this
 defies the treatment by any smart and skilful man.

2 Grammarian, d. 616/1219; *ET*² art. ‘al-‘Ukbarī’ (Mohammed Yalaoui).

3 ‘A small town in Armenia or Azerbaijan’ (Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, where Ibn al-Māristāniyyah’s death is mentioned as the single noteworthy fact about the place).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. See also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:50 (nearly identical with 1AU) and 98 (an even shorter, somewhat different entry, under ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Sadīr).

2 ‘The Cities’. Site of the Persian Imperial capitals on the Tigris river 20 miles southeast of Baghdad. *ET*² art. ‘al-Madā’in’ (M. Streck & M. Morony).

3 Historian, d. 637/1239; author of a continuation of *Tārīkh Baghdād* (*The History of Bagdad*) by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī; *ET*² art. ‘Ibn al-Dubaythī’ (J. Pedersen).

4 Metre: *ṭawūl*. Ibn al-Sha‘‘ār, *Qalā‘id*, iii:379, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:50.

10.81 Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn Ḥabal¹

[10.81.1]

Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn Ḥabal – that is, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥabal al-Baghdādī, also known as al-Khilāṭī – was foremost of his time and the most learned of his age in the art of medicine and in the philosophical disciplines. He was distinguished in letters, composed fine poetry and eloquent sayings and had mastered the memorization of the Qur’an.

Ibn Ḥabal was born in Baghdad by the Portico Gate in Thamīl Lane on the twenty-third of Dhū l-Qa‘dah in the year 515 [2 February 1122]. He grew up in Baghdad and studied belles-lettres (*adab*) and medicine and also learned traditions there from Abū l-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Samarqandī. Then he went to Mosul where he lived until the time of his death.

[10.81.2]

‘Afīf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Adlān al-Naḥwī al-Mawṣili² the grammarian of Mosul told me that the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn Ḥabal was from Baghdad but settled in Mosul and then in Khilāṭ with Shāh-i Arman the governor of Khilāṭ with whom he remained for a time during which he obtained from him a great amount of money. Before leaving Khilāṭ he deposited all the cash money he had with Mujāhid al-Dīn Qaymāz at Mosul which was nearly one hundred and thirty thousand dinars. Ibn Ḥabal then settled in Māridīn with Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’ and al-Niẓām until the two were killed by Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Artuq the governor of Māridīn. Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’ was married to Nāṣir al-Dīn’s mother. Muhadhhab al-Dīn became blind through fluid entering his eyes after an injury and this was at the age of seventy-five years. Then he left for Mosul but became an invalid and remained in his house in Abū Najīḥ Street and used to sit on a couch and all of the students of medicine and other subjects would come to him.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. Also Ibn Ḥabal. *EI*² art. ‘Ibn Ḥabal’ (J. Verney); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Ḥabal’ (A. Watson); Ullmann, *Medizin*, 161–162 (Ibn Ḥabal); *GAL* i:490, S i:895 (b. Ḥabal); Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 238–239,60 (where ‘Ibn al-H.bal’, with the article, is an error); Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh*, ii, 231; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xx, 358–359 (specifies the vowelising Ibn Ḥabal); Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād*, ii:402–403 (vowelised Ibn Ḥabal, following *Wāfi*).

2 D. 666/1267; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxi:308–314, Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:43–46. All manuscripts read ibn ‘Adnān instead of ibn ‘Adlān.

[10.81.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that he also learned prophetic traditions among which is the following: the Ḥakīm Badr al-Dīn Abū l-‘Izz Yūsuf ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn Makki al-Dimashqī known as Ibn al-Sinjārī related to me that Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Habal al-Baghdādī known as al-Khilāṭī related to him that the shaykh the Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Ash‘ath al-Samarqandī informed them that Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Kinānī informed them that Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Abī Naṣr, and Abū l-Qāsim Tammām ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī, and al-Qāḍī Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Hārūn al-Ghassānī known as Ibn al-Jundī, and Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī l-‘Aqib, and Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, informed them, saying: Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī l-‘Aqib informed us that Abū Zur‘ah ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṣafwān al-Azdī al-Baṣrī related to them that ‘Alī ibn ‘Ayyāsh related to them that Shu‘ayb ibn Abī Ḥamzah related to them, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, ‘The Messenger of God – may God bless him and salute him – said, “There is good in the forelocks of horses until the day of resurrection”.’³

[10.81.4]

Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn’s teacher in the art of medicine was Awhād al-Zamān,⁴ and at first Ibn Habal had met with ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khashshāb al-Naḥwī⁵ and had studied with him some grammar. He also frequented the Nizāmiyyah College where he studied some jurisprudence. After that, he became renowned in the art of medicine and surpassed his contemporaries among the physicians. Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn Habal – may God show him mercy – died at Mosul on the eve of Wednesday the thirteenth of Muḥarram in the year 610 [4 June 1213] and was buried on the outskirts of Mosul by the al-Maydān Gate in the graveyard of al-Mu‘āfā ibn ‘Imrān⁶ close to al-Qurṭubī.⁷

3 A famous tradition, found in various forms in numerous compilations, see Wensinck et al., *Concordance*, vi:469.

4 See Ch. 10.66.

5 Grammarian and polymath of Baghdad who died in 567/1172; *EI*² art. ‘Ibn al-Khashshāb’ (H. Fleisch); *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Khashshāb’ (J. Hämeen-Anttila).

6 al-Mu‘āfā ibn ‘Imrān al-Mawṣilī (d. 184/800), an early renunciant (*zāhid*) and traditionist; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvi:5.

7 Yaḥyā ibn ‘Umar al-Qurṭubī, poet and jurist, born in Cordova, d. Mosul 567/1172; *EI*² art. ‘al-Qurṭubī’ (R.Y. Ebied & M.J.L. Young).

[10.81.5]

Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn Habal wrote this poem:⁸

O tamarisks in Iraq that I was familiar with:
 a greeting to you that will never cease to be fragrant!
 I was strong when I dwelled in your courtyard,
 but now what was hidden in my heart is disclosed.
 How beautiful were those days in the shade of your friendliness,
 shortly before the rising of the sun, when it was already gleaming!
 The turtle-dove was cooing in the dusk before dark
 and pigeons guarded the tree trunks, lamenting.⁹
 I thought of days at the Ṣarāh¹⁰ and their sweetness,
 carried away in yearning for them when we were headstrong.

And he said:¹¹

O tree at the mention of which my heart is enraptured!
 God bless you, friendly tree!
 Distance cast me far from you and close to itself,
 but yesterday I was a close neighbour to you.
 I wish, being so far from my loved ones, I were
 transported, with a happy soul, to the grave.
 Or else, I wish Time enabled them
 to grip, with five fingers, the ropes of union.
 When my eyes roam towards Iraq and its air
 it is as if I see the horizon from where the sun rises.¹²
 My wielding the reed pen and reed lance was exchanged
 for the wielding of a minted thing named 'penny'.¹³

8 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

9 It is not wholly clear why pigeons should do this. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon: ri'ā'*, 'the guarding of palm-trees'. The cooing of doves is supposed to be a lament for the loss of a primaeval dove-chick.

10 Al-Ṣarāh is a canal in Baghdad.

11 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

12 The poem was presumably composed in Mosul, Mardin, or al-Khilāt, which means that Iraq lies to the south east.

13 *Fals*, a copper coin. The allusion is not wholly clear. Perhaps he was distracted by administrative duties while in the service of the ruler of al-Khilāt, during which he acquired great wealth.

I was compensated with a robe that encompassed glory,
 for the price of a manly robe resembling a saddle-blanket.
 He who does not see the evil of destiny and its decree
 with a calm mind, which does not compare to touching,¹⁴
 Will live forlorn among people, blind, disfigured,
 with far-reaching ambitions, the most likely person to suffer a down-
 fall.

And he also said:¹⁵

I was captivated, on the morning at al-Khayf,¹⁶ by a pretty woman
 who has taken possession of beauty, with her dallying and childlike
 love (*wa-ṣabā*).¹⁷
 She stood up, swaying like a twig of a willow tree, flirting,
 in the late afternoon hours, with the north wind and the east (*wa-ṣabā*).
 Her waist, with which she flirted, was so thin that it almost
 complained to her rump, because of its weight, of discomfort
 (*waṣabā*).
 If her pretty mouth¹⁸ had not had camomile-like teeth, my heart
 would not have been infatuated with my love for her, in passion and
 yearning (*wa-ṣabā*).

[10.81.6]

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn Habal wrote the following books:

1. Selections on medicine (*K. al-Mukhtār[āt] fī l-tibb*), which is a magnificent book containing theory and practice.¹⁹

14 Perhaps meaning 'experiencing' this fated evil.

15 Metre: *basīf*. Al-Ṣafadi, *Wāfi*, xx:359.

16 The most famous of the several locations called al-Khayf ('the mountain slope') is the one at Minā, near Mecca. Brief meetings during the hajj inspired countless erotic poems.

17 Here *ṣabā* is a licence for *ṣabā'*. The poem is an exercise in paronomasia.

18 The word here used for 'mouth', *mabsim*, literally means 'place of smiles', hence the addition of 'pretty' (it does not necessarily imply that she is actually smiling).

19 The entire text has been published, using 3 manuscripts, in Ibn Hubal, *Kitāb al-Mukhtārāt*. The chapters on kidney and bladder stones has been edited and translated into French; see de Koning, *Traité sur le calcul*, 86–227. Other chapters in German translation are in Thies, *Die Lehren der arabischen Mediziner Tabari und Ibn Hubal*. For manuscript copies, see Savage-Smith, *NCAM-1*, 331–334.

2. The Jamālī book of medicine (*K. al-Ṭibb al-Jamālī*), which he composed for the vizier Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad known as al-Jawād.²⁰

10.82 Shams al-Dīn ibn Habal¹

Shams al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Abī l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Habal was born at the break of dawn before sunrise on Friday the twentieth of Jumādā 11 in the year 548 [12 September 1153]. He studied the art of medicine, was distinguished in letters, and had a high station in the state. He travelled to Anatolia where he was greatly honoured by the King al-Malik al-Ghālib Kaykā’ūs ibn Kaykhusraw² with whom he remained for a short time. Shams al-Dīn ibn Habal – may God show him mercy – died in Anatolia, then was carried to Mosul where he was buried. Shams al-Dīn ibn Habal had two great, eminent, and notable sons who still live in the city of Mosul.

10.83 Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus¹

[10.83.1]

Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus – that is, Abū ‘Imrān² Mūsā ibn Yūnus ibn Muḥammad ibn Man‘ah – the most learned of his time and foremost of his age was the paragon of the scholars and the chief of the philosophers. He mastered philosophy and distinguished himself in all other disciplines and was outstanding in the religious sciences and in jurisprudence.³ Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus taught at the school in Mosul and taught all the sciences including philosophy, medicine,

20 Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, known as al-Jawād (‘the Generous’), d. 574/1178, vizier under the Zangids, rulers of Mosul; *ET*² art. ‘al-Djawād al-Iṣfahānī’ (Ed.). Müller adds at this point: “He composed the *Selections* in Mosul in the year 560 [1164–65].” This addition occurs in the Berlin MS only, which has not been used in our edition.

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book.

2 Seljuqid ruler of al-Rūm (Anatolia), r. 608–618/1211–1220; *ET*² art. ‘Kaykā’ūs’ (Cl. Cahen).

1 This biography appears in all three versions of the book. For references, see Sezgin, *GAS* v, 134, 141, 324 (brief references only). The fullest account is given by Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, v:311–318) who himself studied with Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus for a time in Mosul.

2 Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, v:311) gives the *kunya*h Abū l-Faṭḥ.

3 Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, v:311) states he was a jurist of the Shāfi‘ite rite (*faqīh shāfi‘ī*).

religious teachings, and the like. He composed works of the utmost good quality and continued to live in Mosul until he died – may God show him mercy.⁴

[10.83.2]

The Judge Najm al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Kuraydī told me that, once, the *Book of Guidance* (*K. al-Irshād*) of al-‘Amīdī⁵ arrived in Mosul. This book contains powerful dialectical arguments, which are called ‘*just*’ by the Persians, that is, ‘cunning’.⁶ When the book was brought to the shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus he examined it and said, ‘This is a fine science whose author did not stint himself.’ The book remained with him for two days during which Kamāl al-Dīn made a fair copy of all its contents and then taught it to the students of jurisprudence and explained things to them which no-one before him had mentioned.

[10.83.3]

It is said that Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus knew magic.⁷ An example of this was related to me by the Judge Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Kuraydī who said: The Judge Jalāl al-Dīn al-Baghdādī, the student of Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus, used to live near Ibn Yūnus in the school. Once, an emissary came to the merciful king Badr al-Dīn Lu’lu’⁸ the governor of Mosul from the Emperor the king of the Franks,⁹ who was expert in the art of syllogisms. The emissary had with him certain questions about astrology and the like and sought the answers from Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus. The governor of Mosul sent a message to Kamāl al-Dīn informing

4 His birth date is given by Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, v:317) as Thursday 5 Šafar 551 [30 March 1156], and his death date as 14 Sha’bān 639 [17 February 1242].

5 He is Rukn al-Dīn Abū Hāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī, known as al-‘Amīdī (d. 615/1218). See *EI*² art. ‘al-‘Amīdī’ (S.M. Stern); al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, i:280–281. His *K. al-Irshād* is extant in manuscript but no edition has been published. See also *GAL* i:568.

6 The Persian noun *just* derives from the verb *justan*: to examine, search, and in this context probably corresponds with the Arabic *baḥth* from whence *ādāb al-baḥth* i.e. the etiquette of disputation, a branch of dialectics. The connection with the cunning is not clear. See Dozy, *Supplément*, i:194; Dihkhudā, *Lughatnāmah*, art. ‘*just*’.

7 See *EI*² art. ‘Sīmiyā’ (D.B. MacDonald & T. Fahd) and Porter, Saif & Savage-Smith, ‘Medieval Islamic Amulets’.

8 Badr al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā’il al-Malik al-Raḥīm (d. 657/1259). A freedman (hence the slave-name “Lu’lu’”) of the last of the Zangids of Mosul and who became regent of Mosul in (607/1210–1211). See *EI*² art. ‘Lu’lu’” (Cl. Cahen).

9 That is, Frederick II, who also supposedly also sent questions to the philosopher Ibn Sab’īn of Murcia (d. 668/1270). On Frederick II and scholars in Mosul, see Arndt, *Judah ha-Cohen and the Emperor’s Philosopher*, 98–108; Hasse, ‘Mosul and Frederick II Hohenstaufen’; and Schramm, ‘Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and Arabic Science’. See also Wiedeman, ‘Fragen aus dem Gebiete der Naturwissenschaften’; and Akasoy, ‘Ibn Sab’īn’s *Sicilian Questions*.’

him of this and saying that he should wear beautiful clothes and prepare a splendid salon for the emissary knowing that Ibn Yūnus used to wear rough clothes without affectation and had no knowledge of the things of the world. Ibn Yūnus said, 'Yes.'

Jalāl al-Dīn relates the following: I was with him when he had been told that the emissary of the Franks had arrived and was close to the school. Ibn Yūnus sent some students to meet the emissary and when he arrived we looked and saw that the room was adorned with the most beautiful and finest Byzantine carpets with a group of slaves and servants in fine clothes. The emissary entered and the shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn greeted him and wrote the answers to all the questions. When the emissary had gone all that we had seen before vanished so I said to the shaykh, 'Master, how wonderful were the splendours and the servants we saw a short time ago!' He smiled and said, 'Baḡhdādī, that is science!'

The narrator continues saying: Jalāl al-Dīn said, 'Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn once had a request for Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu', so he rode out one morning to meet him in that regard. It was the custom of Badr al-Dīn to ride fast-paced horses and mules but when they gave him a horse in the morning and he mounted it, it would not move so he dismounted and mounted another but could not go a step. While he was waiting in consternation the shaykh arrived and told him of his request which Badr al-Dīn fulfilled. Then Badr al-Dīn asked him why the horse had refused to go until he had arrived? Kamāl al-Dīn said, 'This is to do with the strength of old men's minds.' Then he returned and Badr al-Dīn went on his way and his soldiery followed him.'

[10.83.4]

Najm al-Dīn Ḥamzah ibn 'Ābid al-Şarkhadī told me that Najm al-Dīn al-Qamrāwī¹⁰ and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Mutānī¹¹ (Qamrā¹² and Mutān being villages of Şarkhad)¹³ had studied the religious and philosophical sciences and had distinguished themselves and were renowned for their eminence. The two of them

10 He is Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Īsā al-Kinānī, known as al-Qamrāwī (d. 651/1253). He is noticed by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:332, 334.

11 He is Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-Ḥawrānī al-Mutānī (d. 659/1260–1261). For a notice of his death, see al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān*, ii:134.

12 Yāqūt, *Muġām al-buldān* (ed. Wüstenfeld) iv:173, has the name of this village as "Qamrāw". Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:332 has "Qamrā".

13 Şarkhad (Şalkhad), an important mediaeval city and fortified stronghold in southern Syria and the residence of IAU in the latter part of his life. See *ET*² art. 'Şalkhad' (M. Meinecke); and the essay 'Ibn Abī Uşaybi'ah: His life and career' in Vol. 1.

travelled the land in search of knowledge and when they reached Mosul they sought out shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus who was in the school teaching. They greeted him and sat with the students and when some questions of jurisprudence arose they spoke and discussed the principles of jurisprudence and showed their eminence over most of the others so the shaykh honoured them and drew them near. At the end of the day they asked him to show him a book he had written about philosophy in which there was an enigma but he refused saying, 'I haven't yet found anyone able to solve this book and I guard it jealously.' They said, 'Master, we are strangers who have sought you out to have the privilege of seeing you and to see this book. We will spend the night in the school with you as we do not wish to read it for more than this night only, and in the morning you may take it back, Master.' They continued to speak kindly to him until he relented and brought out the book. The two sat in one of the rooms of the school and didn't sleep at all that night but rather one of them dictated to the other and he would write until they had finished writing the book. Then they collated it and inspected it many times but the solution did not appear to them until the last moment when the sun rose and they were able to solve some of the last part of it. Then the rest became clear to them bit by bit until the enigma was solved and they understood it. They took the book to the shaykh who was teaching so they sat down and said, 'Master, we had actually sought your great book which contains the enigma which is difficult to solve. The contents of this book, however, have been known to us for some time and we have had knowledge of the enigma therein from old and if you wish we can show it to you.'

Kamāl al-Dīn said, 'Speak and let me hear it.'

Al-Najm al-Qamrāwī followed by the other man came forward and brought forth all the contents of the book from first to last and related the solution of the enigma in fine and eloquent phrases at which Kamāl al-Dīn was amazed and said, 'Where are you from?' They said, 'From Syria,' He said, 'From which place?' They said, 'From Ḥawrān.' The shaykh said, 'Doubtless one of you is al-Najm al-Qamrāwī and the other al-Sharaf al-Mutānī.' When they said they were, the shaykh rose and invited them to be his guests and honoured them to the utmost and the two of them studied with him for a time and then continued their journey.

[10.83.5]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say that when my uncle Rashīd al-Dīn ibn Khalīfah¹⁴ was at the beginning of his youth he intended to travel to Mosul to meet with shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus and study with him because of what he had heard about his knowledge and eminence which no-one could surpass. He had prepared for the journey but when his mother, my grandmother, learned of this she wept and begged him not to leave her. She was very fond of him and he could not go against her so he cancelled the journey to him.

Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus had children in the city of Mosul who had mastered jurisprudence and other sciences and were prominent authors and eminent teachers.

[10.83.6]

Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus composed the following poem:¹⁵

I am not one of those who obey their censurers,
 nor did I once think about abandoning him.
 I changed, like you, treacherously, changed; and just as you
 held me cheap, I held your once dear value cheap.

And he composed a *dūbayt*:¹⁶

Until when¹⁷ will your promises to me be false?
 Ample delaying and scant gain!
 In my heart the seed of love for you is sown:
 Visit me; perhaps it will bear union as fruit, visit!

[10.83.7]

Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus wrote the following books:

1. Unveiling the problems and clarifying the difficulties in the exegesis of the Qur'an (*K. Kashf al-mushkilāt wa-īdāḥ al-mu'ḍilāt fī tafsīr al-Qur'an*).

14 See Ch. 15.51.

15 Metre: *munsariḥ*.

16 *Dūbayt*, a Persian-Arabic word, literally 'two-liner'. Originally a Persian form, two lines (four hemistichs) with a specific metre and internal rhyme, *aaba* (as here) or *aaaa*; in the Persian literary tradition called *rubā'īyyah* (an Arabic word meaning 'quatrain').

17 Taking the strange *ḥattā wa-matā* ('until and when') to be a licence for *ḥattā matā*.

2. Commentary on the book of instruction in jurisprudence (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-Tanbīh fī l-fiqh*), two volumes.¹⁸
3. A lexicon of the *Canon* [of *Medicine* by Ibn Sīnā] (*K. Mufradāt alfāz al-Qānūn*).
4. On the principles of jurisprudence (*K. fī l-Uṣūl*).
5. The sources of logic (*K. Uṣūn al-manṭiq*).
6. An enigma of philosophy (*K. Lughz fī l-ḥikmah*).
7. The Sultan's Secrets: on astrology (*K. al-Asrār al-Sulṭāniyyah fī l-nujūm*).

18 A work by the Shāfi'ite scholar Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083); Ibn Yūnus's commentary was entitled *Ghunyat al-muḥtā* (*GAL*, i:387, S i:670).

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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