

## Famous Syrian Physicians<sup>1</sup>

*Translated and annotated by N. Peter Joosse and Geert Jan van Gelder  
(poetry)*

### 15.1 Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī<sup>2</sup>

[15.1.1]

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Ūzlūgh ibn Ṭarkhān was a native of the town of Fārāb in a Turkish district of Khorasan. His father was an army officer of Persian origin who lived in Baghdad for some time before moving to Damascus, where he remained until his death.

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī – may God have mercy upon him – was a consummate philosopher and a man of learning who was not only well-versed in the philosophic sciences but also excelled in the several domains of mathematics. He was pure of soul and highly intelligent. Moreover, he avoided worldly ambition and was content with the barest subsistence, living like one of the philosophers of antiquity. He was interested in the art of medicine, and was familiar

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- Chapter Fifteen is the final chapter of IAU's large encyclopaedia of medical biography. It contains sixty entries, starting off with the philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and finishing with the physician Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff. It is by far the longest chapter of the work and also contains a fair amount of poetry. With the exception of a few entries right at the beginning, the chapter deals with IAU's contemporaries, among whom we can find many of his relatives, friends and acquaintances. Ch. 15 is preserved in MSS A and L, but missing from P and S. Of the comparative copies, it is found in HRGbc, but only partially preserved in B. There is a marginal note on fol. 271b of MS A saying 'in the handwriting of the author'. It needs, of course, to be emphasized that MS A is a very important text for several reasons, but this importance does unfortunately not reflect itself fully in Book Fifteen. MS A mainly offers variant readings of minor importance, many omissions and silly mistakes. The many omissions in MS A cannot be explained by homoeoarcicon or teleuton and neither by carelessness of the scribe. That obviously means that the omissions are due to the fact that MS A is an intermediary copy. It is a work in progress. The collation is based on the MSS ABGgGcHLR.
  - This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. For biographical and bibliographical information on Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, see amongst others *Encycl. Iranica*, art. 'al-Fārābī' (D. Gutas); Fakhry, *History*, 111–132; *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Al-Fārābī' (R. Walzer); Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*; Rescher, *Bibliography*. It is also worth consulting some of the studies by Ahmet Ateş and H. 'A. Maḥfūz on the life and works of al-Fārābī.

with its general principles, but was not a practising physician, and did not attempt to address specific issues.

[15.1.1.1]

Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī l-Āmidī<sup>3</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – told me that al-Fārābī had once been a keeper of a garden in Damascus. Even then, however, he had always occupied himself with the philosophical sciences, reflecting on them, studying the views of the ancients and elucidating their meanings. He found himself in such straitened circumstances that, when staying up all night to read and write books, he had to use his watchman’s lamp for light. He held that post for some time, but by degrees his situation improved: his merits became manifest and his writings came to be widely read. He acquired many disciples, became a leading authority in the domain of philosophy and was highly regarded. The emir Sayf al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān al-Taghlibī<sup>4</sup> became his patron, bestowing great honour upon him, with the result that he enjoyed preference and became a man of importance.

[15.1.1.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have copied the following from one of my learned teachers: Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī travelled to Egypt in the year 338/949, returned to Damascus in the month of Rajab of the year 339/950, during the caliphate of al-Rāḍī [bi-Allāh], to stay with Sayf al-Dawlah ‘Alī ibn Ḥamdān. Sayf al-Dawlah recited prayers for him in the presence of fifteen of his closest associates. It is said that of all the presents that were bestowed upon him [by Sayf al-Dawlah], he only accepted four dirhams daily, which he spent on the simple necessities of life. He attached no value whatever to ostentation, luxury or income, and he is said to have subsisted on nothing but a light broth made from lamb’s heart and an aromatic wine.<sup>5</sup>

3 Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī al-Āmidī (551–631/1156–1233) is renowned as the author of a monumental summa on Islamic legal theory entitled *al-Iḥkām fi uṣūl al-aḥkām*. See Weiss, ‘Legal Education,’ 110–127.

4 Sayf al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān al-Taghlibī (r. 333–356/944–967) was a Ḥamdānid emir. See amongst others *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Fārābī’ (D. Gutas).

5 Lothar Kopf’s translation of this fragment is awkward: ‘It is affirmed that he subsisted exclusively on the cardiac fluid of young lambs and seasoned wine’; it is also inappropriate in the sense that it may hint at the human consumption of blood or the execution of some magical procedure.

[15.1.1.3]

It is said that he was once a judge, but that when he became aware of scientific knowledge, he renounced that occupation and devoted himself exclusively to the study of science. He took no interest in worldly matters: he is said to have left his house at night and visited the watchmen in order to read by the light of their lamps. He was also a student of the art of music and a performing musician, and in that domain too he attained an unsurpassed proficiency. He is said to have made a curious instrument with which he produced extraordinary melodies that would stir his hearers' emotions. As regards the origin of his interest in philosophy, it is said that a certain man once left the complete works of Aristotle in his keeping. He chanced to look into them, found them congenial, and began to read them, nor did he put them down again until he had mastered them completely and become an accomplished philosopher in his own right.

[15.1.2]

I have transcribed the following passage from Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's own definition of the word 'philosophy':

The word 'philosophy' is Greek and has been adopted in the Arabic language. The original Greek word is 'philosophia', and it means 'admiration for wisdom'. The term is composed of the words 'philo' and 'sophia', 'philo' meaning admiration and 'sophia' wisdom. The word 'philosopher' is derived from 'philosophy'. The Greek term is 'philosophos'. There are many words that are derived in that way in their language. A 'philosopher' is thus an 'admirer of wisdom'. An 'admirer of wisdom' to them is one who makes wisdom his ultimate goal and sole end in life.

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī relates the following account of the origins of philosophy.<sup>6</sup> In his own words:

The study of philosophy became widespread during the days of the Greek kings. After the death of Aristotle, it was cultivated in Alexandria until the end of the woman's reign.<sup>7</sup> Subsequent to Aristotle's demise, the teaching of the subject there remained unchanged throughout the reign of

6 This is one of the most famous – and controversial – passages of the *Uyūn*, and has been translated and discussed many times. For a list of these translations and studies, see Gutas, 'Alexandria', 155 n. 2.

7 'The woman' is of course the empress Cleopatra.

the thirteen [Ptolemaic] kings, under whom there were twelve successive teachers of philosophy, including one who was known by the name Andronicus [of Rhodes].

The last of these rulers was 'the woman' [Cleopatra]. Augustus, the emperor of the Romans, defeated and killed her and took possession of her kingdom. Once he had consolidated his rule, he looked through the libraries and reorganized them. There he found manuscripts of the works of Aristotle that dated from the lifetime of the author itself and that of Theophrastus [of Eresos], and he also discovered that later teachers and philosophers had composed works on the subjects which Aristotle discussed in an earlier age. Augustus ordered Andronicus to have copies made of the former, namely, works that were from the times of Aristotle and his disciples, so that they could serve for the teaching of philosophy, while the latter were to be discarded. Augustus said that he would take some of these copies to Rome with him, while others were to be left behind at the School of Alexandria, and he ordered Andronicus to designate a successor in Alexandria and to accompany him to Rome. From then on, philosophy was taught in both cities, and this remained the case until the advent of Christianity.

This put an end to the teaching of philosophy in Rome, but it continued to be pursued in Alexandria until the Christian emperor decided to look into it. The bishops gathered in solemn conclave to consider which parts of the canon should be deemed acceptable and which should be suppressed. In the end, they decided that all the material from the books of logic to the last part of the *Prior Analytics* [lit.: 'the perceptual forms', 'the assertoric figures'<sup>8</sup>] should continue to be taught, but nothing beyond that, for fear that it might bring harm to Christianity. However, they imposed no restraints on anything that might promote the Christian faith. The approved works could be openly taught, whereas the rest could be taught only clandestinely.

Long afterward, after the advent of Islam, the teaching of philosophy migrated from Alexandria to Antioch, where it remained for a very long period. In the end, only one teacher was left. This person taught two men, who left the city and took the books with them. One of these men was a native of Ḥarrān, while the other was a native of Merv. The man from Merv taught two other men, one of whom was Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī<sup>9</sup> and

<sup>8</sup> This goes up to *Prior Analytics*, I 7; see. Gutas, 'Alexandria', 164.

<sup>9</sup> Ibrāhīm (ibn Aḥmad) al-Marwazī (d. ca. 339/951) is said to have been one of the teachers of the famous logician Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus.

the other Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān.<sup>10</sup> The Ḥarrānian man also instructed two other men, one of whom was Isrāʿīl, the bishop<sup>11</sup> and the other [Ibrāhīm] Quwayrī.<sup>12</sup> Both these men settled in Baghdad. Isrāʿīl devoted himself to religion, while Quwayrī began a career in teaching. Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān, for his part, applied himself to religion as well. Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī also moved to Baghdad, where one of his students was Mattā ibn Yūnān.<sup>13</sup> At that time, the study of philosophy included the works of Aristotle as far as the last part of the *Prior Analytics*.

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī said that he himself read philosophy with Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān as far as the end of the *Book of Demonstration* [that is, the *Posterior Analytics*]. That part of logic that remained unknown until the study of it was permitted, was called ‘beyond the Perceptual Forms’. Later on, Muslim scholars taught the whole of the corpus, from the last part of the *Prior Analytics* to the limit of what the student was able to master. Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī said that he had read it all as far as the end of the *Book of Demonstration*.

[15.1.3]

My paternal uncle, Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah<sup>14</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – told me that al-Fārābī died, while he stayed with Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān in the month of Rajab of the year 339/950,<sup>15</sup> and that

10 Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān (d. during the caliphate of the caliph al-Muqtadir, 295–320/908–932) is a Christian philosopher.

11 Isrāʿīl, the bishop. Unidentified. Steinschneider (*Al-Farabi*, 87, n. 9), on the authority of Baron Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1853), refers to a certain Isrāʿīl ben Beschuh.

12 Quwayrī (also sometimes spelled as Fūthirī or Fūtirī etc.) has been described as a disciple of a Ḥarrānian philosophy teacher. He later became a teacher of philosophy in Baghdad. See Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 87, especially n. 10. He can perhaps be identified with Ibrāhīm Quwayrī, the logician a.k.a Abū Ishāq. See also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, 77. See also Ch. 10.18.

13 Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus [Yūnān] (ca. 256–328/870–940) was a Christian philosopher who played an important role in the transmission of the works of Aristotle to the Islamic world. He is famous for founding the Baghdad School of Aristotelian Philosophers. Only Ibn Khallikān mentions Abū Bishr as one of the teachers of al-Fārābī. See *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Fārābī’ (D. Gutas). Abū Bishr has an entry in Ch. 10.21.

14 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah was a physician and head of a hospital. He was the paternal uncle of 1AU and a close acquaintance of the famous polymath ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī. It has been reported that Rashīd al-Dīn introduced ‘Abd al-Laṭīf to the works of Aristotle. See Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte*, 132. This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.51.

15 That is also the opinion of the judge and biographer Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (d. 460/1070), who simply states that ‘al-Fārābī died in Damascus in 339/950 under the protection (*fī kanaf*) of Sayf al-Dawlah’. See Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī, *Ṭabaqāt* (Bū ‘Alwān). Others like al-Bayhaqī,

he had studied philosophy with Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān in Baghdad in the days of [the caliph] al-Muqtadir. Moreover, he said, Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnān was a contemporary of his. He was older than Abū Naṣr, but Abū Naṣr had a sharper intellect and was more eloquent. Abū Bishr Mattā studied under Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī and died during the caliphate of [the caliph] al-Rādī [bi-Allāh], between the years 323/934 and 329/940. Yūḥannā ibn Ḥaylān and Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī had studied under a man from Merv.

## [15.1.3.1]

The shaykh Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī<sup>16</sup> states in his *Annotations* that Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī<sup>17</sup> informed him that Mattā had read the *Isagoge* with a certain Christian and *The Categories* and the *Peri Hermeneias* with a man named Rūbīl,<sup>18</sup> and that he had read the *Book of Syllogisms* [that is, the *Prior Analytics*] with Abū Yaḥyā al-Marwazī.<sup>19</sup>

## [15.1.3.2]

The qadi Ṣā‘id ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣā‘id<sup>20</sup> says in his *Book of information on the Classes of Nations* that al-Fārābī began the study of logic under Yūḥannā ibn

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in his *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, present us with the romantic story that al-Fārābī was killed by highwaymen on his way from Damascus to Ascalon. On the stories and legends that are doing the rounds about al-Fārābī’s life and lore, see *Encycl. Iranica* art. ‘Fārābī’ (D. Gutas).

- 16 Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn Bahrām al-Sijistānī (d. 375–376/985) was also called al-Mantiqī (the logician). His name refers to his origins in the Sijistān or Sistān province in present-day Iran. He became the leading philosopher of Islamic humanism in the Baghdad of his time. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Abū Sulaymān al-Sidjīstānī’ (S.M. Stern); Cottrell, art. ‘Abū Sulaymān’; cf. also Kraemer, *Philosophy*. Al-Sijistānī has an entry in Ch. 11.7.
- 17 Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī (d. 363/974) was a Syrian Orthodox Christian philosopher, theologian and translator, who studied with Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus and Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī. Yaḥyā eventually headed the Aristotelian school in Baghdad. He is particularly well-known for his work on ethical philosophy called *The Refinement of Character* or *Tahdhib al-akhlāq*. See the parallel Arabic-English translation by Griffith, *Tahdhib*, which also offers an excellent introduction to this author. Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī has an entry in Ch. 10.22.
- 18 Rūbīl (or: Rūfil) was, as it seems, one of the teachers of Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus; see Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 89. He was a Jacobite monk, commentator on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*; see Kraemer, *Philosophy*, 99 (with references to Ibn al-Nadīm, and Bar Hebraeus).
- 19 Abū Yaḥyā al-Marwazī. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Mattā b. Yūnus’ (G. Endress). He is said to have been one of the teachers of Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus. See Ch. 10.20 and also Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukama’*, 435.
- 20 That is, the judge Abū l-Qāsim Ṣā‘id ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī (d. 460/1070),

Ḥaylān, who died in the ‘City of Peace [Baghdād]’ in the days of [the caliph] al-Muqtadir. He surpassed all Islamic scholars in that art with the incomparable depth of his knowledge, explaining its obscurities, exploring its secrets and facilitating understanding of it. Al-Fārābī brought together the essential elements of the art of logic in a series of works that provide a sound interpretation of the facts and are written in an intellectually refined style. In those works, he draws attention to those matters that [Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq] al-Kindī<sup>21</sup> and others failed to analyse and elucidate in their teaching. The five methods of logic are clearly set forth, and the author advises the reader on methods of applying and utilizing them, and on the use of analogy with regard to each of them. In a word, his works on that subject are highly rewarding and most erudite.

Al-Fārābī wrote an admirable work entitled *Enumeration of the Sciences and a Determination of their Aims*,<sup>22</sup> which is highly original, breaking new ground. It is indispensable as a model and an introduction for students of all sciences. In addition, al-Fārābī composed a work on the aims of Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, which attests his proficiency in philosophy and his knowledge in the various scientific disciplines. This work is essential as a guide to methods of enquiry and procedures of investigation. It affords insight into the secrets and achievements of the several sciences, one by one, and demonstrates how the student can advance gradually from one to another. Beginning with the philosophy of Plato, al-Fārābī identifies its aims and sums up the author’s works in that field. Next, he turns to an exploration of the philosophy of Aristotle, first inserting an important introduction in which he explains how, step by step, he came to appreciate Aristotle’s writings. He, then, describes the aims pursued by Aristotle in his works on logic and physics, book by book, until (according to the copy that has come down to us) he concludes with the beginning of metaphysics and the method of drawing conclusions regarding it through physics. I know of no work that is more advantageous to the student of philosophy, because it explains the concepts common to all sciences while also distinguishing those

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*K. al-Ta’rīf bi-ṭabaqāt al-umam*, see *Ṭabaqāt* (Cheikho), 53–54. See also Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 141–146 and Šā‘id, *Ṭabaqāt* (Bū ‘Alwān), 137–140.

21 Al-Kindī (d. ca. 252/866) was a philosopher, mathematician, physicist, astronomer, physician, geographer and even an expert in music. He made original contributions to all of these fields. On account of his work he became widely known as ‘The Philosopher of the Arabs’; see for instance Atiyeh, *Al-Kindī*; Adamson, *Al-Kindī*; Adamson and Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*. See Ch. 10.1.

22 See Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43; Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 83–85; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 546–547, and 529.



that are specific to each particular science. Only through this work is it possible for a student to understand the meaning of the categories and to learn about the premises that form the basis of all the sciences.

Besides these, al-Fārābī wrote two other peerless works, one on metaphysics, entitled *The Government of a State*,<sup>23</sup> and the other on politics, entitled *The Virtuous State* [or, in full, *Opinions of the People of the Ideal State*].<sup>24</sup> In these works, the author uses the method of Aristotle to explain important parts of metaphysics: the six spiritual elements, how they give rise to the bodily substances, how these elements are arranged, and how they are linked with wisdom. He also presents us with the various categories of men and human psychical faculties, and draws a distinction between revelation and philosophy. In addition, he describes the different types of States, both virtuous and non-virtuous, and shows that every State stands in need of both a temporal ruler and prophetic laws.

[15.1.3.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: the historians tell us that al-Fārābī would meet with Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj<sup>25</sup> and learn grammar from him, while in return Ibn al-Sarrāj would study the science of logic under al-Fārābī. Al-Fārābī also composed poetry. When he was asked: ‘Who is the greater [scholar], you or Aristotle?’, he replied: ‘Had I lived in his day I would certainly have been his best disciple’. He is also reported to have said: ‘I have read Aristotle’s *Physics* forty times, but I still feel the need to read it over and over again.’<sup>26</sup>

[15.1.4]

The following prayer (*du‘ā*)<sup>27</sup> was composed by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī: O God, I ask Thee, the necessarily existent, the cause of all causes, the Sempiternal, who

23 See Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 581–582, 533 no. 126.

24 See Rescher, *Bibliography*, 47; Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63–68; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 577–581, 533 no. 125.

25 That is, most likely, the famous grammarian and lexicographer Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Sarī ibn Sahl al-Sarrāj (d. 316/942), see Sezgin, *GAS VIII*, 101 and *GAS IX* 82–85.

26 Al-Fārābī’s ‘obsessive reading’ of Aristotle seems to have been proverbial. Ibn Khallikān, who also reports this information, adds that he learnt from an autograph manuscript that al-Fārābī had read *De anima* a hundred times (*al-Wāfi*, i:103). According to Franz Rosenthal this might have come from a marginal note in an manuscript on geometry attributed to the philosopher, now in the Uppsala library (Rosenthal, *Technique and Approach*, 23).

27 For this specific *du‘ā*, see Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 113 under 18. Al-Fārābī’s authorship is disputed; see Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 587–588.



wilt never cease to exist, that Thou preservest me from errors, and makest me place my hope in actions that Thou wilt approve. O God, bestow on me the virtues that Thou hast assembled and bless me in all my affairs. Grant me success in all my goals and quests.

O Lord of the seven running and sinking (planets),<sup>28</sup> that  
 gushed forth from the universe as from an artery(?):<sup>29</sup>  
 They are the agents of His will, the virtues of which  
 encompass all substance.  
 Now I hope for good things from Thee whereas I have doubts(?)  
 about Saturn, Mercury's soul, and Jupiter.<sup>30</sup>

O God, clothe me in the dress of splendour, [let me share] the miracles of the prophets,<sup>31</sup> the happiness of the wealthy, the wisdom of the sages and the humility of the God-fearing. O God, deliver me from the world of suffering and perdition. Make me one of the brethren of purity,<sup>32</sup> those who keep their word, and who dwell in heaven together with the righteous and the martyrs. Thou art God, save whom there is no other God, the cause of all things and the light of earth and heaven; confer upon me a superabundance of the active intellect. O Lord of splendour and generosity, cleanse my soul with the lights of wisdom and grant me gratitude for all the grace Thou hast bestowed upon me. Let me see truth as it really is, and inspire me to follow it; let me see falsehood as it really is, and restrain me from believing in it or heeding it. Cleanse my soul from the clay of primordial matter. Thou art the First Cause.

O Cause of all things, through whom  
 they came into being, gushing forth from His emanation;  
 Lord of the heaven's layers, centre  
 in their midst, of earth and rivers,

28 cf. Q al-Takwīr 81:16.

29 Reading, with ALHRGb 11a, *al-abhari* ('artery, aorta'); undotted in Gb fol. 111b. Compare the reading of *Wāfi*: *al-anhuri* ('rivers'). For the verb *inbajasa* see Q al-A'rāf 7:160 (water gushing from the rock).

30 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, i:111. These lines are printed as prose in the editions by Müller, Riḍā, and al-Najjār.

31 The miracles of prophets are properly called *mu'jizāt*, while *karāmāt* is the term for the miracles of 'saints' or holy men (*awliyā'*).

32 This may be a reference to the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*. We should, however, be careful with this, since the expression *ikhwān al-ṣafā'* was used in poetry and the *Ikhwān* took their nom de plume from the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, where a group of mice that rescue a dove are referred to as *ikhwān al-ṣafā'*.

I pray to Thee, seeking protection as a sinner,  
 so forgive the error of a sinner who has fallen short;  
 Cleanse, with an emanation from Thee, Lord of All,  
 the turbidity of nature, its elements being my element.<sup>33</sup>

O God, Lord of exalted beings, celestial bodies and heavenly spirits, Thy servant has been overcome by human desire, love of carnal appetites and lowly matters; so make Thy protection my shield against confusion and insanity, and make Thy power a fortress for me against shortcoming. Thou hast comprehensive knowledge of everything. O God, save me from the bonds of the four natural dispositions. Take me to Thy most spacious abode at Thy most elevated rank. O God, make sufficiency the cause of the severance of reprehensible relations between me, earthly bodies and universal concerns, and make wisdom the means whereby my soul shall be united with the divine world and the heavenly spirits. O God, cleanse my soul with the holy spirit that is exalted, enrich<sup>34</sup> my intellect and my senses with profound wisdom, and make my companionship be with the angels instead of the natural world. O God, inspire me with Thy right guidance, strengthen my faith with devoutness, and make me averse from love for the [material] world. O God, give me strength to vanquish transitory desires, cause my soul to enter the dwellings of the eternal souls and make it one of the precious gems [that dwell] in lofty gardens. Mayest Thou be praised. O God, who has preceded the existing beings who speak with silent language and utter spoken words. Verily, Thou hast bestowed wisdom on all those who deserve it, and Thou hast created their existence in place of their [former] nonexistence by grace and mercy. Those endowed with the essences and accidentia are worthy of Thy blessings and praise Thee for the excellence of Thy beneficence: «*And there is naught but it glorifies Him with praising, but you [people] do not understand their glorification of God*». <sup>35</sup> O God be praised. Thou art the sublime. 'Verily, God is the One, the Unique, the Eternal. He neither begot anyone, nor was he begotten. And no one has ever been comparable unto him'.<sup>36</sup> O Lord, Thou hast imprisoned my soul in a cell [made out of] the four elements, and Thou hast appointed a beast of prey to kill it because of its desires. O God, grant it protection and be favourably disposed to [my]

33 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, i:111.

34 Reading *athri* here, but the reading in Riḍā's edition might be right, where it is vowelled as *athir*, 'rouse, stir'. The MSS do not give vowels.

35 Q Isrā' 17:44.

36 This is a take on Q Ikh-lāṣ 112:1-4, with a slightly altered wording and an extra element in the form of the term *al-fard*, 'the Unique'.

soul with [Thy] mercy that is most becoming to Thee, and with Thine abundant generosity that befits Thee and is most natural to Thee. Weaken the desires of the soul with penitence, so that the soul can return to the heavenly world. Hasten the soul to return to its sacred place and, over its darkness, let rise a sun of the active intellect. Draw out from it the gloom of ignorance and misguidance, and bring its potential into reality. Bring it out of the darkness of ignorance to the light of wisdom and the bright light of the intellect. God, be near to those who believe and bring them out from the darkness into the light. O God, let my soul become acquainted in my sleep with the forms and shapes of what is virtuous and transcendental, and replace what is confused and muddled in my dreams with visions of good things and glad tidings. Purify my soul from the squalor that affected it through that which is perceptible by the senses and through delusions. Draw out from it the turbidity of nature and let it dwell in the world of the high-ranking souls. God is He who has shown me the right way, made up for my shortcomings and sheltered me.

Among the poetry composed by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī is the following:<sup>37</sup>

When I saw the Times were in relapse  
 and there was no use in company,<sup>38</sup>  
 Every leader (*raʿīs*) being bored  
 and every head (*raʿs*) having a headache,  
 I stayed at home and preserved a reputation  
 in which I had sufficient glory,  
 Drinking from the wine (*rāḥan*) I had acquired,  
 which cast its rays on my hand (*rāḥatī*),  
 While its bottles (*qawāriḥā*) were my drinking companions  
 and its bubbling (*qarāqīriḥā*) was my music,  
 And I gleaned reports about people  
 whose abodes had become deserted.

37 Metre: *mukhallaʿ al-basīʿ*. Attrib. to al-Fārābī in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, i:113, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Mas-ālik*, ix:42, but to Abū Naṣr al-Huzaymī al-Abīwardī (mid-4th/10th century, see Sezgin, *GAS II*, 635) in al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah*, iv:132, idem, *Ijāz*, 243, idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, pp. 180–181 (and 20, line 2) and al-Zawzanī, *Ḥamāsāt al-ḥurafāʾ*, 153; and to ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-ʿAbdalakānī al-Zawzanī (d. 431/1040) in Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:230 and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:532–533.

38 Other versions have ‘in wisdom’ (*fi l-ḥikmah* or *bi-l-ḥikmah*), ‘in intimacy’ (*fi l-ʿishrah*), and ‘there was degradation in elevation’ (*li-l-rufʿati ttidāʿū*).

He also said:<sup>39</sup>

My friend, leave the domain of falsehood  
 and be in the domain of truths.  
 Our abode is not an eternal abode,  
 and no man on earth can perform miracles.  
 What are we but lines that have fallen  
 on a sphere,<sup>40</sup> hurriedly?  
 This one competes with that one, on the basis of  
 less than a succinct word.  
 The circumference of the heavens would be more fitting for us,  
 so how long must this jostling in the centre last?<sup>41</sup>

[15.1.5]

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī is the author of the following books:

1. Commentary on the *Almagest* of Ptolemy (*S. kitāb al-Majisṭī li-Baṭlam-yūs*).<sup>42</sup>
2. Commentary on the *Book of Demonstration* [*Posterior Analytics*] by Aristotle (*S. kitāb al-burhān li-Arisṭūṭālīs*).<sup>43</sup>
3. Commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Rhetoric* [*Rhetorica*] (*S. kitāb al-khiṭābah li-Arisṭūṭālīs*).<sup>44</sup>
4. Commentary on the second and eighth chapter of Aristotle's *Book of Dialectics* [*Topica*] (*S. al-maqālah al-thānīyah wa-l-thāminah min kitāb al-jadal li-Arisṭūṭālīs*).<sup>45</sup>

39 Metre: *mutaqārib*. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, i:113; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Māsālik*, ix:42; Ibn Khallikān (*Wafayāt*, v:156) says he found these lines attributed to al-Fārābī, but he doubts this, as he also found them in al-Iṣfahānī's *Kharīdah* [*al-Shām*], ii:432, lines 1, 3–5, attributed to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Fāriqī (d. shortly after 561/1166).

40 Or 'point', as in most other sources.

41 MS L (fol. 107a) added a poem in margin, incorporated into the main text in Gb (fol. 12a). However, it is not found in ABHR, Müller, Riḍā, or al-Najjār. See A11.12.

42 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:14; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 566–567. Fragments of al-Fārābī's commentary on books IX to XIII of the *Almagest* have survived; see Thomann, 'Ein al-Fārābī zugeschriebener Kommentar', and Thomann, 'Al-Fārābī's Kommentar'.

43 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v. This work seems to be lost; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 586 no. 1.

44 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 59: VIII; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:2; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 562 (*Didascalía in Rethoricam*), 528 no. 25.

45 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 54: VI; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 560 (*al-Taḥlīl*), 530 no. 72.

5. Commentary on the *Book of Sophistics* [*Sophistica*] by Aristotle (*S. kitāb al-mughālatah li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>46</sup>
6. Commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Syllogisms* [*Prior Analytics*]. This is the large commentary (*S. kitāb al-qiyās li-Aristūṭālīs wa-huwa al-sharḥ al-kabīr*).<sup>47</sup>
7. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* [i.e., *On Interpretation*] (*S. kitāb Bārīmīnyās li-Aristūṭālīs 'alā jihat al-ta'liq*).<sup>48</sup>
8. An annotated commentary of Aristotle's *Book of Categories* (*S. kitāb al-maḡūlāt li-Aristūṭālīs 'alā jihat al-ta'liq*).<sup>49</sup>
9. The greater compendium on logic (*K. al-mukhtaṣar al-kabīr fi l-manṭiq*).<sup>50</sup>
10. The lesser compendium on logic, following the method of the scholastic theologians (*K. al-mukhtaṣar al-ṣaḡhīr fi l-manṭiq 'alā ṭarīqat al-mutakallīmīn*).<sup>51</sup>
11. The middle compendium on Syllogisms (*K. al-mukhtaṣar al-awsaṭ fi l-qiyās*).<sup>52</sup>
12. Introduction to logic (*K. al-tawṭī'ah fi l-manṭiq*).<sup>53</sup>
13. A commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, which explains the concepts and contents of that work (*S. kitāb Īsāḡhūjī li-Furfūriyyūs*).<sup>54</sup>
14. The lesser book on syllogisms (*K. al-qiyās al-ṣaḡhīr*). A copy of this book in al-Fārābī's own handwriting is extant. It is entitled *Enumeration of the propositions and analogies, which are generally employed in all syllogistical sciences* (*Iḥṣā' al-qaḍāyā wa-l-qiyāsāt allatī tusta'malu 'alā l-'umūm fi jamī' al-ṣanā'i' al-qiyāsiyyah*).<sup>55</sup>

46 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 55: VII.

47 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 29: IV; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 557–558, 530 nos. 66–68.

48 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 22: III; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 555–556, 530 no. 64.

49 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 21: II; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 555, 530 no. 62.

50 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 18:4–5.

51 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 18:4–5. This work seems to be a doublet with no. 14. It was also known as *K. al-Qiyās al-ṣaḡhīr*, or *al-Mukhtaṣar al-ṣaḡhīr fi kayfiyyat al-qiyās*, see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 557–558, 530 no. 7 (ed.).

52 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 29: IV.

53 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 13:2; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1. Also known as *al-Risālah allatī ṣuddira bihā l-manṭiq*; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 552, 530 (ed. and tr.).

54 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 20: 1. This most likely corresponds with the epitome also entitled *Īsāḡhūjī ay al-Mudkhal*, see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 554, 530 no. 61 (ed. and tr.).

55 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 29: IV; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1. It seems to be a doublet with no. 10. See Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 557–558, 530 no. 67.

15. On the conditions of syllogisms (*K. shurūṭ al-qiyās*).<sup>56</sup>
16. The book of demonstration (*K. al-burhān*).<sup>57</sup>
17. The book of dialectics (*K. al-jadal*).<sup>58</sup>
18. Selections from the eighth chapter of the *Book of Dialectics* (*K. al-mawāḍi‘ al-muntaza‘ah min al-maqālah al-thāminah fī l-jadal*).<sup>59</sup>
19. Selections from the deceiving science [*Sophistica*] (*K. al-mawāḍi‘ al-mughallaṭah*).<sup>60</sup>
20. On the acquisition of premises, which is [also] entitled *Topica*. It [contains] an analysis (*K. iktisāb al-muqaddimāt*).<sup>61</sup>
21. On the premises that consist of the existential and the essential (*Kalām fī l-muqaddimāt al-mukhtaliṭah min wujūdī wa-darūrī*).<sup>62</sup>
22. On vacuum (*Kalām fī l-khalā‘*).<sup>63</sup>
23. Preface to the *Book of Rhetoric* (*Ṣadr li-kitāb al-khiṭābah*).<sup>64</sup>
24. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Physics* [*Auscultatio Physica*] (*S. kitāb al-samā‘ al-ṭabī‘ī li-Arisṭūṭālīs ‘alā jihat al-ta‘līq*).<sup>65</sup>
25. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Book on the Heaven and the Earth* [*De Caelo et Mundi*] (*S. kitāb al-samā‘ wa-l-‘ālam li-Arisṭūṭālīs ‘alā jihat al-ta‘līq*).<sup>66</sup>
26. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Meteorology* (*S. kitāb al-āthār al-‘ulwiyyah li-Arisṭūṭālīs ‘alā jihat al-ta‘līq*).<sup>67</sup>
27. Annotated commentary on *The Discourse on the Soul* by Alexander of Aphrodisias (*S. maqālah al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī fī l-naḥs ‘alā jihat al-ta‘līq*).<sup>68</sup>

56 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 30: iv. This may be an alternative title for the *Sharā‘iṭ al-yaqīn*, no. 110 in the list; this work was a supplement to his *K. al-Burhān*.

57 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 558, 528 no. 28, 530 no. 69.

58 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 54: vi; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 559, 530 no. 71.

59 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 54: vi.

60 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 56: vii. This is probably the work also entitled *al-Amkinah al-mughliṭah*; see Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 561, 531 no. 71.

61 Unidentified. But see Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 219:20 and 20b.

62 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 37: iv.

63 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:31 [?]; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46:5; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 571, 532 no. 101.

64 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 58: viii; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:2.

65 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 135:2; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46:5; Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 569–570, 532 no. 99.

66 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 138:4. This work seems to be lost; see Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 586 (2).

67 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 138:5. This work seems to be lost; see Rudolph, ‘Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī’, 586 (2).

68 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 117:25.

28. A commentary on the preface of Aristotle's *Book of Ethics* (*S. ṣadr kitāb al-akhlāq li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>69</sup>
29. On laws (*K. fī l-nawāmīs*).<sup>70</sup>
30. On the enumeration and ordering of sciences (*K. iḥṣā' al-'ulūm wa-tartībihā*).<sup>71</sup>
31. On the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle (*K. al-falsafatayn li-Aflāṭun wa-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>72</sup> The second was left incomplete.
32. On the virtuous State, the ignorant State, the sinful State, the modified State and the misguided State (*K. al-madīnah al-fāḍilah wa-l-madīnah al-jāhilah wa-l-madīnah al-fāsiqah wa-l-madīnah al-mubaddalah wa-l-madīnah al-dāllah*).<sup>73</sup> Al-Fārābī began to compose this book in Baghdad, carried it with him to Syria at the end of the year 330/942, and completed and revised it in Damascus in the year 331/942–943. Subsequently, he again looked at the manuscript and inserted the chapter [headings]. Later, someone asked him to add subheadings to indicate the division of subjects, and this he did in Cairo in the year 337/948, dividing the book into six subsections.
33. On the opinions of the people of the virtuous State (*K. mabādī' arā' al-madīnah al-fāḍilah*).<sup>74</sup>
34. On words and letters (*K. al-alfāz wa-l-ḥurūf*).<sup>75</sup>
35. The greater work on music,<sup>76</sup> dedicated to the vizier Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Karkhī (*K. al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*).

69 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 60:1.

70 Unidentified. This is possibly the same work as Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:11; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 47:7. It may be a doublet with no. 105 in the list.

71 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 83; D. See Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 546–547, and 529 (ed. and tr.).

72 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 132:2. This title might correspond with parts two and three of the *Attainment of Happiness* (see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 583–584), or with the work entitled *al-Jam' bayna ra'yay al-ḥakīmayn Aflāṭun al-ilāhī wa-Aristūṭālīs* (see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 585).

73 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63:4. Fakhry, *Ethical Theories*, 139, translates *the sinful State* as *the wayward State*, *the modified State* as *the renegade State*, and *the misguided State* as *the erring State*. See also Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 577–581, 533 no. 125.

74 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 67:5; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 47:7.

75 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 118:26–27; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:3. This is likely to be the work commonly known as simply *K. al-ḥurūf*; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 547–549 (*The Particles*), and 529.

76 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 79–83; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46:6; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 568–569, 531 no. 91.



36. On the classification of rhythm (*K. fī ihṣā' al-īqā'*).<sup>77</sup>
37. Discourse on the transposition [of music],<sup>78</sup> which is a supplement to *On the classification of rhythm (Kalām lahu fī l-naqlah muḍāfan ilā l-īqā')*.
38. Discourse on music, a compendium (*Kalām fī l-mūsīqī, mukhtaṣar*).<sup>79</sup>
39. Philosophical aphorisms culled from the books of the philosophers (*Fuṣūl falsafīyyah muntaza'ah min kutub al-falāsifah*).<sup>80</sup>
40. On human principles (*K. al-mabādi' al-insāniyyah*).<sup>81</sup>
41. Refutation of Galen's explanation of [some of] the sayings of Aristotle that contradict their true meaning (*K. al-radd 'alā Jālīnūs fīmā ta'awwahu min kalām Aristūṭālīs 'alā ghayr ma'nāhu*).<sup>82</sup>
42. Refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī with regard to the rules of argumentation (*K. al-radd 'alā Ibn al-Rāwandī fī adab al-jadal*).<sup>83</sup>
43. Refutation of Yaḥyā the Grammarian's [John Philoponus's] objections to Aristotle's [writings] (*K. al-radd 'alā Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī fīmā radda bihi 'alā Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>84</sup>
44. Refutation of al-Rāzī, on metaphysics (*K. al-radd 'alā al-Rāzī fī l-'ilm al-ilāhī*).<sup>85</sup>
45. On the One and the Oneness (*K. al-wāḥid wa-l-waḥdah*).<sup>86</sup>

77 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 79–83, especially at 82; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 569, 532 no. 93.

78 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 79–83, especially at 82. However, Steinschneider prefers to read *naqrah* ('beating of rhythm', 'plucking of strings') here instead of *naqlah* ('transposition', 'acceleration'). There are two extant supplements to al-Fārābī's book on music, the *K. fī ihṣā' al-īqā'* (no. 36) and another one entitled *K. al-Īqā'āt*, which is not listed by IAU. The *Kalām lahu fī l-naqlah muḍāfan ilā l-īqā'* might be a lost work or perhaps correspond with the *K. al-Īqā'āt*, on which see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 569, 532 no. 92. Neubauer translates: Schrift über das 'Fortschreiten' (*nuqlah*) [von Ton zu Ton] als Appendix zu[m Thema] *īqā'*; see Neubauer, 'Die Theorie vom *īqā'*'.

79 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 79–83.

80 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 71:8; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 575. This may be a doublet with no. 86, and maybe also no. 68.

81 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63:4.

82 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 133:4; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 571–572, 532 no. 103. An excerpt from this work circulated independently with the title *R. Fī l-ṭibb*, see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 532 no. 104.

83 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 116:23; Van Ess, 'Al-Fārābī and Ibn al-Rēwandī'; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 587 (5).

84 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 134:6; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 570–571, 532 no. 100.

85 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:28. Al-Fārābī's authorship of this work, which has not come down to us, is disputed; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 587 (5).

86 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 116:21; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 574, 532 no. 111.

46. Discourse on extent and measure (*Kalām fī l-ḥayyiz wa-l-miqdār*).<sup>87</sup>
47. The lesser work on the intellect (*K. fī l-ʿaql ṣaghīr*).<sup>88</sup>
48. The greater work on the intellect (*K. fī l-ʿaql kabīr*).<sup>89</sup>
49. Discourse on the meaning of the word philosophy (*Kalām fī maʿnā ism al-falsafah*).<sup>90</sup>
50. On the existing things that are subject to change, discussed in terms of physics (*K. al-mawjūdāt al-mutaghayyirah al-mawsūm bi-l-kalām al-ṭabīʿī*).<sup>91</sup>
51. On the conditions of syllogistic demonstration (*K. sharāʾiṭ al-burhān*).<sup>92</sup>
52. Discourse on the explanation of the incomprehensible in the introduction to the first and fifth chapter of Euclid's [book] (*Kalām lahu fī sharḥ al-mustaghlaq min muṣādarāt al-maqālah al-ūlā wa-l-khāmisah min Iqlīdis*).<sup>93</sup>
53. Discourse on the compatibility between the opinions of Hippocrates and Plato (*K. fī ittifāq ārāʾ Abuqrāt wa-Aflāṭun*).<sup>94</sup>
54. Epistle directing attention to the causes of happiness (*R. fī l-tanbīh ʿalā asbāb al-saʿādah*).<sup>95</sup>
55. Discourse on the atom and that which is divisible (*Kalām fī l-juzʾ wa-mā yatajazzaʾu*).<sup>96</sup>

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87 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:32.

88 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 90:6; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:3; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 573 (*Risālah fī l-ʿaql*), 532 no. 105.

89 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 90:6; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 43:3; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 573 (*Risālah fī l-ʿaql*).

90 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 85:3. Only the brief quotation by IAU has survived in Arabic; a longer quotation in Hebrew by Shem Ṭov Ibn Falaquera is also extant; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 587 (4).

91 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:33.

92 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 119:33; Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1.

93 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 73:1. See Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 565–566, 531 no. 85 (ed. and tr.).

94 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 133:3; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 45:4.

95 Not fully identified. It is most certainly that listed in Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 61:3, but see also 72:9–10; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46–47:7. The title corresponds with the first part of a tripartite work, also entitled *R. fī l-tanbīh ʿalā asbāb al-saʿādah*; the second and third parts are focused on the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle respectively (no. 31 of list above); see Rudolph, 'al-Fārābī', 549–550 (*Exhortation to the Path to Happiness*). There are several Arabic editions and one French translation; for the latter, see Mallet, 'Le rappel de la voie ... Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī'.

96 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 116:22.

56. Discourse on the word philosophy, the reason for the emergence of philosophy, the names of those who have been prominent in it and of those who taught philosophy (*Kalām fi ism al-falsafah wa-sabab zuhūrīhā wa-asmā' al-mubarrizīn fihā wa-'alā man qarā'a minhūm*).<sup>97</sup>
57. Discourse on the *jinn* [i.e., demons] (*Kalām fi l-jinn*).<sup>98</sup>
58. Discourse on substance (*Kalām fi l-jawhar*).<sup>99</sup>
59. On political enquiry (*K. fi l-faḥṣ al-madani*).<sup>100</sup>
60. On the government of a State, also known as *The Foundations of Existing Things* (*K. al-siyāsāt al-madaniyyah wa-yu'rafu bi-mabādī' al-mawjūdāt*).<sup>101</sup>
61. On religion and law, a political discourse (*Kalām fi l-millah wa-l-fiqh madani*).<sup>102</sup>
62. Discourse [containing] a collection of sayings of the Prophet [Muḥammad], may God bless him and grant him salvation, relating to the art of logic (*Kalām jama'ahu min aqāwīl al-nabīy yushīru fihī ilā šinā'at al-manṭiq*).<sup>103</sup>
63. On rhetoric (large work in twenty volumes) (*K. fi l-khiṭābah kabīr*).<sup>104</sup>
64. Epistle on military leaders[hip] (*R. fi qawd al-juyūsh*).<sup>105</sup>
65. Discourse on livelihood and warfare (*Kalām fi l-ma'āyish wa-l-ḥurūb*).<sup>106</sup>
66. On the influence of the heavenly spheres (*K. fi ta'thūrāt al-'ulwiyyah*).<sup>107</sup>
67. Treatise on the correct manner of discussing astrology (*M. fi l-jihah allatī yašihḥu 'alayhā al-qawl bi-aḥkām al-nujūm*).<sup>108</sup>
68. On aphorisms culled from compilations (*K. fi l-fuṣūl al-muntaza'ah lil-ijtimā'ūt*).<sup>109</sup>

97 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 85:4. The only testimony to this work is the account quoted by IAU in this biography; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 551–552; and Gutas, 'Alexandria'.

98 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:15.

99 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 123:34.

100 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 72:14.

101 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63:4; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 581–582, 533 no. 126.

102 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 72:12. The identification of this title is doubtful; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 576 (*al-Millah*), 592 (*Risālah fi l-millah al-fāḍilah*), and 533 no. 117.

103 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 13:1.

104 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 58: VIII; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 567, 531 no. 74.

105 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 72:15.

106 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 72:16.

107 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 75:6.

108 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 74:4; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 568, 531 no. 88. Al-Fārābī wrote another tract on astrology and astronomy entitled *Maqālah fīmā yašihḥu wa-mā lā yašihḥu min aḥkām al-nujūm*, see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 567.

109 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 70:8.

69. On contrivances and laws (*K. fī l-ḥiyal wa-l-nawāmīs*).<sup>110</sup>
70. Discourse on dreams (*Kalām lahu fī l-ru'yā*).<sup>111</sup>
71. On the art of penmanship (*K. fī šinā'at al-kitābah*).<sup>112</sup>
72. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Book of Demonstration*,<sup>113</sup> dictated by al-Fārābī to Ibrāhīm ibn 'Adī,<sup>114</sup> who was a disciple of his in Aleppo (*S. kitāb al-burhān li-Aristūṭālīs 'alā ṭarīqat al-ta'liq*).
73. Discourse on metaphysics (*Kalām lahu fī l-'ilm al-ilāhī*).<sup>115</sup>
74. Commentary on obscure passages in Aristotle's *Book of Categories* (*S. al-mawāḍi' al-mustaghliqah min kitāb Qāṭiḡhūriyyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>116</sup> This [book] has become known as *Marginal Explanatory Remarks* (*Ta'liqāt al-ḥawāshī*).
75. Discourse on the parts of animals (*Kalām fī a'ḍā' al-ḥayawān*).<sup>117</sup>
76. A Compendium of all works on logic (*K. mukhtaṣar jamī' al-kutub al-mantiqīyyah*).<sup>118</sup>
77. Introduction to logic (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-mantiq*).<sup>119</sup>
78. On a middle way between Aristotle and Galen (*K. al-tawassuṭ bayna Aristūṭālīs wa-Jālīnūs*).<sup>120</sup>
79. On the purpose of the categories (*K. gharaḍ al-maqūlāt*).<sup>121</sup>

110 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:11.

111 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:16.

112 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 123:35.

113 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v.

114 Ibrāhīm ibn 'Adī – probably Yahyā ibn 'Adī's brother – edited al-Fārābī's writings. See Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 541–542.

115 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 141:7. This work is a false attribution, and part of the Arabic Plotinus corpus; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 591.

116 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 21: 11. This could be part of the collection of didactic *ta'aliq* spuriously ascribed to al-Fārābī; see nos. 82 and 99. On these works see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 593 (*al-Ta'liqāt*).

117 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 124:36.

118 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 18:4–5. This title might correspond with the introduction to logic entitled *Fuṣūl tashtamīl 'alā jamī' mā yudṭarr ilā ma'rīfatihī man arāda al-shurū' fī šinā'at al-mantiq* [*al-Fuṣūl al-khamsah*]; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 552–553, 529 no. 59.

119 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 13:2. The treatise that has come down to us and corresponds with the Latin translation entitled *Liber introductionis in artem logicae demonstrationis* is a false attribution; it is, in fact, an epitome of the *Analica posteriora* included in the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'; see Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1.

120 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 134:5. This might correspond with al-Fārābī's refutation of Galen, listed under no. 41.

121 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 21: 11.

80. Discourse on poetry and rhyme (*Kalām lahu fī l-shiʿr wa-l-qawāfi*).<sup>122</sup>
81. Annotated commentary on Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* (*S. kitāb al-ʿibārah li-Arisṭūṭālīs ʿalā jihat al-taʿlīq*).<sup>123</sup>
82. Explanatory remarks on the book of syllogisms (*Taʿlīq ʿalā kitāb al-qiyās*).<sup>124</sup>
83. On the finite and infinite force (*K. fī quwwah al-mutanāhiyah wa-ghayr mutanāhiyah*).<sup>125</sup>
84. Explanatory remark on the stars (*Taʿlīq lahu fī l-nujūm*).<sup>126</sup>
85. On what needs to be known prior to [the study of] philosophy (*K. fī l-ashyāʾ allatī tahtāju an tuʿlama qabla l-falsafah*).<sup>127</sup>
86. Aphorisms that he collected from the sayings of the ancients (*Fuṣūl lahu mim mā jamaʿahu min kalām al-qudamāʾ*).<sup>128</sup>
87. On the aims [pursued by] Aristotle in each of his books (*K. fī aghrād Arisṭūṭālīs fī kull wāhid min kutubihī*).<sup>129</sup>
88. Concise work on inferences (*K. al-maqāyīs mukhtaṣaran*).<sup>130</sup>
89. On right guidance (*K. al-hudā*).<sup>131</sup>
90. On languages (*K. fī l-lughāt*).<sup>132</sup>
91. On political assemblies (*K. fī l-ijtimāʿāt al-madaniyyah*).<sup>133</sup>
92. Treatise in which it is explained that the movement of the spheres is perpetual (*Kalām fī anna ḥarakat al-falak dāʾimah*).<sup>134</sup>

122 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 60: 1x; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 563 (*al-Shiʿr*) and also 563–564 (*Risālah [or Maqālah] fī Qawānīn šināʿat al-shuʿarāʾ*).

123 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 22: 111; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 556.

124 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 30: 1v. This could be part of the collection of didactic *taʿlīq* spuriously ascribed to al-Fārābī, see nos. 74 and 99. On these works see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 593 (*al-Taʿlīqāt*).

125 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 124:37.

126 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 75:5.

127 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 124:1, Rescher, *Bibliography*, 44:4. It is also known as *Fimā yanbaghī an yuqaddama qabla taʿallum al-falsafah*; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 550–551, 527 no. 20.

128 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 71:8. This may be a doublet with no. 39, and maybe also no. 68.

129 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 132:2. This may be a doublet with no. 97; see Rudolph, 'al-Fārābī', 573–574 (*Fī aghrād al-ḥakīm fī kull maqālah min al-Kitāb al-mawsūm bi-l-ḥurūf*), and 527 no. 20.

130 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 30: 1v.

131 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 73:17.

132 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 124:38.

133 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 73:18.

134 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabī*, 119:29.

93. Treatise on whether it befits the teacher to criticise the pupil (*Kalām fīmā yaşluhu an yadhumma al-mu`addib*).<sup>135</sup>
94. Discourse on the vital parts, the interior parts and others (*Kalām fī ma`āliq wa-l-jawwān wa-ghayr dhālika*).<sup>136</sup>
95. Discourse on the requirements of philosophy (*Kalām fī lawāzim al-falsafah*).<sup>137</sup>
96. Epistle on the necessity of the art of alchemy and the refutation of those who seek to abolish it (*M. fī wujūb şinā`at al-kīmiyā` wa-l-radd `alā mubṭihā*).<sup>138</sup>
97. Epistle on the aims [pursued by] Aristotle in every chapter of his book, which is marked with the letters of the [Greek] alphabet (*M. fī aghrāq Aristūṭālīs fī kull maqālah min kitābihi al-mawsūm bi-l-ḥurūf*).<sup>139</sup> This [epistle] examines the purpose of his *Book on Metaphysics* (*K. mā ba`d al-ṭabī`ah*).
98. On the claims ascribed to Aristotle with regard to philosophy, with the supporting evidence and proof omitted (*K. fī l-da`āwā al-mansūbah ilā Aristūṭālīs fī l-falsafah mujarradah `an bayānātihā wa-ḥujjihā*).<sup>140</sup>
99. Notes on wisdom (*Ta`āliq fī l-ḥikmah*).<sup>141</sup>
100. Discourse dictated to a person who posed a question about the meaning of [the terms] 'self', 'substance' and 'nature' (*Kalām amlāhu `alā sā`il sa`alahu `an ma`nā dhāt wa-ma`nā jawhar wa-ma`nā ṭabī`ah*).<sup>142</sup>
101. On the summa of politics (*K. jawāmi` al-siyāsah*).<sup>143</sup>
102. Compendium of Aristotle's *Peri Hermeneias* (*Mukhtaşar kitāb Bārīmīnyās li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>144</sup>

135 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 73:19.

136 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 77:8: 'Ueber die Vorrichtungen zum Aufhängen und die Gefässe und dergleichen'. For the term *al-jawwān*, see Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, I: 348.

137 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 77:9.

138 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 76:7, Rescher, *Bibliography*, 46:5; Rudolph, 'Abū Naşr al-Fārābī', 571, 532 no. 102.

139 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 139:7. See also no. 87 above, and Rudolph, 'Abū Naşr al-Fārābī', 573–574 (*Fī aghrāq al-ḥakīm fī kull maqālah min al-Kitāb al-mawsūm bi-l-ḥurūf*), 527 no. 20.

140 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 135:7.

141 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 111:12, Rescher, *Bibliography*, 44:4. This could be part of the collection of didactic *ṭa`āliq* spuriously ascribed to al-Fārābī; see nos. 74 and 82 above. On these works see Rudolph, 'Abū Naşr al-Fārābī', 593 (*al-Ta`liqāt*).

142 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 124:40.

143 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 63:4. This title might correspond with the apocryphal *Risālah fī l-siyāsah*; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naşr al-Fārābī', 592.

144 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 22: 111.

103. Introduction to what is supposed to be geometry. A compendium (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-handasah al-wahmiyyah mukhtaṣaran*).<sup>145</sup>
104. The book of essential questions, according to Aristotle (*K. 'uyūn al-masā'il 'alā ra'y Aristūṭālīs*), comprising 160 questions.<sup>146</sup>
105. Answers to questions that he had been asked (*Jawābātuhu li-masā'il su'ila 'anhā*), comprising 23 questions.<sup>147</sup>
106. On the classes of simple things that are divided into categories in all the syllogistic arts (*K. aṣnāf al-ashyā' al-basīṭah allatī tanqasimu ilayhā al-qaḍāyā fī jamī' al-ṣanā'i' al-qiyāsiyyah*).<sup>148</sup>
107. Summary of Plato's *Book of Laws* (*Jawāmi' kitāb al-nawāmīs li-Aflāṭun*).<sup>149</sup>
108. Discourse that al-Fārābī dictated after he had been asked what Aristotle had said about hot substances (*Kalām min imlā'ihī wa-qaḍ su'ila 'ammā qāla Aristūṭālīs fī l-ḥārr*).<sup>150</sup>
109. Notes on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* (*Ta'liqāt anālūṭiqā al-ūlā li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>151</sup>
110. On absolute preconditions (*K. sharā'it al-yaqīn*).<sup>152</sup>
111. Treatise on the quiddity of the soul (*R. fī māhiyyat al-nafs*).<sup>153</sup>
112. On physics (*K. al-samā' al-ṭabī'i*).<sup>154</sup>

145 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 78:13.

146 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 90:5; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 44:4. Al-Fārābī's authorship of this work, which also circulated in a version entitled *Excerpt from the Epistle in the Demands of the Heart* (*Tajrīd Risālat al-da'āwā al-qalbīyyah*), is doubtful; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 593–594.

147 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, perhaps 112:14; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 42:1. Al-Fārābī's authorship is disputed; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 589.

148 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 29: IV.

149 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 61:2; Rescher, *Bibliography*, 47:7; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 577; cf. no. 29 above.

150 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 141:8.

151 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 30: IV.

152 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 43: v; Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 559 (*Conditions for certainty*), 528 no. 28.

153 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 109:7. This is likely a false attribution; see Rudolph, 'Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī', 591.

154 Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi*, 135:2.



## 15.2 ʿĪsā al-Raqqī<sup>1</sup>

ʿĪsā al-Raqqī,<sup>2</sup> known as al-Tiflīsī, was a physician who enjoyed great renown during his lifetime. He was a master of the art of medicine and an expert practitioner whose treatments were spectacular. ʿĪsā al-Raqqī was in the service of Sayf al-Dawlah ibn Ḥamdān as one of his [court] physicians.<sup>3</sup> The following anecdote is quoted from ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl.<sup>4</sup> ‘I have been informed by a reliable person’, he says, ‘that whenever Sayf al-Dawlah sat down to a meal, twenty-four physicians were present at his table. Some of them received two salaries because they were skilled in two domains, while others were paid triple because they were expert in three. Now, one of these physicians was ʿĪsā al-Raqqī, who was known as al-Tiflīsī. He had a pleasant way with him, and he was the author of a number of medical works and [books on] other subjects. He was also a translator working from Syriac into Arabic. ʿĪsā al-Raqqī was paid four salaries, one for his medical work, one for his translation activities, and the others for his expertise in two other domains’.

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- 1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. Abū l-Qāsim ʿĪsā al-Raqqī al-Tiflīsī was physician and astronomer in the service of the Ḥamdānid emir Sayf al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥamdān (r. 333–356/944–967). Also mentioned as a translator from Syriac into Arabic. See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 429–430; see also Suter, *Abhandlungen*, 61 under no. 133.
  - 2 The city of al-Raqqā is in north central Syria, located on the north bank of the Euphrates about 160 kilometres (99 miles) east of Aleppo. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Raḡqa.’ (M. Meinecke). Tbilisi or Tiflis is nowadays the capital of the republic of Georgia.
  - 3 The Ḥamdānid dynasty was a Shiʿite Muslim Arab dynasty of Northern Iraq and Syria. Sayf al-Dawlah ruled over northern Syria from Aleppo. He became an important opponent of the Byzantine Empire’s (Christian) expansion. His court used to be a centre of culture, thanks to its nurturing of Arabic literature, but it lost its status after the Byzantine conquest of Aleppo. See also *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ḥamdānids’ (M. Canard) and Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 229–243.
  - 4 ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ (d. 450/1058); see Sezgin, *GAS* III, 127, 144, 158, 352; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, 146–152. This physician has an entry in Ch. 8.6. The reference here is probably to ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshūʿ’*s* lost *Manāqib al-aṭibbāʾ*, from which IAU quotes in other chapters.

15.3 al-Yabrūdī<sup>1</sup>

[15.3.1]

Al-Yabrūdī – that is, Abū l-Faraj Jūrjis ibn Yūḥannā ibn Sahl ibn Ibrāhīm – was a Jacobite Christian. He excelled in the art of medicine, being thoroughly acquainted both with its theoretical basis and with its practical application, and was considered one of the most respected and outstanding representatives of that art. He was always busy working, was very fond of studying and held virtue in high esteem.

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn<sup>2</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – told me that al-Yabrūdī was always busy studying and was never weary of it. ‘At all times’, he said, ‘he could be found reading a book’.

A Christian of Damascus, the physician al-Sanī al-Ba‘labakkī told me that al-Yabrūdī was born and spent the first years of his life in Yabrūd, a large village near Ṣaydnāyā, where many Christians live. In that village, al-Yabrūdī, like the other Christian inhabitants, engaged in agricultural work and in crop production. He also collected wormwood in an outlying district of Damascus that was near to his home, loaded it on the back of a pack animal, and brought it to the city, where he sold it to be used as fuel for heating baking ovens and other such purposes. One day, as he was coming in through the Tūmā Gate with a load of wormwood, he saw a person whose nose was bleeding profusely being bled by an elderly doctor on the other side of his body, the side opposite the place from which the blood was escaping. He stopped and watched the doctor and then asked him: ‘Why are you bleeding this person, when the quantity of blood escaping from his nose is more than sufficient?’ The doctor replied that he was doing so in order to staunch the flow of blood from the nose by drawing the blood to the side of [the man’s] body opposite the place from which the blood was escaping. ‘Ah?’ said al-Yabrūdī: ‘Where I come from, when we wish to divert a stream, it is our practice to dig an outlet in a new direction, but one that is not directly opposite to that of the old bed. The water then ceases to flow in the old bed and passes into the new one. Why not adopt a similar procedure and bleed from the other side?’ The elderly doctor did so, and the man’s nosebled

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- 1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the treatise. Abū l-Faraj Jūrjis ibn Yūḥannā ibn Sahl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Yabrūdī (d. c. 450/1058). Jacobite Christian physician from Damascus. He is sometimes also mentioned in the sources as Jirjis ibn Yūḥannā ibn Sahl. See Nasrallah, ‘Abū l-Faraj al-Yabrūdī’, 13–22; cf. also Monferrer Sala, ‘Al-Yabrūdī.’ The name al-Yabrūdī is derived from Yabrūd, a town some 80 km north of Damascus.
  - 2 Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn (d. 631/1233). Damascene poet who, according to Ibn Khallikān, was ‘well-known for his sharp criticism of the notables of the Damascene society’. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn ‘Unayn’ (Ed.); cf. also Ibn ‘Unayn, *Dīwān*.

stopped. Seeing from al-Yabrūdī's question that he was keen of understanding, the doctor said, 'if you devote yourself to the art of medicine, you will become a good physician'.

Al-Yabrūdī took his words to heart and became thirsty for knowledge. He returned to the old physician regularly, and the physician taught him a number of treatments. Subsequently, he left Yabrūd and his former life there and moved to Damascus to study the art of medicine. It was not long before he had acquired a first-hand knowledge of that art, mastered scientific principles, treated the sick as best as he could, and observed various diseases, together with their causes and symptoms and the several ways of treating patients. Upon enquiring who was the most outstanding contemporary authority in the matter of knowledge of the art of medicine, he was told that in Baghdad there was a man by the name of Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib,<sup>3</sup> the secretary of the Catholicos, who was a versatile philosopher and an experienced and erudite man in the art of medicine and other branches of science. At once he made preparations for a journey, took a bracelet that had belonged to his mother to pay for his expenses and went to Baghdad. Using the bracelet to provide for his daily needs, he studied under Ibn al-Ṭayyib, until he became proficient in the art of medicine, investigated it at length, and acquired an extensive knowledge of it. He also occupied himself with logic and other philosophical disciplines. Eventually, however, he returned to Damascus, never to leave it again.

[15.3.1.1]

A story similar to the preceding one, although not quite the same, is attributed to my wise teacher, Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī:<sup>4</sup>

I have heard from Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān,<sup>5</sup> who cites his father, who was informed by Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ḥadīd, who cites Abū l-Karam, the physician, who was informed by his father Abū l-Rajā',

3 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043). Christian ('Nestorian') philosopher and physician. He worked at the al-'Aḡdiyyah hospital in Baghdad and was also the secretary of the Catholicos. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 156–157. On him Ch. 10.37.

4 Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī (d. 628/1230). High-ranking Syrian physician who practised his whole life in Damascus. He was also known under the name al-Dakhwār. He acquired fame both as a teacher and as the founder of the 'first medical school' in the medieval Arab world. Among his students were 1AU, Ibn al-Nafis and Ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk. He wrote the earliest Arab commentary on the Hippocratic *Prognostic*. See amongst others Ullmann, *Medizin*, 172. This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.50.

5 Abū Naṣr As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān (d. 578/1191). Personal physician and confidant of the Ayyubid Sultan Saladin. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 165–166. On him see Ch. 15.23.

who heard from his grandfather that there lived in Damascus a bloodletter named Abū l-Khayr, who was not accounted one of the most skilful practitioners of his trade. It [once] happened that when bleeding a young man, he cut the artery. He became confused and panicky; he attempted to staunch the blood, but was unable to do so. As a crowd gathered, a young boy appeared at his side and said: 'Uncle, bleed him at the other arm'. Grateful for any advice, the operator bled his patient's other arm. The boy then said, 'Bind up the first incision', and the operator did so, using a bandage that he had about him. When he tightened it, the flow of blood stopped. He then closed the other incision, whereupon the flow of blood was checked and finally ceased altogether.

Some time later, the bloodletter saw the same youth driving a pack animal with a load of wormwood. The bloodletter stopped him and said, 'How did you know what to advise me [to do]?' 'I have sometimes seen my father irrigating his vineyard,' said the youth, 'when [suddenly] a breach opens in an irrigation channel and the water goes gushing out. My father is not able to stop it only if he makes another opening that will reduce the volume of water pouring out through the breach. Only then can he close the breach'. At this, the surgeon told him to give up selling wormwood, took him under his wing and taught him the art of medicine. Thanks to this incident, al-Yabrūdī became one of the most celebrated and erudite physicians [of his time].

## [15.3.1.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: al-Yabrūdī corresponded regularly with Ibn Riḍwān<sup>6</sup> of Cairo and other Egyptian physicians, asking them various questions on medical matters and engaging them in discussions on particular subjects. He copied a very large number of medical books personally, including in particular the books of Galen, commentaries on them and compilations of them. Moreover, I have heard from al-Sanī al-Ba‘labakkī that one day al-Yabrūdī was crossing Jayrūn market in Damascus when he saw a person undertake to eat several *raṭls* of boiled horse meat, of the quality that is sold in the markets, for a bet. As al-Yabrūdī watched, this person ate far too much, overloading his stomach, and then drank a lot of beer and ice-water, causing his condition to become [severely] perturbed. Al-Yabrūdī then realized that the man would soon lose consciousness, and if left in that condition, he would be in danger

6 Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān (d. 460/1068). Egyptian physician at the court of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanshir. Well-known for the elaborate correspondence with his peer, Ibn Buṭlān. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 158–159. On him see Ch. 14.25.

of death. He therefore followed the man to his house to see how his condition would develop. A very short time later, his family began to weep and wail, for they thought that he had died. Al-Yabrūdī went to them and said, 'I shall cure him. There is nothing wrong with him'. Then he brought him to a nearby bath-house, gently pried his jaws open, and poured some boiled water containing a mild emetic down his throat. This brought on moderate vomiting. Al-Yabrūdī then proceeded to give him supportive treatment, until he regained consciousness and proved to be restored to health. The family were astonished at what he, al-Yabrūdī, had done and [praised] the wonderful way in which he came to the man's rescue. This affair became well-known and did much to establish his fame. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say: this story indicates that al-Yabrūdī, by studying the man's condition and observing what happened to him, had read his symptoms accurately and realized that he could save him if he could treat him in time.

[15.3.1.3]

A similar story is related by Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath<sup>7</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – in his book *On Food and Nutrition*. In his own words:

One day I saw a man making a bet with someone that he could eat a certain quantity of carrots.<sup>8</sup> I stayed and watched to see what would happen to him, not because it was my wish to have social intercourse with people of that kind, nor because it was something that I was accustomed to do. God no! But I wanted to see what would happen if a lot of food was forced into his stomach. He ate his carrots while sitting on a wall so that he could see everyone standing around him and was able to jest with them. When he had eaten the greater part of them, I observed that the masticated carrots were coming back into his throat in the form of a stringy, pulpy mass impregnated with saliva. His eyeballs protruded, his breathing stopped, his face turned red, his jugular veins and the veins of his head became engorged with blood, and then his face darkened and turned ashen. He

7 Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ash'ath (d. c. 360/970). Physician who fled from his homeland Persia to the city of Mosul in Iraq. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 301–302; Kruk, 'Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*', 119–168. 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī highly praised Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath in the medical section of his *K. al-Naṣīḥatayn* (see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 82). Elsewhere (for instance in his *Treatise on Diabetes*) 'Abd al-Laṭīf has referred to him as 'Aḥmad the Persian'. On him see Ch. 10.46.

8 The carrot (*jazar*) was a widely cultivated vegetable and considered by some to have medicinal uses as well; see Lev & Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, 127–128.

retched more than he vomited, but finally threw up much of what he had eaten. I understood from this that his breathing had stopped because the stomach was pressing the diaphragm towards the mouth and preventing it from returning to its state of expansion for [the purpose of] respiration. As to the fact that his colour reddened and his jugular and [other] veins became engorged with blood, I presumed that this was caused by the natural flow [of the blood] towards the head, as happens to someone whose arm is bandaged for bleeding. In the latter case, the natural flow [of the blood] goes in the direction in which it is stimulated to go. As to the fact that his face subsequently darkened and turned ashen, I must presume that the cause of it was the poor temperament of his heart. If he had not vomited as much as he did, if the stomach had [continued to] press on the diaphragm so that he was prevented from breathing altogether, he would have died of strangulation [asphyxia], as we have seen in many who have died as a result of vomiting. As to the fact that he retched more than he vomited, I understood that the retching was caused by the severity of the disturbance of the stomach.

It thus appears (Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath continues) that when food enters the stomach in large quantities, it causes [the stomach] to stretch and all its folds to expand, as I once saw when dissecting a beast of prey<sup>9</sup> live in the presence of the emir al-Ghaḍanfar.<sup>10</sup> One of those who were present [on that occasion] pronounced the animal's stomach to be small. But then I began to pour water into its mouth. We kept on [pouring] one jugful after another down its throat, until we had poured in some forty *ratl*. Upon examination, I observed that the inner layer [of the stomach] had stretched until its surface had become as smooth as the surface of the outer layer. I then perforated [the stomach], and once the water had come out, the stomach contracted and the folds of the interior returned to their original state, as did the pylorus. As God is my witness, after all this, the animal was still alive.

[15.3.1.4]

I heard the following account from shaykh Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī who heard it from Muwaffaq al-Dīn As'ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān, who

9 It is unclear what animal was the object of this vivisection, for the term *sabu'* (or *sab'*) can refer to any wild predatory beast, including a lion, wolf, lynx or leopard (but not a fox or hyena). See Lane, *Lexicon*, under *s-b-*'.

10 Abū Taghlib Faḍl Allāh al-Ghaḍanfar (d. 369/979). Ḥamdānid emir. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ḥamdānids' (M. Canard).

had it from his father, who had it from his maternal uncle Abū l-Faraj ibn Ḥayyān, who had heard it from Abū l-Karam, the physician, who reported it on the authority of his father and grandfather. The last said:

One day, as I was walking by the side of Abū l-Faraj al-Yabrūdī, a man blocked his way and said, 'Master, I have been at the baths as is my regular practice, and had my head shaved, and now I find my face all swollen and burning intensely'. We examined his face and found that it was bloated, swelling and turning redder and redder, but [all at once] not progressively or gradually. The physician ordered the man to uncover his head and to throw water on it from a pipe that he carried with him. It was the middle of winter and the cold was intense, but the physician stood there until the man had done as he had ordered. He then told him to go home, adding that he would be well advised to follow a mild diet, apply a cooling acidic compress, and cut down on greasy food. In this way, al-Yabrūdī saved him the man from a variety of unpleasant consequences.

[15.3.1.5]

In his book *The Lamp of Kings*<sup>11</sup> al-Ṭurṭūshī relates an account told to him by a Syrian about a baker who was making bread in his oven in the city of Damascus, when a man came by, selling apricots. The baker bought some and began to eat them with hot bread. No sooner had he finished than he fell unconscious and appeared to be dead. People flocked around him, brought in physicians and searched for signs and indications of life, but found none, and concluded that he must be dead. He was washed and wrapped in a shroud, prayers were recited, and then the man was carried to the cemetery. As the procession was passing the city gate, it met a physician, a man by the name of al-Yabrūdī who was a skilfull, intelligent and a wise physician. He heard the people discussing the matter and asked them about it. When he had heard what had happened, he said, 'Put him down so that I can take a look at him'. They put him down, and the physician turned him over, looking for signs of life. He then opened the man's mouth and made him swallow something (or, according to another account, administered him an enema), whereupon the food he had eaten was [immediately] expelled, so that he was rid of it. The man opened his eyes and spoke, and then returned to his shop. Al-Yabrūdī died in Damascus in the year ... [blank] and was buried in the Jacobite church there near the Tūmā Gate.

11 The story is found in al-Ṭurṭūshī's *Sirāj*, 480 (where the name al-Yabrūdī is garbled as al-Bayrūdī).



[15.3.1.6]

The learned Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī told me the following story, which he said he had heard from Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān, who had heard it from his maternal uncle, who had had it from his father, who heard it from ‘Abd Allāh ibn Rajā’ ibn Ya‘qūb, who heard it from Ibn al-Kattānī, who was at that time prefect in Damascus. According to Ibn al-Kattānī’s account, when Abū l-Faraj Jūrjis ibn Yūḥannā al-Yabrūdī died, his estate was found to consist of three hundred Byzantine coins made into a single chalice,<sup>12</sup> and five hundred pieces of silver, of which the finest specimen [was valued] at three hundred dirhams. Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān commented, ‘This is not much, because a person who is serious about his work, who is frank, sincere and truth-loving, who acts justly and works hard to learn the skills of his trade, has a right before God to his earnings. A person who is the opposite of this will live like a pauper and will die as a lost and desperate person’.

[15.3.2]

Al-Yabrūdī is the author of the following works:

1. On the fact that the hen is cooler by nature than that of the hatchling (*M. fī anna al-farkh abrad min al-farrūj*).<sup>13</sup>
2. Refutation of Ibn al-Muwaffaqī’s opinion with respect to problems of the pulse, which had been the subject of frequent discussion between them (*Naqḍ kalām Ibn al-Muwaffaqī fī masā’il taraddadat fīmā baynahum fī l-nabḍ*).<sup>14</sup>

#### 15.4 Jābir ibn Manṣūr al-Sukkarī<sup>1</sup>

Jābir ibn Manṣūr al-Sukkarī was a native of Mosul. A devout Muslim, he was a most learned and outstanding scholar in the art of medicine. He was a contemporary of Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath and studied under him. Subsequently,

12 *Mujawwam* from Persian *Jām*, ‘chalice, goblet, bowl, cup’. See also Müller, ‘Text’, 941 [227], who refers to the work of the Austrian orientalist Alfred Freiherr von Kremer.

13 This work was refuted by Ibn Buṭlān. It was the origin of his quarrel with Ibn Riḍwān, who was a friend of al-Yabrūdī. See Schacht & Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy*, 34–39; Conrad, ‘Scholarship and Social Context’, 92–96.

14 See also Nasrallah, ‘Abū-l-Faraj al-Yabrūdī’, 14.

1 This biography is missing in Version 1 and 2, but found in Version 3. Sezgin, (*GAS III*, 301) does not list him amongst the students of Ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath.

around the year 360/970, he came to associate with Muḥammad ibn Thawāb,<sup>2</sup> a disciple of Ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath, and studied under him as well. Al-Sukkarī became well-known as a practitioner of the art of medicine. He lived in Mosul for the greater part of his long life. His son Zāfir, in contrast, went to Syria and settled there.

### 15.5 Zāfir ibn Jābir al-Sukkarī<sup>1</sup>

Abū Hakīm Zāfir ibn Jābir ibn Maṣṣūr al-Sukkarī was a Muslim, who was distinguished in the art of medicine and well-versed in the philosophical sciences. He was a man of many accomplishments and was well-acquainted with literature. Moreover, he was thoroughly familiar with the sciences and devoted himself to them assiduously. In Baghdad he made the acquaintance of Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib, associated with him and studied under him. Zāfir ibn Jābir, like his father before him, had a very long life. He was still living in the year 482/1089. He was a native of Mosul, but left that city and moved to Aleppo, where he remained for the rest of his life. A number of his offspring followed in his footsteps as physicians in Aleppo. The following is a sample of his poetry:<sup>2</sup>

I have always known, first and foremost,  
 until I knew that I have no knowledge.  
 It is a marvel that I should be ignorant  
 because of my being not ignorant.

Zāfir ibn Jābir al-Sukkarī is the author of a treatise on the fact that living beings die, even though the food [they eat] replaces losses of previously taken sustenance (*M. fī anna al-ḥayawān yamūtu ma‘a anna al-ghidhā’ yukhlifu ‘iwaḍ mā yataḥallalu minhu*).<sup>3</sup>

2 Sezgin mentions a certain Muḥammad ibn Tawwāb al-Mawṣilī as a student of Ibn Abī l-Ash‘ath. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 301 and *IAU* Ch. 10.47.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the treatise.

2 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:530, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:273.

3 Or rather *Treatise on the fact that when living beings die, they are either a source of food, or become compost*; cf. also Lothar Kopf’s rendering of this title: ‘His books include a *Treatise on the fact that the living are dying, although the food they eat replaces what is washed in them*’.

## 15.6 Mawhūb ibn Zāfir<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Faḍl Mawhūb ibn Zāfir ibn Jābir ibn Maṣṣūr al-Sukkarī was also a distinguished, celebrated physician who was well-versed in the art of medicine. He lived in the city of Aleppo. He is the author of a summary of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Questions* (*Ikhtišār kitāb al-masā'il li-Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq*).

## 15.7 Jābir ibn Mawhūb<sup>1</sup>

Jābir ibn Mawhūb ibn Zāfir ibn Jābir was another renowned expert in the art of medicine. He resided in Aleppo.

## 15.8 Abū l-Ḥakam<sup>1</sup>

[15.8.1]

The wise and cultured shaykh Abū l-Ḥakam 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhilī al-Andalusī al-Mursī<sup>2</sup> was a distinguished scholar in the philosophical sciences, and well-versed in the art of medicine, besides being noted for his literary erudition and renowned for his poetry. He was good at telling funny stories, made jokes, enjoyed entertainment and loved to be amused. Many of his poems are dirges for people who were still alive in his time, but his intention [in writing them] was [merely] jest and buffoonery. He was excessively fond of drinking wine. He loved play-acting,<sup>3</sup> and when excited, would mime and sing to accompany his performance.<sup>4</sup>

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 404–406; Van Gelder, 'Joking doctor', 217–228.

2 There is considerable confusion about his *nisbah*. Ibn al-Qiftī (*Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 404) reads *al-Mursī* (from Murcia); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, and al-Maqqarī, (*Nafh al-tīb*, ii:637) have his *aṣl* as al-Mariyyah (Almería), the *nisbah* of which would be al-Mariyy (or al-Marī). All the manuscript copies have the unlikely form al-Marīnī, though such a form does occur elsewhere, e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-qasr, qism shu'arā' al-Maghrib*. But a *nisbah* after a town (rather than the dynasty of the Marīnids) seems more likely. He was not born in Murcia but in the Yemen, according to Ibn Khallikān.

3 See Van Gelder, 'Joking Doctor', 218; Moreh, *Live Theatre*, 133–134.

4 A line of a song in colloquial Arabic, not in a standard metre (possibly LLLL LLLL LSL).

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

In addition, Abū l-Ḥakam knew about music<sup>5</sup> and played the lute. He had a shop in Jayrūn for his medical practice, but he lived in the Dār al-Ḥijārah quarter in the Feltmakers' Market (*al-Labbādīn*). He composed many eulogies on the Banū l-Šūfi, who were the rulers of Damascus in the days of Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq ibn Muḥammad ibn Būrī ibn Atābeg Ṭughtakīn.<sup>6</sup> Abū l-Ḥakam travelled to Baghdad and Baṣra and then returned to Damascus, where he lived until his death. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus, when the last two hours of the night of Wednesday the sixth of Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 549/12 January 1155 had elapsed. Abū l-Faḍl ibn al-Milḥī composed the following verse to Abū l-Ḥakam in a letter thanking him for a successful treatment:<sup>7</sup>

If God ever rewards a man for his deeds,  
may He reward that kind, wise (*ḥakīm*) friend, Abū l-Ḥakam:  
He is the unique, excellent philosopher, to whose  
wisdom Arabs and non-Arabs attest.  
He treats his patient as did the Messiah;  
if Hippocrates saw him his foot would slip.  
He truly snatched me from the grip of Fate, after  
it had visited me with various ills and pains,  
5 And he led me, with his judgement, to the best stronghold  
and cured me of my ills and freed me of sickness.  
Still he guides me on every path with the opinions  
of an excellent man, which nobleness has instituted for him.  
The brilliance of his thoughts are like  
suns, whose radiance dispels the gloom of darkness.  
He looked after me when my family had withdrawn,  
and took the place of my father on my behalf, or that of a mother.  
He took up the burden that weighed heavily on my back  
and kept an eye on me, not sleeping when I slept,  
10 And he joined (*wa-ḍamma*) healing to my body, without obligation;  
but for him I would have become 'meat on a block (*waḍam*).'<sup>8</sup>

5 *Mūsīqī* refers to the theory of music, not making music.

6 Abū Sa'īd Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq Atabeg Ṭughtakīn (d. 549/1154), Būrid ruler of Damascus.

7 Metre: *tawīl*.

8 An expression meaning 'exposed to danger'.

Now Fate, after its wars, is at peace with me.

Greetings (*salām*) on him, as long as acacia trees (*salām*) put forth leaves!

[15.8.2]

Abū l-Ḥakam would compose defamatory poems against a group of contemporary poets, who, in turn, had ridiculed him in satiric verse. One of them, Abū l-Nadā Ḥassān ibn Numayr al-Kalbī, known as al-ʿArqalah, lampooned Abū l-Ḥakam in the following satirical verses:<sup>9</sup>

We have a doctor, a poet, with an inverted eyelid,<sup>10</sup>  
 May God relieve us of him!  
 Whenever he visits a patient in the morning  
 he composes an elegy for him the same day.

Al-ʿArqalah also composed the following lines about Abū l-Ḥakam:<sup>11</sup>

O my eye, pour forth flowing tears and blood  
 for the sage (*ḥakīm*) who was called Abū l-Ḥakam!  
 He was – may the Merciful not have mercy on his grey hair  
 and not send clouds continuously raining on his grave!–  
 ‘An old man who deemed the five ritual prayers supererogatory  
 and found it permissible to shed the blood of pilgrims in the Holy  
 Precinct.’<sup>12</sup>

[15.8.3]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: al-ʿArqalah described Abū l-Ḥakam in this satirical poem as one having inverted eyelids for the following reason: one night, Abū l-Ḥakam left the house of Zayn al-Mulk Abū Ṭālib ibn al-Khayyāṭ in a state of intoxication, with the result that he fell down and cut his face. Next morning, visitors kept asking him how he had happened to fall. He thereupon dashed off the following verses, placed them near his head, and whenever someone asked him about his condition, he gave them to that person to read:<sup>13</sup>

9 Metre: *sarīʿ*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (qism al-Shām)*, i:228–229; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:623; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:274.

10 A reference to his scar (see below).

11 Metre: *basīṭ*.

12 A quotation from al-Mutanabbī (*Dīwān*, 57).

13 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:623.

I fell on my face and my turban flew up,  
 I lost my shoes<sup>14</sup> and fell flat on the earth.  
 I stood up while streams of blood were on my beard  
 and face. Well, 'some misfortunes are less serious than others.'<sup>15</sup>  
 God decreed that I should become, on the spot, a disgrace,  
 and one can do nothing about what He decrees.  
 But there is no good in revelry or delight  
 if there is no drunkenness, which led to a thing like this.

He then took a mirror and looked at the wound in his face, which had left a gash under his eyelid after his fall, and recited [the following lines]:<sup>16</sup>

Wine has left on my cheek  
 a wound like a ewe's cunt.  
 I fell flat on my face,  
 my turban flying off,  
 And have remained disgraced. But for  
 the night my privates would have shown.  
 I know all this  
 came from perfect pleasure.  
 Who can give me another like it,  
 even for the price of my beard being shaven off?

[15.8.4]

Here follows some poetry by Abū l-Ḥakam, from his collected verse (*dīwān*), which I transmitted from Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl al-Miṭwā' al-Kaḥḥāl ('the oculist'), on the authority of al-Ḥakīm Amīn al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī,<sup>17</sup> on the authority of Abū l-Majd,<sup>18</sup> on the authority of his father, the aforementioned Abū l-Ḥakam. He composed the following eulogy<sup>19</sup> on al-Ra'īs Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris ibn al-Ṣūfi:<sup>20</sup>

14 On this word see at length below, Ch. 15.17.

15 A common saying, with the sense of 'it could have been worse', taken from a poem by the pre-Islamic Ṭarafah (Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, 186).

16 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:624.

17 See Ch. 15.14.

18 See Ch. 15.9.

19 Metre: *kāmil*.

20 Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris al-Musayyab ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibn al-Ṣūfi (d. 549/1154), vizier in Damascus under Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur; see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxv:593–

She pitied me when she saw my sufferings  
 and she complained; but her emotion fell short of mine.  
 It would not do any harm, O you with the forbidden red lips, if  
 you cured the heat of passion with the coolness of your saliva,  
 For one who is madly in love with you, pretending to be content  
 with a visit from a nightly apparition, or the return of an answer.  
 If you help me by being near me, you will merely  
 revive a soul that is on the verge of departing!  
 5 Do not find it odd that my patience has left, when you left,  
 and that I am distraught because of the magnitude of my affliction,  
 For patience is always, in all situations,  
 deemed proper, except when loved ones have left.  
 It is impossible that love for someone in thrall should be serene:  
 there must be honey as well as bitter aloes.<sup>21</sup>  
 Why must I endure those languid eyes that make me melt?  
 Do you think they are charged with tormenting me to my death?  
 And likewise those wide eyes that of old have been  
 in the habit of slaying hearts.  
 10 Why should my fortune never slack in moving further away?  
 I call but I always remain unanswered.  
 Were it not that I expect Abū l-Fawāris to help I would not cease  
 to be between misfortunes' claw and tooth.  
 Let me inform you about some of the eminence  
 he has obtained, though this defeats prolix speakers.  
 Praising Mu'ayyid al-Dīn,<sup>22</sup> the hero, has become  
 a religious duty for erudite people.  
 Descended from Qays 'Aylān, belonging to Hawāzin and  
 Sulaym, nomads among Bedouin Arabs,<sup>23</sup>

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596 (where his *laqab* is given as Mu'ayyad [*sic*] al-Dawlah; elsewhere it is Mu'ayyid al-Dīn, e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, xi:54).

21 *Ṣāb* is sometimes translated as 'colocynth' (Hava, *Farā'id*, Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*), but Arabic lexicographers do not explicitly equate it with *ḥanzal* (the more common word for 'colocynth'); sometimes it is identified as *ṣabir*, 'aloes' (e.g. al-Dīnawarī, *Nabāt*, 97). In any case it is a plant with a very bitter or acrid milky juice. In Ghaleb, *Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, it is identified as *Hippomane mancinella* or Manchineel tree, a very poisonous plant.

22 'The Supporter of Religion'.

23 Qays 'Aylān is the legendary ancestor of an important branch of the 'North Arabs'; among his descendants are Hawāzin and Sulaym, two brothers, also names of tribes. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, in the following line, is descended from Hawāzin, and Ja'far ibn Kilāb is descended from



- 15 His family are descendants of Ṣaṣa'ah; its edifice<sup>24</sup>  
 rose high among Ja'far ibn Kilāb.  
 To them belong Labīd, al-Ṭufayl, and 'Āmir,  
 and Abū Barā', who routed the confederates.<sup>25</sup>  
 The Banū Rabī'ah and Khālid belong to them if your trace  
 their genealogy, and 'Awf, in the highest lineages.<sup>26</sup>  
 The Banū l-Ṣūfi inherited lofty qualities from them, when  
 they paired splendid, generous deeds with noble descent;  
 And al-Musayyab encompasses all that they boast, just as  
 they acquired (them),<sup>27</sup> and this is the collection of every account,
- 20 On the summit of exalted eminence, raised  
 by an ancient glory from a genuine core,  
 Placed in the gatherings of noble traits, where it grew  
 and rose above peers and equals.  
 No brimful, huge river with its billows overabundant,  
 fed by the downpour from the rainclouds,  
 More fully engulfs than he does with the gifts of his hands,  
 nor any foaming sea with overflowing floods.  
 A lion has his force against his enemies –  
 no, it is less than his when the lion of the thicket attacks.
- 25 For his followers and his enemies he has two days:  
 a day of generosity and a day of battle.  
 O state that is redolent in all its regions  
 with generosity and munificence from noble men!  
 With its Hero, its Beauty, with its Glory  
 and its Adornment it will last through the ages.<sup>28</sup>

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Ṣaṣa'ah; see Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, I (Tafeln): 92–93. This line suggests that the Banū l-Ṣūfi are descended from both lines, Hawāzin and Sulaym (see also the following poem, line 27).

- 24 The word for 'family' is *bayt*, also 'house'.
- 25 Labīd ibn Rabī'ah (d. ca. 41/661), of the tribe of 'Āmir ibn Ṣaṣa'ah, famous poet, most or all of whose poems were composed in pre-Islamic times; al-Ṭufayl is the father of 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl (d. ca. 10/632), tribal hero and poet (and bitter enemy of the Prophet Muḥammad). Abū Barā' 'Āmir ibn Mālik, tribal hero nicknamed Mulā'ib al-Asinnah, 'Player with lance-tips', was the paternal uncle of 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl and is said to have drunk himself to death in the time of the Prophet. 'The confederates' are probably the tribes of Ḍabbah and Tamīm whom he defeated.
- 26 Rabī'ah, Khālid, and 'Awf are all sons of Ja'far ibn Kilāb (al-Kalbī/Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, Tafeln, 93).
- 27 The sense of *kamā ḥāzat* is not wholly clear.
- 28 This line refers to other members of the Banū l-Ṣūfi with the honorifics Shujā' al-Dawlah, Jamāl al-Dawlah, 'Izz al-Dawlah, and Zayn al-Dawlah.

Their lineages are sufficient for me, though their names  
 are not in need of honorifics.  
 How noble they are, among Arabs: when mankind boasts  
 they bring the best stock and origin.  
 30 They erected lofty deeds with generosity and proud glory  
 and sweet water-holes for those who seek a boon.  
 They are people in whose presence one can see hypocrites  
 with the submissiveness of slaves to the authority of their masters.  
 O master, whose favour is spent  
 on any visitor who arrives,  
 I truly know that your kindness to me has been  
 among the surest causes of my happiness,  
 And my soul is certain here that I seek  
 the best place for your favour.  
 35 May you forever rise in noble deeds,  
 as long as lightning flashes through the clouds!

[15.8.5]

He also said, in a panegyric on Jamāl al-Dawlah Abū l-Ghanā'im, the brother of the preceding:<sup>29</sup>

It is all the same to us whether she abandons us or comes to us,  
 when, one day, she breaks her promise and the bonds are frayed.  
 Laylā is always generous with her promises,  
 but we are denied what she freely offers and gives.  
 A rendez-vous with her makes us hope to be near her,  
 but there is no reunion except when her nightly apparition visits.  
 Can't you give anything but an excuse or a pretext?  
 (We had so many of her excuses and pretexts).  
 5 There is a sickness in my body, originating from your eyelids,<sup>30</sup>  
 and a strength of passion, perfected by the imperfection of my body.  
 If you would help a lover with your nearness the reward will be yours,  
 you whose absence has made my body thin.  
 Whenever my soul thinks of you it falls apart<sup>31</sup>  
 and after having found the way is lost again.

29 Metre: *tawīl*.

30 'Eyelids' (*juḥūn*) often stand for 'eyes' in poetry; but it may hint at the languid glances of the beloved, so often described.

31 A hemistich by Kuthayyir 'Azzah (d. 105/723), see al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-ḥamāsah*,

- I never cease to be visited by deep sighs; whenever  
 I wish I were cured of them their healing tarries,  
 And of tears that never slack:  
 whenever love calls their downpour answers.
- 10 She bars slumber from my eyes and tears fall  
 on my cheeks, copiously flowing down.  
 How would sleep be fitting or slumber visit  
 eyelids when the eyes have tears as their kohl?  
 Whenever I say 'I will forget her', in spite of the distance of her abode  
 her likeness is formed in my eyes and my heart.  
 Many a desert that destroys riding-animals, a wasteland  
 where the sand-grouse are baffled, deceived by the shimmering  
 mirage,<sup>32</sup>  
 Have I crossed with a strong camel mare with well-knitted forelegs,<sup>33</sup>  
 reliable, her powers showing no signs of fatigue,
- 15 Who heads with us to the abode of the one saluted here(?),<sup>34</sup> where  
 her effort will not be thwarted and she will be happy.  
 But for Jamāl al-Mulk<sup>35</sup> I would not have come there and  
 the deserts and their sands would not have driven us  
 To a family whose standing is not unknown to the people  
 and whose deeds are lauded among all beings.  
 When a disaster is difficult their opinion is the right one,  
 when a misfortune is alarming what they say is right.  
 Or when the fire of warfare blazes for the brave warriors,  
 who endure its heat and flames for a long time,
- 20 You will see their strength, surpassing that of  
 the lions of al-Sharā,<sup>36</sup> their leader and their attack.(?)<sup>37</sup>

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1287 (where *tafarraqat* means 'becomes divided', viz. 'into two parties, one excusing and one blaming her').

- 32 Sand-grouse are proverbial for their ability to find water in desert country. The two meanings of *khayba* ('to deceive', 'to be agitated, to move') are both appropriate here.
- 33 A hemistich by 'Amr ibn Sha's (d. after 16/637), see Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā l-talab*, ii:170. Borrowing such relatively unknown verse is slightly dubious (compare his boast in lines 34–35).
- 34 Reading *al-musallam* (although A has *al-musallim*).
- 35 A variant of Jamāl al-Dawlah, to suit the metre.
- 36 See above Ch. 10.64.17.2 (vs. 26).
- 37 Reading (with L) *quddāmuhā* 'their leader' (A: *qidāmuhā*, which is difficult to understand and metrically unusual), even though it does not go well together with *nizāluhā*.

Their hands carry Yazanite spears from Khaṭṭ,<sup>38</sup>  
 whose thirst is quenched by the cups of the Fates,  
 And gleaming swords that cut the armour-clad, severing,  
 sharpened, cleared of rust by burnishing.  
 And they feed their guest from the top of the camel's hump  
 when the north wind alternates with a cross-wind.<sup>39</sup>  
 There is no one among people who resembles the Banū l-Šūfi,  
 men of strength and hands whose punch is feared.  
 25 Ancient glory made them rise and an elevation  
 strong of bonds, no fear that they will become untied  
 The Banū Ja'far<sup>40</sup> are the best tribe among Arabs,  
 their boastfulness and pride rose among Nizār.<sup>41</sup>  
 In them a strand from Sulaym is matched<sup>42</sup>  
 as a right hand matches a left hand.  
 Ibn 'Alī, you have obtained the most elevated rank:  
 whoever aspires to it will not reach it.  
 Through you the splendid state can boast to mankind,  
 they are entitled to do so, since you are their 'Beauty'.<sup>43</sup>  
 30 If it, with its brilliance and elevation, were to turn  
 into a sky over us, you would be its crescent moon.  
 If rancorous people turned to you their hopes would be thwarted  
 and their harm would turn against themselves.  
 I shall live the most comfortable life in my lifetime  
 through your favour, when its shade spreads over me,  
 For you do not delay towards those in need,  
 because you are close kin<sup>44</sup> to generous deeds.  
 So take this ode, like pearls that are not borrowed  
 so that their weakness and imperfection could be condemned,  
 35 But the offspring of thought, its beauty virgin  
 that will please, whereas plagiarism disfigures rhymes.

38 Yazanite: after a legendary pre-Islamic Yemenite maker of spears called Dhū Yazan, father of the hero Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan. For Khaṭṭ, see above, Ch. 10.68.2 (vs. 75).

39 Strictly, a wind between any of the four cardinal directions.

40 See the preceding poem, line 15.

41 Nizār ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnān: legendary ancestor of the North Arabs; among his descendants is Qays 'Aylān (see preceding poem, line 14).

42 See the preceding poem, line 14.

43 Jamāl al-Dawlah, literally 'The Beauty of the State (or Dynasty)'.  
 44 Literally, 'paternal and maternal uncle'.

There is no blessing but what you bestow;  
 there is no eulogy but to you is its destination.

[15.8.6]

He said, in a panegyric for 'Izz al-Dawlah, the brother of Mu'ayyid al-Dīn:<sup>45</sup>

Love has called you, so respond!  
 Cut short your reproach of those who reproach!  
 For what is life if the water of youth has dwindled  
 and no desire has been gratified, sooner or later?<sup>46</sup>  
 Quickly take a well-matured wine, beautified  
 by the passing of nights and ages;  
 On its cup there seem to be pearls,  
 when the bubbles circle on it.  
 5 It is passed round by someone with Babel's glances,<sup>47</sup>  
 with a mouth delicious to kiss, sweet of teeth.  
 He who is delighted by the wine's beauty would say,  
 'Has this wine been procured from his cheeks?  
 Or if not, where does this redness come from,  
 and that limpidity of the grape's daughter?'<sup>48</sup>  
 The daughters of the vines (*kurūm*) are the life of noble people (*kirām*),  
 and the death of concerns is the countenance of rapture.<sup>49</sup>  
 Say to him whose concern it is to see  
 a noble man who will dispel from him his troubles:  
 10 Can bounty be expected from any man?  
 Take it easy! Not all people are he who is the Arabs' glory!  
 A generous man: if you come to him  
 you are safe through him from untoward accidents.  
 His fame is spread wide among mankind,  
 apart from what is contained in books:  
 Praise with which the land is redolent  
 and fame; but for him, no one would go to foreign parts.<sup>50</sup>

45 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

46 Perhaps this is what *min tarāfayhi* ('of its two ends') means.

47 i.e., with bewitching eyes; see above Ch. 10.69.3.8.

48 A common expression for 'wine'.

49 There is a play on words: *muḥayyā* ('face, countenance') is etymologically connected with *ḥayāh*, 'life', the opposite of 'death'.

50 Interpretation not wholly certain.

Decency, forbearance, with lordly qualities,  
 and boasting highborn, true forefathers,  
 15 And excellence, cheerfulness, and a generosity that he sees  
 as a religious duty incumbent on himself.  
 If one compared him with the men of his time  
 one would compare pearls with worthless beads.  
 He who says that another man  
 encompasses some of what he has is a liar.  
 Someone who boasts glory that is inherited is not  
 like someone who boasts glory that is newly acquired.  
 When the proud chiefs of ‘Āmir are mentioned<sup>51</sup>  
 and their exploits are counted and traced to them,  
 20 Qays can boast of him to Khindif<sup>52</sup>  
 give him the most exalted rank among them,  
 Especially since he has become among them  
 a mediator, with the noblest mother and father,  
 One of the Ja‘farīs,<sup>53</sup> in a lofty line  
 of glory, higher than shooting stars.  
 Your servant<sup>54</sup> desires a robe of honour,  
 – for being honoured by someone like you is reckoned highly –  
 So that his status will rise thereby,  
 even though he is close to what he has sought.<sup>55</sup>  
 25 And he hones his thoughts whenever he expectantly  
 cranes his neck to praise you and applies himself.  
 For whenever my hand obtained al-Muẓaffar’s<sup>56</sup> generosity  
 I have the fullest extent of my desire.  
 In a State (*dawlah*) of which you are the Glory (*‘izz*)  
 wishes are fulfilled for the least of occasions,  
 Because you belong to a family who will not thwart the hopes  
 of those who come to drink at their cisterns.  
 Their reputations are always well-protected,  
 though their wealth is always plundered!

51 See lines 15–16 of the first poem on the Banū l-Şūfī (above, 15.8.4).

52 For Qays, see line 14 of the same poem. Khindif is another branch of the North Arabs, comprising many tribes.

53 For the Banū Ja‘far ibn Kilāb, see line 15 of the same poem.

54 The poet means himself.

55 Interpretation not wholly certain.

56 Apparently the patron’s name.

- 30 Congratulations to you on the Feast!<sup>57</sup> Enjoy it,  
 and last forever as long as planets rise and vanish!  
 But what feast? When you are present  
 it is indifferent to us whether it be faraway or near.  
 If clouds hide from us the crescent moon  
 we do not care, as long as you are not hidden.  
 So take this ode, as a noble bride who is unveiled,  
 while its maker addresses you from nearby.  
 It is brought to you, straight after having been polished,  
 by a sage (*hakīm*) who has sifted and selected it;  
 35 There is no good in wisdom that is not seen to be  
 embroidered with all kind of erudition.

[15.8.7]

Among his poems in an unaffected<sup>58</sup> style is the poem in *rajaz* metre<sup>59</sup> that he entitled *The Domestic Scandal*.<sup>60</sup> In it he describes the damage and costs that may befall someone when he invites his drinking companions:

Any domestic scandal tends  
 To happen through one's own best friends.  
 Now listen to a well-trying man:  
 He'll tell you how it all began:  
 All that may come from invitations  
 And all their diverse tribulations.  
 Provide the food, provide the fun;  
 Then suffer all the damage done.

- 5 Disliked by all, the Awful Bore  
 Comes first. Then: spongers at the door!  
 Whatever food may be provided,  
 The host will be severely chided.

57 Perhaps the end of the month of Ramadan.

58 *Maṭbūʿ*, 'natural, artless', often contrasted with *maṣnūʿ*, 'artful, artificial'.

59 Like many longer poems in this metre, it employs paired rhyme (*aa bb cc*, etc.) rather than monorhyme.

60 On this poem see van Gelder, 'The Joking Doctor' and idem, *Anthology*, 97–102. The following translation, a revised version of the one that appeared in the article, is a rhymed one in 'Hudibrastic' metre, in slightly archaic style. It is necessarily freer than the prose translations of poetry in this book.

Creep up his mother's \*\*\*\* he may,  
 From censure he can't hide away.  
 'Not enough spices!' says one guest,  
 'It's rather burnt!' declare the rest.  
 Another says, 'Too little salt!  
 – I'm merely helpful, finding fault.'<sup>61</sup>  
 10 He grabs the food from far and near,  
 Then drinks some water, fresh and clear,  
 Since 'wholesome water has no peer.'  
 The next thing he demands is beer,  
 With ice in summer. When it's cold:  
 'A fire, if I may be so bold!  
 Who needs a tooth-pick? Take a straw:  
 The mats lie ready on the floor.

And after this there comes the wine,  
 Delicious, choice; it tastes divine.  
 15 One person says, 'It's vinegár!  
 Another says, 'Defective jar!'<sup>62</sup>  
 And someone else is now complaining:  
 He wants a filter, for the straining.  
 Some large carafes are brought in there,  
 In which the wine is mixed with care.  
 Someone cries out, 'But that's still pure!  
 And pours more water, to be sure.  
 'He's got an ulcer,' mocks another,  
 'O, don't add water! Please, don't bother!'  
 20 Fruits, nuts, with any fragrant smell,  
 Go down, it seems, extremely well.  
 Some fussy person's fancy's tickled  
 Only by basil and things pickled,  
 While yet another man supposes  
 Wine goes with apples and with roses.

61 Translated as if the Arabic had *annahū* instead of *innī*, which I do not understand.

62 A has *qāqir* (perhaps intending *qāqiz*); L and all editions have *qāfiz*; correct is *qāquz*, a poetic license for *qāquzz* or *qāqūz*, a kind of drinking vessel (al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, qzz).



The singers' fee<sup>63</sup> may cause some tension,  
 Their agent may cause apprehension;<sup>64</sup>  
 A fix you should be quick to handle:  
 Spread round<sup>65</sup> your cash, for fear of scandal.  
 25 Sometimes they get into a swoon:  
 Fear not! They'll have their breakfast soon.  
 If you invite them in December,  
 Make sure of stove and burning ember!  
 From it there flies up many a spark  
 That on your carpet leaves its mark:  
 Your once-new carpet now is peppered  
 With dots like any spotted leopard.  
 And don't forget the meat: kebab  
 Or sliced, for ev'ryone to grab.  
 30 And when the cold is over, pep  
 Them up with fans and cool julep.<sup>66</sup>

Your drinking-friends come in all sorts:  
 The wine reveals their favourite sports.  
 There's one whose forte and whose strength  
 Is telling stories at great length,  
 While he is busy<sup>67</sup> masticating.  
 – Nobody heeds what he's relating.  
 Forgets himself, speaks out of turn:  
 They slink away in unconcern.  
 35 Another weighs his words with care  
 And gives himself a haughty air.  
 Another acts the fool. He's after  
 A cheap but all-embracing laughter.  
 Someone becomes morose when stewed;  
 Instead of leaving he gets rude.

63 *Maghānī* is a common 'vulgar' plural of *mughannīyah* (see Dozy, *Supplément*). The expression *hujjat al-maghānī* has not been found elsewhere; *hujjah* can mean 'contract'.

64 *Dāmin al-qiyān*: cf. Dozy, *Supplément* (DMN): 'L'expression الضامن الغيمان, 1001 N. Bresl v, 107. 4, doit désigner «le fermier d'une maison de débauche» (dans Macn. صاحب الفتيات), mais le second mot est sans doute altéré.'

65 The translation of *qashqil* (a verb not found elsewhere) is taken from the context. The nearest is *fasqala* 'an, 'se séparer de' (Dozy, *Supplément*).

66 The Arabic has *mā' al-ward*, 'rose water'; 'julep' is derived from Persian *gul-āb*, 'rose water'.

67 Text and translation uncertain.

Someone as sober as a judge  
 Arrives, and bears all drunks a grudge.  
 There's one light-fingered Jim-'ll-fix-it,<sup>68</sup>  
 Sees something rather nice: he nicks it.  
 40 A knife, a flask, a handkerchief,  
 A dicing-bowl fit for a thief.  
 Now someone pulls (abracadabra!)  
 A chain right off the candelabra,<sup>69</sup>  
 'Extinguishing' (he says) 'a wick.'  
 It is, of course, a little trick.  
 Don't mind their winks whenever any  
 Should leave their place 'to spend a penny':  
 It's slaves and slave-girls they will seek,  
 To pinch a tit or bite a cheek.  
 45 One's hospitality's abused  
 Yet worse: one's wife is being seduced,  
 One's sister, daughter, or one's son  
 (Especially a pretty one).  
 In this one ought to be forgiving,  
 For, after all, your friends are living;<sup>70</sup>  
 A man is flesh and blood and bone;  
 He is no statue or a stone.  
 And if among them is a glutton(?)<sup>71</sup>  
 Your banquet isn't worth a button.  
 50 Eating is all that he is doing;  
 Heedless of all, he's good at chewing.

68 A reference to a long-running British television show from the past, presented by a once popular but now, posthumously, notorious celebrity.

69 A free and tentative rendering; the Arabic is not very clear. Literally, 'One of them is in charge of pulling of chains (*qal'i | salāsīlīn*, with a startling break at the rhyme) that flow over the candles'. Perhaps instead of *tasīlu* ('flow', thus in all sources) one should read *tus-balu* 'hang down'.

70 Free rendering. The Arabic *wa-y.ṭm. 'u* (vowelled as *wa-yuṭmi'u* in A) *l-nadīmu wa-l-jalīsu* is not clear; perhaps read *wa-yuṭma'u*, '(one's drinking companions and friends) are to be encouraged'.

71 The expression *abū tallūr* has not been found elsewhere. A gloss in MS A provides the definition 'Abū tallūr: someone who arrives with the drinkers but does not drink himself: he eats the fruits and nuts and sexually assaults those who, inebriated, have fallen asleep'. One suspects that the explanation provided in A is based on the following lines rather than dependent on another source.

Drinking with friends he must decline:  
 He says he doesn't care for wine.  
 He buggers sleeping drunks at night,<sup>72</sup>  
 Consumes their sweets in broad daylight.  
 Your friends will start an ugly brawl,  
 But you will suffer, that is all.  
 They break the cups and bottles each  
 And ev'ry vessel within reach.  
 55 The row spreads to your neighbours, too,  
 Who falsely will belabour you;  
 Straight to the bailiff they appeal:  
 Surely, complete is your ordeal.  
 Thus may a man gain loss of face;  
 And if the party did take place  
 On Friday's eve, there's worse disgrace.  
 If in the fighting blood is shed,  
 The host may just as well be dead.  
 If someone tumbles and gets killed,  
 One merely pays some light wergild;  
 60 For drinking in an upstairs room  
 Brings people closer to their Doom.

Think of the harm that's coming from it!  
 The mats are soiled with bits of vomit.  
 And then one seeks something to eat,  
 One's drinking-bout not yet complete.  
 When you wake up – you've hardly slept –  
 And now the floor has to be swept,  
 You will be henpecked by your wife,  
 In bed and up, always at strife,  
 65 Who, when the sun's up, will remind you  
 Of last night's trials, now behind you.  
 – That is, if they have gone. If not  
 (They stayed, topped on, slept on the spot),  
 Then all your hope is now forlorn,  
 When the sun rises on the morn.

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72 This couplet has been expurgated in Riḍā's edition.

- Offer your friends your choicest wine,  
 And cakes, and heads of sheep and kine;  
 Pawn chairs and stools, pull out all stops,  
 Pledge them at the off-license shops.  
 70 But if some guest misses one sandal,  
 You'll be involved in one more scandal;  
 So tell your boy to guard them well,  
 Lest your kind comrades give you hell.  
 Don't mind your losses in this fix.  
 Provide your lamps with num'rous wicks.  
 Someone at last wants to strike camp:  
 He leaves and robs you of your lamp;  
 With in his hand a full wineskin<sup>73</sup>  
 To please his friends and next-of-kin.  
 75 If oil runs out, give it no thought:  
 Amidst this ruin it is naught.  
 All costs must by the Host be paid  
 When in the Balance he is weighed.<sup>74</sup>  
 Latter-Day Prophets who go dry  
 Deserve a good punch in the eye.<sup>75</sup>  
 The debts he owns – a pretty sum –  
 Prove him to be a stupid bum.<sup>76</sup>  
 He would be spared all this forever  
 If he were wise, astute and clever.  
 80 A scandal, quite without a match:  
 He whom it strikes, strikes a bad patch!  
 At other people's places drinking

73 Tentative translation; *qarābah* or *qarrābah*: 'sorte de boîte dans laquelle on transporte des pommes; – sert aussi à transporter de l'eau, outre?' (Dozy, *Supplement*).

74 The 'Balance' (*al-mīzān*) probably has eschatological connotations here. *Ṣāhib al-da'wah* ('the Host') is a pun: *da'wah* means 'invitation' as well as 'religious propaganda' for an imam. *Ṣāhib al-da'wah* is therefore a near-synonym of *ṣāhib al-zamān*, which is the more common synonym of *ṣāhib al-waqt*, found in line 77 (here translated as 'Latter-Day Prophet'). Compare e.g. Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr, *Dīwān*, i:29: *Fa-ana l-yawma ṣāhibu l-waḳti ḥaqqan / wa-l-muḥibbūna shī'atī wa-du'ātī* (tr. Palmer, ii:36: 'I am the Prophet of the Latter Day; | Mine are the votaries of Love and youth').

75 The sense of *ṣaf' al-jurb* is not wholly clear. *Ṣaf'* is 'slapping someone's neck' (like boxing someone's ear); *jurb* has not been found.

76 For the Arabic obscenity *dhaqn surm* ('arse beard'), see a line by Ibn al-Habbāriyyah on school teachers: *Wa-lākinna l-mu'allima dhaqnu surmin | khafīfu l-ra'si laysa laḥū dimāghū*, in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Qism al-'Irāqī)*, ii:124.

Is better, in my way of thinking.  
Well, then. Repentance of one's vices  
Is always best when there's a crisis.

[15.8.8]

He composed the following in Basra in 521/1127:<sup>77</sup>

I say, looking down from the Ma'qil canal<sup>78</sup>  
at resplendent Basra: 'Be greeted, great town!'  
O how lovely are its open spaces, its ancient monuments,  
and its fine hills – may they never be devoid of rain!  
For so many a day and a night have I amused myself in you  
with a girl with trembling buttocks and lovely smell!  
When, in the dark of night, she takes off her veil  
I see her face, a proxy of the full moon.

He also said:<sup>79</sup>

Ah, drinking wine is one of the most emphatic commands,<sup>80</sup>  
with roses, fragrant herbs, and fresh daffodils.  
Every man who gives lowliness<sup>81</sup> its due  
will have a life of delight and ease.  
I may always been joking,  
but I am clean of clothes, soul, and honour.  
And, though I may have misgivings about things,  
when a friend's foot slips I turn a blind eye.

He also said:<sup>82</sup>

What is good of a life that a man hopes to live  
that will lead to his death?

77 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

78 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v.; a canal dug by Ma'qil ibn Yasār al-Muzanī during the reign of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

79 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

80 He uses the Islamic term for religious duty, *farḍ*.

81 Abū l-Ḥakam collected his own verse in a *dīwān* entitled *Nahj al-waḍā'ah li-ulī l-khalā'ah* ('The Lowly Route for the Dissolute'); see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, 291, and below, at the end of the section on Abū l-Ḥakam.

82 Metre: *sarī'*.

Livelihood is guaranteed. If something precious  
eludes you, do not fret about its loss.

He also said:<sup>83</sup>

You left and by being far you disturbed  
what had been serene by your nearness and proximity.  
Our hearts nearly broke  
when you had gone, but for the hope for your return.

[15.8.9] He also said:<sup>84</sup>

O who will help a lover, infatuated,  
tormented, who cannot recover from his passion?  
For how could a grief-stricken sorrowing man recover  
whose body is damaged by long sickness?

He also said:<sup>85</sup>

Alas for lovers! Would that they had not been created!  
They never cease to be tormented since they have fallen in love.  
Whenever they hope for rest or joy  
their paths are blocked.

He also said:<sup>86</sup>

You see pearls surrounded by carnelian  
when she shows her sweet teeth.  
Henna does not embellish her fingers,  
but her hand embellishes the henna.

He also said:<sup>87</sup>

I said to her, when she upbraided me for my wasting away,  
with a bent back and trembling:

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83 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

84 Metre: *wāfir*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:274.

85 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:274.

86 Metre: *wāfir*.

87 Metre: *sarī*.

Do not mock me if my bones have weakened;  
love for you is inside, in my marrow.

[15.8.10]

He composed a riddle on the name 'Abd al-Karīm:<sup>88</sup>

With my life, my friend, I would ransom him  
whose languid eyes have enthralled me.  
I have become one third of his name, obediently,  
but he is the opposite of two thirds of it in being together with me.<sup>89</sup>  
His cheek, when on it there appear  
the stars of his moles,  
Is a perfect crescent moon,<sup>90</sup> while the Pleiades  
are to him a palindrome of what resembles his side-locks.<sup>91</sup>

He also composed a riddle on the name 'Shaftar', which is the nickname of Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Sulamī, the poet:<sup>92</sup>

A gazelle of the Byzantines<sup>93</sup> has made me a captive  
with his black-and-white eyes.  
God has made him superior  
with his pretty flirtation and his appearance.  
I swear by the Even and the Uneven  
and what Abundance has joined with us(?):<sup>94</sup>

88 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, 295.

89 The name 'Abd al-Karīm consists of nine letters; the word 'abd ('slave') of three, and *al-karīm* ('the generous one') of six.

90 The expression *hilālu timmin* is odd, since the word *timmin* is normally reserved for the full moon (*badr*). For another example, see Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, ii:424 (by Abū l-Rabī' Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Qudā'ī).

91 Curling side-locks are very often compared to a scorpion ('*aqrab*). In Arabic script the palindrome of '*aqrab* gives *burqu'* ('veil').

92 Metre: *hazaj*. The meaning of *shaftar* (unvowelled in the sources) is unclear (*shaftarah* means 'scattering, dispersal'; or cf. Dozy *Supplément: shaftūrah*, 'big lip'). Abū l-Ma'ālī al-Sulamī has not been identified.

93 It is not clear why someone who is apparently an Arab (tracing his descent to the tribe of Sulaym) is said to be one of the Banū l-Aṣfar, a traditional name for the Byzantines.

94 Q al-Fajr 89:3: «*By the even and the odd*». The first two Arabic letters of *shaf'* ('even') and the last two of *witr* ('odd') spell the name. 'Abundance' (*kawthar*) must refer to the sura of that name (no. 108), but the point is not clear.

This is a name that God has decreed  
to be made a riddle or to be hidden.

[15.8.11]

He said, lampooning the Jewish doctor al-Mufashkil,<sup>95</sup> in the manner of an elegy:<sup>96</sup>

O stop with 'the remembrance of a loved one and an abode',<sup>97</sup>  
but halt at the grave of Doctor al-Mufashkil!  
O mercy of God, despise his grave,  
and stay away from that base old man!  
O Munkar,<sup>98</sup> liberally bestow on his neck (bless you!)  
convincing blows, and burnish him like a looking-glass!<sup>99</sup>  
And turn him upside down into the bottom of Hell, crashing  
like 'a rock boulder hurtled from above by a torrent'.<sup>100</sup>  
And may a dripping cloud, pushed on by a lasting rain, never cease  
to drench it with a downpour of ordure.  
That tomb has received the vilest cadaver  
and the lowliest dead one between earth and rock.  
I shall let the 'tears' of my belly descend on it  
and convey to it the worst drink of its water.  
Perhaps Abū 'Imrān longed for his person  
and said to him, 'Come to me quickly, hurry!'  
The earth's belly has never been made to contain filthier men than those  
two,  
or baser men from the band of that deluded al-Samaw'al.<sup>101</sup>

95 Not identified. Al-Mufashkil is probably a nickname; perhaps compare Dozy, *Supplément: fashkala* 'confundere alium' ('to confound someone'); or cf. *fiskil*: 'a horse that arrives last in a race', *rajul fiskil* 'a worthless fellow' (al-Zabīdī, *Tāj*); *waghdun mufaskil* (in a lampoon by al-Ubayrid, in al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, 345).

96 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvii:624.

97 From the beginning of the most famous pre-Islamic ode, by Imru' al-Qays.

98 Munkar and Nakīr ('Abhorred' and 'Horrible') are the names of two angels supposed to interrogate a newly deceased in the tomb. In A the former is incorrectly vowelled as *munkir* (the same in lines 6 and 11 of the next poem).

99 The rare word *sajanjal* (interpreted as 'mirror') is also taken from the ode by Imru' al-Qays.

100 Another quotation from the same poem.

101 Al-Samaw'al ('Samuel') was a pre-Islamic Jewish poet. Contrary to what this line conveys, he has an excellent reputation as having been loyal to Imru' al-Qays, not wanting to surrender the latter's armour even when his own young son was killed.



He composed the following, lampooning Naṣīr al-Ḥalabī,<sup>102</sup> a man of letters, also in the manner of an elegy. Naṣīr worked as a secretary and dabbled in poetry, medicine, and astrology.<sup>103</sup>

Come, woman, wail!  
 For Nuṣayr al-Ḥalabī is dead.  
 God have mercy on him!  
 He had a long tail.<sup>104</sup>  
 The dead are making an uproar because  
 of the smell of his bad breath in the earth;  
 They wished they had been given,  
 instead of him, a mangy dog.  
 5 People are either screaming  
 or busy fleeing.  
 Munkar<sup>105</sup> says, 'That is  
 the lowliest dead one I have come across!'  
 The earth's belly has never been made to contain,  
 from East to West,  
 Anyone of more vicious mould  
 among Arabs and non-Arabs.  
 O people, how filthy, him!  
 (oblique case in exclamation of surprise).<sup>106</sup>  
 10 His characteristics in his ill fate  
 are recorded down in writings,  
 As are his words to Munkar:  
 'You're overdoing it, torturer!  
 Don't you know that I am  
 an authority among people of erudition,  
 Grammar, philosophy,  
 logic, and medicine!'

102 Not identified. The name can also be read as Nuṣayr.

103 Metre: *rajaz*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii:624–625 (lines 1–4).

104 Interpretation uncertain.

105 See the preceding poem, line 3.

106 Exclamations of surprise, approval or disapproval in Arabic often take the form of a construction with the particle *mā* in the sense of 'how ... (is he/she/it)!', followed by accusatives, as here.

[15.8.12]

Lamponing Malik al-Nuḥāh ('King of Grammarians'),<sup>107</sup> he said:<sup>108</sup>

From the chimney<sup>109</sup> of the hips there blew  
 a breeze on the cheeks of that King,  
 And a torrent advanced right after it  
 and got messed up on his face,  
 'Just as water is moved by degrees by the passing of the east wind  
 and the sky's horizon is adorned by the paths of the stars.'<sup>110</sup>

Lamponing the poet Abū l-Waḥsh<sup>111</sup> he said:<sup>112</sup>

When I want to lampoon Abū l-Waḥsh I am prevented  
 by base traits that never budge from him:  
 He has transcended the measure of blame, to the extent that he would  
 still seem  
 to be praised by the worst that a man can be lampooned with.

Another lampoon by him, on the same:<sup>113</sup>

If Wuḥaysh perseveres in his error  
 and does not give up his lying and wronging,  
 I shall split his ears with a goat  
 whose flesh they ate in the Hijaz(?).<sup>114</sup>

He also said:<sup>115</sup>

107 Malik al-Nuḥāh, the nickname of Abū Nizār al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāfi (d. 568/1173); see e.g. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii:92–94, Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, viii:122–139.

108 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

109 The *bādahanj* (from Persian *bād-hanj*, 'wind-drawing') is a chimney-like contrivance on top of a house to provide ventilation of cool air. See Rosenthal, 'Poetry and Architecture'.

110 A quotation from a poem by al-Ṣanawbarī, *Dīwān*, 432, al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 233.

111 He is the poet Wuḥaysh al-Asadī Abū l-Waḥsh Sab' ibn Khalaf (d. 579/1184), see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Shām)*, i:242–246, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:112–113 (*waḥsh* means 'wild animal', *wuḥaysh* is its diminutive, and *sab'* means 'predatory animal'). For two other epigrams by Abū l-Ḥakam on the same, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, 296.

112 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

113 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīṭ*.

114 Sense unclear; the variant *salaqtu* ('I shall boil') instead of *shalaqtu* is perhaps more likely.

115 Metre: *basīṭ*.

We have a friend who was unfriendly and who turned his back on us;  
 my hand hurt me from reproving him.  
 If someone said to me one day, 'Describe him!' I would say: 'One can  
 count all the  
 pebbles (*tuhṣā l-ḥaṣā*) on earth before one can count the defects of  
 that man.'

Lamponing 'Ulayyān. who was known as al-'Ukkāz al-Ḥalabī,<sup>116</sup> he said:<sup>117</sup>

Al-'Ukāz<sup>118</sup> complained to us about his disease  
 but he found no medicine with us,  
 For the disease of lechery<sup>119</sup> defeats  
 any man who seeks a cure.

[15.8.13]

He also said:<sup>120</sup>

If I am concerned about someone who has a fever I compose for him  
 a verse; then, if he gets somewhat worse, he promptly turns hemiple-  
 gic!<sup>121</sup>  
 So tell the people who think my medical skill will give them relief  
 that it will benefit them if it is mixed with poetry.  
 It relieves (*yufarrīju*) worry from the bowels of someone suffering from  
 burning pains,  
 wasting away; and it will promptly make him eat a pullet (*farrūjā*).

On the theme of courage he said:<sup>122</sup>

I see that war gives me courage  
 when its memory pervades my heart.

116 Not identified.

117 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīt*.

118 In ms A the name is given as al-'Ukkāz (with *kk*, which is the normal form); this, however, does not scan correctly, so perhaps the poet pronounced it as al-'Ukāz.

119 Reading *biḡhā*; in A and L it is vowelled *bughā*, with the pattern often used for diseases and disorders (the normal meaning of *bughā*, however, is 'desire, wish', which seems less suitable here, though not impossible).

120 Metre: *basīt*.

121 Apparently self-mockery.

122 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

If I behold it in my sleep  
its traces are visible on the bedclothes.

On the theme of keeping one's secret he said:<sup>123</sup>

I shall shun Laylā, though my love of her is in my heart,  
for fear I might provoke a chaperone or grudging enemy.  
I shall hide a secret we had between her and me;  
for if I said I fucked her I would have disclosed it.

In his poem that he entitled 'The Virtues' he said:<sup>124</sup>

Many people who made me a paragon,  
thinking me unique in the efforts I sustained,  
I let them live lifetimes, when they relied  
on me in medical matters, like the lifetimes of kids.<sup>125</sup>

[15.8.14]

He also said:<sup>126</sup>

If a girl is past fifty years,  
try not to see her.  
Fucking an old woman is not incumbent on you,  
so leave her and seek another bride.

He also said:<sup>127</sup>

In bettering myself I shall pretend to be a dunce,  
so that those who think me ignorant will forgive me;  
And I shall jest whenever I compose poetry; so if it appears  
to be feeble, I can blame it on the jesting.

He also said:<sup>128</sup>

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123 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

124 Metre: *rajaz*.

125 Another example of Abū l-Ḥakam's self-mockery.

126 Metre: *wāfir*.

127 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

128 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

Of many a nightly visitor who came to me after people had fallen asleep  
 have I stretched the flanks<sup>129</sup> with a thick and knotty stick of mimosa-  
 wood.

(If your ears had heard his squealing under me  
 you would have said, 'A jackal crying in the gloom of darkness!')  
 And I said to him, 'If you had not been miserable you would not have  
 gone out  
 at night and you would not have alighted at the abode of Abū l-  
 Ḥakam!'

[15.8.15]

On his death-bed, in the month Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 549 [Jan.–Feb. 1155],  
 he said:<sup>130</sup>

Alas, my soul, when I am wrapped in my shroud  
 and they have made me disappear from kin and home,  
 And people say, 'May he not be far',<sup>131</sup> he who used to recite to us:  
 'I am he who sees the blind one but he hasn't seen me!'<sup>132</sup>

Then, on the Tuesday before his death he recited the following and commanded  
 his son Abū l-Majd to transmit it for him after his death:<sup>133</sup>

I am sorry that I died. It was not my intention.  
 I wish I knew who will now make elegies for you!  
 I really should prefer to come back, if I could  
 be brought back. But it is impossible to be brought back.  
 If I had known I would not return  
 I would not have hurried so fast towards the grave.  
 O, is there no escaping from Death, the Disperser?  
 Can past times not be brought back?

129 Apart from 'stretching', *matta'a* could perhaps mean 'give pleasure' (*mut'ah*); the form *tamatta'a* can refer to sexual intercourse and the noun *matā'* is often a euphemism for the sexual organ.

130 Metre: *basīt*.

131 An ancient formula said to or about the deceased.

132 Apparently a quotation but not identified; it is probably a parody by Abū l-Ḥakam on a hemistich by al-Mutanabbī: *Anā lladhī naẓara l-a'mā ilā adabī*, 'I am he whose accomplishments even the blind can see' (*Dīwān*, 483, translated in Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbī*, 72).

133 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

- 5 My family and friends have gone and said farewell  
 and I am left in a dark and dreary place, alone.  
 Among you, some people are distinguished above others,  
 but with us a master is not known from a slave.  
 If I have made you happy with my demise  
 if my death has pleased you and losing me has suited you,  
 Then Decius,<sup>134</sup> my pupil, will be my replacement for you;  
 I am happy with him, after my death, in jest and earnest.  
 I hereby appoint him, so that you know it!  
 (But soon I shall make him dwell with me.)
- 10 Do not despair of God's mercy after this,  
 for we must have God's mercy.

Abū l-Ḥakam is the author of the following work: His collected poetry, which was entitled *The path of lowliness (Naḥj al-waḍā'ah)*.<sup>135</sup>

### 15.9 Abū l-Majd ibn Abi l-Ḥakam<sup>1</sup>

Afḍal al-Dawlah Abū l-Majd Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ḥakam 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhili was a famous scientist, a celebrated scholar, an outstanding physician and an exemplary geometrician and astronomer. He knew about music.<sup>2</sup> He played the lute, the flute, percussion instruments and other instruments and was an excellent singer.<sup>3</sup> He built an organ and taught himself to play it perfectly. Abū l-Majd ibn Abī l-Ḥakam studied the art of medicine under his father and other masters distinguishing himself in both the theory and practice of medicine and became one of the great physicians of his time.

134 In Arabic Daqyūs; apparently a Christian, not identified. Also the Arabic form of the Roman emperor Decius, who according to legend persecuted 'the people of the Cave' (the seven Sleepers of Ephesus).

135 Its full, rhyming title was *Naḥj al-waḍā'ah li-ulī l-khalā'ah*, which may be translated as 'The Lowly Route for the Dissolute' (al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Maghrib)*, i: 291, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii: 124).

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

2 *Mūsīqī* refers to the theory of music.

3 MS A presents us with the interpolation 'al-ḍarb, plucked instrument(s)' after 'al-zamr, flute'.

Abū l-Majd lived during the reign of the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him – who had great regard for him, held him in high esteem and recognized his extensive knowledge and virtue. When al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn founded the great hospital, he put Abū l-Majd in charge of the medical college, granting him with a salary and allowances. He would visit [the hospital] frequently and treat the patients in it. Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Faraj, the oculist, who was known as al-Miṭwāʿ (‘The Obedient’) – may God have mercy upon him – told me that he had seen Abū l-Majd ibn Abī l-Ḥakam at the hospital, making his rounds, seeing the patients, examining their conditions and determining the importance of their cases. He would be accompanied by the overseers [of the wards] and the superintendents, who would immediately, without hesitation, execute his orders concerning the treatment of each patient and the management of the cases. After finishing with all this, Abū l-Majd would go to the castle and visit any state dignitaries who might happen to be indisposed. Finally, he would go and sit in the great hall of the hospital, which was abundantly furnished and carpeted, and engage in study; for Nūr al-Dīn – may God have mercy upon him – had donated a large number of medical works to the hospital, and these were kept in cupboards in the wall at the rear of that hall. Physicians and students [of medicine] would come there to Abū l-Majd and sit before him to discuss medical matters. He [also] taught his students [there] and would engage in discussion and study with them. After three hours with his books, he would make his way home. Abū l-Majd ibn Abī l-Ḥakam died in Damascus in the year 5[...]/11[...].

### 15.10 Ibn al-Budhūkh<sup>1</sup>

Abū Jaʿfar ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Budhūkh al-Qalaʿī al-Maghribī was an outstanding [physician], who possessed expert knowledge of simple and compound drugs. He had a keen eye for diagnosis and [knew] how to treat diseases.

Ibn al-Budhūkh resided in Damascus for many years. He had an apothecary shop in The Feltmakers’ Market (*al-Labbādīn*), where he treated both without notice and by appointment. He prepared many compound drugs, which he made of various kinds of electuaries, pastilles, powders, and the like. These he sold, much to the benefit of the population.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:28, where the name is vowelled as Ibn al-Baddūkh. Al-Ṣafadī also included him in his biographical work on the blind; see al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-himyān*, 220–221.

Ibn al-Budhūkh was interested in books on medicine, reading them carefully to find out what the ancients had said about the characteristics and the treatment of diseases. He wrote a commentary on a number of words and passages in *The Canon* by Ibn Sīnā. In addition, he took an interest in the science of Hadith. He also composed poetry: he is the author of many verses in the *rajaz* metre, but most of his poetry is weak and limp.

Ibn al-Budhūkh lived a long life, but in old age his ability to walk weakened to such an extent that he could no longer go to his shop unless he was carried there on a litter. Toward the end of his life he became blind from cataracts. This was caused by [the fact] that he had nourished himself with large amounts of milk in order to regulate his bodily humours. He died in Damascus in the year 575 or 576 [1179 or 1180].

Among the poetry of Ibn al-Budhūkh are the following lines from a long poem on death and the hereafter:<sup>2</sup>

O Lord, make good deeds easy for me so that I can do them  
 for mankind, with my being and my capability!  
 For the grave is a door to the Abode of Permanence, and he who  
 plants the fruits of desires for the Good will be a reaper.<sup>3</sup>  
 A man's best companion is piety that accompanies him,  
 and good deeds done to every human being.  
 O Lord of Glory and Magnanimity, O my hope,  
 seal [my life] with good deeds, declaring God's unity, and faith!  
 5 If, my Lord, an erring man, or rather one who obeys Thee,  
 does not implore Thee, who will help a sinner, an evildoer?  
 Being in the decade of the eighties, my Lord, has robbed me  
 of the lights of my eyes, my hearing, and then my teeth;  
 I cannot stand without being supported  
 on two sides. My complaint is to a Merciful One!  
 Of the delights that can be enjoyed no delight  
 is left to me but listening to the Qur'an being recited  
 Or explained, or to commentaries on the Hadith, and what  
 pertains to medicine, or banter with friends;  
 10 For an old man's longevity leads to senility  
 that degrades him, or blindness, or chronic illness.  
 Thus his death is a protection, since he cannot avoid  
 dying; how long should he spared for (yet more) diminishing?

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *basīf*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:29 (lines 1–5).

<sup>3</sup> The syntax is strange, as is the sense (one does not plant fruits).



We seek refuge in God from an evil life and from  
 an evil death, from the evil of men and jinn.<sup>4</sup>  
 Old men are like trees that turn to firewood:  
 no leaves or twigs can be expected from them.  
 There remains no usefulness in an old man, except experience  
 and sound opinion, purified by the length of times.  
 15 O Creator of creatures, who has no partner, I have come  
 as a guest so that Thou mayest regale me with a meal of forgiveness.  
 My Lord, my only good work is professing Thine Unity,  
 so seal (my life) with it graciously, O best giver of grace!

He composed the following verses in praise of the works of Galen:<sup>5</sup>

How noble, books by Galen! that comprise  
 what Hippocrates and those in the past said, in antiquity,  
 Such as Dioscurides, whose knowledge of medication  
 was acknowledged by physicians in all nations.  
 Medicine thus spread from these two, together with Hippocrates,  
 after them, as light spreads in the dark.  
 Thoughts are nourished by<sup>6</sup> their medical knowledge, shining:  
 one sees the light of healing in the darkness of disease.  
 One does not desire anyone else in curing an illness,  
 for the existence of such others in medicine is like non-existence,  
 For they perfected what they founded, so  
 for them completion by others is not needed,  
 Except for medication: its benefits cannot be counted  
 and its number<sup>7</sup> is, in quantity, among Arabs and non-Arabs,  
 As the number of the grasses,<sup>8</sup> all the plants of the earth;  
 who can count all the (grains of) sand and hills?  
 Every day one sees on earth a miracle  
 of experiences, (God's) signs, and wisdom.

4 Note the unusual and faulty rhyme (-*ānnī* instead of -*ānī*).

5 Metre: *basīṭ*.

6 Müller and Riḍā: 'emulate, follow' (*taqtadī* instead of *taghtadhī*), which is a possible alternative.

7 Apparently the number of different kinds of medication.

8 In similar contexts denoting multitude *nujūm* normally means 'stars', but here the following *nabāti l-arḍ* requires that *nujūm* here means 'herbs, grasses'.

Ibn al-Budhūkh is the author of the following books:

1. A commentary on the *Book of Aphorisms* by Hippocrates: a poem in *rajaz* metre (*S. kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>9</sup>
2. A commentary on the *Book of Prognosis* [*Prognosticon*] by Hippocrates: a poem in the metre *rajaz* (*S. kitāb taqdimat al-maʿrifah li-Abuqrāt*).
3. The treasure of the wise with regard to coitus, (*K. dhakhīrat al-alibbāʾ fi l-bāʾ*),<sup>10</sup> a work that is unique of its kind.
4. Marginal notes on certain words and passages in *The Canon* by Ibn Sīnā (*Ḥawāshī ʿalā kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).

### 15.11 Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Jilyānī<sup>1</sup>

[15.11.1]

Ḥakīm al-Zamān Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥas-sān al-Ghassānī al-Andalusī al-Jilyānī was [one of] the outstanding personalities of his time [in his capacity] as a practitioner of both the art of medicine and ophthalmology. He was skilled in literature and the art of poetry and composed figurative poems. He was a native of Andalusia, but migrated to Damascus, in Syria, where he lived for the remainder of his very long life. Ḥakīm al-Zamān kept a shop in The Feltmakers' Market (*al-Labbādīn*) where he practised medicine. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb [i.e. Saladin] had a good opinion of him and showed him great respect. In return Ḥakīm al-Zamān composed many figurative poems for him, He also wrote books for [his ruler], receiving in consequence many benefits and tokens of appreciation. Moreover, Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim was interested in alchemy.

[15.11.2]

When he died in Damascus in the year 600/1203–1204, Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim left a son named ʿAbd al-Muʿmin ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim. The son was an oculist as well. The latter also wrote poetry and composed figurative poems

9 He means: 'A commentary on the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, in the form of an *urjūzah* (i.e., versified in *rajaz* metre, using paired rhyme).'

10 The Arabic has *bāh*, but the rhyme requires *bāʾ*, which is correct even though less common than *bāʾah*.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See on him al-Jilyānī al-Andalusī, *Tadbij*; and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xix:224–226, with more references.

He was oculist to al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Faṭḥ Mūsā ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, and died in Edessa in the 620s/1220s or shortly thereafter.

The following is an example of the poetry of Ḥakīm al-Zamān ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Jilyānī, which I have copied from a manuscript in his own handwriting. I also heard it from my father who said: ‘the physician ʿAbd al-Muʿmin, who had had it from his celebrated father ʿAbd al-Munʿim, recited [this verse] to me’. It was composed to extol [the virtues of] Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb [i.e. Saladin]. It was sent to him from the city of Damascus to his camp, al-Manṣūr, on the outskirts of Acre, when he was besieging the Franks who were themselves besieging the city. The *qaṣīdah* entitled *The Jewelled Precious Gift*, was offered to him in the month of Ṣafar of the year 587 [March 1191].<sup>2</sup>

[15.11.2.1]

A vigorous, astute man’s comfort lies in embarking boldly upon grave matters,

seeking glory or fighting injustice.

Augustness is not attained by those who fear a blow

and slacken the rein, away from the striking of clashing<sup>3</sup> swords.

Which clarity did not occur after a difficulty?

Which expansion did not appear after a constricting crisis?

It is the proudest ambition that observes a goal

and aims at it with the bows of firm resolve.

5 No troop departed that did not connect with loftiness,

no energetic man rested who had not connected with swords.

He who walks in contemptible ways is not alive,

he who perishes in noble acts is not dead.

All people must depart, but among them

are men whose traces stay like landmarks,

Through the glory of power, the insight of vision,

the liveliness of spirit, and the broadness of compassion:

2 Metre: *ṭawīl*. The poem was composed at a time when Saladin had to cope with the arrival of the forces of the Third Crusade and the ensuing siege of ʿAkkā (Acre, Akko), which had been taken by Saladin in 1187 but fell to the Franks in July 1191. The poem refers to several battles and naval encounters.

3 Reading *ṣawādim*, even though *ṣawārim* (‘cutting swords’) sounds more normal, to avoid repetition of the rhyme in line 5 (but prosodists allow such repetition if one rhyme uses a definite and the other an indefinite form, as here).

- Shares of perfection that show marvels  
 in the mirror of a person who has not disappeared among living  
 beings.
- 10 A man is not able to confer distinction upon himself;  
 rather, the distinction is an allotment from a Merciful One.  
 The greatest of eminent people is he who rules with his faculties  
 and leads with his outstripping nature the strongest of the mighty.  
 Do you think that the celestial spheres ever contained a king like Yūsuf<sup>4</sup>  
 among the hosts that lived and passed in ancient times?  
 There is nothing like a realm that he ruled in recent times,  
 there is nothing like a war such as he waged in epic battles.  
 O builder of the abode of justice in the narrow pass(?)<sup>5</sup> of war  
 in a river in which the blood of the oppressors is spilled,<sup>6</sup>
- 15 I give my life in ransom for you, who raise and build your Religion,  
 my life for you, who are a destroyer and demolisher of your oppon-  
 ent.  
 For you are the one who awoke the party of Muḥammad  
 in a jihad when they were heedless as if asleep,  
 And you fought for the Faith, not because of personal grudges,  
 and you posted armies for the sake of God's pleasure, not for gain.  
 In truth, you will not cease to pitch your pavilions  
 where the shock of sharp-pointed spears is entangled,<sup>7</sup>  
 While on all sides in the raised dust there is a stream of cries for help<sup>8</sup>  
 like the waves of a deep sea that dashes at the hills,
- 20 And many a ship setting sail, its ropes and sail (being)  
 bridle and a fluttering banner on the lance of a sudden attacker.  
 So how could your tents anchor there, when ships  
 of tall warriors moved on the seas?  
 No one remained who did not meet the spearheads;  
 no one remained except those protecting themselves with the ships'  
 bows.<sup>9</sup>

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4 Saladin.

5 Reading *ma'ziq*, which makes a little more sense than *māriq* (L B M R), 'straying, heretic, renegade; piercing'.

6 Translation uncertain; see note to Arabic text.

7 Reading and translation uncertain.

8 Translation uncertain.

9 *Ḥayāzīm* (more often *ḥayāzīm*) 'chests' or 'bows (of boats)'.

There was no tent rope but an intrepid fighter would rush there,  
 there was no tent peg but a stubborn fighter would stand firm there.<sup>10</sup>  
 Your home, while heroes are aroused before it,  
 is an abode (*maqarr*) of joy in a place from which misdeeds flee  
 (*mafarr*),  
 25 Because while they slip, you are seated on  
 a throne of stability with secure legs,  
 And when they attack, you, amidst them, are snatching  
 the heads<sup>11</sup> of the leader of troops of horse, shaking their bits.<sup>12</sup>  
 You are the Sovereign, who Supports<sup>13</sup> Truth assiduously,  
 and who thinks the onslaught of war's thorns the bed of soft  
 women.<sup>14</sup>  
 Is fighting in love with you or are you in love  
 with it, united perpetually like two lovers?  
 In winter and summer we never cease seeing you,  
 evening and morning, as constant as the muezzin's call.  
 30 You were active during the midday heat – people say: He never has a  
 siesta!  
 And up all night – people say: He never sleeps!  
 You made Rome shudder when you violated the land of the Franks:  
 they became the scum on the torrents of defeats.  
 You chased them<sup>15</sup> to the top of the mounds<sup>16</sup> as if they were  
 lizards (*ḍibāb*) on rocks, scared away by the ... (*aḍbāb*)<sup>17</sup> of a  
 crusher.

10 Syntax and sense not wholly clear. L has *muqdimun*, but the parallel with the second hemistich demands reading *muqdimin*, the preceding word being a *maṣdar* rather than a finite verb.

11 Literally, 'the necks'. The plural is odd, with the following *kabīr* being singular.

12 In this line every word except *fihim* rhymes with the corresponding word in the previous line and has the same or nearly the same pattern (*hafaw/saṭaw*, *jālisun/khālīsun*, *'alā/tulā*, *muṭma'inni/murjaḥinni*, *qawā'im/shakā'im*); the second word in the last hemistich should therefore rhyme with *thabātin*, the obvious choice being *thubātin* (plural of *thubah*, 'troop of horsemen') rather than what is found in L, B, or the editions.

13 *al-malik al-nāṣir*: alluding to Saladin's honorific name al-Malik al-Nāṣir.

14 The somewhat strange coupling of 'onslaught' and 'bed' is based on a play on words (*dahm/mahd*).

15 LB M R and N have *kadadtahum*, editorially glossed in R as 'you chased them', which is an unusual sense; the following *kudan* (root *κDW/Y*) suggests one could read *kadaytahum*, 'you detained them'.

16 *Tilāl*, pl. of *tall*, 'tell, man-made mound'.

17 The meaning of *aḍbāb* is unknown. Perhaps it is a variant of *ḍibāb*, pl. of *ḍabīb*, 'point

You enabled them, after the betrayal of their kings,  
 so you were, as it were, hiding their ignominy.  
 You were loyal to them, so that they loved you as an aggressor  
 to them. Loyalty to a covenant is the shackle of an adversary.  
 35 Then they betrayed, they failed, they convened, they blamed one  
 another,  
 and said, We suffered a setback because crimes were committed.  
 Saladin was singled out with God's victorious support since he came  
 with a sound heart, merciful to the peaceful.  
 They put down inside the temples<sup>18</sup> an image  
 of you, believing in it as they believe in the Trinity.  
 A priest professes belief in it, utters incantations describing it  
 and writes it down as a cure on amulets.  
 A man will soon be requited for his deed:  
 blessed be he who is steadfast, blighted be the sinner!  
 40 A noble, generous man may be corrupted by his companion  
 and the power of a resolute man may weaken through delusion.  
 When reproach from a fool to a man on the right path persists  
 he fancies the right path to be in the reproacher's foolishness.  
 I am amazed that a human being is conceited, when  
 he lives in defective conditions, a partner of grazing beasts.  
 He sees that the essence of the soul is pure and is proud,  
 heedless of the accidents that adhere to the body.  
 The debts of necessity are requisitioned every moment  
 and lives are cut off in the midst of losses.  
 45 And everyone is deluded by his love of life  
 and the hiddenness of the ends tempts him to what is nearest.<sup>19</sup>  
 He who amasses wealth will not profit from it,  
 just as the cupping glass sucks from the incised skin.<sup>20</sup>  
 It overflows and it preserves what it has put into it<sup>21</sup>  
 to be sipped by a parched one or ...<sup>22</sup>

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of a sword' (a very rare word). Alternatively, one could read *iḏbāb*, 'the grasping, taking possession'.

18 *Hayākil*, not the normal Arabic word for 'churches', could also mean 'altars'.

19 *Al-adnā*, alluding to its feminine counterpart *al-dunyā*, 'this world'.

20 The sense seems to be: 'just as the cupping glass does not derive any profit from the blood it sucks'.

21 The meaning of *muhdifan* is not clear ('approaching, happening?').

22 The meaning of *li-rashaḡati ṣādīmī* ('the throw of a striker?') is not clear.

He who knows the world knows for certain that it is  
 the riding animal of the vigilant and the objective of a dreamer.  
 How good, that someone strives on the paths of obedience to God,  
 to secure (*ilāf*) justice and annihilate (*itlāf*) the unjust!  
 50 O conquerer (*fātih*) of Jerusalem! Your sword is a key that opens (*mif-  
 taḥ*)  
 the lock of Guidance and locks the gate of sins.  
 You imposed your rule on the two opposites, unopposed;  
 you dealt expertly with the fighters in the war on opposite sides:  
 You made Turks (*turkan*) go up on the backs of swift horses  
 and made Unbelief (*shirkān*) go down into the bellies of vultures,  
 On the morning when you made the white swords strike fire on  
 the Byzantines,<sup>23</sup> and no forearm of theirs was left on wrists;<sup>24</sup>  
 And when they advanced, like sand impossible to count,  
 to the mound of Acre, like locusts in heaps,  
 55 And like bees, their hive tightly packed, that swooped  
 from the mound, feared like ...<sup>25</sup>  
 It was as if on the mound of Acre there was a hunting ground  
 where herds of grazing beasts were rounded up:  
 One herd was broken and had perished in trenches,  
 another herd was worn out, overwhelmed, in places of peril.  
 So many kings of theirs had come to it in a multitude,  
 but it increased them in decrease, with an increase of non-being.  
 They crossed from Spain<sup>26</sup> the middle of a brimful sea,  
 and from great Rome, through rugged mountain passes,  
 60 But they were terrified by the two forces, sailing and trotting,  
 and they dissolved through the two edges of a crushing sword of  
 yours.  
 You washed their embroidery with green stripes  
 with a flood of poured-out blood, dripping red.

23 Āl Aṣfar, more commonly Banū l-Aṣfar, refers to the Byzantines; various explanations of the phrase are given: either because one of their ancestors was called al-Aṣfar, or because they are pale (*aṣfar*).

24 An untranslatable play on two meanings of *zand*: 'fire stick' (device for making fire by means of friction) and 'forearm'.

25 The meaning of *marādīm* (or *murādīm* as in L) is unclear.

26 The forms Isbān (or Asbān) and Ashbān are unusual; 'al-Andalus' would have been less appropriate since it normally refers to Islamic Spain. L has Athbān or Ithbān, which may have been intended in view of the play on words with the following *athbāj*.

If the field would bring forth souls they would grow ripe  
 from what flowed into it from entrails and throats:  
 A well of kidneys, its water drawn by the ropes of a lance,  
 a waterhole of necks, flowing through the pipe of a sword,  
 While ribs of horsemen served as horse-shoes for hooves  
 and head of leaders as covers for finger-joints.  
 65 Thus let the jewel of speech be made an adornment, a gift  
 to a sagacious king such as Yūsuf,<sup>27</sup>  
 A man whose mind casts forth thoughts like shooting stars  
 that rend the gloomy darkness of obscure problems.  
 His fine nature respects fine poetry,<sup>28</sup>  
 just as thick-necked lions respect his might.  
 Someone who describes him will adopt the splendour of his character,  
 just as his gifts have adopted the character of heavy rainclouds.  
 I never cease to unveil brides decorated with his jewels,<sup>29</sup>  
 with whom people of understanding are feasting,  
 70 With a well-ordered detailed exposition, cheerful,  
 like the gap teeth of luminous smiling mouths:<sup>30</sup>  
 Motifs dazzling like the magic in the spell of a diviner (*'aqd nāzir*),  
 and expressions like gold beads on the necklace of a stringer (*'iqd  
 nāzim*).  
 It rises above the lowest poetry to the summit of wisdom  
 and with bright thought are exalted above the path of an aimless  
 wanderer.<sup>31</sup>  
 With the memory of it the utterances of those in the past will be forgot-  
 ten  
 and it will bring forth blossom spreading in all regions,  
 Just as this matter spread among mankind, making a mockery  
 of the Tubba' of the Arabs and the Kistrā of the non-Arabs.<sup>32</sup>

27 The poem's title (*al-Tuḥfah al-jawhariyyah*, 'The Jewelled Precious Gift') is derived from this line. Yūsuf is Saladin.

28 Reading *yahābu* and *riqqatu* (rather than *yuhābu* and *riqqata* as in L).

29 The 'brides' are a metaphor for the poet's odes on Saladin, or the lines of the present poem.

30 Gap teeth are often praised in Arabic poetry.

31 The line alludes to a famous saying attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad ('Some poetry is wisdom') and to the condemnation in the Qur'an (Q al-Shu'arā' 26:225) of poets «*who wander aimlessly in every valley*».

32 'This matter' refers to Saladin and his exploits (*amr* meaning not only 'matter, affair' but also 'command, authority'). Tubba' was the title of the pre-Islamic South-Arabian kings of Ḥimyar; Kistrā is the Arabic version of Khusraw (Greek Chosroes), which became the



- 75 So I consider my eulogy on him as a religious duty, while avoiding  
eulogy on others just as one avoids incest with one's kin.  
It is not a plea for favours, rather a salutation from a thankful one,  
an eternal tribute (*ta'bīd*) to his works and a support (*ta'yīd*) of a man  
of resolve.  
O you, who are the best custodian of the best religious community,  
one who defends it from every opposing band:  
Hold fast unto the rope of God and cling to it,<sup>33</sup>  
for there is none but He who gives victory to a protector;  
Hold fast unto Him who has given you what you hoped for  
and who will give you what you hope for as a happy conclusion.  
80 I<sup>34</sup> send this, while my yearning precedes the riders who convey it,  
to a gathering in which the desires of every comer are found.  
(You who are) far-reaching, a paradise of boons, a fire to aggressors,  
beneficial to the Right Guidance,<sup>35</sup> who avenges every slain one:<sup>36</sup>  
A greeting on that place where  
the pillar of noble and grave matters is erected!<sup>37</sup>

[15.11.2.2]

He also said:<sup>38</sup>

A confidential talk with him allowed him some recovery  
and he revealed the agonies that he had concealed.  
When the eye of a sick person sees his physician  
he cannot help indicating to him his ailment.

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generic name for the pre-Islamic Sasanid emperors. The word for 'non-Arabs', *a'ajim*, very often refers specifically to the Persians.

33 cf. Q Āl 'Imrān 3:103, 112.

34 Reading a 1st person singular, rather than a 2nd person as in L: the poet speaks about his poem.

35 Islam.

36 Literally, 'who slakes the thirst of every hovering screech owl': a reference to the ancient belief that the soul of someone slain but whose blood is not avenged appears over his grave in the shape of a screech owl (*ṣadā*, a word that also means 'thirst'). This line contains five internal rhymes (*madā*, *jadā*, *'adā*, *hudā*, *ṣadā*).

37 The last word of the poem echoes its first rhyme word. In the right margin of MS R 171b the copyist adds more poetry, copied from one of al-Jilyānī's collections, *Dīwān al-ḥikam wa-maydān al-kalīm* (or *al-kilām*): eight lines in *basīṭ* (-ū/īū), five lines in *ṭawīl* (-'ā). See in Appendix A11.13 and A11.14.

38 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

So many a man in love who clothes himself with the cloak of his passion  
 and wraps himself in the robe of his illness  
 Was made a captive by a loved one in whose abundant beauty he lost  
 himself,  
 and who nearly blinded eyes enamoured of his splendour!  
 He has no other in whom refuge can be taken. He who is encompassed  
 by his love (*ḥawāhu ḥawāhū*) will never leave its enclosure (*ḥiwā'ihū*).

He also said:<sup>39</sup>

It is to the market of my yearning (*sūqi shawqī*) that caravans carry their  
 wares,  
 it is from the flood of my tears that the clouds rain copiously.  
 The lightning only pulsates from my longing,  
 the thunder only laments because of my moaning.  
 You have gone far away but no endurance is present in my heart,  
 nor is remembrance absent from my heart.  
 Every moment I am looking out for you,  
 everywhere there is someone reproaching me on account of you.  
 Would that I knew who you will befriend after I have gone –  
 for now that you have gone my only friend is my passion.

He also said:<sup>40</sup>

I devoted much time to medicine, so that  
 I would not have to meet princes with begging.  
 The right course for me was  
 to preserve my soul<sup>41</sup> by degrading myself.  
 The body must have a livelihood.  
 so take it from the side of moderation;  
 Approach glory in self-abasement,  
 flee from humiliation in noble deeds.

[15.11.2.3]

He also said:<sup>42</sup>

39 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:276.

40 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basīf*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:409, al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xix:226.

41 Or 'myself'.

42 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basīf*.

You who dislikes the embrocation<sup>43</sup> when he sees  
 it is better<sup>44</sup> than what he purchased:  
 Be patient for forty days and it will be  
 softer to the body than anything else.  
 He who wants something will not be right  
 until his powers are able to do what he desires.

He also said:<sup>45</sup>

A leading person arrived. They said,  
 'Seek refuge in someone like him!'  
 I replied to those present around me,  
 'Is it possible for this man to die?'  
 'Yes', they said. 'He is dew', I said,  
 'which makes thirsty those that think it is a drizzle.'  
 He who seeks refuge with transitory things is humbled.  
 strong is he who seeks refuge with the Pre-existing One.

He also said:<sup>46</sup>

If someone does not ask about you, don't ask  
 about him, even though he has a powerful rank (*nafar*);  
 Be a man who, whenever a need calls him  
 to being humbled, shies away (*nafar*).

He also said:<sup>47</sup>

Do not consent to sign a marriage contract  
 and spare yourself hurrying it through (*tarwāj*) by deferring the mat-  
 ter.  
 And when you mention a day for a betrothal,  
 let it be a betrothal without a marriage (*tazwāj*).

43 Or 'wiping', 'rubbing' (the more common terms for rubbing and massage are *dalk* and *ghamz*).

44 It is not clear why it should be disliked if it is better. Perhaps instead of *aḥsan* ('better', thus in all sources) one should read *akhshan* ('rougher'), which provides a contrast with *an'am* ('pleasanter, softer') in the next line.

45 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basī*.

46 Metre: *sarī*.

47 Metre: *khafif*.

He also said:<sup>48</sup>

They said, 'We see people who have risen high with kings  
 though they have no high ambition or piety.  
 You have a high ambition in excellence,  
 so why are you thirsty while they have sipped from glory?'  
 I replied, 'They sold their souls and bought for a price,  
 while I preserved my soul and did not debase myself as they did.  
 A monkey is sometimes honoured, when one is delighted by its base-  
 ness,  
 and a lion is sometimes despised for its excessive pride.'

[15.11.3]

Ḥakīm al-Zamān 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Jilyānī is the author of works in both verse and prose [lit. in a free form] comprising ten collections:<sup>49</sup>

1. An anthology of maxims and an arena of [philosophical] sayings (*Dīwān al-ḥikam wa-maydān al-kalim*), which includes the explanation of everything that is difficult to comprehend, all the truths that are acquired by total devotion to the practice and perseverance of a virtuous life and all the things that become evident from entering on the path of virtue. Written in verse.<sup>50</sup>
2. An anthology on what arouses the desire for the heavenly host (*Dīwān al-mushawwiqāt ilā l-mala' al-a'lā*). Written in verse.
3. An anthology on proper conduct (*Dīwān adab al-sulūk*), written in prose, containing a critical reflection on philosophical sayings.
4. On the marvel of divine inspiration (*K. nawādir al-waḥy*), which includes [some] philosophical sayings, in prose, about the meaning of obscure passages from the blessed Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet, may God's most excellent grace be upon him and may he be granted salvation.
5. On accurate speculation (*K. taḥrīr al-naẓar*); it contains individual expressions of wisdom on simple and complex matters, on powers and movements.

48 Metre: *basīṭ*. In al-Sha'ār, *Qalā'id*, iii:116; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:409; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xix:226; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:276 (lines 1, 4).

49 All of these works, with the possible exception of no. 7, seem to have been lost for posterity.

50 An edition of this treatise, ed. by Fakhrī Ṣāliḥ Sa'īd, was published in Beirut by al-Maṭba'ah al-Bulisiyyah in 1975, but unavailable for study.

6. On the secret of rhetoric and the skill of rhetorical excellence in the analysis of speech (*K. sirr al-balāghah wa-šanā'i' al-badī' fī faṣl al-khitāb*).<sup>51</sup>
7. An anthology of good tidings and [other] matters related to the holy city (*Dīwān al-mubashshirāt wa-l-qudsiyyāt*); [partly] in verse, [partly] ornamented [*tadbīj*]<sup>52</sup> and [partly] in prose, which comprises a description of the wars and current conquests of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abī l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, the conqueror of the city of Jerusalem in the year 583/1187.<sup>53</sup>
8. An anthology of different kinds of poetry: *ghazal*, *tashbīb*, *muwashshah*, *dūbayt*, and related forms (*Dīwān al-ghazal wa-l-tashbīb wa-l-muwashshahāt wa-l-dūbaytī wa-mā yattaṣilu bihi manẓūman*).
9. Dīwān in verse of parables, riddles, allegories, enigmas, ecphrastic epigrams, auguries and all kinds of genres (*Dīwān tashbīhāt wa-alghāz wa-rumūz wa-aḥājī wa-awṣāf wa-zajriyyāt wa-aghraḍ shattā manẓūman*).
10. Dīwān on the art of letter writing, speeches on many different subjects, many kinds of sermons, preambles (of books and epistles) and invocations (*Dīwān tarassul wa-mukhāṭabāt fī ma'ānī kathīrah wa-aṣnāf min al-khuṭab wa-l-ṣudūr wa-l-ad'iyah*).

Ḥakīm al-Zamān 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Jilyānī also composed the following works:

11. The plains of praise and the garden of memorable and glorious deeds (*K. al-manādīh al-mamādīh wa-rawḍat al-ma'āthir wa-l-mafākhir*), on the qualities and characteristics of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, written in the year 569/1172.
12. Explanatory remarks on medicine and recipes for compound remedies (*Ta'ālīq fī l-ṭibb wa-ṣifāt adwiyah murakkabah*).

51 *Faṣl al-khitāb* is a Qur'anic expression (Q Ṣād 38:20) sometimes translated as 'decisive speech'.

52 The term *tadbīj* probably refers to 'emblematic poetry', verse written in the shape of trees and intricate patterns, as in the recent colourful edition of al-Jilyānī al-Andalusī's *Tadbīj*, with odes on Saladin.

53 The book, entitled *al-Mubashshirāt wa-l-Qudsiyyāt*, is likely to have been similar to the book by al-Jilyānī that was edited in 2010 by Kamāl Abū Dīb and Dalāl Bakhsh as *Dīwān al-tadbīj* (see al-Jilyānī al-Andalusī, *Tadbīj*). The 1989 edition of *al-Mubashshirāt wa-l-Qudsiyyāt*, edited by 'Abd al-Jalīl Ḥasan 'Abd al-Mahdī, was not available for comparison (see al-Jilyānī al-Andalusī, *al-Mubashshirāt*). *Al-Qudsiyyāt* refers to al-Quds, i.e., Jerusalem.

### 15.12 Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Waqqār<sup>1</sup>

The most honourable and learned shaykh Abū l-Faḍl Ismāʿīl ibn Abī l-Waqqār was a native of al-Maʿarrāh, but settled in Damascus. He travelled to Baghdad, where he studied under the most distinguished physicians and also met with a group of scholars from whom he acquired [further] knowledge. Subsequently, he returned to Damascus, where he became outstanding in both medical theory and practice. He was a good and benevolent person with fine manners who enjoyed a good reputation and was highly intelligent.

Abū l-Faḍl was in the service of the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī,<sup>2</sup> who depended on him as a physician, and kept him by his side wherever he went. The Sultan bestowed many gifts upon him, with the result that he became very wealthy. He died while staying in Aleppo with the Sultan Nūr al-Dīn in the first decade of the month Rabīʿ I of the year 554 [last week of March 1159].

### 15.13 Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh<sup>1</sup>

The learned shaykh Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Abī ʿAbd Allāh ʿĪsā ibn Hibat Allāh al-Naqqāsh, Baghdad born and bred, was a leading authority on Arabic language and literature and [also] spoke Persian. He devoted himself to the art of medicine, and for some time was constantly in the company of Amīn al-Dawlah Hibat Allāh ibn Ṣāʿid ibn al-Tilmīdh.<sup>2</sup> He was also interested in the

1 This biography is missing in Versions 1 and 2, but it can be found in Version 3. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

2 Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, Abū l-Qāsim al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn, was born 511/1118 and died 569/1174 in Damascus, Syria. He was a Muslim ruler who reorganized the armies of Syria and laid the foundations for the success of Saladin. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 190–191.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him. He was, however, the teacher of the physicians Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān, Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥājib, and Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī. Their respective biographies are found in Chs. 23, 24, and 14.

2 Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan Hibat Allāh ibn Ṣāʿid ibn al-Tilmīdh (466–561/1073–1165) was a Syriac Christian physician, pharmacist, poet, musician and calligrapher. Ibn al-Tilmīdh worked at the ʿAḡḡudī hospital in Baghdad, where he eventually became its chief physician as well as court physician to the caliph al-Mustaḍī bi-Amr Allāh (d. 576/1180). He was also in charge of licensing physicians in Baghdad. He mastered the Arabic, Persian, Greek and Syriac languages. He compiled several medical works, the most influential being *Al-Aqrābādihīn al-Kabīr*, a pharmacopeia which became the standard pharmacological work

science of Hadith, which he studied in Baghdad as a pupil of Abū l-Qāsim ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, whom he quoted as an authority. The judge ‘Umar ibn al-Qurashī, in turn, studied Hadith under Ibn al-Naqqāsh, and quoted one of his hadiths in his collection.

Ibn al-Naqqāsh’s father, Abū ‘Abd Allāh ‘Īsā ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Naqqāsh, was a cloth merchant and a man of letters as well. ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid al-Iṣbahānī<sup>3</sup> says in his *Book of the Unbored Pearl*: ‘Muhadhhab al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Naqqāsh [once] recited to me a poem by his father’:<sup>4</sup>

When an old man finds there is  
some energy in him, it means that death is hiding:  
Don’t you see that the light of a lamp  
flickers before it dies down?<sup>5</sup>

He continues [quoting al-Kātib al-Iṣbahānī]: ‘After returning from my journey to Isfahan I met Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Naqqāsh in Baghdad, where he died – may God have mercy upon him – on the twentieth day of the month Jumādā II of the year 544 [25 October 1149]’. He further adds: ‘I read the following poem in the handwriting of al-Sam‘ānī.<sup>6</sup> Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Naqqāsh recited to me these lines composed by himself’:<sup>7</sup>

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- in the hospitals of the medieval Islamic civilization, superseding an earlier work by Sābūr ibn Sahl. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ibn al-Tilmīdh’ (M. Meyerhof); Kahl, *The dispensatory*; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 143; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā*, 340–342. This physician has an entry in Ch. 10.64.
- 3 ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣbahānī (d. 597/1201) was *kātib* (scribe) to the sultans Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He is the author of a celebrated literary anthology: *Kharīdat al-qaṣr wa-jarīdat ahl al-‘aṣr*. See amongst others *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘‘Imād al-Dīn’ (H. Massé); Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 103; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 7:84–100 (no. 842).
- 4 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, iii:50; Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:277; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:165; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:527–528. The poem is also quoted above, Ch. 10.64.19.1.
- 5 For the common medical topos of old age and oil lamps, see Niebyl, ‘Old Age’.
- 6 Al-Sam‘ānī. He is Abū Sa‘d (incorrectly Sa‘īd) ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Muẓaffar (al-)Manṣūr al-Tamīmī al-Marwazī al-Shafī‘ī, Tāj al-Islām (al-Dīn) Qiwām al-Dīn, also known as Ibn al-Sam‘ānī (Sam‘ān/Sim‘ān, in the long, incomplete genealogy, being a branch of the tribe of Tamīm). He was born in Merv on Monday, 21 Sha‘bān 506 [10 February 1113] and died there on Monday, 1 Rabī‘ 1 562 [26 December 1166]. Important Arabic biographer. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Sam‘ānī’ (R. Sellheim).
- 7 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-‘Irāq)*, III, i:50; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:165–166; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:527–528.

God granted me prosperity, so I was true to<sup>8</sup> those  
 as far as I was able, when they had not been granted it.  
 Afterwards I became poor and I apologised to them  
 as an impoverished friend apologises.  
 If they thanked me for it in the past,  
 they will excuse me in what remains.

The author adds, 'He also recited to me this epigram by himself':<sup>9</sup>

And thus is the Chief, for he is  
 to me as is my spirit.  
 I reproached, with harsh words,<sup>10</sup>  
 his impudence, after decency.<sup>11</sup>  
 I was just towards him, but he said to me,  
 'That's enough! You are provoking.'  
 How can I be consoled now that he has taken  
 possession of my soul, while I have not commanded him?  
 He is a moon that we see, even when it is new,<sup>12</sup>  
 as when it is fourteen days old.  
 He gazes with two wide-open eyes, making one sick  
 with their sickness,<sup>13</sup> and curing too.  
 When he smiles in the darkness  
 at night you would attest that the dawn is breaking;  
 And with the roses of his cheeks and the beauty  
 of his cheek-down (*'idhār*) my excuse (*'udhr*) holds.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say: When Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh arrived in Damascus, he settled there and practised medicine. He was singularly esteemed in his time in the art of medicine, and held a salon where physicians

8 *Kharīdah*, *Wāfi*, and *Fawāt* all have *fā-wāsaytu*, 'I comforted', which may have been the original.

9 Metre: *kāmil murāffal*. Al-Iṣbahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-Trāq*), III, i:51; Ibn Shākīr, *Fawāt*, iii:165; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii:528.

10 Connecting *dalf* with *adlafa*, 'speaking harshly', although this sense of *dalf* (normally 'walking slowly') is not attested.

11 There is a play on the literal meanings of *tahattuk* and *sitr*, 'rending, ripping, discovering' and 'veiling', respectively (also figuratively, of reputations etc.).

12 Literally, 'when it is in hiding', referring to the last night of the lunar month.

13 A reference to the languid, 'sick' looks of the eyes of the beloved, much praised in love poetry.



gathered. Once he travelled to Egypt and stayed for some time in Cairo, but afterwards he returned to Damascus and remained there until his death. He served as physician to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, who respected him greatly. In addition, possessing as he did a good epistolary style, he handled much of Nūr al-Dīn's correspondence with regional officials.

For many years, Ibn al-Naqqāsh worked in the great hospital in Damascus, which had been founded by Nūr al-Dīn. The emir Muʿayyid al-Dawlah Abū l-Muẓaffar Usāmah ibn Munqidh<sup>14</sup> wrote Ibn al-Naqqāsh to ask him for some balm-tree oil:<sup>15</sup>

My knees are at the service of al-Muhadhhab in  
 matters of science, philosophy, and eloquence.  
 But they complain of the effect of a long life  
 and a length of time, in their weakness.  
 So they are in need of something to give them the strength  
 to walk, such as balm.  
 All this will be a comfort. Someone who is past  
 eighty has no power to stand up.  
 A wish to live after a long life –  
 but death is a man's final destination.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh sent the oil as requested. He remained in the service of Nūr al-Dīn, until [the latter] died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus [in the month of] Shawwāl of the year 569 [May 1174]. Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh subsequently entered the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb [i.e. Saladin], when the latter took control of Damascus. As Saladin's physician, he enjoyed [the ruler's] favour. Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh was a very kind man who performed many good deeds. He was a private person, and did not marry or leave offspring. He passed away – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus on Saturday the twelfth of [the month] Muḥarram of the year 574 [30 June 1178], and was buried there on Mount Qāsiyūn.

14 This emir (d. 584/1188) was a well-known prince-poet-*adīb*-warrior-hunter and memoirs-writer. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Munqidh, Banū' (R. Stephen Humphreys).

15 Or elderberry oil. Metre: *khafif*. Al-İṣfahānī, *Kharīdah (al-Shām)*, i:507. Not found in Usāmah's *Dīwān*.

### 15.14 Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī<sup>1</sup>

Amīn al-Dawlah Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ismāʿīl al-Andalusī al-Bayyāsī was a celebrated and distinguished person and an important scholar, who was proficient in the art of medicine and outstanding in the mathematical sciences. Upon arriving in Egypt from the West, he stayed in Cairo for some time and then went to Damascus where he settled. He studied under Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn ʿAlī ibn Hibat Allāh, who was known as Ibn al-Naqqāsh al-Baghdādī,<sup>2</sup> and [for a while] he remained constantly in his company. He copied, read and studied the ‘Sixteen Books’ by Galen, as well as many other works on medicine and other topics.

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī was a master carpenter and made many measuring instruments for Ibn al-Naqqāsh. He was an accomplished lute-player and also attempted to play the organ.<sup>3</sup> He had a number of pupils who studied the science of music with him.

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā al-Bayyāsī served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (i.e. Saladin) as his physician and accompanied him for a time on campaign.<sup>4</sup> Later, however, he asked to be allowed to leave from Saladin’s service and to remain in Damascus. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn granted him an allowance, and he settled in Damascus, drawing the allowance until his death, may God have mercy upon him.

### 15.15 Sukkarah al-Ḥalabī<sup>1</sup>

Sukkarah was a Jewish elder from the city of Aleppo, a small man, but a skilled medical practitioner, with a long experience in the care of patients. I have heard the following account from the shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Abī l-Faḍl ibn Maṣṣūr al-Tanūkhī, the scribe of Latakiyah, ‘[When] Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr

1 This entry is missing in Version 2, but can be found in Versions 1 and 3. See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii: 65–66 (but he merely quotes IAU). On Bayyāsah (modern Baeza), see e.g. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, entry ‘Bayyāsah’, and *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Bayyāsa’ (A. Huici Miranda).

2 Cf. the previous entry on Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh.

3 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Urghan’ (H.G. Farmer); the word is more commonly vowelled as *urghun*.

4 Lothar Kopf translates this phrase as: ‘... and stayed with him for a while in al-Baikār’, assuming that the latter is a geographical term. For the use of the term *al-būkār*/pl. *al-bayākīr* in the sense of [military] campaigns, see Northrup, ‘Al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī’, 23. Dozy, *Supplément*, vowels it as *baykār*.

1 This entry is missing in Version 1 and 2, but can be found in Version 3. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī was in Aleppo, he kept with him in the citadel a concubine of whom he was particularly fond. This girl once became seriously ill. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had to go to Damascus, but his heart remained with her, and he sent constantly to enquire about her. Her illness persisted, although she received medical treatment from some of the most distinguished physicians. Finally, however, the wise doctor Sukkarah was brought to her. He found that she had very little appetite, had a humoral imbalance, and was not able to move and rise from her bed. He returned to her several times with the other physicians and eventually asked permission to visit her alone.

Once closeted with his patient, Sukkarah said to her, "My lady, I can give you a treatment which, God willing, will cause you to recover as quickly as possible, so that you will have no need of anything else". She replied: "Please do so!" At this, he said: "I want you to answer whatever questions I pose to you, and to tell me [everything] without hiding [any] facts from me". She promised to do so, and in return, at his request, assured him that no harm would befall him. Then he asked: "Where are you from?" "I am one of the Alans," she replied.<sup>2</sup> "The Alans in their homeland are Christians," said the physician. "Tell me, what did you usually eat at home?" "Cow's meat," she replied. "And what kind of wine did you drink there, my lady?" he asked. "Such and such," she replied. "Excellent! For then you will be all right!" said the physician, and took his leave.

Sukkarah went back to his house, bought a calf, slaughtered it and cooked a part of it. He [then] returned to the citadel, carrying with him a bowl containing a piece of boiled meat marinated in milk and garlic and topped with a thin slice of bread. This he placed in front of the girl, saying, "Eat". She leaned over to it and began to dip [the bread] in the milk and garlic and ate until she was full. The physician then took a small vessel from his sleeve and said, "My lady, this is a drink that will do you good. Take it!" No sooner had she drunk it than she became sleepy. He covered her with a mantle made of squirrel fur, which caused her to perspire heavily, but when she awoke the next morning, she felt well. Subsequently, al-Ḥalabī gave her [the same] food and drink on the following two days, until her health was fully restored.

The girl treated the physician most generously, giving him a tray filled with pieces of jewellery. He thanked her, but added, "Nevertheless I would like you to write a letter for me to the sultan, informing him about the nature of your illness and explaining that you were cured by me". She promised to do so, and

2 The Alans (unusually spelled al-ʿAlān instead of the normal al-Lān) were an Iranian people of the western Eurasian steppes and North. Some of them were idolaters, whereas others followed the Islamic faith. However, the majority of them were Christians. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Alān' (W. Barthold and V. Minorsky) and *EI Three* art. 'Alāns' (P.B. Golden); Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii:265–267.

was as good as her word: she wrote to the Sultan, telling him how grateful she was to the physician, stating that she had been on the verge of death and had been treated by so-and-so, who was the only person who proved able to cure her, while all the other physicians who came to see her had been baffled by her illness, and asking [the sultan] to reward him.

When [the sultan] read the letter, he sent for Sukkarah, showed him great honour and said to him, "We are grateful to you for your treatment". "My Lord," replied the physician, "she was near perishing, but God mighty and glorious granted her health through me for as much time as may remain to her". The sultan nodded in approval and said: "Ask whatever you want, and I shall give it to you". "My Lord," replied the physician, "grant me ten *faddāns* of land, five in the village of Ṣam' and five in the village of 'Indān'.<sup>3</sup> "It is yours," replied the sultan "and we shall draw up a contract of purchase and sale, so that it will remain yours in perpetuity." The sultan wrote out the contract then and bestowed a robe of honour upon him'.

Sukkarah went back to Aleppo, where he accumulated great wealth. He and his children after him lived there comfortably all their lives.

#### 15.16 'Afif ibn Sukkarah<sup>1</sup>

'Afif ibn 'Abd al-Qāhir Sukkarah was a Jewish resident of Aleppo who was thoroughly familiar with the art of medicine. He was a celebrated practitioner who was also keenly interested in the theory of medicine. He had a number of sons and other relatives, most of whom were devoted to the art of medicine and lived in the city of Aleppo.

'Afif ibn Sukkarah is the author of a treatise on colic (*M. fī l-qawlanj*), which he composed for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb in the year 584/1188.

#### 15.17 Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ<sup>1</sup>

The learned shaykh Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sarī was also known as Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. He was an outstanding [scholar] in the

<sup>3</sup> Neither of these (Syrian) villages are listed in Yāqūt al-Rūmī's geographical dictionary.

<sup>1</sup> This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

<sup>1</sup> This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3. See the entry on

learned disciplines,<sup>2</sup> being thoroughly acquainted with their finer points and obscure aspects. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was eloquent, expressing himself clearly and writing in an elegant style. He was also a distinguished physician.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was Persian by origin, being originally from Hamadhān, but he had settled in Baghdad. From there, he was invited to the court of Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh ibn Il-Ghāzī ibn Artuq,<sup>3</sup> who showed him great honour. After having enjoyed [the ruler's] friendship for a time, he travelled to Damascus where he remained until his death. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus on a Sunday night in the year 540/1145 or a little later,<sup>4</sup> and was interred in the cemetery of the Sufis near the river Bānyās on the outskirts of Damascus.<sup>5</sup>

I have copied the following account from [a manuscript in] the handwriting of the learned shaykh Amīn al-Dīn Abī Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Ismā'īl al-Bayyāsī,<sup>6</sup> may God have mercy upon him:

‘The learned shaykh and philosopher Abū l-Futūḥ ibn al-Ṣalāḥ travelled from Baghdad to Damascus, where he stayed with the learned shaykh Abū l-Faḍl Ismā'īl ibn Abī l-Waqqār,<sup>7</sup> the physician. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ wanted to have a pair of shoes made, of a Baghdādī type called *shamshak*.<sup>8</sup> When he asked for a good shoemaker who could produce them, he was directed to a man by the name of Sa'dān the Shoemaker, with whom he placed an order for a pair of *shamshak* shoes. When, after some time, the shoes were finished, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ found that the toes were too narrow and that the shoes were too long and shoddily made. As a result, he complained incessantly, saying how bad the shoes were and blaming the maker. When shaykh Abū l-Ḥakam al-Magh-

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Abū l-Futūḥ Najm al-Dīn in Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 428; *EI Three* art. 'Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ' (N.P. Joosse).

- 2 The term *al-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyyah* comprises the natural and exact sciences as well the philosophical disciplines.
- 3 Timurtash ibn Najm al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī I was an Artuqid ruler who became Lord of Diyār Bakr, Diyār Muḍar, Mārdīn, Mayyāfāriqīn and certain parts of Armenia. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 194; Temūr Tash b. Il Ghāzī I, al-Malik al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn (r. 516–548/1122–1154). He passed away in Mārdīn on the 2nd of Dhū l-Qa'dah 548 [20 January 1154]. See also Vāth, *Geschichte der artuqidischen Fürstentümer*, 109–110, and in many other places.
- 4 According to Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 428, he passed away at the end of the year 548/1153.
- 5 Ibn al-Qifṭī (*Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 428) does not report anything on the exact burial site of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. IAU does but may have been mistaken, for during IAU's lifetime another Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ was buried in the cemetery of the Sufis near the river Bānyās, namely Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245), the famous ḥadīth scholar. Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:243–245 under No. 411, and English translation, ii:88–191.
- 6 See the separate entry on al-Bayyāsī in Ch. 15.14.
- 7 See the separate entry on Ibn Abī l-Waqqār in Ch. 15.12.
- 8 The version found in MSS A, L, M and R is *t.m.sh.k*, also found in al-Tanūkhī, *Niswār al-muḥāḍarah*, iii:281 and al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrib*, i:107 (*al-tumshuk* [thus vowelled]: *al-ṣan-*

ribī,<sup>9</sup> the physician, heard about the matter, he composed the following poem as a jest, putting it into the mouth of the philosopher. In it he mentions numerous technical terms from the fields of logic, natural sciences, and geometry'.<sup>10</sup>

My plight is bewildering and indescribable,  
 my case is strange to explain, O Abū l-Faḍl!  
 I'll let you in to my misery and passionate feelings  
 and the humiliation I suffered<sup>11</sup> in Damascus.  
 I arrived there unaware of its affairs,  
 no matter how much I have been wary of ignorance.  
 I was wearing an old pair of *shamshak* shoes on my feet  
 to which treacherous Time had done its unpraiseworthy deed.  
 5 I said, 'Perhaps fate will leave me a worthy replacement!  
 – But how wrong I was, thinking to find it anywhere!<sup>12</sup>  
 I met a scoundrel who happened to be near, to my misery.  
 Ah, how I suffered from that scoundrel!  
 I said, 'Sa'd,<sup>13</sup> be so good and do something for me  
 by which you will earn the gratitude of a scholar such as myself!  
 I beseech you, would you perhaps select a piece  
 of leather, tanned with gall and vinegar, today?'  
 'At your service', he replied; 'To do what is due to you  
 is a duty for any reasonable man.'  
 10 I paid him twenty dirhams on the nail,  
 but he let me wait for two months with his delay.

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*dalah, wa-ḡad yuḡālu bi-l-jīm*). The prose introduction in MSS A, L and al-Ṣafadī have *shamashk* (the editor vowels it as *shumushk*). This reading is required by the metre (the same in the poem above, Ch. 15.8.3); it may be an error by the poet, for one would expect *shamshak* (as in a line by Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, iii 82) or *jamshak*, because the word is obviously derived from Persian *chamshak* or *chamshāk* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i: 213. 787; idem, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 231; Steingass, *Persian-English dictionary*, 371, 399). In the translation, *shamshak* has been used, but the form *t.m.sh.k.* has been kept in the Arabic text of the poem. The Arabic consistently uses a singular for the pair of shoes (and also 'foot', 'heel', etc. rather than 'feet', 'heels'); in the translation the plural has normally been used.

9 See the separate entry on Abū l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī in Ch. 15.8.

10 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Also in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii:396–399 (where line 18 is missing). For a freer, rhymed translation of this poem, see IAU, *Anecdotes & Antidotes*.

11 The metre is unusual; SLSL in the second foot (instead of SLLL) is very rare except in early poetry.

12 Literally, 'on rugged or smooth soil'.

13 Shortening the man's name, said to be Sa'dān.

When the God the Merciful decreed that he should be ready,  
 and I said to myself, 'Perhaps Sa'd has finished the job!  
 He brought me a pair of *shamshak* shoes with toes too tight, malformed,  
 with heels that would kill both heel and foot,  
 Their back(?) being a back(?)<sup>14</sup> of almost equal evil,  
 joined to a worthless sole that resembles it,  
 With a shape that ordinary minds cannot solve  
 and that would defeat even astute men, people of power;<sup>15</sup>  
 15 With heels that incline towards the nadir,  
 and fronts parts that rise towards the zenith.<sup>16</sup>  
 Their proportions did not do me any good:  
 rather, the badness spread to branch and root.  
 The parallelism of the lines of their two sides was deviant:  
 part turned upward and part downward.  
 So many defects there were, and disgusting loose stitches,  
 and cuts in the strings<sup>17</sup> and the soles!<sup>18</sup>  
 With a necessary joining, while it had been contingent  
 – upon your life! – that the *shamshak* came unjoined.  
 20 They contain a fault in a compound syllogism:<sup>19</sup>  
 neither the conditional nor the categorical produce a conclusion.<sup>20</sup>  
 Their transversal<sup>21</sup> is not fitting that I should  
 protect my feet with it. Their shape ought not to exist!

14 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs* explains *bashtik* as 'saddle-bag that a goatherd ties on his goat', a sense that does not fit here. If read *bushitik* it could be related to Persian *pusht* or *pushtī* ('back, support'). I have read *muqāribin*, with A, but one could perhaps also read *muqāribun*, as in al-Ṣafādī.

15 A play on words: literally 'people of tying and untying/solving'.

16 *Al-quṭb al-shamālī*, literally 'North Pole', and *al-quṭb al-janūbī*, 'South Pole', but referring to celestial rather than terrestrial points, with 'North' and 'South' standing for 'up (zenith)' and 'down (nadir)'; respectively.

17 Not wholly clear; *zīj* is the string used by a mason for correct alignment; Steingass (*Persian-Arabic Dictionary*) gives as one of the meanings of *zīch*: 'a boot (or rather some part of a boot or shoe ...), lace used in embroidery'. *Zīj* also came to mean 'astronomical handbook with tables'.

18 This line, which seems to interrupt the syntaxis, is lacking in al-Ṣafādī.

19 On *qiyās murakkab*, see e.g. al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1194–1195. Compound syllogisms are hypothetical, disjunctive, or conjunctive syllogisms.

20 On *qiyās ḥamlī* see e.g. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 89 and the appendix of al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, the treatise on logic (*al-Risālah al-Shamsīyyah*) by Kātib-i Qazwīnī, 9–10 (Arabic), 15–16 (English).

21 For *al-shakl al-qattāʿī*, 'the cutting figure', see e.g. al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 207. The mathematician Thābit ibn Qurrah wrote a work called *al-Qawl fī l-shakl al-qattāʿī wa-l-*



Their genus, according to the Isagoge (*jinsu isāghūjihī*), is not clear,  
nor can a species be defined for them, if one comes up with a distinction.

Some corruption befell their figure when they came into being;  
now say: What can give solace for their ugly qualities?

They had the potential to be what we desired,  
but we missed their coming forth in actuality.

25 Had they been somewhat deviant from perfection I would have tolerated it,

but they are bereft of beauty<sup>22</sup> in particular and in general.

O, for making positive what truthfully is negative,  
and for the equity of propositions<sup>23</sup> that came iniquitously!

But I was not in need of a defect in their category:<sup>24</sup>

their substance, their quality, their quantity are all confused.

Are there any propositions in which the untruth is not evident?

Is there any syllogism that is not deficient?

The logical proof lacks several conditions:<sup>25</sup>

the positive, the necessary, and the general proof.

30 If this shoe were put in the sun, the conic form of its instep,<sup>26</sup>

like someone who turns around, would be seen to swerve to the shade.

They make flopping noises on my foot, when summer has not yet ended;  
how would it be if I got into mud and mire?

They baffled me, to the point that I became totally oblivious  
and Sa'dān left me bereft of reason, my friend!

Yet, in all this it was clear that the man's brains were cracked;  
how despicable, a person lacking wits, of disordered mind!

And how quick to be ruined, a house from which comes what you can  
see among people,  
and how worthy of humiliation and distress!

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*nisbah al-mu'allafah* (*Survey of the Transversal and Harmonic Division*), see *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. "Ilm al-handasa" (M. Souissi).

22 Reading, with ms L and al-Ṣafadī (and possibly ms A which is not clear), *husn* instead of *hiss* (Riḍā, Müller).

23 The word *qaḍīyyah* has several technical meanings, including '(legal) case', 'premise (in a syllogism)', 'proposition', 'assertion'.

24 Taking *maqūl*, literally 'what is (or can be) said', as the singular of *al-maqūlāt* 'the (ten Aristotelian) categories'.

25 Possibly there is a play on words: *sharā'if* can mean 'strings, ribbons' as well as 'conditions'.

26 The word *bāsh* (see also line 59) has not been found anywhere, but it seems to be related to Persian *pāshā*, *pāshnā*, or *pāshina*, 'heel; sole of a shoe, particularly that part answering to the heel' (Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*).



- 35 If Euclid were alive he would be unable to solve  
the problem, because the figure is unsolvable.  
Then I swore an oath by God, my Creator,  
and by Hūd, the brother of ‘Ād, by Seth, by Dhū l-Kifl,<sup>27</sup>  
And by the Suras Yā-Sin, Ṭā-Hā, Maryam,  
Şād, Ḥā-Mīm, Luqmān, and The Ants:<sup>28</sup>  
If I do not find a slipperiness on a sloping slide  
that befits my leg, I shall not declare him<sup>29</sup> outlawed,  
And I shall not make poetry on Damascus<sup>30</sup> and not be seen  
to reproach any shoemaker, in earnest or in jest.
- 40 I was afflicted by him, this friend who spoiled my good life:  
may the Merciful not bless this friend of mine!  
How much did the shoemaker grieve my heart with his delay!  
I suffered as much as Moses suffered on account of the calf.<sup>31</sup>  
Aristotle was afflicted by some people  
who wanted him to agree with jesting;<sup>32</sup>  
Hippocrates encountered many things  
but he did not encounter among his people anyone like me.  
Galen, whenever his foot was bitten by a *shamshak*,  
would treat the wound with *nakhli* salve.<sup>33</sup>
- 45 Quṣṭā ibn Lūqā would rather go barefoot therefore,  
and would not listen to reproaches on account of his bare feet.  
Whenever Abū Naṣr (al-Fārābī) visited people  
and he lost his shoes, he would return without shoes.  
The leading scholars in this field have never ceased  
to suffer what they should not, from ignorant people.

27 Hūd is a legendary Arab prophet, precursor of Muḥammad; he is mentioned several times in the Qur’an. He preached among the people of ‘Ād, who were destroyed because of their unbelief. Dhū l-Kifl, (possibly meaning ‘the man with double recompense’) is an obscure personage mentioned twice in the Qur’an.

28 The three first-mentioned are Suras nos. 36, 20, 19, respectively; Luqmān is no. 38, and The Ants is no. 27. Ḥā-Mīm refers to a group of Suras (nos. 40–46), all of which begin with the letters Ḥ and M. The meaning of these letters (as also of Şād = Ş and Yā-Sin = ʾs) is unknown.

29 Taking the pronoun to refer to Sa’dān.

30 *Fī Dimashqa* could also mean ‘in Damascus’ but the context seems to suggest ‘(lampoons) on Damascus’.

31 The story of Moses and the golden calf is told in the Qur’an in several places.

32 The reference is not clear. The repetition of the rhyme word *hazl* at a short distance (cf. line 39) is a poetic flaw.

33 On *al-marham al-nakhli* see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:650.

Therefore I, since I came to stay in Damascus,<sup>34</sup>  
 regret it and am resolved to return to my family.  
 If I were in Baghdad, some generous and noble people  
 would be there to help me,  
 50 And I would never be without a supporting friend,  
 someone eager for knowledge, who would write down what I dictate.  
 O, would that I could hastily fly to it!  
 Who could help me with this, though impossible, who could?  
 For in Syria I have suffered a thousand calamities;  
 I wish I had never dismounted there!  
 In Damascus I am among people  
 to live with who are not of my kind.  
 I swear: neither the rain-stars of the Pleiades,<sup>35</sup> when they send rain  
 and generously pour on the earth suffering from lasting<sup>36</sup> drought,  
 55 Nor al-Khansā', who wept for her brother Şakhr<sup>37</sup>  
 while her tears were steadily pouring down her cheeks,  
 Shed more than the tears I shed when I saw these shoes  
 when they came to be on my feet, with the wrong shape.  
 What I encountered from them made me ill.  
 I wish I had no feet!  
 All this, and I have not even listed some of their other qualities,  
 so how could I guard myself against their harm, tell me!  
 Because I suffered so badly from the narrow instep<sup>38</sup>  
 I fear my whole body will be sick and waste away.  
 60 O, what a *shamshak*! As soon as I looked at its shape  
 I knew for certain that that it had to cause my death  
 And would give me an illness from which, I imagine,  
 neither herbs nor any decoction will save me.<sup>39</sup>

34 On Jilliġ, the name used here, see above, see above, Ch. 10.69.

35 In ancient and popular Arab meteorology some stars and constellations were associated with rain.

36 Reading *dā'imati*, with MS A and al-Şafadī, rather than *rā'imati* (Riḏā, Müller), which does not give a good sense.

37 Al-Khansā' composed numerous laments for her two brothers, Şakhr and Mu'āwiyah, who died of battle wounds shortly before the coming of Islam. Şakhr is mentioned in this line in all versions except A, which has the bland *yawman*, 'ever'.

38 Reading, with MS A, al-Şafadī, and Müller *bāshihī* (cf. line 30), instead of *bāsihī* (Riḏā).

39 This line, lacking in Riḏā and Müller, is found in MS A and al-Şafadī. Both have *mughlī*, but *maghlī* seems a better reading.

Those to whom my death in Damascus will be announced will recite:  
 ‘We suffer for you in the sands what you suffer in the sands.’<sup>40</sup>  
 So don’t be amazed about my affliction,<sup>41</sup> for I  
 have experienced from it what no one before experienced.

Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is the author of the following books:

1. Treatise on the fourth figure of the [categorical]<sup>42</sup> syllogisms. This figure is attributed to Galen (*M. fī shakl al-rābi‘ min ashkāl al-qiyās al-ḥamli*).<sup>43</sup>
2. On the minor book of triumph, on wisdom (*K. fī l-fawz al-aṣghar fī l-ḥikmah*).<sup>44</sup>

### 15.18 Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī<sup>1</sup>

[15.18.1]

The distinguished and learned authority Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar ibn [...]’<sup>2</sup> was unparalleled in his mastery of the sciences, with his extensive knowledge of the branches of philosophy and grasp of the principles of astronomy. He was extremely intelligent and quick-witted, and possessed an excellent way of expressing himself: he would get the better of any opponent, regardless of the subject under discussion. His knowledge, however, was greater than his com-

40 The opening hemistich of an elegy for a son of Sayf al-Dawlah by al-Mutanabbī (*Dīwān*, 408). The commentators explain ‘in the sands’ as ‘here on earth’.

41 Reading *mimmā dahānī*, with MS A and al-Ṣafadī, instead of *mahmā dahānī* (Riḍā, Müller).

42 Cf. Müller, ‘Text’, [943] 229; See also Afnan, *Philosophical Lexicon*, 81, where the term has been rendered as ‘predicative’ as in ‘predicative proposition’.

43 See Rescher, *Galen and the Syllogism*. While the treatise is not listed here, the writing for which Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ is best known to scholars is his commentary on the *Almagest*; see Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Zur Kritik*. Another text relevant for astronomy, which is also not listed here, is his *Treatise on Projection*, for which see Lorch, ‘Projection’.

44 Or A book on ‘the Minor Triumph’, on philosophy (to contrast with ‘The Major Triumph’, *al-fawz al-akbar*; Miskawayh wrote a *K. al-fawz al-akbar* and a *K. al-fawz al-aṣghar*); and cf. Q al-Burūj 85:11: *al-fawz al-kabīr*.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā b. Ḥabash b. Amīrak, Abu ‘l-Futūḥ’ (H. Ziai).

2 The text presents us with a lacuna here. IAU apparently has confused the name of Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (539–632/1145–1234), one of the most important Sufis in Sunnī Islam and the author of the extremely influential work *‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif* (‘Masters of mystical insights’), with that of his contemporary, the mystic and philosopher Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, who was put to death in Aleppo in 587/1191 because of his alleged heretical ideas in religious and political matters. The entry under consideration obviously deals with the latter individual.

mon sense. The shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar<sup>3</sup> told me that Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī used to visit our shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī<sup>4</sup> from time to time, and that they cherished feelings of friendship for each other. The shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn used to tell us: ‘How intelligent and how eloquent this youth is! I have never found anyone like him in my generation, but I fear that his great carelessness, his recklessness and his lack of restraint will be the cause of his downfall’.

Sadīd al-Dīn continued: ‘When Shihāb al-Dīn left us, going from the east to Syria, he arrived in Aleppo where he entered into debate with the [local] experts of jurisprudence. None of them was able to stand against him, and consequently they bitterly loathed him. The Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb<sup>5</sup> summoned him, along with a number of distinguished scholars, jurists and theologians, so that he could listen to them debating and discussing [all different kinds of subjects]. They held a long debate, in which he [Shihāb al-Dīn] displayed effortless superiority over the others, and dazzled everyone with his great knowledge. He made a good impression on al-Malik al-Zāhir, thereby acquiring rank and prestige.

However, the respect and favour shown al-Suhrawardī by al-Malik al-Zāhir merely inflamed the hatred of his rivals, who [then] prepared attested statements alleging that he was an infidel and sent them to the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Damascus. “If this [man] stays”, they wrote, “he will corrupt the faith of al-Malik al-Zāhir; if he is set free and sent away, he will corrupt any region of the country in which he settles,” together with many remarks of the same kind. Upon receiving this letter, Saladin had his scribe, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil,<sup>6</sup> draft a letter concerning the matter and send it to his son, al-Malik

3 He is Ibn Raqīqah, Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar al-Shaybānī, Sadīd al-Dīn (565–636/1169–1238). IAU mentions 564/1168 as his date of birth. Ibn Raqīqah was a physician who is primarily known for his *K. Muwaḍḍaḥat al-ishtibāh fī adwiyat al-bāh*, ‘The Revelation of Doubts about Aphrodisiacs’, which he dedicated to Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf ʾI Mūsā ibn al-‘Ādil ʾI Muḥammad or Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar al-Dīn, the Ayyubid ruler of Diyarbakir [Mayyāfāriqīn and Jabal Sinjār] from 607–617/1210–1220 and of Damascus from 626–635/1229–1237. See Newman, *The Sultan’s Sex Potions*, 77 (n. 126) and 166. Ibn Raqīqah has an entry in Ch. 15.46.

4 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī was a well-known physician and educator from the town of Mardin. He was among others the shaykh [teacher] of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Sā‘ātī and Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah. He has an entry in Ch. 10.75.

5 Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo. One of the sons of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He passed away in the year 613/1216 in Aleppo. A detailed description of his illness and untimely death is given by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī in the medical section of his *K. al-Naṣīḥatayn* or *Book of the Two Pieces of Advice*. Cf. Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 74–77 [E]; 103–104 [A]; see also Joosse, ‘Pride and Prejudice’, 129–141.

6 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). *Kātib* (scribe) to Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and head of his chancery. See above, Ch. 14.33.3.

al-Ẓāhir, in Aleppo. In the letter, Saladin wrote that this Shihāb al-Suhrawardī surely had to be killed, for he could neither be sent elsewhere nor, under any circumstances, allowed to stay where he was. When Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī heard of this, he realized that he must die and that there was no way for him to escape [his fate]. Accordingly, he chose to be left in an isolated place and be denied food and drink until he should meet God, exalted be He. This happened at the end of the year 586/1190 in the citadel of Aleppo, when he was about thirty-six years old. The shaykh Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar commented on this by saying: ‘When the news about his death reached our shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī, he said to us: “Did I not tell you so before, did I not fear for him?”’

[15.18.1.1]

I – Ibn Abī ‘Uṣaybi‘ah – say:

It is said that Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī knew much about the art of natural magic (*sīmiyā*)<sup>7</sup> and that many people witnessed him performing marvels of this specific kind. The physician Ibrāhīm ibn Abī l-Faql ibn Ṣadaqaḥ<sup>8</sup> told me about this and asserted that he met him once in person outside the Gate of Deliverance (*Bāb al-Faraj*).<sup>9</sup> They were walking in the direction of a great open field together with a group of students

7 See *Et*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Sīmiyā’ (D.B. MacDonald & T. Fahd). Dictionaries of Modern Standard Arabic [MSA] usually render this term as ‘natural magic’. Lory, *La science des lettres* considers *sīmiyā*’ an art much similar to alchemy, in which the transmutation of the letter or the word was practised instead of the transmutation of matter [that is, so-called letter or word magic]. Of course, one could nowadays also render this term as ‘illusionism’. In IAU’s entry on ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (see Ch. 15.40.3) a certain character by the name of Yāsīn al-Sīmiyā’ī occurs: a trickster who maintained that he could make the waters of the Nile into a curtain, so that he and his friends could live underneath it.

8 This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him. He is most probably not the Damascene physician ‘Imrān al-Isrā’īlī a.k.a. Awḥad al-Dīn ‘Imrān ibn Ṣadaqaḥ (561–637/1175–1240), who has an entry in Ch. 15.42.

9 Did this meeting take place in Damascus or Aleppo? The *Bāb al-Faraj* in Damascus is the only gate in the old city, which does not belong to the seven original Roman gates. It was built through the northern face of the old city wall in the 6th/12th century during the Ayyubid period. The *Bāb al-Faraj* or *Bāb al-Farādīs* in Aleppo was located a little bit south of the northwestern corner of the city wall. It was built by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, but closed immediately after his death in 613/1216. It was reopened by al-Nāṣir Yūsuf 11 and finally torn down in 1904. It was later made into a public square. In recent years its remains have been uncovered. These were visible in a ditch several meters below the present street level. The civil war in Syria and specifically the heavy shelling and bombardments in Aleppo may already have caused all of this to disappear forever. See Tabbaa, *Constructions*, 20; and Fansa, *Aleppo*.

and others,<sup>10</sup> and were engaged in conversation about that art, its marvels, and the shaykh's knowledge of it. He listened as he walked along and then exclaimed: 'How beautiful Damascus is and how beautiful this place!'.<sup>11</sup> We looked and saw in the direction of the east lofty whitewashed palaces built closely together, constructed and ornamented in a most beautiful manner. The enclosure contained large windows, in which the most beautiful women imaginable [could be seen]. Singing voices and musical instruments were heard. There were intertwining trees and broad rivers were flowing [there]. We had not known this place before and were greatly astonished at it. The crowd was delighted at the view, but [at the same time] perplexed by what they saw. The physician Ibrāhīm goes on: 'We continued to see it for an hour, but then it vanished and we again viewed what we had long been accustomed to see [there]'. He said to me: 'But when I first gazed at this wondrous manifestation, it felt as if I had quietly dozed off [without anyone noticing it]. My perception [of things] did not seem to be in touch with reality'.

[15.18.1.2]

A Persian legal scholar told me [the following story]:

We had left Damascus and were in al-Qābūn,<sup>12</sup> in the company of the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn, when we encountered a flock of sheep with a Turkmen shepherd. We said to the shaykh: 'O master, we would like to eat one of those sheep.' 'I have ten dirhams,' replied Shihāb al-Dīn, 'take them and buy yourself a sheep.' So with the money we bought a sheep from

10 One may speculate about the nature of these 'others'. Were they Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī's companions or followers? In his *Risālah fi Mujādalat al-ḥakīmāyn al-kīmīyā'ī wal-nazarī*, his contemporary 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, who was also one of the confidants of the ruler of Aleppo, the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Yūsuf, speaks in a rather derogatory manner about Suhrawardī's followers, who in his view 'mainly consisted of commoners and riff-raff. They were either singers and flute-players or owners of public houses and inns in which vulgar amusement ran rampant'. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, moreover, accuses one of Suhrawardī's direct companions, an emir of the Seljuqs of Rūm, of mutilating the bodies of dead Frankish soldiers for the sole purpose of using their body parts in alchemistic procedures, see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 54–55. In IAU's entry on 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (see Ch. 15.40) it is also related that 'Abd al-Laṭīf read most of Suhrawardī's works on philosophy, but he considered them far below the mark and decided never to read anything by that 'imbecile' again.

11 This exclamation actually does not prove that they were walking in Damascus. It could well be that Suhrawardī praised the beauty of Damascus and compared it to 'the phantom city' while actually walking in Aleppo.

12 Al-Qābūn is nowadays a part of greater Damascus, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, iv: 290. According to the latter it was a stop (mile one) on the direct road to Iraq.

the Turkmen. We walked on, but were overtaken by the shepherd's companion, who said: 'Give back that sheep and take a smaller one, because that man did not know what he was selling you. That animal of the size of a Bactrian camel that you (now) have is worth far more than the price he got from you.'<sup>13</sup> We [then] bargained with him [about the price]. At this, the shaykh said to us: 'Take the sheep and go! I shall stay here and seek to come to terms with him'. We moved on, while the shaykh stayed, talking with the man and trying to hold him up by negotiating the matter.<sup>14</sup> After we had walked a little further, he left the shepherd's companion and followed us. The Turkmen came after him shouting, but he paid no attention and did not speak to him. When the Turkmen caught up with him, he grabbed his left arm in a fury and cried: 'Where are you going and why did you walk away from me?' Suddenly the shaykh's arm [lit. hand] came off his shoulder. The Turkmen found himself holding it in his hand, with blood pouring out from it. The Turkmen turned pale, stood in bewilderment, and threw away the arm, filled with fear. The shaykh returned, picked up the arm with his right hand and rejoined us. The Turkmen kept on looking around at us until he was out of sight. When the shaykh reached us, we saw nothing but a handkerchief in his right hand.<sup>15</sup>

13 The species of camel called *al-bukhtī* is the 'Bactrian' camel, the two-humped Central Asian camel, larger than the Arabian or North African one-humped camel; see Irwin, *Camel*. Lane (*Lexicon*, 158) suggests that the most common meaning was 'long-haired camel'; see also Dozy, *Supplément*, i:54. MS R has *ḍān*, a misreading of *ḍāll*, as in MS H.

14 See for this verb (*manā*): Müller, 'Text', [971] 257.

15 The experiences described above contain certain elements of Sufi ritual. On reading this tale, it reminded my (NPJ's) spouse of her youth in Cape Town when she and her grandmother attended a ritual called *Rātīb al-Ḥaddād* at the mosque in Faure near the shrine of Shaykh Yūsuf (Abadīn Tadia Tjoessoep 1626–23 May 1699) in Makassar. This was a *dhikr* [invocation of God], in which a group of people went into a deep trance and during this trance they sliced various parts of their body with swords, knives and other sharp instruments. The spectators at this happening also went into a trance and appeared to experience a feeling as if they were looking down upon themselves, a specific kind of out of body experience. The factual letting of blood was, however, rare and seldom attended. It may very well be that both the experiences described in the text of IAU occurred whilst the participants were in a state of trance because of some form of *dhikr*; cf. Bang, *Islamic Sufi Networks*, 143–162.



[15.18.1.3]

Şafī al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Abī l-Faḍl, the scribe,<sup>16</sup> told me a story that he had heard from the shaykh Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn Şaqr<sup>17</sup> – may God have mercy upon him: In the year 579/1183 the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar al-Suhrawardī came to Aleppo and stayed at the Ḥallāwiyyah law college (*madrasah*).<sup>18</sup> The director (*mudarris*) of the college in those days was the distinguished head of the Hanafite school of law Iftikhār al-Dīn<sup>19</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. When Shihāb al-Dīn attended a lesson and entered into discussion with the jurists, he wore an old, worn-out robe (*dilq*)<sup>20</sup> and [carried] nothing more than a ewer and a [shepherd's] staff. Nobody knew him, but when his skill in argumentation became apparent, Iftikhār al-Dīn realized that he was an excellent [debater]. He then took out a gown of red cotton [or: silk] (*thawb 'attābī*),<sup>21</sup> a cloak (*ghilālah*),<sup>22</sup> a robe (*libās*)<sup>23</sup> and a garment made of camel's hair (*baqyār*)<sup>24</sup> and said to his son: 'Go up to that beggar and tell him: "My father sends you his regards, says that you are a wise man and invites you to attend the lessons together with the jurists. He has sent you something that you can wear when you come."'

When the son [of Iftikhār al-Dīn] had approached the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn and told him what his father had instructed him to say, Shihāb al-Dīn fell silent for a while, and then said: 'O my son, put down these clothes (*qumāsh*), and

16 That is, shaykh Şafī al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Abī l-Faḍl ibn Maṣṣūr al-Tanūkhī, the scribe of Latakīyah. See also entry in Ch. 15.15 on Sukkarah al-Ḥalabī.

17 This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

18 Tabbaa lists the Ḥallāwiyyah *madrasah* amongst the oldest *madāris* in medieval Aleppo. See his *Constructions* at 195. In 634/1237, the famous historian and statesman Ibn al-'Adīm became the *tadris* of the leading Ḥanafī school in Aleppo, the Madrasah al-Ḥallāwiyyah or *al-madrasah al-kabīrah*. Cf. also Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, especially at 41–42; Gaube & Wirth, *Aleppo*, no. 73.

19 That is, Iftikhār al-Dīn Abū Hāshim 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn al-Faḍl al-Hāshimī, the leader of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* in Aleppo. shaykh of the aforementioned Ibn al-'Adīm. He is, amongst others, mentioned in Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat* (in various places) and in Ibn Shaddād's *A'lāq*, 112; Cf. also Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, in various places, especially at 42 and 46–47.

20 See for the term *dilq*: Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 183–185; Lane, *Lexicon*, i:905–906. It could, perhaps, be a garment made of weasel-skin.

21 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 105–107 for *thawb*. For '*attābī*', see there at 110 and 436–437. Dozy's '*utābī*' is, however, wrong; it is called after the 'Attābī quarter in Baghdad. the name survives in 'tabby', for cats of the striped kind. The word '*attābī*' refers to moiré, stripy cloth. The 'Attābiyyah quarter was famous for its silk-cotton '*attābī*' cloth.

22 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 319–323.

23 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 395–399.

24 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 84–87. But see Dozy, *Supplément*, i:105: 'a turban'.



please do something for me.' He brought out a balas ruby (*faṣṣ balakhsh*)<sup>25</sup> as big as a chicken's egg, of the colour of a pomegranate, the like of which, for size and colour, nobody had ever possessed before and said: 'Go to the market and hawk this stone as though you wished to sell it, but whatever they offer you for it, do not sell it without first letting me know.' Iftikhār al-Dīn's son went to the market, sat down at the intendant's stall, and began to call that the stone was for sale. The offers he received eventually reached the amount of twenty-five thousand dirhams.

The market intendant took the stone and carried it up [that is, to the citadel of Aleppo] to al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was the ruler of Aleppo at that time, and said: 'Such-and-such a price was offered for this stone.' Al-Malik al-Zāhir was astonished at the size, the colour and the beauty of the stone and offered thirty thousand dirhams for it. The intendant said: 'Let me first inform Iftikhār al-Dīn's son of that offer.' He took the stone, went back to the market, returned it to Iftikhār al-Dīn's son and said: 'Go and consult your father about the price that has been offered,' since the intendant was under the impression that the stone belonged to Iftikhār al-Dīn. When Iftikhār al-Dīn's son came to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī and informed him of the price that had been offered for the stone, he was shocked. He took the jewel, placed it on a large stone, and then smashed it with another large stone until it was broken into tiny fragments, saying to Iftikhār al-Dīn's son: 'O my son, take these clothes, go back to your father, kiss his hand for me, and say to him: "If I had wanted the clothes, the price would have been fair."<sup>26</sup> Iftikhār al-Dīn's son went back to his father and described to him what had happened, leaving Iftikhār al-Dīn perplexed.

Al-Malik al-Zāhir now summoned the market intendant, and said: 'I want that stone.' 'O master,' replied the intendant 'the person entrusted with it, the son of the eminent Iftikhār al-Dīn, the director of the Ḥallāwiyyah law college, has taken it back.' The Sultan rode down [from the citadel] to the college, sat in the great hall, called for Iftikhār al-Dīn, and said to him, 'I want that stone.' The director [of the college] informed him that it belonged to a poor man, who was staying with him. The Sultan thought this over and said: 'O Iftikhār al-Dīn, if my conjecture is right, that man is Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.' The Sultan then rose to his feet, met Shihāb al-Dīn, took him to the citadel, where he enjoyed great favour. He would engage in discussions with jurists from all schools (*madhāhib*) and best them [all].

25 A variety of red spinel.

26 That is, 'we would not have been cheated'.

After a time, however, he began to display arrogant behaviour toward the people of Aleppo and talk to them in an offensive manner, so that they closed ranks against him, and issued a legal opinion declaring that he might lawfully be put to death. It is said that al-Malik al-Zāhir sent out someone to strangle him. Later, however, the Sultan took vengeance on those who had issued the fatal legal opinion that had brought about al-Suhrawardī's death. He seized a number of them, put them under arrest, humiliated them and confiscated a large part of their possessions.

[15.18.1.4]

I have heard the following account from Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar, who was also known as Ibn Raqīqah: The shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī paid little attention to his appearance and was unconcerned about worldly affairs. We were [once] strolling together in the mosque of Mayyāfāriqīn.<sup>27</sup> Shihab al-Dīn was dressed in a short, open, outer garment with wide sleeves (*jubbah qaṣīrah*)<sup>28</sup> and a dark-coloured lining. He wore a tightly twisted kerchief around his head (*fūṭah maftūlah*)<sup>29</sup> and high-heeled leather boots (*zarbūl*) on his feet. When a friend of mine saw me there, he came over to me and said, 'How can you walk around here with this muleteer like that?' I said to him: 'Hush, this is one of the great men of our generation, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī.' My words made a great impression on my friend, who walked away in great astonishment.

A citizen of Aleppo once told me that when Shihāb al-Dīn had died – may God have mercy upon him – and was buried on the outskirts of the city of Aleppo, an ancient poem was found written on his tomb:<sup>30</sup>

27 Mayyāfāriqīn was called Martyropolis in the ancient world. It is nowadays called Silvan. It is located east of the city of Diyarbakir in Eastern Anatolia (Turkey), cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, v:235–238. Tabbāa mentions the, partly Ayyubid and partly Artuqid, mosque of Mayyāfāriqīn in his *Constructions*, at 100. For the history of the town, see Vāth, *Geschichte der artuqidischen Fürstentümer*, in many places.

28 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 107–117.

29 Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 339–343.

30 Metre: *basīf*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:102. Attributed in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xvi:307, Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥyāt*, ii:130, and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:26 to Shibl al-Dawlah Abū l-Hayjā Muqātil ibn ʿAṭīyyah al-Bakrī (d. 505/1111–1112), on the famous vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092) and beginning *Kāna l-wazīru Nizāmu l-Mulki lu'lu'atan yatīmatan* (or *naḥīsatan*). The version not mentioning Nizām al-Mulk is also found, anonymously, in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:265. The lines are unlikely to be 'ancient'.

This grave's occupant was a hidden pearl,<sup>31</sup>  
 created by God from nobility.<sup>32</sup>  
 Time did not realise its<sup>33</sup> worth  
 and thus, out of jealousy, He returned it to the shell.

[15.18.2]

Among his sayings is the following prayer (*du'ā*): O God, provider of existence, unending source of generosity and good, abode of blessings, utmost goal of desires, light of light, ruler of all things and giver of life in both this world and the world to come. Provide us with Thy light, let us succeed in pleasing Thee and be inspired by Thy right guidance. Purify us from the filth of darkness and iniquity, save us from the obscurity and gloom of nature and let us see Thy lights and view Thy brightness. Let us be near to those who are close to Thee and meet the inhabitants of Thy kingdom. Let us be gathered with those who enjoy Thy favour, the angels, the just, the prophets and the messengers.

Among the poetry composed by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī is the following:<sup>34</sup>

Always the spirits yearn for you<sup>35</sup>  
 and being united with you is their sweet basil and wine.<sup>36</sup>  
 The hearts of the people who love you yearn for you  
 and are glad with the delight of meeting you.  
 O, pity the lovers! They carry the burden  
 of hiding their love; for passion is a great exposor

31 *Jawharah* means 'jewel', but the next line requires it to be interpreted as 'pearl' (pearls are regularly counted among precious stones in Arabic).

32 The version in *Wāfi* iv:265 has 'a resplendent jewel, moulded by God from sperm-drops' (*jawharatan gharrā'a qad ṣāghahā l-bārī mina l-nuṭafī*); cf. al-Qazwinī, *ʿAjā'ib*, 223: a pearl results from a rain-drop (*qatrah*) falling in the shell 'just as a drop of sperm (*nutfah*) is received by the womb'.

33 All MSS and editions of IAU have 'his worth' (*qīmatahū*), but most other sources have 'its worth' (*qīmatahā*), which is clearly better in view of the next line.

34 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:102; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabā'*, xix:316–317; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:271; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ii:321 (from a longer poem of 23 lines). The last two lines as found in MS B, Müller and Riḍā are not found in A or L, nor are they in the other sources. They seem unconnected to the preceding.

35 Throughout the poem the second person plural is used (hence, in line 10, 'yourselves').

36 The line employs three words derived from the same root: *arwāḥ* ('spirits'), *rayḥān* ('sweet basil'), *rāḥ* ('wine'); the rhyme word of the next line, *tartāhu* ('are glad'), is another.

Of secrets: if they divulge (*bāḥū*) it their blood may be shed with impunity  
 (*tubāḥu*); the blood of divulgers (*al-bā'ihīn*) is a free-for-all (*tubāḥū*).  
 5 And if they conceal it, their eyes that pour out  
 tell tales about them to the slanderers.  
 Evidence of sickness becomes visible on them,  
 that explain their difficult state.  
 A lowering of the wing over you!<sup>37</sup> There is no sin (*junāḥ*) for them  
 in lowering the wing (*janāḥ*) over a lover.  
 His soul is yearning to meet you  
 and his eye is eager to see your pleasure.  
 Bring back the light of reunion from the twilight of estrangement,  
 for forsaking is night, reunion is morn.  
 10 And enjoy yourselves, for the time is pleasant for you,  
 the wine is limpid, the cups have gone round.  
 [Swaying; he is a run-away gazelle  
 and in his cheeks are reddish wine and apples;  
 And in his mouth is tasty honey, while camomile appeared  
 in the most beautiful ruby.]<sup>38</sup>

He also said:<sup>39</sup>

Enjoy your blessings,<sup>40</sup> for your life will come to an end,  
 and take advantage of this world, for you will not live forever.  
 If you succeed in securing something delightful, apply yourself to it  
 and let no reproacher keep you from what you desire.  
 And connect morning drink with evening drink, for  
 this world of yours is merely one day that repeats itself.  
 They promised you that you would drink wine in Paradise,  
 but you'll be truly sorry when you're denied it at the appointed  
 place.<sup>41</sup>

37 i.e., people will have mercy on you; an allusion to a Qur'anic expression, e.g. Q al-Isrā' 17:24: «*And lower over them the wing of humility, out of mercy*» (tr. Alan Jones; cf. also al-Ḥijr 15:88, al-Shu'arā' 26:215).

38 A reference to white teeth in a red mouth.

39 Metre: *kāmil*.

40 Literally, 'triumph with blessings!', a clear allusion to the common Qur'anic expressions 'great triumph' which always refers to gaining the 'blessings' (also *na'im*) of the world to come.

41 The word *maw'id* ('appointed place; promise') is used in the Qur'an for the hereafter (hell in Q Hūd 11:17 and al-Ḥijr 15:43).

How many nations have perished, how many houses have been destroyed,  
 mosques been ruined, and places of old restored!<sup>42</sup>  
 You have a prophet who brought a Sharia,  
 a long time ago. How often have they blessed and revered it!

He also said:<sup>43</sup>

I say to my female neighbour, while my tears are streaming down  
 and I am resolved to depart from my dwelling:  
 'Let me go and do not lament,<sup>44</sup>  
 for the noblest bright stars are the wandering planets.<sup>45</sup>  
 I have seen a light in the darkness,  
 as if the night was adorned with the light of day.  
 How much longer must I make snakes my companions?  
 How much longer must I make the dragon my neighbour?  
 How much longer must I be content to stay in a desert,  
 when I have seen my dwelling above the Pole Star,<sup>46</sup>  
 And a flash of lightning comes to me from Sanaa,<sup>47</sup>  
 that reminds me of the closeness of a visit?

At his death, giving up the ghost, when he was killed, he said:<sup>48</sup>

42 The sense of *'ummira ma'hadū*, which does not seem to fit the context, is unclear.

43 Metre: *wāfir*. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix:319–320, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:103, al-Āmilī, *Kashkūl*, 86.

44 Adopting the reading *lā tanūhī* (Müller, Riḍā, Najjār, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, *Masālik*, *Kashkūl*), because *lā tabūhī* ('do not reveal [it]', as in MSS ALB) makes little sense.

45 The context requires this sense of *al-sawārī*, although the common term is (*al-kawākib*) *al-sayyārah*.

46 Literally, 'above al-Farqadān', the two major stars of the Little Bear ( $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  Ursae Minoris), including the Pole Star.

47 It is not clear why Sanaa is mentioned; *Mu'jam al-udabā'* has 'from al-Zawrā' (the name of several locations). Perhaps the precise location is unimportant: the line that follows in *Mu'jam al-udabā'* and *Kashkūl* is 'When I see that light I am annihilated | so that I do not know my right hand from my left.'

48 Metre: *ramal*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:103. A marginal note in MS L reads (tentative translation): 'He who has abstained from carnal appetites has managed to control them; And he who has managed to control himself has been able to dissociate himself from the people; And he who has dissociated himself from the people has diminished his sorrows; And he who has diminished his sorrows has diminished his thoughts; And he who has diminished his thoughts has improved his devotion; And he who has improved his devotion has attached his rational soul to the spiritual matters; And he who has

Say to companions who thought they saw me dead  
 and wept for me out of grief when they saw me:  
 Do not think that I am dead;  
 that dead one, by God, is not I.  
 I am a bird and that is my cage:  
 I flew from it and it was left vacant, as a security.  
 And today I converse with a Host<sup>49</sup>  
 and I see God with my own eyes, in bliss.  
 5 Therefore strip your souls from their bodies;  
 you will surely see<sup>50</sup> the Truth as manifest truth.  
 Let death's agony not frighten you, for it is nothing  
 but a transition from here.  
 The origin of spirits in us is one;  
 likewise our bodies are one body common to us all.  
 I see myself as nothing but you;  
 it is my firm belief that you yourselves are I.  
 Thus what is good is for us  
 and what is evil is in us.  
 10 So have mercy upon me and you yourselves will be shown mercy,  
 and know that you will follow after me.  
 Whoever sees me, let his soul strengthen itself:  
 this world is on the cusp of annihilation.  
 To you here is a sentence of my speech;  
 a salutation of God,<sup>51</sup> a laudation, a eulogy.

[15.18.3]

Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī is the author of the following books:

1. Intimations of the table and the throne (*K. al-talwīḥāt al-lawḥiyyah wa-l-ʿarshīyyah*).

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attached his soul to the spiritual matters has become dyed with the light of truth; And when a person has become dyed with the light of truth, then this is because the essential nature of the human souls has been advanced above the goal that he desired and intended.

49 Here *al-malaʿ* stands for *al-malaʿ al-aʿlā*, 'the High Council' or 'the Heavenly Host', i.e., the angels (cf. Q Ṣād 38:69).

50 Reading (with B) *la-tarawna*, rather than the unmetrical *li-taraw* 'that you may see' (ALH). Or 'God's peace'. The syntax and sense of this line is not wholly clear. The laudation and eulogy probably do not refer to God, since for praising God the normal word is *ḥamd*, not *madḥ*.

51

2. *The 'Imāadian Tablets*, composed for 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Qarā Arslān ibn Dāwūd ibn Artuq,<sup>52</sup> the ruler of Kharpūt<sup>53</sup> (*K. al-abwāḥ al-Imādīyyah*).
3. The glimmer (*K. al-lamḥah*).
4. Oppositions (*K. al-muqāwamāt*), which is a supplement to the *Intimations*.
5. The temples of light (*K. hayākil al-nūr*).
6. The ascending steps (*K. al-ma'ārij*).
7. Havens (*K. al-muṭārahāt*).<sup>54</sup>
8. The philosophy of illumination (*K. ḥikmat al-ishrāq*).

### 15.19 Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī<sup>1</sup>

The honourable dignitary, perfect scholar and chief judge Shams al-Dīn Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl ibn Sa'ādah ibn Ja'far ibn 'Īsā, from the town of Khuwayy, was [one of the] leading authorities within the community of Islam, a master of scholars and rulers.<sup>2</sup>

He was the outstanding man of his time in the philosophical sciences and one of the most deeply learned men of his day and age in juridical matters, besides being acquainted with the principles of medicine and other branches of science. He was an intelligent, very shy, good-looking, amiable, kind and

52 For this figure, see Vāth, *Geschichte der artuqidischen Fürstentümer*, 102, 122–123, 132 and especially 208, where it is mentioned that when al-Suhrawardī composed this book for 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Bakr, he was a *qāḍī* in Kharpūt.

53 Kharpūt or Harpūt (Armenian names: Kharberd, Kharpert) is nowadays called Elāzīj. It is a town located in Eastern Anatolia (Turkey) north of the city of Diyarbakir. Kopf rendered this geographical name as 'Hirt-Birt'; cf. the entry Khartabirt in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ii:355–356.

54 This is the *Kitāb al-Mashāri' wa l-Muṭārahāt* or *The book of paths and havens*.

1 This entry is missing in Versions 1 and 2 but can be found in Version 3. Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī (583–637/1187–1240). His full name is Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Khalīl ibn Sa'ādah ibn Ja'far ibn 'Īsā. He originated from the village of Khuwayy in Azerbaijan. He was appointed as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāh*) in Damascus by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil (d. 624/1227). See Ibn Khallikān's *Biographical Dictionary* (tr. Slane), ii:660–661; idem, *Wafayāt*, iv: 258; slightly longer but still short entries on him in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vi:375–376 and Abū Shāmah, *Dhayl*, 259–260. Cf. also Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat* (facs.), 2:148.6–146.14 (wrong binding order); ed. 734–736; Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 25–27 under No. 2/66.

2 Khuwayy is a town in Azerbaijan, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ii:408–409, who calls it a *balad mashhūr*.

benevolent person. He was – may God have mercy upon him – zealous in prayer, fasting and reading the Qur’an.

When Shams al-Dīn arrived in Syria during the reign of the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil,<sup>3</sup> the ruler sent for him. Upon hearing him speak, he pronounced him to be the best of his generation in all the sciences. Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam was himself acquainted with juridical matters and religious law. He gave Shams al-Dīn a good position, bestowed many honours upon him and provided him with a salary and other means of income. They maintained a solid friendship.

The Sultan also installed Shams al-Dīn in Damascus and placed a house at his disposal. There a group of devoted students studied under him and benefited from his teachings. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – would frequent his house and study Ibn Sahlān’s *Reflections* [*tabṣīrah*] with him.<sup>4</sup> He was a master of eloquence and was highly skilled in using correct and intelligible language. He was a generous and noble-minded person.

Shams al-Dīn’s master was the Imam Fakhr al-Dīn,<sup>5</sup> the son of the preacher of al-Rayy,<sup>6</sup> with whom he studied until al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam appointed him first as a judge and then a chief judge in Damascus. He remained very humble, was soft-spoken, went to the mosque on foot and punctually attended all the prayers. His literary works are outstanding and unequalled. He used to dwell at

3 Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil I Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 624/1227). Ayyubid ruler.

4 This scholar is most likely the judge Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī (or al-Sāwajī). The work, which IAU and Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī studied together, is without a doubt the *Kitāb al-Baṣā’ir al-Naṣīriyyah fī ‘ilm al-mantiq*, or *The Naṣīrī observations, concerning the science of logic*.

5 This is the reading of Müller. However, manuscript A has the following reading: ‘His master was Quṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī, the disciple of Imam Fakhr al-Dīn’. Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī lived from 583/1187 to 637/1240. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī lived from ca. 544/1150 to 606/1210. The well-known scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (597–672/1201–1274) studied as a young boy under Quṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī and Farīd al-Dīn Dāmādh in Nishapur (*Nisābūr*) somewhere between 610/1213 and 618/1221. See for this information Van Lit, *Measurement*, 5–6. Therefore, in theory, al-Khuwayyī could have studied under both masters, for Quṭb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī (see Ch. 11.20) was indeed a student of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who also resided in Nishapur for a while.

6 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, a.k.a. Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy ‘The Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy’ (d. 606/1210), is one of the most influential exponents of Islamic philosophy and theology in the era after al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, whose biography is given in Ch. 11.19, rearranged the structure of the philosophical summa in the Islamic East and thus also the curriculum of philosophical studies. His work completes the process of integrating the discourse of Aristotelian philosophy (*falsafa*) into Muslim rationalist theology (*kalām*), a process that started shortly before al-Ghazālī. See Griffel, ‘Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’; Griffel, ‘Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s Life’; cf. also *ER*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’ (G.C. Anawati).



the al-ʿĀdiliyyah law college where he held classes for the legal scholars until he died – may God have mercy upon him – at a relatively young age from hectic fever (*ḥummā al-diqq*).<sup>7</sup> He died in Damascus on the seventh of the month Shaʿbān in the year 637 [3 March 1240].

Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī is the author of the following works:

1. Supplement to the Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy's [Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's] *Commentary on the Qur'an (Tatimmat tafsīr al-Qur'ān li-Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy)*.
2. On syntax (*K. fī l-naḥw*).
3. On legal theory and methodology (*K. fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*).<sup>8</sup>
4. On philosophical symbolism and the honorific names of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, composed for al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb (*K. yashtamilu ʿalā rumūz ḥikmiyyah wa-alqāb al-sultān al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb*).<sup>9</sup>

#### 15.20 Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī<sup>1</sup>

The venerable judge and learned authority Rafīʿ al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Jīlī came originally from Fīlmān,<sup>2</sup> but became well-known in al-Jīlān.<sup>3</sup> He was one of the most out-

7 It is interesting that at the age of 53 one is still said to be *fī sinn al-shabāb*.

8 What is most likely meant here is the *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh* and not the *ʿilm uṣūl al-dīn* (dogmatic theology).

9 Lothar Kopf translates 'A book on the philosophical symbolism of the honorific name of the Sultan al-Malik al-Muʿazzam', thereby following Müller: *ʿalā alqāb*. MSS A and L have the reading *wa-alqāb*.

1 This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3. Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī (d. 641/1243). His full name is Rafīʿ al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Jīlī. He belonged to the people of Fīlmān, but acquired his reputation in al-Jīlān. He was first and foremost a legal scholar. He was appointed as chief judge of Damascus by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. 643/1245) after the death of Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī (see the previous entry) in 637/1240.

2 MSS M and A both read Fīlmān, whereas MS L presents us with the reading Qīlmān. It is possible that both terms are a corruption of Fīlān. The last is an eastern Caucasian region close to the western coasts of the Caspian Sea. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iv:286; Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii:262 and 499 (3); Melgunof, *Das Südliche Ufer*, 302; al-Muqaddasi, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 75 and 299 refers to Bīlmān Shahr, a town in Jīl, which fits our al-Jīlī (so it must be in fact Fīlmān, if F and B alternate in the Arabic). Yāqūt's 'Baylamān' (i:534) is located in either Yemen or al-Sind & al-Hind, so most likely not the same.

3 Jīlān or al-Jīlān is a region in Tabaristan close to the southern coasts of the Caspian Sea. See

standing [scholars] in the domains of the philosophical sciences, dogmatic theology, legal theory and methodology, the natural sciences and medicine. Having settled in Damascus, he taught as an expert of religious law at the al-ʿAdhrāwīyyah law college, inside the Gate of Victory (*Bāb al-Naṣr*), where he held sessions for his students in the various branches of sciences and medicine. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – studied philosophy with him for a time. He was eloquent and highly intelligent, and read and studied constantly.

Rafīʿ al-Dīn served as a judge for a short while in the city of Baalbek, where he was a close friend of the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah.<sup>4</sup> After the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl<sup>5</sup> had become the ruler of Damascus, when the chief judge Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī died, may God have mercy upon him, Amīn al-Dawlah suggested that Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jīlī should take his place. Accordingly, the Sultan appointed him to the post of chief judge in Damascus thereby enabling him to enjoy great prestige and wealth.

As time went on, however, many people complained about him and had serious misgivings about his conduct. To make a long story short, in the end he was arrested and put to death – may God have mercy upon him – during the reign of al-Malik Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl. Following an argument between the Rafīʿ al-Dīn and the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah, the judge was placed under guard and brought, under an escort of the vizier’s men, to a place near Baalbek, where there was an immense reputedly bottomless pit, known as the Cave of Afqah.<sup>6</sup> These men were ordered to tie his hands and then push him into the pit. One of the men who was among those present on that occasion told me that when Rafīʿ al-Dīn was pushed into this pit, he was crushed by the fall, but that his clothing appeared to have caught on the side of the cave near the bottom. ‘We stayed there for approximately three days,’ he told me ‘listening to his moaning and groaning. After some time, it became weaker and weaker and then it stopped, so that we were sure that he was dead. Then we went away’.

I – Ibn Abi Uṣaybiʿah – say: It is curious to note that the judge Rafīʿ al-Dīn went over a copy of this book in my presence, in which I had not included

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Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ii:200–201; Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, ii:42 and 53; Melgunof, *Das südlliche Ufer*, in many places.

4 Amīn al-Dawlah is the physician and vizier Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ghazāl ibn Abī Saʿīd. He was a Samaritan who converted to Islam under the name Kamāl al-Dīn. He has an entry in Ch. 15.49.

5 Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ I Ismāʿīl ibn al-ʿĀdil II Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, ʿImād al-Dīn (r. 635/1237–1238 and 637–643/1239–1245). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70–71.

6 The Cave of Afqah is centrally aligned between Baalbek and Byblos, 71 km northeast of Beirut in modern-day Lebanon.

him.<sup>7</sup> He looked through it, but stopped when he had finished [reading] the account of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī. He was much impressed by it and spoke: ‘You have included him, but you have omitted others who were greater than he’, referring to himself. Then he added, ‘Shihāb al-Dīn’s situation was most unfortunate indeed, but at least he died in the end. And God mighty and glorious decreed that Rafī‘ al-Dīn should be put to death like him. Praise the Lord, who determines [the fate of] His creatures according to His will. The judge Rafī‘ al-Dīn died in the month of Dhū l-Hijjah of the year 641 [May 1244]. When Rafī‘ al-Dīn became judge in Damascus and was appointed as chief judge in 638/1240, I composed the following poem to congratulate him on that occasion:<sup>8</sup>

Lasting glory and good fortune and high standing  
 for all time, and elevation and brilliance,  
 Through the lasting life of our master Rafī‘ al-Dīn, man of  
 all-encompassing generosity and of benevolence!  
 Chief Judge, most exalted master, through whose lofty qualities  
 scholarship and scholars rise high,  
 Unique in noble traits, though all of mankind  
 share some of them.

5 If any man of eloquent speech wished  
 to count his noble traits, the eloquent would fall short.  
 How many enemies attest to his excellence  
 – and excellence is not (normally) attested by enemies!  
 He has composed works that clearly express  
 everything that the ancients did garble.<sup>9</sup>  
 Through him Jīl<sup>10</sup> has things to boast of among countries;  
 likewise this generation (*jīl*) is raised through him.  
 O master who surpasses all people in truth  
 with his fine attributes that are not hidden:

10 I was pained by your departure far away,  
 but seeing you brought the cure.

7 The reference here is to the first version of Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah’s *Uyūn*, dedicated to Amīn al-Dawlah.

8 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:526 (lines 1–2 only).

9 The two contrasting verbs, *a‘raba* and *a‘jama*, literally mean ‘to put into Arabic’ and ‘to produce unclear, non-Arabic speech’, respectively.

10 Al-Jīlī in fact hailed from the region called Jīlān, the Arabic form of Persian Gīlān, along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. As Yāqūt (*Muṣjam al-buldān*) explains, al-Jīlī is a gentilicium, whereas al-Jīlānī refers to the region.

Gladness came in my heart, the sun  
of joy shone, and torment ceased.  
Glad tidings, of congratulation with a position, appeared,  
over which there spread a splendour of God's light:  
The confirmation (*iḥkām*) of the verdicts (*aḥkām*) of widespread justice,  
with which, and with your excellence (*faḍl*), the earth is filled.  
Gifts (*fawāḍil*) from you were scattered among the people,  
while affections from them came together in you.  
15 You possess lordship, happiness, lofty qualities,  
excellence (*faḍl*), favours (*afḍāl*), and blessings.  
A Jupiter for (or: 'buyer of') praise you are,<sup>11</sup>  
but if you pronounce the decisive judgement<sup>12</sup> you are Orion.<sup>13</sup>  
I may have singled you out with congratulation, but  
congratulation on your appointment encompasses all people.  
Ah, so many favours have you bestowed on me  
in the course of time; they cannot be counted!  
Be well, live long, in a lasting life of ease,  
as long as a dove sings in its grove!

Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jīlī is the author of the following works:

1. A commentary on *The Book of Remarks and Admonitions* [by Ibn Sīnā], composed for al-Muẓaffar Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar ibn al-Malik al-Amjad Bahrām Shāh ibn Farrukh Shāh ibn Shāhanshāh ibn Ayyūb' (*S. al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*).
2. A summary of the Generalities in the *Qānūn* of Ibn Sīnā (*Ikhtīṣār al-kulliyāt min kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
3. A compilation of what has been transmitted authoritatively of the tradition [i.e. Hadith] of the Prophet, may God bless him and keep him (*K. jama'a mā fī asānīd min ḥadīth al-nabīy*).

11 There is an untranslatable play on the two meanings of *al-mushtarī*, 'Jupiter' (the most auspicious of planets) and 'the buyer'. For examples of the motif of 'buying' praise by being generous, see e.g. al-Qālī, *Amālī*, ii:114, al-Zajjāji, *Amālī*, 190, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, xi:297.

12 *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, cf. Q Ṣād 38:20, «We [God] gave him [the Prophet Muḥammad] wisdom and decisive speech».

13 Al-Jawzā', Orion, is also called al-Jabbār, 'the Mighty'.

15.21 Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī<sup>1</sup>

The honourable and learned scholar Shams al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Īsā al-Khusrawshāhī, who was a native of Khusrawshāh, a small village very near Tabrīz,<sup>2</sup> was a leading scholar, an outstanding philosopher, a model to mankind and an honour to Islam. He distinguished himself in the philosophical sciences, was devoted to the principles of medicine and was well-versed in religious law. Tireless in the pursuit of learning, and a man of great merit and virtue, he was one of the most brilliant disciples of the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn, the ‘Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy’ [that is, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī].

Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī left his native place and went to Syria, where he served the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Dāwūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam,<sup>3</sup> staying with him in al-Karak.<sup>4</sup> He was held in high esteem [by the Sultan], who showed him great favour and bestowed many gifts upon him. Shams al-Dīn went to Damascus where he resided until he died – may God have mercy upon him – in the month of Shawwāl of the year 652 [October-November 1254]. He was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn.

When Shams al-Dīn arrived in Damascus, and I met him, I found him to be an elderly gentleman with pleasant manners and an attractive way of speaking. He was intelligent and very learned. One day when I was at his home a Persian jurist brought him a book written in a very tiny handwriting, one-eighth the size of Baghdadi script, and in a rather irregular format.<sup>5</sup> After looking at it and [thoroughly] examining it, he kissed it and laid it down forthwith. Upon my asking him the reason for this, he said, ‘This is the handwriting of our master, the Imam Fakhr al-Dīn, the preacher – may God have mercy upon him’. I felt great esteem for him because of the respect that he had shown toward his master. When Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī died – may God have mercy upon him – the shaykh ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Ghanawī al-Ḍarīr al-Irbilī celebrated him in an elegy:<sup>6</sup>

1 This entry is missing in Version 1 but present in Versions 2 and 3.

2 Khusrawshāh is a hamlet west of the city of Tabrīz in Persia. Its present name is Khosrow Shahr, cf. also Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:371. The latter specifies the distance from Tabrīz to Khusrawshāh as being six parasangs, that is roughly 42 km, and indicated that the village had a market and one structure of relative importance.

3 That is, al-Malik al-Nāṣir ʾI Dāwūd ibn al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā Sharaf al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 624–626/1227–1229), Ayyubid ruler of Damascus. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

4 Al-Karak is either a small town in Syria, west of al-Suwaydah (in the Daraa district), or more likely a town in modern-day Jordan mostly known for its crusader castle, the well-known fortress of Kerak.

5 Müller, ‘Text’, [963] 249, has suggested this specific reading.

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:258 (lines 1–4, 6–8), al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:74–75 (lines 1–2, 4, 6–8), Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:105–106 (lines 2, 4, 7–9, 11).

With your death, Shams al-Dīn, virtues died  
 and gatherings are deserted by the mention of sciences.  
 Perdition struck the sun (*shams*) of lofty deeds when it had risen,  
 and the moon of excellence perished when it was full:  
 A man who knew the Truth and who acted in accordance with what is  
 Good  
 – not all people with knowledge act accordingly.  
 A man who surpassed all speakers with his silence;  
 think how he would be if you found him speaking!  
 5 We used to count on him for the solution of difficulties  
 whenever problems defeated skilled people among us.  
 The abode of intelligence, now that he has gone, is empty today;  
 the neck of lofty qualities is bare of the jewels of excellence.  
 Do the Fates know whom they struck with their arrows  
 and which man perished and was seized by disasters?  
 They struck a man unique in this world, the sea of its sciences,  
 of whom the ancients fell short in excellence.  
 If a man could repel perdition with his excellence,  
 slabs of stone would not have hidden ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd.  
 10 But no subterfuge can repel death  
 and nobody with hope can expect a man to live forever.  
 Now that you, Shams al-Dīn, are gone, any scholar is destitute  
 while the ignorant put forward their claims in gatherings.

Al-Ṣāḥib Najm al-Dīn al-Lubūdī<sup>7</sup> composed this elegy on him:<sup>8</sup>

O you who announce the death of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, forbear  
 with me! For knowledge is wrapped in a shroud.  
 He passed away, singular in his excellence and knowledge,  
 while I have become solitary in grief, passion, and sorrow.  
 So eyes, pour out tears for the loss of him,  
 for today after his demise my decent fortitude is no longer fitting.  
 May the several kinds of angels receive him, in splendour,  
 in a radiant arrival in that custom,  
 5 Saying to him, ‘Welcome! Welcome  
 to the best man who has come to this home,

<sup>7</sup> See Ch. 15.31 (where he is called Najm al-Dīn Ibn al-Lubūdī).

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāṭ*, ii:258–259 (lines 1–5), al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xviii:75 (lines 1–5).

To a host whose existence has turned into their essences,<sup>9</sup>  
 no longer having a companion or a dwelling to impede them.  
 It is enough for you to have an essence that is identity<sup>10</sup> by right;  
 there is no falsehood in it nor rancour.  
 You will stay there, seeing and observing the Essence of essences,<sup>11</sup>  
 who is exalted above beings, coming into being, and time.  
 God preserve you, Shams al-Dīn! So many signposts of truth  
 have you erected, splendid, with eloquent tongue!  
 10 Being struck with your loss is a consolation for us,<sup>12</sup>  
 and someone like me is being put to the test with someone like you.

Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī is the author of the following works:

1. Summary of *The Guide to Jurisprudence*, according to the school of Imam al-Shāfi‘ī, by [the author] Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-muḥadhdhab fī l-fiqh ‘alā madhhab al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī li-Abī Ishāq al-Shīrāzī*).
2. Summary of the master Ibn Sīnā’s book *The Healing* (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-shifā’ lil-ra‘īs Ibn Sīnā*).
3. Supplement to *The Book of Clear Signs* by The Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy [Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī], which [completes] the second section. This [version of] the *Clear Signs* is not the well-known, abridged, edition in ten chapters (*Tatimmat kitāb al-āyāt al-bayyināt li-Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy*).

## 15.22 Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī<sup>1</sup>

The esteemed leading authority and learned scholar Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sālīm al-Taghlibī al-Āmidī was one of

9 Reading *aḍḥā l-wujūdu dhawātihim*; perhaps one should read *aḍḥā l-wujūda dhawātuhum* ('whose essences have turned into [pure] existence'); the precise interpretation is unclear. The 'companion' and 'dwelling' apparently refer to the physical body and world.

10 This interpretation of *al-‘ayn* is uncertain.

11 The expression *dhāt al-dhawāt* is used by Ibn al-‘Arabī in a poem in his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah* (Chapter 378): *Yaṭīru l-‘arīfūna ... bi-ajniḥati l-malā’ikati l-kirāmī || ilā dhāti l-dhawāti bilā na’tin*.

12 Meaning unclear.

1 This entry is missing in Version 1 but present in Versions 2 and 3. Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Abī ‘Alī al-Āmidī (551–631/1156–1233) is renowned as the author of a monumental summa on Islamic legal theory entitled *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*. See Weiss, 'Legal Education,' 110–127. He was a leading scholar of Islamic theology (*kalām*) and theoretical

the most distinguished, erudite and intelligent men of his time, having been supreme in his knowledge of the philosophical sciences, the several schools of theology and the principles of medicine. He was a spirited person and was impressive in appearance. He was also an eloquent speaker and an excellent writer as well.

Sayf al-Dīn served al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad ibn al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Shāhanshāh ibn Ayyūb, Lord of Hama,<sup>2</sup> with whom he remained for two years, receiving a more than generous salary and enjoying many favours. He was one of [the ruler’s] special favourites and served al-Malik al-Manṣūr until the latter died in the year 617/1220.

Sayf al-Dīn then went to Damascus. Upon his arrival there, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb<sup>3</sup> showered acts of kindness upon him, honoured him greatly and appointed him professor at a [law] college. When he came to the college and began to give lectures and hold classes there for the jurists, everyone was astonished at his excellent qualities in debate and research. There was no one who was equal to him in any of the sciences, but he rarely taught any of the philosophical sciences.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – used to meet with him and study the ‘Book of the Indication of Treasures’ under him, which he had composed himself. This was because of the firm friendship between him and my father. The first time I met him, I had come to his house with my father. He lived in a paved courtyard near the al-Ādiliyyah law college in Damascus. After we had greeted him, he observed the formalities by welcoming us with amiable words. Then we sat down. He looked at us and spoke these [exact] words: ‘I have never seen a father and a son resemble each other more than you do’.

Al-Ṣāhib Fakhr al-Quḍāt ibn Buṣāqah<sup>4</sup> recited to me [the following] poem about himself, which he wrote after al-‘Imād al-Salmāsī<sup>5</sup> had put in a good word for him with Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī in order that [the latter] might accept him as a student:<sup>6</sup>

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jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). He was born to a Kurdish family in Āmid, a largely Kurdish town in eastern Anatolia that is now part of the Turkish city of Diyarbakır.

2 That is the Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad ibn al-Muzaffar I ‘Umar Taqī al-Dīn, Abū l-Ma‘ālī Nāṣir al-Dīn (r. 587–617/1191–1221). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

3 That is, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil I Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 624/1227). Ayyubid ruler. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

4 Ibn Buṣāqah is Abū l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh ibn Hibat Allāh, *qāḍī, kātib*, poet, d. 650/1252–1253, see e.g. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, iv:187–192; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii:41–49.

5 He is ‘Imād al-Dīn ‘Uthmān ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Khalīl al-Salmāsī, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx:37 (no dates given).

6 Metre: *basīf*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:107, Ibn al-Sha‘ār, *Qalā‘id*, vii:63.



O Master, with whom God may embellish Time  
 and its people, of all non-Arabs and Arabs!  
 Your servant reminds his lord of his promises  
 made earlier to ‘Imād al-Dīn, from nearby.<sup>7</sup>  
 The gifts of someone like my lord come  
 without any promise, his bounty comes without a request:  
 So be honest and give(?)<sup>8</sup> from the overflowing watering place of your  
 sea,  
 and enrich him with the treasures of knowledge, not of gold.  
 Provide him with a genealogy that connects him to you,  
 for the affiliation of knowledge surpasses that of kinship,  
 And do not let him rely on books to instruct him,  
 for ‘the sword (*al-sayf*) gives more truthful information than books.’<sup>9</sup>

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: This poem contains a splendid insertion of a hemistich (*taḍmīn*) by Abū Tammām in order to incorporate the word *sayf* (sword). Sayf al-Dīn remained in Damascus until his death – may God have mercy upon him – on the fourth of the month Ṣafar of the year 631 [9 November 1233]. Among the poems of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī is one, which his son Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad recited to me. He heard it from his father [Sayf al-Dīn] who had composed it himself.<sup>10</sup>

There is no virtue that is not one of his virtues,  
 there is no marvel of which he is not the origin.  
 He has attained glory by virtue of his knowledge and through him  
 realms have risen when he took charge of them.  
 He is the means in this world for those who seek it  
 and he is the road to approach the next world.

Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī is the author of the following works:

1. The finer points of truth (*K. daqā’iq al-ḥaqā’iq*).

7 Perhaps meaning ‘a short while ago’ here.

8 The MSS (ALRHGcGb both texts) and editions (Müller, Riḍā, Najjār, *Masālik*) all have *fa-aṣḥi*, which could be correct (the verb *aṣḥā* can mean ‘to choose s.o. in preference to others, to give s.th.’ and ‘to be sincere towards s.o.’). However, adding a dot and reading *fa-adfi* would give a better sense (‘bestow generously!’).

9 As IAU explains, this is a witty quotation of the opening of Abū Tammām’s celebrated ode on the caliph al-Mu‘taṣim’s conquest of Amorium in 223/838, despite the predictions of astrologers and Byzantines (Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, i:40).

10 Metre: *basīṭ*.

2. The indications of treasures (*K. rumūz al-kunūz*).
3. The pith of intellects (*K. lubāb al-albāb*).
4. Virgin thoughts on dogmatic theology (*K. abkār al-afkār fī l-uṣūl*).
5. The utmost of what may be desired in speculative theology (*K. ghāyat al-marām fī ʿilm al-kalām*).
6. The demonstration of the distortion of facts in the *Commentary on the Admonitions*, which was composed for al-Malik al-Manṣūr ibn Taqī al-Dīn, ruler of Hama (*K. kashf al-tamwihāt fī sharḥ al-tanbihāt*).
7. The object of hope in dialectics (*K. ghāyat al-amal fī ʿilm al-jadal*).
8. A commentary on the book *On dialectics* by Shihāb al-Dīn, who is [also] known as al-Sharīf al-Marāghī (*S. kitāb Shihāb al-Dīn al-maʿrūf bil-Sharīf al-Marāghī fī l-jadal*).
9. Those who follow the [different] paths and have reached the highest levels of these paths (*K. muntahā al-masālik fī rutab al-masālik*).
10. Explanation of the meanings of the utterances of the philosophers and the [speculative] theologians (*K. al-mubayyin fī maʿānī alfāz al-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-mutakallimīn*).
11. Guide to complete agreement applicable in all matters in which there is disagreement (*Dalīl muttaḥid al-ʾitilāf wa-jār fī jamʿ masāʾil al-khilāf*).
12. Preponderant arguments in [the science of] controversy [i.e., controversial questions in jurisprudence] (*K. al-tarjihāt fī l-khilāf*).
13. Blameworthy arguments in [the science] of controversy (*K. al-muʾakhdhāt fī l-khilāf*).
14. Lesser work on annotations (*K. al-taʿlīqah al-ṣaghīrah*).
15. Greater work on annotations (*K. al-taʿlīqah al-kabīrah*).
16. Profession of faith under the name 'pure gold' (*ʿAqīdah tusammā khulāṣat al-ibrīz*).
17. A memorandum to al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*Tadhkirat al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*).
18. Answers to questions about dogmatic theology (*K. muntahā al-masʾul fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*).
19. The gifts of intellects (*K. manāʾih al-qarāʾih*).<sup>11</sup>

11 Lothar Kopf has translated: 'The Charnel-Houses of Characters'. The term *maniḥa* (plural: *manāʾih*) has the meaning of 'gift', 'a thing given for free'. See Lane, *Lexicon*, ii, 2737.

### 15.23 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān<sup>1</sup>

[15.23.1]

The learned and virtuous physician and leading authority Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Naṣr As‘ad ibn Abī l-Faṭḥ Ilyās ibn Jurjis al-Muṭrān was a leading philosopher and a most erudite scholar. He was amply blessed and richly favoured (by God) and was the leading expert of his time in the theory and practise of medicine, having been peerless in the knowledge and application of its principles, and a gentle and outstanding practitioner. He was an expert in the philosophical sciences. In addition, he was devoted to the writerly culture. He studied grammar, lexicography and literature under the teacher and well-known authority Tāj al-Dīn Abī l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī<sup>2</sup> and excelled in those domains.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān was Damascus born and bred. His father was also a prominent physician, who travelled to foreign lands in search of enlightenment. He had travelled to Byzantium in order to acquaint himself thoroughly with the principles of Christianity (being himself a Christian) and the several schools of Christian thought.<sup>3</sup> Later he moved to Iraq and met with Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh,<sup>4</sup> under whom he studied medicine for a time, reading many medical works under his guidance [until] he became distinguished in the art of medicine himself. He then returned to Damascus where he practised medicine until the day he died.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. For Ibn al-Muṭrān, see *ET Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Muṭrān’ (N.P. Joosse); Ullmann, *Medizin in Islam*, 165–166, 191; Brentjes, ‘Narratives’; Brentjes, ‘Ayyubid princes’, 335–336, 340; Jadon, ‘Physicians of Syria during reign of Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn’; Jadon, ‘Comparison of wealth ... of the physicians of Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn’.

2 Al-Kindī al-Naḥwī al-Baghdādī, Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 613/1217) was a grammarian, belle-lettrist and prominent reciter of the Qur’an (*muqrī*). Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn was also one of the teachers of the famous polymath ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī. The latter portrayed him as ‘a fine-looking shaykh, with a keen wit, wealthy, and in great favour with the sultan, but very self-satisfied and troublesome to his associates’ (trans. Gibb in Saunders, *Life of Muwaffiq ad-Dīn*, 72). ‘Abd al-Laṭīf and Tāj al-Dīn had some arguments together. In the end, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf neglected to attend his lessons, which annoyed Tāj al-Dīn enormously. See Martini Bonadeo, ‘Philosophical journey’, 125–126; Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 102. Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn viciously compared ‘Abd al-Laṭīf to a pancake because of his slender figure. See also the entry on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in Ch. 15.40. See also Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 108–111.

3 The name Ibn al-Muṭrān has the meaning of ‘son of the metropolitan’ [i.e. an archbishop or diocesan bishop]. Ibn al-Muṭrān was a Melkite Christian by birth.

4 For further information on Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, see the biography on him in Ch. 10.64.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān had a sharp intellect, spoke eloquently and studied constantly. His works furnish evidence of his erudition and excellence in the art of medicine, which he had studied under Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh,<sup>5</sup> and other sciences.

Ibn al-Muṭrān was a handsome man, who was particularly fond of luxurious, costly clothes. He served as a physician to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (Saladin) who showed him great favour, with the result that he enjoyed high status and great prestige. The ruler made him his chamberlain and appointed him in charge of the household, a post for which he paid him extremely well. Saladin – may God have mercy upon him – was a noble and excellent man, who was very generous to those who served him and to everyone who asked him for assistance, so much so that when he died, his treasury was found to be empty. He had complete confidence in Ibn al-Muṭrān, never leaving him behind whenever he was travelling or [whenever he] decided to stay in some town or village. For that reason, he [constantly] showered the physician with favours and gifts and provided him with opulent means. Ibn al-Muṭrān [then] became proud and arrogant, thinking himself even above kings. Saladin was aware of this trait in him, but did not cease to show him respect and esteem, because he admired him for his [great] knowledge.<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Muṭrān converted to Islam during the reign of Saladin.<sup>7</sup>

[15.23.1.1]

Someone who knew Ibn al-Muṭrān's conceited nature and arrogance well told me that he once accompanied the Sultan on one of his military expeditions. In time of war, during campaigns, it was Saladin's habit to occupy a red pavilion, complete with a red outer tent and vestibule. One day, when Saladin was out riding, he saw a red tent with a red vestibule and privy. He contemplated it for a while and then asked whose it was. Upon being informed that it belonged to the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān, he said, 'By God, I knew it was some stupid freak of Ibn al-Muṭrān's!' He laughed, but then said, 'What would happen if a messenger were to ride by and think that it belonged to a king? If he must have his tent, he shall [at least] change the privy,' and he ordered it to be destroyed. When this was done, Ibn al-Muṭrān took it very hard, keeping to

5 See the biography on him in Ch. 15.13.

6 For the different ties of service and attendance between servants and their masters, see Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 116–122.

7 Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, i:329, mentions that Ibn al-Muṭrān abandoned the Christian faith and became a Muslim for the sake of the honour of the transient world.

himself for two days and not providing his usual services, but the Sultan mollified him with a gift of a purse.

[15.23.1.2]

The same source also informed me that there was in the service of Saladin a Christian physician by the name of Abū l-Faraj<sup>8</sup> who served the Sultan for a time and frequently visited his palace. One day he told the Sultan that he needed dowries for his daughters and asked him for his assistance in this matter. Saladin replied, 'Write down on paper everything that you require for their dowries and bring it to me'. Abū l-Faraj left and listed on a piece of paper jewellery, fabrics, utensils and other things to the value of thirty thousand dirhams. When Saladin read the list, he ordered his treasurer [*khazandār*] to buy everything that was included in it for Abū l-Faraj, leaving nothing out. No sooner had Ibn al-Muṭrān heard about this than his attendances on his master became surly and sporadic. Saladin noticed that his physician's face had changed and he understood the reason for it. Then and there he ordered his treasurer to make a note of everything that he had bought for Abū l-Faraj, the physician, and to calculate the total price of it. When the treasurer had calculated the total amount, Saladin ordered him to pay Ibn al-Muṭrān a similar sum, and that was duly done.

[15.23.1.3]

Abū l-Zāhir Ismā'īl, who knew Ibn al-Muṭrān and was on intimate terms with him, told me that the vanity and the arrogance that became characteristic of him [later on in life], were entirely absent during his days as a young man in search of knowledge. He said that he used to see Ibn al-Muṭrān when the latter was studying grammar at the mosque. He would come there after he had finished his work at the Sultan's palace. He would arrive with an escort of horsemen, accompanied by numerous Turkish slaves and others. When he approached the mosque, he would [dismount and] continue on foot, holding his books in his hand or under his arm. He would let none of the servants accompany him, but would walk, with the books, to the study-circle of the shaykh under whom he was studying. He would then greet him [the shaykh] and sit among the group, alert and receptive, until the lesson was over and he returned to his attendants.

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8 For Abū l-Faraj, see Ch. 15.28.

[15.23.2]

According to the venerable and respected judge, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qiftī,<sup>9</sup> the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn al-Muṭrān, a Christian, became a good Muslim after his conversion to Islam. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn – may God sanctify his soul – presented him with one of his favourite ladies at the palace, named Jawzah, as a wife. Jawzah was a servant of Khwand Khātūn, the daughter of Mu‘īn al-Dīn and the wife of Saladin. It was Jawzah who managed the household and was her mistress’ favourite handmaid. Khwand Khātūn gave her many pieces of jewellery and other precious articles, making her a rich [woman], and made her the recipient of many acts of favour. Jawzah put Ibn al-Muṭrān’s affairs into proper order, taught him how to behave, improved his manner of dressing and embellished both his outer appearance and his character. He earned a reputation that quickly spread throughout the country, and acquired great wealth by treating state dignitaries when they fell ill: they vied with each other in offering him gifts and presents. His position with the Sultan was so important that he almost had the status of a vizier. He used to take men who specialized in medicine and philosophy under his protection, in order to advance their interests, and acted as an intermediary in helping them to earn a living.

[15.23.2.1]

The same source informed me that the jurist Ismā‘īl ibn al-Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Bannā’<sup>10</sup> al-Qiftī, the preacher of ‘Aydḥāb,<sup>11</sup> related the following [story] to him. ‘When the Sultan had conquered the coastal region,’ he said, ‘I set out from ‘Aydḥāb to visit Jerusalem. Upon reaching Syria, I saw tree-clad mountains in contrast to dry and desolate ‘Aydḥāb. I desired to settle there, but did not know how to find a livelihood. So, I went to al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm<sup>12</sup> and asked him for a letter to the Sultan, recommending me for [the post of] preacher in the fortress of al-Karak. Al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm wrote a letter for me full of kindness, which is listed among his correspondence.<sup>13</sup> I brought it with me to Damascus, where

9 In the version of Ibn al-Qiftī’s *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’* preserved today, Ibn al-Muṭrān is not mentioned.

10 Ismā‘īl ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Abī Dhu‘ayb Abū Ṭāhir al-Qiftī, known as Ibn al-Bannā’ (d. 687/1288–1289), see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ix:121–122.

11 ‘Aydḥāb was once an important port on the Red Sea in what is now modern-day Sudan. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, iv:171.

12 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). *Kātib* (scribe) to Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and head of his chancery. He is often designated by IAU as ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm or ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī.

13 ‘As head of Saladin’s chancery al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil designed and carried out diplomatic

the Sultan was staying, but I was advised to show it to Ibn al-Muṭṭrān. I went to his house, entered with his permission, and found him a pleasant and good-natured man and a good listener and talker. His house struck me as extremely beautiful with respect to its construction and furnishings. I saw water spouting from pipes in his pond that were made of pure gold and were of the most excellent craftsmanship. I [also] saw a young and exceptionally handsome lad, who waited on him hand and foot, called 'Umar.<sup>14</sup> There were also luxurious carpets, and I smelled fragrances of which the sweet scent filled me with a sense of awe. When I told him the reason for my visit, he graciously informed me that he would see to the matter'.

The venerable Jamāl al-Dīn concluded by saying, 'I saw his wife and the son of 'Umar, his chamberlain. They had come to Aleppo after the year 600/1203, in straitened circumstances, but were shown hospitality under the protection of al-Malik al-Zāhir – may God prosper his reign – and lived on charitable allowances that had been allocated to them. After a time, she died, and I have not heard anything further about the son of 'Umar since'.<sup>15</sup>

[15.23.2.2]

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Būrī, the Christian scribe, told me that when al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb conquered al-Karak, the Christian physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb ibn Siqlāb,<sup>16</sup> then a young man, came to Damascus. He wore a headdress<sup>17</sup> and a small [i.e., light] turban,<sup>18</sup> and was dressed in a tight-fitting blue coat,<sup>19</sup> the usual dress of Frankish physicians. He went to the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭṭrān to seek to curry favour with him, and [also] began to visit him frequently, hoping to benefit

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correspondence, engaged in the organization of state finances and politics, and entertained an extensive literary communication with the most conspicuous intellectuals of his time. His letters were recognized already by contemporaries as an essential source for the political and intellectual history combining perspicacious insight, exemplary stylistic elegance and extraordinary intellectual capacities'. [From: the description of a current project at the Oriental Institute in Beirut, Lebanon: 'Chancery and Diplomats Exemplified by the Correspondence of al-Qadi al-Fadil' by Stefan Leder, Sabine Dorpmueller and Muhammad Helmy].

14 For a marginal note in R, see A11.15 and *Lesarten*, 52–53.

15 Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, i:329, mentions that after the death of Saladin, Ibn al-Muṭṭrān's wife appeared with a child who was beloved by him, and they used to go round to the houses of the recluses and beg for alms.

16 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.43.

17 *Kūfiyyah*; cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 390–394.

18 *Takhfifāh ṣaghīrah*; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i:386.

19 *Jūkhah malūṭah zarqā'*; cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 127–131.

thereby. Ibn al-Muṭrān told him, 'These clothes you are wearing will not help you to practise medicine among the Muslims in this country. It would serve your interest to change your attire. You would do better to dress like the local physicians'. He brought an outer garment with wide sleeves of red cotton<sup>20</sup> and an ornamented gown made of camel's hair<sup>21</sup> and ordered him to put them on. Then he said, 'There is a great prince here, called Maymūn al-Qaṣrī,<sup>22</sup> who is ill. I have been visiting him regularly to treat him. You should come with me and treat him yourself'. When they arrived at the prince's abode, Ibn al-Muṭrān said to the prince, 'This is a distinguished physician and I have complete confidence in his knowledge of the art of medicine. I trust him, so let him keep you company and attend to your condition at all times. Let him stay with you until you recover, God willing'. The prince agreed to this suggestion, and the physician Ya'qūb stayed with him day and night until he regained health, for which he was rewarded with five hundred dinars. Upon receiving this sum of money, Ya'qūb went to Ibn al-Muṭrān and said to him, 'O master, the prince has given this to me, and I am bringing you the money he gave me'. Ibn al-Muṭrān replied, 'Keep it, for I only intended to benefit you'. Ya'qūb kept it, invoking God's blessing upon Ibn al-Muṭrān.

[15.23.3]

The physician 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Suwaydī<sup>23</sup> told me the following story:

Ibn al-Muṭrān was once sitting at the door of his house, when a young man from a well-to-do family, dressed as a soldier, came up to him and handed him a piece of paper<sup>24</sup> on which were twelve lines of poetry praising him. When he had read them, Ibn al-Muṭrān said: 'Are you a poet?' The young man replied: 'No, but I come from a respectable family, and misfortune has afflicted me. You have been recommended to me as a protector and I wish to entrust you with my education, so that you may direct me in the way your lofty intellect sees fit'. Ibn al-Muṭrān then entered his house

20 Or: silk (*jubbah wāsi'ah 'attābī*); cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 107–117. Dozy's *'utābī* (at 110 and 436–437) is incorrect.

21 *Baqyār mukammil*; Cf. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 84–87. But see Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 105: 'a turban'.

22 That is, Fāris al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaṣrī (d. 611/1214). Ayyubid ruler. Lord of Nablus and Sidon.

23 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15, 57.

24 MS L has *raqq* or *riqq*: 'parchment'. Gb has *rizqahu*, which is an understandable misreading of *waraqah* due to the previous mention of the *jund*.



and summoned the youth to come in as well. He placed some food before him, which he ate, and then said to him, “Izz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh, Lord of Şarkhad,<sup>25</sup> has fallen ill with a malady that tends to recur. How would it be if I were to send you to attend him? He will reimburse you generously.’ ‘But master’, said the young man, ‘how shall I obtain the necessary medical knowledge and skill?’ ‘Do not worry about that,’ replied Ibn al-Muṭrān, ‘for I shall write out for you a letter of instruction, which you must closely follow and from which you must not deviate.’ ‘I hear and obey!’ the youth said. On his way out, he was approached by one of Ibn al-Muṭrān’s servants, who gave him a bundle containing a few items of clothing, together with a horse, a saddle and a bridle. ‘Take these clothes and put them on,’ said the servant, ‘mount the horse and prepare to go to Şarkhad’. ‘But I have nowhere to leave the horse for the night,’ protested the young man. ‘Leave the horse with us,’ the servant replied, ‘saddle it early tomorrow morning and go with God, the exalted’. When the youth came to the house of Ibn al-Muṭrān at an early hour the next day, he was given a letter [of recommendation] from the physician to ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh, ruler of Şarkhad, a notebook<sup>26</sup> that he was instructed to use as the basis for his treatment, and two hundred dirhams for travelling expenses.

The youth then rode to Şarkhad and treated ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh-Shāh in accordance with the instructions he had received from Ibn al-Muṭrān. ‘Izz al-Dīn soon recovered and went happily to the bathhouse. Subsequently, he bestowed upon the youth the most beautiful robe of honour he could find, gave him a mule with a saddle and bridle of gold and a thousand Egyptian dinars, and invited him to remain in his service. ‘I cannot do that, O master,’ replied the youth, ‘until I have first consulted my shaykh, the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān’. ‘Who is this physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn anyway?’ retorted ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘He is nothing but my brother’s servant! There is no need for you to leave Şarkhad’. They had an exchange of words, and upon being further pressed, the youth finally said, ‘I simply must go to my house first, and then I will return’. He went home, fetched the robe of honour, the gold and the rest, and brought it all back to ‘Izz al-Dīn. ‘This is what you have given me,’ he said. ‘Take it back, for by God, I know nothing at all about the art of medicine. I only spoke for a while with the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān. That’s all!’ And he told ‘Izz al-Dīn exactly

25 Şarkhad or Şalkhad: Town in southern Syria near the border of present-day Jordan. The town contains an important fortress, built between 611/1214 and 645/1247 by the Ayyubid dynasty, cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iii: 401.

26 *Tadhkirah*, a memorandum book or aide-mémoire containing summaries of procedures.

what had happened. 'Do not worry about it,' said 'Izz al-Dīn, 'and stop talking about it, you do not have to be a physician. Do you know how to play backgammon and chess?' The youth exclaimed, 'But of course!', for he was cultured and refined. 'Well,' said 'Izz al-Dīn, 'I will make you my chamberlain and grant you lands that will provide you with twenty-two thousand dirhams yearly'. 'I am at your service, O master,' the youth replied, 'but should like to ask permission to go to Damascus and see the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān, so that I may kiss his hand and thank him for all the good that he has done to me,' and 'Izz al-Dīn gave him permission to go.

Upon reaching Damascus, the young man went to see the physician Ibn al-Muṭrān, kissed his hand and expressed many thanks to him. Taking the gifts he had received [from 'Izz al-Dīn], he placed them before Ibn al-Muṭrān and said, 'All this was given to me. Take it!' Ibn al-Muṭrān, however, refused [to take] it. 'I only wanted to benefit you,' he replied, 'You may keep it all and may God's blessings go with it'. Then the youth told Muwaffaq al-Dīn about his dealings with 'Izz al-Dīn and the position that he had been offered. The youth returned to Şarkhad and entered the service of 'Izz al-Dīn. All the good things that had happened to him were due to the generosity of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān.

[15.23.4]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān was a zealous collector of books. When he died, approximately ten thousand medical and other works were found in his library, apart from those he had copied. He took a keen interest in copying and revising books, and there were three copyists in his service who were constantly transcribing books for him, and who received payment and allowances from him. One of them was Jamāl al-Dīn (also known as Ibn al-Jammālah),<sup>27</sup> whose handwriting was well-proportioned and symmetrical. Ibn al-Muṭrān copied many books in his own handwriting; I have seen several examples of these, and they were unsurpassable as to script and grammatical correctness. He read many books and, in fact, spent most of his time reading. A majority of the books found in his library contain corrections and very precise revisions in his handwriting. Ibn al-Muṭrān had the utmost regard for books with a watchful eye for any errors therein. Most of the small books and miscellaneous items in the domain of medicine, which were found [in his lib-

27 See al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, ix:42–43.

rary], had been combined into single volumes. He had them all copied on small-format paper, one-sixteenth the size of Baghdādī paper,<sup>28</sup> and bound. A number of them were written in his own hand. His library contained a great many of these in small-format volumes. He would never leave his house without a book in his sleeve, which he would read at the gate of the Sultan's palace or wherever else he might go. After his death, all his books were sold, because he did not leave behind offspring.

[15.23.4.1]

The physician 'Imrān al-Isrā'īlī<sup>29</sup> told me that he had attended the sale of Ibn al-Muṭrān's books and had observed that there were many thousands of these small-format items, most of them in the handwriting of Ibn al-Jammālah. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil<sup>30</sup> asked to have them sent to his house so that he could inspect them, and thus a small box [of these items] was delivered to him. He looked them over, then sent them back, and they fetched three thousand dirhams at auction. The physician 'Imrān bought most of them. He informed me that he had reached an agreement with the heirs concerning the sale, to the effect that they would sell each item for one dirham, and [some of] the [other] physicians [also] purchased these small-format books at that price.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – comment: Ibn al-Muṭrān possessed the complete ideal of manhood and was a noble soul. He was kind toward his disciples and gave them books as presents. When one of them began to [practise medicine and] heal the sick, Ibn al-Muṭrān would give him a robe of honour and devote his complete and constant attention to him. His best student was the learned Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī<sup>31</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. He frequented Ibn al-Muṭrān and accompanied him several times during the [military] campaigns, in which Saladin conquered the coastal region.

28 The standard 'full' Baghdadi sheet of paper was one cubit in width and one-and-one-half cubits in length (ca. 1099 mm × 733 mm). See Bosch, Carswell & Petherbridge, *Islamic Book-making*, 30–31; Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 53–55.

29 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.42.

30 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200): *Kātib* (scribe) to Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and head of his chancery. See for example *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Mammātī' (A.S. Atiya); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 3:158 (No. 374).

31 Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī (d. 628/1230), better known under the name al-Dakhwār. He acquired fame both as a teacher and as the founder of the 'first medical school' in the medieval Arab world. Among his students were IAU, Ibn al-Nafīs, Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Labūdī and Ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk. See amongst others Ullmann, *Medizin*, 172. This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.50.

One of the things that the learned shaykh Muhaddhab al-Dīn told me about Ibn al-Muṭrān's great devotion to the treatment of his patients is the following account. 'Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh,<sup>32</sup> ruler of Homs (*Ḥimṣ*),' he said, 'once sent for Ibn al-Muṭrān. He went to [see] him, and I accompanied him. While we were on our way, a man afflicted with elephantiasis<sup>33</sup> approached him. The man's illness was so far advanced that his face was badly disfigured and his body deformed. He asked Ibn al-Muṭrān what [drugs] he should take to cure his disease. But the physician, distressed at the sight of the man said, "Eat viper's flesh". The man repeated his question, but Ibn al Muṭran said again, "Eat viper's flesh, and you shall recover". We went on to Homs, where Ibn al-Muṭrān treated the patient for whose sake he had come, until he recovered and felt well again. We then returned to Damascus. When we were on our way, a handsome young man who looked perfectly healthy, approached and greeted us. He kissed Ibn al-Muṭrān's hand, but the physician did not recognize him, and asked, "Who are you?" The youth introduced himself as the one who had asked him about a treatment for leprosy. He had followed Ibn al-Muṭrān's advice and had recovered without any need of any other remedy. He then bade us farewell and went his way, leaving us marvelling at the completeness of his recovery.'

[15.23.4.2]

The same person<sup>34</sup> also told me that he once accompanied Ibn al-Muṭrān to the 'Great Hospital,'<sup>35</sup> founded by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī,<sup>36</sup> where he treated the patients who were there. Among them was a man who was suffering from such a severe case of dropsy of the belly<sup>37</sup> that was nearly bursting. At that time, the

32 That is, al-Malik al-Qāhir Muḥammad ibn Shīrkūh I Asad al-Dīn ibn Shādhī, Naṣīr al-Dīn, Lord of Homs (r. 574–581/1178–1186). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

33 *Majdhūm*, a type of leprosy.

34 Muhaddhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī (d. 628/1230).

35 *Al-bīmāristān al-kabīr* was the famous Nūrī *bīmāristān* founded in Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī (or Zankī), a Turkish prince and ruler of Syria from 541/1146 to 569/1174, after whom the hospital was named. See Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 49–59.

36 See above, n. 2 to 15.12.

37 *Istisqā' zīqqī*. *Istisqā'* was a general term for dropsy or an accumulation of fluid in a bodily part, usually in the abdominal cavity, known commonly today as ascites. According to Ibn Hindū (d. 420/1029), 'The term derives from the Arabic word *al-saqy* (watering). The condition takes three forms: *zīqqī* (like a water-bag), *laḥmī* (like meat) and *ṭablī* (like a drum). The first results from fluid collecting in the belly so that you can hear it rumbling if you move it'; see Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 74.

surgeon (*al-jarā'ihi*) Ibn Ḥamdān,<sup>38</sup> who was quite skilful in the treatment of patients, was also at the hospital. He and Ibn al-Muṭrān decided to puncture<sup>39</sup> [and insert a tube in order to drain] the hydropic swelling.

He said:

We were present at the operation. Ibn Ḥamdān lanced the swelling in the correct place, and yellow fluid came out, while Ibn al-Muṭrān watched the patient's pulse. When he realized that the patient was not strong enough to withstand the removal of more fluid, he had the site dressed and the patient laid [on his bed], ordering that the dressing should not be disturbed. The patient then felt greatly relieved and was able to relax. The patient's wife was with him [at the hospital], and Ibn al-Muṭrān urged her not to allow her husband to remove the dressing or to change it in any way until he could examine the patient the next day. We then left the hospital. When night came the man said to his wife: 'I am well now, there is nothing wrong with me; those physicians only intent to prolong my illness. So, undo the dressing so that the rest of the fluid comes out and I can return to work'. She reproached him and said it would be a mistake, but he repeated his request over and over again, not realizing that [the doctors] wanted to extract the fluid at a later stage, as a protective measure, in order to preserve his strength, because they were concerned about his condition. Finally, she undid the dressing, all the fluid ran out, his strength gave out and he perished.

Another story from the same source is the following:

In the hospital, he Muhadhdhab al-Dīn and Ibn al-Muṭrān saw a man whose arm was paralysed on one side of the body, as was his leg on the opposite side. Ibn al-Muṭrān quickly cured him by applying topical medications<sup>40</sup> until the patient had recovered completely.

38 This physician has as yet not been found in other sources and nothing further is known of him.

39 *Bazl*, puncturing in order to drain; paracentesis, in modern medical terms. The procedure of 'tapping' an abdomen swollen by dropsy in order to drain the fluid is an ancient procedure, with considerable risk to the patient. Many physicians warned against undertaking it except under special circumstances; see Savage-Smith, 'The Practice of Surgery in Islamic Lands', 311.

40 *al-adwiyah mawḍi'iyah*.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: Muwaffaq al-Dīn As‘ad ibn Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān had two brothers, who were also physicians. One of them was Hibat Allāh ibn Ilyās, the other’s name was [...] Ibn Ilyās.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn died in Damascus in the month of Rabī‘ 1 of the year 587 [April 191]. I have copied a eulogy in honour of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān, composed after his conversion to Islam on the third of the month Ramadan of the year 585 [24–25 October 1189], in the handwriting of the poet al-Badī‘ ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad al-‘Āmirī.<sup>41</sup>

To you arrives – it will not abandon you–

a heart that compels me to taste the bitter fruit of love,<sup>42</sup>

With a yearning that overpowers (*adalla*) the heart but does not impart to someone mad with love (*mudallah*) anything but passion of him who overpowers him (*mudillihī*).<sup>43</sup>

You come near and he becomes in you an ally in merriness;<sup>44</sup>

how often did you go far away, so that he spent the night as a friend of merriness!<sup>45</sup>

He loves what you love and his heart is enamoured

of what you desire, but it is turned away from what it desires.

5 You offend (*tajnī*) and he knows what offence you committed, so he reaps(?) (*fa-yajtanī*) an excuse that he sends with a stupid face(?).

I marvel at someone who disregards (*mughḍī*) the fire of euphorbia wood (*ghaḍā*)

and who still relies on patience that is weakening.

41 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, ix:42–43 (lines 1–10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20–21, 23). The poet is Abū l-Qāsim Badī‘ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khiḍr al-‘Āmirī (dates unknown), see al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xviii:404–405.

42 *ṣāb al-ṣabābah*; for *ṣāb* see above Ch. 10.8 (Müller, ii:145). The reading *mukrihī* (with final *yā*), found in the majority of sources, is slightly suspect since the first person singular is otherwise absent from the opening five lines.

43 One could also read *mudallihī*, ‘of one who drives (him) mad’; but the more sophisticated form of paronomasia involving different roots (*DLL* and *DLH*) is perhaps to be preferred, even though this uses the ‘facile’ rhyme with the pronominal suffix, which the poet studiously avoids in the rest of the poem. That the interpretation of the line was problematic is attested by the different versions found in the editions by Müller, Najjār, and Riḍā.

44 The repetition of *tafakkuh* in this line is suspect and perhaps one should read *tafakkur*, ‘thoughtfulness’ (*Wāfi*).

45 The sense of this line remains unclear even if the version of *Wāfi* is adopted.

An astute man, whose last remnant of life was struck by passion,  
to his peril; only the astute sagacious (*dahī*) man will be struck  
(*yud'hā*)!

His intelligence (*nuhāhu*) kept him (*nahāhu*) from you; he never  
ceases

to go more astray in loving you when he is kept away.

If only God-given success (*tawfiq*) helped him, he would seek refuge  
in no one but al-Muwaffaq,<sup>46</sup> the one with the most distinguished  
position,

10 Who does not believe in beneficence in words if one does not  
follow them up with the deeds of someone who does not dilute  
them.

Overflowing with intelligence; his hands are ponds of generosity  
for those who come to see him; no man is held back from them.

The sight of him puts an end to illnesses; so often someone  
at the point of death (*mushfi*) he cured (*shafāhu*) with that radiant  
face!

A fortunate man (*jadd*) who contains seriousness (*jidd*) and generosity  
(*jūd*),

obtaining praise that embroiders the mantle of coveted glory.

He resembles Mary's son in wisdom and felicity;

the mightiest submit to him like people madly in love.

15 The security to those seeking refuge; if he is not this  
to someone seeking protection, no one is!<sup>47</sup>

Those asking for favours have been aided (*našara*) against Time by the  
munificence

of Abū Naṣr,<sup>48</sup> man of prominent rank, so seek refuge with him!<sup>49</sup>

Possessor of an ancient office, uncontested,

and of speech in an assembly, one who has never been upbraided;

Brilliant, liberal, hoped-for,

quick-witted, philosopher, foremost man;

46 The name means 'granted success (by God)'.  
47 For the expression *illā dahin fa-lā dahī*, see Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj, *Dīwān*, 166, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, vi:391–396.

48 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān.

49 Reading *fa-lājihī*, from the verb *lājā*, poetic licence for *lāja'a*. The rhyme is faulty (the *ā* makes for a defect called *sinād al-ta'sīs*; in the preceding line this is no fault because the *ā* does not belong to the final word).

- Scholar, learned man,<sup>50</sup> who acquired wealth and embraced  
 lofty qualities as a young child, becoming intelligent but not con-  
 ceited.
- 20 Created beings may resemble one another  
 in the two noblest things,<sup>51</sup> but no one resembles him.  
 When minds are perplexed  
 he surpasses all men with a mind that is not perplexed.  
 People have become too drowsy for praise, but he attained it  
 with the hands of man generous with gifts, alert.  
 A celestial sphere of beneficence: when you come to him  
 he, at his highest apogee (*awjihī*), enriches in several ways (*awjuhi*).  
 The soil of his abode (*maghnāhu*), which is riches (*ghinā*) to me, has  
 become  
 from where I return and to where I turn.
- 25 It is the 'expectoration of the one with a chest disease',<sup>52</sup> the drinking of  
 which  
 sends back the envious, retreating or laughing loudly.<sup>53</sup>  
 How near are hopes to one with exhausted ambition,  
 and how far are they from one living in comfort!  
 But for the expectation of a recovery I would not have postponed it,  
 after it had outstripped the noble, swift horses.  
 But it was pleased (*surrat*) by the beginning of his recovery  
 and travelled (*sarat*) to him while his body had not fully convalesced,  
 And it arrived congratulating him with the month of his fasting,<sup>54</sup>  
 with eloquent speech, not inarticulate.
- 30 O As'ad, listen to the eulogies of an eloquent speaker  
 who, through your lofty qualities, surpasses every eloquent orator;  
 One who hopes, spurred on by his loyalty and who has travelled  
 on the reddish-white camels of hope in every bare wasteland,

50 The word *ḥabr* (or *ḥibr*) is used in particular, but not exclusively, for non-Muslim religious authorities.

51 Religion and honour; see e.g. al-Jāhīz, *Bukhalā'*, 191, Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, i:244 ('Whoever preserves his wealth preserves the two noblest things: religion and honour').

52 This somewhat unsavoury image is a proverbial expression denoting relief; it is also used for something one cannot avoid saying or doing (cf. the often-quoted saying *lā budda li-l-maṣḍūr an yanfuth*, 'someone with a chest disease must spit'). Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see Ch. 11.19) wrote a work called *Naḥṭhat al-maṣḍūr*. Here the poet seems to refer to his poem.

53 Again, a line difficult to interpret; it is not clear why the envious should laugh loudly.

54 As stated earlier, the conversion of Ibn al-Muṭrān took place in Ramadan.



I see you<sup>55</sup> as someone who satisfies a tormenting complaint  
 with the shining of a light of a mind that does not stray.<sup>56</sup>  
 I have long complained to people, but among those to whom  
 I complained I have seen only insolent fools.  
 So often have I been suffered misfortune, being confident – but I am not  
 the first  
 confident, watchful man to suffer misfortune.  
 35 Ah, my life! If the times I have encountered had not been  
 so bad, I would not have exclaimed Ah! so often.  
 Among those with jobs<sup>57</sup> I am the one with least  
 luck and with the most respectable panegyric poetry.  
 So why<sup>58</sup> did the ruler see fit to degrade me, after I had  
 increased my praise of him and my godliness?  
 A man's greed is a disease; his best food  
 is what suffices him when he is not greedy.  
 The food of avidity goes off, while sufficiency  
 in one's soul never goes off or turns stale.  
 40 Fate only confronts those who desire;  
 whoever is content is not confronted.  
 How often have I extolled in my time among its people  
 those who, in the end, did not extol me!  
 For the people of my time are no longer moved to generosity  
 by the poetry of al-Walīd<sup>59</sup> or the singing of al-Bandahī.<sup>60</sup>

55 The sudden shift to the 1st person (continued in the next line) is odd, but this seems to suit the context better than interpreting *arāka* as '(who) shows to you'.

56 A has vowelled the verb as *lam ta'mahi*. One could perhaps read it also as *lam tu'mihi*, 'has not blinded him', but this is less likely in view of the rhyme (see note on line 2, above).

57 The precise sense of *ahl al-rusūm* is not clear; *rusūm* (sing. *rasm*) has many meanings, including 'employment, appointment'.

58 The vowelling of A (*fa-lammā*) is impossible metrically and syntactically.

59 Nizār Riḍā identifies him as the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (r. 125–126/743–744), who was an excellent lyrical poet. However, he did not compose panegyric verse that could inspire generosity; a more likely candidate is the famous Abbasid court poet al-Buḥturī (d. 184/897), whose *ism* also was al-Walīd.

60 He is obviously not, as Riḍā says, 'an Arab singer whose name derives from Banda, in the Indonesian Archipelago'; Najjār ignores him in notes or the index volumes. His identity is unknown. Al-Bandahī is an Arabicised form deriving from Persian Panj-dih ('Five villages') in Khorasan. The only person with this name found in the sources is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mas'ūdi al-Bandahī (d. 584/1188), a scholar and philologist, tutor of one of Saladin's sons and author of a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*

It is distressful: a censurer who will not desist  
from his error, and a tormentor who will not be stopped.

[15.23.5]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān is the author of the following books:

1. The gardens of physicians and meadows of the intelligent (*K. bustān al-aṭibbā' wa-rawḍat al-alibbā'*). [Its author] attempted [in this book] to collect all the witty sayings, anecdotes and appropriate information that he had read or heard from his teachers, or that he copied from [other] medical books. He did not finish this book. All I found of it were two parts, written in the hand of our teacher, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn. The first of these had been [proof]read by Ibn al-Muṭrān and contained his handwriting. In the second part, however, Muhadhhab al-Dīn makes mention of the fact that Ibn al-Muṭrān died before he was able to [proof]read it.<sup>61</sup>
2. The Nāṣiriyyah treatise on the preservation of health matters (*Al-M. al-Nāsiyyah fī ḥifẓ al-umūr al-ṣiḥḥiyyah*). [The author] intended in this book to be concise and serious. It is well-arranged and was composed at the instance of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb. I have found the original of this book, which is transmitted in the handwriting of Jamāl al-Dīn, also known as Ibn Jammālah, the scribe of Ibn al-Muṭrān.<sup>62</sup>
3. The Najmiyyah treatise on the management of health (*Al-M. al-Najmiyyah fī l-tadābir al-ṣiḥḥiyyah*). It seems to have been composed for Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the father of Saladin. When he died, and thus was unable to receive it, it was named after his son.
4. Summary of *The Book of Cycles* (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-adwār lil-Kasdāniyyīn*), attributed to the Nabataeans (*kasdāniyyūn*), discovered by Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Waḥshiyyah. Ibn al-Muṭrān summarized this work and finished it in [the month of] Rajab of the year 581 [October 1185].

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*al-udabā'*, xviii:215–216, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:390–392); he himself wrote his *nisbah* as al-Banj-dihī. He is not mentioned as a singer or composer.

61 The *K. bustān al-aṭibbā' wa-rawḍat al-alibbā'* or *The gardens of physicians and meadows of the intelligent* is a medical anthology containing quotations and extracts from a large number of early medical writings, some of which have been lost for posterity. See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 165–166; Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben*, xxxii–iii; *GAL*, S. i:892 under 21a; cf. also Ibn al-Muṭrān, *Bustān* (facs.) and *idem*, *Bustān*.

62 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 191; Ihsanoğlu, *Catalogue*, 90.

5. A philosophical riddle (*Lughz fī l-ḥikmah*).
6. A book after the manner of *The Physicians' Banquet* (*K. 'alā madhhab da'wat al-aṭibbā'*).<sup>63</sup>
7. On simple drugs (*K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah*). This book was left unfinished. It was the intention of its author that it would discuss all drugs, in so far as that would have been possible.
8. On rules with regard to medicine for kings (*K. ādāb ṭibb al-mulūk*).

I was told by a relative of Ibn al-Muṭrān that, when he died, he left behind several drafts of medical works and other books, as well as scattered explanatory notes. His sisters took those drafts and they have never been seen since. This relative also told me that in the home of one of those sisters he had seen a chest that the lady had lined by gluing some of Ibn al-Muṭrān's manuscripts to the inside of it.

#### 15.24 Muhadhhab al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥāḥib<sup>1</sup>

This celebrated physician was learned in the art of medicine, proficient in the mathematical sciences and devoted to writerly culture, and he also took a special interest in grammar. Damascus born and bred, he studied for some time under Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh.<sup>2</sup> When Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī,<sup>3</sup> who was the leading scholar of his age in philosophy, the mathematical sciences and other branches of science, was residing in the city of Mosul, Ibn al-Ḥāḥib and the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz<sup>4</sup> travelled to [that city] in order to meet him and to study under his guidance. Upon arrival, however, they found that he had gone to the city of Ṭūs,<sup>5</sup> so both men went there and stayed with him for a while.

63 That is, in the manner of the humorous *Da'wat al-aṭibbā'* by Ibn Buṭlān; for the latter physician, see Ch. 10.38.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.13.

3 Sharaf al-Dīn al-Muzaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muzaffar al-Ṭūsī (b. ca. 529/1135; d. 610/1213) was a Persian mathematician and astronomer, who amongst others taught in Mosul, Damascus and Aleppo.

4 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.34.

5 Ṭūs is an ancient city in the Raḍawī Khurāsān [Radavi Khorasan] Province in Iran near Mashhad. To the ancient Greeks, it was known as Susa.

Ibn al-Ḥājjib subsequently travelled to Erbil,<sup>6</sup> where the astronomer Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Dahhān<sup>7</sup> was then staying. He met Ibn al-Dahhān there and stayed with him for some time. After having read, studied and analysed the astronomical tables (*zīj*) that he had prepared, Ibn al-Ḥājjib copied them in his own handwriting and then returned to Damascus.

Ibn al-Dahhān was an astronomer from Baghdad, who was also known by the name Abū Shujā‘ and nicknamed ‘the little fox’ (*al-Thu‘aylib*). He lived in Mosul for twenty years and then went to Damascus, where he was honourably received by Saladin, [al-Qāḍī] al-Fāḍil<sup>8</sup> and a group of notables, and granted thirty dinars every month. Ibn al-Dahhān was a devoutly religious man, god-fearing and pious, who would fast [as] often [as he could]. He used to live in seclusion for four months and more at a time at the mosque in Damascus. The chamber in that [specific] mosque [near the *miḥrāb*] in *al-Kallāsah* was made for him.<sup>9</sup> He is the author of numerous works, including his famous ‘Astronomical Tables’, which is an excellent and sound [piece of work]; ‘The Pulpit of Fixed Shares of an Estate’,<sup>10</sup> which is another well-known work; ‘The Book on Lexical Difficulties in the Hadith’, in ten volumes; and a book on the differences in rubrics, tables and columns, [written] in the form of an almanac of health. He studied incessantly and composed much poetry. Ibn al-Dahhān went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but when he returned to Baghdad, after an absence of more than forty years, he died. He was interred in the tomb of his father and mother.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥājjib studied assiduously, was very fond of the sciences and was an authority on geometry. Before he became well-known as a physician, he worked on the clocks at the mosque in Damascus. He went on to distinguished himself in the art of medicine and became one of the most prominent men in that profession, serving as a physician at the ‘Great Hospital’, founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī. Subsequently, Ibn al-Ḥājjib entered the service of Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar, ruler of Hama,<sup>11</sup> but the death

6 Erbil, Arbil, or Irbil is a city in the north of Iraq. It lies 88 kilometres (55 miles) east of Mosul and is nowadays the capital of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq.

7 He is Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Shu‘ayb Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Shujā‘ Ibn al-Dahhān (d. 590/1194), see *GAL* i:392 (491–492); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, v:12–13.

8 Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). *Kātib* (scribe) to Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and head of the Ayyubid administration in Syria. See above, Ch. 14.33.3.

9 Al-Kallāsah is the name of a place in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus; see e.g. Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlah*, 267; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:469b and many other sources.

10 *‘Ilm al-farā‘id* was an important science requiring mathematical knowledge. Ibn al-Dahhān is often called al-Farādī al-Ḥāsib; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Farā‘id’ (Th.W. Juynboll).

11 That is the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I ‘Umar ibn Shāhanshāh Nūr al-Dīn, Abū Sa‘īd Taqī al-Dīn (r. 574–587/1178–1191). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

of his employer sent him back to Damascus. From there he travelled to Egypt (*al-diyār al-miṣriyyah*), where he entered the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb as a physician, holding that post until the Sultan's death. Finally, Ibn al-Ḥājib went to the court of Hama, where he entered the service of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the son of Taqī al-Dīn,<sup>12</sup> but died there of dropsy some two years later.

### 15.25 al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl<sup>1</sup>

The *sayyid* Burhān al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān was a native of Egypt, but spent much of his life in Syria. He was of noble descent, had high moral standards, a pleasant character, and possessed many other excellent qualities. In addition, he was an expert oculist, very knowledgeable and erudite, well-versed in the literary arts, a distinguished [scholar] in the domain of Arabic studies and an outstanding writer and leading poet. Al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb as an oculist, receiving in return splendid rewards, great prestige and many favours and graces. He held this important position [in the Sultan's service] until he died – may God have mercy upon him.

Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil poked [a little] fun at him. The venerable shaykh Najīb al-Dīn Abū l-Faḥ Naṣr Allāh ibn ‘Uqayl al-Shaybānī recited the following verse to me and told me that he had heard al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī reciting them about al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl:<sup>2</sup>

A man who treated me and anointed my eyes:  
I was afflicted in my eye (*‘aynī*) and my cash (*‘aynī*).

He also said:<sup>3</sup>

He was so hostile to the Abbasids that  
he robbed people of the black of the eye with his anointing.<sup>4</sup>

12 That is the Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad ibn al-Muzaffar I ‘Umar Taqī al-Dīn, Abū l-Ma‘ālī Nāṣir al-Dīn (r. 587–617/1191–1221). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

1 This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3.

2 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Sa‘īd, *Murqīṣāt*, 68.

3 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Sa‘īd, *Murqīṣāt*, 68.

4 Black was the colour of the Abbasid dynasty (132–656/749–1258). Instead of *bi-kaḥliḥī*

Al-Sharīf Abū l-Faḍl al-Kaḥḥāl sent Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn<sup>5</sup> a lamb (*kharūf*) as a present, when the latter was visiting Egypt. When it arrived, Sharaf al-Dīn found it to be weak and lean, whereupon he composed [the following verse] to al-Sharīf by way of jest:<sup>6</sup>

Abū l-Faḍl and Ibn al-Faḍl you are, and worthy of it;<sup>7</sup>  
 so it is not strange that you have graciousness (*faḍl*).  
 Your favours came to me, which I cannot count because they are so  
 many,  
 not because I am ungrateful of a boon, or ignorant!  
 But I shall tell you a nice story about it,  
 one that will please you, something the like of which has never been.  
 A lamb came to me: I did not doubt that it was  
 allied with passion, emaciated by being jilted and blamed.  
 When it stood in the midday sun I imagined it was  
 a phantom<sup>8</sup> without a shadow that had crept into a dark patch.  
 I implored it to tell me what it desired. ‘Fodder!’ it said.  
 I beseeched it to say what had emaciated it. ‘Eating!’ it said.  
 I brought it some green weeds<sup>9</sup> of the soil,  
 flawless, its leaves not especially marked by being twisted.<sup>10</sup>  
 It kept observing them with a languid eye and recited to it,  
 while the tears were streaming from its eyes:

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(‘with his anointing’) one could also read (with A) *bi-kuḥliḥī*, ‘with his kohl (or antimony)’ (which is black).

5 Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ‘Unayn (d. 631/1233) is a Damascene poet who, according to the chronicler Ibn Khallikān, was ‘well-known for his sharp criticism of the notables of the Damascene society’. See *Er<sup>2</sup>* art. ‘Ibn ‘Unayn’ (Ed.).

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā’*, xi:259–260, xix:90–91, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xv:445 (lines 1–2, 4–9).

7 The word *faḍl*, used three times in this line, can be rendered as ‘excellence’ but also as ‘graciousness, kindness’. Abū l-Faḍl (‘Father of al-Faḍl’) is the *kunya* (teknonym) of al-Sharīf al-Kaḥḥāl; it could mean he had a son called al-Faḍl but could also be interpreted as ‘a man of excellence or graciousness’. Ibn al-Faḍl literally means ‘son of al-Faḍl’; it is possible that his father was called al-Faḍl even though, unusually, this is not stated explicitly in the entry on him. In Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-udabā’*, xi:259 his father’s name appears as Mūsā.

8 The word *khayāl*, often used in love poetry for the apparition of an absent loved one in a dream or fancy, can also mean ‘shadow’.

9 *Majjājāh* (thus, with *shaddah*, in A and L and vowelless *majjājāh* in Yāqūt) is not attested elsewhere. It seems likely that the poet intended *mujājāh*, literally ‘spittle’, changing it to *majjājāh* to fit the metre.

10 According to the editorial notes in *Muḥjam al-udabā’* this means the leaves are not wilted.

‘They came while the cisterns of death lay between us  
and granted union when union was no longer of any avail.’<sup>11</sup>

### 15.26 Abū Maṣṣūr al-Naṣrānī (the Christian)<sup>1</sup>

The Christian Abū Maṣṣūr was famous as a learned physician and a good practitioner and therapist. He served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb for two years as a physician.

### 15.27 Abū l-Najm al-Naṣrānī (the Christian)<sup>1</sup>

The Christian Abū l-Najm ibn Abī Ghālib ibn Fahd ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Wahb ibn Qays ibn Mālik was a famous physician in his day who possessed not only an excellent knowledge of the art of medicine, but also a pleasant manner with patients, and an admirable way of treating them.<sup>2</sup>

The Christian Abū l-Faṭḥ ibn Muhannā<sup>3</sup> told me that Abū l-Najm’s father was a farmer in the village of Shaqqā<sup>4</sup> in the Ḥawrān,<sup>5</sup> who was known by the name

11 A line attributed, in Ibn Dāwūd, *Zahrah*, 98, to a Bedouin called Imru’ al-Qays (not the famous one of that name) and to Bishr ibn Ḥaḍram al-Kalā’ī (otherwise unknown; cf. Bishr ibn Ḥizrim al-Kalbī mentioned in al-Āmidī, *Mu’talif*, 60) in Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn*, i:281. Also quoted by way of a proverb in Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 418. In the original, *atat* means ‘she came’; here the subject are the greens.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 MS B adds: ‘He was a friendly and sociable man, and a good and benevolent person who taught students the science of medicine. He was accounted one of the best and most outstanding [physicians] of his generation’.

3 Additional information on this individual is not currently available.

4 Shaqqā or Shaqqa is a small village in the Ḥawrān, Syria.

5 Ḥawrān (also spelled Hauran or Houran) is a volcanic plateau, a geographic area and a people located in southwestern Syria and extending into the northwestern corner of modern-day Jordan. The origin of its name derives from the Aramaic Ḥawrān, meaning ‘cave land.’ In geographic and geomorphic terms, its boundaries generally extend from near Damascus and Mount Hermon in the north to the Ajloun mountains of Jordan in the south. The area includes the Golan Heights on the west and is bounded there by the Jordan Rift Valley; it also includes Jabal al-Druze in the east and is bounded there by more arid steppe and desert terrains. The Yarmouk River drains much of the Ḥawrān to the west and is the largest tributary of the Jordan River.

of 'the vagabond (*al-ʿayyār*):<sup>6</sup> When his son Abū l-Najm was [still] a boy, a physician from Damascus took him away and, when he grew up, taught him the art of medicine and how to practise it. Abū l-Najm served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb as a physician.<sup>7</sup> He remained in Saladin's service for some time, making recurrent visits to his palace, where he and the other physicians treated patients.

Abū l-Najm al-Naṣrānī died in Damascus in the year 599/1202–1203.<sup>8</sup>

Abū l-Najm al-Naṣrānī is the author of *An Epitome of Medicine*, which comprises both theory and practice.<sup>9</sup>

### 15.28 Abū l-Faraj al-Naṣrānī (the Christian)<sup>1</sup>

This distinguished physician was an expert in the art of medicine, of which he possessed an excellent knowledge. A good practitioner, he was one of the prominent [physicians] of his time. He served as a physician to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb, who honoured him greatly and had a high opinion of him. Abū l-Faraj was also in the service of al-Malik al-Afḍal Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn<sup>2</sup> and stayed with him in Sumaysāt.<sup>3</sup>

The sons of Abū l-Faraj were also devoted to the art of medicine. They, too, lived in Sumaysāt and were in the service of al-Malik al-Afḍal's sons.

6 This word has a variety of meanings: 'vagrant', 'rogue', 'tramp', 'vagabond', 'the conceited one', 'the mischievous one'. For the rendering as 'a man that goes to and fro without work', see Lane, *Lexicon*, ii:2209; cf. also Tor, *Violent Order*.

7 MS B adds: 'He stood high in the ruler's estimation and enjoyed great prestige during his rule.'

8 MS B adds: 'leaving one son, a physician, Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Faṭḥ ibn Abī l-Najm'.

9 MS H presents us with the following extra titles: 'He also wrote a synopsis of collections and registers and a book on composite medicaments including those that were prepared in hospitals.'

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. This physician is also mentioned in the biography of Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Asʿad ibn Abī l-Faṭḥ Ilyās ibn Jurjis al-Muṭrān, see Ch. 15.23.

2 That is, al-Malik al-Afḍal ʿAlī ibn al-Nāṣir Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn I, Abū l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn, who ruled over Damascus from 582/1186 until 592/1196. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

3 Samosata (Arabic: Sumaysāt) was an ancient city on the right (west) bank of the river Euphrates whose ruins existed at the modern-day city of Samsat, Adıyaman Province, Turkey until the site was flooded by the newly constructed Atatürk Dam, cf. on this city amongst others Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iii:258.



15.29 Fakhr al-Dīn [Riḍwān] ibn al-Sā'ātī<sup>1</sup>

[Fakhr al-Dīn] Riḍwān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Rustam al-Khurāsānī al-Sā'ātī (the Clockmaker), was born and raised in Damascus. His father Muḥammad was originally from Khorasan, but moved to Syria and settled in Damascus, where he resided until he died. He<sup>2</sup> was unequalled in his time for his knowledge of clocks and the science of astronomy. It was he who operated the clock at the gate of the [Umayyad] Mosque in Damascus.<sup>3</sup> He had constructed that clock in the time of al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī,<sup>4</sup> who treated him very generously and paid him an allowance and a salary for operating the clocks. He held that office until he died – may God have mercy upon him.

He left two sons. One of these was Bahā' al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn al-Sā'ātī, who was one of the most outstanding poets of his generation.<sup>5</sup> He was incomparable. His *dīwān* is widely known and generally recognized as [excellent]. Bahā' al-Dīn died in Cairo.

The other [son] was Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān ibn al-Sā'ātī, who was an eminent physician and a distinguished man of letters. Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān studied the art of medicine under shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī,<sup>6</sup> with whom he associated for some time. He was bright and intelligent, was extremely well-versed in all matters in which he took an interest, and eagerly devoted himself to every scrap of knowledge he embraced. He also studied medicine under the guidance of shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī when he arrived in Damascus.<sup>7</sup>

Fakhr al-Dīn [Riḍwān] ibn al-Sā'ātī proved to be an expert in the art of penmanship and a first-rate calligrapher. He also composed poetry, and had a good knowledge of logic and the philosophical sciences. He also studied the literary

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see *ET Three* art. 'Ibn al-Sā'ātī, Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān' (N.P. Jooose).

2 'He' must, without a doubt, be the father.

3 According to his treatise describing in detail his father's clock, the clock was constructed at the Jayrūn gate, located immediately to the east of the Umayyad mosque. It was an elaborate water-clock. See Hill, *Arabic Water-Clocks*, 69–71; Hassan & Hill, *Islamic Technology*, 57–58; and at length: Wiedemann & Hauser, 'Uhren', 167–272.

4 He died in 569/1174.

5 See *GAL*, i:256 (298), Suppl. i:456; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:7–29.

6 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.36. He died on the morning of Sunday, the tenth of Muḥarram of the year 631 [16 October 1233].

7 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī was a well-known physician and educator from the town of Mardin. He was amongst others the shaykh [teacher] of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī and Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah. He has an entry in Ch. 10.75.

sciences under shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī<sup>8</sup> in Damascus. Fakhr al-Dīn [Riḍwān] ibn al-Sā‘ātī served al-Malik al-Fā‘iz [Ibrāhīm] ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb<sup>9</sup> as vizier, and al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil<sup>10</sup> as physician and vizier. He was a boon companion of his employer and used to play the lute [for him]. Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān had the utmost regard for the medical teachings of the venerable shaykh Ibn Sīnā. He died in Damascus – may God have mercy upon him – of jaundice (*yaraqān*).<sup>11</sup>

He composed the following lines:<sup>12</sup>

My colleagues envy me on account of my craft,  
because among them I am a champion.  
I stayed awake at night while they thought fit to slumber:  
he who studies and he who sleeps will never be alike.

Fakhr al-Dīn Riḍwān ibn al-Sā‘ātī is the author of the following works:<sup>13</sup>

1. Supplement to *On Colic* by the venerable shaykh Ibn Sīnā (*Takmil kitāb al-qawlanj lil-ra‘īs Ibn Sīnā*).
  2. Marginal notes to Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon of Medicine* (*Al-hawāshī ‘alā kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
  3. Anthology of poems (*K. al-mukhtārāt fī l-ash‘ār wa-ghayrihā*).
- and other works.

8 Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Naḥwī al-Baghdādī (d. 613/1217). Grammarian and prominent reciter of the Qur’an. See also the entry on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān in Ch. 15.23.1 and the biography of ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in Ch. 15.40.

9 He is one of the younger sons of al-Malik al-‘Ādil I Muḥammad, the ruler of Damascus from 592/1196 onwards. Al-Malik al-Fā‘iz Ibrāhīm plotted against his older brother al-Malik al-Kāmil I Muḥammad ibn al-‘Ādil I Muḥammad, the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt from 615/1218 until 635/1238.

10 That is, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-‘Ādil I Muḥammad or Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Sharaf al-Dīn. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

11 He passed away in about 627/1230.

12 Metre: *sarī*. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, xviii:109; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xi:142; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiv:129.

13 Remarkably, nothing is mentioned here of his *Risālah fī ‘amal al-sā‘āt wa-isti‘mālīhā* (*An epistle on the fabrication and use of clocks*), which he is said to have composed in 600/1203. It deals primarily with his father’s water-clock at the Jayrūn Gate of the Great Mosque in Damascus, which he repaired, improved and reconstructed. See the ed. of Duhman, Riḍwān al-Sā‘ātī, *Kitāb ‘ilm al-sā‘āt*; for an English translation and analysis, see Hill, *Arabic Water-Clocks*, 69–88.

15.30 Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī<sup>1</sup>

The physician Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdān ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Lubūdī<sup>2</sup> was a distinguished and learned authority who was one of the great scholars of his age and one of the most outstanding [men] of his generation in the philosophical sciences and the art of medicine. From Syria he travelled to Persia, where he studied philosophy under Najīb al-Dīn As‘ad al-Hamadānī,<sup>3</sup> while he studied medicine under the guidance of one of the most prominent and respected Persian scholars, a man who had learned the profession from a disciple of Ibn Sahlān<sup>4</sup> who, in turn, had studied under the learned shaykh al-Īlāqī Muḥammad.<sup>5</sup>

Shams al-Dīn was a highly ambitious man. He was good-natured, exceedingly intelligent and extremely eager [to learn]. He distinguished himself in the sciences and was well-versed in philosophy and the art of medicine. Moreover, he was a strong debater and a formidable opponent in dispute. In addition, he was accounted a leading authority and an important *shaykh* whose example was followed and on whom [people] relied. He held sessions at which he taught medicine and other [subjects].

Shams al-Dīn served al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb,<sup>6</sup> the ruler of Aleppo, who relied on his skill as a physician. He held that post until al-Malik al-Zāhir died – may God have mercy upon him – in the month Jumādā 11 of the year 613 [September–October 1216].<sup>7</sup> After the ruler’s death, he removed to Damascus, where he taught medi-

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 Thus e.g. *GAL*, see index iii:639.

3 This physician is unidentified and nothing further is known of him. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī mentions a certain al-Najīb al-Hamadhānī in his major treatise on alchemy. This person, however, studied theology and law in Mosul and claimed that he was a philosopher. See Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 53–54.

4 This scholar is most likely the judge Zayn al-Dīn ‘Umar ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī (or al-Sāwajī). See also the entry on Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī in Ch. 15.19.

5 Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Īlāqī is Sharaf al-Zamān Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Īlāqī of Bākhraz in Khorasan, Persia. He should be counted among Ibn Sīnā’s (d. 429/1037) direct students. Al-Īlāqī produced an epitome of the first book of the *Canon of Medicine* by Ibn Sīnā which was known under various titles: *Kitāb al-Fuṣūl al-Īlāqīyyah* (“The Aphorisms of al-Īlāqī”) and *Kitāb al-Asbāb wa-l-‘alāmāt* (“The Book of Causes and Symptoms”). Al-Īlāqī’s greatly abbreviated version of the first book of Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon* was very popular, and many copies have survived. On him, see Ch. 11.14.

6 That is, al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn al-Nāṣir I Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ or Abū Manṣūr Ghiyāth al-Dīn I, governor of Aleppo. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

7 On the illness, treatment and untimely death of al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Yūsuf, see Joosse, ‘Pride and Prejudice’, 129–141 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 74–77.

cine and practised at the Great Hospital of Nūr al-Dīn until the day he died – may God have mercy upon him – on the fourth of Dhū l-Qa‘dah of the year 621 [17 November 1224] at the age of fifty-one.

One of Shams al-Dīn ibn Lubūdī’s sayings was: ‘Nothing is so hopeless that it cannot be improved with effort’.

Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī is the author of the following works:

1. A considered opinion on the knowledge of judgement and fate (*K. al-ra‘y al-mu‘tabar fī ma‘rifat al-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar*).
2. Commentary on Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Summary* (*S. kitāb al-mulakhkhaṣ li-Ibn al-Khaṭīb*).<sup>8</sup>
3. On pain of the joints [arthritis] (*R. fī waja‘ al-mafāṣil*).
4. Commentary on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* (*S. kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abu-qrāt*).
5. Commentary on Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq’s *Book of Questions* (*S. kitāb al-masā’il li-Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq*).

### 15.31 al-Ṣāḥib Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī<sup>1</sup>

[15.31.1]

The learned physician al-Ṣāḥib Najm al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā, the son of the physician and leading authority Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdān ibn ‘Abd al-Wāḥid.<sup>2</sup> Najm al-Dīn was without peer his time in the medical art and a model [for others] in the philosophical sciences, for he was exceedingly intelligent, well-spoken, very eager to study the sciences and an expert in the literary disciplines, surpassing the ancients in philosophy, and Saḥbān Wā’il<sup>3</sup> in rhetoric. He composed such beautiful poems that even Labīd<sup>4</sup> could not measure

8 Ibn al-Khaṭīb is Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (see Ch. 11.19).

1 This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3.

2 See the previous entry. Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī is most likely the law-giver mentioned in *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ḥā’ik’ (M.A.J. Beg) and art. ‘Djazzār’ (M.A.J. Beg).

3 Saḥbān Wā’il is the name given to an orator and poet of the tribe of Wā’il, ‘whose seductive eloquence has passed into a proverb and who, it is said, whilst addressing an assembly for half-a-day, never used the same word twice.’ See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Saḥbān Wā’il’ (T. Fahd).

4 Labīd ibn Rabī‘ah Abū ‘Aqīl was an Arab poet of the pagan period, who lived into the days of Islām. He belonged to the family of Banū Ja‘far, a branch of the Kilāb, who belonged to the Banū ‘Āmir and therefore to the Qaysī Hawāzin. According to Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt*, vi:21) he died

up to him, and wrote such eloquent epistles (*tarassul*) that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd<sup>5</sup> himself was not his equal.

And when I saw that all people ranked below him  
I was certain that Time assays people.<sup>6</sup>

Najm al-Dīn was born in Aleppo in the year 607/1210, but when his father moved to Damascus, he took his son, then only a child, along with him. Najm al-Dīn’s excellence and lofty ambitions had already become apparent when he was no more than a small boy. He studied the art of medicine under our shaykh, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī,<sup>7</sup> pursuing his studies with distinction until he became one of the most outstanding scholars of his time. Having entered the service of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm ibn al-Malik al-Mujāhid ibn Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh ibn Shādhī, Lord of Ḥims,<sup>8</sup> he made that city his home as long as his employer remained alive. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr relied on him as his physician, and regarded him so highly that in the end he appointed him vizier and entrusted him with state affairs. By then, the [ruler] was so entirely dependent on Najm al-Dīn that he never left al-Malik al-Manṣūr’s side, accompanying him wherever he went. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr died – may God have mercy upon him – in the year 643/1245, after having defeated the Khwārazmians.<sup>9</sup>

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in the year 40 [660–661]. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Labīd ibn Rabī‘a’ (C. Brockelmann). One supposes Labīd was chosen because of the paronomasia with al-Lubūdī, and ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd because of the rhyme.

- 5 He is ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, or ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sa’d (d. 132/750). Secretary to the last Umayyad caliph Abū ‘Abd al-Malik Marwān 11 ibn Muḥammad, al-Ja’dī al-Ḥimār (r. 127–132/744–750). He was one of the earliest epistolographers in Arabic, to whom tradition attributed the foundation of Arabic literary prose. A third-generation Muslim of non-Arab, probably Persian, extraction, he was probably born in al-Anbār. He seems to have been educated in al-Kufa, to have worked as a teacher and an itinerant tutor, and then to have been employed as a secretary (*kātib*) in the central administration of the Umayyad government in Damascus. See *EI Three* art. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā al-Kātib’ (W. al-Qāḍī).
- 6 A line by al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 463. Metre: *ṭawīl*. The commentators explain: Time, or Fate, allots to people according to what they deserve.
- 7 Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī (d. 628/1230) was better known under the name al-Dakhwār. This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.50.
- 8 He is al-Malik al-Mujāhid Shīrkūh 11 ibn al-Qāhir Muḥammad Nāsir al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 581/1186 until 637/1240). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.
- 9 The Khwārazmian dynasty was a Persianate Sunni Muslim dynasty of Turkic Mamlūk origin.

The physician Najm al-Dīn then entered the service of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn al-Malik al-Kāmil<sup>10</sup> in Egypt. That ruler bestowed many honours upon him, lavished gifts on him and appointed him as head of the treasury in Alexandria. He now held a very high rank with a stipend of three thousand dirhams monthly. After having held that position for some time, he returned to Syria, where he became the head of the [Ayyubid] administration for the entire province.

On one of the epistles that he wrote is the following short note:

The 'servant' [meaning himself] has received the ruler's 'noble letter',<sup>11</sup> may God prolong and increase his blessings and may He necessitate and exceed His munificence toward all his noble-minded predecessors. In his letter, he [the ruler] has made clear the servant's duty of unquestioning obedience (*istirqāq*) and the necessity of the State – may God make the State eternal – because of its many merits and virtues. Whatever the master commands, [the servant] must provide, for he knows that opportunity passes like the clouds and that the tasks that are to be done within a limited time, need to be performed correctly. Thus, when there are time constraints, delay is no longer permissible. The master knows the benefit of the order of importance in which things have to be done for all parts of the organisation, and the servant merely acts as an arrow that the master aims, or a sword that he unsheathes. We should – for God's sake – hurry and hasten, for then the signs of good fortune and victory will become manifest [to us]. But we should beware and be on our guard against delay and neglect, for – may God forbid! – the time in which we can ask God to fulfil our hope and expectations may already have elapsed by then. It is to be hoped that God, through his munificence, supports the slave (*al-mamlūk*) [meaning himself] in serving our master the Sultan in a way that will fulfil him with joy and hope, be it by the hand of the master, by word, or by deed, if God, the exalted, wills.

[15.31.2]

One of his [Najm al-Dīn's] poems is about al-Khalīl (Abraham/Ibrāhīm)<sup>12</sup> – may peace and blessings be upon him – which he recited to me himself when about

10 He is al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ 11 Ayyūb ibn al-Kāmil Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn, Najm al-Dīn, of Damascus (r. 637–647/1240–1249). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

11 For this meaning of *musharrafah*, see Dozy, *Supplément*; in other sources (e.g. al-Qalqashandī) one finds the phrase *wurūd al-musharrafah*, 'the arrival of the noble letter', or *waradat al-musharrafah al-karīmah*. Evidently, the message (*ruq'ah*) is a response to a letter from the ruler.

12 Abraham's epithet al-Khalīl, 'The Friend (*scil.*, of God); is based on Q al-Nisā' 4:125.

to begin his service on his return from Egypt. He recited it while standing at the door of the summer sitting-room beneath his house (*bāb al-sirdāb*)<sup>13</sup> in the month of Dhū l-Qa'dah in the year 661 [September 1261].<sup>14</sup>

This is what inspires awe and frightening sublimity,  
 dazzlingly! So what can one say?  
 If Quss were present, appearing here  
 today to you, you would think he was Bāqil.<sup>15</sup>  
 Can eloquent people ever strike fire<sup>16</sup>  
 when their clear expression defends the Sublime One?  
 All those<sup>17</sup> prophets followed your lead  
 and with you there came evidence and proofs.  
 5 You, Ibrāhīm, showed the ways that lead to right guidance  
 and good works and beneficence: you have done them.  
 You erected the cornerstones of the Sharia, openly revealing  
 and establishing that God is the Maker.  
 Your house<sup>18</sup> has always been where the Revelation descended, which  
 makes, with its sublimity, your desolate abode populous.<sup>19</sup>  
 You have dazzled in everything with a miracle  
 that no one gifted with reason will ever oppose.  
 One a day of vaunting it is enough for you that Muḥammad,  
 when people trace their lineage, is descended from you.<sup>20</sup>  
 10 You have always carried the hidden meaning of prophethood  
 until it came to Muḥammad who acquired it.

13 Lothar Kopf has rendered *bāb al-sirdāb* as 'the al-Sirdab Gate', assuming it to be one of the city gates of Damascus, but a *bāb* in Damascus with this specific name is unknown.

14 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:280–281 (lines 1, 4–7, 10, 12).

15 For Quss, the proverbial orator, see above, Chs. 10.64.17; 10.68.1.4; and 14.55.2. His opposite is Bāqil, a legendary inarticulate Arab. In an often-told anecdote he is leading a gazelle that he bought; when asked how much he paid for it, he stretches his ten fingers and sticks out his tongue (meaning eleven dirhams). The gazelle escapes.

16 Reading *yarū* (following the vowelling in L), but *yaraw*, '(can they) see', also seems possible in view of the 'dazzling' in lines 1 and 8.

17 Read *al-nabīyyīna l-ulā* (not *l-ūlā*, which is syntactically and metrically impossible); perhaps it stands here for *al-uwalu* ('the first, ancient').

18 Also implying 'your family, lineage'.

19 The syntax is contorted and the word *muqfarr* (apparently standing for *muqfir*) is not attested in the dictionaries.

20 According to the traditional lineage of Muḥammad he is descended from Ismā'īl/Ishmael, son of Ibrāhīm/Abraham.

Thus may the blessings of the Lord be upon you both,  
 from whom there has always come to you praise and favours.  
 I seek refuge with you, humbly,  
 pleading, being a poor petitioner.  
 I hope you will ask on my behalf the Lord of Exaltedness  
 to forgive the practices I persisted in.  
 I think that, once my sin is forgiven by Him  
 and I have attained my aim – I dare not hope!–  
 15 And I have returned, wholly devoted to His gates,  
 not encountering anyone to ask save Him,  
 And I have asked One who is perfect in His generosity,  
 who gives not condescendingly,<sup>21</sup> nor is He miserly:  
 Then in truth I have attained my desire,  
 especially since you are the carrier of my request.

[15.31.3]

He also composed another poem about al-Khalīl – may peace and blessings be upon him – on his return from Egypt in the month Jumādā II of the year 664 [February-March 1264], which he [also] recited at the door of the summer sitting-room<sup>22</sup> beneath his house:<sup>23</sup>

O friend of God!<sup>24</sup> I have come to seek  
 your gate, sought from all places,  
 To perform incumbent duties<sup>25</sup> on account of your graciousness  
 that you granted of old to all those who understand.  
 Thus you led people with your guidance, who followed you  
 and therefore, with that guidance, arrived on the best path.  
 You showed the roadmarks of the Sharia, openly revealing it,  
 so that it became visible and audible to mankind.  
 5 You entrusted to it the secrets of every hidden thing  
 and became, with what you entrusted, the best entruster.  
 You showed a proof that, through you, became decisive,  
 with which you cut short those who had not yet been cut short.<sup>26</sup>

21 For the expression *bi-lā mann*, see above, Ch. 10.64.17.1.

22 Or again 'at the Sirdāb Gate', according to Lothar Kopf.

23 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

24 Ibrāhīm/Abraham (an epithet based on Q al-Nisā' 4:125).

25 One would expect *biḥī* instead of *biḥā* if the pronoun is to refer to *faḍlikum*.

26 There is a play on *qāṭi'*, 'decisive', literally 'cutting', and 'cutting (short), silencing'.



Here I am, having come to your gate, asking,  
 standing as a poor man, with the humbleness of submission,  
 So that you may ask God, the Generous – for He is truly the most gra-  
 cious one  
 who may be asked and the most generous to whom one may  
 pray–  
 To protect me<sup>27</sup> against the evil of every affliction;  
 to avert the turns of mishaps from meeting with me;  
 10 Not to afflict me afterwards with a misfortune;  
 that I will not meet a friend with the moaning of one in pain;  
 And to relieve me of the worry I have been afflicted with,  
 for I spent the night worried, with a broken heart.  
 Whenever a calamity befalls me  
 I make your abode my goal and my refuge,  
 So that you may intercede for me with God and I may turn back  
 to attain my hopes and obtain my ambition:  
 That I will have done with my works in this world and turn  
 to my world to come, with a wide-open heart;  
 15 That you will ask Him to forgive<sup>28</sup> me in His kindness  
 and that I may gain the enjoyment of His lights.  
 If intercession is made for someone and you are his intercessor,  
 he will without fail gain a pasture in Paradise.

He saw al-Khalīl – may peace and blessings be upon him – as he lay between  
 sleep and waking, just after something untoward had happened to him, and  
 composed the following verses:<sup>29</sup>

Do not grieve for horses or wealth  
 and do not spend the night worrying about your situation!  
 As long as your soul and high spirit are sound,  
 disregard all other things!  
 Wealth is nothing but accidental things newly made,  
 exposed to loss and substitution.

27 The jussive forms in this and the following line (*yaḥminī*, *yublīnī*) are a gross breach of  
 grammar, not among the usual poetic licences.

28 Again, two jussive forms (*yaʿfu*, *aḥḏa*) are used in this line instead of subjunctives.

29 Metre: *basīṭ*.

The pleasure of wealth consists in that the soul spends it  
 on newly-made worry and preoccupation.  
 The best thing on which your hands have spent what they have  
 amassed  
 is the protection of your honour from any gossip.  
 So much wealth have you been able to amass,  
 but soon the hand of Fate<sup>30</sup> scattered it!  
 You have never been seen<sup>31</sup> to be in need of anyone  
 while you have never ceased to have needs and hopes.  
 The Lord of the Throne<sup>32</sup> will reward you as is His wont  
 with advantages of encompassing beneficence,  
 And you will encounter all the good things that you were hoping for,  
 as what happened earlier in your past times.

[15.31.4]

He composed the following poem in Jerusalem, on his return from Egypt, in the middle of Jumādā 1 of the year 666 [January–February 1266].<sup>33</sup>

O Friend of God,<sup>34</sup> in me there is an ardent love  
 and yearning to meet you, by which my distress is increased.  
 You are the one who instituted (*sananta*<sup>35</sup>) a teaching for people  
 and thereby you were a guide to the broad Path (*sanān*).  
 You made clear on the roads of prophethood a course  
 that in its radiance came to surpass meteors,  
 With the proofs you demonstrated, that were strong  
 and cannot be refuted by slanderous lies or defamation.

30 Or: 'the divine decrees'. There is a play on the root *QDR*: *muqtadir* 'able' and *aqdār* 'decrees'.

31 Abraham is apparently no better poet than al-Lubūdī. The versions of A (*lam tura*) and Najjār and Riḏā (*lam tara* or *tura*) are grammatically correct but metrically impossible; *lam tarā* or *turā* (LRHGb, also Müller) scans correctly but is again a bad solecism. The sense of the line is not quite clear.

32 An expression occurring five times in the Qur'an.

33 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:313 (lines 1–6, describing them as 'poetry inferior to the degree of good quality').

34 Ibrāhīm/Abraham.

35 This metrical irregularity (SLSL in the second foot) is not uncommon in pre-Islamic and early Islamic verse but rare in later periods. The verb *sanna* and the following noun *sanān* allude to the related word *Sunnah*. Instead of *sananta*, *Wāfi* has *sannayta* ('you opened, have facilitated'), probably an attempt to regularise the metre.

- 5 I had wished to meet you as a pilgrim,  
to rub my cheek in the dust at your abode,  
And to perform incumbent duties<sup>36</sup> on account of your graciousness,  
that  
came to be recorded, with their merit, in the most excellent of  
books,<sup>37</sup>  
And to convey the passion and grief I suffer  
and the worries that at night and in the morning are in my heart.  
Time has struck me with its vagaries  
so as to lower my state and to blunt my edge.  
You are the one I implore in any hardship,  
that you may lift from me any destested and difficult matter,  
10 And intercede for me with God, so that I may turn back,  
the Merciful having relieved me of the misfortunes I endure;  
Especially since your servant belongs to the party<sup>38</sup> of him  
by whom all non-Arabs and Arabs are honoured:  
– This is the best of mankind; I mean Muḥammad,  
who on his nocturnal journey<sup>39</sup> was in the extreme proximity–  
[Your servant] to whom you both have been a storehouse and a means,  
a mighty treasure for peace and for war.  
Thus it is no wonder that he is kept safe  
from harm and adversity, from reproach and deprivation;  
15 And it is not strange that he should be seen unafraid,  
feeling happy at night and secure in his heart and mind.  
O you two men of the ways of prophethood and right guidance:  
cancel my false steps, interceding with my Lord!  
You two suffice for me as intercessors.<sup>40</sup> For I know  
that God will then be sufficient for me.  
O Almighty One (*qādir*), decree (*qaddir*) for me relief of my distress  
and hasten, O God, with medicine for my illness!

36 See the note on the nearly identical hemistich above, Ch. 15.31.2, first poem, line 2.

37 Paronomasia: *faḍl*, twice ('graciousness', 'merit') and *afḍal* ('most excellent').

38 The word *shī'ah* is used here in its general sense rather than 'Shiah.'

39 The Prophet's nocturnal journey (*isrā'*) or ascent (*mī'rāj*) to the seven heavens (alluded to in Q al-Isrā' 17:1 and greatly elaborated in popular literature) is celebrated annually throughout the Muslim world.

40 This seems to be what the poet wants to say; but strictly he is saying, incoherently, 'It suffices for you two as intercessors for me.'

He also said:<sup>41</sup>

Whenever I fear, hope recedes in the distance;  
 but it is enough for me to trust in God.  
 So leave off both fear and hope  
 and be steadfast, being content, for that is contentedness.  
 There is no avoiding whatever God has decreed,  
 so leave off worrying, which is distress to me,  
 And be certain that God is kind:  
 if grief comes, joy will follow.

He also said:<sup>42</sup>

Whenever you are in dire straits, be steadfast: it will pass.  
 So often the heat of a fire is followed by wellbeing.  
 Do not ask Time to ward off a misfortune;  
 you will see that nothing is bound to last forever.

[15.31.5]

He wrote a poem to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad:<sup>43</sup>

Congratulations on Nawrūz,<sup>44</sup> which comes to you bringing glad tidings  
 of attaining, one day, what you desire and seek.  
 That the sovereignty should remain with those not deserving it  
 would be a strange thing; and my situation with you even stranger.  
 I would willingly lead the sovereignty back to you so that you could  
 receive it;<sup>45</sup>  
 but you want to demand it from someone other than me.  
 And you persist in obtaining the sovereignty that I  
 am capable of, which has become difficult.

41 Metre: *khaṣṣif*.

42 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

43 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

44 Nawrūz or Nayrūz, the Persian New Year celebrated originally (as today) at the spring equinox but in the Islamic period also at other times. Poets often dedicated congratulatory poems to rulers on this occasion. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad (d. 658/1260) was the last Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus; he surrendered to the Mongols and was executed soon afterwards.

45 Yet again a strange use of the jussive mood.

I swear that if you assist me for a while,  
that which you think is remote will come near.<sup>46</sup>

He also said:<sup>47</sup>

I shall leave you, not because I dislike your graciousness  
to me: who could make me spend my life with it?<sup>48</sup>  
But my livelihood is scant, those who envy me  
are many, and Time's vicissitudes have afflicted me.  
I have exchanged an exalted status for a lowly one,  
a comfortable livelihood for anxiety and poverty.  
The utmost of what I can desire in your protection has become  
to be the equal to those unequipped to know.  
5 If high standing were to come with intelligence  
I would be placed higher than meteors, together with the full moon.  
However, I have long handled all kinds of people,  
with liberality, and with prohibiting and commanding.<sup>49</sup>  
So be steadfast towards the iniquity of Time and its decree,  
for it will never stay in the same state.  
It is strange that I should put my hopes on someone other than you  
and leave you, seeking kindness for kindness,  
And that I should enquire far and wide about any benefactor  
and traverse deserts hard to pass through, roving,  
10 While you, Saladin, are the most generous of mankind,  
one whose munificence mocks the gushing sea;  
You are the ruler of the whole earth; any other king  
in the word is not deemed to be of stature.  
I myself am a serf, no one but me who claims  
my rights, that decisively give support.(?)<sup>50</sup>

He also said:<sup>51</sup>

46 The interpretation of the piece is not wholly clear; apparently Najm al-Dīn al-Lubūdī, being not merely a physician but active on behalf of the ruler, attempted to seek help to restore his patron's rule.

47 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

48 Interpretation of this rhetorical question uncertain (*an* apparently standing for *bi-an*).

49 'Prohibiting and commanding' is a common phrase for absolute authority and power.

50 Or 'give victory'; meaning unclear.

51 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

Though my body is going, separating from you,  
 my heart dwells in the shelter of your abode.  
 My heart fears your moving,  
 but it is safe from being moved.<sup>52</sup>

He also said:<sup>53</sup>

O moon of mine, you have made me feel lonely and you left me  
 allied to sleeplessness, constantly worrying and thinking.  
 I wish you were present with me  
 though I were bereft of reason, hearing, and sight.

He also said (a *dūbayt*):<sup>54</sup>

O possessor of my soul and its destroyer!  
 How often does my soul humour you, and how often do you humour  
 it?<sup>55</sup>  
 If I am, in love, the Jacob/Ya'qūb of passion,  
 You are, among handsome men, its Joseph/Yūsuf.<sup>56</sup>

[15.31.6]

Al-Ṣāhib Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Lubūdī is the author of the following works:

1. Summary of the general principles in Ibn Sīnā's *Canon of Medicine* (*Mukhtaṣar al-kullīyyāt min kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
2. Summary of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Book of Questions* (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-masā'il li-Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq*).

52 This line only scans correctly if one reads *tanaqqulka* and *tanaqqulhu*, suppressing the case endings (duly supplied in A).

53 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

54 On this form, see above, Ch. 10.83.6 and n. 7 to 11.19.6.2.

55 A marginal note in MS R provides the following explanation (tentative translation): 'He took his lines "how often does your soul humour you, and how often do you humour it?" from the words of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh about his son. He raised a complaint with God about an ill-tempered friend whose soul humoured him and who humoured his soul. This is mentioned in the beginning of the book with the biography of Ibn al-Tilmīdh. And he is referring to it [?].'

56 In the Islamic tradition Yūsuf/Joseph (much favoured by his father Ya'qūb/Jacob) is a paragon of masculine beauty. The feminine possessive pronouns can only refer, oddly, to the masculine word *hawā*. The sense of '*alā ḥisānihā*' is not wholly clear.

3. Summary of Ibn Sīnā's *Pointers and Admonitions* (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt li-Ibn Sīnā*).
4. Summary of Ibn Sīnā's *Sources of Philosophy* (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb 'uyūn al-ḥikmah li-Ibn Sīnā*).
5. Summary of the *Abridgement* by the 'Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy' [i.e. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī] (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-mulakhkhaṣ li-Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy*).
6. Summary of *Those who deal with the two principles* (*Mukhtaṣar al-mu'āmilīn fī l-uṣūlayn*).<sup>57</sup>
7. Summary of Euclid's book (*Mukhtaṣar kitāb Iqlīdis*).
8. Summary of Euclid's *Premises* (*Mukhtaṣar muṣādarāt Iqlīdis*).
9. The glimmerings: on philosophy (*K. al-lama'āt fī l-ḥikmah*).
10. The bright horizons in philosophy (*K. āfāq al-ishrāq fī l-ḥikmah*).
11. The Sacred Paths: on the philosophical sciences (*K. al-manāḥij al-qudsiyyah fī 'ulūm al-ḥikmiyyah*).<sup>58</sup>
12. *The Sufficient [Treatise] for Accountants*; on arithmetic (*Kāfiyat al-ḥussāb fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*).<sup>59</sup>
13. The absolute essentials in the required parts of Euclid and the intermediate treatises (*Ghāyat al-ghāyāt fī l-muḥtāj ilayhi min Iqlīdis wa-l-mutawassiṭāt*).<sup>60</sup>
14. A detailed study of medical themes and identification of the questions concerning which there is a difference of opinion, in the way jurists deal with these differences of opinion (*Tadqīq al-mabāḥith al-ṭibbiyyah fī taḥqīq al-mas'āl al-khilāfiyyah 'alā ṭarīq mas'āl khilāf al-fuqahā'*).
15. On *barsha'thā* (*M. fī barsha'thā*).<sup>61</sup>
16. Illustration of the foolish misconceptions in the utterances of Muwaffaq 'Abd al-Laṭīf [al-Baghdādī]. Najm al-Dīn wrote this book when he was just thirteen years old (*K. idāḥ al-ra'y al-sakhīf min kalām al-Muwaffaq 'Abd al-Laṭīf*).<sup>62</sup>

57 The 'Two Principles' are presumably *uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the principles or roots of religion and jurisprudence, respectively.

58 It may also mean that he wrote it in Jerusalem (cf. al-Ghazālī's *al-Risālah al-Qudsiyyah*).

59 Lothar Kopf's translation of this title reads: 'All that is required in the case of arthritis'.

60 For the *Mutawassiṭāt*, or 'Intermediate Books', see above Ch. 14.22.3.2 n. 16.

61 That is, a compound drug: a medicine that works fast or immediately. The word is derived from Syriac *bar-sha'athā*, literally 'the son of an hour'. See Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirah*, 72.

62 See Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 173. This book title is a childish and all too obvious

17. The utmost precision in the art of (legal) judgments (*Ghāyat al-iḥkām fī sināʿat al-aḥkām*).
18. The splendid epistle: a commentary on *al-Muqaddimah al-Muṭarrizīyah* (*al-risālah al-saniyyah fī sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Muṭarrizīyah*).<sup>63</sup>
19. The brilliant lights in the *Commentary on [The Book of] Clear Signs* [by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī] (*al-anwār al-sāṭiʿāt fī sharḥ al-āyāt al-bayyināt*).
20. The mind's pleasure: *On the Current Proverb* (*K. nuzhat al-nāzir fī l-mathal al-sāʿir* [*fī adab al-kātib wa-l-shāʿir*]).<sup>64</sup>
21. The perfect treatise on algebra (*al-risālah al-kāmilah fī ʿilm al-jabr wa-l-muqābalah*).<sup>65</sup>
22. The treatise for al-Malik al-Manṣūr on numbers with a common divisor (*al-risālah al-Manṣūriyyah fī l-aʿdād al-wafqīyyah*).<sup>66</sup>
23. The brilliant book: *On the summary of the Zīj al-shāh* (*al-zāhī fī ikhtišār al-zīj al-shāhī*).
24. Approximative astronomical tables, based on observations established by experience (*al-zīj al-muqarrab al-mabnī ʿalā l-raṣad al-mujarrab*).

### 15.32 Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓ<sup>1</sup>

The eminent learned authority, the emir Zayn al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn al-Muʿayyad ʿAlī, son of the preacher of ʿAqrabāʾ,<sup>2</sup> studied the art of medicine under our

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attempt by a member of al-Dakhwār's circle – as Ragab puts it – to defame ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī. It is, without any doubt, a reaction to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's own mud-slinging, which was directed at the likes of Ibn Sīnā, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī, Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī and others.

- 63 This is a work on syntax by the grammarian, lexicographer and *adīb* Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muhammad al-Muṭarriz. Cf. Sezgin *GAS* IX, 202.
- 64 The Current Proverb (*al-Mathal al-sāʿir fī adab al-kātib wa-l-shāʿir*) is a famous work on rhetoric and stylistics by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (558–637/1163–1239), who served under Sultan Saladin and his son and successor al-Malik al-Afḍal. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn was an accomplished writer of belles lettres and one of the most famous aesthetic and stylistic critics of Arabic literature.
- 65 Three manuscripts (L, Gb, Gc) add an additional title: A synopsis on algebra (*Mukhtaṣar fī ʿilm al-jabr wa-l-muqābalah*).
- 66 Or 'numbers used in magical squares', see *Et<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Wafq' (J. Sesiano).

1 This entry is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3.

2 ʿAqrabāʾ is a location near Damascus; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iv:135 (*kūrah min kuwar Dimashq kana yanziluhā mulūk Ghassān*).



shaykh, the physician Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>3</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – and acquired knowledge of its theory and practice. Moreover, he was thoroughly acquainted with the universals and particulars of medicine. Zayn al-Dīn served as personal physician to al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who was then the governor of the fortress of Ja‘bar,<sup>4</sup> and was greatly honoured by that ruler, who presented him with many gifts, gave him a high position in his household and included him in all his affairs.

Zayn al-Dīn devoted much effort to the literary disciplines, including poetry and the art of beautiful handwriting [i.e. calligraphy], but also took an interest in military affairs. He used to associate with the sons of al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ, who respected him and allowed him [considerable] influence in their commands. When al-Malik al-Ḥāfiẓ died, the fortress of Ja‘bar was handed over to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghāzī,<sup>5</sup> the governor of Aleppo. The transfer was arranged through an exchange of correspondence to which Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓī contributed. Zayn al-Dīn then moved to Aleppo and became an aide to al-Malik al-Nāṣir, in whose estimation he stood high. He married the daughter of the governor of Aleppo, and thus acquired great wealth. When al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad became the ruler of Damascus, Zayn al-Dīn accompanied him to that city and settled there. He subsequently became one of the most eminent figures of the age, devoting himself to the medical art as well as to military affairs and governmental matters. Accordingly, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – composed the following lines about him:<sup>6</sup>

In every post Zayn al-Dīn always has  
the highest of ranks in the heaven of glory:  
A commander who holds every merit in knowledge  
and surpasses mankind in his judgment and experiences.  
If he is dealing with medicine he takes pride of place,  
and if he is involved in war he is the heart of the battalions.

3 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15, 50.

4 Qal‘at Ja‘bar is a castle on the left bank of Lake Assad in al-Raqqah Governorate, Syria. Its site, formerly a prominent hill-top overlooking the Euphrates Valley, is now an island in Lake Assad that can only be reached by an artificial causeway. See also Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ii:141–142.

5 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir 11 Yūsuf ibn al-‘Azīz Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn 11, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. He reigned over Aleppo from 634–658/1236–1260. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadi, *Wāfi*, xv:414.

Thus in peace he revives many a friend with his medicine  
and in war he destroys many an enemy with cutting swords.

Eventually, however, Tatar [i.e. Mongol] emissaries from the East came to al-Malik al-Nāṣir demanding the occupation of his lands [i.e. his kingdom] and proposing severe conditions entailing the payment of tribute. Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓī was sent as a messenger to the ruler Hūlākū,<sup>7</sup> [the Ilkhān] of the Mongols, and to other Mongol rulers. They treated him generously and made him a wealthy man, so that he joined them and in effect became one of them. He went back and forth as a messenger many times, encouraging the Mongols to attack the State and terrifying al-Malik al-Nāṣir with accounts of their power and their [vast] empire. He described their great armies and ridiculed the situation of al-Malik al-Nāṣir and his armies. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir became faint-hearted and unwilling to go to battle against them. In due course, Hūlākū's Mongols appeared before Aleppo and laid siege to it. After approximately a month, they stormed the city, killed all the people [i.e. the men] in it, took the women and children into captivity, plundered the city's wealth and destroyed the citadel and other [buildings].

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf fled from Damascus and took possession of Zayzā'<sup>8</sup> and its surroundings. Al-Ḥāfiẓī stayed with him until al-Malik al-Nāṣir dispatched him to Hūlākū.<sup>9</sup> He stayed with Hūlākū until the latter dismissed him, according to the general belief. When he came back to Damascus in the year 648/1250 he found that al-Malik al-Nāṣir was intending to conquer Egypt, but the Egyptian armies, which were then led by al-Malik al-Mu'izz, who was also known as Aybak al-Turkumānī,<sup>10</sup> fought and defeated al-Malik al-Nāṣir, whose armies were scattered and whose attempt to conquer Egypt ended in ruin. He then returned to Syria, where he ruled until the year 658/1258–1259, when the enemy invaded the country, as it is generally understood.

The Mongols then took possession of Damascus by treaty and installed a representative of their own. Zayn al-Dīn remained there as well. They made him an emir, and assigned a military guard to accompany him at all times, so that he

7 Hūlākū (also spelled Hūlāgū) was a Mongol conqueror, grandson of Genghis Khan, and founder of a Mongol kingdom in Persia, died 663/1265.

8 Locality north of Amman (Jordan).

9 Hūlākū was in Aleppo at that specific moment in time.

10 The MSS AGbGcL all have the name Qūṭuz here. Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Qūṭuz al-Mu'izzī, Sayf al-Dīn was a Bahārī Mamlūk, who reigned from 657/1259 until 658/1260. See Bos-

became known as ‘King Zayn al-Dīn’. But when al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz, the ruler of Egypt, arrived with the armies of Islam and gave the Mongols a merciless trashing at the famous [battle of] Wādī Kan‘ān,<sup>11</sup> killing countless numbers of them, their governor and his retinue fled, and Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥāfizī went with them, for fear of losing his life at the hands of the Muslims. Syria returned to its former lustre – God be praised – and after al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz – may God have mercy upon him – it was ruled by the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars,<sup>12</sup> who became the ruler of both Egypt and Syria – may God make his rule eternal.

### 15.33 Abū l-Faḍl ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Muhandis<sup>1</sup>

Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥārithī was born and brought up in Damascus. He was known as ‘the geometrician’ (*al-muhandis*) because of his excellent knowledge of geometry, for which he was famous, before he had acquired any knowledge of the art of medicine. His first career was as a carpenter. He also dressed stone, but he earned [his living] by carpentry, a craft at which he was very skilled. His work was greatly sought after, and most of the doors of the ‘Great Hospital’ that was established by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him – are products of his skills and handiwork. Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah<sup>2</sup> informed me that he had heard this from [Abū l-Faḍl al-Muhandis] himself.

Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Miṭwā‘,<sup>3</sup> the oculist, who was a friend of Abū l-Faḍl al-Muhandis, told me that Abū l-Faḍl’s first acquaintance with science came about because he had in mind to study [the works of] Euclid in order to [further] improve his excellence in the craft of carpentry, gain insight into its particu-

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worth, *Dynasties*, 76. The MSS H and R have the correct name. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf was defeated by Aybak’s forces in the battle of al-Ṣālihiyyah in the year 648/1250.

11 Wādī Kan‘ān (Goliath’s Spring) in Palestine was the site of the victory of the Mamluks over the Mongols in 658/1260, usually called the Battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt.

12 He is al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars ı al-Bunduqārī, Rukn al-Dīn. Baḥrī Mamlūk, who reigned 658/1260. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 76 and *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Baybars ı’ (G. Wiet).

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.46.

3 He is mentioned in Ch. 15.9 as Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ibn Abī l-Faraj, the oculist, who was known as al-Miṭwā‘.

lars, and have freedom of action in the execution of his work. Ibn al-Miṭwā' also said that in those days Abū l-Faḍl al-Muhandis used to work at the Khātūn Mosque, which was located below al-Munaybi' just west of Damascus. Every morning before arriving at the mosque he had already memorized a part of Euclid's work. He also managed to solve [some problems] from it on the way to work and after he finished work, until he had unravelled it in its entirety, understood it thoroughly and fully mastered its contents. He then proceeded to read and study the *Almagest* and solve [all the problems] contained therein. In the end, he devoted himself completely to the art of geometry and became an authority in it.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – say: Abū l-Faḍl al-Muhandis also concerned himself with the art of astronomy and drew up astronomical tables (*al-zījāt*). It was about that time that al-Sharaf al-Ṭūsī<sup>4</sup> arrived in Damascus. Al-Sharaf al-Ṭūsī was an outstanding [scholar] in [the field of] geometry and the mathematical sciences, having no peer among his contemporaries. Abū l-Faḍl became acquainted with him, studied under him and learnt a great deal from him. He also studied the art of medicine under Abū l-Majd Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ḥakam,<sup>5</sup> with whom he was associated for a very long time, copying many works on the philosophical sciences and the art of medicine. I have seen a copy, in his handwriting, of Galen's 'Sixteen Books,' which he had studied under Abū l-Majd Muḥammad ibn Abī l-Ḥakam.

Ibn Abī l-Ḥakam's signature was appended to it [as proof that he had read it]. It was Abū l-Faḍl who repaired, maintained and inspected the clocks of the [Umayyad] Mosque in Damascus, a task for which he received a regular stipend. He was also paid a salary for his work as a physician at the great hospital, a post that he held until he died many years later. He was an outstanding physician and a good practitioner, with a pleasant way of dealing [with his patients].

Abū l-Faḍl had travelled to Egypt in 572–573/1176–1177. In Alexandria, he had acquired some knowledge of the Prophetic tradition [Hadith] from Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Thana' Ḥammād ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Ḥammād ibn al-Fuḍayl al-Ḥarrānī and Abū Ṭāhir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Silafī al-Iṣfahānī.<sup>6</sup>

4 Sharaf al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muẓaffar al-Ṭūsī (b. ca. 529/1135; d. 610/1213) was a famous Persian mathematician and astronomer, who taught in Mosul, Damascus and Aleppo.

5 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.9.

6 See *EI*, art. 'al-Silafī' (Cl. Gilliot).

Abū l-Faḍl also studied the literary sciences and grammar and composed poetry, making some good epigrams. He died of diarrhoea in Damascus – may God have mercy upon him – in the year 599/1201, at the age of approximately seventy.

The following is an example of the poetry of Abū l-Faḍl ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Muhandis. I have copied it from his manuscript of the *Treatise on the sighting of the new moon*, which he wrote in praise of the judge Muḥyī l-Dīn, the son of the judge Zakī al-Dīn:<sup>7</sup>

You are distinguished by your father;<sup>8</sup> when you see them  
 they<sup>9</sup> call some individual people with your epithet.  
 You will see they have the opposite of the epithets if you put them to the  
 test:  
 sometimes a man without vision is called ‘seeing’.<sup>10</sup>  
 An epithet that is not corroborated with deeds  
 is a mere name for an imagine that is pictured.  
 But what is worthy of it is a word to which the sense corresponds,  
 like the scion of judges, proud men from Muḍar.<sup>11</sup>  
 Religion, realm, Islam: altogether  
 safe, through his judgment, from the hand of time’s vagaries.  
 So many good usages has he introduced during his time of office,  
 standing up for God in these, not apologising,  
 Hoping thereby for a blessing without end:  
 the vicinity of an Almighty, Omnipotent, Exalted King,  
 Thus God may preserve him from every mishap,  
 as long as grey doves chant, cooing in trees.

Abū l-Faḍl ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Muhandis wrote the following works:

1. On knowledge of the regulation of the almanac (*R. fī ma‘rifat ramz al-taqwīm*).<sup>12</sup>
2. On the sighting of the new moon (*M. fī ru‘yat al-hilāl*).

7 Metre: *basīt*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:281 (lines 1–6).

8 The judge was known as Ibn Zakī al-Dīn, as Ibn Khallikān says.

9 It is not clear to whom ‘they’ and ‘them’ refer.

10 The word *baṣīr*, ‘endowed with sight’ is sometimes used as a euphemism for ‘blind’.

11 The family was descended from ‘Uthmān, the third caliph, and thus from Muḍar, a legendary ancestor of the ‘North Arabs’.

12 *Taqwīm* was the common term for an almanac or calendar presenting rules for the regimen of good health or for the use of simple or compound remedies.

3. Summary of *The Great Book of Songs* by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī.<sup>13</sup> He compiled this work in his own handwriting in ten volumes, which he donated to the mosque in Damascus as an addition to the previously donated works to the *Maqṣūrah* of Ibn ‘Urwah<sup>14</sup> (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-aghānī al-kabīr li-Abī l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī*).
4. On wars and political administration (*K. fī l-ḥurūb wa-l-siyāsah*).
5. On simple drugs, arranged according to the letters of the alphabet [*ḥurūf abjad*] (*K. fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).

### 15.34 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz [al-Sulamī]<sup>1</sup>

The shaykh and learned authority Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Sulamī was a very experienced man with a [genuine] thirst for knowledge, who held beauty in high esteem and possessed a keen sense of honour. In addition, he had a perfect command of the Arabic language. He was known for his compassion for the sick, especially those who were debilitated, whom he not only visited and treated, but saw to it that they were given money for their expenses, medicines and [daily] nourishment. He was a very devout man with a cheerful countenance and was loved by all.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn began his career as an expert in *fiqh* [i.e. jurisprudence] who taught at the al-Amīniyyah law college in Damascus,<sup>2</sup> near the [Umayyad] Mosque. Subsequently, however, he studied the art of medicine under Ilyās ibn al-Muṭrān,<sup>3</sup> and in due course became very well-versed in both its theory and

13 The author of the celebrated *Kitāb al-Aghānī* is referred to both as Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī and as Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. For an account of his life and works, see *ET Three* art. ‘Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’ (Sebastian Günther).

14 The *Maqṣūrah* of Ibn ‘Urwah was a *dār al-ḥadīth* attached to the Umayyad mosque of Damascus. According to the colophon of MS L, IAU gave a copy of his *‘Uyūn al-anbā’* to this institution (as a *waqf*). On the *Maqṣūrah* of Ibn ‘Urwah (Dār al-ḥadīth al-‘urwiyyah), see al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris*, i:61–67.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*.

2 The al-Amīniyyah law college [*madrasah*] was located not far from the Umayyad Mosque. It was completed in the year 514/1120 during the reign of the Būrid ruler Ṭughtigīn, Abū Maṣūr Ṣāḥib al-Dīn. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 189.

3 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.23.

practice. Ultimately, he was acknowledged as one of the most distinguished masters of the art [of medicine] and a shaykh who set an example for all, and he held public sessions for his pupils.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn served for a time as a physician at the 'Great Hospital' founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, but later he entered the service of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, with whom he remained for many years. That ruler treated him generously, presenting him with many gifts, holding him in high regard and paying him a lavish salary.<sup>4</sup> Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz continued to hold that post until he died of colic – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus on Friday the twentieth of the month of Dhū l-Qaʿdah in the year 604 [6 June 1208] and was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn.<sup>5</sup> He was nearly sixty years old at the time of his death, his date of birth having been in the vicinity of the year [5]55/[11]60.

### 15.35 Saʿd al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz<sup>1</sup>

The brilliant physician and learned authority Saʿd al-Dīn Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Sulamī resembled his father in appearance, character, knowledge and intelligence. He was a deeply religious person, a very distinguished [scholar], who was outstanding in the juridical sciences and pious and godfearing in religious affairs. When living in Damascus, he would spend the month of Ramadan in seclusion at the mosque, not speaking to anyone.

In the days of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil,<sup>2</sup> Saʿd al-Dīn was [placed] in charge of the construction of the al-Ḥanbaliyyah Law College in the wheat market in Damascus. It was the Caliph of Baghdad, al-Mustansir bi-Allāh, who had ordered it [the college] built.

4 We know that al-Sulamī earned the royal salary of 100 dinars every month plus other allowances, cf. IAU, Ch. 15.50.1 (al-Dakhwār), and Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*, 5.

5 Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*, 2, also give 604/1208 as the date of death of this physician, but mention that he passed away in Cairo. However, a little bit later on page 8 they advise us that 'he died in Damascus and was buried on nearby Mt. Qāsiyūn'.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book.

2 Al-Malik al-Ashraf I Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀdil I Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar al-Dīn, of Diyārbakr (r. 626–635/1229–1237). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

The physician Sa'd al-Dīn was peerless in his day and age as [one of] the most erudite men of his time in the domain of medicine, having been an expert in its general principles and thoroughly familiar with its several specialized branches. Even so, he continued to study it under any and all circumstances.

Sa'd al-Dīn was born in Damascus at the beginning of the month Muḥarram in the year 583 [mid-March 1187]. He served for a time as a physician at the 'Great Hospital', founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, but subsequently entered the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Faṭḥ Mūsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb,<sup>3</sup> living at his court in the East. That ruler treated him generously, presented him with many gifts, paid him a lavish salary and maintained a close and uninterrupted relationship with him. Sa'd al-Dīn enjoyed [the ruler's] favour and held an important position in his administration. In the month of Sha'bān of the year 626 [June 1229], however, al-Malik al-Ashraf went to Damascus as [the city] had been handed over to him by the son of his brother, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu'azzam.<sup>4</sup> Sa'd al-Dīn accompanied his employer to his new capital, where he was appointed chief physician. He retained that post until al-Malik al-Ashraf died – may God have mercy upon him – in the castle of Damascus in the early morning of Thursday the fourth of Muḥarram of the year 635 [27 August 1237]. Later that year, during the first ten days of Jumādā 1 [late December 1237], when Damascus was conquered by al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb,<sup>5</sup> the new ruler ordered Sa'd al-Dīn to remain in his service, stipulating that he should continue to enjoy all the benefits that had been granted him by his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf. His service was short-lived, however, for al-Malik al-Kāmil died – may God have mercy upon him – in the early evening of Thursday the 22nd of Rajab of the year 635 [10 March 1238].

The physician Sa'd al-Dīn remained in Damascus, holding public sessions for those who were studying the art of medicine under him, for the rest of his life. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in the month of Jumādā 11 of the year 644 [October–November 1246].

3 See the previous footnote.

4 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir 11 Dāwūd ibn al-Mu'azzam ʿĪsā Sharaf al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 624–626/1227–1229). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

5 Al-Malik al-Kāmil I Muḥammad ibn al-ʿĀdil I Muḥammad or Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Ma'ālī Nāṣir al-Dīn (r. 635/1237–1238). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.



The following line is taken from a poem in honour of the physician Sa'd al-Dīn by al-Sharīf al-Bakrī:<sup>6</sup>

A nice doctor, with such nice characteristics that  
a healthy man would wish to be sick so as to visit him.<sup>7</sup>

### 15.36 Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī<sup>1</sup>

[15.36.1]

The eminent physician and learned authority Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Ḥaydarah ibn al-Ḥasan al-Raḥbī was one of the most prominent practitioners of the art of medicine. He was an outstanding [physician] in the eyes of his peers, enjoyed great respect and was well spoken of by elite and common people alike. Rulers and subjects honoured him greatly. He was much esteemed, high-minded, with lofty ambitions, and was very precise and determined [in his actions]. Furthermore, his conduct was unimpeachable, and he loved the good in people. He exerted himself tirelessly in the treatment of the sick and was kind and merciful to all. He never used indelicate words, nor was he ever known to wrong others or to speak ill of anyone during his entire life.

Raḍī al-Dīn's father was a native of the town of al-Raḥbah.<sup>2</sup> He too, had a good understanding of the art of medicine, but was known primarily as an oculist. The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn was born and bred in Jazīrat ibn 'Umar,<sup>3</sup> but also lived in Naṣībīn [e.g. Nisibis]<sup>4</sup> and al-Raḥbah for some years. He travelled to Baghdad and other places, where he studied the art of medicine and became

6 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vi:48. Al-Sharīf al-Bakrī has not been identified.

7 The copyist of MS R copied some additional verses in a marginal note; see AII.16.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 143–144; 164–177, *passim*.

2 Al-Raḥbah is sometimes also called Raḥbat Mālik ibn Ṭawq or Raḥbat al-Sha'm. It is a town on the right bank of the Euphrates, the modern al-Miyādīn or al-Mayādīn in eastern Syria. See also Yāqūt, *Muḥam al-buldān*, iii:34–36.

3 Jazīrat ibn 'Umar (modern-day Cizre in southeastern Turkey and historical Gazarta) was an important town during the Abbasid period and the Crusades as a gateway connecting Upper Mesopotamia to Armenia.

4 The city is nowadays called Nusaybin and is located in Mardin Province in southeastern Turkey.

an expert in it. He also met the shaykh al-Muwaffaq who was known as Ibn Jumay‘ the Egyptian,<sup>5</sup> and studied with him.

Raḍī al-Dīn and his father settled in Damascus in the year 555/1160, during the reign of the Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī. After they had lived there for some years, Raḍī al-Dīn’s father died and was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn. Raḍī al-Dīn decided to remain in Damascus, where he kept a practice for the treatment of the sick; he wrote many books there. After some time, Raḍī al-Dīn decided to study further under Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh,<sup>6</sup> the physician, associating with him constantly. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn spoke highly of him and preferred him to all [his] other [students], with the result that he was able to enter the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb. This ruler enhanced his position, allotted him a monthly salary of thirty dinars and attached him to the citadel and the hospital. He held that post throughout the reign of Saladin, but refused to accede to Saladin’s request to accompany him when he travelled.<sup>7</sup>

Saladin died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus early in the night of Wednesday, the 27th of Ṣafar of the year 589 [4 March 1193], and the succession passed from his sons to his brother al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb who [then] took possession of the country. The new ruler ordered [Raḍī al-Dīn] to serve him as his personal physician, but [Raḍī al-Dīn] declined and asked to be allowed to remain in Damascus. At this, al-Malik al-‘Ādil validated all the emoluments that Raḍī al-Dīn had enjoyed during the reign of Saladin and confirmed that they would remain exactly as they had been. This situation continued until the death of al-Malik al-‘Ādil.

Al-Malik al-‘Ādil’s successor was his son, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā ibn al-Malik al-‘Ādil, who granted Raḍī al-Dīn a regular stipend of fifteen dinars. He [then] became a visiting physician at the hospital and kept that position until his death – may God have mercy upon him.

Many persons studied the art of medicine under Raḍī al-Dīn. A number of them became outstanding [physicians], and these in turn taught others, who also became prominent men in the field of medicine. Scrutiny of the physicians of Syria reveals that they either studied under al-Raḥbī himself or under one of those who had studied under him. Among those who studied

5 See Ch. 14.32.

6 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.13.

7 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah does not mention, as does Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1257), *Mir‘āt al-zamān* (viii:1–2, i: 321 and 430), that Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī was accused of causing the death of Saladin, by bleeding him against the advice of all other physicians. See also below, 15.40.4.

under him at the beginning [of his career] was the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī,<sup>8</sup> who afterward became a close associate of Ibn al-Muṭrān.<sup>9</sup>

[15.36.1.1]

The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn said to me: ‘All those who studied under me and associated with me [later] helped and benefited the people,’ and he named many prominent men who had won renown in the medical profession, including some who were already dead and some who were still alive. He had deemed it appropriate, he said, never to teach medical principles to non-Muslims (*al-dhimmah*) or to persons who were not worthy of them, for he considered that he was thereby enhancing the profession and upholding its prestige. He told me that in all his life he had taught only two non-Muslims: the physician ‘Imrān al-Isrā’īlī<sup>10</sup> and Ibrāhīm ibn Khalaf, the Samaritan (al-Sāmīrī),<sup>11</sup> and he had taught them only because they had pestered him and pleaded with him incessantly, until finally he felt he could not turn them away. Both men were exceptionally gifted and became outstanding physicians.

There is no doubt that some teachers bring good fortune to those who study under them, just as one finds that certain scientific works are more instructive than others. I myself studied medical works by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī and others with Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī in the year 622–623/1225–1226, especially their practical parts, and I benefitted greatly from them.

The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn was fond of trading and devoted much of his time to commercial activity. In addition, he kept a keen eye on his physical constitution and was concerned about the preservation of his health. Al-Ṣāhib Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qiftī has told me that the physician al-Raḥbī closely followed the basic principles that are necessary for the preservation of health.

Moreover, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – have heard that Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī employed the very best cooks and instructed them to apply the rules that he himself followed. This was most beneficial to him during daytime, keeping his humours in balance during the [whole] day. When the food was ready, the cooks would inform al-Raḥbī, and he would invite one or more of his friends

8 See the entry on him in Ch. 15.50.

9 This physician has an entry in Ch. 15.23.

10 See Ch. 15.42.

11 See Ch. 15.48.

to join him at dinner. When they arrived, the cooks would ask permission to serve, but he would tell them that they must wait, as [the guests] as yet had no appetite. The cooks would wait until they were called. When al-Raḥbī called to them to bring the food in at once, the cooks would serve the meal. Only then would he eat.

One day, one of his friends asked him the reason for this [habit]. ‘Eating with appetite is essential for the preservation of health,’ he replied, ‘for when the members of the body require compensation for what they have used up, they demand it of the stomach, and the stomach in turn summons it from the outside [i.e. the urge to eat again]’. ‘What do you gain by it?’ asked the friend. ‘It is thus that man will attain his natural life span,’ answered al-Raḥbī. ‘But,’ objected the friend ‘you have reached an age which is little short of man’s natural life span, so what is the need for this rigmarole?’ ‘So that during this short period I may stay above the ground,’ said al-Raḥbī, ‘inhaling air and swallowing water, and not under the ground because of a faulty diet.’ He continued to follow this practice until his time came.

[15.36.1.2]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah continues: I have had a similar experience myself, showing that it is not desirable to eat a meal except with a genuine appetite. Once, I was with Raḍī al-Dīn, studying some of al-Rāzī’s remarks on the order of eating food. Al-Rāzī states that a person should eat twice a day and then once on the following day. ‘Pay no attention to that advice,’ Raḍī al-Dīn said to me. ‘On the contrary, remember to eat whenever you have a real appetite, at all times, no matter whether it is once or twice during the day, day or night; for it is eating with a real appetite that benefits the body, whereas the opposite is harmful’, and he was right.

Raḍī al-Dīn always followed his own precept in the matter, regardless of whatever else he might be doing. On Saturdays, he would always go to the garden to rest and refrain from work. Thursday was the only day on which he went to the bath. He made it a rule to do these things in a regular order. On Fridays, he used to go to see all the prominent people and the notables. He steadfastly refused to climb a ladder – when he needed to visit a patient, the patient had to be in a place where it was not necessary to climb a ladder – or even to go near one, describing the ladder as “the saw [which cuts off] life”. He once made a particularly astonishing remark to my father. ‘Since the time I bought this place, in which I have lived for more than twenty-five years,’ he said, ‘I do not remember ever having gone up to the room at the top [of the house], except for the one time when I inspected the house [before] buying it. I have never been up there again from that day to this’.

Al-Şāhib Şafī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Marzūq, the vizier of al-Malik al-Ashraf ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil,<sup>12</sup> has told me an anecdote about his excellent demeanour with regard to the art of medicine. He also described to me all the virtues of shaykh Rađī al-Dīn.

[15.36.1.3]

Among the things that he told me is the following anecdote: Al-Şāhib Şafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr,<sup>13</sup> the vizier of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb<sup>14</sup> always ate poultry, but hardly ever ate mutton. He complained to Rađī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī about his pale complexion, for which physicians had [previously] prescribed many different syrups and other [medicaments]. Rađī al-Dīn went out, returning shortly with a piece of chicken breast and a piece of red mutton, ‘You are accustomed to eat the meat of fowl,’ he said to the vizier, ‘but the blood produced by fowls does not have such a reddish hue as the blood of sheep, and you can see that the colour of sheep meat is very different from the colour of this piece of chicken meat. You should give up eating fowl and stick to eating mutton instead. That will make you better and there will be no need for [further] treatment.’ The vizier accepted Rađī al-Dīn’s advice, and ate what the physician had recommended. It was not long before his colour returned and the balance of his humours [i.e. his equilibrium] was restored.

Ibn Abī Uşaybi‘ah continues: This is a very convincing account, and I would recommend it to everyone who wishes to be cured and seriously wants to ensure the preservation of his health. The vizier was a robust, well-proportioned man who possessed a strong physique and had a good digestion, but the members of his body were afflicted by the weak blood that he [obtained from eating] fowl’s meat. He needed coarser and stronger blood. When he went over to eating mutton, he began to produce stronger blood that supplied the needs of his bodily members, so that his humours became balanced and his colour returned to normal.

[15.36.1.4]

Shaykh Rađī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī was born in the month of Jumādā I in the year 534 [December 1139–January 1140] in Jazīrat ibn ‘Umar.

12 Al-Malik al-Ashraf I Mūsā ibn al-ʿĀdil I Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar al-Dīn, of Diyār Bakr (r. 626–635/1229–1237). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

13 On this notorious vizier, cf. al-Şafādī, *Wāfi*, xvii:327–330; and in connection to ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 52, esp. n. 168.

14 Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil I Muḥammad or Aḥmad ibn Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, of Damascus (r. 596–616/1200–1218). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

His last illness manifested itself on the day of the Feast of Immolation (*ʿīd al-aḍḥā*) in the year 630 [17 September 1233]. He died – may God have mercy upon him – on the morning of Sunday, the tenth of Muḥarram of the year 631 [16 October 1233], and was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn. He lived nearly a hundred years<sup>15</sup> without any weakening of his hearing or sight; only during his last years he [suffered from] forgetfulness with respect to matters that had happened recently, but he remembered past events, which he had known for a long time, perfectly clearly. He left two sons, the eldest named Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī and the younger, Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Uthmān. One of his relatives, who had been at his bedside during his final illness, told me that at the time of his death Raḍī al-Dīn felt the pulse of his right hand with his left hand, with a pensive and reflective air as he did so. He then clapped his hands, for he knew that his strength had failed. He straightened the cowl [*zawraqiyyah*] on his head with his hands, disposed himself for death, and died.

[15.36.2]

Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī is the author of the following works:

1. Revision of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms* (*Tahdhīb sharḥ Ibn al-Ṭayyib li-kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).
2. Summary of Ḥunayn [ibn Ishāq's] *Book of Questions* that he had started [to write], but never finished (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-masāʾil li-Ḥunayn*).

### 15.37 Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī<sup>1</sup>

[15.37.1]

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī, the physician and learned authority, was one of the most erudite and peerless scholars of his day and age.

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥaydarah ibn al-Ḥasan al-Raḥbī was born in Damascus in the year 583/1187. He followed in his father's footsteps, just as he resembled him in appearance, character, manners and intelligence. From an early age he gave his full attention to collecting and studying books, while his soul was constantly devoted to a search for virtue. Sharaf al-Dīn pursued the medical art very assiduously, carefully studying its details and

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<sup>15</sup> In fact, only 94 solar years.

<sup>1</sup> This entry occurs in all three versions of the book. On this author, see Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 153–157.

general principles. He also composed works of his own on medicine and wrote annotations on others.

Sharaf al-Dīn studied the art of medicine under his father, and also with shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī,<sup>2</sup> under whose guidance he devoted himself to a number of sciences, including in particular those that were treated in shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Baghdādī’s own works.<sup>3</sup> He also studied literature under shaykh ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī<sup>4</sup> and other scholars, until he had achieved an unparalleled mastery of that domain. In addition, he possessed a natural disposition for poetry.

Sharaf al-Dīn was a solitary individual who was constantly reading and studying in order to gain insight into the literary work of ancient authors and to benefit from the books of the sages. He was a righteous and high-aspiring man who did not like to frequent rulers and state officials. He worked for some time at the ‘Great Hospital’ founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī. When our shaykh Muhaddhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>5</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – made a charitable donation of his house in Damascus, dedicating it as a place where the medical arts were studied, so that the Muslims could learn there, he appointed Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī as a teacher,<sup>6</sup> because Sharaf al-Dīn had proven to be an erudite and intelligent person. He held that post for a

2 This physician has an extensive entry in Ch. 15.40.

3 Lothar Kopf translates: ‘under whose direction he copied many scientific books, especially the works of Muwaffaq al-Dīn himself’.

4 ‘Alam al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Sakhāwī (d. 643/1245), *muqri*’ and grammarian, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xv:65–66; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh*, ii:311–312; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxii:64–66.

5 This physician has an extensive entry in Ch. 15.50.

6 Ragab (*Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 141–175) has argued that Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī was part of the intellectual platform that was formed around the physician Muhaddhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī al-Dakhwār (see chapter 15.50). The latter’s circle wanted to rehabilitate the dominance of two authors, Ibn Sīnā and al-Rāzī, and placed more emphasis on practical writings derived from their own experience. The works of the polymath ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (see chapter 15.40), however, clearly stood in opposition to those of al-Dakhwār’s circle. Al-Baghdādī had severe doubts about al-Rāzī’s writings, loathed Ibn Sīnā’s medical and philosophical works, and paid much more attention to the theoretical side of medicine. The authors of al-Dakhwār’s circle therefore seemed to have neglected al-Baghdādī’s oeuvre and never referred to it. Be that as it may, it still remains a remarkable fact that al-Dakhwār himself appointed Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, who was a student of al-Baghdādī, as the first professor of the *Madrasah al-Dakhwāriyyah* in Damascus. Unlike the other circle members, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī never composed treatises on his own practice and experiences, and he may, therefore, have occupied a more neutral position within the circle. One may even deduce from all of this that Sharaf al-Dīn al-Raḥbī remained out of the circle, perhaps because of his special position, and out of loyalty to his shaykh.

time and then died – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus. He was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn. He died – may God have mercy upon him – of pleurisy on the night preceding Friday the eleventh of Muḥarram in the year 667 [20 September 1268].

The physician Badr al-Dīn, the son of the judge of Baalbek, and Shams al-Dīn al-Kutubī, known as al-Khawātīmī, have informed me that months before he fell ill and died, Sharaf al-Dīn had told visitors and students that he would die soon at the conjunction of the two planets.<sup>7</sup> He had also told them, ‘Tell this to the people, so that they may realize the measure of my knowledge of life and death.’ What he had predicted on the basis of [the conjunction of] the planets, did indeed happen.

[15.37.2]

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī personally recited the following [specimens of his] poetry to me. Among them is the following poem, which is part of an elegy:<sup>8</sup>

The arrows of the Fates among mankind cannot be prevented:  
one day, everyone even if (now) alive will be felled.

Everyone, though it may be a long time, will end up  
entrusted to the bottom of a grave in the earth.

So say to him who outlives his companion:

Before long you will be driven to the same.

Every son of a woman will arrive at perdition,  
raised, after couches, on a bier.

5 One day, even if he lives for a while, a decree will reach him  
to which the decrepit and the sucking child are alike.

7 The word *kawkab* was used indiscriminately for both a fixed star and a planet. Given that stars do not move with respect to one another, and therefore cannot meet in conjunction, a conjunction of two planets must be intended by the phrase *qirān al-kawkabayn*, or, less likely, a planet with a star. The two planets are unspecified, but it is likely that it was either a conjunction of Mars with Saturn, with which ominous events were always associated, or the sun with the moon, for the conjunction of the latter two results in an eclipse – a result more easily observed as well as predicted than that of a Mars-Saturn conjunction. According to the astrology website *astropro.com*, a Mars-Saturn conjunction took place on 25 September 1268, five days after the date given above, while according to the NASA eclipse records (available on-line) a total eclipse of the sun – a rare event happening only three times per millennium – occurred on 6 November 1268, with the path of visibility directly over Syria and Iraq. The precision with which the death date was recorded is unknown.

8 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:283 (lines 1, 3, 44), al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:352–353 (lines 1, 3–15), where the poem is said to have been an elegy on his father of 118 lines.



So let no sensible man ever be deluded by<sup>9</sup> his longevity,  
 for the life of a man is nothing to aspire to,  
 For life only resembles a flash of lightning  
 and death is merely as when the eye slumbers.  
 People are merely like plants: some dried out, chaff,  
 others tender, sprouting after what has perished.  
 Perish this world! It never ceases to regale us  
 with the bitter skimmings<sup>10</sup> of a cup that does not slake thirst.  
 10 The clouds of worldly desires are empty of rain; their lightning,  
 when taken as a sign of rain, disappoints, not giving a downpour.  
 The world deludes her children with desires, then leads them  
 to the bottom of an abyss in which a man is laid.  
 She has destroyed so many people enthralled with love of her,  
 who never attained their desires to be enjoyed!  
 She rouses his hopes to attain his desires  
 and he, in his erring, never gives up his love of her.  
 He wastes a lifetime that will not come back,  
 before he ever attains the thing he expects of her.  
 15 So he became her slave, that he could gather her debris,  
 without ever enjoying what he had gathered.  
 If he were sensible the barest subsistence in this world  
 would suffice him and he would not be greedy,  
 Until Fate will come to him, while he is safe  
 by being content and will not be frightened.  
 Its misfortunes are general: neither a brave man  
 nor a base one will escape. They cannot be averted.  
 Nor can anything that swims on the bottom of the sea, or a bird  
 that circles in the wide space and is then taken away;<sup>11</sup>  
 20 Nor anyone unassailable in lofty towers  
 that rise high into the vertices of the sky.  
 They<sup>12</sup> bring him, after his life, to a pit  
 where, in the end, he will have a resting-place in the earth.

9 Or, reading *yafraḥan* (see note to the Arabic), 'rejoice in'.

10 *Afāwiq*: literally, 'the milk that collects in the udder between two milkings'.

11 Reading *yunza'u*; or perhaps *yanzi'u*, 'is in the throes of death'; or (with a slight emendation, avoiding the repetition of the rhyme word of line 13) *yatra'u*, 'rushes headlong'; or *yutra'u*, 'is turned back'.

12 The misfortunes (line 18), or 'this world' (*al-dunyā*).

There, those who dwelled on its surface and have died  
 recently and Tubba<sup>13</sup> are equals.  
 They are the same there: a poor man, the rich,  
 the faltering in speech and the eloquent;  
 He who when calamities strike, is not afraid of dying  
 and a coward who hurries, fearing death;  
 25 A greedy one who pounces with tooth and claw  
 and any humble little bird that cannot defend itself;  
 He who has conquered distant lands with might and force  
 and he who is content with the bare necessities.  
 If someone, taking warning, opened their graves,  
 to see the workings of decay's effects,  
 He would observe eyeballs liquefying, faces dust-covered  
 in the earth, disfigured, terrifying.  
 They are under layers of earth, gloomy,  
 glowering, whereas once they gleamed with glee.  
 30 He cannot know the master from the slave among them,  
 nor the obscure from the eminent and haughty.  
 How could he know, having seen of them  
 what makes the eyes shed tears?  
 He sees of them what pains the sight,  
 yet how often has he seen what gladdens and delights the eyes!  
 He sees bones that can no longer hold together  
 and have come apart, cut off from their joints,  
 Stripped of their flesh: they are a warning  
 for the thoughtful, about what they can expect.  
 35 The passing of time has wasted them; they became  
 'pipes in the hollow of which the wind' makes music<sup>14</sup>  
 To blackened faces and skulls  
 bowed down from humiliation, not to be raised again:  
 They have been severed from their necks, turned upside down  
 on the earth, whereas once they were laid on pillows.

13 See above, notes at Ch. 14.32.4 (vs. 12) and Ch. 15.11.2.1 (vs. 74).

14 A near-quotation of a line (rhyming in *taṣfiru*, 'whistles') attributed to a certain al-Ḥārithī in Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 1425) and other sources, often with *qawārīr* ('bottles') instead of *anābīb* ('pipes'); attributed to Khalaf ibn Khalifah in Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, vi:58; to Majnūn Laylā in al-Qālī, *Amālī*, i:162; to Sawwār ibn 'Abd Allāh in al-Ḥafānī, *Aghānī*, xix:253.

Darkness has come over them, bound for decay; yet how often  
did their light shine in the obscure night!  
It is as if on their hair-partings there never rested  
precious crowns set with pearls!

40 All those who loved them have gone away from them, desolate,  
their own people and all people now loathe them.  
Those who, in their lifetime, had a bond of passion with them  
have severed the ties with them, no longer having a desire.  
Their enemies lament them for their sorry state;  
who once was their adversary pities them and is sad.  
Say then to him who is deluded by his longevity  
and by the vain, treacherous baubles he has collected:  
Wake up! Look at this world with the eye of insight,  
and you will find that all it contains are deposits to be returned.

45 Where are the proud kings of yore, and he who possessed  
the place on earth where the sun rises?  
A tomb contains him, in the wide space of the earth's surface,  
too short for his corpse, when it is measured.  
How many a king was humbled in it,  
having been followed, when alive, because of the awe he inspired!  
He used to lead knights on thoroughbred horses,  
congesting and completely filling wide steppes.  
But after a life of comfort he ended up in the earth,  
his bones covered by desolate wasteland,

50 His returning far away, despite being near for a visit:  
he will not come back until the Resurrection;  
A stranger, away from his loved ones and family, resting  
in the farthest desert that cannot be crossed.  
Dust-raising winds persist over a barren dwelling  
where once the earth was fertile.  
A hostage, never able to return  
and not capable of speech so as to be heard.  
In it he takes the earth as a pillow, after he had been  
raised for a while on silken cushions.

55 Such is the rule of time's vagaries: you will never see  
a living being whose bonds will not be broken.

[15.37.3]

Similarly this poem, which is also by him:<sup>15</sup>

People are driven to their death forcibly  
 and those who remain are not aware of the state of those who went.  
 They are like cattle, in that some are ignorant  
 of the bloodshed perpetrated on others.

And similarly the following poem, which again is by him:<sup>16</sup>

There is no point in remembering<sup>17</sup> a man after his death,  
 so reject what foolish people say.  
 Only a living being perceives pain and pleasure,  
 not a dumb rock.

He recited this poem to me when al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb died in Damascus in the year 635/1237:<sup>18</sup>

So many have said, ignorantly, 'If I die,  
 order will cease to exist, the world<sup>19</sup> will be ruined!'  
 The one who brings death came to him, and no living being  
 was perturbed, not two people cared about it.  
 He became a piece of garbage thrown down beneath the earth  
 and 'no two goats butted each other' about his death.<sup>20</sup>  
 If someone thinks he is indispensable and that  
 he cannot be missed in the whole universe,  
 His delusional thoughts have surely  
 led him to a claim without clear proof.  
 Why? Whatever is on the earth's surface will decay,  
 except when a substitute, as a second, will succeed it.<sup>21</sup>

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15 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:283, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:353.

16 Metre: *khafif*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii:353.

17 The word *dhikr* means 'remembering, mentioning'; the context seems to require 'mentioning with praise'.

18 Metre: *kāmil*.

19 The word *al-thaqalān* ('the two weighty things'; see Q al-Raḥmān 55:31) is usually interpreted as 'humans and jinn'.

20 A common proverb, meaning that nobody cares about the matter.

21 A reference to the Resurrection.

The next poem he recited to me after the death of his brother, the physician Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān, in the year 658/1258:<sup>22</sup>

I changed, after I found tranquillity and strength  
 that banished the evil of the obstinate and envious,  
 After my age had come close to eighty years  
 and every supporter among my family had died,  
 In particular my full brother, though he had been  
 my cornerstone and my forearm when misfortune descended:  
 Then Time betrayed me in what I had hoped for  
 and has not yet ceased to bring the opposite of my goals.  
 So be patient with the malice of Time; perhaps  
 it will return to being fair after keeping away.

Sharaf al-Dīn used to dye his beard with henna. I once remarked to him, 'It would be more becoming if you left your beard white.' He then recited the following verse extempore:<sup>23</sup>

I hid my grey hair by dyeing it, because  
 I know for certain that grey hair is a harbinger of death,  
 So I concealed it, so that my eye would not see  
 the morning after that would disturb my life.  
 The invisibility to the eye of something loathsome makes  
 that one can be oblivious of what is feared and guarded against,  
 Even though I know that it does not clothe me  
 with youth and that one cannot avert Fate.

[15.37.4]

He sent me the following lines from Damascus when I was in Şarkhad, staying with the emir ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿazzamī:<sup>24</sup>

Muwaffaq al-Dīn!<sup>25</sup> What's this mindlessness of yours,  
 despite the rank you have earned in knowledge and erudition?

22 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

23 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

24 Metre: *basīṭ*. This poem is not found in AB; L has been used as basis. ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak al-Muʿazzamī ruled Şarkhad (or Şalkhad, in southern Syria) as major-domo of the Ayyubid prince al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā from 611/1214 until 644/1247; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Şalkhad' (M. Meinecke).

25 Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah.

- Have you sold your soul for something trifling and paltry?  
 You sold it cheap, after being serious and assiduous for so long!  
 You have been staying in a town that mocks its inhabitants;  
 no sensible person of standing would be content with it.  
 It is remote from all that is good; barren; nothing is there  
 except rocks and blazing heat.
- 5 You are wasting a life that cannot be replaced:  
 when a time has passed it will not return.  
 Do you think the passing of life can be reversed?  
 There's no chance past periods can return.  
 Or do you think that once the delights of the good life have gone they  
 can be  
 acquired, after one's lifetime has gone (*dhahāb*), with gold (*dhahab*)?  
 When the youth of one's life has gone and turned to trouble,  
 there is nothing left to aim for in the remains of one's life.  
 If where you are now were a place to acquire riches,  
 it would not compensate for spending your life in hardship.
- 10 So how is it what with the little regular pay and its meanness,  
 and being so far from all virtuous and erudite people?  
 Come back, then, to the Paradise on Earth:<sup>26</sup> she has come forward  
 for her beauty to be revealed, in her new clothes,  
 And do not stay anywhere else if you have earned riches,  
 for life in any other place is not worth considering.  
 Spend your time pleasantly amidst its beauties  
 and come back to entertainment, delights, and elation.  
 Hurry, before it eludes you, to make the most of a lifetime  
 as long as you are alive; for death is in pursuit.
- 15 Take what you can see with your own eyes when opportunities let you  
 and do not sell present good for what is expected,  
 For life will pass, time takes its chance,  
 Fate has its vagaries, so enjoy and you'll do the right thing!  
 Do as I say and do not turn to any of those  
 who contradict ...,<sup>27</sup>  
 Who think that happiness lies in acquiring debris, even if  
 he collects it with toil from a bad occasion for gain.

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

27 Meaning of *min 'umrin wa-dhī raghab* unclear.

So make up for what was ordained to elude you in your lifetime,  
 for it is not near at hand when you are remote from your abode.  
 20 Do not live a life that falls short; always be someone  
 with an ambition that rises above the shooting stars,  
 And make the most of<sup>28</sup> the life of a father who is still grieving  
 since you left him, sad because he is far from you.  
 For when you see him you will not be lacking an income  
 that will enough to save you from nakedness and starvation!  
 What I have said is right, so act upon it, quickly,  
 and do not listen to dull-witted, unloving people.  
 A man's heedlessness, when he has knowledge and perception,  
 of what is obvious and clear is one of the greatest marvels.

I wrote a reply to him, in which I said:<sup>29</sup>

My lord, O Sharaf al-Dīn, the least of whose endeavours  
 reaches the highest rank of erudition,  
 And whose ambition rises in the heaven of glory  
 reaching the most elevated rank of loftiness!  
 He has surpassed Hippocrates in knowledge and wisdom  
 and he has surpassed Saḥbān<sup>30</sup> in poetry and speeches.  
 He has written works on all sciences; nothing  
 among other writings resembles them.  
 5 Their value has gone up among people; they have risen  
 above all similar items like the seven luminaries.<sup>31</sup>  
 They contain thoughts like pearls, strung  
 on the thread of the script, and the best expressions, selected.<sup>32</sup>  
 It is not strange for pearls to come out of a sea  
 of knowledge, of a master tirelessly devoted to lofty matters.  
 He has attained the relief of having acquired knowledge,  
 but no relief is acquired except through labour.

28 Interpretation of *wa-ghnam* uncertain.

29 Metre: *basīt*.

30 Saḥbān, of the tribe of Wā'il, legendary orator and poet, said to have lived in the first Islamic century.

31 Sun, moon, and the five nearest planets. The word *shuhub* is one of the numerous rhyme-words taken from the preceding poem (see line 20, where it is used in the sense of 'shooting star, meteor').

32 *Muntakhabi* ('select') can only be connected syntactically with *khatt* ('script'), which is odd.

Some people aspired to equal his endeavour, without arriving  
 at part of it, though everyone strenuously pursued it.  
 10 All knowledge and generosity comes from him to those  
 who beg his favours, like rain always descending.<sup>33</sup>  
 Ah, so many benefits have come from him  
 to me in days and times past!  
 I do my best to be thankful for them, as long as I live;  
 gratefulness for his blessing, for evermore, befits me.  
 I have yearning feelings to you, being separated,  
 as people yearn for clouds in times of drought.  
 My tears stream down, whenever I think of you,  
 on a heart aflame with the fire of yearning.  
 15 It is as if Mutammim has lodged in my eyes after being away from you,  
 and Abū Lahab have come into my heart.<sup>34</sup>  
 Every lifetime that passes for me when you are far from me  
 is a lifetime not worth considering.  
 Even if the whole world were brought into being for me while  
 being far away, I would not choose to be separated from my father.  
 He is the one who has always been affectionate  
 to me and devoted, from afar and near.  
 After separation and distance came between us  
 my life has not been carefree and pleasant.  
 20 How can life be enjoyed by someone whom Time has allotted  
 to people who are firewood!<sup>35</sup>  
 In their ignorance they do not know the worth of a scholar,  
 which is not surprising in the case of ignorant people.  
 I came to someone in whose courtyard my merit was wasted. Would the  
 stupidity of the non-Arabs be aware of the intelligence of the  
 Arabs?<sup>36</sup>  
 If my staying among such people was a mistake on my part  
 and part of my life went by in hardship,

33 The word *ṣabab* is not normally used for rain, which may explain why some sources have *ṣayab* (a verbal noun incorrectly derived from *ṣayyib*, 'cloud that pours out rain').

34 Mutammim ibn Nuwayrah (1st/7th century), poet of famous elegies on his brother Mālik. Abū Lahab ('Father Flame') was the nickname of one of the prophet Muḥammad's uncles, cursed in the 11th surah.

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

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



Well, my namesake, in the past, stayed among people  
 in the land of Naḥlah, complaining of time's vicissitudes.<sup>37</sup>  
 25 These things come pre-ordained;  
 nothing in this world happens without a cause.  
 One of the wonderful things you say in your verse is a line  
 containing the wisdom of an affectionate man's judgment:  
 'When the youth of one's life has gone and turned to trouble,  
 there is nothing left to aim for in the remains of one's life.'  
 How lovely were those pleasant days we had in the past,  
 those pleasant moments – if only they could return!<sup>38</sup>  
 And how lovely, the Paradise on Earth, when she 'comes forward  
 for her beauty to be revealed, in her new clothes!'  
 30 I see that what you commanded and recommended  
 is right, without any doubt.  
 Only a dull-witted person will deny the sincere advice  
 and the opinions you expressed.  
 I have an ambition that rises above al-Simāk;<sup>39</sup> virtues  
 and loftiness are all I pursue.  
 I shall make for the land where I grew up  
 and seek the proximity of every excellent and erudite man;  
 I shall make my resolve to acquire knowledge,  
 for knowledge, in every situation, is the best gain.

[15:37-5]

He also recited this poem of his to me:<sup>40</sup>

My spirit delights with you in pleasures,  
 Since I was appraising them as essential.<sup>41</sup>

37 The famous poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), whose given name was Aḥmad like that of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, said in a poem: 'My stay in the abode of Naḥlah is just as Christ's dwelling among the Jews' (*Dīwān*, 32, cf. Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbī*, 20–21). Both the *Dīwān* and Arberry have Naḥlah while Müller, Riḍā, and Najjār have Najlah; here Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (where al-Mutanabbī's line is cited) and L are followed, Naḥlah (Nahle) being a village just north of Baalbek.

38 The use of the jussive mood (*ya'ub*) after *law annahā* is highly irregular.

39 Either Arcturus (a very bright star in the northern celestial hemisphere) or Spica Virginis (another bright star), symbol of loftiness and high ambitions.

40 *Dūbayt* (see above, Ch. 11.19.6.2).

41 Translation uncertain.

Whenever the thought of my separation from you came to my mind  
I was surprised that my Self remained.

And also the following:<sup>42</sup>

I have become weary of restraining someone whose affection is distant;  
The reproach of a reproacher, despite his gentleness, will not turn his  
mind.

If he was not like the full moon in beauty  
He would not have alighted in the bottom of my heart.

And another one:<sup>43</sup>

My infatuation with you has left nought but writhing agony;  
Because of all this crying my eyes pour out blood.  
If my God is the arbiter in my being killed  
For loving you, I shall not suffer any pain in dying.

[15.37.6]

Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī is the author of the following works:

1. On the nature of man and the shape of the parts of the body and their uses, an unprecedented work (*K. fī khalq al-insān wa-hay'at a'ḍā'ihi wa-manfā'atihā*).
2. Marginal notes to Ibn Sīnā's *Canon of Medicine* (*Ḥawāshī 'alā kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
3. Marginal notes to Ibn Abī Ṣādiq's Commentary on Ḥunayn's [*Book of*] *Questions* (*Ḥawāshī 'alā sharḥ Ibn Abī Ṣādiq li-masā'il Ḥunayn*).

### 15.38 Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī<sup>1</sup>

Jamāl al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn Yūsuf ibn Ḥaydarah al-Raḥbī, the outstanding physician and learned scholar, was born and raised in Damascus. He was an eminent and prominent sage, the most noteworthy man of his time, without peer in his day and age. He studied the art of medicine under the guidance of his father

<sup>42</sup> *Dūbayt.*

<sup>43</sup> *Dūbayt.*

<sup>1</sup> This bibliography is missing in Version 1, but can be found in Versions 2 and 3.

and others, and mastered it completely, becoming an excellent therapist and competent in prescribing medicaments. For some years, he served at the Great Hospital founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him – for the treatment of the sick.

Jamāl al-Dīn was fond of doing business and devoted himself to it, travelling to Egypt from time to time in order to bring back goods from that country. When the Mongols arrived in Syria in the year 657/1258, he moved to Egypt and settled there. He fell ill and died in Cairo on the twentieth of the month Rabīʿ II of the year 658 [4 April 1260].

Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Raḥbī was older than his brother Jamāl al-Dīn ʿUthmān, to whom he was much attached and for whom he had great affection. But Jamāl al-Dīn, unkindly and with a lack of loyalty, refused to give him a safe place. Then Sharaf al-Dīn composed the following lines:<sup>2</sup>

How is it always with my brother and me? I  
 tried to attain from him a safe place but I did not get it.  
 I have affection for him but he does not give me anything  
 but unkindness; I am at my wits' end.  
 Nevertheless I do not spare any effort  
 to make continual benefit to accrue to him.  
 Ah! As a clever poet once said  
 – and his words are like a proverb to those with intelligence –:<sup>3</sup>  
 'And you, son of shit, care for him,  
 but he does not care.'

### 15.39 Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī<sup>1</sup>

Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī – that is, Abū Maṣṣūr al-Muẓaffar ibn ʿAlī ibn Nāṣir al-Qurashī – was one of the most remarkable, outstanding scholars [of his time], and was also a good man with a great sense of honour and a noble soul who liked to win [people] over with his friendliness. No sooner had he arrived in Damascus than he began to read the *Canon of Medicine* under the tutelage of the physician and judge Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Thanaʾ Maḥmūd ibn Abī l-Faḍl

2 This last anecdote and verse occur in MS R only.

3 Abū l-Qāsim al-Wāsanī (d. 394/1004), a poet of Damascus; the line is taken from a long poem, see al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmah*, i:352. With this line Sharaf al-Dīn addresses himself.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions.

Manṣūr ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ismā'īl al-Ṭabarī al-Makhzūmī.<sup>2</sup> Kamāl al-Dīn studied the *Canon* with him as far as the section on the draining of the brain, but then the shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn left and went on a journey to Byzantium in the year 608/1211.

Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī also devoted himself to the literary sciences, which he studied under shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī.<sup>3</sup> He was very fond of trading and spent most of his life doing business. He owned and ran a basket and mat shop in Damascus, for he disliked earning a living through the art of medicine. Once the great extent of his knowledge had become widely known and his erudition had come to light, rulers and notables begged for his services and sought his medical advice. The prince al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb and others asked him to serve them and associate with them, but he refused. For many years he visited the 'Great Hospital' founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, treating the patients in there in anticipation of a reward in the hereafter [i.e. as a pious deed]. Eventually, however, it was decided that he should receive some form of payment for his services, and he did so until he died – may God have mercy upon him – on Tuesday the ninth of the month Sha'bān in the year 612 [3 December 1215].

Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī is the author of the following works:

1. On coitus, which is one of the most thorough studies of its kind (*M. fī l-bāh*).
2. A commentary on a part of the *Book of Causes and Symptoms* by Galen (*S. kitāb al-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>4</sup>
3. The perfect epistle on purgative drugs (*al-Risālah al-kāmilah fī l-adwiyah al-musʿhilah*).
4. A summary of al-Rāzī's *Comprehensive Book [on Medicine]*, which he did not complete (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ḥāwī lil-Rāzī*).
5. On dropsy (*M. fī l-istisqāʾ*).
6. Notes on the 'Generalities' of the *Canon [of Medicine]* (*Taʿāliq ʿalā l-kulliyāt min kitāb al-qānūn*).
7. Notes on medicine [in general] (*Taʿāliq fī l-ṭibb*).

2 This physician is unidentified and nothing further is known of him.

3 Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumr Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Naḥwī al-Baghdādī (d. 613/1217). Grammarian and prominent reciter of the Qur'an. See also the entries on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān and Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Sāʿātī in Ch. 15.23 and 15.29 above and the entry on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in Ch. 15.40.

4 This is a composite made in late antiquity of four separate works by Galen.

8. Notes on urine, which he composed on the first of Rajab of the year 603 [February 1207] (*Ta'ālīq fī l-bawl*).
9. A summary of the *Book of Questions* by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, which is excellently done (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-masā'il li-Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq*).

### 15.40 Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī<sup>1</sup>

[15.40.1]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī is the shaykh and distinguished authority Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Sa'd, who is also known as Ibn al-Labbād [i.e. the son of the feltmaker]. His family hailed originally from Mosul, but he was born in Baghdad. He was renowned for his knowledge of the [various] sciences and his personal virtues. A prolific writer, he was a master of literary style as well as Arabic grammar and lexicography.<sup>2</sup> In addition, he had mastered theology (*'ilm al-kalām*) and medicine. He had lived in Damascus for a time, and while there had devoted much attention to the art of medicine and acquired a great reputation for his knowledge of it. Students and physicians used to frequent his lectures and study under him. During al-Baghdādī's youth his father had him study Hadith under a number of teachers, including Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī, known as Ibn al-Baṭṭī,<sup>3</sup> Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Qudsi,<sup>4</sup> Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā ibn Thābit al-Wakīl,<sup>5</sup> and others.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* contributions by Houtsma and Stern with regard to 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī and his milieu are nowadays rather outdated. More up-to-date introductions to 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's life and oeuvre are given by Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*; Toorawa, 'A Portrait'; Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*; and, in particular, Jooose's entry on 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in *EI Three*, and Martini Bonadeo's online article, "Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi". A partial translation of the autobiographical portions of this entry are given in Toorawa, 'Autobiography'; see also Toorawa, 'Language and Male Homosocial Desire'.

2 See the long footnote on 'Abd al-Laṭīf's expert knowledge of grammar and lexicography in Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 112 n. 14.

3 Ibn al-Baṭṭī, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Baghdādī (477–564/1084–1169). Scholar in the field of Hadith. Identified by the biographers as the chief traditionist of Iraq (*musnid al-ʿIrāq*); see, Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, iv:218.

4 Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī al-Hamadhānī (d. 566/1170 in Hamadhān). See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iv:217.

5 Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā ibn Thābit al-Wakīl. See, Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 94; Martini Bonadeo,

Yūsuf, the father of shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn,<sup>6</sup> was a devoted student of the science of tradition and an outstanding scholar in the Qur'anic sciences and its modes of recitation. He was well-versed in the doctrines of his school (*madhhab*), as well as in the differences among the [four] schools and in the fundamental principles [of theology and jurisprudence], but possessed only a slight understanding of the rational disciplines. shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn's paternal uncle, Sulaymān,<sup>7</sup> was an outstanding jurist.

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf himself was a highly industrious person. He never let a moment pass without devoting himself to the study and composition of books and the art of writing. The works that I have seen in his own handwriting are very many, since he used to make numerous copies of his own works and copied several books of earlier authors as well. He was a friend of my grandfather's; a strong friendship had grown up between them while they were both residing in Egypt. My father and my grandfather used to study the literary arts under him. My uncle also studied the works of Aristotle with him, for the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn was very interested in them and wished to understand their meaning. From Egypt he went to Damascus and stayed there for some time, and many people benefited from his teaching [there]. I saw him when he was living in Damascus on his final visit to that city. He was an old man of fragile physique, of medium height, a good speaker, expressing himself very well; still, his written word was more impressive than his speech. At times – may God have mercy upon him – he would go too far in his talk: he had a high opinion of himself and would find many shortcomings in the intellectuals of his time and in many of former times also. He frequently disparaged the learned men of Persia and their works, especially the distinguished Master Ibn Sīnā and people like him.

[15.40.2]

I have taken the following account from an autobiography<sup>8</sup> written in 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's own hand:

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*Philosophical Journey*, 112 n. 17. This scholar was identified by al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah*, viii:169 as Ibn Bundār.

6 Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 93 has attempted to identify the father of 'Abd al-Laṭīf as shaykh Abū l-'Izz al-Mawṣilī. See also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 113 n. 20.

7 Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 93 has mentioned that 'Abd al-Laṭīf's paternal uncle Sulaymān was most likely Abū l-Faḍl Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Mawṣilī al-Ṣūfī. He was born in 528/1133 and studied Hadith under Ismā'īl ibn al-Samarqandī and other teachers.

8 This is most likely the *Kitāb Tārīkh*, attributed to 'Abd al-Laṭīf's son Sharaf al-Dīn Yūsuf, which is lost. See also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 116 under entry 'm'.

I was born in the year 557/1162 in a house belonging to my grandfather,<sup>9</sup> in a street called ‘Sweetmeats Alley’ (*darb al-fālūdḥaj*), and I was brought up under the care of the shaykh Abū l-Najīb,<sup>10</sup> without knowing anything of pleasure or leisure. Most of my time was devoted to listening to [lessons in] the Hadith. I also procured certificates of audition (*ijāzāt*) for myself from the shaykhs of Baghdad, Khorasan, Syria and Egypt.<sup>11</sup> One day my father said to me, ‘I have made you listen to all the luminaries of Baghdad, and I even had you included in the chains of transmission of the old (*masānn*) masters’.<sup>12</sup> During this period I had [also] learned calligraphy, and I had memorized the Qur’an, the *Faṣīḥ*,<sup>13</sup> the *Maqāmāt*,<sup>14</sup> the collected poems of al-Mutanabbī,<sup>15</sup> an epitome on jurisprudence, and another on grammar. Later when I grew up, my father brought me to Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anbārī,<sup>16</sup> who was, in those days, the leading teacher in Baghdad. Between him and my father there was a long-lasting friendship, going back to the time of their study at the Niẓāmiyyah law college.<sup>17</sup> I studied the preface to the *Faṣīḥ* under his direction, but found that he talked a lot of nonsense, and uttered many foolish words. I could not understand one bit of his continuous and considerable jabbering, even though his students apparently admired him for it. In the end, he said:

- 
- 9 ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s student Ibn Khallikān specifies the month as Rabī’ 1 of the year 557 corresponding to March 1162. Cf. Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 93; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 114 n. 24.
- 10 Abū l-Najīb: he is probably Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Abū l-Najīb al-Suhrawardī ‘Abd al-Qāhir ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Bakrī (490–563/1097–1168). Famous Sunni mystic, knowledgeable in Shāfi’ī law (*fiqh*), exegesis (*tafsīr*), and theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*). See Ibn al-Imād, *Shadhrahāt*, iv:218; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Al-Suhrawardī, Abū’l Nadjīb ‘Abd al-Qāhir ...’ (F. Sobieroj).
- 11 For the further explanation of the technical term *ijāza*, see *ET*<sup>2</sup>, ‘Idjāza’ (G. Vajda, I. Goldziher and S.A. Bonebakker).
- 12 For a further explanation of the idea of hearing Islamic teaching directly from a reliable shaykh and, through him, becoming a part of an unbroken *isnād*, see Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 115 n. 27.
- 13 This is the *al-Faṣīḥ fi l-lughah* by Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn Zayd, also known as Tha’lab (d. 291/904). See Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥyāt*, i:102.
- 14 Al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt* are meant here, cf. al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 223.4–225.9.
- 15 For al-Mutanabbī, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 176.6–180.8; Sezgin, *GAS* II, 484–497.
- 16 Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh Abū l-Barakāt al-Anbārī al-Naḥwī (513–577/1119–1181). Teacher of Arabic grammar at the Niẓāmiyyah law college in Baghdad. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah* (under No. 1507); al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, xii–xxx; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Anbārī, Abu’l Barakāt’ (C. Brockelmann); *EAL*, ‘Ibn al-Anbārī’ (M.C. Carter).
- 17 Daphna Ephrat’s study *A Learned Society* offers us a good insight view of the teachers in the madrasas of Baghdad during the period 459–549/1066–1154, among which one can also find ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s teacher Abū l-Barakāt al-Anbārī.

'I loathe teaching young boys and instead pass them on to my disciple al-Wajīh al-Wāsiṭī to study under his guidance.<sup>18</sup> When the boy is more advanced, I will allow him to study with me'.

Al-Wajīh, a blind man from a wealthy and virtuous family, was the teacher of some of the children of the grand vizier.<sup>19</sup> He welcomed me with open arms and began to teach me from early morning to the end of the day, showing me kindness in many ways. I attended his study circle at the Ṣafariyyah mosque,<sup>20</sup> where he would place a series of commentaries in front of me and discuss them with me. Finally, I would read my lesson and al-Wajīh would favour me with his own comments. Then we would leave the mosque, and on the way home he would help me to memorize what I had learnt. When we reached his house, he would take out the books that he was studying himself. I would memorize them with his help and help him memorize them as well. Thereafter he would go to see shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn, to whom he would recite his lesson and who would then comment on the lesson, while I listened. I became so highly trained that I began to outstrip him in powers of memory and understanding. I used to spend most of the night in memorizing and repeating [the lessons]. We continued thus for a while, with me as a disciple of both my master and my master's master. My memory increased and improved continually, my insight became deeper and more acute and my mind became sharper and more reliable.

The first work that I had memorized was the *Luma'*, [which I completed] in eight months' time.<sup>21</sup> Every day, I listened to a commentary on the greater part of it as it was recited by others. On returning home, I studied the commentaries [on it] by al-Thamānīnī,<sup>22</sup> Sharīf 'Umar ibn

18 Wajīh al-Dīn al-Wāsiṭī, Abū Bakr al-Mubārak ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Mubārak ibn Abī l-Azhar Sa'īd Ibn al-Dahhān al-Ḍarīr (532–612/1137–1215). Teacher of Arabic grammar at the Niẓāmiyyah law college in Baghdad. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:152–153 (no. 555).

19 Perhaps the descendants of Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad (d. 450/1058), known as *al-wazīr* Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'. A vizier under al-Mustaḍīr, in 'Abd al-Latif's time, was 'Aḍud al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ra'īs al-Ru'asā' (Ibn al-Ṭīqṭāqā, *Fakhrī*, 319–321; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii: 335); he was murdered in 572/1176 and succeeded by Ibn al-'Aṭṭār.

20 Al-Ṣafariyyah was a neighbourhood in East Baghdad, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.

21 That of Abū l-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣili. See al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 197.3–198.17; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:443–444; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xvi:57–58; Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 173–182, 248.

22 Abū l-Qāsim 'Umar ibn Thābit (d. 442/1050) was a student of the aforementioned Ibn Jinnī. See Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 174, 186–187.



Ḥamzah,<sup>23</sup> and Ibn Barhān,<sup>24</sup> and any other commentaries [on it] that I was able to find. I commented on it myself for a group of competent and dedicated students, until I reached the point where I began to use up a whole quire for every chapter, but even that was not enough for what I had to say.

I then thoroughly memorised the *Adab al-kātib* by Ibn Qutaybah, the first half in a few months and the [other half], the *Taqwīm al-lisān*, in fourteen days, for it comprised fourteen quires. Afterwards I learnt by heart the *Mushkil al-Qurʾān* and the *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* by the same author, both in a very short time.<sup>25</sup> I then devoted myself to the treatise *al-Īdāh* by Abū ‘Alī al-Fārisī and learnt it by heart over many months.<sup>26</sup> I applied myself constantly to the study of commentaries on it and worked through it with the utmost care until I had studied it in depth and was able to summarize what the commentators said [about it]. As to the *Takmilah*,<sup>27</sup> I memorized it in a few days, a quire every day. I used to read both extensive works and compendia, and I applied myself with perseverance to the *al-Muqtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad and the *Kitāb* of Ibn Durustawayh.<sup>28</sup> In the meantime, I did not neglect lectures on the Hadith nor the study of jurisprudence with our shaykh Ibn Faḍlān in the *Dār al-Dhahab*,<sup>29</sup> which is a “second-storey” [*mu‘allaqah*] law college [*madrasah*] founded by Fakhr al-Dawlah ibn al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>30</sup>

23 See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 117 n. 38.

24 See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:99.

25 Cf. for these works by Ibn Qutaybah: al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 128.1–17; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 154–158; Joseph Lowry in: Cooperson & Toorawa, *Arabic Literary Culture 500–925*, 173–183.

26 Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Abān al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) was a very famous grammarian. Cf. Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 101–110; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 187.15–189.6.

27 For the *Takmilah* or *Supplement* to the *Īdāh*, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 187.15–189.6; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 102–103.

28 See for the *al-Muqtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad, al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 132.1–138.17 and Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 82–85; For Ibn Durustawayh, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 171.1–172.9; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 96–98.

29 For Ibn Faḍlān, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī ibn Hibat Allāh al-‘Allāmah al-Baghdādī (513–595/1121–1199), see Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, vi:524–525; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xviii:233–235. In both sources he is called Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī *ibn al-Faḍl* ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Faḍlan.

30 Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 119 (n. 46) states that the term *mu‘allaqah*, in the way that ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī uses it here, designates a room on the second floor of a building, that is an ‘elevated’ room. In Saunders, *Life of Muwaffiq ad-Dīn*, 69, Gibb renders the term as follows: ‘a suspended Madrasa (i.e. raised on arcades)’. It is most likely the upper-floor college of law in a two-storey building with the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* below it.

‘Abd al-Laṭīf continues:

The shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn had composed one hundred and thirty works, most of them on grammar (*naḥw*) but some on law (*fiqh*), the principles of theology and Islamic law (*uṣūl al-dīn* and *uṣūl al-fiqh*), on mysticism (*taṣawwuf*) and on ascetism (*zuhd*). I managed to learn most of his works by listening, reading and memorizing them. He had begun to write two large works, one on lexicology and the other on law, but he was not fortunate enough to be able to complete them. Under his guidance, I memorized a part of the *Kitāb Sibawayh* (*The Book of Sibawayh*)<sup>31</sup> and devoted myself to the *al-Muqtaḍab* [of al-Mubarrad], which I came to master thoroughly. After the death of the shaykh, I devoted myself exclusively to the *Kitāb Sibawayh* (*The Book of Sibawayh*) and the commentary on it by al-Sīrāfi.<sup>32</sup>

I, then, studied a great number of works under the guidance of Ibn ‘Ubaydah al-Karkhī,<sup>33</sup> one of them being the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* by Ibn al-Sarrāj,<sup>34</sup> using the copy in the endowment (*waqf*) of Ibn al-Khashshāb in the *Ribāṭ al-Mā’ūniyyah*.<sup>35</sup> I also studied with him the law of inheritance (*farā’id*) and prosody (*‘arūd*) by al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī,<sup>36</sup> who was one of the most distinguished disciples of Ibn al-Shajārī.<sup>37</sup> As for Ibn al-Khashshāb, I listened to his reading of the *Ma‘ānī* [*al-Qur‘ān*] by al-Zajjāj,<sup>38</sup> which he again had studied from the writings of Shuhdah bint al-Ibarī.<sup>39</sup> I heard

31 For the *Kitāb Sibawayh*, which is considered the principal textbook for Arabic grammar, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 35.10–39.12; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 51–63.

32 Abū Sa‘īd al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Marzūbān al-Sīrāfi (290–368/903–979). See al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 183.14–184.19; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv:199 [no. 584]; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 59 and 98–101.

33 See Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, v 14.

34 See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh*, iii:145.5–50; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 150.1–14; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 82–85.

35 For Ibn al-Khashshāb al-Naḥwī (492–567/1098–1172) and the *Ribāṭ al-Mā’ūniyyah*, see Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 119–120 n. 52.

36 Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn ‘Alī al-Shaybānī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1108). See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv: 239; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, s.v.; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, 338 (2129). The work in question is *al-Kāfi fi l-‘arūd wa-l-qawāfi*. It is also known, and has been published as, *al-Wāfi fi l-‘arūd wa-l-qawāfi*.

37 See al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 238.17–240.20; Brockelmann, *GAL*, i:332, Suppl. i:492–493.

38 Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sarī ibn Sahl al-Zajjāj. See al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 147.7–148.18; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv:220; Sezgin, *GAS I*, 49.

39 She is Shuhda bint Abī Naṣr Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj ibn ‘Amr al-Ibarī, *Fakhr al-nisā’*, (d. 574/1178), the renowned female grammarian and a great authority on the Hadith. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, 311.

him recite the following tradition [related by an uninterrupted chain of transmitters]: ‘Those who show mercy are shown mercy by the Merciful. Be merciful to those who are on earth, and He who is in heaven will be merciful unto you’.<sup>40</sup>

[15.40.3]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Baghdādī further reports that among the teachers from whom he derived great benefit, as he claims, was the son of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh.<sup>41</sup> He speaks of him at great length and praises him highly, but this is due only to his extreme partiality for Iraqis, for in fact the son of Amīn al-Dawlah was not of such high merit, nor even close to it.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn continues:

There arrived in Baghdad a man from the West [*maghrib*], tall, dressed in the garb of a *Ṣūfī*; he displayed proud and haughty manners, spoke eloquently and had a pleasing appearance. He had the air of a religious man and looked like a traveller; those who saw him before getting to know him were struck by his appearance. He was known as Ibn Tātālī and claimed to be among the descendants of ‘the children of the veiled’ (*awlād al-mutalaththimah*, i.e. the Almoravids).<sup>42</sup> He had left the West when ‘Abd al-Mu’min<sup>43</sup> took possession of the region. When he settled in Baghdad, a number of great scholars and notables gathered around him. Among those who visited him were al-Raḍī al-Qazwīnī<sup>44</sup> and the grand shaykh

40 The hadith in question is from the collection of al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb: birra*, Bāb: 16.

41 See for the ‘bad son’ of Amīn al-Dawlah ibn al-Tilmīdh, Raḍī al-Dawlah Abū Naṣr ibn Hibat Allāh (b.) Ṣā’id, Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 99 [under entry ‘j’]; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 120 n. 57; Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 91 (and especially n. 274); Joosse, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī as a Philosopher and a Physician’, 29 n. 15; Kahl, *The dispensatory*, 9; also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi:77 [under no. 304]. IAU deals with the ‘good son’ of Amīn al-Dawlah in Ch. 10.64.

42 It is a serious mistake to believe that the Müller edition has the reading Ibn Nā’īlī, for it clearly reads Ibn Tātālī. The name Ibn Nā’īlī is of course based on the figure of Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy tutor Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Nātilī. See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 120 n. 59; Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 99 [under entry k]; Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 31–32. Many of the Arabic editors of the text of IAU, present us with the reading Ibn Nā’īlī, but this is not based on the manuscripts, but unfortunately the product of wishful thinking. The name Tātālī – if that is the correct reading – is totally obscure and obviously not Arabic but presumably Berber. The only Tātālī we could find, is a place somewhere in Italy, mentioned in al-Idrīsī (*Nuzhah*, ed. Rome, 780).

43 This is the Almohad ruler ‘Abd al-Mu’min (d. 558/1163).

44 See Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv:300–301.

Ibn Sukaynah.<sup>45</sup> I, too, was one of those who paid him a visit. He had me read the *Muqaddimat ḥisāb*<sup>46</sup> and the *Muqaddimat Ibn Bābshādh fi l-naḥw*.<sup>47</sup>

Ibn Tātālī had a peculiar way of teaching. Those who came to see him considered him immensely learned, but in fact he merely possessed strange and radical views. He had carefully studied works on alchemy and talismans and similar subjects, and had also studied all the works of Jābir and Ibn Waḥshīyah.<sup>48</sup> He won the hearts of many with his appearance, his eloquence and his ability to influence others, and he filled my heart with a desire to know all the sciences (*shawqan ilā l-ʿulūm kullihā*). When he met the Caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, the Commander of the Faithful was delighted. Then Ibn Tātālī set off again on his travels.

I, for my part, engaged in study, buckling down quite seriously to the task and with great endeavour, giving up sleep and pleasures. I dedicated myself completely to the works of al-Ghazālī, that is, to the treatises *al-Maqāṣid*, *al-Miʿyār*, *al-Mizān* and *Miḥakk al-naẓar*.<sup>49</sup> Afterwards, I turned to the books of Ibn Sīnā, both the small and large works, memorized the *Kitāb al-Najāt* and transcribed the *Shifāʾ* and examined it. I then studied the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* by Bahmanyār, a disciple of Ibn Sīnā.<sup>50</sup> I transcribed and studied many books by Jābir ibn Ḥayyān al-Šūfī and Ibn Waḥshīyah, and I began to practise the false art and to make the frivolous and idle experiments of error. The most potent of the influences that led me astray was that of Ibn Sīnā, by his book on the art (i.e., alchemy), which he supposed completed his philosophy. However, it adds nothing to philosophy, but rather derogates from it.

45 Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 99 [under entry 'k'] and Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 121, have misread the name as Ibn Sakīnah. It is Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Waḥhāb ibn 'Alī ibn 'Alī, known as Ibn Sukaynah (d. 607/1210), see al-Dubaythī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, iv:171–174; al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xix:309–311.

46 It is either an introduction to arithmetic, or a copyist's error for the *Muqaddimat Ibn al-Khashshāb*. See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 121 n. 63.

47 See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, v:105; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 212.12–213.2; Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 84 and 89–90.

48 For the legendary alchemist Jābir ibn Ḥayyān and the alchemist and astronomer Ibn Waḥshīyah, see respectively Sezgin, *GAS* IV, 132–269 and *GAS* IV, 282–283; cf. also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 44–45 and 85.

49 For these four books of al-Ghazālī, see Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 121–122 n. 67.

50 See also Janssens, 'Bahmanyār' and Janssens, 'Revision'. And for an edition of the *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl*, see Bahmanyār *K. al-Taḥṣīl*. See also *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Bahmanyār' (F. Rahman) and *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'Bahmanyār' (H. Daiber).

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī continues:

In 585/1189, since there was none left in Baghdad who was able to win my heart, satisfy me completely and help me to resolve the difficulties which I felt, I went to Mosul, but I did not find what I desired there. However, I encountered al-Kamāl Ibn Yūnus,<sup>51</sup> who was an expert in mathematics and law, but only partially learned in the remaining branches of knowledge. His love of alchemy and its practice had so drowned his intellect and his time that he attached no importance to anything else but that art. Large numbers of students gathered around me, and various positions were offered to me; I chose the second-storey law college of Ibn Muhājir and the *Dār al-Ḥadīth* [i.e. the school of tradition] on the ground floor below. I stayed in Mosul for one year, always working incessantly, day and night. The people of Mosul declared that they had never before seen anyone with such an expansive and rapid memory, quickness of wit and seriousness.

I heard people say exciting things about the philosopher al-Shihāb al-Suhrawardī.<sup>52</sup> They were convinced that he surpassed all ancient and contemporary authors and that his works were superior to those of the ancients. I had in mind to go and look for him, but good fortune intervened. I asked Ibn Yūnus for some of his [i.e., Suhrawardī’s] works, for he also had a strong belief in the man’s qualities. I read the *Talwihāt* (The Intimations), *al-Lamḥah* (The Glimmer) and *al-Ma‘ārij* (The Ascending Steps), and in them I found a clear proof of the ignorance of my contemporaries, and I realized that many of my explanatory remarks, with which I was not yet satisfied, were better than the arguments of this idiot. In the midst of his discourse, he would insert detached letters, by which he made people like himself believe that they were to be considered divine mysteries.

Al-Baghdādī continues:

When I entered Damascus, I found there a great number of notables from Baghdad and elsewhere, who had been brought together through Ṣalāḥ al-

51 For Abū l-Faṭḥ Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā ibn Yūnus al-Mawṣilī (551–639/1156–1242), see the biography in Ch. 10.83.

52 On al-Shihāb al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, see al-Shahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, ii:119–143; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 123 n. 76. For his works *Talwihāt* (The Intimations), *al-Lamḥah* (The Glimmer) and *al-Ma‘ārij* (The Ascending Steps), see the elaborate discussion in Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 124 n. 77–79.

Dīn's generous patronage. Among these were Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf, the son of shaykh Abū l-Najīb, a group from the Grand Vizier's family, Ibn Ṭalḥah, the secretary, members of the households of Ibn Jahīr, Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, the vizier who was later executed,<sup>53</sup> and the vizier Ibn Hubayrah.<sup>54</sup> I met with the grammarian al-Kindī al-Baghdādī,<sup>55</sup> with whom I had many debates. He was a brilliant, intelligent and wealthy shaykh, who enjoyed the favour of the Sultan, but who was quite taken with himself and offensive to his company. We had many debates and God – exalted be He – permitted me to surpass him in many of the issues that we discussed. Later I neglected to attend him, and my neglect offended him, even more than people were offended by him.

I produced a number of works there in Damascus, including the *Gharīb al-Ḥadīth al-kabīr*. In it I united the [works of the same name by] Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, Ibn Qutaybah and al-Khaṭṭābī. I had already begun to compose it in Mosul, and now I made a summary of it, which I called *al-Mujarrad* (i.e., The Abstract).<sup>56</sup> I also wrote the *Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥah fī ʿrāb al-Fātiḥah*, filling about twenty quires, the *Kitāb al-Alif wa-l-Lām*, the *Kitāb Rubba* and a book on the Divine Essence and the Essential Attributes as discussed by the scholastic theologians.<sup>57</sup> My purpose in taking up this last issue was to refute al-Kindī.<sup>58</sup>

In Damascus I found again the shaykh 'Abd Allāh ibn Tātālī who had taken up residence at the western minaret (*al-ma'dhanah al-gharbiyyah*).

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- 53 If the identification of Ibn al-'Aṭṭār in the following footnote is correct, then he had already been executed a few years before.
- 54 Toorawa could not identify Ibn al-'Aṭṭār; he must be Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Abū Bakr Maṣṣūr ibn Naṣr ibn al-'Aṭṭār (d. 575/1179), who was vizier under al-Mustanjid, was deposed by al-Nāṣir and died soon in prison. See Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭāqā, *Fakhrī* (ed. Dār Ṣādir), 321, 323; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxvi:404–407. See also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 125 n. 81–87 and Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 102 (especially n. 68).
- 55 Shaykh Ṭāḡ al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Baghdādī al-Naḥwī (d. 613/1217). He was a grammarian and prominent reciter of the Qur'an. See also the entries on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Sā'ātī and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī in respectively Chs. 15.23, 15.29 and 15.39.
- 56 A marginal note in MS A reads: 'This [book referred to as] *al-Mukhtaṣar al-Mujarrad* (an abridgement and abstract) is now in possession of this servant, in the handwriting of its author, may God have mercy on him. And I don't think that ever a book that is [so] comprehensive, despite the conciseness of its expression, has been given a title like it, may God reward the excellence of its author. I am the poor servant of God, may He be exalted.'
- 57 For some of these books, see Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:386.6–7; Sezgin, *GAS I*, 210–211, VIII, 81–87 and 208; cf. also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 126 n. 89–97.
- 58 That is, the aforementioned shaykh Ṭāḡ al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Baghdādī al-Naḥwī (d. 613/1217).

He had attracted a large group of followers. People were divided into two camps, with one party for him and the other against him. The *khaṭīb* (preacher) al-Dawlaī,<sup>59</sup> a notable personality who enjoyed great prestige and respect, was opposed to him. Later, Ibn Tātālī made a serious mistake and aided his foes against himself, for he began to speak about alchemy and philosophy, and disparaging remarks about him soon became more frequent. I met with him, and he began to question me concerning various pursuits, which I regarded as contemptible and trivial, though he, on the contrary, attributed great importance to them, and wrote down all that I said about them. I saw through him and found that he was not the man I had imagined him to be, with the result that I came to have a poor opinion of him and his methods. When I spoke about the sciences with him, I found that he had only a superficial knowledge of them. One day I said to him:

If you had devoted the time you have wasted in the pursuit of the art [i.e., alchemy] to some of the Islamic or rational sciences, today you would be without equal, waited on hand and foot. This alchemy nonsense simply does not have the answers you seek.

I learned a lesson from his example and kept my distance from the evil that befell him: ‘the fortunate one is he who is warned by the fate of another’, and I renounced [the art], albeit not entirely. Afterwards, Ibn Tātālī went to see Saladin on the outskirts of Acre<sup>60</sup> to complain to him about al-Dawlaī. He returned sick, and was conveyed to the hospital, where he died. His books were taken by al-Mu’tamid, the military commander of Damascus, who was himself infatuated with the art of alchemy.<sup>61</sup>

I then set out for Jerusalem, and then to Saladin in his camp outside Acre, where I met Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, the military judge [*qāḍī al-‘askar*] at that time.<sup>62</sup> My reputation had reached him in Mosul, so he

59 This is Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Zayd al-Dawlaī (d. 598/1202). See Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, iv:336.

60 He undoubtedly went to see Sultan Saladin in his army camp that was set up during the siege of Acre (585–587/1189–1191). ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī has left us a rather brief but very lively description of such a camp, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* i, i:94; see also Eddé, *Saladin*, 289.

61 On al-Mu’tamid and his supposed involvement with alchemy, see Toorawa, ‘A Portrait’, 102 [under entry ‘m’]; Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 51–52.

62 This is Abū l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf ibn Rafī‘ al-Asadī al-Mawṣilī Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād (540–632/1145–1234). See Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, vi:158. Ibn Shaddād wrote a biography of Saladin, entitled *al-Nawādir al-sultāniyya wa-l-maḥāsīn al-Yūsufiyya*; for an English translation, see Richards, *History*.



was delighted to meet me and gave me his attention. 'Let us join 'Imād al-Dīn, the secretary,' he said,<sup>63</sup> so we rose and went to his tent, which was next to that of Bahā' al-Dīn. I found him writing a letter in *thuluth*-script<sup>64</sup> to the chancery (*dīwān*) of al-'Azīz without first having made a rough draft. 'This,' he said, 'is a letter to your hometown'. He then proceeded to put me to the test on some matters of speculative theology (*'ilm al-kalām*), and then said, 'Come, let us go to call on al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil'.<sup>65</sup> When we entered his lodging, I saw a thin man, puny (with a relatively big head and a lively mind), who was simultaneously writing and dictating; his face and his lips moved about in all sorts of expressions due to the intensity of his effort to pronounce the words correctly, as if he were writing with all of his limbs. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil questioned me about some of the Almighty's words:

Where is the apodosis of the particle 'when' in the Qur'anic verse «Until, when they arrive there, and its gates will be opened and its keepers will say»?<sup>66</sup> And where is the apodosis of 'if' in the verse «If there were a Qur'an with which mountains were moved»?<sup>67</sup>

He also questioned me on many other matters, and all the time he never stopped writing and dictating. Then he said to me, 'Return to Damascus, for there you will be given a salary'. I said that I preferred Egypt, to which he replied: 'The Sultan is worried about the capture of Acre by the Franks and the killing of the Muslims in that town'. 'It can only be Egypt', I answered, whereupon he wrote me a brief letter addressed to his representative in Egypt.

When I entered Cairo, I was met by his agent,<sup>68</sup> Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk,<sup>69</sup> who was an old man of great virtue and authority. He lodged me in a house

63 This is the *kātib*, historian and chronicler 'Imād al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201). See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vii 84–100 [no. 842]; *GAL*, i:314–315, *Suppl.* i:548–549.

64 That is, a particularly ornate and monumental script.

65 This is Saladin's secretary and advisor in questions of fiscal and military reform Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū 'Alī 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī al-Lakhmī al-Baysānī al-'Asqalānī al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200). See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:158 [no. 374]; *GAL*, i:315, *Suppl.* i:549.

66 Q al-Zumar 39:73. For the answers to these questions, see the commentaries, e.g. al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*.

67 Q al-Ra'd 13:31.

68 Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 104, assumes that this agent (*wakīl*) was probably the agent of the treasury (*wakīl bayt al-māl*).

69 This is Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Abī l-Faḍl Ja'far ibn al-Mu'tamid Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, famous poet and author of a treatise on the *muwashshahah*, who was also known as al-Qāḍī al-Sa'īd (550–608/1155–1211). See *GAL* i:2, 304, *Suppl.* i:462.



that had been thoroughly renovated and supplied me with money and a grain allowance. He then went to the high-ranking state functionaries and said, 'This is the guest of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil', whereupon presents and blessings were showered upon me from all directions. Every ten days or so a memorandum would come to the administrative office of the Egyptian government from al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, outlining important matters of state. In it there would be a paragraph that clearly set forth his instructions concerning my privileges. I stayed in the mosque of the chamberlain (*al-ḥājib*) Lu'lu' – may God have mercy upon him, teaching people to recite.<sup>70</sup>

My purpose in going to Egypt was to meet three persons: Yāsīn al-Sīmīyā'ī ('the letter-magician'),<sup>71</sup> the Jewish scholar Mūsā ibn Maymūn [i.e., Maimonides],<sup>72</sup> and Abū l-Qāsim al-Shāri'ī.<sup>73</sup> All of them came to call on me. Yāsīn I found to be a swindler (*mukhāliban*),<sup>74</sup> a liar, and a common juggler. He used to testify to al-Shāqānī's expertise in alchemy, while al-Shāqānī used to testify to Yāsīn's knowledge of magic. It was said of him that he was able to do things that even Mūsā ibn 'Imrān [i.e., the prophet Moses] was unable to do, that he could produce minted gold whenever he wished, of any quantity he wished, and in any coinage that he wished, and that he could turn the waters of the Nile into a tent, under which he and his companions would be able to sit; yet he was in a sorry state.

Mūsā [ibn Maymūn] came to see me as well. I found him to be extremely learned, but he was overcome with the adulation of authority and service to those who occupied important positions. He has written a treatise on medicine based on the sixteen books of Galen<sup>75</sup> and on five books by others. He imposed upon himself the rule of not altering a single

70 In al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiv:405–407, he is called Lu'lu' *al-ḥājib* al-ʿĀdilī, *muqaddam al-ustūl*. Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 104, identifies him as Amīn Murr Riḍwān al-Saljūqī al-ʿĀdilī, an error for *amīn sirr* ('secretary of') Riḍwān. Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 128 n. 112 states that he was an Armenian general in the service of Saladin and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil.

71 On *sīmīyā'* or letter-magic, see Lory, *La science des lettres en islam*. It could also refer to a different kind of magic, also called *sīmīyā'*, a form of hypnosis, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. '*Sīmīyā'*' (D.B. MacDonald & T. Fahd). See also the story in Ch. 10.83, at the beginning of the section on Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūnus.

72 See Ch. 14.39.

73 For the discussion on the identity of Abū l-Qāsim al-Shāri'ī, see Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 105 [under entry 'p']; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 129 n. 115.

74 Editorial change in the Arabic text for ABGbcHLR: *muḥāliyyan*, 'absurd', 'preposterous'.

75 On the sixteen books by Galen, see Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 130 n. 117. Cf. Ch. 6.3–6.4.

letter in it unless it was either a conjunction (*wāw ʿatf*) or a connecting *fāʾ* (*fāʾ waṣl*) and he only copied sections of his choice. He has also composed a book for the Jews entitled *Kitāb al-Dalālah* (*The Guide*),<sup>76</sup> and pronounced a curse on anyone who would transcribe it in any but Hebrew characters. I looked through it and found it to be an evil book that corrupted the foundations of law and faith with elements that he had imagined would benefit them.

One day I was in the mosque with a number of people gathered around me, when an old man dressed in shabby clothes entered. He was sharp-featured, with a pleasing appearance. The crowd stood in awe of him and showed him reverence. I finished what I had to say, and when the meeting was over, the imam of the mosque came to me and said, 'Do you know this old man? He is Abū l-Qāsim al-Shāriʿī. I embraced him and cried, 'It is you I seek!' I brought him to my house, and after our meal we entered into conversation. I found him to be all that souls can desire and eyes delight in. His conduct was that of a man of wisdom and intelligence, his bearing likewise. He contented himself with the barest necessities of life, not involving himself with anything that would distract him from moral excellence. Following our initial encounter, he frequently sought my company, and I found that he was well versed in the works of the ancient philosophers and of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī. I did not have much confidence in any of those [authors], thinking as I did that the whole of philosophy had been encompassed by Ibn Sinā and was embodied in his books. When we engaged in discussion, I would surpass him in strength of disputation and refinement of language, but he would surpass me in the force of his argumentation and the clarity of his methods. I did not yield to his arguments, nor did I give up my passionate and stubborn [resistance] to his allusions. But then he presented me with work after work by Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī], Alexander [of Aphrodisias] and Themistius in an effort to tame my aversion and to soften my headstrong disposition, until I inclined towards his side, putting one foot forward and the other back.

News arrived that Saladin had concluded a truce with the Franks and had returned to Jerusalem, so it was necessary for me to go and see him there. I took with me as many of the books of the ancient philosophers as I could carry and set out for Jerusalem. There I saw a formidable king, who filled all eyes with respect and all hearts with love, who was approachable, tolerant and generous. The members of his entourage tried to imitate him,

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76 This is the *Dalālat al-ḥāʾirīn* (*Guide for the Perplexed*).

competing for recognition. As the word of God, exalted be He, says: «*And we shall take out all rancour from their breasts*». <sup>77</sup>

The first night I entered his presence, I found myself at a meeting attended by men of learning, discussing various sciences. Saladin listened attentively and took an active part in the conversation, taking up the subject of the manner of building walls and digging trenches. He had a good understanding of this matter and came up with all kinds of original ideas. He was concerned about the construction of the walls of Jerusalem and about the digging of its trenches. He himself took part in the work of carrying stones on his shoulders. His example was followed by the whole population, poor and rich, strong and weak alike, even the secretary al-ʿImād and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil followed his example. For this purpose, he would ride out on horseback before sunrise. At the time of midday prayer he would return home, have a meal and rest. He would mount his horse again at the time of the afternoon prayer, and would return home in the evening, then spend most of the night planning what he would do the next day. Saladin assigned to me in writing thirty dinars a month [to be paid by] the administrative office of the mosque. <sup>78</sup> His sons granted me stipends as well, so that I had a regular monthly income of a hundred dinars.

[15.40.4]

[Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī continues:]

I then returned to Damascus and devoted myself to studying and teaching at the mosque. The more deeply I studied the books of the ancient philosophers, the more my desire for them increased, whereas [my desire] for the books of Ibn Sīnā waned. I began to realise the vanity of alchemy and to know the truth of the matter about its foundation, its founders, and their lies and motivations. I was thus delivered from two great, ruinous errors. My thanks to God were redoubled on that account, for many people have been led to perdition through the books of Ibn Sīnā and alchemy.

Saladin subsequently returned to Damascus, but left the city again to bid farewell to the pilgrims [leaving for Mecca]. Upon his return, he became feverish and was bled by someone without any skill. <sup>79</sup> Thereupon,

77 Q al-Aʿrāf 7:43. So MSS BGc. MSS A, L, and many others present us with *fī qulūbihim*, 'from their hearts' here.

78 The Umayyad mosque in Damascus.

79 According to the historian Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, in his *Mirʾāt al-zamān* (viii:1–2, i: 321 and 430)

his strength ebbed and he died before his illness had lasted a fortnight. The people were as afflicted with grief [at his death] as if he had been a prophet. I have never seen a ruler whose death so saddened the people; for he was loved by the pious and the profligate alike, by Muslims and infidels.

Saladin's sons and companions 'dispersed like the ancient Sabaeans'<sup>80</sup> and were scattered to the four winds throughout the various countries. The greater number of them went to Egypt, on account of its fertility and prosperity. I stayed in Damascus, which was then under the rule of al-Malik al-Afḍal, Saladin's eldest son, until al-Malik al-'Azīz came with the Egyptian army to besiege his brother in Damascus. However, he failed in his design and withdrew to Marj al-Şuffar,<sup>81</sup> stricken with colic. I went over to see him after his recovery, and he allowed me to return with him [to Cairo] and assigned me a salary from the treasury, which was more than sufficient for my needs.

In Cairo, I stayed with the shaykh Abū l-Qāsim. We were inseparable from morning to night, until he died from a pleurisy (*dhāt al-janb*) arising from a head cold (*nazlah min rā'sihi*). As his illness grew worse, I advised him to take medication, whereupon he recited the following verse:<sup>82</sup>

I do not chase birds away from a tree  
of which I have tasted the bitter fruit.

Then I asked him about his pain, and he replied:<sup>83</sup>

A wound cannot hurt a dead man.

My occupations during this period were as follows: I gave lectures at the al-Azhar mosque from early morning until approximately the fourth hour.<sup>84</sup> At midday, those who wished to study medicine and other subjects would come to me. Then at the end of the day, I would return to the al-Azhar mosque to teach other students. At night I used to study for myself. In this manner I continued until the death of al-Malik al-'Azīz. He

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it was the famous physician Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī (see the biography on him in Ch. 15.36) who bled Sultan Şalāḥ al-Dīn and caused his untimely death.

80 A proverbial saying.

81 Marj al-Şuffar is a large plain south of Damascus. See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Marj al-Şuffar' (N. Elisséeff).

82 Metre: *madīd*. A line by Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, 1:140.

83 Metre: *khafīf*. A hemistich by al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 245, Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbī*, 32-33.

84 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Sā'a' (U. Rubin & D.R. Hill).

was a generous, courageous young man, modest and unable to say no. In spite of his youthfulness and tender age, he was wholly abstinent from worldly possessions and sexual pleasures.

[15.40.5]

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah resumes speaking:

After this the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn lived in Cairo for some time, enjoying great prestige and receiving stipends from the sons of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Egypt was then visited by a huge rise in [food] prices and many deaths<sup>85</sup> such as never had been seen before. The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn wrote a book on this subject, in which he described things that he had seen himself or heard from eyewitnesses,<sup>86</sup> which make the mind reel; this book he entitled: *Information and Reflections on Events Witnessed and Incidents Observed in the Land of Egypt (Kitāb al-Ifādah wa-l-i‘tibār fī l-umūr al-mushāhadah wa-l-ḥawādith al-mu‘āyanah bi-arḍ Miṣr)*.<sup>87</sup>

When the Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb took control of the land of Egypt, the greater part of Syria and the eastern regions, and the children of his brother al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were scattered and their power was taken away from them, the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn moved to Jerusalem and stayed there for a while. He used to frequent the al-Aqṣā mosque, where he had pupils who studied many different sciences under his guidance, and he composed many books. In the year 604/1207 he set out for Damascus, where he took his abode in the al-‘Azīziyyah law college, devoting himself to teaching and study. Many pupils came to study with him and learn various sciences under his guidance. He distinguished himself in the art of medicine, composing many books in that domain, and acquiring a great reputation in it, whereas formerly his fame had rested on his mastery of the science of grammar. He stayed in Damascus for some time, and many people derived great benefit from him.

Thereafter the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn travelled to Aleppo, and beyond, into Anatolia [i.e. the land of the Rūm Seljuqs<sup>88</sup>], staying there for several years in

85 The phrase *al-ghalā’ al-‘azīm wa-l-mawtān* suggests a food shortage and possible famine, with resulting deaths. See Ellenblum, *The Collapse of the Eastern Mediterranean*, 147–155 for the famine and calamity that hit Egypt in 457–464/1065–1072, when the Nile failed to rise properly.

86 See Joosse, ‘Abd al-Laṭif al-Baghdādī as a Philosopher and a Physician’, especially 38–41.

87 See the discussion in Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 135–136 n. 139. Facsimile edition of the autograph and (very unreliable) English translation by Zand, Videan & Videan. See al-Baghdādī, *The Eastern Key*.

88 See for the Seljuqs of Rūm: Cahen, *The formation of Turkey*; Mecit, *The Rum Seljuqs*; Pea-

the service of al-Malik ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Dāwūd ibn Bahrām,<sup>89</sup> the governor of [the city of] Erzinjan; he acquired an established position and an important status, receiving a large salary and many allowances. He composed many works that he dedicated to that ruler, who was a man of high aspirations, modest and generous, and had already devoted himself to some of the sciences. Muwaffaq al-Dīn remained in his service until the ruler of Erzerum, the Sultan Kayqubād ibn Kaykhusraw ibn Qilij Arslān,<sup>90</sup> seized power. The ruler of Erzinjan was arrested and nothing more was heard of him.

[15.40.6]

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf continues:

When it was the seventeenth of Dhū l-qa‘dah of the year 625 [18 October 1228], I set out for Erzerum. On the eleventh of Šafar of the year 626 [9 January 1229] I returned to Erzinjan from Erzerum. In the middle of Rabī‘ I [February 1229] I went to Kamākh; in Jumādā I [April 1229] I went from there to Dabarkī [i.e. Divrigi]; in the month of Rajab [June 1229] I headed from there to Malatya; and at the end of Ramadan [August 1229] I set out for Aleppo. We held the prayer for the feast at the end of the fasting period (*‘īd al-ḥiṭr*) at Bahnasā’ and we entered Aleppo on Friday the 9th of Shawwāl [31 August 1229].<sup>91</sup> We found that the city had grown immensely and that its prosperity and security had increased as a result of the good deeds of the atābak [atabeg]<sup>92</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn.<sup>93</sup> The whole population was unified in their love for him, because he treated his subjects equitably.

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cock & Yildiz, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*; For the Seljuqs in general, see Canby *et alii*, *Court and Cosmos*; Lange & Mecit, *The Seljuqs*; Herzig & Stewart, *The Age of the Seljuqs*.

89 Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrāmshāh ibn Dāwūd (r. 560/1165–622/1225), see for him Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 217; Peacock & Yildiz, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 27–28, *passim*. We do not know much about ‘Abd al-Laṭīf’s position at the court of this ruler. It has become clear though that he spent much time there re-reading and reshaping his work, and supervising his students, as has become evident from MS Manisa, *Kitapsaray* 178/6, fols. 130b–153b and several other texts; cf. also Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, 217–236.

90 Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kay Qubād I ibn Kay Khusraw I (r. 616/1219–634/1237), see for him Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 213–214; Peacock & Yildiz, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 4, *passim*.

91 For the itinerary and chronology of ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, see Toorawa, *Travel in the medieval Islamic world*, especially at 63–65 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 24–25.

92 See *EI* Three art. ‘Atābak (Atabeg)’ (Amalia Levanoni).

93 The eunuch Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭughrīl was then in power of the territory of Aleppo, because al-Malik al-‘Azīz Muḥammad, the grandson of Saladin, had come to the throne at the age of only two in the year 613/1216 after his father’s early and rather unexpected death.

[15.40.7]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say:

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn remained in Aleppo, where pupils studied under his guidance and he wrote prolifically. He had a good patron in the eunuch (*khādim*) Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭuḡhrīl, the atabeg of Aleppo. Muwaffaq al-Dīn devoted much of his time to teaching the art of medicine and other sciences, but also frequented the mosque, where he would listen to lectures and teach the Arabic language. He was always engaged in writing and composing [works]. When he was living in Aleppo it was my intention to meet with him, but it did not happen. I received a steady stream of books and letters from him, including some of his works in his own handwriting.

Here follows the text of a letter that I wrote to him when he was [staying] in Aleppo:

The servant conveys his prayers, his praise, his gratitude and his commitment to the adored, eminent, illustrious, magnificent, most virtuous excellency Muwaffaq al-Dīn, chief of scholars in times past and present who has united in himself the sciences scattered among the inhabitants of the world, protector of the commander of the faithful. May God elucidate the paths of right guidance to him and illuminate the ways of knowledge for him in the life hereafter, and confirm his authority through the [revelation of] the true meaning of his words. May his happiness continue to exist unendingly, his mastery ascend to lofty heights and may his writings remain in all lands the model for the learned and the main source for all men of letters and philosophy. The servant renews his homage, offers his most courteous salutations and his most affectionate thanks and compliments. He makes known to you the pain from which he suffers in his endeavour to witness the lights of the illuminating sun, the joy that is provoked by the exciting vision of your noble and illustrious presence and the intensification of his anxiety and the graveness of his insomnia on hearing of the nearness of his visit.<sup>94</sup>

Longing is at its most painful one day  
when abodes are near abodes.<sup>95</sup>

94 Metre: *wāfir*. Quoted and probably composed by Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850), see al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v:358, and by Jaḥẓah ‘on the authority of Hammād, on the authority of his father (i.e. Ishāq al-Mawṣilī)’, see al-Qālī, *Amālī*, i:55; attributed to Ishāq al-Mawṣilī (with a different first hemistich) in Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, i:141.

95 i.e., when the loved object is near but still out of reach.



Were it not for the [hope of the] return of the noble traveller and the arrival of the honourable and exalted excellency, the servant would have hurried to come to him and hastened to appear before him, and would come to pay his respects and be successful in seeing his beautiful appearance. How blessed is he who has the fortune to gaze upon it, and how glad is he who stands before him! How fortunate is the person in which he shows an interest, who draws from the seas of his excellence and is irrigated by its wholesome water, who is illumined by the sun of his knowledge and travels in brilliant light! We ask God, exalted is He, that he will soon unite us and by His grace and bounty bring about the merger between the delight of the eyes and the pleasures of the hearing, if God, exalted be He, wills.

Among the letters of the shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf is one that he sent to my father. At the beginning of the letter he said of me, ‘The son of the son [i.e. the grandson] is dearer than the son. This Muwaffaq al-Dīn [i.e., Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah] is the son of my son and no one is dearer to me than he. His excellence has been clear to me ever since his early youth’. He then continues to speak appreciatively of me and praises me. He also says in this letter, ‘If I could go to him in order to enable him to study under my guidance, I should do it’, indicating that he had decided to remove to Damascus and settle there.

Then it came to his mind to go on pilgrimage first, making his way via Baghdad, and offering some of his works to the caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh.<sup>96</sup> After reaching Baghdad he fell ill and died – may God have mercy upon him – on Sunday, the twelfth of Muḥarram 629 [9 November 1231]. He was buried next to his father in the al-Wardiyyah cemetery. This happened after an absence of forty-five years from the city of Baghdad. God, exalted be He, sent him back and decreed his fate there.

[15.40.8]

The following are some examples of the aphorisms of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, which I have taken from works in his own handwriting:

1. It is necessary to account to yourself for what you have done every night when you go to sleep, and reflect on the meritorious deeds that you have done during the day and to thank God for them, and the evil deeds you have committed and to ask God’s pardon for them and to abstain from

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96 He was the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad from 623/1226 to 640/1242. See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 7 under entry 1.



them. Prepare yourself for the good things that you will do in the morning, and ask God for help in this.

He also says:

2. I urge you not to study the sciences from books [only], however confident you are in the strength of your [own] understanding, but go and find yourself teachers for every science you seek to acquire. If a teacher should prove deficient, take from him what he has until you find one more perfectly acquainted with the subject than he is. You must honour and respect him. If it is possible for you to help him with your worldly goods, do so; otherwise serve him with your words and praise. When you read a book, strive to learn it by heart and understand its meaning. Imagine that the book is missing and that you are able to do without it, for its loss would not grieve you. When you are devoting yourself to the study of a book and you try to understand it, beware of working on another book at the same time; rather, spend the time that you wished to spend on the second book on the first. Beware of studying two sciences simultaneously, but devote yourself to a single science for one or two years or for how long God wishes. When you have attained your aim in this, move on to another science. Do not think that when you have acquired knowledge of one subject, you have done all that is necessary: you need to keep it up, so that it progresses and does not stagnate. The way to keep it up is by memorizing it and reflecting upon it. The beginner occupies himself by being mindful of it and by studying and discussing it with his fellow-students. The work of the sage lies in teaching and writing books. When you undertake to teach a science or engage in discussion on it, do not combine it with any of the other sciences, for every science stands alone and is independent of other sciences. When you bring in a [second] science to assist you with the first, you are unable to treat its divisions exhaustively; like someone who uses one language for another when he either cannot express himself in it or is partially ignorant of it.

He also says:

3. It behoves a man to read histories, to acquaint himself with the biographies and experiences of nations,<sup>97</sup> so that he becomes thereby, as one who, in this short life, has yet caught up with vanished peoples, has been their contemporary and companion and knows all the good and evil of them.

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97 *Siyar* does not necessarily imply 'heroic deeds' here; it has its more general sense of 'biographies' (it would include the lives and conduct of scholars, for instance; cf. al-Dhahabī's *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*) and *tajārib* means 'experiences'. He may therefore allude to Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-unam*.

Furthermore he says:

4. It is incumbent upon you to imitate the conduct of the first generation of Muslims. Read the biography of the Prophet, God bless him and keep him, and follow [the example of] his deeds and circumstances, follow in his footsteps and imitate him as far as you can, within the limit of your abilities. When you have learned about his habits regarding eating, drinking, dressing, sleeping, waking, illness, medical treatment, amusement, use of perfumes, his dealings with his Lord, his wives, his companions and his enemies and you can do but a little of [all] this, then you belong to the happiest of men.

He then says:

5. It is necessary for you always to doubt yourself, rather than to hold a high opinion of yourself. Submit your ideas to men of learning and their writings. Proceed with caution, do not be hasty and avoid being vainglorious, for vainglory ends in a fall, and rashness causes one to make mistakes. He who has not turned his forehead to the gates of the learned will not become deeply rooted in excellence. Those who have not been put to shame will not be treated with respect by the people. Those who have not been reproached will not be shown the right way. He who has not suffered the pain of studying will not taste the joy of knowledge. He who has not worked hard will not become successful.

When you are not engaged in study and reflection, move your tongue in remembrance of God and in glorifying Him, especially before you go to sleep, for then your heart will be permeated with Him and He will be kneaded into your imagination, so that you may speak of Him even while you are sleeping. When you experience joy and pleasure in some worldly matters, then remember death, the swiftness of passing and the different kinds of hindrances you have encountered. When something saddens you, say the following words: «*We belong to God and to Him we return*».<sup>98</sup> When you have been indifferent to Him, ask for forgiveness.

6. Be sure to have death in view, for knowledge and piety are your provision for the world to come. When you want to disobey God, seek a place where he cannot see you. Know that men are the eyes of God with which he looks at His servants. He shows them a man's good deeds, even if he hides them, and reveals his evil deeds, even if he conceals them; for his inmost soul is exposed to God and God exposes it to His servants. See to it that you make your inner [life] better than your exterior and that your secret [acts] become clearer than the acts that you perform in public.

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98 Q al-Baqarah 2:156.

7. Do not complain if the world turns its back on you, for were it to welcome you it would distract you from acquiring excellent qualities. Rarely does a wealthy person become absorbed in science, unless he has a very lofty ambition, or has become rich after having acquired knowledge. I do not say that the world turns its back on the seeker of knowledge; rather, it is the seeker of knowledge who turns his back on the world, because all his ambition is dedicated to science and he has no attention to spare for the world.
8. Worldly riches are gained only by avidity and reflection on the way to obtain them, so if one ignores the means of acquiring them, they do not come to him. Moreover, the seeker of knowledge is too noble for base occupations and worldly profits, for the different types of commercial trade,<sup>99</sup> and for self-abasement before the great ones of the earth and hanging about their gates.<sup>100</sup> The following verse is by a friend of mine:<sup>101</sup>
- He who exerts himself in seeking knowledge is spared,  
by the nobility of knowledge, the lowliness of acquiring it.
9. All activities aimed at gaining worldly goods require that one should occupy oneself exclusively with them, that one should possess the necessary skills to acquire them, and that one is able to devote [all of] one's time to them. He who dedicates himself to science is not able of doing

99 This is obviously a sneer in the direction of 'Abd al-Laṭīf's presumed arch-enemy, the Jewish physician Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq al-Sabtī al-Maghribī (d. 623/1226), who was into commercial trade all his life. See Ch. 15.41 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 17–28.

100 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī received ample royal patronage from the Ayyubid rulers so that he was able to carry out textual research and spend his life studying and teaching without being bothered by the 'annoyances' of the practical side of medicine. He apparently believed that the most excellent scholars earned the right to be granted this type of remuneration, in order not to have to follow the 'basic' occupations. In this sense, it is likely that he followed Aristotle's opinion, expressed at the beginning of the *Metaphysics* (981a1–981b1), that the highest degree of intellectual activity is that which is free from material concerns and devoid of practical considerations and applications. See Joosse, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī as a Philosopher and a Physician', 43 (also n. 80–81). The particular usage of the phrase 'self-abasement before the great ones of the earth and hanging about their gates' by 'Abd al-Laṭīf may be a sneer in the direction of the Jewish philosopher and physician Maimonides, who, according to 'Abd al-Laṭīf, was 'dominated by the love of temporal dignities and a courtier of those in high station'. The learned (*ulamā'*) often felt that some occupations degraded them through something like pollution: 'The learned man should keep away from the basest custom, such as the art of cupping, dyeing, money changing, and gold-smithing' (see Ibn Jamā'ah, *Tadhkirah* in Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 127). Cf. 5.1.18.1.

101 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:93.

this. Therefore, he bides his time waiting for the world to come to him for no reason at all, expecting the world to seek him out without his seeking out the world in a similar manner, but this is wrong of him and exceeds the proper bounds. Nevertheless, when a man masters science and made a reputation for himself in it, he is in demand from all sides and positions are offered to him. Then the world comes to him in a submissive way and he conquers it with his honour perfectly intact and his dignity and his faith well kept. Know that science leaves a trace and a scent, which proclaim its owner, a light and a gleam that shine upon him and mark him, as in the case of a dealer in musk: his place cannot be concealed, nor can his merchandise be ignored; just as in the case of one who walks with a torch in a pitch-black night. Furthermore, the learned man is loved wherever he is and whatever his situation is. He only meets those who are well disposed toward him, who desire to be near him, who seek out his company and find ease in his proximity.

10. Know too that the sciences sink in the ground and then gush out at a certain time, as in the case of plants or springs of water: they pass from one people to another and from one region to another.

I have copied a few more examples of his aphorisms from works in his own handwriting, including the following:

11. Let your speech be in general according to these qualities: it should be brief, intelligible, referring to an important matter or at least an appropriate one, and contain well-executed enigmas that are more or less ambiguous. Do not let it be careless like the speech of the masses, but raise its level somewhat, without estranging your hearers too much.
12. Beware of idle talk and senseless speeches, but also beware of silence when it is necessary to speak and your turn to speak has come, to bring out the truth, or to become beloved or to exhort to excellence. Beware of laughing while you speak, and being too talkative, and from cutting your speech short, but let your speech be coherent and take time for a breathing space. Deliver it with dignity, so that it may give the impression that there is more behind it than in it and that it is the product of previous maturing and past reflection.

Another example is the following:

13. Beware of vulgarity in your discourse and harshness in debate, for that destroys the beauty of the speech, deprives it of its usefulness, robs it of its charm, causes grudges and blots out friendships. The speaker then becomes a boring person, whose silence is more desirable to the listeners than his speech, and the people will choose to point out his faults, will denigrate him and take away his dignity.

He also says:

14. Do not become proud to the point of becoming unbearable, and do not lower yourself to the point of being seen as unworthy and looked down upon.

He also says:

15. Put your entire speech in argumentative form, and answer as your intelligence demands, not as you are accustomed to speak or in a routine manner.

He also says:

16. Leave the ways of youth, free yourself from natural habits. Give your speech in general a theological turn, do not cease to add some piece of information, a verse from the Qur'an, a wise saying, a rare verse of poetry, or a generally known proverb.

He then says:

17. Avoid slandering people, criticising kings, treating associates harshly; avoid being angry too often and do not overstep its boundaries.

He concludes by saying:

18. Memorize a wealth of proverbial poems, aphoristic anecdotes and unusual expressions.

In one of his prayers<sup>102</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – he says:

O God, preserve us from the contrariety of the natural disposition and the defiance of the evil soul, smooth for us the way that will guide us to success and lead us on the straight path. O leader of the blind and guide of those who had gone astray, You who revive through faith the dead hearts<sup>103</sup> and lighten the darkness of error with perfect light, take us by the hand lest we fall into the abyss of destruction, deliver us from the mire of nature, cleanse us from the clay of the vile world through our sincere devotion to You and the instilment of fear in us. You are the ruler of the hereafter and of this world.

One of his glorifications of God runs as follows:

Glory to Him who pervades existence with His wisdom, who deserves to be worshipped in every respect. The whole universe gleams with the light

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<sup>102</sup> This prayer is not in Version 1 of the *Uyūn*. The same happened with al-Fārābī's prayer, which was also not in Version 1. One may wonder whether this had anything to do with Amīn al-Dawlah's personality.

<sup>103</sup> That is, the hearts that have died through lack of faith and need to be opened again.

of Your splendour and the sun of Your knowledge radiates on souls with the greatest brightness.

[15.40.9]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī is the author of the following books:<sup>104</sup>

1. On obscure words [employed] in the Hadith, in which are compiled the ‘*al-Gharīb*’ of Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām and the ‘*al-Gharīb*’ of Ibn Qutaybah and al-Khaṭṭābī (*K. gharīb al-ḥadīth jama‘a fīhi gharīb Abī ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām wa-gharīb Ibn Qutaybah wa-gharīb al-Khaṭṭābī*).<sup>105</sup>
2. Summary on the obscure words [employed] in the Hadith (*K. al-mujarrad min gharīb al-ḥadīth*).<sup>106</sup>
3. Explanation of the syntax [employed] in the first sūrah of the Qur’an (*K. al-wāḍiḥah fī i‘rāb al-Fātiḥah*).<sup>107</sup>
4. On *alif* and *lām* (*K. al-alif wa-l-lām*).<sup>108</sup>
5. Question on His utterance, He be glorified, «*When he stretches out his hand, he can barely see it*» (*Mas‘alah fī qawlihi subḥānahu idhā akhraja yadahu lam yakad yarāhā*).<sup>109</sup>
6. A syntactical question (*Mas‘alah naḥwīyyah*).
7. Collection of syntactical questions and explanatory remarks (*Majmū‘ masā’il naḥwīyyah wa-ta‘ālīq*).
8. On [the particle] *rubba* [‘Many a ...’] (*K. rubba*).
9. Commentary on the [*qaṣīdah*] *Bānat Su‘ād* (‘Su‘ād has departed’) [by Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr] (*S. Bānat Su‘ād*).<sup>110</sup>

104 A second listing of ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī’s oeuvre can be found in Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:385.1–388.2. This second and later list is partially different from the earlier one given below. It numbers fifteen discourses by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, which are not mentioned by IAU. A third and shorter list by al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xix: from 109 onwards, mentions a mere 86 works.

105 See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 126, n. 89–92.

106 Probably the *al-Mujarrad li-lughat al-ḥadīth*. Cf. *GAL* Suppl. i:881; edited in Ḥamza al-Rādī, *Kitāb al-Mujarrad*; excerpts in Ḥamza al-Rādī, *Min kitāb al-Mujarrad*. See also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 198 under i:1.

107 Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:386.6–7.

108 This is the Arabic definite article *al-*. Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:386.7.

109 Q al-Nūr 24:40.

110 The celebrated poem called *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* (‘The Mantle Ode’), a poem in praise of the Prophet by his contemporary Ka‘b ibn Zuhayr.

10. Supplement to the *Faṣīḥ* [by Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā Thaʿlab] (*K. dhayl al-faṣīḥ*).<sup>111</sup>
11. On the Divine Essence and the Essential Attributes as discussed by the scholastic theologians (*al-Kalām fī dhāt wa-l-ṣifāt al-dhātiyyah ʿalā alsinat al-mutakallimīn*).
12. Commentary on the first chapters of the *Mufaṣṣal* [by Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī] (*S. awāʿil al-mufaṣṣal*).<sup>112</sup>
13. Five syntactical questions (*Khams masāʿil naḥwiyyah*).
14. Commentary on the *Introduction* [to *Grammar*] by Ibn Bābushādh, which he dedicated to (al-Malik) al-Kāmil (*S. muqaddimat Ibn Bābushādh wa-sammāhu bi l-lumaʿ al-kāmiliyyah*).<sup>113</sup>
15. Commentary on Ibn Nubātah's *Sermons* (*S. al-khuṭab al-nubātiyyah*).<sup>114</sup>
16. Commentary on uninterrupted chains of tradition (*S. al-ḥadīth al-musal-sal*).
17. Commentary on seventy traditions (*S. sabʿīn ḥadīthan*).
18. Commentary on forty medical traditions (*S. arbaʿīn ḥadīthan ṭibbiyyah*).<sup>115</sup>
19. Refutation of the Son of the Preacher of al-Rayy regarding the exegesis of *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (*K. al-radd ʿalā Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy fī tafsīr sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*).<sup>116</sup>
20. Examination of the injustice done to Qudāmah [ibn Jaʿfar] (*K. kashf al-zulāmah ʿan Qudāmah*).<sup>117</sup>
21. Commentary on the *Naqd al-shiʿr* [criticism of poetry] by Qudāmah [ibn Jaʿfar] (*S. naqd al-shiʿr li-Qudāmah*).

111 Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i:102.

112 For al-Zamakhsharī, see *Encycl. Qurʾān* art. 'al-Zamakhsharī' (Kifayat Ullah): Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī was born on 27 Rajab 467 [18 March 1075] in Zamakhshar, a small town in Khwārazm (modern Khiva, Uzbekistan), from which his *nisbah* al-Zamakhsharī is derived. He died on 8 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 538 [12 June 1144] in Jurjāniyyah, the capital of Khorasan.

113 For Ibn Bābushādh, see Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, v:105; al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 212.12–213.2; Sezgin, *GAS* IX, 84 and 89–90.

114 See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Nubātah' (M. Canard). Cf. also *GAL* Suppl. i:881; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 198 under ii:6.

115 The book *K. al-Arbaʿīn al-ṭibbiyyah* (*Forty medical traditions*) often attributed to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was actually written by his student al-Birzālī (d. 637/1239).

116 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy is of course the famous Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (on whom, see Ch. 11.19). See Stern, 'A Collection', 58–59; also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry a:2; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 201–202.

117 On Qudāmah, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Qudāmah b. Djaʿfar' (S.A. Bonebakker).



22. Prophetic traditions excerpted from compilations combining the two *Ṣaḥīḥs* (*Aḥādīth mukharraġah min al-jamʿ bayna al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*).<sup>118</sup>
23. 'The Mighty Banner': on Hadith, dedicated to al-Malik al-ʿAzīz (*K. al-liwāʾ al-ʿazīz bi-ism al-Malik al-ʿAzīz fī al-ḥadīth*).
24. 'Principles of the Art of Good Style' (*K. qawānīn al-balāghah*), which he composed in Aleppo in the year 615/1218.
25. Marginal notes to Ibn Jinnī's 'Distinctive Features [of Grammar]' (*Ḥawāshī ʿalā kitāb al-khaṣāʾiṣ li-ibn Jinnī*).<sup>119</sup>
26. On equity between Ibn Barrī and Ibn al-Khashshāb with regard to Ibn al-Khashshāb's refutation of the *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Barrī's defence of al-Ḥarīrī (*K. al-inṣāf bayna Ibn Barrī wa-Ibn al-Khashshāb fīmā radda bihi Ibn al-Khashshāb ʿalā al-maqāmāt lil-Ḥarīrī wa-intiṣār Ibn Barrī lil-Ḥarīrī*).<sup>120</sup>
27. Question concerning their utterance 'anti ṭāliq' ('you are divorced') 'fī shahr qabla mā baʿda qablihi ramaḍān' ('in a month before the one after before it is Ramadan').<sup>121</sup>
28. Explanation of His word, peace be upon Him, 'Those who show mercy are shown mercy by the Merciful' (*Tafsīr qawlihi ʿalayhi al-salām ʿal-rāḥimūn yarḥamuhum al-Raḥmān*).<sup>122</sup>
29. Enlightenment for someone in a hurry: On syntax (*K. qabsat al-ʿajlān fī naḥw*).
30. Abridgement of al-ʿAskarī's 'On the Two Arts': [prose-writing and poetry] (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ṣināʿatayn [al-kitābah wa-l-shiʿr] lil-ʿAskarī*).<sup>123</sup>
31. Abridgement of Ibn Rashīq's 'On the Mainstay' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ʿumdaḥ li-Ibn Rashīq*).<sup>124</sup>
32. Treatise on concord (*M. fī l-wafq*).<sup>125</sup>

118 The two *Ṣaḥīḥs* are of course those of Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj and al-Bukhārī, the authors of the two most generally accepted collections of traditions.

119 For Abū l-Faṭḥ ʿUthmān ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣilī, see al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat*, 197.3–198.17; Ibn Khalīkān, *Wafayāt*, iii:443–444; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xvi:57–58; Sezgin, *GAS IX*, 173–182, 248.

120 According to *GAL Suppl.* i:493, The title of this work is not *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, but *K. al-Munāfaṣāt*. Of course the latter is an error for *K. al-Munāṣafāt*, 'The Book of Equal Shares between Ibn al-Khashshāb and Ibn Barrī'.

121 The whole point of this kind of gobbledegook is the legal validity of such complex or non-sensical utterances, which are discussed in law books.

122 This tradition is present in the collections of Abū Dāwūd, *adab* 58 and al-Tirmidhī, *birr*, 16.

123 See *EAL*, art. 'Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī' (W. Heinrichs).

124 That is the *Kitāb al-ʿumdaḥ fī maḥāsīn al-shiʿr wa-adabihi wa-naqḍihi*.

125 See *ET<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Wafq' (J. Sesiano). The title could also be read as *Treatise on the Magic Square*.



33. The Sufficient and Evident: on Indian arithmetic (*K. al-mughnī al-jalī fī l-ḥisāb al-hindī*).<sup>126</sup>
34. Abridgement of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī's 'Book of Plants' and another book of the same kind (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-nabāt li-Abī Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī wa-kitāb ākhar fī fannihi mithluhu*).<sup>127</sup>
35. Abridgement of al-Tamīmī's 'Continuation of Existence' (*Ikhtīṣār māddat al-baqā'*).<sup>128</sup>
36. On aphorisms in the language of the philosopher, in seven chapters. He finished it in the month of Ramadan of the year 608 [February 1212] (*K. al-fuṣūl wa-huwa bi-lughat al-ḥakīm*).
37. Commentary on the Hippocratic 'Aphorisms' (*S. kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>129</sup>
38. Commentary on the Hippocratic 'Prognostic' (*S. kitāb taqdimat al-ma'rifah li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>130</sup>
39. Abridgement of Galen's commentary on the book of acute diseases by Hippocrates (*Ikhtīṣār sharḥ Jālīnūs li-kutub al-amrād al-ḥāddah li-Abuqrāt*).<sup>131</sup>
40. Abridgement of the 'Book of Animals' [*Historia Animalium*] by Aristotle (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ḥayawān li-Aristūṭālīs*).
41. Revision of the Problems of the natural sciences, entitled *Why is it that ...?* (*al-Masā'il al-ṭabī'yyah al-musammāt bi-mā bālu*) by Aristotle (*Tahdhīb masā'il mā bālu li-Aristūṭālīs*).<sup>132</sup>
42. Book on the same theme.
43. Abridgement of Galen's Book 'The Use of the Parts' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb manāfi' al-a'ḍā' li-Jālīnūs*).<sup>133</sup>
44. Abridgement of 'The Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb ārā' Buqrāt wa-Aflāṭun*).<sup>134</sup>

126 Cf. *GAL* Suppl. i:881; see also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 177 and 199 under entry v:13.

127 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Dīnawarī, Abū Ḥanīfa' (B. Lewin).

128 This is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Maqdisī's *Kitāb Māddat al-baqā' fī iṣlāḥ fasād al-hawā' wa-l-taḥarruz min ḍarar al-awbā'*.

129 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 30–31; Pormann and Joosse, 'Aphorisms', 231–233; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry iii:8.

130 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 33; Pormann and Joosse, 'Prognostic', 251–283; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry iii:7.

131 Presumably Galen's commentary *In Hippocratis de victu acutorum commentaria*.

132 See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 49–50 under entry 1.

133 No. 49 in the list in Ch. 5.

134 No. 46 in the list of Galen's works in Ch. 5.

45. Abridgement of 'The Embryo' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-janīn*).<sup>135</sup>
46. Abridgement of 'The Voice' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-ṣawt*).<sup>136</sup>
47. Abridgement of 'The Sperm' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-maniyy*).<sup>137</sup>
48. Abridgement of 'The Organs of Respiration' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb ālāt al-tanaḥḥus*).<sup>138</sup>
49. Abridgement of 'The Muscles' (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-ʿaḍal*).<sup>139</sup>
50. Abridgement of 'The Book of Animals' by al-Jāḥiẓ (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-ḥayawān lil-Jāḥiẓ*).<sup>140</sup>
51. On the organs of respiration and their functioning, in six chapters. (*K. fī ālāt al-tanaḥḥus wa-afʿālihā*. Sitt maqālāt).
52. Treatise on the division of fevers: how each one of them is assessed and how they are generated (*M. fī qismat al-ḥummayāt wa-mā yataqawwamu bihi kull wāḥid minhā wa-kayfiyyat tawalludihā*).<sup>141</sup>
53. The Selection, an epitome of the [book on] acute diseases (*K. al-nukhbah wa-huwa khulāṣat al-amrāḍ al-ḥāddah*).<sup>142</sup>
54. Abridgement of 'On Fevers' by al-Isrāʿīlī (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-ḥummayāt lil-Isrāʿīlī*).<sup>143</sup>
55. Abridgement of the 'On Urine' by al-Isrāʿīlī (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-bawl lil-Isrāʿīlī*).<sup>144</sup>
56. Abridgement of 'On the Pulse' by al-Isrāʿīlī (*Ikhtiṣār kitāb al-nabḍ lil-Isrāʿīlī*).
57. The greater 'Book on Egypt' (*K. akhbār Miṣr al-kabīr*).
58. The lesser 'Book on Egypt'. Two treatises. (*K. akhbār Miṣr al-ṣaghīr*. Maqālātān).

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135 See 4.1.9.1 no. 1.

136 No. 38 in the list in Ch. 5. This work, called Περὶ φωνῆς in Greek, is largely lost and only survives in a few fragments.

137 No. 62 in the list of Ch. 5.

138 Perhaps a summary of Galen's *Anatomical Procedures*, books 7–8. This work is No. 21 in the list in Ch. 5.

139 Likely to be a reference to Galen's *Muscles*. This is No. 8 in the list of Ch. 5.

140 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Djāḥiẓ' (Ch. Pellat).

141 The division and sub-division of fevers also occurs in the medical section of 'Abd al-Latīf's *K. al-Naṣīḥatayn*; see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 71.

142 Probably the Hippocratic *De diaeta in morbis acutis*.

143 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 137–138. For a partial translation (part three on hectic fevers) of the treatise on fevers by Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrāʿīlī (d. 320/932 or 344/955), see Latham & Isaacs, *Isaac Judaeus*.

144 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 138.

59. Introduction [to the Books on Egypt]: Information and details about events witnessed and incidents observed in the land of Egypt. He finished this work on the tenth of Shaʿbān of the year 603 [12 March 1207] in Jerusalem (*K. al-ijfādah wa l-iʿtibār fī l-umūr al-mushāhadah wa l-ḥawādith al-muʿāyanah bi-arḍ Miṣr*).<sup>145</sup>
60. 'On History' (*K. tārikh*), which comprises his biography. It was written for his son Sharaf al-Dīn Yūsuf.<sup>146</sup>
61. On thirst (*M. fī l-ʿaṭash*).
62. On water (*M. fī l-māʾ*).
63. On the enumeration of the aims of those who write books, and what kind of advantages and disadvantages follow therefrom (*M. fī ihṣāʾ maqāshid wāḍiʿ l-kutub fī kutubihim wa-mā yatbaʿu dhalika min al-manāfiʿ wa-l-maḍārr*).
64. On the topic of substance and accident (*M. fī maʿnā al-jawhar wa-l-ʿaraḍ*).
65. Concise treatise on the soul (*M. mūjazah fī l-nafs*).
66. On problematical movements (*M. fī l-ḥarakāt al-muʿtāṣah*).<sup>147</sup>
67. On habits (*M. fī l-ʿādāt*).
68. Short treatise on divinity (*Kalimah fī l-rubūbiyyah*).
69. A treatise comprising eleven sections: facts about medicines and foods with a guide to their groups and constituents (*M. tashtamilu ʿalā ḥaḍ ʿashara bāban fī ḥaḳīqat al-dawāʾ wa-l-ghidhāʾ wa-maʿrifat ṭabaqātihā wa-kayfiyyat tarkībihā*).<sup>148</sup>
70. On the originator of the art of medicine (*M. fī l-bādiʾ bi-ṣināʿat al-ṭibb*).<sup>149</sup>
71. On curing by opposites (*M. fī shifāʾ al-didd bi l-didd*).<sup>150</sup>
72. On diabetes and suitable medicaments for it (*M. fī dīyābīṭas wa-l-adwiyah al-nāfiʿah minhu*).<sup>151</sup>

145 See Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:386.14–15; also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 109 (especially n. 6) and 199 under entry iv:13 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 114 under entries c1 and c2. See also Ch. 15.40.5 above in the present biography.

146 See Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 116 under entry 'm'; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 108.

147 This is a reworking of the Galenic work known as *De motibus liquidis* or *De motibus dubiis* (Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, 279); see Ch. 5, no. 47 in the list ('Problematical Movements').

148 This might be the *Fī Uṣūl mufradāt al-ṭibb wa-kayfiyyāt ṭabāʿihā* preserved in MS Paris, Bibl. nat. de France, ar. 2870, fols. 128<sup>r</sup>–172<sup>v</sup>.

149 Or perhaps: A treatise for/on beginners (novices) in the art of medicine. However, the work, which is lost for posterity, most likely deals with the question whether the art of medicine originated among men, or was delivered to them by God or other divine creatures.

150 That is by allopathy.

151 See the ed. and German trans. by Thies, *Diabetes*; also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical*

73. On rhubarb. He composed it in Aleppo in Jumādā II of the year 617 [August 1220], but he already put it down in writing in Cairo in the year 595/1198 (*M. fī l-rāwand*).
74. On the Egyptian lizard (*M. fī l-saqanqūr*).
75. On wheat (*M. fī l-ḥiṭṭah*).
76. On wine and grapes (*M. fī l-sharāb wa-l-karm*).
77. On the crisis, a small treatise<sup>152</sup> (*M. fī l-buḥrān*).
78. Letter to a practical and distinguished geometrician, written from the city of Aleppo (*R. ilā muhandis fāḍil ‘amalī kataba bihā ilayhi min madīnat Ḥalab*).
79. Abridgement of Ibn Wāfid’s ‘On Simple Drugs’ (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-adwiyah al-mufradah li-Ibn Wāfid*).<sup>153</sup>
80. Abridgement of Ibn Samajūn’s ‘On Simple Drugs’ (*Ikhtisār kitāb al-adwiyah al-mufradah li-Ibn Samajūn*).<sup>154</sup>
81. Large work on simple drugs (*K. kabīr fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).
82. Epitome on fevers (*Mukhtaṣar fī l-ḥummayāt*).
83. On mixing (*M. fī l-mizāj*).<sup>155</sup>
84. The sufficient book on anatomy (*K. al-kifāyah fī l-tashrīḥ*).
85. Refutation of Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s ‘Commentary on the Generalities of the Canon [of Medicine]’. He composed this book for my paternal uncle Rashīd al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah<sup>156</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – and sent it to him. He wrote it in Aleppo before his return to the country of the Rūm Seljuqs (*K. al-radd ‘alā Ibn al-Khaṭīb fī sharḥihi ba’d kulliyāt al-qānūn*).<sup>157</sup>
86. On investigation (*K. al-ta’aqub*).
87. Marginal notes by Ibn Jumay’ on the *Canon* [of Medicine by Ibn Sīnā] (*Ḥawāshī Ibn Jumay’ ‘alā l-qānūn*).<sup>158</sup>

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*Journey*, 206 under entry 10. See also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 17 and 114 under entry a:11.

152 Two MSS (A and Gc) omit the designation ‘small’.

153 ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Wāfid (d. 460/1068). See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 228.

154 Abū Bakr Ḥāmid ibn Samajūn. See Sezgin, *GAS* III, 316–317.

155 See Stern, ‘A Collection’, 59; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 202 under entry 4. See also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry a:4.

156 See Ch. 15.51.

157 See Barhebraeus, *Nations*, 240.13–17; Stern, ‘A Collection’, 57–58; also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 200–201 under entry 1 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry a:1.

158 For Ibn Jumay’, see his biography in Ch. 14.32; also Nicolae, *Ibn Jumay’*; Meyerhof, ‘Sultan Saladin’s Physician’. Ibn Jumay’<sup>o</sup>s commentary on the *Qānūn* was the first such to be composed; see the book-list in Ch. 14.32.5 no. 2.

88. Treatise in which he refutes the work of ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān, the Egyptian,<sup>159</sup> on the differences between Galen and Aristotle (*M. yaruddu fihā ‘alā kitāb ‘Alī ibn Riḍwān al-Miṣrī fī ikhtilāf Jālīnūs wa-Aristūṭālīs*).
89. On the senses (*M. fī l-ḥawāss*).<sup>160</sup>
90. On [the words] ‘word’ and ‘speech’ (*M. fī l-kalimah wa-l-kalām*).
91. On the lioness [?], or On the seven [?] (*K. al-sab‘ah*).
92. On the gift of hope (*K. tuḥfat al-amal*).
93. On the refutation of the Jews and Christians (*M. fī l-radd ‘alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*).
94. Two treatises also dealing with the refutation of the Jews and the Christians (*Maqālatān ayḍan fī l-radd ‘alā l-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*).
95. On the classification of authors (*M. fī tartīb al-muṣannifīn*).
96. *On the wisdom of ‘Alā’ [al-Dīn]*, in which he mentions beautiful things regarding metaphysics (*K. al-ḥikmah al-‘Alā’iyyah dhukira fīhi ashyā’ ḥasanah fī l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*). Al-Baghdādī composed it for ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Dāwūd ibn Bahrām, the ruler of Erzinjān.
97. Treatise concerning preparation for logic (*M. ‘alā jihat al-tawṭī‘ah fī l-manṭiq*).
98. Marginal notes with regard to the ‘Book of Demonstration’ [*Analytica Posteriora*] of al-Fārābī (*Ḥawāshī ‘alā kitāb al-burhān lil-Fārābī*).
99. On the antidote [*theriac*] (*K. al-tiryāq*).<sup>161</sup>
100. Excerpts from the works of the philosophers (*Fuṣūl muntaza‘ah min kalām al-ḥukamā’*).<sup>162</sup>
101. Resolution of some of al-Rāzī’s doubts on the works of Galen (*Ḥall shay’ min shukūk al-Rāzī ‘alā kutub Jālīnūs*).
102. The stairs towards the goal of being human. Eight sections. (*K. al-marāqī ilā l-ghāyah al-insāniyyah thamānī maqālāt*).
103. On the weighing in a balance scale of compound drugs, with regard to quantity (*M. fī mīzān al-adwiyah al-murakkabah min jihat al-kammiyyāt*).
104. On the equilibrium between drugs and diseases, with regard to quality (*M. fī muwāzanat al-adwiyah wa-l-adwā’ min jihat al-kayfiyyāt*).

159 See Ch. 14.25.

160 See *GAL* i:633; edition by Ghalioungui & Abdou, *Maqālah fī l-ḥawāss*; see also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry vi:14.

161 Cf. Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii:387.5; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 198 under n. 335.

162 See Stern, ‘A Collection’, 67–68; edition and French trans. by Rashed, ‘Priorité’, (2004), 9–63; also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 205 under entry 7 and Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry a:8.

105. On the determination of the dosages of drugs (*M. fī ta'āqqub awzān al-adwiyah*).
106. Another treatise on the same subject (*M. ukhrā fī l-ma'nā*).
107. [Another] on the same subject, which includes the answer to three questions (*M. fī l-ma'nā fihā jawāb thalāth mas'āl*).
108. A sixth treatise. Abridged (*M. sādīṣah mukhtaṣarah*).
109. On the weighing of medical drugs in compound formulations (*M. tata'al-lāqu bi-mawāzīn al-adwiyah al-ṭibbiyyah fī l-murakkabāt*).
110. Another treatise on the same subject (*Qawl ayḍan fī l-ma'nā*).
111. On respiration, the voice, and speech (*M. fī l-tanaffūs wa-l-ṣawt wa-l-kalām*).
112. On the abridgement of Galen's arguments for preserving health (*M. fī ikht-iṣār kalām Jālīnūs fī siyāsāt al-ṣiḥḥah*).<sup>163</sup>
113. Extracts from Dioscorides' 'On the Properties of Herbs' (*Intizā'āt min kitāb Dīyāsqūrīdas fī ṣifāt al-ḥashā'ish*).<sup>164</sup>
114. Other extracts on the benefits of herbs (*Intizā'āt ukhrā fī manāfi'ihā*).
115. A treatise on warfare, which al-Baghdādī wrote for a certain prince of his time in the year 623/1226. (*M. fī tadbīr al-ḥarb katabahā li-ba'ḍ mulūk zamānihi fī sanat thalāth wa-'ishrīn wa-sittimī'ah*).
116. I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah – found a transcription of the [latter] work which was entitled 'Treatise on Effective Governance' (*wa-wajadtuhu ayḍan wa-qad tarjamahā M. fī l-siyāsah al-'amaliyyah*).
117. The Support: on the principles of governance (*K. al-'umdaḥ fī uṣūl al-siyāsah*).
118. Treatise that deals with replies to certain questions about the slaughtering and killing of animals, and whether this is admissible from a natural and rational point of view, as it is according to religious law (*M. fī jawāb mas'alah su'ila 'anhā fī dhabḥ al-ḥayawān wa-qatlihi wa-hal dhālika sā'igh fī l-ṭab' wa-fī l-'aql kamā huwa sā'igh fī l-shar'*).
119. Two treatises on the virtuous city (*Maqālatān fī l-madīnah al-fāḍilah*).<sup>165</sup>
120. On harmful fields of learning (*M. fī al-'ulūm al-ḍārrah*).
121. An epistle on the possible. Two volumes (*R. fī l-mumkin. maqālatān*).
122. Treatise on the genus and the species: a reply to questions he was asked in Damascus in the year 604/1207 (*M. fī l-jīns wa-l-naw' ajāba bihā fī Dimashq su'āl sā'il fī sanat arba'ah wa-sittimī'ah*).
123. Four maxims on logic (*al-Fuṣūl al-arba'ah al-manṭiqiyyah*).

163 Referring to *De sanitate tuenda*, which is no. 84 in the list in Ch. 5.

164 See Ullmann, *Medizin*, 257–263.

165 That is, with regard to Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī's *Perfect City*.

124. Training in Platonic discourse (*Tahdhīb kalām Aflāṭun*).
125. Wise sayings in prose (*Hikam manthūrah*).
126. *Isagoge*. Expanded. (*Īsāghūjī mabsūt*).
127. Occurrences (*al-Wāqī'āt*).
128. On the finite and the infinite (*M. fī l-nihāyah wa-l-lā-nihāyah*).
129. On the kindling [of the fire of] intelligence in logic, the natural and the metaphysical (*K. ta'rīth al-fīṭan fī l-mantiq wa-l-ṭabī'ī wa-l-ilāhī*).
130. On how to use logic (*M. fī kayfiyyat isti'māl al-mantiq*). Al-Baghdādī wrote this treatise [and sent it] to me whilst in the land of the Rūm Seljuqs.
131. On the definition of medicine (*M. fī ḥadd al-ṭibb*).
132. On the originator of the art of medicine (*M. fī l-bādi' bi-ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*).<sup>166</sup>
133. On on the nine parts of logic. A large volume (*M. fī ajzā' al-mantiq al-tis'ah mujallad kabīr*).
134. On analogy (*M. fī l-qiyās*).
135. On analogy, in fifty quires. He furthermore added thereto the *Introduction*, the *Categories*, the *Interpretation* [*Peri Hermeneias*] and the *Demonstration*. It comprises four volumes (*K. fī l-qiyās*).
136. On an answer to a question asked about instruction on the paths to happiness (*M. fī jawāb mas'alah fī tanbīh 'alā subul al-sa'ādah*).
137. 'The Natural Sciences',<sup>167</sup> from the Physics until the end of [the part on] Sense Perception.<sup>168</sup> Three volumes (*al-Ṭabī'yyāt min al-samā' ilā ākhir kitāb al-ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs thalāth mujalladāt*).
138. 'On Physics'. Two volumes (*K. al-samā' al-ṭabī'ī mujalladān*).
139. Another book on 'The Natural Sciences' from the 'Physics' to 'On the Soul' (*K. ākhar fī l-ṭabī'yyāt min al-samā' ilā kitāb al-naḥs*).
140. On wondrous things (*K. al-'ajīb*).
141. Marginal notes to the eight books on logic by al-Fārābī (*Ḥawāshī 'alā kitāb al-thamāniyah al-mantiqiyyah lil-Fārābī*).
142. Commentary on the demonstrative figures from the eight books of Abū Naṣr [al-Fārābī] (*S. al-ashkāl al-burhāniyya min thamāniyat Abī Naṣr*).

166 Same as no. 70 above.

167 It is difficult to say which books are comprised here by the term *Ṭabī'yyāt*, and also their order. The books commented upon by Averroes, for instance, were: *Physics*, *On Generation and Corruption*, *On Heavens*, *Meteorology*, and also *On the Soul* and *Metaphysics*. This corpus might broadly correspond with what we see in the titles 137–139. *Al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs* was also part of the physics, and this Arabic title might refer to either *De senso et sensato* (first book of the *Parva Naturalia*), or to the whole collection of the *Parva Naturalia*, which in Arabic took the name of the first book (*al-Ḥiss wa-l-maḥsūs*). In this context, it seems likely that it refers to the whole work.

168 Perhaps the *De senso et sensato*?



143. A treatise in which the fourth figure is shown to be spurious (*M. fī tazayīf al-shakl al-rābi'*).<sup>169</sup>
144. A treatise in which Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā's belief that the existence of conditional syllogisms generates conditional deductions is shown to be false (*M. fī tazayīf mā ya'taqiduhu Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā min wujūd aqyisah shartīyyah tuntiju natā'ij shartīyyah*).
145. On mixed and unmixed analogical inferences (*M. fī l-qiyāsāt al-mukhtalīfāt wa-l-ṣīrf*).
146. *Peri Hermeneias* (Interpretation). Extended (*Bārīmānyās mabsūt*).
147. A treatise in which the analogical estimations that are considered right by Ibn Sīnā are shown to be false (*M. fī tazayīf al-maqāyīs al-shartīyyah allatī yazunnuhā Ibn Sīnā*).
148. Another treatise on the same topic (*M. ukhrā fī l-ma'nā ayḍan*).
149. Two pieces of advice to physicians and sages (*K. al-naṣīhatayn lil-aṭibbā' wa l-ḥukamā'*).<sup>170</sup>
150. On the judicial proceeding between the philosopher and the alchemist (*K. al-muḥākamah bayna al-ḥakīm wa-l-kīmīyā'ī*).<sup>171</sup>
151. On minerals and the invalidation of alchemy (*R. fī l-ma'ādin wa-ibṭāl al-kīmīyā'*).<sup>172</sup>
152. On the senses (*M. fī l-ḥawāss*).<sup>173</sup>
153. Admonition to sages (*'Ahd ilā l-ḥukamā'*).
154. An abridgement of Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath's 'On Animals' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ḥayawān li-Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath*).<sup>174</sup>
155. An abridgement of Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath's 'On Colic' (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-qūlanj li-Ibn Abī l-Ash'ath*).

169 Compare Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ's biography and his treatise on the Galenic syllogism in entry Ch. 15.17. Rescher does not mention this work of 'Abd al-Laṭīf in his survey on the fourth figure (Rescher, *Galen and the Syllogism*).

170 Partial English translation and study of the philosophical section by Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 144–196; full English translation and edition of the medical section by Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 63–112.

171 This is the *Risālah fī Mujādalat al-ḥakīmāyīn al-kīmīyā'ī wa-l-naẓarī* ('*The Dispute between The Two Sages: The Alchemist and The Theoretical Philosopher*'). See Allemann, *Mudjādalat al-ḥakīmāyīn*; see also Stern, 'A Collection', 66–67; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 203–204 under entry 5; cf. also Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry 6, and Jooose, 'Alchemy and Alchemists'.

172 See Stern, 'A Collection', 67; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 204–205 under entry 6; cf. also Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry 7.

173 See also in the same list No. 89. This has been edited by Ghalioungui & Abdou, *Maqāla fī l-ḥawāss*; see also Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry vi:14.

174 See Kruk, 'Ibn abī l-Ash'ath's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*', 119–168; cf. Sezgin, *GAS III*, 301–302.



156. On a specific kind of cerebral disease (*M. fī sirsām*).<sup>175</sup>
157. On the ailment hypochondria (*M. fī ‘illah al-marāqqiyyah*).<sup>176</sup>
158. Treatise refuting Ibn al-Haytham’s ‘On Space’ (*M. fī l-radd ‘alā Ibn al-Haytham fī l-makān*).<sup>177</sup>
159. Summary of ‘The Metaphysics’ (*Mukhtaṣar fīmā ba‘d al-ṭabī‘ah*).<sup>178</sup>
160. On the date palm (*M. fī l-nakhl*). He wrote it in Egypt in the year 599/1202 and made a fair copy of it in the city of Erzinjān in the month of Rajab of the year 625/1228.
161. On languages and how they originated (*M. fī l-lughāt wa-kayfiyyat tawalludihā*).
162. On poetry (*M. fī l-shi‘r*).<sup>179</sup>
163. Treatise on positive logical conclusions (*M. fī l-aqyisah al-waḍ‘iyyah*).
164. On divine predestination (*M. fī l-qadar*).
165. On religious communities (*M. fī l-milal*).
166. The large comprehensive book on logic, natural sciences and metaphysics (*al-Kitāb al-jāmi‘ al-kabīr fī l-manṭiq wa-l-‘ilm al-ṭabī‘ī wa-l-‘ilm al-ilāhī*). It contains a total number of ten books and was composed in circa twenty years.
167. The book of marvellous information on animals (*K. al-mud‘hish fī akhbār al-ḥayawān*).
168. The Crowned (*al-Mutawwaj*), on the qualities of our Prophet, may peace and the most excellent prayers be upon him. Al-Baghdādī said, ‘I started writing one quire in Damascus in the year 607/1210. It was completed within four months in Aleppo in the year 628/1231. It comprises a hundred quires’.
169. The eight books on logic: the middle version (*K. al-thamāniyah fī l-manṭiq wa-huwa l-taṣnīf al-waṣat*)

175 Or delirium.

176 The name (from the root *r-q-q*) of this hypochondriac variety of melancholy is derived from the phrase *marāqq al-baṭn* ‘the soft parts of the belly’. It is here written *as-marāqqiyyah* but elsewhere (Ch. 10.13.6 and 10.13.7), and more commonly, as *al-marāqqiyyā*.

177 See Stern, ‘A Collection’, 59; Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 202 under entry 3; cf. also Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 113 under entry 3. This is the treatise *‘An māhīyyat al-makān bi-ḥasab ra‘y Ibn al-Haytham*. Ed. and French trans. by Rashed, *Mathématiques infinitésimales* IV, 908–953. For Ibn al-Haytham’s treatise *K. al-Makān*, see Ch. 14.22.5.2 no. 68.

178 See Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 199 under entry vi:16. and no. 46.

179 ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī wrote other works on poetry, so this is probably the correct interpretation, but it cannot be ruled out that it concerned the topic of hair, *sha‘ar*.

#### 15.41 Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʿīlī<sup>1</sup>

Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʿīlī hailed from North Africa, having been a native of the city of Fez,<sup>2</sup> but moved to Egypt, where he became distinguished in the arts of medicine, geometry and astronomy. He studied medicine under the master Mūsā ibn Maymūn of Cordoba.<sup>3</sup> Yūsuf subsequently travelled to Syria and settled in the city of Aleppo, where he entered the service of al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, the son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb.<sup>4</sup> Al-Malik al-Zāhir depended on him in medical matters. Yūsuf was also in the service of the emir Fāris al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaṣrī.<sup>5</sup> He lived in Aleppo, teaching the art of medicine, until his death.<sup>6</sup>

Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʿīlī is the author of the following books:

1. On the sequence in which delicate and heavy foods should be taken (*R. fī tartīb al-aghdhīyah al-laṭīfah wa-l-kathīfah fī tanāwulihā*).
2. Commentary on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* (*S. al-fuṣūl li-Abuqrāt*).

#### 15.42 ʿImrān al-Isrāʿīlī<sup>1</sup>

ʿImrān al-Isrāʿīlī is the physician Awḥad al-Dīn ʿImrān ibn Ṣadaqah, who was born in Damascus in the year 561/1165. His father was a renowned physician

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. On the life and oeuvre of Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq al-Sabtī al-Maghribī al-Isrāʿīlī (d. 623/1226), also known as Rabbi Joseph ben Judah ibn Shimʿon [or Ibn Shamʿun], see Munk, 'Notice sur Joseph Ben-Jehoudah', 5–70.

2 He most likely originated from Ceuta.

3 That is the famous Jewish philosopher and physician Maimonides; his biography is to be found in Ch. 14.39. Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf was actually Mūsā ibn Maymūn's favourite student, and a dedicated, often fanatical, defender of his master's values and views.

4 Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf and the polymath ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī both served under prince al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī ibn Yūsuf of Aleppo; for the latter, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī' (S. Heidemann). ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī infamously accused Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf of intentionally killing his royal patient. See for this Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 17–28 and 74–77 and idem, 'Pride and Prejudice', 129–141.

5 See Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 22 and especially n. 55 there. IAU does not refer here to the close friendship between Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf and the vizier and chronicler Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 646/1248) that is well-known from the Arabic bio-bibliographical literature. See for the discussion on this topic Bos, in Maimonides, *On Asthma*, xxviii–xxx; Jooose, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 17–28 and idem, 'Pride and Prejudice', 129–141.

6 He died in 623/1226.

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

as well. ‘Imrān studied the art of medicine under the shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī<sup>2</sup> and attained distinction in both the theoretical and practical side of the art, becoming one of the most important persons of his time. He enjoyed the favour of rulers, who depended on him for medical therapy and treatment: they showered large sums of money upon him and treated him with generosity beyond description. He acquired more books on medicine and other subjects than almost anyone else.

‘Imrān al-Isrā’īlī never attached himself to the personal service of any ruler or accompanied him on his travels. Yet, whenever a ruler fell ill, or someone for whom it was difficult to call on him, he would not hesitate to provide the finest medical treatment and would take good care of the patient until the cure was completed. Al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb desired to engage him for his own personal service, but ‘Imrān refused him, as he did other rulers.

The emir Ṣārim al-Dīn al-Tibnīnī<sup>3</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – has told me that while he was staying in al-Karak with the ruler of that place, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam,<sup>4</sup> his host suffered from a serious indisposition of his temperament. The physician ‘Imrān was summoned to come over from Damascus, and stayed with al-Malik al-Nāṣir for some time, providing him with medical treatment, until the prince recovered. The physician was then given a robe of honour and presented with a large sum of money. al-Malik al-Nāṣir also offered him a monthly salary of 1500 dirhams if he would enter his service, and even agreed to advance him the sum of 27,000 dirhams, the amount of his salary for eighteen months. However, ‘Imrān declined the offer.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: The Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil bestowed many favours, a high salary and a special grant upon ‘Imrān, who resided in Damascus and frequently visited the Sultan’s household in the citadel. His prosperity continued under al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, who also assigned him an ample salary and a special grant. ‘Imrān regularly visited the ‘Great Hospital’ [*al-bīmāristān al-kabīr*] and treated the sick. At that time, my teacher Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>5</sup> – may God have mercy upon him – was also working at the hospital. The cooperation of these two doctors was very fruitful and was highly advantageous for the treatment of the patients. At that time I was train-

2 See for this physician Ch. 15.36.

3 He is Khuṭlubā Ṣārim al-Dīn al-Tibnīnī (d. 635/1238), see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 237; in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii:347 his *nisbah* is misspelled as al-Tinnīsī.

4 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir 11 Dāwūd ibn al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā Sharaf al-Dīn, Ṣalāh al-Dīn (r. 624–626/1227–1229). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

5 See for this physician Ch. 15.50.

ing under their guidance in the practical application of medicine, and thus I was able to witness the physician ‘Imrān’s amazing treatment [of patients] and his accurate diagnosis of diseases. One day, for example, a hemiplegic was brought to the hospital, and the physicians insisted that he should be administered certain boiled decoctions and other [medicaments] that they used to prescribe. When ‘Imrān looked at him, he put him on a diet for that day, and afterwards ordered him bled. After having been bled, he was treating him until he was completely restored to health. I have also observed many times that ‘Imrān prescribed vegetarian dishes [*mazāwīr*]<sup>6</sup> for the sick in accordance with their desires, but still in keeping with the necessities of the treatment, and they proved to be beneficial. This is a very important aspect of therapy! I also saw him treat many patients with chronic illnesses, who had become weary of life and for whom the physicians had no hope of a cure. They recovered at his hands through some exotic drugs that he prescribed and uncommon treatments he knew of. I have given a brief account of this in *The Book of Experiences and Useful Lessons* (*K. al-tajārib wa-l-fawā’id*).

The physician ‘Imrān died in the city of Homs in the month of Jumādā I of the year 637 [December 1240], just after having been summoned by the ruler of that city to come and attend him.

### 15.43 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb ibn Siqlāb<sup>1</sup>

[15.43.1]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb ibn Siqlāb,<sup>2</sup> a Christian,<sup>3</sup> was one of the foremost persons of his time in the domain of knowledge, understanding and critical examination of Galen’s works. Thanks to his constant efforts in the art of medicine,

6 *Mazāwīr* is the same as *muzawwarāt*, ‘counterfeit dishes, vegetarian dishes for ailing people’, see Waines & Marín, ‘Muzawwar’; see also Perry, *Medieval Arab Cookery*, 443–450.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. For this specific physician, cf. Kohlberg & Kedar, ‘A Melkite Physician’, 113–126; Pahlitzsch, ‘Ärzte ohne Grenzen’, 101–119; Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 443–444; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 378–379; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii:506–507 under no. 392; Aḥmad ‘Īsā, *Mu‘jam al-aṭibbā’*, Cairo 1361/1942, 520–521; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik*, 9:280–281; *EI Three* art. ‘Ibn Siqlāb’ (N.P. Joosse).

2 Ibn Siqlāb is sometimes referred to as Ibn Ṣaqlān, so in Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 378. Siqlāb appears to be a more common name, although no conclusion can be drawn as to the correct form of the father’s name.

3 Ibn Siqlāb was a Christian of the Melkite orientation; for the term Melkite, see Treiger, ‘Unpublished Texts (1)’. On the Melkites in general, see Pahlitzsch, ‘Melkites in Fatimid Egypt’.

his ardent desire and perseverance in reading and studying the works of Galen, his excellent innate character and high intelligence, the entire range of Galen's works and the teachings in them were always present in his mind. Whenever speaking about the art of medicine, its various divisions, the diversity of its topics, and the many minor issues concerning it, he always quoted Galen. Whenever he was asked a question on some medical problem or a certain passage, whether difficult or otherwise, he would simply reply by saying 'Galen says' and quoting some of Galen's utterances. For this he was greatly admired. Sometimes, when quoting some of Galen's sayings, he even indicated such and such page of a certain chapter of Galen's works, referring to the copy in his possession, for he had studied that copy so many times that he had become wholly accustomed to it.

I have witnessed the following with regard to the above. Early in my studies of the art of medicine, I read some of the texts of Hippocrates with him, which I had to learn by heart and comment upon. At the time, we were staying in al-Mu'aẓẓam's military encampment, where my father too was employed in the service of al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam<sup>4</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. I observed that Muwaffaq al-Dīn could explain everything so excellently and was able to penetrate deeply into the subject matter in such clear, concise and complete language as no one else would have been able or would have dared to do. He would then present a summary of what he had said, giving the gist of it, so that there remained no passage in the Hippocratic writings that he had not explained in the best way. Next, he mentioned what Galen had said in his commentary with regard to the chapter in question, in an uninterrupted sequence from beginning to end. When I consulted Galen's commentary on this section, I found that he had given a full account of the complete Galenic text on this subject. He had even quoted many of the very words used by Galen, without adding or leaving out a single one. He was the only man of his time who was capable of doing this.

While Muwaffaq al-Dīn was living in Damascus, he met the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī<sup>5</sup> quite frequently in the salon assigned to the physicians at the Sultan's palace, and the two would discuss various medical matters. The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn spoke more eloquently and was more skilled and a better scholar, whereas the physician Ya'qūb had more presence. He spoke more precisely and, moreover, quoted the [ancient] authors and their

4 Al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā ibn al-'Ādil I Muḥammad or Aḥmad Sayf al-Dīn, Sharaf al-Dīn (r. 615–624/1218–1227). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

5 See for this physician, Ch. 15.50.

works more extensively; for he was in the position of an interpreter who could call to mind that what Galen had said in all his books on the art of medicine.

Ya'qūb's treatments were impressively excellent and successful. That was because he would first acquire knowledge about the disease in a most thorough manner and then would start the treatment according to the rules laid down by Galen, yet he would act independently and also used contemporary insights. He took great pains with his examination of the symptoms: whenever he examined a patient, he would ask endless questions about all of the patient's symptoms and complaints, so that he would never overlook any symptom that allowed him to obtain more information pointing to the diagnosis of the disease. Consequently, his treatment was always excellent. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam praised him for this quality. Describing his character, he said: 'If doctor Ya'qūb's only merit were taking the utmost care to diagnose illnesses in order to treat them correctly, there'd be no doubts about him on that score'. Ya'qūb also possessed a thorough mastery of the Greek language, which he rendered expertly into Arabic. He had in his possession some of Galen's works that were written in Greek, such as *The Method of Healing* (K. *ḥīlat al-bur'*), *On Causes and Symptoms* (K. *al-'īlal wa l-a'rāḍ*)<sup>6</sup> and others,<sup>7</sup> which he constantly read and studied.

[15.43.2]

Ya'qūb was born in Jerusalem and lived there for many years.<sup>8</sup> In that city he spent much time in the company of a virtuous man, a philosopher, a monk at the monastery of al-Ṣīq,<sup>9</sup> who was an expert in the natural sciences, a master in geometry and arithmetic. He was also well-versed in astrology and the observation of the stars: he knew of fates that had been foretold and had come to pass, and amazing warnings. The physician Ya'qūb related to me many things about his knowledge of philosophy, his good character and his intelligence. In

6 *De morborum causis et symptomatibus* (*De accidenti et morbo*), cf. Fichtner, *Corpus Galenicum*, 165.

7 This late antique amalgamation of four works is no. 14 in the list in Ch. 5.

8 He was born there probably between 555/1160 and 566/1170.

9 South of Jerusalem, overlooking the valley of Jericho; see Kohlberg and Kedar, 'A Melkite Physician', 125–126. To be more precise, the monastery in question is called *Dayr Mār Sābā* (Mar Saba), an Eastern Orthodox monastery overlooking the Kidron Valley at a point halfway between the Old City of Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The name *al-Ṣīq* ('the gorge, the shaft') specifically refers to the 'Great Lavra' of Mar Saba. A lavra or laura (Greek: Λαύρα; Cyrillic: Лавра) is a type of monastery consisting of a cluster of cells or caves for hermits, with a church and sometimes a refectory at the center. It is erected within the Orthodox and other Eastern Christian traditions, see Treiger, 'Unpublished Texts (2)'; and also Ball, 'Saint Sabas'.

Jerusalem, the physician Ya'qūb also met shaykh Abū Maṣṣūr al-Naṣrānī, the physician, under whom he studied.<sup>10</sup> He assisted al-Naṣrānī in his medical practice and profited greatly thereby.

[15.43.3]

The physician Ya'qūb was a very clever, astute and level-headed person. While he was in the service of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who had great faith in him as a friend, the ruler relied not only on his medical judgement, but also on his judgement in other matters, which invariably turned out to al-Mu'azzam's advantage, with a favourable outcome. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam wanted to appoint Ya'qūb to a post in the administration of his realm, but the physician refused, preferring to devote himself exclusively to the art of medicine.

Ya'qūb suffered from gout (*niqris*) in both legs and was sometimes in so much pain that he was hardly able to move, so that when Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam took him along on his travels, he was carried in a litter. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam visited him regularly, honoured him greatly, paid him a generous salary and did him many favours. One day he asked him, 'O physician, why don't you cure that ailment in your legs?' Ya'qūb replied, 'O master, once wood has become worm-eaten, there is no remedy for it'. Ya'qūb remained in his service until al-Malik al-Mu'azzam died,<sup>11</sup> which he did – may God have mercy upon him – in Damascus at three o'clock on Friday, at the end of the month Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 624 [November 1227].

Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam was succeeded by his son, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd. The physician Ya'qūb came to introduce himself to the new ruler, blessed him and recalled old ties of friendship, his previous service [of many years] and that he had grown old, feeble and decrepit. He then recited the following verses:<sup>12</sup>

I came to you when the robes of childhood were new;  
how could I depart from you when they are rags?

<sup>10</sup> For the physician Abū Maṣṣūr al-Naṣrānī, see Ch. 15.26.

<sup>11</sup> According to Kohlberg and Kedar, 'A Melkite Physician', 118, Ibn Siqlāb was also the private physician of the emir Ṣalāḥiyya Fāris al-Dīn Maymūn al-Qaṣrī when the latter resided in Damascus. In Aleppo, this emir was attended by the aforementioned Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq al-Sabtī al-Maghribī al-Isrā'īlī (see Ch. 15.41).

<sup>12</sup> Metre: *basīf*. Said to be by Ibn Munqidh, probably meaning Usāmah ibn Munqidh, but the lines are not in his *Dīwān* ed. Badawī and 'Abd al-Majīd. They are quoted anonymously in Usāmah's *al-Badī'*, 208; attributed to Ḥassān ibn al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Walīd al-Qushayrī (early 5th/11th century) in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyah*, (v:)2231–2232.



I deserve the respect of a guest, an old neighbour, and those  
who came to you when the middle-aged men of the tribe were chil-  
dren.

These lines are by Ibn Munqidh – may God have mercy upon him. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir bestowed many favours upon Ya‘qūb, gave him money and attire, ordered that he should continue to receive all he had been granted by al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, and excused him for attendance at the palace. This situation continued until Ya‘qūb died in Damascus on the Christian Easter, which fell in the month of Rabī‘ II of the year 625 [March 1228].<sup>13</sup>

#### 15.44 Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr<sup>1</sup>

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr is the revered and learned physician Abū Maṣṣūr, son of the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb ibn Siqlāb. He was an outstanding physician and an eminent scholar, distinguished in the theory and practice of the art of medicine and a master in the particulars and universals of medicine. He studied the art of medicine under his father and others. In al-Karak, he also studied many of the natural sciences under the learned authority Shams al-Dīn al-Khusrawshāhī.<sup>2</sup>

#### 15.45 Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī<sup>1</sup>

[15.45.1]

Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī’s full name was Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Abī l-Faḍl ‘Alī al-Ṣūrī. He had a comprehensive knowledge of all aspects of medicine and keen insight

13 Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, 379, is less precise, saying that it occurred circa 626/1228–1229, not long after the death of al-Mu‘azzam.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. The entry in the first version is only a line added to the biography of his father; thus in B: ‘The physician Ya‘qūb has a son who earned an outstanding reputation in the art of medicine. His name is Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Ya‘qūb. He served al-Malik al-Nāṣir, may God make his days eternal. He now enjoys this ruler’s company in al-Karak.’

2 See for this physician Ch. 15.21.

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the book. See for this author Amar & Serri, ‘Ibn al-Sūrī’, 124–130; *ET Three* art. ‘Ibn al-Ṣūrī’ (N.P. Joosse).



into the obvious and hidden merits of that art. His knowledge of simple drugs, their nature, different names and characteristics, and the precise determination of their properties and effects, was incomparable. He was born in the year 573/1177 in the city of Tyre [i.e. *Ṣūr*]. He grew up there, but later on moved away to study the art of medicine under shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz<sup>2</sup> and shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī,<sup>3</sup> and under their tutelage became a distinguished exponent of the art of medicine. Rashīd al-Dīn resided in Jerusalem for several years, practising medicine in the local hospital. He came to be on friendly terms with the shaykh Abū l-‘Abbās al-Jayyānī,<sup>4</sup> who was an outstanding authority on simple drugs, well-versed in other sciences and a pious and charitable person. Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī benefitted greatly from his friendship with this shaykh, from whom he learned much. He also became familiar with many of the specific properties of simple drugs, to such an extent that he outshone many scholars in that domain, and others who had aspired to mastery of it. Rashīd al-Dīn combined all this with the highest of virtues, unprecedented zeal, an unparalleled intelligence and extraordinary courage.

[15.45.2]

In the year 612/1215, Rashīd al-Dīn entered the service of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb as a physician. When al-Malik al-‘Ādil left Jerusalem for Egypt, Rashīd al-Dīn accompanied him and remained in his service until al-Malik al-‘Ādil – may God have mercy upon him – died. Thereafter, he entered the service of al-Malik al-‘Ādil’s son, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Isā ibn Abī Bakr, who gave him a powerful position [in his realm], making him a prominent personality in his day and age. Together with his patron, he witnessed a number of battles with the Franks, when they fell upon the port of Damietta [i.e. *Dimiyāṭ*]. Rashīd al-Dīn remained in al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam’s service until that ruler – may God have mercy upon him – died. He was succeeded by his son, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd ibn al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, who continued to pay Rashīd al-Dīn his salary and,

2 See Ch. 15.34.

3 See Ch. 15.40.

4 Is this perhaps the physician Ḥakīm al-Zamān Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥassān al-Ghassānī al-Andalusī al-Jilyānī as mentioned in Ch. 15.11 above? Or rather the Andalusian herbalist Abū l-‘Abbās al-Nabāṭī, who arrived in Syria (al-Sha‘m) around circa 613/1216 and referred many times to the area around Jerusalem. According to our source, 1AU, Ibn al-Ṣūrī spent two years in Jerusalem, approximately from 611/1214 to 613/1216. It is quite remarkable that the cognomen al-Jayyānī obviously refers to the city of Jaen, which is removed only 200 kilometers from Seville. See Amar & Serri, ‘Ibn al-Surī’, 125–126.

in consideration of his previous service, entrusted him with the office of chief physician. Rashīd al-Dīn remained in his service until al-Malik al-Nāṣir moved to al-Karak. The physician stayed behind in Damascus, where he established a scholarly salon that was frequented by many persons wishing to study the medical art. He also accurately formulated the ingredients of the great theriac, in which he combined such drugs as he deemed proper, with the result that its benefits became manifest and its effects powerful. He had previously prepared a great quantity of it in the days of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam. Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī – may God have mercy upon him – died in Damascus on Sunday the first of the month of Rajab of the year 639 [5 January 1242].

[15.45.3]

Rashīd al-Dīn once presented me with one of his books containing useful lessons and instructions concerning the art of medicine. By way of thanks, I wrote him a letter in which I said the following:<sup>5</sup>

The knowledge of Rashīd al-Dīn, in every assembly, has a lighthouse  
of lofty qualities, taken as a lead by every seeker of guidance.  
A sage who possesses all noble traits,  
inherited from master to master:  
He collected excellence from his fathers and grandfathers;  
it is something of old in him, not newly made.  
He is unique in this era, without anyone resembling him,  
with the best characteristics that cannot be fully listed.  
His fine *Instructions* came to me, which contained,  
in prose speech, every well-composed paragraph.<sup>6</sup>  
Thus he imparted joy to my heart; he never ceases  
to confer favours with his beneficence to people like me.  
I found in them what I hoped for, and I shall  
forever follow them in whatever I attempt.  
No wonder that Rashīd, with his knowledge and excellence,  
is, after God, in knowledge my guide (*murshidī*).<sup>7</sup>

May God make eternal the days of the unique, exalted and most distinguished physician, the learned, virtuous and perfect practitioner, the chief [physician],

5 Metre: *tawīl*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, vii:295.

6 Although *faql* ('excellence'), found in most sources, is not wholly impossible, *faṣl* (as in Gc and the editions of Müller and Nizār Riḍā) fits the context much better.

7 Rashīd means 'rightly guided'.

who is rightly guided in worldly and religious matters, the confidant of kings and [other] rulers, the loyal adherent of the Commander of the Faithful, and let him arrive at both the abodes<sup>8</sup> for full protection and the ultimate fulfilment of his wishes. May God crush those who are envious of him and confound his enemies, and make his excellent qualities linger on when he is gone. May his virtue emanate towards his peers and may all tongues agree in thanking and praising him. May health be preserved through his wise supervision, and may diseases vanish through his excellent care and treatment. The servant performs his service with joy, regretting that he has been unable to be constantly present. May the noble and precious things for which [the servant] ardently longs meet the greatest expectations, and may instruction on medical matters combine theory and practice. The servant has made that a basis on which to rely and a code to which to refer. He will always remember them and will not harm those for which he is responsible.

Nothing can be compared to the beneficence of the master but the devout prayer of the servant and the praise elicited by his good qualities, which diffuse a fragrant perfume. Why should I not praise and propagate the good qualities of a man who I find to possess only moral excellence! I have found ease only because of him. God hears the devout prayers of his servant and the master gives all good things out of his perfect generosity, if God, exalted be He, so wills.

Muhaddhab al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaḍīr of Aleppo recited the [following] poem to me, in which he lauds the physician Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī and thanks him for a favour:<sup>9</sup>

Her phantom came at night, when the grudgers were asleep;<sup>10</sup>  
 it spent the night nearby, though a visit to her is remote.  
 How strange, that her phantom visited me  
 while there are fearful deserts between and yet more deserts!  
 And that this phantom should visit the eyes of someone sleepless,  
 pleasant slumber being kept away from his eyes!  
 While in his heart there is a fire of passion and grief  
 that burns inside his ribs,  
 5 After painful sickness and emaciation had worn out  
 my cloak of fortitude when love was still new.

8 These are, the perishable and the lasting abodes (*Dār al-fanā'* and *Dār al-baqā'*).

9 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:286–287 (lines 1, 6–7, 9–10, 13, 15–17, 21–22, 45–48). On Muhaddhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaḍīr al-Ḥalabī, known as al-Suṭayl (d. 655/1257), see al-Ṣafādī, *Wafī*, i:78.

10 A conventional opening of odes describes the apparition, dreamed or imagined, of the beloved at night.

By God, the apparition did not come back!<sup>11</sup> – But  
     my thoughts make it appear to me, so it returns.  
 You, chiding me, stop your chiding and do not add to it,  
     for nothing can be added to my passion and love.  
 I have a liver<sup>12</sup> that is hot, eyes that are sleepless,  
     and a heart that loves pretty women, smitten.  
 Ah, he who dies from being amorous, for the sake of love,  
     and is killed by tender girls, is a martyr.<sup>13</sup>  
 10 My eyes have never seen the like of Asmā', as a girlfriend,  
     who is stingy with being with me, while her apparition is generous.  
 My sorrows and my ardour are renewed  
     by familiar places now deserted in al-Liwā,<sup>14</sup> and assignments.  
 May God protect the 'white nights'<sup>15</sup> in which I was together  
     with fair white women, with black hair,  
 And spent the night, while the dark night let down its curtains,  
     embracing the willow branches that were bodies,  
 Sipping wine clarified by mouths,  
     and plucking roses that had grown on cheeks,  
 15 Until dawn appeared, not to be blamed,  
     and the gloom of the night, to be praised, disappeared.  
 Why should I blame the morning or not love it,  
     even though a loved one and a loving one are scared by it?  
 For every morning one's eyes are favoured  
     to see the face of Rashīd al-Dīn when he is happy.  
 He is the foremost scholar and sage, whose speech  
     resembles well-arranged pearls.  
 The chief of physicians, Ibn Sīnā, and before him  
     Ḥunayn, are his pupils and servants.

11 Or, with Müller and Riḍā: 'May the apparition not come back!' (*lā 'āda*). But the reading *mā 'āda* (ALBRHGbGc, *Masālik*) is arguably more subtle: the imagined apparition (*khayāl*) did not 'really' return (by appearing spontaneously) but the lover's thoughts actively imagine (*tukhayyilu*) the imagined apparition, which thus returns.

12 The liver is considered the seat of passions.

13 An allusion to an often-quoted saying attributed, in different versions, to the Prophet: 'He who loves passionately, hides it, is chaste, and dies, dies a martyr'.

14 Al-Liwā (translatable as 'twisted sands') is often mentioned in similar contexts as if it were a location in Arabia, and to evoke the first line of Imru' al-Qays's celebrated *Mu'allaqah* ode, which mentions *siqṭ al-liwā*, either as a place-name or a descriptive phrase.

15 A 'white night' is either a moonlit night in the middle part of a lunar month, or a night in which one does not sleep.

- 20 If Galen were alive in his era  
 he would learn and revise under him.  
 Say to the Banū l-Ṣūrī: you have been the masters of humankind  
 (people are either master or mastered).  
 You have acquired the heritage of noble deeds not from remote kin:  
 like this you have fathers and grandfathers.  
 O scholar (*‘ālim*) of the world, O banner (*‘alam*) of guidance,  
 in whom noble traits have their existence,  
 You who have a well-populated abode of excellence,  
 a palace of lofty qualities, built high with eulogy,  
 25 A spreading tree of beneficence bearing fruit by fulfilling wishes,  
 and a protective shade stretching for those seeking refuge!  
 One through whom stubborn rebels obey me  
 and obdurate tyrants are humble towards me:  
 The stronghold of my strength in his sanctuary, unassailable,  
 fortified, while my life in his shelter is comfortable;  
 He whose favour and patronage feathered my bed<sup>16</sup>  
 and who stood up for me while all others sat down;  
 Who did well to me in deed, so I did well in words; he was good to me  
 so I am doing my best in my eulogy of his noble deeds.  
 30 Compared with his bounty Ḥātim the Generous<sup>17</sup> was a miser,  
 and compared with me Labid<sup>18</sup> was a dullard (*balīd*) in his eulogy.  
 He set out to acquire praise from every direction,  
 while other people are averse to gain eulogy.  
 He provides the shade of a gracious man to every seeker of refuge,  
 giving protective shade (*mufīr*) and useful (*mufīd*) knowledge,  
 And favour (*‘urf*) which, whenever he shows it, wafts with its flavour  
 (*‘arf*),  
 and open-handedness (*wa-jūd*) when finding (*wujūd*) it is difficult.  
 All people worship (*ta‘abbada*) generosity, and thus noble, free men  
 turned  
 to his beneficence, becoming slaves (*‘abīd*).  
 35 So many eulogists (*mādiḥ*) resorted to him as a donor (*māniḥ*)  
 and their purpose (*qaṣd*) and praise poems (*qaṣīd*) were successful.

16 Literally, ‘feathered (my arrow), fletched’.

17 Ḥātim al-Ṭāī, a pre-Islamic poet proverbial for his generosity.

18 Labid ibn Rabī‘ah, celebrated poet who died at an advanced age in ca. 41/661.

In the evening one sees proofs of his goodness,  
 in the morning there are witnesses to his blessings.<sup>19</sup>  
 So why should I fear misfortunes and adversities  
 when Rashīd al-Dīn's judgement of me is right,  
 And I have, in his graciousness, a forearm (*sā'id*) and a helper (*musā'id*),  
 and, in his glory, an abundant outfit (*'uddah wa-'adīd*)?  
 I expect that there will be many who envy me  
 for gaining what I expect and wish.  
 40 Benefaction is what is followed by riches  
 and numerous enraged, envious people.  
 When I have the equipment (*'atād*) of his graciousness and patronage  
 my strength will be well-equipped (*'atīd*) as long as I live.  
 It is not surprising that, in turning to him, someone like me  
 ascends (*ṣu'ūd*) to winning good fortune (*su'ūd*).  
 I say to those who expect something from other people:  
 'Take it easy! Your chance of success is remote.  
 Would you turn to a trickling stream and leave a deep sea  
 swelling with its high tides of noble deeds?'  
 45 Whoever seeks refuge in Abū l-Manṣūr<sup>20</sup>  
 will have a conjunction of success and lucky stars.  
 O Kaaba of hopes, rain-cloud of generosity,  
 by whom the meadow of hopes is rained upon copiously,  
 To whom Ḥātīm, on a day of magnanimity, is a servant (*'abd*)  
 just as 'Abīd is the servant to my eulogy of his lofty qualities!<sup>21</sup>  
 I cannot thank you enough for your favours to me,  
 for nothing can surpass what your hands have bestowed.  
 But for your favours my drink would not have been pure  
 and but for refuge in you my branch would not have been green.  
 50 Thus my good fortune in turning to the door of your house is rising  
 and my star, by often seeing you, is auspicious.  
 Be congratulated, forever, with this happy feast,<sup>22</sup>  
 while delegations after delegations congratulate you!  
 Those who have needs need seek no other,  
 those who have hopes cannot avoid you.

19 In the Arabic concept of a 24-hour day evening precedes morning.

20 Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī.

21 For Ḥātīm, see above, line 30. 'Abīd ibn al-Abrāṣ is a pre-Islamic poet.

22 Apparently the poem was composed on the occasion of a feast day (*'īd*, possibly the 'Eid' at the end of Ramadan, although religion is conspicuously absent).

[15.45.4]

Rashīd al-Dīn al-Ṣūrī is the author of the following books:

1. On simple drugs (*K. al-adwiyah al-mufradah*). He began to compose it during the reign of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, to whom he dedicated it. The book gives a full account of simple drugs, and also provides insight into simples of which the author had acquired knowledge, and which had not been mentioned by his predecessors. Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣūrī would go to places in which plants grew, such as Mount Lebanon and other spots in which particular plants were found, taking along with him a painter who had at his disposal all kinds of dyes and brushes. Rashīd al-Dīn would observe and examine the plants, and then he would show them to the painter, who would look at their colour, measure their leaves, branches and roots, and then paint them, doing his utmost to make them as realistic as possible. Rashīd al-Dīn had an instructive method for these illustrations: first he would show them to the painter at the time of sprouting and tenderness, and would have him paint them at that stage. Then, he would show them to him when they were fully grown and in full bloom, and the painter would depict them at that specific stage. Finally, he would show him the plants when they were withered and dried up, and the painter would sketch them at that stage. In this way, the reader of the book could see the plants as he would encounter them in the field, and this would enable him to obtain more perfect information and clearer notions.
2. Refutation of al-Tāj al-Bulghārī's 'Book of Simple Drugs' (*Al-radd 'alā kitāb al-Tāj al-Bulghārī fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).<sup>23</sup>
3. Explanatory remarks, useful lessons and instructions regarding medicine, dedicated to myself (*Ta'ālīq lahu wa-fawā'id wa-waṣāyā tibbiyyah kataba bihā ilayya*).

#### 15.46 Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah<sup>1</sup>

[15.46.1]

Abū l-Thana' Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shujā' al-Shaybānī al-Ḥanawī, known as Ibn Raqīqah, was a man endowed with a noble soul and perfect virtues. He gathered together the medical teachings of the

23 Tāj al-Dīn ibn Yūnus al-Bulghārī (fl. 7th/13th century), who is also known as the author of the *Tiryāq al-kabīr* or *Great Theriac*.

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

ancient authors that had become scattered, stood out above all his peers, and surpassed his fellow physicians and healers. Moreover, he possessed an outstanding character, flawless diction and a wonderful [gift] for composing poems of high stylistic quality, of which many have become proverbs and maxims. As for verse in *rajaz* metre, I have never seen any physician in his time who was quicker in composing it than he. He could take any medical work and render it in the *rajaz* metre in an instant, remaining faithful to the content and doing justice to the beauty of the words. He associated with the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Māridīnī,<sup>2</sup> becoming his close friend and studying the art of medicine and other sciences under his guidance.

Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah was also familiar with the art of ophthalmology<sup>3</sup> and surgery, and in treating diseases of the eye, performing many surgical operations. He also removed cataracts (*al-mā’ al-nāzil*) from the eyes of many persons, who, thanks to his skill, were able to see again. The instrument that he used for that purpose was hollow and curved, so that during the operation, the fluid could be more efficiently extracted, with the result that the treatment was more effective.<sup>4</sup> Sadīd al-Dīn also devoted himself to the art of astronomy, and he studied the *Book of Ingenious Devices* (*K. al-Ḥiyāl*) by the Banū Mūsā,<sup>5</sup> from which he learnt to make unusual things. Furthermore, he was distinguished in grammar and lexicography. He had a learned brother, named Mu‘īn al-Dīn, who was the most outstanding scholar of his time in the Arabic language, which was his particular domain, but he also composed many poems. Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah also studied under masters in the domain of Hadith.

2 See Ch. 10.75.

3 The phrase *ṣinā’at al-kuḥl* is a common way of referring to the entire field of ophthalmology, though *kuḥl* is a particular type of compound ocular remedy.

4 Though today we know that cataracts are due to an opaque lens, in medieval literature it was said that an opaque fluid was interposed between the lens and the pupil of the eye. When treating cataracts, the technique commonly used was an ancient one, known to classical antiquity and possibly originating in India. This ancient technique of ‘couching’ pushed the lens to one side rather than removing it. This present passage is important evidence that at least some physicians attempted to remove the cataract by suction through a hollow needle. If such a procedure was in fact actually successfully carried out, it could only have worked on a soft juvenile cataract. See Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 126 fig. 4.2 for an illustration of couching and ‘hollow’ needles and 131–135 for texts suggesting that the use of a ‘hollow’ instrument was experimental at best.

5 The Banū Mūsā ibn Shākir were three brothers who invented a number of automata and mechanical devices. They described a hundred such devices in their *K. al-Ḥiyāl* or *Book of Ingenious Devices* (lit. *Tricks*), which was composed in or around 850 AD. See *Encycl. Iranica*, art. ‘Banū Mūsā’ (D. Pingree). Edition of the work by Hill, *Ingenious Devices*.



[15.46.2]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – heard the following [tradition] from Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabīb al-Ḥānawī: He said, ‘The distinguished authority Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Māridīnī reported to me the following: we cite the shaykh Abū Mansūr Mawhūb ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khiḍr al-Jawālīqī, who was informed by Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, who cites Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Raqqī, who cites master Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Battī, who cites Abū Bakr Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Shāfi‘ī, who was informed by the judge Abū Ishāq Ismā‘īl ibn Ishāq, who heard it from Ismā‘īl ibn Abī Uways, who cites Hishām ibn ‘Urwah, who heard it from his father, who received the information from ‘Ā‘ishah, God be pleased with her, who said:<sup>6</sup> A Bedouin came to the Prophet (God bless him and keep him!) and said, ‘We have come to you, Messenger of God, now that we have no camel left that groans nor a young boy who drinks his morning milk!’ Then he recited:<sup>7</sup>

We come to you while virgins have bloody gums<sup>8</sup>  
 and mothers do no longer heed their children;  
 A man droops his hands in resignation,  
 from hunger, in shame, not uttering a bitter or a sweet word.<sup>9</sup>  
 We have nothing for the people to eat  
 except *‘ilhiz* in a year of drought and shrivelled colocynth.<sup>10</sup>  
 We can only flee to you:  
 where can people flee if not to Messengers?

Al-Raqqī said: *‘ilhiz* is camel hair treated with the blood of *ḥalam*, which are ticks when they have grown big; it is eaten in time of famine. Another version

6 This tradition, often quoted in several forms, is known as *Ḥadīth al-istisqā’*, the hadith on the prayer for rain; see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Istisqā’ (T. Fahd).

7 Metre: *ṭawīl*. Anonymously quoted in several sources, e.g. al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 137 (Al-Mawardī, *The Ordinances*, tr. Wahba, 119), Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, iv:172; also attributed to Labīd ibn Rabī‘ah, *Dīwān*, 150, al-Jurāwī, *al-Ḥamāsah al-maghribiyyah*, 110–112.

8 Instead of *lithāt* (‘gums’) the *Dīwān* and other sources have *labān*, ‘chest’ (bloody after having been scratched as a form of lament).

9 Or: ‘without doing anything useful or harmful’.

10 Explanation follows. *‘ilhiz* is either a ‘food’ made of camel hair and ticks’ blood eaten in times of famine or a kind of plant. Other versions have *al-ḥanzalī l-‘āmiyyi wa-l-‘ilhiz*, and the expression *al-ḥanzal al-‘āmī* is certainly more common. *Ḥanzal*, ‘colocynth’, is a particularly acrid fruit.

has *ʿunqur*, also *ʿanqar*, which is the stem of the papyrus plant; both these readings are correct. Yet another version has *ʿaqhar*; but this is a misreading and to be rejected.<sup>11</sup> Then the Prophet (God bless and keep him!) stood up, dragging his cloak, ascended the *minbar*, and praised God and glorified Him. Then he raised his hands towards heaven and said, ‘O God! Send us a rain that drenches, lush, life-giving, bursting forth in buckets, abundant, long-lasting, copiously, timely and not tarrying, salubrious and not harmful, which makes plants grow, fills the udders, and revives the earth after it has died!’ And, by God! No sooner had the Messenger of God (God bless and keep him!) lower his hand to his chest than the heavens opened. The Prophet’s closest followers began to shout, ‘Messenger of God! A flood! We’ll drown!’ The Prophet turned his eyes to the sky and laughed, so that his molar teeth could be seen.<sup>12</sup> Then he said, ‘O God! Around us, not on top of us!’ And the clouds moved away from Medina until they surrounded it like a diadem. Then he said, ‘Good Abū Ṭalib!<sup>13</sup> How pleased he would have been if he were alive! Can anyone recite his poem to us?’ Then ‘Alī (peace be upon him) said, ‘Messenger of God, perhaps you mean the following:<sup>14</sup>

And a noble<sup>15</sup> man, with whose face the clouds can be asked for rain,  
 the support of orphans, the protection of widows:  
 The starving men of the clan of Hāshim swarm around him,  
 for with him they find bliss and benefits.  
 You lied, we swear by God’ House,<sup>16</sup> Muḥammad shall not be over-  
 come<sup>17</sup>  
 before we shall have fought for him and defended him,  
 And we shall not surrender him until we are slain around him  
 and be unmindful of our children and wedded wives!’

11 The variants mentioned by IAU are not found in the sources, and the word *ʿaqhar* is not even found in the lexicons.

12 On this idiom and on seemly and unseemly forms of laughter, see Ammann, *Vorbild und Vernunft*; cf. also Sellheim, ‘Das Lächeln,’ and Heffening, ‘Ephraem-Paraenesis’.

13 Muḥammad’s uncle and ‘Alī’s father, who protected the Prophet when he was young and in need of protection. He died ca. 619, a few years before the Prophet’s Hijrah to Medina.

14 Metre: *ṭawīl*. From a longer poem in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i:272–280 (tr. Guillaume, 122–127), also e.g. al-Māwardī, *Ahkām*, 138 (Al-Mawardī, *The Ordinances*, tr. Wahba, 119), Ibn Abī I-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, iv:171–172.

15 Literally, ‘white’.

16 The Kaaba.

17 Here and in the following line the negative *lā* is implied after the oath, as the commentators explain, e.g. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (BZW/Y), al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii:63.

'Precisely!' replied the Prophet (God bless and keep him!). Thereupon a man of the tribe of Kinānah stood up and recited to him:<sup>18</sup>

To Thee be praise, and praise from those that are grateful:  
 we have been given rain through the face of the Prophet.  
 He prayed to God, his Creator  
 and fixed his eyes towards Him,  
 And it was but an hour or so  
 or quicker before we saw the rain in buckets,  
 Pouring as from mouths of water-skins, bursting in abundance,  
 with which God gave rain to the elite of Muḍar.  
 He was, as his uncle Abū Ṭālib said  
 a man with a radiant, bright face.  
 Through him God made the clouds pour out:  
 that reported event was seen with these eyes.  
 He who will thank God will meet with more  
 and who is ungrateful to God will meet with misfortunes.

The Messenger of God (God bless and keep him!) said to him, 'You may sit down, if ever a poet did!'<sup>19</sup>

[15.46.3]

I heard from Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah that he was born in 564/1168 in the town of Ḥīnī,<sup>20</sup> where he also grew up. When Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī was staying there, the ruler of the town, Nūr al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Artuq, contracted an eye disease. The shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn treated him for a number of days, but then had to leave and accordingly advised Nūr al-Dīn ibn Artuq to consult Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah. He did do, and the physician cured him within a short time. Grateful for his complete recovery, Nūr al-Dīn ibn Artuq awarded Sadīd al-Dīn a stipend and an allowance in recognition of his medical services. Sadīd al-Dīn told me himself that he was then not yet twenty years old.

After having remained for some time in Nūr al-Dīn's service, Sadīd al-Dīn took service with al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Taqī al-Dīn 'Umar, the

18 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 138 (Al-Mawardī, *The Ordinances*, tr. Wahba, 119), Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, iv:172.

19 These passages occur in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *al-Tamhīd li-mā fi l-Muwaṭṭa' min al-ma'ānī wa-l-asānīd*; see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *al-Tamhīd*, xxii:64–65.

20 Ḥīnī is a town in the vicinity of the larger city of Diyarbakir (nowadays the town is called Hani). It is situated in the south-eastern Anatolian region of Turkey.

ruler of Hama. Some time thereafter, however, he went to Khilāt,<sup>21</sup> which at that time was ruled by al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb, and entered the service of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yāghī Siyān, whose sister was the wife of al-Malik al-Awḥad. Sadīd al-Dīn served as her personal physician as well, and she showed him great honour. He remained in Khilāt until al-Malik al-Awḥad died in Malāzkird [i.e. Mantzikert]<sup>22</sup> of pleurisy on Saturday, the eighteenth of Rabīʿ 1 of the year 609 [18 August 1212], despite the care he had been receiving both from Sadīd al-Dīn and from Ṣadaqaḥ al-Sāmīrī [i.e. the Samaritan]. Sadīd al-Dīn next entered the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Faṭḥ Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in Mayyāfāriqīn,<sup>23</sup> where he lived for many years.

On the third of Jumādā 11 of the year 632 [23 February 1235], Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah arrived at the court of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf in Damascus, where he was kindly received and greatly honoured. Al-Malik al-Ashraf ordered him to attend the Sultan's household in the citadel and also to treat the sick at the 'Great Hospital', which had been founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zankī. For his services, al-Malik al-Ashraf allotted him a stipend and an allowance.

At that time, I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybīʿah – was also receiving payments for treating the patients at that hospital. Sadīd al-Dīn and I became great friends. What I was able to observe of his perfect virtues, noble origins, rich knowledge, and excellent skills in the domain of diseases and their treatment is beyond all description. He lived in Damascus, devoting himself to the art of medicine, until he died – may God have mercy upon him – in the year 635/1238. I, for my part, had already moved to Ṣarkhad<sup>24</sup> in the month of Rabīʿ 1 of the year 634 [December 1236] to enter the service of its ruler, the Emir ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Muʿazzamī. The following lines are some of Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah's own poetry that he recited to me:<sup>25</sup>

21 Khilāt or Akhlāt is a town on the west bank of Lake Van in Asia Minor (it is nowadays called Ahlat).

22 Malāzkird, Manāzjird or Mantzikert is a town a little north of Khilāt in Asia Minor (it is nowadays called Malazgirt).

23 Mayyāfāriqīn was called Martyropolis in the ancient world. It is nowadays called Silvan. It is located east of the city of Diyarbakir in eastern Anatolia (Turkey), cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, v:235–238; see also *Et<sup>2</sup>* art. 'Mayyāfāriqīn' (V. Minorsky & C. Hillenbrand).

24 Ṣarkhad or Ṣalkhad: Town in southern Syria near the border of present-day Jordan. The town contains an important fortress, built between 611/1214 and 645/1247 by the Ayyubid dynasty, cf. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iii:40.

25 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:288–289 (lines 1–2, 6–7, 15, 17, 20–23, 25, 31–31), al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxv:282–283 (lines 1–5, 7, 9–10).

O Thou who hast clothed me, by (giving me) speech, with the robe of nobility  
 and hast made me complete, generously, with it and straightened me:  
 Take me, when my time has come to an end and my life  
 is over, on a straight line to Thee!  
 And dispel in Thy kindness, O my God, my grief  
 and polish the rust from the soul of Thy servant and be merciful!  
 Then, perhaps, after disgrace (*mahānah*) I may acquire  
 the clothes of respect (*mahābah*) in the Most Noble Place,  
 5 And gain Paradise after my stay  
 in an abode manifestly ugly and gloomy;  
 For I have come to loathe my dwelling there.  
 He who lives in the abode of delusion will detest it,  
 An abode whose misery and wretchedness are perfidious to those  
 who live there, as if he has never been happy;  
 He exchanges his serene living and life  
 for trouble, so do not turn to it and you will be safe.  
 For in Thee is refuge, O our God, from its evil  
 and in Thee is shelter from error, so hold back!  
 10 On Thee is my reliance, Thy pardon is always  
 my goal. O for my loss if Thou art not merciful!  
 O my soul, strive hard, be tireless, hold fast on to  
 the ties of right guidance; sever the ties of obstacles!  
 Be not neglectful, O soul, of your Self:<sup>26</sup> in forgetting it  
 you forget your Lord. Know this!  
 And you must reflect on His blessings, that you may  
 be made to revert to His Gardens and made to live in bliss;  
 And betake yourself to the path of the right course: it will  
 save; and refrain from the middle of the road to error.  
 15 Be not content to feel at home in this unworthy world,<sup>27</sup>  
 and you will be raised to the ranks of the night-travelling stars,  
 And you will behold what no eye has seen and no ear  
 has perceived,<sup>28</sup> so strive towards it and you will obtain!

26 The word *nafs* (here 'soul') often means 'self'; *dhāt* (here 'Self') also means 'essence'.

27 The words *al-dunyā l-daniyyah* for 'world' and 'unworthy, lowly' are derived from the same Arabic root, *DNW*, denoting nearness and lowness; *daniyyah* can also be taken as a variant of *dani'ah*, derived from the root *DN'*, denoting vileness.

28 Alluding to an often-quoted hadith attributed to the Prophet: 'I have prepared for my

- And you will observe that of which the true nature has never  
 been grasped by thought or the fancy of a fancier:  
 A holiness so exalted that none can dwell in its vicinity  
 O soul, except any astute and reckless(?) one.<sup>29</sup>  
 He is transcendent above being composite  
 with a fourth, or a third, or a twin!<sup>30</sup>
- 20 And you will be a neighbour of the pious, in a home  
 that will never be obliterated or destroyed.  
 O deluded one! Your hair is grey but you have not given up  
 what you were so fond of, nor did you have remorse.  
 Do not think that your grey hair is caused by a passing illness  
 or by a mouldiness in the phlegm!  
 But your youth was a devil, and a rebellious demon  
 will truly be stoned with shooting stars.<sup>31</sup>
- Do not join grey hair, with its bright radiance, with the darkness (*zalām*)  
 of youth's passing symptoms, or you will be wronged (*tuzlam*).
- 25 Grey hair is an illumination to the intellect and its light, so despise  
 your passion when your hair turns grey, and you will be honoured.  
 Devote yourself to praising (*tamjīd*) Him who brought you into being  
 (*mūjīd*),  
 whose generosity (*jūd*) floods all that exists (*wujūd*), and magnify  
 Him!
- For by mentioning Him souls are healed of their sick passion,  
 so if you wish to be cured, resolve to do this!
- How noble is the soul of a man who sees that the roads of passion  
 are loved passionately, but turns to the straight Path!  
 He is the one who chooses, on the Day of Return,  
 a kingdom that is perennial and will not end.
- 30 O Setter of broken bone, Forgiver of grave sin  
 committed by every sinning servant:  
 I have no means, no expedient to come to Thee  
 by which I can be saved but the belief of a Muslim.

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believing servants what no eye has seen nor any ear has heard!'; compare 1 Corinthians. 2:9.

29 This cannot have been the poet's intention. It appears he did not know the meaning of the rare word *ayham*, explained in dictionaries as 'foolhardy, stubborn, deaf to counsel, without reason, mad'.

30 Mocking Christian doctrine.

31 This line is very similar to one in a poem by Ibn Sīnā (above, Ch. 11.13.7.2 line 3); see the note given there.

Therefore accept, in Thy graciousness, my repentance (*tawbatī*)  
of my offence (*ḥawbatī*), that I may not be deprived of my Return  
(*awbatī*)!

Praise be to Thee, O God, which may increase as long as  
the brightness of a dawn will dispel the blackness of a pitch-dark  
night;

And bless and preserve Thy Prophet, the resplendent one,  
and his kin, the trusted masters,

- 35 Those who take away the hunger of the orphan, and on  
the distressed captive and the destitute bestowed their provision,  
And his Companions, who helped him to be victorious  
when the fire of unbelief was ablaze!

[15.46.3.1]

He also said:<sup>32</sup>

I see you are heedless of the Broad Place<sup>33</sup>

and instead disport yourself with what has a dwindling root.

How much longer will you be proud – woe unto you – on being in a  
prison

and how much longer will you boast of what is narrow and feeble,

Granting affection to those who tempt you with it

and being suspicious of what restrains and forbids you?

Don't you know that every day

all kinds of calamities can take you by surprise?

- 5 They will dissolve your faculties bit by bit

and you will cease to exist while the world remains as it is.

You think she is a friend; but she is the most pernicious  
enemy, of manifest rancour, cunning.

Your concerns are for it,<sup>34</sup> incessantly, successively,  
though your life in it is not flourishing.

Does your grey hair not suffice as a rebuke?

To a man with intelligence (*nuhā*) grey hair is enough to restrain him  
(*nāhī*).

32 Metre: *wāfir*.

33 Presumably the Hereafter or Heaven.

34 Apparently 'it' refers to the temporal world, though one would have expected the feminine pronoun (*fiḥā*, twice, which would not have fitted the metre).

So turn back from it, to a broad and spacious place  
 where your staying will be without end.  
 10 Until when then will you feign being unmindful and blind?  
 How much longer, this inclination to disportments?  
 Be not deluded if in it you first become  
 wealthy and then of great standing:  
 So many a man was strong at first and then,  
 shortly after his riches and strength, became weak!  
 He would say in his folly that one would not find  
 anyone resembling him or to be compared with him.  
 So repent, for all you have committed will be found  
 trifling in God's forgiveness.

He also said:<sup>35</sup>

I say to my soul when it shows a yearning  
 for the Higher World: Take it easy, soul!  
 It is absurd! You want salvation while you are in  
 lethal perils, of natural and sensory nature!  
 But before you is a sea: if you cross it,  
 you are safe and you will gain release from being confined.  
 If you want to be united with your origin,  
 then lift your cover and strip the clothing that you wear.  
 5 Do not turn to what is concrete, lest you be deprived  
 of the vicinity of the pure in the presence of Holiness.  
 Do not abandon what God commands by going astray,  
 or you will perpetually remain in doubt and confusion.  
 Do not be heedless, O soul, of your Self<sup>36</sup> but  
 reflect much<sup>37</sup> on it and renounce all that makes you forget.  
 And do not be oblivious of mentioning the First,<sup>38</sup> through whom  
 the celestial spheres, the Throne, and the Footstool<sup>39</sup> came into  
 being.

35 Metre: *tawīl*.

36 See the identical phrase in the poem above (Ch. 15.46.3, poem 'O Thou who hast', vs. 12.) and the note to it.

37 Reading *wa-kthirī* as a licence for *wa-akthirī*.

38 cf. Q al-Ḥadīd 57:3, «*He is the First and the Last*».

39 God's Throne (*arsh*) is often mentioned in the Qur'an; His Footstool (*kursī*, often also rendered as 'throne') only in Q al-Baqarah 2:255.



You were joined, unwillingly, to the frame<sup>40</sup> that you received, though  
 long  
 frightened, as compensation for (your former) intimacy.  
 10 This joining was only so that you may return  
 exalted with knowledge above the blemish of deficiency.  
 Your return is near to being decreed, therefore do  
 for your Hereafter what will save you from the darkness of the grave.  
 If you leave the path of guidance you will tomorrow be  
 like someone who sells his capital for a paltry price.<sup>41</sup>  
 So turn back to your Crator, O soul, and you will rise  
 to Him; or else you will remain in the forgettable world,  
 Allied with lasting worry and sorrow,  
 neighbour to people of vileness and filth,  
 15 Abandoned(?),<sup>42</sup> inhibited, humiliated,  
 made miserable in exchange for bliss,  
 made to settle in the abode of abasement, degraded,  
 and gathered among the troop of the mute and deaf.<sup>43</sup>  
 The path of Guidance, O soul, shines to the intelligent  
 brighter than the radiance of the full moon and the sun.

[15.46.3.2]

He also said:<sup>44</sup>

Let the cheerful face of your time not delude you,  
 for its cheerfulness is bound to change.  
 Its frowning is its true nature (*ṭabʿ*), not a second nature (*taṭabbuʿ*);  
 a true nature remains and a second nature ceases.

He also said:<sup>45</sup>

I am not one of those who seek profit by means of vulgarity,<sup>46</sup>  
 even if I would die naked and starving.

40 The body, given to the soul in order to overcome its aversion to the material world.

41 Q Yūsuf 12:20, 'And they sold him (Yūsuf/Joseph) for a paltry price.'

42 Assuming that *mukhallaʿatan* is an unusual licence for *mukhallātan*.

43 cf. Q al-Isrāʾ 17:97: «We shall gather them on the Day of Resurrection, upon their faces, blind, dumb, deaf».

44 Metre: *kāmil*.

45 Metre: *khafif*.

46 *Sukhf*, originally 'frivolity, foolishness', came to mean 'obscurity' and 'scatology', especially in verse.

Even if I could possess Solomon's realm  
I would not choose to give up my dignity.

In emulation of the words of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (peace be upon him!): 'Look at what is said, not at who said it', he said:<sup>47</sup>

Do not look at who says the words  
but look at what he says;  
Take the words when you find them sensible,  
even if spoken by an ignorant fool.  
The barking of dogs, base though they are,  
is an indication of the dwelling of a generous man.<sup>48</sup>  
Likewise, gold is mined in the earth  
but it is a precious, noble thing.

And he also said:<sup>49</sup>

Be on your guard against the people of today; do not  
put your faith in anyone and do not trust them.  
None of those you befriend is naturally free  
from craftiness, tinkering, and flattery.

And he also said:<sup>50</sup>

I see that every unjust man is decent when he is  
powerless, and shows his iniquity when he is able.  
If someone gets in this world more than he is worth,  
then his character changes for the worse.  
Every man you find to have a liking for evil  
will inevitably encounter what he liked (for others).<sup>51</sup>

And he also said:<sup>52</sup>

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47 Metre: *khafīf*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:289.

48 Compare the verb *istanbaḥa*, 'making dogs bark (by making barking noises when lost, hoping to find a dwelling)'.  
49 Metre: *basīṭ*.

50 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

51 The parenthesis seems to be implied.

52 Metre: *kāmil*.

When I saw that people with excellence and intelligence  
 were not in demand, whereas any fool is,  
 I resigned myself to despair, knowing that I have  
 a Lord who is generous and who will grant what I desire.  
 I stayed at home and took as my companion  
 a book that speaks of all kinds of virtues.  
 In it, whenever I take it up to leaf through what it contains,  
 I have a lush and pretty garden.

And he also said:<sup>53</sup>

My slender means do not harm my character or my nature,  
 nor does my destitution keep my from the path of intelligence.  
 How could that be, since knowledge is my allotment, which is  
 the most precious possession and blessing the Guardian has given!  
 Knowledge thrives on deeds, always and forever,  
 while wealth, if one is given to spending, does not last.  
 He who possesses wealth guards it all his days,  
 while knowledge guards those who have it from trials.

[15.46.3:3]

And he also said:<sup>54</sup>

I have been created sharing the same species with some people,  
 but at the same time I differ from them as a person.  
 I want them to be perfect and I strive to be useful,  
 while they wish me harm and loss.  
 When I enumerate their faults  
 I attempt something uncountable.

He also said:<sup>55</sup>

Do not befriend a man who, feigning, shows you  
 love and hides its opposite by his nature,  
 And shun your friend if his affection changes for the worse:  
 a limb's disease is terminated by amputating it.

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53 Metre: *basīt*.

54 Metre: *wāfir*.

55 Metre: *kāmil*.

And he said:<sup>56</sup>

If some foolish man attacks you one day in public,  
 make a point of not raising your eyes towards him;  
 For if you appease him you are superior to him  
 and if you respond to him you are his equal.  
 There has been many a fool who, in his folly, wanted to defame me,  
 whose praise and lampoons on me were all the same to me.

He also said:<sup>57</sup>

An enemy, even when he is seen to laugh,  
 is like colocynth, its leaves looking tender,  
 Whereas it is deadly to those who aim to take it,  
 its taste repulsive, disgusting, loathsome.  
 Know that an adversary is a poison when near  
 and his remoteness truly the antidote.

He also said:<sup>58</sup>

If you are planting a beautiful tree<sup>59</sup>  
 then do not let it grow thirsty or the fruit will fail you;  
 Irrigate it continually, as much as you can,  
 with the water of generosity, not with rainwater;  
 And do not follow it up with reproach,<sup>60</sup> for  
 we have seen that it is bad for trees.

He also said:<sup>61</sup>

Let it be your nature to avoid the people of this world: their proximity  
 yields odious things, whether they are stingy or generous (*in jādū*).

56 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

57 Metre: *kāmil*.

58 Metre: *mutaqārib*.

59 The syntax of the Arabic is faulty (it ought to be either *ghārisan gharsan* or *ghārisa gharsin*). The tree is a metaphorical one of good deeds, as the following makes clear.

60 cf. Q al-Baqarah 2:262: «*Those who spend their wealth in the cause of God and then do not follow up what they have spent with reproach or injury ...*» (the word *mann* has also been interpreted as 'reminder of one's benevolence').

61 Metre: *basīṭ*.

Among people there is rarely someone who, if an accident  
 strikes you, who<sup>62</sup> gives assistance or support (*injādū*).  
 Do not despise your good fortune if Fate protects you, for  
 when good fortune turns away noble men are courageous (*anjādū*),  
 And cross wastelands, always seeking to acquire lofty qualities,  
 and let lowlands not deter you nor highlands (*anjādū*).

[15.46.3.4]

He also said:<sup>63</sup>

And the man most afflicted with grief and distress on earth,  
 who will not recover from these,  
 Is a noble man whose exalted place is taken by  
 someone else, though he is qualified for it.

He also said:<sup>64</sup>

Bestowing benefits on a scoundrel is followed  
 by persistence of request to him who practises it;<sup>65</sup>  
 But it will move a noble man of virtuous character to  
 reward handsomely the giver of the benefit, soon.  
 For people are like the soil: it is irrigated equally  
 with sweet water and brings forth plants like colocynth and fresh  
 dates.

He also said:<sup>66</sup>

I am a man who by nature (*ṭab'*) represses his cravings;  
 I restrain myself naturally (*tābi'an*), not as a second nature (*taṭab-  
 bu'an*).  
 I possess a richness of soul and the virtue of contentedness;  
 I am not like those who grovel when in dire straits.  
 If some people stretch forth their hands towards the food  
 I move back an arm's length when people move an inch closer.

62 This superfluous 'who' imitates the Arabic.

63 Metre: *wāfir*.

64 Metre: *basīt*.

65 Reading *mu'āwadati l-ilhāh*, as suggested by most sources, does not make sense.

66 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

Since this world is vile in my view  
 I turn my mind to turning away from it, feeling myself above it.  
 5 This is because I know that God will provide for me,  
 so whom else should I ask from and fear, or be worried?<sup>67</sup>  
 Weakness will not remove livelihood if it is near,  
 nor will force bring it near if it is cut off.  
 So be not merry if your Fate lets you acquire riches  
 and be proud if you are indigent.  
 A man's worth is the knowledge he has acquired or imparted,  
 not the wealth he has collected and amassed.  
 So be learned or a learner among people,  
 or if you cannot be either, listen so that you may hear;  
 10 Do not be, if you can, a fourth to these categories, lest you will be  
 repelled and driven back from the watering-place of salvation.

He also said:<sup>68</sup>

If a man's livelihood comes from preordination  
 his greed does not avail him in seeking it.  
 Likewise his death: though it be grave blow,  
 persisting in living for low, worldly things is the summit of stupidity.  
 So if you wish to live as a noble man, be resigned,  
 for resignation is a noble trait.  
 The resignation of a man of noble character is sweet to the taste  
 to him, whenever he wants to beg from people.

He also said:<sup>69</sup>

I see that this existence of yours has not been for nothing,<sup>70</sup>  
 but only so that your soul may become perfected, so wake up (*int-*  
*abih*)!  
 Turn away for the body and do not turn towards it; incline  
 to the keeping of that by which you (*anta bih*) a human being.  
 He who makes his soul resigned to give up passions is vigilant,  
 whereas he who makes the soul covet them is not awake.

67 The syntax of the English is as shaky as that of the Arabic.

68 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

69 Metre: *basīṭ*.

70 cf. Q al-Mu'minūn 23:115, «*Did you think We created you for nothing?*»

So walk on the path of Guidance and the outcome will be praiseworthy,  
for the way of Truth is manifest, unambiguous.

[15.46.3.5]

He also said:<sup>71</sup>

Be by nature beneficent to  
him who changes his good deeds for bad ones (*masā'ah*);  
And doubly bestow favours on him  
always, morning and evening (*masā'ah*),  
For perhaps he will turn back  
and swerve (*yaḥūla*) from the state (*ḥāl*) doing evil.  
A noble man mentions the good things of his friend,  
not the harm done by him to him.  
Many an evildoer has been brought back by  
beneficence from the watering-place of wickedness (*radā'ah*),  
So he became sincere (*ṣafā*), returned (*wa-fā'*) to loyalty (*wafā'*),  
and made good deeds his clothing (*ridā'ah*).  
Therefore, if you are afflicted with someone false  
in his affection who has not conducted (*adā'ah*) himself well,  
Tell him the truth; perhaps your sincere affection  
will remove his sickness (*dā'ah*).

He also said:<sup>72</sup>

Be decent in what you say and don't say anything  
demeaned by ribaldry or depravity (*fasādū*).  
It was the habit of all sages before your time  
to be decent in speech; and they ruled as masters (*fa-sādū*).

He also said:<sup>73</sup>

The man of authority is like a traveller  
on a broad sea, aware that he may drown.  
Even if he returns safe and sound from it,  
the terror never leaves him.

<sup>71</sup> Metre: *kāmil muraffal*.

<sup>72</sup> Metre: *kāmil*.

<sup>73</sup> Metre: *ṭawīl*.

He also said:<sup>74</sup>

You who look at what I intended to compile,  
 be forgiving! A virtuous man forgives,  
 Knowing that even when a man has reaches the full extent  
 of his lifetime he meets death still falling short.

[15.46.3.6]

The following lines he wrote on a wine cup, in the middle of which there was a bird sitting on a perforated dome. If water<sup>75</sup> was poured into the cup the bird would turn round quickly and whistle loudly. The person facing the bird when it stopped had to drink. If he drank and left some drink in the cup, the bird would whistle; likewise, if he drank it in one hundred draughts. But if he drank all the contents (in one draught)<sup>76</sup> without leaving as much as one dram,<sup>77</sup> the whistling would stop.<sup>78</sup>

I am a bird in the shape of a sparrow,  
 beautifully shaped and formed.  
 Now drink to my tune a choice wine,  
 undiluted, which illumines the gloomy night,  
 Yellow, shining in the cups as if it were  
 the fire of Moses<sup>79</sup> that appeared on the top of Mount Sinai;<sup>80</sup>  
 And when one dram of your drink is left  
 in the cup, my whistling will alert you to it.

74 Metre: *kāmil*. The lines are apparently written in a book composed by himself.

75 The use of the word *ka's* ('wine cup or glass') and of *sharāb* ('drink', but very often 'wine') makes it likely that 'water' is not quite accurate.

76 The context seems to require this parenthesis.

77 The Arabic has 'one dirham' (i.e., some 3 or 4 g), like English 'dram' ultimately going back to Greek *drachmē*.

78 Metre: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxv:283, al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭālī'*, i:131. The great poet al-Mutanabbī was disgusted when he was commanded to compose an epigram on a similar contraction; see van Gelder, 'Encumbering Trifles', 13.

79 On *al-Kalīm*, 'the one spoken to (by God)', meaning Mūsā/Moses, see Q al-Nisā' 4: 164.

80 Cf. Q Ṭā-Hā 20:9–12 and al-Naml 27:7, on a fire seen by Moses; the poet confuses the event at Mount Sinai (al-Ṭūr) with the one in the valley called Ṭuwā (compare Ex. 3:2–6 on the 'burning bush').



And he said – it is good advice:<sup>81</sup>

Beware of eating your fill, shun it!  
 Digest one kind of food before eating another.<sup>82</sup>  
 Do not have sex often, for by doing it  
 continually one invites illness.  
 Don't drink water straight after eating  
 and you will be safe from great harm,  
 Nor on an empty stomach and being hungry,  
 unless you have a light snack with it.  
 5 Take a little of it: that is useful  
 when you have an aching, burning thirst.  
 Make sure your digestion is sound, that is the basic principle.  
 Purge yourself with laxatives once a year.  
 Avoid venesection, except for someone with  
 an illness of a mature and hot nature.  
 Do not exercise yourself straight after eating  
 but make it happen after digestion,  
 Lest the chyle (*al-kaylūs*) descend uncooked  
 and block the passages and pores.  
 10 But do not rest continually, for this makes that  
 every humour in you will be made unhealthy.  
 Drink as little water as possible after exercise  
 and abstain from drinking wine.  
 Balance the mixing of your wine with water, for this preserves  
 the innate heat that always burns in you.  
 But do not become inebriated, shun it forever,<sup>83</sup>  
 for drunkenness is something for common people.  
 Keep your soul well away from its cravings,  
 and you will attain eternity in the Abode of Wellbeing.<sup>84</sup>

[15.46.3.7]

He also said:

81 Metre: *wāfir*.

82 Literally, 'inserting food upon food' (*idkhāl al-ṭa'ām 'alā l-ṭa'ām*). It is condemned already by al-Ḥārith ibn Kaladah as a major cause of illness (see Ch. 7.1.3).

83 *Malīyyan* means 'for a long time', which would sound odd.

84 *Dār al-Salām*, i.e. Paradise (see Q Yūnus 10:25); *salām* is often, but not quite accurately, translated as 'peace' (which here would also fail to convey the physical association).

The purpose of medicine, understanding friend, is to get to know  
 the principles of our bodies and the foundations,<sup>85</sup>  
 Before their conditions and what causes these conditions  
 in them, and their symptoms,  
 So that our bodies remain in a state  
 of health, and this comes by means of balancing;<sup>86</sup>  
 And that diseases disappear, if the case allows,  
 and this comes by means of evacuation and substitution.

He also said:<sup>87</sup>

Nutrition, though it is a friend of what  
 is the ruling regulator, I mean the innate strength of the ailing person  
 (*quwwat al-waṣīb*),<sup>88</sup>  
 It is also the enemy of the latter, because it by means of it  
 there is an increase of the opposite, I mean the origin of illness  
 (*‘unṣur al-waṣāb*).

And he said:<sup>89</sup>

The causes of health, in truth, are six;<sup>90</sup>  
 and these are also the causes of illness.  
 If you balance them in four<sup>91</sup>  
 that balancing is the ultimate goal.

85 The ‘foundations’ (*al-uṣūl*) in this context are no doubt the four humours (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile); see for example, Ibn Hindū, *Miftāḥ* (Tibi), 60–61.

86 Balancing the humours by means of adjusting the four ‘qualities’ (hot, cold, dry, moist) and regulating the six ‘non-naturals’. For the latter see Niebyl, ‘Non-Naturals’.

87 Metre: *basīt*.

88 Reading the first rhyme word as *al-waṣīb* and the second as *al-waṣāb* avoids the technical defect called *ūā*, pointless repetition of the rhyme word. Both *waṣīb* (an ailing person) and *waṣāb* (an ailment) are very uncommon in medical literature. One notes that the gloss provided by Riḍā for the first word (‘the distance between index finger and little finger’) does not give a suitable sense; and it is *waṣb* rather than *waṣāb*.

89 Metre: *ramal*.

90 The six ‘non-naturals’: ambient air; food and drink; sleeping and waking; exercise and rest; retention and evacuation; mental states. While proper management of these six factors could lead to better health, their neglect could result in various ailments.

91 The four humours, which could be brought into balance within a given person’s body by changes in the six ‘non-naturals’ and by adjusting the four qualities (hot, cold, dry, and moist) of various medicinals; see Savage-Smith, ‘Were the Four Humours Fundamental?’.

He also said:<sup>92</sup>

If someone who has an illness desires something  
 that contains the cure of the disease that has lodged (*ḥallā*) in his  
 body,  
 Then do not keep from him what he desires, for it may well be  
 that you will soon see that he has untied (*ḥallā*) the knot of his dis-  
 ease.  
 It is as a current saying goes:  
 it is part of good luck to find a passion that coincides with reason.

[15.46.3.8]

He also said:<sup>93</sup>

One with a slender body and red cheeks has enthralled me  
 and in seas of 'red' (*al-qānī*) sorrow thrown me (*alqānī*).<sup>94</sup>  
 If a second one, other than he, were to lodge in my heart and turn my  
 passion away  
 from him, I would turn away that 'turning' second (*thanaytu l-thāniya*  
*l-thānī*).  
 If I reaped the fruits of which the planter  
 was love for him, I would be a criminal reaper (*al-jāniya l-jānī*).  
 And if, I swear by the love of him, his phantom paid a visit in my  
 dream  
 in the middle of the night, it would find me (*alfānī*) perishing (*al-*  
*fānī*).  
 He has nullified my affection, its abode being the heart. Who is there to  
 protect me,  
 now that he without need (*al-ghānī*)<sup>95</sup> has nullified me (*alghānī*)?

92 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

93 Metre: *basīṭ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxv:283–284.

94 One may compare the common expression *al-mawt al-aḥmar*, 'red (violent) death', which occurs in a poem by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās, and which employs several instances of the same kind of paronomasia: *wa-lī-l-mawti l-waḥḥiyi l-aḥ- | mari l-qāniyī alqānī* (al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, iv:125).

95 The sense of *al-ghānī* is not wholly clear; perhaps it is the male equivalent of *ghāniyah*, 'beautiful woman (not needing artificial embellishment)'.

He also said:<sup>96</sup>

A slender youth with languid eyes: he led  
 his lovers with his flirtation to the watering-place of death (*radā*).  
 He wore his cheek-down as an ample coat of mail, which protects him  
 from a lover's eye, while the glance of his eye is a sword (*ridā*).  
 If he had let me drink the coolness of his saliva,  
 this painful disease had not become a cloak (*ridā*) to me.<sup>97</sup>  
 If he walks swaying from side to side he puts an end, with his bending,  
 to any twig,<sup>98</sup>  
 when he comes in sight he mocks the new Moon when it appears.  
 Whenever I look at (*shimtu*) the mole (*shāmah*) on his cheek he attacks  
 with a sword from both his eyes and becomes quarrelsome;  
 Or whenever I want one day's respite from my love of him,  
 he says, 'You intend to beg the question!'<sup>99</sup>

He also said:<sup>100</sup>

O young gazelle, for whose sake my exposure and disgrace  
 are pleasant, after guarding my reputation:  
 The sickness (*'illah*) of your eyelids<sup>101</sup> is the cause (*'illah*) of my disease,  
 and my cure is sipping the wine of your mouth.

And he said, praising Ṣalāh al-Dīn Yāghī-Siyān:<sup>102</sup>

A pampered boy, with languid eyelids, slender:  
 the Exalted has gathered all prettiness for him  
 And made it dwell in him. He became its master  
 and made all human hearts incline to him.

96 Metre: *kāmil*.

97 There is a play on the two meanings of *burūd*: 'coolness' and 'mantles'.

98 Apparently meaning that he outdoes swaying branches.

99 *mas'alat al-badā*(?), literally 'asking the beginning', *petitio principii*, in Aristotle τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἰτεῖν, a term from dialectic.

100 Metre: *khafif*.

101 i.e., your languid eyes, deemed attractive.

102 Thus, rather than Bāghsībān (L), Bāghbīshān (B), Bāghībasān (R, Müller, Riḍa), Bāghībān (Najjār), etc.; he was the 'titulary *amūr* of Ḥamāt' under Nūr al-Dīn, see *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Mawdūd b. 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī' (N. Elisséeff) and art. 'Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī' (N. Elisséeff).  
 Metre: *kāmil*.

From his eyelid<sup>103</sup> the sword of al-Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad appears,  
and from my eyelids the clouds of his hands.<sup>104</sup>

[15.46.3.9]

And he said, congratulating al-Ṣāḥib Jalāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn Nubātah,<sup>105</sup> on the building of his house:<sup>106</sup>

O great, eminent Ṣāḥib, Jalāl al-Dīn,  
O scion of noble lords, high-born<sup>107</sup> (*shurafā*)!  
You have built a house that rises above Orion,  
as you, of old, have built glory and nobility (*sharafā*).  
May it last as a place of joy that will not change, and may  
the heads of your enemies always be its battlements (*shurafā*)!  
You are noble by lineage, character, and behaviour;  
you are not one of those who are noble (*sharufā*) by only a single lin-  
eage.

And he said, writing to his teacher Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Salām al-Māridīnī:<sup>108</sup>

Driver on your way to Mayyāfāriqīn, halt  
there your camels and convey some of my yearnings  
And the passion I suffer, the sorrow,  
the anguish, the ardors, the sleeplessness,  
To him who rises above his contemporaries in intelligence  
and lineage,<sup>109</sup> while their praise is (merely) a noble descent;<sup>110</sup>  
And say: ‘There is someone who loves you, who has wasted away  
by illness, and none but you can charm his disease away!’  
5 The viper of nature does not stop biting him;  
remove his pains from him with an antidote!

103 A play on two senses of *jaḥn*: ‘eyelid’ and ‘sword-sheath’.

104 i.e., the poet sheds tears as copious as the generosity of the patron.

105 Not identified.

106 Metre: *basīṭ*.

107 Or possibly ‘descendants of the Prophet’.

108 Metre: *basīṭ*.

109 A apparently intends *muḥtadhan* ‘as a model to be followed’, which is possible, although *maḥtidan* is probably to be preferred.

110 Translation uncertain; reading *wa-thanāhum* as a licence for *wa-thanā’uhum*.

Half my life has passed and my soul is still deficient;  
     be the one who makes it perfect in the remaining half!  
 For you are the one most suited to refine and enlighten me,  
     by polishing my traits and my character,  
 And by freeing my soul from the obstacles preventing it  
     from arriving at “the intertwining of legs”.<sup>111</sup>  
 The glass of my mind’s lamp-holder has become smudged,<sup>112</sup>  
     so wipe it clean, in the name of the One, the Protector!  
 10 And fill its lamp with the oil of your knowledge, that it  
     may again, having been extinguished, be shining!  
 Too long have I stayed in Nature’s prison;  
     but now I intend to receive my release through you.  
 So untie from my neck the cords that tie me to distractions  
     and grant me my manumission after my slavery!  
 Perhaps my soul will rise refined  
     at the Parting, when it is said, “Who is a sorcerer?”<sup>113</sup>  
 And then will arrive at bliss never-ending,  
     never-perishing, in the protection of the One, the Lasting.’

[15.46.3.10]

And he said, as an elegy on a son of his:<sup>114</sup>

Dear son, you have left in my breast,  
     because of losing you, a fire with blazing heat,  
 And you have incited my eyelids, after their sleep,  
     to be sleepless and now they never cease being wakeful.  
 I do not care, since you departed, about those who stayed behind,  
     not seeing anyone I should fear for or care for.  
 People say that grief diminishes the more time  
     passes, but my grief forever grows and increases.  
 I used to be steadfast when any calamity struck;  
     now, since you perished, showing fortitude is hard.

111 Q al-Qiyāmah 75:29; on dying, «when leg is intertwined with leg», sometimes explained as the restlessness of the dying, or referring to the corpse being wrapped in a shroud.

112 Literally ‘rusty’; the word *šada* is normally applied to metal only.

113 Q al-Qiyāmah 75:27, said by the deceased’s kin, hoping a sorcerer could revive him; alternatively, said by the two angels (of Mercy and Torment), in the sense of ‘Who shall take him away?’

114 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

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

And he said, for some purpose or other:<sup>115</sup>

I sought your favour by eulogising in verse for a while,  
and by means of astrology, grammar, medicine;  
I made novel astronomical and other instruments,  
I explained the difficulties of the Arabic lexicon;  
I transmitted the reports about the Prophet and what  
the ancient sages before my time said in books.  
I dealt with you sincerely in what I said,  
I spared no effort in giving you advice and love,  
But I never gained anything but misery, distress,  
and wasting my life. A bad gain!  
We treated our disease with every means, but nothing cured it,  
except that living far away is better than close by.  
Yes, living far away does not harm  
when those whom you visit have no understanding.

And he said:<sup>116</sup>

They said to me, 'Why have you make a satire on the son of So-and-So,  
that dog? Why indeed did you go to great lengths to list his faults?  
Decent people seek fit to satirise only someone  
who has intelligence and good qualities!'  
I replied, 'I was angry, one day, with my poetry,  
so I confronted him with it,<sup>117</sup> as if to punish it.'

He also said:<sup>118</sup>

They said, 'It behoves a physician to be seen  
as naturally lacking in glamour and beauty.'  
Truly spoken; but not to such a degree  
that he harms the patient and frightens the children.

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115 Metre: *tawīl*.

116 Metre: *khafif*.

117 Or 'it with him'.

118 Metre: *kāmil*.

He also said:<sup>119</sup>

You \*\*\*\*,<sup>120</sup> leave your quackery and take it easy!  
 You are killing so many poor patients with your ignorance!  
 Human bodies are assembled until an appointed time:  
 why are you (may God not preserve you!) hastening their dissolution?  
 It is as if you, man, were charged with  
 reducing human souls to their origin.  
 You have outstripped the plague, for you kill people continually,  
 while the plague strikes only at times, for a season.  
 Your person suffices to kill a poor, sickly man  
 when you visit him, even before treating him in effect.

[15.46.4]

Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah is the author of the following works:

1. Subtle questions and rare gifts for the questioner (*K. lutf al-masā'il wa-tuḥaf al-musā'il*). This is a versification in *rajaz* metre of *The Questions* by Ḥunayn, *The Generalities* in *The Canon of Medicine* by Ibn Sīnā, and other indispensable concepts required by the art of medicine. Sadīd al-Dīn wrote a commentary on this book and also included some useful marginal notes.
2. Clarification of misgivings regarding drugs promoting sexual potency (*K. mūdīḥat al-ishtibāh fi adwiyat al-bāh*).
3. The precious pearl for al-Malik al-Ashraf Shāh Arman Mūsā, being a poem on sexual potency (*K. al-farīdah al-Shāhiyyah wa-l-qaṣīdah al-bāhiyyah*). Sadīd al-Dīn composed this poem in Mayyāfāriqīn, in the year 615/1218 for al-Malik al-Ashraf Shāh Arman Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿAdil Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb. He mentioned to me that he had composed it in two days. It comprises [...] lines. He also wrote a thorough and profoundly meaningful commentary on it.
4. Canon of the sages and paradise of the drinking companions (*K. qānūn al-ḥukamā' wa-firdaws al-nudamā'*).
5. On the desirable limits regarding the regulation of food and drink (*Kitāb al-gharaḍ al-maṭlūb fi tadbīr al-ma'kūl wa-l-mashrūb*). A [single] treatise.

<sup>119</sup> Metre: *ṭawīl*.

<sup>120</sup> The asterisks convey the euphemistic use of the Arabic grammatical term for the active participle, *fā'il*, literally 'doer', sometimes employed instead of a graphic obscenity.



6. Questions and answers on fevers (*Masāʾil wa-ajwibatuhā fī l-ḥummayāt*).
7. A poem, in *rajaz* metre, on bloodletting (*Urjūzah fī l-faṣd*).

#### 15.47 Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī<sup>121</sup>

[15.47.1]

Ṣadaqah ibn Manjā<sup>122</sup> ibn Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī was one of the greatest medical authorities and belonged to the most distinguished and exemplary practitioners of the art of medicine, having been constantly engaged in study and research. He was very knowledgeable, extremely intelligent, and well-versed in philosophy and its riddles: he taught the art of medicine, but also composed mediocre poetry, *dūbayt* poems for the most part, in which he often included philosophical witticisms. Al-Sāmīrī is also the author of a number of philosophical and medical works.

Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī spent many years in the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, with whom he stayed in the East until his death. Al-Malik al-Ashraf, who relied on him in medical matters, held him in the highest esteem and honoured him greatly, allotting him large sums of money and constantly bestowing favours upon him. Ṣadaqah died in the city of Ḥarrān sometime after 620/1223. He left behind an enormous fortune, but no children.

The following are some of the sayings of Ṣadaqah al-Sāmīrī, which I copied from his own handwriting.

‘Fasting consists in denying food to one’s body and keeping the senses from error and the limbs from sin; it is refraining from everything that distracts from the remembrance of God’.

Another of them: ‘Know that all pious deeds are visible except fasting, which can be seen by God alone; for it is an inner act of sheer perseverance. Fasting has three degrees: the general fast, which consists in restraining the stomach and liberating oneself from the gratification of desire; the special fast, which consists in keeping the ear, eye, tongue and all the limbs from sin; and the extraordinary fast, which consists in the heart’s abstinence from base concerns and mundane thoughts and its concentration on God alone, exalted be He’.

<sup>121</sup> This biography is found in all three versions of the book.

<sup>122</sup> Manjā (or Munajjā) is also found in Muslim contexts. See e.g. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 392: ‘Umar ibn Munajjā (vowelled thus; spelled with final *alif*).

A third: 'The body's secretions that do not undergo change and are not transient,<sup>123</sup> such as tears, sweat, spittle and mucus, are pure, whereas the more long-lasting and changeable secretions, such as urine and excrement, are impure'.

A fourth: 'Know that the [word] vizier (*wazīr*) derives its name from [the expression] 'to carry a burden' (*ḥamala l-wīzr*) for the one whom he is serving; but bearing this burden is only possible if the vizier's physiognomy and his natural disposition are sound. As regards his physiognomy, he should cut a fine figure and be of a pleasing appearance, with well-proportioned limbs and excellent senses. As regards his natural disposition, he should have superior insight and far-reaching aims, be highly intelligent and possess an outstanding intuitive knowledge of human nature. He should also be broad-minded, possess all the manly virtues, and have knowledge of matters of all kinds. Given those qualities, he is of the greatest value for the state, for he will keep the ruler from ruin, ensure that he does not stoop to baseness, and dive for opportunities for him [i.e., pave the way for him]; his function is that of an instrument that can serve to fulfil every desire, a wall that keeps the plague out of the city, or a bird of prey that catches food for its master. But not everyone who is qualified for such a task can serve every ruler, if he is not known for his devotion to the one he serves, his love for the one who claims his exclusive service, and his preference for the one who has raised his position'.

A fifth: 'The patience of the chaste is graceful'.

[15.47.2.1]

Ṣadaqaḥ al-Sāmīrī composed the following poetry:<sup>124</sup>

Ask him why he turned me away arrogantly, why he abandoned me,  
 and left my eyelids insomnia after sleep!  
 He treated me harshly, without crime or cause,  
 though I have been loyal to my covenant; so why did he betray me?  
 O men, stop and ask me to explain my story,  
 for others have not told you the true story.  
 If I am soft and humble he is hard and proud; if I seek  
 to approach him he moves away, if I am friendly he is aloof.

123 Enduring? *Laysa lahu maqarr* means 'has no fixed abode; does not stay in one place'; but none of these excretions stays for long in one place. Or perhaps guts and bladder count as 'fixed abodes'.

124 Metre: *basīṭ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:300–301.

This is death, I think – what do you think? Don't believe  
that he who is parched and he who comes from the well are alike!

He also said:<sup>125</sup>

You who inherited from father and forefather  
the virtue of medicine and sound opinion,  
Who is guaranteed to bring back every soul  
that is about to leave the body!  
I swear that if he were to give medical treatment to Time  
it would turn to coming-into-being without corruption.<sup>126</sup>

He also said:<sup>127</sup>

If you read his words you would suppose he is  
Saḥbān,<sup>128</sup> or that he surpasses him.  
If Ma'add, or some speaker of pure Arabic of Qaḥṭān,<sup>129</sup>  
witnessed him delivering a speech,  
They would willingly acknowledge that he is the ablest  
of them in pure speech and eloquence.  
He is the master of sciences,<sup>130</sup> when he shuffles his arrow-shafts  
no two of them differ in winning.<sup>131</sup>  
Intelligent when there are problems; a mind sharper  
and more penetrating than the edge of a spearhead.  
When a scholar who rejects piety and the stipulations  
of belief contemplates his books,  
The aspects of Truth on their pages  
will indicate to him clear proof,

125 Metre: *mukhallā' al-basīṭ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:301, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:290 (lines 2–3). Attributed to al-Qāḍī al-Jalīs 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Jabbāb in al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*Miṣr*), i:193 and Ibn Shākīr, *Fawāit*, ii:333 (*Kharīdah* has al-Ḥ.bāb).

126 The sublunary world is subject to coming-into-being (or generation) and corruption (*al-kawn wa-l-fasād*); the addressee is said to be able to improve on this.

127 Metre: *kāmil*.

128 See above, Ch. 15.31.1 and 15.37.4.

129 Ma'add and Qaḥṭān are the names the legendary ancestors of the North and South Arabs, respectively; here standing for North and South Arabs.

130 Or 'fields of knowledge', for *'ulūm* is not restricted to the sciences.

131 A reference to the pre-Islamic 'game' of *maysir* (see above, Ch. 11.13.7.8); a somewhat odd image, not only because *maysir* is forbidden in Islam but also because it is a game of luck rather than skill or knowledge.

And evidence that, with the ascendant of their good tiding, will reveal  
the glory(?) of inborn dispositions of those with intellect.<sup>132</sup>

I found the following line in his handwriting in the margin; it repeats a rhyme-  
word:

Of an argument, its victory fully guaranteed  
by the text of *The Syllogism*<sup>133</sup> and clear proof.

It would seem that he wrote it as a substitute for the line beginning with 'The  
aspects'.<sup>134</sup>

He said, lampooning:<sup>135</sup>

Durrī,<sup>136</sup> his mistress and his master,  
assembled, define the figure of a syllogism.  
The master lies above the two, being carried,  
and madam is laid beneath the two.<sup>137</sup>  
The slave is carried by one and carries the other,  
on account of the deference held up between them.<sup>138</sup>  
That is a syllogism, the conclusion of which came  
as a natural conjugate(?)<sup>139</sup> in Damascus.

132 Interpretation unclear; perhaps the text is corrupt.

133 Apparently the poem was written for someone who wrote a treatise on *qiyās* (analogical reasoning or syllogism).

134 It is true that the two lines cannot both have been intended to form part of the poem, in view of the repeated words; nevertheless the substitution would leave the syntax unresolved.

135 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:301; attributed to Umayyah ibn Abī l-Ṣalt in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, vii:70; Yāqūt comments: 'but it is not his (usual) art'.

136 Apparently the name of a slave; vowelling uncertain (the metre requires the elision of the correct ending: *Durrī* instead of *Durrīyyun*). In *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* he is called Ṣāfi. The epigram makes use of several technical terms concerning the syllogism, such as *ḥudūd*, 'definitions' or 'terms'; *shakl*, 'figure'; *munḥamil* and *maḥmūl*, 'carried'; *mawḏūʿah*, 'posited'; *natījah*, 'conclusion'.

137 The semi-colloquial forms *al-sīdu* (instead of *al-sayyidu*) and *al-sittu* (instead of *al-sayyidatu*) are used.

138 The feminine plural in *baynahumma* is odd but perhaps an intentional mockery, with inverted *taghlīb* (making the feminine dominant over the masculine instead of the reverse, as normally). *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* has *bi-ḥishmatin fi l-jamīʿi maṣnūʿah*, 'with a modesty affected among them all'.

139 *Qarīnah* or *iqtirān* is a kind of syllogism, see al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1228 and 1129. The text of *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* has *gharībah*, 'a strange thing'. A and L can both be read as *qarīnatan*

[15.47.2.2]

He also said:<sup>140</sup>

Ibn Qusaym,<sup>141</sup> now you pretend to know grammar,  
 but your claim is spurious!  
 How is it that your mother – tell me, answer! –  
 has her legs raised ('in the nominative') though she is the object?  
 The subject is a prick, but it is erect ('in the accusative'):  
 Here are some unknown problems for you.  
 The letter *ʿayn* is (normally) undotted,<sup>142</sup> yet the 'eye' (*ʿayn*) of her coc-  
 cyx  
 is dotted with two testicles.<sup>143</sup>

He also said:<sup>144</sup>

We have an old man who is, in his grandeur, a clever fellow;  
 there has not been anyone like him among the nations of the  
 past.  
 A geometrician,<sup>145</sup> the length of his days;  
 despite his shortness he swallows a cylinder;<sup>146</sup>  
 Triangular, supported by a perpendicular,  
 because his angle is obtuse.<sup>147</sup>

He also said, a *dūbayt*:

---

or (as in *Wāfi*) *qarnīyyatan*, which, if correct, could be interpreted as 'a horny thing', i.e., a case of cuckoldry (or rather 'wittoldry', in view of the husband's willing participation). But this word is not attested elsewhere, so the reading *qarīnah* (Müller, Riḍā, Najjār) is more likely to be intended.

140 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:301.

141 Thus vowelised by L; unidentified.

142 Another interpretation: 'The eye is idle', i.e., you are watching without doing anything about it.

143 One dot added to the letter *ʿayn* turns it into the letter *ghayn*; it cannot have two dots.

144 Metre: *sarī*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi:302, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:290 (lines 2–3).

145 Following A, which has *muhandisun*; alternatively one could read *muhandasun*, 'geometrically shaped' which suits the context.

146 *Sārīyah* can also mean 'mast'. There could be an obscene allusion in this and the following line.

147 The precise interpretation is unclear.

O sun of loftiness, who moves (*tasīr*) in the constellations of an auspicious star:

In the grandeur of your noble qualities the world is a trifling thing  
(*yasīr*).

You have never ceased<sup>148</sup> to proceed (*tasīr*) with justice in your realm  
Among us, and with your bounty ransom every captive (*asīr*)!

He also said, a *dūbayt*:

You who ask about symptoms (or: *Ṣifāt*)<sup>149</sup> from which comes my sickness,

Hear some interesting things and leave me with my own opinion!

In her saliva is choice reddish wine,

On her forehead are Orion's stars.

He also said:<sup>150</sup>

Whenever there appear to my sight eyes of the dark-eyed ones<sup>151</sup>

A flood of my tears as from fountainheads springs forth:

Gazelles on a sandy hill between *arāk*<sup>152</sup> and twigs,

Who turned away as fruits to be plucked (?)<sup>153</sup> and increased my madness.

He also said:<sup>154</sup>

I implore you two<sup>155</sup> by God, call on him and ask him (*salāh*)!

How often has he killed me, and though that my heart had got over it  
(*salāh*)!

148 Reading *lā zilta*, with optative sense ('May you never cease') would sound more normal but all sources have *mā zilta*.

149 Reading *ṣifātīn* ('characteristics, symptoms') would be unmetrical; the following line suggests that a personal name is intended, which might, somewhat dubiously, be read *Ṣifāti* or *Ṣifāta* (see Wright, *Grammar*, i:243).

150 *Dūbayt*.

151 The word *ʿin* is used in the Qur'an (e.g. al-Dukhān 44:54) for paradisiacal damsels and in poetry often for gazelles and women.

152 A tree (*Salvadora persica*), the twigs of which are still often used to clean the teeth.

153 Reading *a'raḍna 'annī* (Riḍā), 'they turned from me', would make good sense but is unmetrical.

154 *Dūbayt*.

155 For the old convention of using a dual, see above Ch, 10.69.3.7.

He has promised to be true; but if he betrays his loyalty (*wafāh*)  
I shall kiss his forehead, his eyes, and his mouth (*wa-fāh*).

He also said:<sup>156</sup>

The wine (*rāḥ*) appeared with its fragrant (*rayḥānī*) smell (*rīḥ*);  
Then it boasted of its spiritual subtlety.  
When it shone with its luminous light  
It was limpid and man's dispositions became pure.

He also said:<sup>157</sup>

I banish Time's misery with cups,  
For wine is the mainstay of the souls' essence.  
He who stays sober for one day will never prosper,  
Nor he who listens to the fine words of well-meaning admonishers.

He also said:<sup>158</sup>

Extinguish life's misery with water and wine,  
For Time is, as you see, a phantom and a mirage;  
And exploit the time of pleasures between friends,  
For the body's destination is, as it was before, dust.

He also said:<sup>159</sup>

Wine (*rāḥ*) is refreshment (*rawḥ*),<sup>160</sup> so drink on, sober friend!<sup>161</sup>  
A yellow wine that with its subtlety is incompatible with sorrows;  
But for the net<sup>162</sup> that catches it in the cups  
It would fly from joy to the place of spirits.

156 *Dūbayt*.

157 *Dūbayt*.

158 *Dūbayt*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvi:302.

159 *Dūbayt*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xvi:302.

160 Vowelled thus in L; the other sources also allow reading *rūḥ* ('spirit').

161 The word *ṣāḥ*, standing for *ṣāḥī* ('sober'), could also be taken as 'my friend' (a common shortening of *ṣāḥībī*).

162 The 'net' refers to the bubbles that result from the mixing of wine and water, as al-Ṣafadī remarks; he adds that the motif was taken from a line by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Fukayk (the 'net' motif is already used by Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, iii:63).

[15.47.3]

Şadaqah al-Sāmīrī is the author of the following works:

1. A commentary on the Torah (*S. al-Tawrāh*).
2. On the soul (*K. al-naḥs*).
3. Explanatory remarks with regard to medicine (*Ta'ālīq fī l-ṭibb*), in which the author discusses diseases and their symptoms.
4. A commentary on Hippocrates' *Book of Aphorisms* (*S. kitāb al-ḥuṣūl li-Abuqrāṭ*), which the author left unfinished.
5. On the names of simple drugs (*M. fī asāmī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).
6. Treatise in which the author answers medical questions put to him by the Jew al-As'ad al-Maḥallī (*M. ajāba fihā 'an masā'il ṭibbiyyah sa'alahu 'anhā al-As'ad al-Maḥallī al-Yahūdī*).
7. On the unity of God, titled *The Treasure of Success* (*M. fī l-tawḥīd wa-sammāhā kitāb al-kanz fī l-fawz*).
8. On the principle of faith (*K. al-i'tiqād*).

#### 15.48 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Abī Sa'īd<sup>1</sup>

The shaykh, learned authority, master and vizier Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Abī Sa'īd ibn Khalaf al-Sāmīrī was well-versed in the science of medicine, distinguished in the philosophical sciences, and devoted to literature and culture. He was a man of the greatest merits and a very pleasant person, having been benevolent, noble-hearted and sensitive. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Yūsuf studied the art of medicine under the physician Ibrāhīm al-Sāmīrī, who was known as 'the sun of the physicians' and served al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (Saladin). Muhadhdhab al-Dīn also studied under the tutelage of the shaykh Ismā'īl ibn Abū l-Waqqār,<sup>2</sup> the physician, and Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ibn al-Naqqāsh.<sup>3</sup> He studied the literary arts under Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī Abū l-Yumn.

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Yūsuf was distinguished in the art of medicine and renowned for his sound medical treatment and therapy, as may be seen from the following [anecdote]. Sitt al-Shām, the sister of al-Malik al-'Adil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, was afflicted with a dysentery of the liver (*dusintāriyā kabidiyyah*) that caused her to throw up quantities of blood every day. Her physicians were treating her with the accepted remedies against this disease, such as potions and the like. When Muhadhdhab al-Dīn arrived and felt her pulse, he said to

<sup>1</sup> This biography is found in all three versions of the book.

<sup>2</sup> This physician has a biography in Ch. 15.12.

<sup>3</sup> This physician has a biography in Ch. 15.13.



the assembly, 'O Gentlemen, as long as she has some strength left, give her camphor (*kāfūr*), to rectify the acute humoral imbalance that is the cause of her present condition'. He ordered *qayṣūrī*-camphor<sup>4</sup> to be brought in and administered it to her, together with an emulsion of roasted herbaceous seeds and a potion made of pomegranate and sandalwood. It was not long before she stopped [throwing up] blood, and her liver became less inflamed. Muhadhhab al-Dīn administered this potion to her again on the second day and she improved further. Thereafter, he applied a supportive regimen until she had made a complete recovery.

Someone from the entourage of Ṣāḥib ibn Shukr,<sup>5</sup> the vizier of al-Malik al-Ādil, told me the following story. 'Once,' he said, 'our master suffered from pain in his back, due to a chill. The physicians who came to attend him, treated him by correcting his diet and boiling a little castoreum (*jund bīdastar*) mixed with olive-oil and anointing him with it; others suggested anointment with camomile (*bābūnaj*) and mastic (*maṣṭakā*). "In place of all these things," said Muhadhhab al-Dīn, "it would be beneficial to try something that has a pleasant smell," a suggestion that delighted al-Ṣāḥib Ibn Shukr. Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf then ordered a perfume made of musk and ambergris (*ghāliyah*) and oil of the ben tree [*duhn bān*] to be brought to him. He melted it over the fire and anointed the [painful] spot. The patient was greatly relieved at once.'

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf served 'Izz al-Dīn Farrukhshāh ibn Shāhanshāh ibn Ayyūb as his physician. When 'Izz al-Dīn Farrukhshāh died – may God have mercy upon him – in Jumādā I of the year 578 [September 1182], he became the medical attendant of his son, al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh ibn 'Izz al-Dīn Farrukhshāh, staying with him in Baalbek. During that ruler's lifetime, Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf enjoyed his good graces and received much money and many favours from him. The ruler consulted him on his affairs and relied on him with respect to his enterprises. The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn was a man of good character, who possessed sound intelligence and vast knowledge. The ruler thought his views sound and his intentions honest, and finally made him a vizier. In that post, Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf's power increased and his importance grew, until he came to be in charge of the whole government and of all the affairs of state, and his commands and prohibitions could

4 *Qayṣūrī* or *fayṣūrī kāfūr*: a superior kind of camphor. See *Encycl. Iranica* art. 'camphor' (Hūshang A'lam).

5 For al-Ṣāḥib Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī ibn Shukr (d. 622/1225), see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii: 327–330.

not be disobeyed. This caused the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Fityān<sup>6</sup> to compose the following verses about him:<sup>7</sup>

Al-Malik al-Amjad, to whose excellence  
all kings testify.  
Now believes as strongly in al-Sāmīrī  
as the Samaritan (*al-Sāmīrī*) believed in the Calf.<sup>8</sup>

These two lines of poetry were recited to me by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Fityān, who said, ‘My father recited these verses, composed by himself, to me.’

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – say: ‘The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn continued to enjoy his lofty status. However, there was a growing chorus of complaint about his family and his Samaritan relatives. A group of them had come up to him in Baalbek from Damascus, and as a man of high-standing whom none dared to resist, the vizier had given them all posts. But they only caused injustice, waste and corruption, and when al-Malik al-Amjad realized that money had been wasted and corruption had increased, and other rulers criticized him for handing over his government to the Samaritans, he finally had Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Sāmīrī arrested, along with all the Samaritans who were in his service, and extracted large sums of money from them. The vizier remained in prison until there was nothing left of his fortune. He was then released and moved to Damascus. I saw him there in his house. When he arrived from Baalbek, and my father and I went over to call on him, I found him to be a fine old man, eloquent in speech and refined in opinion. He died a little later, on a Thursday, at the beginning of Ṣafar of the year 624 [21 January 1227], in Damascus.’

A sample of his poetry follows:<sup>9</sup>

If Time (*al-dahr*) has been bad to me for a day,  
it has given me joy for a long time (*dahrān*);  
And if it has afflicted me in my wealth,  
I will have compensation as a reward.

6 Shihāb al-Dīn Fityān ibn ‘Alī al-Shāghūrī; see al-Isfahānī, *Kharīdah* (*al-Shām*), i: 247–259; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv: 24–26; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiii: 730–733.

7 Metre: *munsariḥ*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:291; Ibn al-Sha‘ār, *Qalā‘id*, iv:316; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxix:205 (line 2).

8 In the Qur‘ān (Q Ṭā-Hā 20:85, 87, 95) ‘the Samaritan’ is the man who tempted the Israelites to worship the Golden Calf. In the story in Exodus no ‘Samaritan’ is mentioned; cf. *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘al-Sāmīrī’ (B. Heller-[A. Rippin]); cf. also Mason & Lupieri, *Golden Calf Traditions*.

9 Metre: *mujtathth*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:291.

God enriches and ruins:  
Praise and thanks be to God.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Abī Saʿīd is the author of a commentary on the Torah (*S. al-Tawrāh*).

#### 15.49 al-Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah<sup>1</sup>

[15.49.1]

The Ṣāhib and vizier, the scholar and practitioner, the respected chief, the most excellent vizier, the chief physician, the learned authority, Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ghazāl ibn Abī Saʿīd, was a Samaritan who converted to Islam under the name Kamāl al-Dīn. Muhadhhab al-Dīn al-Sāmīrī was his paternal uncle.<sup>2</sup> This Amīn al-Dawlah was a man of unsurpassable intelligence, whose knowledge was unparalleled among his peers. He was charitable and high-minded, performed many acts of kindness, and continually bestowed favours upon everyone. He acquired exhaustive knowledge of the art of medicine, to the uttermost limits of that domain. He was well aware of the outcomes of medicine, and had a perfect knowledge of its principles and branches, to the point that he had few peers, for even the learned and the accomplished were not able to attain to his superior status. He first served al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, the son of ʿIzz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh ibn Ayyūb,<sup>3</sup> who relied upon him in all medical matters and entrusted him with governmental affairs and concerns. He held that post until al-Malik al-Amjad's death – may God have mercy upon him, which occurred at his palace in Damascus, on Tuesday evening, the eleventh of the month Shawwāl of the year 628 [12 August 1231].

[15.49.2]

Subsequently, Amīn al-Dawlah served as a vizier under the rule of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿImād al-Dīn Abū l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the treatise. The biography in Version 1, however, differs considerably and is given in an Addendum to this biography. That which follows immediately below represents the biography as it appears in Versions 2 and 3.

2 See Ch. 15.48.

3 Al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿIzz al-Dīn Taqī al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Farrukh Shāh Dāwūd was the Ayyubid emir of Baalbek between 1179 and 1182 and Nāʾib (Viceroy) of Damascus. He was the son of Saladin's younger brother Nūr al-Dīn Shāhanshāh and the older brother of Taqī al-Dīn ʿUmar who became emir of Hama.

ibn Ayyūb.<sup>4</sup> Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl left him a free hand, with the result that the state was governed in the best possible way and well organized under his judicious leadership. He strengthened and solidified the foundations of the realm, and commissioned and erected lofty edifices, overhauled the standards for science and scientists, and surpassed the ancients themselves in merit. Amīn al-Dawlah remained in the service of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl, enjoying eminent status, powerful authority, unquestioning obedience and supreme importance, until al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb,<sup>5</sup> the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, conquered Damascus and appointed the emir Mu'īn al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh<sup>6</sup> as his representative there. Upon taking over the city, he gave Baalbek to al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl, who removed there with his family and his household, in the year 643/1245.

During his vizierate, Amīn al-Dawlah loved to accumulate money. He obtained large sums for al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl at the expense of the citizens of Damascus and took possession of many of their properties, with the aid of the city's chief judge Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jilī and his subordinates.<sup>7</sup> When the Sultan's representative in Damascus [i.e. Mu'īn al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh], the Damascene vizier Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Maṭrūḥ<sup>8</sup> and the notables of the realm became aware of the sums of money that Amīn al-Dawlah had amassed, they decided to arrest him and confiscate his property. They prepared a trap for him by sending for him and showing respect for his importance by standing up when he came in. When he was seated in their midst, they said to him, 'If you wish to stay in Damascus, stay as you are, and if you wish to go to your master in Baalbek, do so.' 'By God,' he replied, 'of course I will go to my master

4 He is the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Šāliḥ I Ismā'īl ibn al-Ādil I Abū Bakr Sayf al-Dīn, 'Imād al-Dīn (first reign: 635/1237–1238; second reign: 637–643/1239–1245). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70–71.

5 He is the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Šāliḥ I Ayyūb ibn al-Kāmil Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn, Najm al-Dīn, of Damascus (first reign in Damascus: 636–637/1239; second reign in Damascus: 643–647/1245–1249; reign over Egypt: 637–647/1240–1249). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 70.

6 For the term *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh*, see Hofer, 'Chief Sufi', 1–37.

7 This judge and physician has a biography in Ch. 15.20.

8 Jamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Maṭrūḥ (592–649/1196–1251). Abū l-Ḥasan Yaḥyā ibn 'Īsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Maṭrūḥ was born in Asyūt, Egypt, and was an important poet whose *Dīwān* has been published. He eventually took on a series of high official appointments under the Ayyubid rulers of Egypt. He travelled between Syria and Egypt and eventually got caught up in the political intrigue of the Ayyubid power struggle. He was appointed vizier of Damascus under al-Malik al-Šāliḥ I Ayyūb ibn al-Kāmil Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn, Najm al-Dīn in 643/1245 and it was during this period that IAU probably became acquainted with him; *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Maṭrūḥ' (J. Rikabi); Hilloowala, *Analysis of Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah*, 63, 116–117. See also Ch. 14.32.

and stay with him'. He then left, collected his possessions, valuables, cash and everything that he owned, including the furniture and carpets from his houses, loaded the lot on a number of mules and set out for Baalbek. When he was just outside Damascus, he was arrested; everything that he carried with him was seized and placed under guard, and he was detained. This took place on Friday, the second of the month of Rajab, of the year 643 [23 November 1245]. He was then escorted to Egypt and thrown into prison in the fortress of Cairo, together with other associates of al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Ismā'īl.

[15.49.3]

Some time later, al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb died in Egypt in the year 647/1249. Al-Malik al-Nāşir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad thereupon marched from Aleppo and took Damascus on Sunday, the eighth of the month Rabī' 11 of the year 648 [10 July 1250].<sup>9</sup> Accompanied by al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Ismā'īl and the other Syrian princes, he marched on Egypt, bent on conquest. At that time Egypt was ruled by al-Malik al-'Azīz al-Mu'izz 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī,<sup>10</sup> who had come to power after the death of his master, al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. He now led his army out to meet that of al-Malik al-Nāşir. The Egyptian forces were repulsed at first, but rallied and finally routed the Syrians. Al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Ismā'īl and many of the other princes and emirs were captured and imprisoned in Egypt. Some of them were later released, but al-Malik al-Şāliḥ Ismā'īl was never heard of again. It was said that he had been strangled with a bowstring.

[15.49.4]

I had the following account from the emir Sayf al-Dīn al-Mushidd 'Alī ibn 'Umar<sup>11</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. News was brought from Bilbays<sup>12</sup> that the princes of Syria had defeated the Egyptian troops. When the vizier Amīn al-Dawlah, in the fortress of Cairo, heard this, he said to the commander of the fortress, 'Let us go free in the fortress, until the [Syrian] princes arrive, and then you will see how well we shall treat you'. The commander of the fortress wished to do that himself and set them free. In that section of the prison there were

9 He is the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Nāşir 11 Yūsuf ibn al-'Azīz Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Şalāḥ al-Dīn, of Aleppo (648–658/1250–1260). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

10 He is the Mamlūk ruler al-Malik al-Mu'izz Aybak al-Turkumānī, 'Izz al-Dīn (first reign: 648/1250; second reign: 652–655/1254–1257). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 76.

11 'Alī ibn 'Umar Qizil al-Turkumānī al-Yārūqī Sayf al-Dīn al-Mushidd (d. 656/1258), see al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi: 353–365 (where much of his poetry is quoted).

12 A town in Lower Egypt, northeast of Cairo on the edge of the desert. See e.g. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Bilbays' (G. Wiet).

three of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Ismā'īl's entourage: his vizier Amīn al-Dawlah, his majordomo, Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Yaghmūr, and a Kurdish emir called Sayf al-Dīn. 'Friends,' said the Kurd, 'do not hurry, but stay where you are; if the situation is as we hope, our master will certainly set us free, restore us to our former positions, treat us generously, and rescue us. But if the situation is not as we hope, we shall do better to stay in our places and not go rushing out; that will be safer for us.' But the vizier and Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Yaghmūr did not agree and went out to various places all over the fortress, commanding and forbidding. When the outcome of the battle had been contrary to what they had hoped, 'Izz al-Dīn al-Turkumānī ascended the fortress and ordered Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Yaghmūr killed and the vizier hanged.<sup>13</sup> Both orders were executed. Someone who had witnessed the hanging told me that the vizier was clad in a vest of green 'Attābī cloth (*qandūrat 'attābī khaḍrā*),<sup>14</sup> with his legs in gaiters (*sarmūzah*),<sup>15</sup> which he had never seen on a hanged man. Their companion, the Kurd, for his part, was released, laden with honours and given bread.

[15.49.5]

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah – say: 'A most amazing account of a judgement of the stars relating to these events, was told to me by the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn Zakarī,<sup>16</sup> who was known as Ibn 'Ulaymah. He was in the service of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. "When the Šāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah was imprisoned by my master," he said, "he sent for an Egyptian astrologer, who possessed extensive and acute knowledge of astrology and whose horoscopes were almost invariably accurate. Amīn al-Dawlah asked the astrologer about his situation and whether he would be released from prison. When the astrologer received the message, he examined the altitude of the sun at that particular moment, studied the degree of the ascendant, the twelve houses and the positions of the planets [relative to the twelve houses], wrote it all down, cast a horoscope and made his prediction in conformity with it". "Amīn al-Dawlah will be released from prison," he said, "and will leave it cheerful and happy. He will be favoured by fortune and remain in a high position in Egypt, and his orders and commands will be obeyed by all the people". When this response reached Amīn al-Dawlah, he received it

13 The execution is mentioned in al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām, Ḥawādith wa-wafayāt 641–665*, pp. 62 (under the events of 648) and 384–385 (under the persons who died in 648). Al-Dhahabī does not give a precise date within the year 648 (which ran from April 1250 to Late March 1251), but the event comes nearer the end of the year than the beginning.

14 See Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:93 for 'attābī. For *qandūrah*, see Dozy, *Supplément*, ii:418.

15 For *sarmūzah*, see Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 202–203.

16 See Ibn Durayd, *Jamharah*, 708 (ZKR).

joyfully. Upon being informed of the arrival of the [Syrian] princes and their victory, he went out quite sure that he would remain a vizier in Egypt. Thus, the astrologer's prediction of his release from prison, his happiness, the obedience to all his orders and commands, and his ending up in a high position came true that day. But Amīn al-Dawlah did not suspect what would happen to him later on, for God, mighty and glorious, was already preparing that which had been predestined for him and was written in the Book'.

[15.49.6]

The Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah had a virtuous soul. He took a keen interest in collecting and studying books, and purchased many outstanding works in all the sciences. Copyists were always busy with books for him. Once he desired a copy of *The History of Damascus* (*Tā'riḫ Dimashq*) by al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn 'Asākir,<sup>17</sup> which was in eighty volumes in minute script. 'One copyist will never be able to cope with this [large] book,' he said, and he divided it among ten copyists, each of whom worked on eight volumes. They finished the work in approximately two years, and the whole book came into his possession. This shows his boundless ambition.

When Amīn al-Dawlah – may God have mercy upon him – was occupying the office of vizier in Damascus in the days of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, he was a close friend of my father's. One day he said to him, 'Sadīd al-Dīn, I have heard that your son has composed a book on the classes of physicians that is unprecedented. All the physicians in my service praise him greatly for his highly valuable book. I have in my library more than twenty thousand volumes, but none in that particular domain. I would like you to send him a letter and ask him to have a copy of that book made for me.' At that time I was in Ṣarkhad, at the court of its ruler, the emir 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'azzamī, and subject to his orders. Upon receiving my father's letter, I went to Damascus, taking along with me the rough drafts of my book. There, I called upon the illustrious copyist Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who did a lot of copying work for us: his handwriting was excellent, and his mastery of the Arabic language was admirable. I gave him space at our home, where he copied the book in a fairly short time, putting it into four sections, in quarter Baghdādī format.<sup>18</sup>

17 See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tāriḫ*.

18 Paper made in Baghdad was said to be of the best quality. It was a heavy yet pliable paper, smooth-surfaced and symmetrical; the standard 'full' Baghdadi sheet of paper was one cubit in width and one-and-one-half cubits in length (ca. 1099 mm × 733 mm). A sheet would then be folded a number of times to produce the desired size of codex. See Bosch, Carswell & Petherbridge, *Islamic Bookmaking*, 30–31; Bloom, *Paper before Print*, 53–55.



Having had these bound, I composed a panegyrical poem for the Ṣāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah and sent all these items to him by the hand of the chief judge of Damascus, Rafīʿ al-Dīn al-Jilī,<sup>19</sup> who was one of the teachers with whom I was on friendly terms and under whom I had studied and read a section of Ibn Sīnā's *Book of Pointers and Admonitions* (*K. al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*). When Amīn al-Dawlah read the book and poem, he was greatly surprised and extremely happy. He sent the judge back with a large sum of money and honorary robes for me, along with many expressions of gratitude. 'It is my desire that you notify me of every new book you write,' he said.

[15.49.6.1]

Here is the poem that I composed for him, at the beginning of the year 643/1245:<sup>20</sup>

My heart is a captive in my love of them:  
 wherever their riders go, there it goes too,  
 Yearning for al-ʿUdhayb<sup>21</sup> and those who live there,  
 a yearning contained by a blazing fire;  
 And it would love a whiff, blowing early at dawn,  
 that carried the fragrance of their sweet smell.  
 But I am content, once having been close,  
 with a visit of a vision of their phantom.  
 5 One with honied red lips, bitter to pluck,  
 is unjust (*yajūru*) to the lover and does not give refuge (*yujīru*);  
 He is bent on rejecting me, while my heart is always  
 hot as the midday heat (*hajīr*) because of his steady forsaking (*hajr*).  
 My eyes have been sleepless on account of him continuously;  
 so why this breaking-off and aloofness?  
 His figure is like a tender twig,  
 his face looks like a luminous full moon.  
 One would think him drunk from the wine of childish love,  
 swaying; his glances are languid.  
 10 On his cheeks there is a garden of beauty;  
 on my cheeks there is a pool of tears.

19 See the entry on him in Ch. 15.20.

20 Metre: *wāfir*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:105–106 (lines 1, 13, 15–16).

21 The name of several locations, often mentioned in poetry (it could be translated as 'Little Sweetwater').



So often have I seen him aggressively  
 to me, while I bore it patiently.  
 My situation (*ḥālī*) with the people of this time<sup>22</sup> is not sweet (*ḥālī*);  
 my innermost thought (*sirr*) is not mixed with joy (*surūr*).  
 But if I complain about the time, my treasure is  
 the Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah, the Vizier:  
 A generous man, liberal, giver of favours  
 that are general as a dark cloud pouring its rain.  
 15 He has risen in the sky of glory until  
 the ether (*athīr*)<sup>23</sup> was marked (*ta'aththara*) with his footsoles' traces.  
 Can any poetry (*shī'r*) express his lofty qualities  
 when Sirius (*al-Shī'rā*) is located beneath him?  
 He has authority and justice, continuously;  
 through him people's affairs are justly balanced.  
 In times of famine (*azamāt*) he is charitable (*mubīrr*) to the petitioner;  
 in times of firm resolve (*'azamāt*) he is a destroyer (*mubīr*) to the  
 aggressor.  
 He has surpassed the ancients in noble deeds;  
 and how many an ancient one was surpassed by a later one?<sup>24</sup>  
 20 He towers over all living beings in all fields of knowledge;  
 Qaṣīr would fall short of him in sound opinion.<sup>25</sup>  
 Through him the world is made sound, and cities and frontiers  
 have submitted to their benefit.  
 You, whose favours are all-encompassing, you man of  
 benefaction (*ifḍāl*) and abundant excellence (*faḍl*),  
 You have revived knowledge that was dead, so that  
 its resurrection in existence was plain to see;

22 *Ma' banīhī*, literally, 'with his/its sons'; taking the pronoun to refer to 'time' in the preceding line (cf. the common expression *abnā' al-zamān*).

23 A Greek loanword; identified either (as in al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, 'ThR, with a spurious etymology) as 'the ninth, or great, celestial sphere, which rules all other spheres, because it influences (*yu'aththīru*) others'; or as a region just below the planets and the moon (e.g. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il*, iv:225). The following verse seems to indicate that the poet adhered to the former view.

24 The sense would seem to require the exclamatory sentence 'And how many an ancient one has surpassed a later one (*al-akhīrā*)!', but the rhyme requires the nominative *al-akhīrū*.

25 According to an ancient story set in pre-Islamic times, Qaṣīr was the devoted counsellor of Jadhīmah, king of al-Ḥīrah, and was instrumental in avenging his master's death at the hands of al-Zabbā', queen of Tadmur/Palmyra (a legendary version of the historical Zenobia).

You let mankind drink from seas of generosity  
 when the watering-places had nearly dried up.  
 25 So many obscure concepts in medicine  
 became evident again through an explanation from you.  
 Whoever will compare the Leader (*raʿīs*)<sup>26</sup> with you  
 will find that he is now turned into Led (*marʿūs*).  
 Does he resemble you in expression and excellence,  
 while you never have an equal in either?  
 Hereby I send you a composition, so that it may preserve  
 your name and that epochs may not change it:  
 It is unique, no one in the past preceded me,  
 as our Master is well aware;  
 30 But to your knowledge it finds its way  
 just as dates find their way to Hajar.<sup>27</sup>  
 Far be it that these virgin motifs, led as brides  
 to the Master, should fall on fallow ground!  
 And if I have made any evident error in it,  
 you will forgive such things.

[15.49.6.2]

I have copied the following verses from the handwriting of shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn Hibat Allāh Abū l-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, the secretary, who was also known as Ibn al-Naḥḥās. He wrote them for the Ṣāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah, asking him for a manuscript promised him by al-Malik al-Amjad, in the year 627/1227:<sup>28</sup>

You promised the manuscript, so send what you promised,  
 O you who bestows benefits continuously without condescension!<sup>29</sup>  
 He who does a good deed reaps every honour  
 and buys, without paying a price, eulogies that will be recited.  
 A manuscript that will increase your good fortune,<sup>30</sup> as long as  
 a grey dove coos on a branch in the trees.

26 Ibn Sīnā/Avicenna, often known as *al-Raʿīs*.

27 That is, as owls to Athens or coal to Newcastle. Hajar is a place in Eastern Arabia.

28 Metre: *basīṭ*. This Muwaffaq al-Dīn Hibat Allāh has not been identified.

29 Taking *bilā manan* to be a variant of *bilā mann*, on which see above, Ch. 10.64.17.1 (vs. 11).

30 The words *khatṭ* ('manuscript') and *ḥazz* ('good fortune') differ only in the place of a single dot.

Sharaf al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar,<sup>31</sup> the secretary, who was also known as 'the son of the Yemenite judge', recited to me the following *qaṣīdah* composed by himself in honour of the Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah:<sup>32</sup>

Time has afflicted me with a change for the worse  
 and trouble has effaced my serene pleasure.  
 My life was always sweet but now,  
 when Time turned tyrannical, it has become bitter.  
 The one I love has gone away and no longer cares for me:  
 because of his forsaking (*hajr*) me, in my heart is a midday heat  
 (*hajīr*).  
 I hoped to be cured of the sickness of a malady  
 that has wasted me and which inside me is a blazing fire.  
 5 Someone said to me, when the sickness had defied treatment,  
 medicine was hard to find (*'azza*), and consultants were lacking  
 (*'āza*):  
 'How can you complain of pains, or how can the illness in your body  
 defy treatment when the Vizier is a physician?  
 Go to the Ṣāhib, the Vizier, and do not fear,  
 for his beneficence is all-encompassing and abundant!  
 When an illness is feared to be fatal  
 only a discriminating sage can cure:  
 A lord, a companion (*ṣāhib*), skilful, wise,  
 learned, glorious, a Vizier, a great man,  
 10 Who rescues, is fair, gentle, compassionate,  
 beneficent, favouring others, noble, favoured!

An example of the Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah's own poetry was included in his letter to Burhān al-Dīn, the vizier of the emir 'Izz al-Dīn al-Mu'aẓẓamī, in which he consoled Burhān al-Dīn on the death of his father, the preacher Sharaf al-Dīn 'Umar:<sup>33</sup>

31 Born in Damascus 589/1193, no death date found; see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ix:150.

32 Metre: *khaff*.

33 Metre: *sarī*. The lines are in fact by Abū Firās (d. 357/968), addressing Sayf al-Dawlah on the loss of his younger sister, see Abū Firās, *Dīwān*, 67, al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, i:38 (lines 2–3). Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:106 also attributes them wrongly to Amīn al-Dawlah.

Speak<sup>34</sup> to this glorious lord  
 the words of someone grieving like him, bereaved:  
 There must be loss and someone losing;  
 No, no human being will live forever!  
 Be a condoler rather than someone condoled,  
 if you have to be one of them.

[15.49.7]

The Şāḥib Amīn al-Dawlah composed *The Clear Path in Medicine* (*K. al-Nahj al-wāḍiḥ fī l-tibb*), which is one of the best books ever written on the art of medicine. In it the author brings together the established principles of medicine, both universals and particulars. It is divided into five books:

The first book refers to matters of nature, the three states of the body, the types of diseases, the symptoms of the balanced, natural and healthy humours of the main organs and the surrounding areas, and other matters that are very useful and worthy of being mentioned in this context. This is followed by [a treatment of] the pulse, urine, excrement and the critical days. The second book deals with simple drugs and their effect. The third book deals with compound drugs and their benefits. The fourth book describes the regimen of healthy persons and the treatment of manifest diseases, their causes and symptoms, and also whether surgery (*ʿamal al-yad*) is necessary in these and other cases. It also mentions the measures that should be undertaken regarding proper clothing and in case of hot winds. The fifth book is concerned with internal diseases, their causes, symptoms and treatment, and whether surgery can be employed in these cases.

**Addendum to 15.49: The Biography of Amīn al-Dawlah in Version 1,  
 Based on MS B, fols. 271a–272a. Cf. Vol. 1, esp. pp. 54–56.**

The Şāḥib and vizier, the righteous scholar and accomplished practitioner, the most excellent vizier, the chief physician, the learned authority, the sun of the law, the perfection of the religion, the honour of the faith, Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Ghazāl ibn Abī Saʿīd – may God make his days blissful and make them last, give him success in his opinions in his leadership and strengthen them, and elevate through him the edifices of learning and raise them high. His

34 A dual is used; on this convention see above, Ch. 10.69.3.7.

intelligence and knowledge was unparalleled among his peers. He was charitable and high-minded, performed many acts of kindness, and continually bestowed favours upon everyone.

He acquired exhaustive knowledge of the art of medicine, to the uttermost limits of that domain. He was well aware of the outcomes of medicine and had a perfect knowledge of its principles and branches, to the point that he had few peers, for even the learned and the accomplished were not able to attain to his superior status.

And when I saw that all people ranked below him  
I was certain that Time assays people.<sup>1</sup>

He first served the Sultan al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, the son of ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh ibn Ayyūb, who relied upon him in all medical matters and entrusted him with governmental affairs and concerns. He held that post until al-Malik al-Amjad’s death – may God have mercy upon him – which occurred at his palace in Damascus, on Tuesday evening, the eleventh of the month Shawwāl of the year 628 [12 August 1231].

Subsequently, Amīn al-Dawlah served as a vizier under the rule of our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Fidā’ Ismā‘īl, the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb – may God make him victorious and let his power multiply. He governed the state and its citizens in the best possible way, and his leadership reached the pinnacle of his success. He overhauled the standards for learning and scholars, and surpassed the ancients themselves in merit. It is as if he were in fact the one who said,<sup>2</sup>

Though I am the last in time,  
I shall truly do what the ancients could not.

The author of this book [Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah] said, describing his (viz., Amīn al-Dawlah’s) memorable achievements:<sup>3</sup>

He has surpassed the ancients in noble deeds;  
and how many an ancient one was surpassed by a later one?<sup>4</sup>

1 A line by al-Mutanabbī, quoted above (Ch. 15.31.1).

2 Metre: *ṭawīl*. A line by Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, *Saqt al-zand*, 193.

3 Metre: *wāfir*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii:105–106 (lines 1, 13, 15–16).

4 The sense would seem to require the exclamatory sentence ‘And how many an ancient one has surpassed a later one (*al-akhīrā*)!’; but the rhyme requires the nominative *al-akhīrū*.

He has authority and justice, continuously;  
 through him people's affairs are justly balanced.  
 In times of famine (*azamāt*) he is charitable (*mubirr*) to the petitioner;  
 in times of firm resolve (*'azamāt*) he is a destroyer (*mubīr*) to the  
 aggressor.  
 He towers over all living beings in all fields of knowledge;  
 Qaṣīr would fall short of him in sound opinion.<sup>5</sup>  
 Through him the world is made sound, and cities and frontiers  
 have submitted to their benefit.  
 You, whose favours are all-encompassing, you man of  
 benefaction (*ifdāl*) and abundant excellence (*faḍl*),  
 You have revived knowledge that was dead, so that  
 its resurrection in existence was plain to see;  
 You let mankind drink from seas of generosity  
 when the watering-places had nearly dried up.  
 So many obscure concepts in medicine  
 became evident again through an explanation from you.  
 Whoever will compare the Leader (*ra'īs*)<sup>6</sup> with you  
 will find that he is now turned into Led (*mar'ūs*).  
 Does he resemble you in expression and excellence,  
 while you never have an equal in either?

God, the Most High, lets his bliss remain forever and makes permanent his days  
 through the passing of months and years.

Al-Ṣāhib Amīn al-Dawlah composed *The Clear Path in Medicine* (*K. al-Nahj al-wāḍiḥ fi l-ṭibb*), which is one of the best books ever written on the art of medicine. In it the author brings together the established principles of medicine, both universals and particulars. It is divided into five books:

The first book refers to matters of nature, the three states of the body, the types of diseases, the symptoms of the balanced, natural and healthy humours of the main organs and the surrounding areas, and other matters that are very useful and worthy of being mentioned in this context. This is followed by [a treatment of] the pulse, urine, excrement and the critical

5 According to an ancient story set in pre-Islamic times, Qaṣīr was the devoted counsellor of Jadhīmah, king of al-Ḥīrah, and was instrumental in avenging his master's death at the hands of al-Zabbā', queen of Tadmur/Palmyra (a legendary version of the historical Zenobia).

6 Ibn Sīnā/Avicenna, often known as *al-Ra'īs*.

days. The second book deals with simple drugs and their effect. The third book deals with compound drugs and their benefits. The fourth book describes the regimen of healthy persons and the treatment of manifest diseases, their causes and symptoms, and also whether surgery [*amal al-yad*] is necessary in these and other cases. It also mentions the measures that should be undertaken regarding proper clothing and in case of hot winds. The fifth book is concerned with the regulation of internal diseases, their causes, symptoms and treatment, and whether surgery can be employed in these cases.

### 15.50 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī [al-Dakhwār]<sup>1</sup>

[15.50.1]

Our teacher, the great and eminent authority, the learned and excellent Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥāmid, who was also known as al-Dakhwār, was – may God have mercy upon him – the outstanding man of his period, unrivalled during his lifetime, the most learned scholar of his generation. He held a leading position in the art of medicine and knowledge of its universals and particulars. There was no one who could match him in diligence or keep up with him in respect of knowledge. He drove himself unsparingly, exhausting his mind in order to attain knowledge, until he surpassed all his contemporaries in the art of medicine. To the day of his death, he enjoyed the good graces of rulers and was presented by them with more wealth and honour than any physician had ever enjoyed before.

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn was born and raised in Damascus. His father, ‘Alī ibn Ḥāmid, was a renowned oculist. His brother, Ḥāmid ibn ‘Alī, was also an oculist. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn was initially an oculist as well, but at the same time he worked as a copyist. His calligraphy was of a high order of skill, and he transcribed many books, of which I have seen at least a hundred or more volumes, dealing with medicine and other [sciences]. He studied the Arabic language with shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Kindī Abū l-Yumn<sup>2</sup> and constantly persevered to

1 This biography is found in all three versions of the treatise. Ample biographical information regarding this author can be found in al-Dakhwār, *Sharḥ taqdimat al-ma’rifah*; Joosse & Pormann, ‘Prognostic’, 257–258; *EI Three* art. ‘al-Dakhwār’ (N.P. Joosse); Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 142–152; 163–175; 207–209, Ullmann, *Medizin*, 172; and Muḥammad *et alii*, *Taqdimat al-ma’rifā*.

2 Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Baghdādī al-Naḥwī (d. 613/1217). He was an expert in the Arabic language, a prominent grammarian and a well-known

attain more knowledge by reading and memorizing, even during his periods of service, until his middle age. At the beginning of his medical studies, he studied a part of the [*Kitāb*] *al-Malakī*<sup>3</sup> under the guidance of the shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī<sup>4</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. Subsequently, he attached himself to Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān,<sup>5</sup> becoming his disciple and learning the art of medicine from him. Muhadhhab al-Dīn associated with him constantly, accompanying him everywhere, until he became a skilled and proficient physician in his own right. Afterwards, he also studied a section of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Qānūn* under Fakhr al-Dīn al-Māridīnī,<sup>6</sup> when al-Māridīnī came to Damascus in the year 579/1189, for he possessed a thorough knowledge of that work and had examined its thematic purport closely.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn entered the service of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb as a physician. This came about because at the beginning of his career he had devoted his efforts to the art of treating eye ailments (*ṣināʿat al-kuḥl*) and had tried to make a living at it. Subsequently, he had worked at the 'Great Hospital', which had been founded by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī. Later, after he had studied with Ibn al-Muṭrān and had become proficient in the art of medicine, Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr,<sup>7</sup> the vizier of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, provided him with a stipend, enabling him to work as the vizier's physician and at the same time to study and improve his grasp of medical theory and practice. Muhadhhab al-Dīn remained in the service of the Ṣāḥib Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Shukr and visited him frequently. His employer was well aware of his mastery of the art of medicine and his knowledge, virtue and merits. In the month of Shawwāl of the year 604 [April–May 1207], al-Malik al-ʿĀdil said to the Ṣāḥib Ibn Shukr: 'We want another physician besides Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to take care of the troops and to visit them when they are ill. The physician ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is not able to deal with this.' 'O master,' Ibn Shukr replied obediently, 'I know of an excellent physician, named al-Muhadhhab

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reciter of the Qur'an. See also the entries on Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Muṭrān, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Sāʿātī, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī and Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī in Ch. 15 above. See for instance Martini Bonadeo, *Philosophical Journey*, 125 n. 88; Toorawa, 'A Portrait', 102, under entry 'm'.

3 The *Kitāb al-Malakī* (*The Royal Book*) or *Kitāb Kāmil al-ṣināʿah al-ṭibbiyyah* (*Complete Book of the Medical Art*) by ʿAlī ibn al-Abbās al-Majūsī (fl. ca. 983); see Ch. 10.25.

4 On him, see Ch. 15.36.

5 On him, see Ch. 15.23.

6 On him, see Ch. 10.75.

7 On the life of the vizier al-Ṣāḥib Ibn Shukr, see Leiser, *Restoration of Sunnism*, 318–322, 599; Leiser & al-Khaledy, *Questions and Answers*, 6–7; Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, *passim*.



al-Dakhwār, who would be suitable to enter your service'. 'Engage him,' said al-Malik al-Ādil. When Muhadhhab al-Dīn reported for duty, the Ṣāhib said to him, 'I have praised you before the Sultan, and you will be paid thirty Nāṣirī dinars monthly for your services'. 'O vizier,' Muhadhhab al-Dīn replied, 'the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz earns a hundred dinars monthly, and as much again in allowances. I know my worth, and I will not serve without a proper stipend,' and he left the vizier, refusing the post. His friends, however, criticized his refusal of an opportunity of entering the ruler's service, because his salary at the hospital was rather low.

Approximately a month after this discussion, as chance would have it, al-Muwaffaq 'Abd al-'Azīz was stricken with severe colic (*qawlanj*). It was treated, but grew worse, and in the end he died. When the news of his death reached al-Malik al-Ādil, he said to his vizier, 'Once, in front of us, you praised a doctor called al-Muhadhhab. Appoint him in place of al-Muwaffaq 'Abd al-'Azīz'. So, Muhadhhab got his salary after all, and he remained in the service of al-Malik al-Ādil from then on. He rose in his esteem and his status was enhanced, until he became the ruler's companion, intimate friend and chief counselor.

At the beginning of his service, al-Malik al-Ādil also put the physician to the test in some unusual cases. Muhadhhab al-Dīn's answers confirmed the ruler's good opinion of him and reliance upon him.

It was then also that al-Malik al-Ādil became ill. He was attended by the best doctors, including Muhadhhab al-Dīn, who advised bloodletting, but the attending physicians did not approve.<sup>8</sup> 'By God,' said Muhadhhab al-Dīn, 'If we do not let blood from him, he will bleed of his own accord'. The [other] doctors still did not agree with him, but very soon thereafter the Sultan experienced heavy nosebleeds. When he recovered, he knew that Muhadhhab al-Dīn outshone all the other doctors.

A similar story has it that one day, when Muhadhhab al-Dīn was standing at the palace gate with some of the court physicians, a servant came out with a phial of urine from one of the slave girls, saying that he was consulting the physicians because the girl was complaining of pain. When the other physicians had examined the [contents of the] phial, they prescribed something that they had prepared. But when Muhadhhab al-Dīn examined the phial, he said, 'It is not the pain of which she complains that has caused the colour of the contents of this phial', suspecting that the source of the the colour was the henna [*hinnā'*] with which the girl had been dyed. The servant informed him that he was cor-

<sup>8</sup> This is a common topic in medieval Arabic medical literature to indicate one doctor's superiority over all the other doctors.

rect in his judgement, marvelled at him and reported back to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil; this increased the ruler’s confidence in him.

[15.50.2]

The following account of one of the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn’s most generous actions, one that illustrates his great sense of honour and solidarity, was told to me by my father, who said:

Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil was once very angry and full of rancour at the chief judge of Damascus, Muḥyī l-Dīn ibn Zakī al-Dīn, because of some issue, I forget what it was. He had him imprisoned in the citadel, and he ruled that the judge was to pay him the sum of ten thousand Egyptian dinars. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil pressed him hard: the judge was to remain in prison until he settled the full amount. He managed to pay some of it, but was unable to raise the balance. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil took the matter very seriously. ‘He must pay the rest of the money, for otherwise I shall have him tortured’. The judge was at his wit’s end: he sold off all his assets, his household furniture, and even the books that he possessed. Then he appealed to the Sultan, using the good offices of many of the emirs, leading personalities and notables, such as al-Shumays, the chief steward,<sup>9</sup> and Shams al-Khawāṣṣ Ṣawāb, the vizier and others, asking for remission of part of the amount or the privilege of being allowed to pay in instalments. But the Sultan refused. The judge now became so worried about it that he hardly ate or slept and was on the verge of killing himself. Then, his old friend, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn, paid him a visit. The judge complained to him about his troubles and asked him for help, if there was anything he could do. Muhadhhab al-Dīn thought it over for a while and then said, ‘I shall think of something for you and hope that it will be of use, if God, the exalted, wills,’ and took his leave.

It so happened that the concubine (*surriyyah*) of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, the mother of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, was feeling out of sorts at that time. She was of Turkish origin, an intelligent, pious and devout woman, and was very kind and generous. The physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn came to see her, accompanied by the chief eunuch (*zimām al-dūr*),<sup>10</sup> and he brought up the situation of the judge, his adversity and unjust treatment and the fact that the Sultan had imposed the payment of a sum on him which he was unable to settle. He requested her to medi-

9 See Sato, *State*, 74, n. 3.

10 Or, perhaps, the intendant of the palace.

ate, in the hope that she could persuade the Sultan to show mercy toward the judge and be lenient toward him by remitting a part of the debt or by letting him pay in instalments. The chief eunuch supported him, but the concubine said:

By God, how can I do anything for the judge, or even mention him to the Sultan? I cannot do this, because he will say to me, 'What makes you speak about the judge, and how is it that you know of him?' If he were, for instance, a doctor who visits us from time to time, or a merchant who sells us cloth, it would be possible for me to speak to the Sultan and intervene; but as for this one, it would be impossible for me to speak about this person.

When the physician heard this, he said, 'My lady! You have only one son, for whom you wish happiness and a long life. You can now obtain all these excellent things for him from God, because you are in a good position to do so, and you do not have to intervene with the Sultan at all.' 'How so?' she asked. 'When the Sultan and you are sleeping together,' said the physician, 'say that you saw in a dream that the judge was being treated unjustly'. He told her what to say, and she replied, 'It can be done.' When she was well again and al-Malik al-'Ādil was sleeping next to her, as the night was ending, she lay awake pretending to be frightened, clutching her heart, trembling and crying. The Sultan, who loved her dearly, woke up and said, 'What is the matter?' but she did not tell him what the matter was. He then ordered some apple juice to be brought, had her drink some, sprinkled her face with rose water and said, 'Why don't you want to tell me what has happened to you and what is on your mind?' 'O husband,' she replied, 'I have had a terrible dream, which almost frightened me to death. I dreamt that the day of final judgement had come and saw a large crowd of people. In one place, where there was a great fire burning, people were saying, "this is for al-Malik al-'Ādil, because he treated the judge unjustly". Did you ever wrong a judge?' she asked.

He did not doubt her words, felt uneasy about it, then rose up, called his servants and said, 'Go to the judge and delight his heart, give him my regards and apologies for what has happened to him, and inform him that all he has paid will be returned to him. I, for my part, will ask nothing of him'. So they went to him. The judge was delighted with their news, blessed the Sultan and announced that he accepted his apology. When morning came, the Sultan ordered [that he be given] a full robe of honour and a mule. He restored him to his office and ordered that all the money he had paid should be reimbursed from the treasury, and that all

the books and other possessions he had sold were to be redeemed from the purchasers for the same amount as they had paid. Thus, relief was brought to the judge after hardship, by minimum effort and the subtlest of measures.

In the year 610/1213, when he was in the east, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil became very ill, and the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn treated his illness until he was cured. During that illness, the Sultan paid him approximately seven thousand Egyptian dinars. The children of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, some rulers of the east and others also sent him gold, robes of honour, and mules, together with golden necklaces and the like.

[15.50.3]

A similar event [occurred] in the year 612/1215 when al-Malik al-ʿĀdil had gone to Egypt and was staying in Cairo. At that time, a dreadful plague (*wabāʿ ʿaẓīm*) had stricken the land, killing most of the people.<sup>11</sup> Al-Malik al-Kāmil, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, who was the governor of Egypt, and many of his entourage, had [also] become ill. Muhadhhab al-Dīn treated the governor most attentively until he became well again. Again, the physician received gold, robes of honour and many splendid gifts: twelve thousand gold dinars, fourteen mules carrying golden necklaces, many robes of honour [made] of satin [*aṭlas*] and other kinds of cloth.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah – continue: At that time, the great Sultan appointed Muhadhhab al-Dīn as the supervisor of physicians in all of Egypt and Syria. I was then with my father, who was [also] in the service of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. My father was entrusted with matters involving oculists in view of the fact that it was he who decided who was qualified to treat eye diseases. It pleased him to write down his knowledge about them, and that is what he did!

In the year 614/1217, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil heard about Frankish manoeuvres near the coast, whereupon he went to Syria and camped at Marj al-Ṣuffar.<sup>12</sup> As it happened, he fell ill while at a halfway camp where the animals were fed. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in the second hour of Friday, the seventh day of Jumādā II of the year 615 [31 August 1218].

11 This is obviously not the same pestilence or plague that has been described in detail by Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī in his *Kitāb al-Ifādah wa l-iʿtibār fi l-umūr al-mushāhadah wa-l-ḥawādith al-muʿāyanah bi-arḍ Miṣr*, for the latter took place in 597/1200–1201.

12 Marj al-Ṣuffar (also Marj al-Ṣaffar, Marj al-Ṣafar) is a large plain south of Damascus.

When al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam established his rule over Syria, he wished to employ a number of those who had served his father, al-Malik al-‘Ādil, among them the physician Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-Şūrī,<sup>13</sup> and my father. The physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn, for his part, was provided with an ample salary and instructed to reside in Damascus and return to the ‘Great Hospital’ that had been founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, where he was to treat patients.

During his time in Damascus, the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn began to teach the art of medicine, and many of the best physicians joined him, while others studied under him. I, too, stayed in Damascus to learn from his teaching, but I had first worked under him at the military camp where he and my father were serving the great Sultan. I would frequent his classes as one of a group [of students], and I began to study the works of Galen.

Muhadhhab al-Dīn was well-versed in everything that that author and other authors had written, and admired the books of Galen very much. Whenever some of the words of Galen were mentioned concerning diseases and their treatment, or the fundamentals of medicine, he would say, ‘That is medicine!’ He was eloquent, could convey a meaning admirably, and was a good researcher. I accompanied him also during my period of training at the hospital while he was treating the patients, and thus I gained practice in the art of medicine. At that same time, the physician ‘Imrān [al-Isrā’īlī] also worked with him at the hospital.<sup>14</sup> ‘Imrān was one of the most eminent and senior-ranking physicians in matters of therapy and the management of medical treatment. Their co-operation and the talks they conducted about diseases, therapy and the descriptions of diseases were doubly beneficial for us.

[15.50.4]

The physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn became one of the most able representatives of the art of medicine. He was a prodigy in the domain of therapy and the treatment of patients, and would prescribe medicaments that could cure in almost no time. In [all of] this he surpassed his contemporaries. Hence the impression was given that it was magic. Once, I saw him perform a feat of that kind. A man had come to him with a burning fever and extremely dilated pupils. After estimating the patient’s strength, Muhadhhab al-Dīn ordered that a quantity of camphor seeds should be pounded in a drinking cup. Writing this down in a recipe (*dustūr*), he told the man to drink it and not to take

13 On him, see Ch. 15.45.

14 On him, see Ch. 15.42.

anything else. When the morning came, we found that the patient's fever had broken and that his pupils were no longer dilated.

It also happened, whilst in the ward for bilious patients, he treated someone suffering from the disease called mania (*māniyā*), which is rabies (*al-junūn al-sabuī*), by prescribing that an ample amount of opium (*afyūn*) should be added to his barley water at the time when he was given it to drink. The man became better and his condition improved at once.

One day, I saw Muhadhdhab al-Dīn in the fever ward, where we had halted to see a patient. The doctors felt the patient's pulse and said, 'It is weak. Let's give him some chicken broth so that he can regain his strength'. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn examined him and said, 'His speech and vision do not explain the weakness'. He then felt the pulse of the man's left hand and palpated the other hand. 'Feel the pulse of his right hand,' he said, 'and we observed that it was strong'. 'Now examine the pulse of his left hand,' said Muhadhdhab al-Dīn, 'and then observe how in the part close to his radius [i.e. radial bone] the artery has been divided in two sections. The one that you felt remains as it is, whereas the other section emerges from the highest part of the ulna [i.e. elbow bone] and extends in the direction of the fingers.' We found this [conclusion] to be correct. 'A pulse like this,' he said, 'is rarely seen, and is not understood by many doctors. They will assume that the pulse is weak, but it is the shape of this section, in which the vein is divided in two halves, that causes them to make that specific error'.

During this period the shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī also stayed at the hospital. He was a senior-ranking physician who was widely known and respected. He used to sit on a bench and wrote notes [i.e. recipes] for all the patients who arrived at the hospital and consulted him. They depended on these notes, because it enabled them to take home syrups and medicines from the hospital that he had prescribed. After the physician Muhadhdhab al-Dīn and the physician 'Imrān had finished their treatment of the patients, they would remain at the hospital, and I would stay with them. I used to sit with the shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī, and saw with my own eyes how he collected information regarding diseases. I became a witness of everything that he put down in writing and prescribed for the patients. I studied many of the diseases and their treatments together with him. From the time of the hospital's construction and [even] during later periods, these three shaykhs have remained the most eminent physicians who ever met there. They worked there for some time.<sup>15</sup>

15 A marginal note in MS R reads: 'Praise be to God. I would say that the situation in the

Then those years passed and those who lived in them,  
and it was as if years and people were dreams.<sup>16</sup>

[15.50.5]

After having finished his duties at the hospital and visiting any notables and prominent persons of the state and others who happened to be ill, the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn – may God have mercy upon him – would go home, where he would read and study and, invariably, do some copying. When he had finished, it was the turn of the physicians and students who came to his house in droves. Every one of them would read his lesson, which he then would discuss with them according to each person's capability of understanding. In the case of topics that required a fuller analysis, or contained some obscurities that needed to be elucidated, he would discuss them with the more gifted pupils. He never taught anyone unless there was a copy of that book at his disposal for the student to read. He examined and collated it, and if there was an error in the copy that the pupil was reading, he would have it corrected. The copies that the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn's pupils perused were known for their faultlessness, and most of them were in his own handwriting. His medical and philological books, such as the *K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by al-Jawharī,<sup>17</sup> the *Mujmal* by Ibn Fāris,<sup>18</sup> and the *K. al-Nabāt* by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī,<sup>19</sup> were constantly within reach. When he encountered a philological term in his studies that needed to be clarified and commented upon, he would look it up in these books. When the pupils had finished their lessons, he would spend some time alone and take some supper. The remainder of the day was dedicated to memorizing, learning and studying; he stayed up most of the night studying. During that same period, the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn also associated with shaykh Sayf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Abī 'Alī al-Āmidī.<sup>20</sup> They were old friends and studied the philosophical sciences together. Muhadhhab al-Dīn memorized some parts of Sayf al-Dīn's works and obtained most of them so that he could study

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present day and age is similar. But how would it be if the historian – may God have mercy upon him – would look at the period in which we are living [it is the year 1045/1635–36]? The only difference is that the director of the al-Nūrī hospital is nowadays Ibrāhīm ibn Zayd al-Dīn, who is called al-Jamal.'

16 Metre: *kāmil*. A line by Abū Tammām (d. 231/845 or 232/846), *Dīwān*, iii:152.

17 That is, the *Tāj al-lughah wa-ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabīyah* by Ismā'īl ibn Ḥammād al-Jawharī (d. ca. 393–394/1003?).

18 That is, the *Mujmal al-lughah* by Aḥmad ibn Fāris al-Qazwīnī (d. 395/1004).

19 That is, the *Book of Plants* by Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī (d. 282–283/896).

20 On him, see Ch. 15.22.



them, such as the *K. Daqā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq*, the *K. Rumūz al-kunūz*, the *K. Kashf al-tamwīhāt fī sharḥ al-tanbīhāt*, the *K. Abkār al-afkār* and others.

Later in his life, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn also turned his attention to astrology and astronomy, which he studied with Abū l-Faḍl al-Isrā'īlī, the astrologer. He acquired instruments made of brass, which he needed for that discipline. Apart from those, he did not possess much, apart from a great many books. I heard him say that he was in possession of sixteen extraordinary treatises on the astrolabe by a group of authors.

During that time he was summoned by al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū l-Faḥ Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, who resided in the east. The physician set out in that direction in the month of Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 622 [November 1225]. He told me later that he had undertaken the journey only after having decided to purchase mules, tents and utensils that were absolutely necessary for the journey, to the amount of twenty thousand dirhams. Upon his arrival, al-Malik al-Ashraf honoured him greatly and bestowed many favours upon him. He allotted him an estate in the east which yielded him approximately fifteen hundred dinars every year.

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn remained in the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf for some time, but then he suffered from a heaviness and slackness of the tongue and was unable to speak fluently. He moved to Damascus when al-Malik al-Ashraf gained control over that city in the year 626/1229 and appointed Muhadhdhab al-Dīn as his chief physician. He held that post for quite a long time, and the ruler created a *majlis*<sup>21</sup> for him for instruction in the art of medicine.<sup>22</sup> As time went on, his speech problem grew worse; when he tried to speak it was very hard to understand him. His pupils would discuss issues in front of him. Whenever the meaning [of something] was difficult, he would respond with the shortest word that pointed to the essence of the meaning. At times it was difficult for him to speak at all, and then he would write on a slate, and the pupils would read what he had written. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn tried hard to cure himself and cleansed his body with several types of purgatives. He also took many medicaments and hot electuaries, swallowing them constantly. Then he contracted a fever that became so intense that his strength failed, with the result that many diseases followed in succession. When one's term has been reached, effort is in vain.

21 Literally 'session'.

22 Al-Dakhwār is generally known as the founder of the first medical school in the Arabic world, *al-Madrasah al-Dakhwāriyyah*.



When Death plunges its talons in,  
 you will find that every amulet is of no avail.<sup>23</sup>

[15.50.6]

Muhadhhab al-Dīn [al-Dakhwār] died – may God have mercy upon him – in the early morning of Monday the 15th of Ṣafar of the year 628 [27 December 1231] and was buried on Mount Qāsiyūn. He left no offspring. In the year 622/1225 (before he had left Damascus to enter the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf) he dedicated his house in Damascus, near the old goldsmith's quarter east of the great market,<sup>24</sup> as a charitable trust and converted it into a college for the study of the art of medicine. For its support, he did the same with several estates and other properties, the revenue from which was to be used for its upkeep, the pay of the teacher and stipends for students. Muhadhhab al-Dīn stipulated in his will that the teacher was to be the physician Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Raḥbī,<sup>25</sup> and he took up his duties at the college at the time of the afternoon prayer on Friday the eighth of Rabī' I of the year 628 [14 January 1231]. By Monday the twelfth of Rabī' II of the same year [17 February 1231], the physician Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the son of the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the judge Shams al-Dīn al-Khuwayyī, the judge Jamāl al-Dīn al-Khurustānī, the judge 'Azīz al-Dīn al-Sanjārī and many jurists and scholars were already attending the college. The physician Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Raḥbī remained there as the first teacher of the art of medicine for several years.

His successor was the physician Badr al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk. This was when al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yūnus ibn Shams al-Dīn Mamdūd, the son of al-Malik al-'Ādil, ruled over Damascus. He issued a decree, appointing the physician Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk chief of all the physicians and teacher at the college of the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī. Badr al-Dīn took office in that capacity on Wednesday, the fourth of Ṣafar of the year 630 [20 November 1232].

23 Metre: *kāmil*. From a celebrated elegy by Abū Dhu'ayb, in *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 422, al-Sukkārī, *Sharḥ ash'ar al-Hudhalīyyīn*, i:8.

24 MS A presents us with the variant reading 'near the sievers', whereas MS Gc has the reading 'at the market of the sievers'. The *sūq* of the sievers still exists in Damascus, but nowadays only nails and hardware are sold there.

25 Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Raḥbī (whose biography is given in Ch. 15.37) was one of the sons of the well-known physician Raḍī al-Dīn al-Raḥbī (for whom see Ch. 15.36) and a disciple of the physicians Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (see Ch. 15.40) and Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sulamī (see Ch. 15.34).

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Khaḍir al-Ḥalabī recited the following verses to me. ‘The shaykh and man of letters Shihāb al-Dīn Fityān ibn ‘Alī al-Shāghūrī recited these verses to me in person,’ he said. ‘In them he praises the physician Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī.’<sup>26</sup>

Delight and take pleasure in what your destiny affords you,  
 so that by them you obtain your utmost desires!  
 O Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, you have,  
 ‘Alī’s son, outstripped those who competed with you.  
 Your arrow-shafts have won<sup>27</sup> in remembering your studies  
 in bygone days, nor did your nights disappoint.  
 You never ceased to strive to gain praise, taking pains,  
 until you attained what you desired with your efforts.  
 5 You are a man whose words are a depository of wise sayings  
 that dictate subtle ideas of yours.  
 You were raised in the bosom of learning, donning  
 the cloak of humility despite your eminence.  
 These ideas smile in your fine characteristics  
 just as glory smiles in your mouth.  
 You, who have a *pen* (*qalam*) that often got its ink from a broad road  
 (*laqam*)<sup>28</sup>  
 in excellence: extolled be He who trims it (*bārīhi*) and your Creator  
 (*bārīka*)!<sup>29</sup>  
 Praise be to you, fittingly, wherever you are; for no creature  
 can turn you away from glory and sublimity.  
 10 When someone skilled in eulogy goes to extremes in panegyrics,  
 the highest extent is outstripped by the lowest extent in you.  
 You, who have combined great reputation with vast erudition;  
 no man can be found who resembles you in generosity.

26 Metre: *basīt*.

27 A reference to the game of *maysir*, see above, Ch. 11.13.7.8.

28 Translation uncertain; *l.q.m.*, vowelled in L as *laqam* can also be read as *luqam*, ‘mouthfuls’.

29 ‘Who trims it’ cannot refer to Muhadhdhab al-Dīn since the expression *subḥāna* ‘extolled be’ can only be used for God. Perhaps the poet thinks of the Primaeval Pen mentioned in the Qur’an (al-Qalam 68:1), which hardly needs trimming, of course. The roots *BR* ‘(create, shape)’ and *BRY* ‘(trim, shape)’ are closely related.

I have feelings of love towards you, strengthened  
 by fitting fulfilment of a favour complying with your wish;<sup>30</sup>  
 And I have a longing for you that does not leave me:  
 I wish I had a cause that could be made a road to be united with you.  
 If I had an opportunity to get to you I would not leave  
 your door, as a doorman, having confidential talk with you.  
 15 But I am in the hands of old age and debility  
 that have left my body despoiled and worn out.  
 So many an ambition of yours has approached the highest  
 celestial sphere, Saturn being squashed beneath its foot-sole!  
 I wish 'Alī and al-Rashīd were both alive<sup>31</sup>  
 and had seen what God has bestowed on you;  
 Both would have loved you, secretly and openly,  
 and would not have ceased to lavish praise on you.  
 Live, stay alive, walk proudly forever in robes (*khila'*) of honour  
 given by kings, and tear out (*wa-khla'*) the hearts of your enemies!  
 20 May there always be at the gate of your house  
 a throng of messengers summoning you to the Sultan!  
 And may you attain, through al-'Ādil,<sup>32</sup> of auspicious omen, the utmost  
 of your desires, your medical treatment of him being beneficial;  
 For he is the one who overthrew the throne of unbelief, when their  
 blood  
 was shed, morning and evening, by the sword of religion;  
 Accustomed to be given God's help and imminent victory:<sup>33</sup>  
 ask kings about this and all will tell you about it.  
 His onslaught will rout King al-Ankūr<sup>34</sup>  
 and the spearhead will be transfixed in his kidneys!<sup>35</sup>

30 Translation uncertain.

31 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661), fourth caliph; Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809), Abbasid caliph.

32 Al-Malik al-'Ādil (d. 615/1218), Ayyubid ruler.

33 See. Q al-Ṣaff 61:13: «*help (naṣr) from God and an imminent victory (faṭḥ qarīb)*».

34 This must be King Richard I of England, 'the Lionheart'. *Al-Malik al-Ankūr*, otherwise unattested, is perhaps a strange corruption of (Malik) al-Inkitār, '(King of) l'Angleterre', the usual Arabic name for Richard, although in that case the article of *al-malik* is odd; alternatively, it is based on 'Coeur de Lion' ('Lion Coeur?'). It may have been influenced by *al-unkūr*, a non-existing word that could be formed from the root *NKR* and interpreted as 'abomination'.

35 That the passive participle *mashkūk* refers to the spearhead rather than the kidneys looks like a grammatical error.

- 25 Do no longer be burdened with worries about Damascus: God is  
 will guard it against what you fear and God is your guardian.  
 Would the Leader, Ibn Sīnā, playing his *Canon*,<sup>36</sup> bring you  
 joyful tidings, singing to you?  
 Would the treatises of Galen have resulted from what you say,  
 so that your opinions (*fatāwīkā*) would shelter them (*fa-ta'wihā*)?<sup>37</sup>  
 An excellent confidant of kings you are! Those among them will prosper  
 who call on you in their assembly<sup>38</sup> on any momentous affair.  
 How often did I tell Ibn Kharūf: 'Stop your lampooning of someone  
 whose good fortune is rising, you stupidest of the stupid!'<sup>39</sup>  
 30 Until he plunged into a deep place, where he has settled down  
 until the Resurrection, crushed!<sup>40</sup>  
 But may you live, enriched by presents,  
 and may those hostile to you die in dire poverty as paupers!  
 Damascus is a Garden of Eden to those who dwell in it;  
 may its riches (*maghānī*) never be far from your abodes (*maghānī*)!<sup>41</sup>  
 May the fire of your good fortune roast Ibn Kharūf's kidneys,<sup>42</sup>  
 since his bad fortune moved him one day to lampoon you!

36 *Al-Qānūn*, 'The Canon', is of course Ibn Sīnā's principal medical work. As it happens, the English word 'canon', like Arabic *qānūn*, has a musical sense, here exploited in a pun; a *qānūn* is a trapezoidal zither, the strings of which are plucked. The word *yutribu* means both 'excites, transports' and 'makes music'.

37 Translation uncertain; another interpretation, perhaps more in line with the preceding line, would be to read '*ammā taqūlu fatāwihā fa-ta'wihā*, 'from what their opinions say, so that they would shelter you?'

38 If the reading of ALB and Müller's *Verbesserungen* is preferred, it is not clear how the repetition of the verb (*yunādihī / yunādikā*) should be interpreted.

39 Ibn Kharūf (d. ca. 604/1207–1208), as explained below, was a poet and grammarian who had come from Spain. His name and lineage come in several variants: Nizām al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn Kharūf al-Qurṭubī (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iv:171–172), or 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Kharūf (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xv:75–76, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:385), or Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Kharūf (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii:335). Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, ii:640–642 and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, ii:203 list him as Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Nizām al-Dīn ibn Kharūf and give various dates for his death (between 602 and 610). Some lampoons by him on Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn are quoted in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:385–386 and Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:317–318.

40 See Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'ah's comment, below.

41 Normally, *maghānī* means 'abodes', but it could also be interpreted as 'places or occasions for gaining riches', suggested also by the preceding line. One could reverse the reading to 'may its spots never be far from where you may obtain riches'.

42 The imagery is suggested by that fact that *kharūf* means 'lamb'.

Many a captive of sickness from his *Compendium*<sup>43</sup> you  
 have redeemed after the distress of his captivity.  
 35 You are above making mistakes to which others are driven,  
 those who desire slaves for foul purposes.(?)<sup>44</sup>  
 And you have not wasted prayers that you did not cease to ... (?)<sup>45</sup>  
 with the best salutations that greet you.  
 And you do not desire to drink a pure wine  
 that is sound(?) but from which one's reason becomes indis-  
 posed.

I – Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah – continue: This Ibn Kharūf, who is mentioned by Shi-  
 hāb al-Dīn Fityān, was a poet from North Africa who frequently ridiculed the  
 physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn. Ibn Kharūf met his end in Aleppo, where he  
 had gone to praise its ruler, al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, the son of Saladin. After  
 reciting his eulogy, he took a step back. There was a well there, into which he  
 fell and died.

Among the poetry of Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī are the fol-  
 lowing lines, which he wrote to my paternal uncle, the physician Rashīd al-Dīn  
 ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah,<sup>46</sup> when he had fallen ill.<sup>47</sup>

You, for whom I hope when any misfortune occurs  
 and for whom I fear if he has any symptoms (*a’rād*):  
 Far be it from you to that you should be visited on account of an illness,  
 and may you live as long as we are in good repute (*a’rād*)!  
 We count you as the *substance* of our epoch,  
 while others, if counted at all, are *accidents* (*a’rād*).

[15.50.7]

Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī [al-Dakhwār] is the author of the  
 following works:

1. Summary of al-Rāzī's *Comprehensive Book on Medicine* (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-ḥāwī fī l-ṭibb lil-Rāzī*).

43 Apparently used here as a generic term for medical handbooks, many of which are called *Jāmi‘* or *Jawāmi‘*.

44 Translation of *li-l-khanā yabghī l-mamālīkā* uncertain.

45 Meaning of *mā bariḥta lahā ḥilman* (or *ḥulman*, as in A, or *khillman*, as suggested by R) unclear.

46 On him, see Ch. 15.51.

47 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii:317 (lines 2–3), the same in al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xviii:385.

2. Summary of *The Great Book of Songs* by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (*Ikhtīṣār kitāb al-aghānī al-kabīr li-Abī l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī*).<sup>48</sup>
3. On vomiting, which he composed in Damascus in the month Rabīʿ 1 of the year 622/1225 (*M. fī l-istifrāgh*).
4. The Little Garden of Medicine (*K. al-junaynah fī l-ṭibb*).
5. Explanatory remarks, questions and misgivings regarding medicine with answers thereto (*Taʿālīq wa-masāʾil fī l-ṭibb wa-shukūk ṭibbiyyah wa-radd ajwibatihā lahu*).
6. Refutation of Ibn Ṣādiq's commentary on Ḥunayn [ibn Iṣḥāq]'s *Questions* (*K. al-radd ʿalā sharḥ Ibn Ṣādiq li-masāʾil Ḥunayn*).<sup>49</sup>
7. A treatise in which the author refutes Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī's epistle on the sequence in which delicate and heavy foods should be taken (*M. yaruddu fihā ʿalā risālat Abī l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī fī tartīb al-aghḍiyah al-laṭīfah wa-l-kathīfah fī tanāwulihā*).<sup>50</sup>

### 15.51 My Paternal Uncle Rashīd al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Khalīfah<sup>1</sup>

[15.51.1]

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Khalīfah ibn Yūnus ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah, of [the tribe of] Khazraj, of the line of Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah,<sup>2</sup> was born in Aleppo in the year 579/1183. My father had been born before him in the year 575/1179, in Cairo, the city of al-Muʿizz. They both grew up and studied in that city. My grandfather – may God have mercy upon him – was a high-minded person, who had a great liking for men of virtue and studied the sciences himself. He was known as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah. He had moved to Egypt when al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb conquered it, and was in his service and that of his sons. Among my grandfather's acquaintances and friends in Damascus had been Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir,<sup>3</sup> the physician, and Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf,<sup>4</sup> the oculist, for my grandfather was born and bred in Damascus and resided there for many years. By the time he met them again in Egypt, my

48 For Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Abu l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī' (M. Nallino).

49 For Ibn Ṣādiq, see Ch. 11.17. Al-Dakhwār's treatise is not extant.

50 For Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Isrāʾīlī, see Ch. 15.41.

1 This entry occurs in all three versions of the treatise. In Version 1, it is the last and final entry.

2 Saʿd ibn ʿUbādah ibn Dulaym of the Banū l-Khazraj (d. ca. 14/636), a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Saʿd b. ʿUbada' (W. Montgomery Watt).

3 On him, see Ch. 14.44; and also Kruk, 'Elusive Giraffes', 49–64; Kruk, 'Chimaera', 345–362.

4 This oculist is unidentified and nothing further is known of him.

father and my paternal uncle were in the prime of life. My grandfather had in mind to teach them both the art of medicine, because he was well aware of its noble rank and the people's great need for physicians, and held that one who was committed to its truths would be honoured and favoured in this world and be given the highest rank in the world to come. Accordingly, he set my father and my uncle to study under the guidance of these two shaykhs, giving them the opportunity to benefit [from their knowledge].

My grandfather set my father to study the science of ophthalmology and learn its practice under Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf. Abū l-Ḥajjāj was then serving as an oculist in the hospital in Cairo – that is, not the later hospital belonging to the fort, but the older one that was situated, at that time, near the flea markets of lower Cairo. My grandfather lived nearby, so that my father was able to attend the teaching of Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf frequently, until he became an expert in the domain of oculism. He also studied under the guidance of other notable physicians who were living in Egypt during that time, such as the chief physician Mūsā al-Qurṭubī,<sup>5</sup> the author of many famous works, and [other] doctors of comparable eminence. My uncle, for his part, was set to study the art of medicine under the guidance of Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir.

My uncle took his first steps in science with Taqī, the teacher. His full name was Abū l-Tuqā Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān al-Qurashī,<sup>6</sup> from Jerusalem. This Taqī was well-versed in many different sciences, had a fine way of teaching from books, and his authority as a teacher, unattained by anybody else, was famous. After my uncle – may God have mercy upon him – had learned to memorize the Qur'an and had become acquainted with mathematics, all under Taqī's guidance, he began to study the art of medicine thoroughly under Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir, who was then the chief physician in Egypt, under the rule of al-Malik al-'Azīz 'Uthmān, the son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāh al-Dīn. My uncle studied sections of Galen's 'Sixteen Books' with Jamāl al-Dīn, and had memorized the first books in a very short time. Accordingly, he engaged in discussions with the physicians, saw the patients in the hospital, and learned about the various maladies and the appropriate prescriptions (there was a group of very notable physicians at the hospital). At the same time my uncle studied the science of ophthalmology and learned its practice with the judge Nafīs al-Dīn al-Zubayr,<sup>7</sup> who was at that time in charge

5 Mūsā ibn Maymūn al-Qurṭubī (Maimonides of Cordoba), the celebrated Jewish philosopher and physician; See. *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Ibn Maymūn' (G. Vajda) and Ch. 14.39 above.

6 This physician is unidentified and nothing further is known of him. Brentjes, 'Ayyubid princes', 355 (n. 99) refers to Taqī as Abū l-Taḥī Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdisī.

7 On him, see Ch. 14.47.



of the ophthalmological section of the hospital. He also took up the practice of surgery under the guidance of that physician.

The shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī,<sup>8</sup> who was a close friend of my grandfather’s, was then living in Cairo. My uncle studied a little Arabic and philosophy under his guidance. They used to discuss Aristotle’s books, debating the difficult passages. My uncle also met and studied with Sadīd al-Dīn,<sup>9</sup> who was very learned in the intellectual sciences. Before that, however, he had also studied astronomy under the guidance of Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ja’dī.<sup>10</sup> This shaykh was an outstanding astronomer whose judgments were marked by excellence. He lived at the time of the Egyptian caliphs and was considered one of their favourites, while his father was one of the prominent emirs of their state. In addition, my uncle studied the art of music with Ibn al-Dayjūr, the Egyptian and Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī ibn al-Tabbān, and in due course, met many of the elite in that field, such as al-Bahā’, the great composer,<sup>11</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn al-Naqjawānī,<sup>12</sup> Shujā’ al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥiṣn al-Baghdādī and others like them,<sup>13</sup> from whom he learnt much about Arabic and Persian treatises and books. From an early age, my uncle devoted all his spare time to studying the sciences and filling his soul with virtues.

[15.51.2]

My grandfather returned to Syria in the year 597/1200. My uncle was then no more than approximately twenty years old, but he immediately began to treat patients and improve his knowledge of the art of medicine. The shaykh Raḍī al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ḥaydarah al-Raḥbī,<sup>14</sup> who for many years had been a good friend of my grandfather’s, was living in Damascus at that time, and when he heard of my uncle, met him in person and discovered what he had learnt, he was delighted. My uncle frequented al-Raḥbī’s teaching sessions, studied under his guidance and discussed medical topics with him. He visited patients in the hospital that had been founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī, where the physicians Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣaraf<sup>15</sup> and the shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn

8 On him, see Ch. 15.40.

9 This could perhaps be Sadīd al-Dīn ibn Raqīqah, see his biography in Ch. 15.46.

10 Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ja’dī was a Fatimid astrologer.

11 Literally: ‘the arranger’. *Aṣlahā* or *ṣallaha* actually means ‘To tune an instrument’.

12 MS A reads al-Naqjawayh here.

13 These musicians are not mentioned in Farmer’s *A History of Arabian Music*; even though he has used 1AU in his chapter ‘The Music of Islam’ in *The New Oxford History of Music, 1: Ancient and Oriental Music*. Nor are they mentioned in the volume on musicians and musicologists by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umari, *Masālik, x: Ahl al-ghinā’ wa-l-mūsīqī*.

14 See his entry in Ch. 15.36.

15 This physician is unidentified and nothing further is known of him.



‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>16</sup> were also working. At the same time, he also studied philosophy under Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf al-Baghdādī, for he too had returned to Syria. In addition, there was in Damascus a group of literary scholars who were celebrated for their knowledge of the Arabic language, among them Zayn al-Dīn ibn Mu‘ṭī,<sup>17</sup> whom my uncle came to know and under whom he studied, and Tāj al-Dīn ibn Ḥasan al-Kindī Abū l-Yumn,<sup>18</sup> who had been a good friend of my grandfather’s since the days of ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh.<sup>19</sup> My uncle attended his teaching sessions as well, and studied the Arabic language under his guidance. Before my uncle had reached the age of twenty-five, he had already mastered all these sciences and become a shaykh whose example was followed in the art of medicine and who had his own students. He also composed poetry, kept up a correspondence, spoke Persian, knew Persian grammar and even composed poetry in it. He spoke Turkish as well.

On Friday the 15th of the month Ramadan of the year 605 [March 23, 1209], the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā,<sup>20</sup> the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, sent for my uncle. Al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam listened to what he had to say, showed him great honour, treated him generously and asked him to enter his service, but my uncle was unable to accept because of the Sultan’s military operations. Sometime later, al-Malik al-Amjad Majd al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, the son of ‘Izz al-Dīn Farrukh Shāh ibn Shāhān Shāh ibn Ayyūb, the governor of Baalbek, heard of my uncle and sent for both him and my grandfather, whom he had known since his father’s time. When they arrived, he welcomed them, treated them most generously and allotted them an ample salary, allowances and high rank. He gave my uncle such a good position that he hardly left the ruler’s side. When al-Malik al-Amjad discovered my uncle’s excellent knowledge of arithmetic, he asked him to instruct him in this field. My uncle obeyed and taught him everything there was to learn of that science, and even com-

16 On him, see Ch. 15.50.

17 Yahyā ibn Mu‘ṭī ibn ‘Abd al-Nūr al-Zawāwī al-Naḥwī, born in the Islamic West, died in Cairo in 628/1231; see Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, iv:44–45; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xx:35–36.

18 For Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kindī al-Baghdādī al-Naḥwī (d. 613/1217), see Ch. 15.50.1 n. 2.

19 Al-Malik al-Manṣūr ‘Izz al-Dīn Taqī al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd Farrukh Shāh Dāwūd was the Ayyubid emir of Baalbek between 1179 and 1182 and Nā‘ib (Viceroy) of Damascus. He was the son of Saladin’s younger brother Nūr al-Dīn Shāhānshāh and the older brother of Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar who became emir of Hama.

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

piled, for his use, a textbook on arithmetic comprising four treatises. Al-Malik al-Amjad – may God have mercy upon him – was a man of virtue who showed great respect for other men of virtue; he composed good poetry, and his *Dīwān* (collected verse) is well-known.

[15.51.3]

In the year 609/1212, an esteemed eunuch of the Sultan al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, called Sulayṭah, became afflicted with an eye disease. Both his eyes were affected, and his condition deteriorated to such an extent that he despaired of recovery. The best physicians and oculists came treated him, but were unable to cure him; they decided unanimously that he must inevitably become blind, as no treatment had had any effect whatever. When my father saw this man and examined his eyes, he said, ‘I will treat this man’s eyes and he will see with both of them, if God, exalted be He, so wills’. In response to his treatment, both Sulayṭah’s eyes steadily improved, until his recovery was complete and he had regained his health. He became his former self once more, and was able to ride a horse again, so that the people were astonished and regarded the treatment as an unrivalled miracle. As a result, al-Malik al-ʿĀdil gained a good impression of my father and paid him the utmost honour by presenting him with special robes and other items.

Even before this achievement, my father had been accustomed to frequent the palace of the Sultan in the citadel of Damascus, treating those who were afflicted with serious eye diseases and curing them in short order. This also came to the attention of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. ‘Such a man should go with me wherever my travels lead me!’ he exclaimed, and asked him to enter his service. My father asked to be excused and permitted to remain in Damascus, but his request was not granted. The Sultan offered him a salary and allowances, and my father finally enrolled in his service on the 15th Dhū l-Ḥijjah of the year 609 [9 May 1213]. The Sultan and all his sons relied on him for medical treatment, and they treated him with great generosity, bestowing many favours upon him. He remained in their service until al-Malik al-ʿĀdil – may God have mercy upon him – died.

My father was then invited to continue in his post by the late ruler’s son and successor in Damascus, al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, who also had confidence in him and trusted his judgment, perhaps even more [than his father had done]. My father served al-Malik al-Muʿazzam from the beginning of Ṣafar of the year 616 [18 April 1219] until the Sultan – may God have mercy upon him – died. Then al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the son of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, in his turn invited him to remain in his service, promising him all the benefits that he had enjoyed in the days of his father. My father stayed with him until it happened that al-Malik

al-Nāṣir had to leave for al-Karak, while my father stayed behind in Damascus. He continued to frequent the Sultan's palace in the citadel, serving the royal household, that is to say, all the descendants of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil who governed Damascus, and others as well. All of them revered him highly and relied on his medical treatment, and he was paid a salary and allowances and enjoyed many favours.

In addition, my father used to frequent the Great Hospital of Nūr al-Dīn, where he also received a salary and allowances. People flocked to him from all sides, when they found out about his rapid cures. Diseases that required the use of surgery he treated by that means, and those that could be treated with drugs he treated by that means, thereby sparing those patients the ordeal of surgery. This method was praised by Galen in his book *On Examinations by Which the Best Physicians are Recognized*:<sup>21</sup>

'If you see a physician administering drugs in case of maladies that are usually treated by means of surgery,' he says, 'you may conclude that such a doctor is learned, experienced and skilled.' He also said, 'Similarly, you should praise any doctor whom you see using medicaments only to treat diseases of the eye for which others would use surgery, as, for instance pterygium,<sup>22</sup> trachoma,<sup>23</sup> chalazion,<sup>24</sup> cataract,<sup>25</sup> roughness of the eye-

21 For the following quotations of Galen's treatise, see Iskandar, *Examinations*, 116–117.

22 *Zafarah*, pterygium, is a wing-like membrane in the corner of the eye, often removed surgically with a small knife.

23 The treatment for *jarab*, trachoma, was considered surgical in that the eyelid was scraped using a special metal instrument; see Savage-Smith, 'Tbn al-Nafis's *Perfected Book on Ophthalmology*'. In the text of Galen edited and translated by Iskandar (*Examinations*, 116–117) the next condition named amongst those treated by surgery is *al-sabal*, pannus (a vascularization which invades the cornea) that medieval Islamic physicians sometimes tried to remove using small hooks and a knife; the condition, however, was apparently unknown to (or unrecognized by) the Greco-Roman physicians, and this passage in Galen in a treatise preserved only in Arabic is the only known evidence for Greek physicians recognizing the complaint. Hence, its omission in the text given here suggests that the word *al-sabal* (or rather its Greek equivalent, whatever that might have been) was not part of the original Greek text.

24 *Barad* ('hail'), or more commonly *baradah* ('hailstone'), is the Arabic rendering of the Greek *khalazion* meaning a small lump resembling a hailstone; the term chalazion is still used today for a tarsal cyst or nodule inside the upper or lower eyelid. It was treated first by drug therapy, rubbing it with gum ammoniac dissolved in strong vinegar or a salve of rose oil, wax and turpentine, or similar medicament. If that failed, the eyelid was to be everted and the lid incised with a lancet having at the opposite end a small scoop with which the chalazion could then be scraped out. If the resulting opening was large, the edges of the incision were drawn together with a suture.

25 *Mā'*, short for *mā' nāzil fī l-'ayn* (water descending in the eye), the common way of referring

lid,<sup>26</sup> fistulas,<sup>27</sup> troublesome eyelashes,<sup>28</sup> or an excess or insufficiency of flesh in the inner corner of the eye.<sup>29</sup> You should also praise any doctor whom you see promptly remove congested pus<sup>30</sup> from the eye, or who restores to its place the tunic that is called the 'grape-like'<sup>31</sup> after it has become very swollen,<sup>32</sup> until it has settled completely, or who applies any other similar kind of treatment of the eye that does not entail surgery'.

These are the words of Galen.

I have seen many cases like this in which my father used such methods, and also many eye diseases in which the patient had despaired of recovery, but which he managed to treat successfully. One of his patients who was cured by him, Shams al-ʿArab al-Baghdādī, composed the following poem about him:<sup>33</sup>

Sadīd al-Dīn's ability in medicine  
 always saves an eye from its sore:  
 From so many an eye has it cleared its darkness  
 and from so many eyelids it has removed harm!

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to what today is called a cataract. Today the condition is known to be due to an opaque lens, but in medieval literature it was said that a membrane was interposed between the lens and pupil. The technique commonly used to treat it is in English called couching; it was an ancient technique, known to classical antiquity and possibly originating in India, in which the opaque lens (or 'crystalline humour') was not removed but rather pushed to one side.

- 26 *Ghilaz*, meaning thickening and roughness, was used for a general scaliness of the eyelid. The Galenic text (Iskandar, *Examinations*, 116) reads *gharab*, referring to a lachrymal abscess or ulcer of the tear duct, which was also treated surgically by oculists.
- 27 *Nawāsīr*, fistulas; lachrymal fistulas or abscesses were frequently cauterized with special surgical probes.
- 28 *Sha'r* is here probably short for either *sha'r zā'id*, excessive or superfluous eyelashes, or *sha'r munqalib*, ingrown eyelashes or trichiasis, both of which were treated 'surgically' by removing with tweezers sometimes preceded by small incisions in along the margins of the eyelids. See Savage-Smith, 'Ibn al-Nafis's *Perfected Book on Ophthalmology*'.
- 29 *Ziyādat laḥm al-mu'q wa-nuqsānuhi*. While the overgrowth of the flesh of the canthus of the eye (*ziyādat laḥm al-mu'q*) is a common topic in ophthalmological manuals, where excision is recommended, its deficiency (*nuqsān*) is not commonly discussed nor treated surgically.
- 30 *Middah muḥtaqanah*, probably in reference to a hypopyon.
- 31 *Al-ṭabaqah al-ʿinabiyyah* (the 'grape-like' tunic or layer) was used by both Greek and Arabic physicians to designate both the uvea and the iris, with no distinction between the two structures; see Meyerhof, *Ten Treatises*, 9.
- 32 Or suffered a prolapse (*nutū'*). Cf. 5.1.29.1 for a prolapse of the iris.
- 33 Metre: *ramal*.

Eye doctoring should never be practised among mankind  
 except by such a skilled practitioner.  
 O Christ of our time! So many, blind from birth,  
 became seeing again through you, this one, that one ...!  
 Through your sound opinions there is a cure for the disease,  
 in your words there is food for the soul.  
 I have obligations to you, the least of which, if I were  
 to thank you, would be 'Bravo!'

Shams al-ʿArab's full name was: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Nafīs ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Wahbān al-Sulamī.<sup>34</sup>

[15.51.4]

My father remained in service in the citadel of Damascus and frequented the 'Great Hospital' founded by Nūr al-Dīn, until he died – may God have mercy upon him – during the night of Thursday the 22nd of Rabīʿ II of the year 649 [14 July 1251], during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad,<sup>35</sup> the ruler of Damascus. He was buried outside the Paradise Gate<sup>36</sup> on the way to Mount Qāsiyūn. My uncle, for his part, was serving at the court of al-Malik al-Amjad when al-Malik al-Muʿazzam came to Baalbek to reinforce al-Malik al-Amjad and help him [fight] his adversaries, the Hospitallers. When the two princes met with their respective suites, my uncle would join them. At that time, there was no one who had a better knowledge of music and the art of playing the lute than he, nor was there anyone with a better voice, so that the listeners found their souls touched with deep emotion (the same has been said of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī). Al-Malik al-Muʿazzam was greatly impressed by my uncle and engaged him in his service, beginning on 1 Jumādā I of the year 610 [18 September 1213]. The Sultan granted him a salary and allowances, visited him frequently, and treated him most generously. He spent most of his time in the company of his physician and relied upon him in all matters relating to the art of medicine. The same can be said of al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad and al-Malik al-Ashraf, both of whom depended upon him. Whenever one of them

34 On Shams al-ʿArab (d. 622/1225) see Ibn al-Shaʿr, *Qalāʿid*, ii:391–394, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii:564.

35 Al-Malik al-Nāṣir II Yūsuf ibn al-ʿAzīz Muḥammad Ghiyāth al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, of Aleppo (r. 648–658/1250–1260). See Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 71.

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

came to visit his brother, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, my uncle would constantly be at their side, and he obtained many presents from both of them.

I know of one occasion, when al-Malik al-Kāmil came to visit his brother, al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam; they had a meeting in a friendly atmosphere, and my uncle sat with them. That same night, al-Malik al-Kāmil gave [my uncle] a complete robe of honour and five hundred Egyptian dinars. When al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam was in Damascus, he appointed my uncle as military secretary, and insisted on his acceptance of the post. The only thing my uncle could do was to obey this order. He sat in the administrative office and received the common soldiers and the officers. He spent all his days in his secretarial post, but then realized that most of his time was spent in correspondence and calculations, with no spare time at all and no leisure left for himself to devote to the rational sciences and other matters. He appealed to the Sultan to be released from his job, asking a group of his intimate friends to put in a good word for him, until the Sultan acceded to his request.

[15.51.5]

In the year 611/1214, my uncle accompanied al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam on the pilgrimage [to Mecca]. He remained in the prince’s service until the day of the defeat at ‘Amtā,<sup>37</sup> in the middle of Sha‘bān of the year 614 [mid-November 1217]. The Franks advanced, and the old Sultan al-Malik al-‘Ādil and his son al-Mu‘azzam fell into disagreement as to the route of their retreat. My uncle set out towards Damascus in the company of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, while al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam went in the direction of Nablus. My uncle subsequently left Damascus in the company of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, the son of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam, but when they arrived at ‘Ajlūn,<sup>38</sup> al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ordered his son to go back and they all returned to Damascus. My uncle then fell ill; his illness continued for the rest of that year, and he found that travelling was harmful to him. He was, by nature, inclined to solitude and the study of books.

[15.51.6]

On the fifth of Muḥarram of the year 615 [3 April 1218], my uncle was summoned to the court of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb, who had heard of his achievements and reputation. Al-Malik al-‘Ādil appointed him as a medical practitioner at the two hospitals in Damascus founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr

37 ‘Amtā is a small village in Jordan. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, iv:153.

38 ‘Ajlūn is the capital town of the Ajlūn Governorate, a hilly town in the north of modern Jordan, located 76 kilometers north west of the capital city ‘Ammān. It is noted for its impressive ruins of the 6th/12th-century ‘Ajlūn Castle. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Ajlūn’ (D. Sourdel).

al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī. My uncle frequented these two hospitals and the citadel and was paid a salary and allowances. He was also paid a salary as the physician of Sitt al-Shām,<sup>39</sup> the sister of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, whom he would attend at her palace. Having settled in Damascus, he instituted public sessions at which he would teach the art of medicine. A number of the pupils who studied under his guidance went on to become outstanding physicians. At that time, my uncle met with ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī,<sup>40</sup> who was one of the great scholars of his age in the mathematical sciences. My uncle studied astronomy under him and became an expert in it within a very short time. One day, when ʿAlam al-Dīn was with my uncle, teaching him some astronomical figures, he said to him, ‘By God, Rashīd al-Dīn, what you have learnt in approximately one month would have taken others five years of effort to master’.

[15.51.7]

While in Damascus, my uncle also met the learned authority, the shaykh of shaykhs, Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn Ḥamawayh,<sup>41</sup> who presented him with the attire of Sufis<sup>42</sup> on the twentieth of the month of Ramadan of the year 615 [10 December 1218]. The following is the text of the inscription that was attached to his Sufi garment:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; the esteemed master and learned authority, shaykh of shaykhs, Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn Ḥamawayh, the proof of Islam and token of the unity of God, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, the son of the great and learned authority, shaykh of shaykhs, ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn Abī l-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamawayh,<sup>43</sup> may God maintain his support forever, herewith en-

39 Sitt al-Shām Zumurrud Khātūn bint Najm al-Dīn ibn Ayyūb was the second sister of Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

40 ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar ibn Abī l-Qāsim ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī ibn Musāfir was an Egyptian mathematician who resided in Syria and died in Damascus in the year 649/1251. See Sabra, ‘Simplicius Proof’, 8; also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiv:304.

41 Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn Ḥamawayh (or perhaps Ḥammūyah) was a Shāfiʿī *faqīh*. Elaborate biographical information on this person can be found in Ibn al-ʿAdīm’s *Bughyah*; see translation in Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 118–119 (10/1508).

42 See *ET*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘*khirkah*’ (J.-L. Michon), where it is rendered as ‘rough cloak, scapular, coarse gown’.

43 This name is spelled with a *shaddah* and *ḍammah* on the *mūn* in al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (several times) and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii: 28, suggesting Ḥammūyah; cf. also *ET*<sup>2</sup> *Suppl.*, 3a (‘Muḥammad b. Ḥammūya’). But in al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, xvi:342 and al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, v:204 it is Ḥammawayh, in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xv:65 it is Ḥammuwayh.



dows his novice, ‘Alī ibn Khalīfah ibn Yūnus al-Khazrajī al-Dimashqī, may God grant him success in his obedience, with a Sufi garment.

While dressing him in it, the shaykh told my uncle that he had received that robe from his abovementioned father – may God have mercy upon him – and that his father received it from his father, the Shaykh of Islam, Mu‘īn al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ḥamawayh – may God have mercy upon him. He had been presented with it by the prophet Elias – peace be upon him, who in turn had received it from the Messenger of God himself – God bless him and keep him.

The shaykh’s grandfather had also received it from shaykh Abū ‘Alī al-Fārāndī al-Ṭūsī, who in turn had been given it by the shaykh of his generation, Abū l-Qāsim al-Karakānī, who again had received it from the learned authority Abū ‘Uthmān al-Maghribī, who had been given it by the venerated shaykh Abū ‘Amr al-Zajjājī, who had been presented with it by the leader of the religious community al-Junayd ibn Muḥammad, who had received it from his maternal uncle Sarī al-Saqāṭī. He in turn had been given it by Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī, who had inherited it from ‘Alī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā – upon him be peace. Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī accompanied ‘Alī, educated and served him. ‘Alī in his turn had received it from his father, Mūsā ibn Ja‘far al-Kāẓim, who had been given it by his father Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, who had been presented with it by his father Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Bāqir. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Bāqir had got it from his father, ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, who had received it from his father, al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, who had been given it by his father ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib – peace be upon him. ‘Alī had received it in turn from the master of the apostles and the leader of the pious, our Prophet Muḥammad – may the best prayers and wishes rest upon him. This tradition also runs from Ma‘rūf through Dāwūd al-Ṭā‘ī, Ḥabīb al-‘Ajāmī, the leader of the Successors, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to ‘Alī – peace be upon him, and from him to the Prophet of God – God bless him and keep him.

My uncle was clad in this special robe – may God cause its blessings to be bestowed upon him and upon all those who have been honoured by it – on the twentieth of the month of Ramadan of the year 615 [10 December 1218] in Damascus, the protected city, and between the lines written by master Ṣadr al-Dīn, the shaykh of shaykhs, were the words: ‘This robe was placed on the above-mentioned person – may God grant him success – during the month of Ramadan of the year 615 [December 1218]. Written by Ibn Ḥamawayh Abī l-Ḥasan ibn ‘Umar ibn Abī l-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, praising God and praying for His messenger, asking pardon for his sins’.



[15.51.8]

In the year 616/1219, my uncle received a message from al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, the son of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in his own handwriting, asking him to come to the town of Bosra<sup>44</sup> and treat his mother and other sufferers at the court; afterwards he would be allowed to return [to Damascus]. It happened that a great epidemic was raging in Bosra. My uncle went there and successfully treated the Sultan's mother, who felt well again within the shortest possible time, whereupon, he was presented with gold and honorary robes. Shortly thereafter, however, he was stricken with an acute fever, which grew steadily worse, even after his return to Damascus. The best and most venerated physicians tried to cure him, but his time had come. He died – may God have mercy upon him – in the second hour of Monday, the seventeenth of Shaʿbān, of the year 616 [28 October 1219], at the age of 38. He was buried near his father and brother outside the Gate of Paradise.

[15.51.9]

The following are some of my uncle's wise sayings, as I heard them from him – may God have mercy upon him:

1. Exhortation for the beginning of the day: 'This day has come, in which you are prepared to do all kinds of things. Choose to perform the finest deeds, so that you will be able to reach the highest of ranks. You should do good, for that will bring you nearer to God and endear you to men. Beware of evil, for it will keep you away from God and make people hate you.'
2. Do that which will give you credit at the end of the day, and beware that the evil part of your nature does not overpower the good part. A virtuous person is not the one who remains in his natural state in the absence of harmful influences, but rather the one who remains in that state despite the presence of harmful influences; to stay away from people is the best preventive against harm.
3. Follow the commandments of the prophets and follow the example of the wise.
4. Be truthful, for a lie makes a man feel inferior in his own eyes, let alone in the eyes of others.

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44 Bosra (ancient Bostra) is a town in southern Syria near the border of Jordan, nowadays administratively belonging to the Daraa District of the Daraa Governorate. It used to be an important stopover on the ancient caravan route to Mecca. It, moreover, boasts a magnificent second-century Roman theatre. Some early Christian ruins and several mosques are also found within its great walls. Cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. 'Boṣrā' (A. Abel).

5. Be gentle and you will be thanked and honoured, for hatred quickly brings about anguish and causes enmity and evil, just as envy does.
6. Keep away from evil persons and you will be protected from harm.
7. Stay far away from the rulers of this world and you will spare yourself the company of evil persons.
8. Be content with those worldly goods that suffice for your bodily needs.
9. Know that this day of yours is a piece of your life that will be gone [forever], so spend it on what might benefit you later; if you have satisfied your bodily needs, finish the rest of your day by doing things that are beneficial to you. Do unto people as you would like them to do unto you. Beware of anger and the sudden impulse to take revenge on an angry man or to dissociate from him, for you may come to regret it; you should be patient, for patience is the principal part of all wisdom.
10. Exhortation for the beginning of the night: 'Your day has passed with all that happened in it. Now this night has come, in which you do not have a necessary physical task to fulfil, so turn towards the things that are beneficial for you, by studying the sciences, and by reflecting on the knowledge of the true sense of things; as long as you can stay awake, do this; when you are feeling sleepy, concentrate on the subject of your concern, so that your dreams may also be of the same nature. Do what will be creditable to you tomorrow'.
11. Strive to be a better person tomorrow than you have been today.
12. Beware of being allured by your innate nature to ponder on what you have seen during the day of the conditions of the rulers of this world, for this will waste your time, open for yourself the gates of deception, trickery and slyness in order to acquire worldly goods, corrupt your soul and impair your status, keep you far removed from the true essence of things and let you acquire those shameful traits of character that are so difficult to cast off. But know that these [matters] are transient and useless accidents, and that the needs of man are very few.
13. Reflect on the things that might be useful to you and stand ready to meet God, for the knowledge of the time of your death is concealed from you, and your expectation of living another day is stronger than your imagination of dying tonight; so in saying farewell you should cling to those things that will benefit you after [your] departure. Peace be upon you.
14. Respect your teachers, even if they kept silent and did not answer your questions. Perhaps that was because they learned things long ago (and have forgotten them), or because of weariness, or because you asked something that is not of your concern, or because they believed that you

- would not understand the answer; know that the benefit you will derive from them is greater than all of this.
15. First, study the universal sayings of the famous; if you have mastered the art, then study the particular sayings of each person as contained in his book.
  16. Look at the sayings of each person objectively, free from love or hatred; then weigh them according to analogy and examine them, if possible, by experience; only then you can determine whether or not they are sound. If this is difficult, then enlist someone's aid, for each mind has its own particular capacity for interpreting certain meanings.
  17. If the virtuous people urge you to advance, advance, for if you do not, you will lag behind.
  18. Always seek the truth, so that you may obtain knowledge for yourself and love from other people.
  19. Let your particular actions, that you keep in your mind, correspond to the universal principles, so that your knowledge will be sound, your experience first-rate, your prognostication certain and the advantages that you reap from contact with people, enhanced.
  20. Study the sayings of those whose aim it was to instruct. If you have mastered this art, then confirm it by studying the sayings of those who love truth and thwart untruth. When your knowledge is proven and brought to perfection, so that it cannot be destroyed by doubt, it will do you no harm to browse, from time to time, through the books of sceptics and dialecticians; for their purpose is to demonstrate their power in their claims, regardless of whether they possess genuine knowledge or not, and whether their claims are true or false.
  21. When practising as a physician, fear God and try to act according to what you know for certain; when you cannot do this, try to come as close as possible.
  22. If you have reached the rank of teacher, do not turn away the worthy, that is the intelligent, clever, good and wise individuals, but turn away all others.
  23. When you know of many remedies to a single disease, choose the more appropriate one for every stage of it.
  24. Diseases have their own duration, and remedies need the help of fate. The art of medicine is largely mere conjecture and assessment, in which certainty is a rare occurrence.<sup>45</sup> Its two parts are analogy and experience, not sophistry and love of dominance; the purpose of medicine is the preserva-

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45 For the opinion that medicine is mere conjecture and assessment, see Joosse, *Rebellious Intellectual*, 66, esp. n. 213; Joosse and Pormann, 'Archery', 425–427.

tion of health when it is present and its recovery when it has been lost; in these two things a sound natural disposition and subtle thought become evident, and by them you can distinguish between the one whose work is effective and the ignorant, the excellent scholar and the idle one, the one who acts according to analogy and experience and the one who only seeks for wealth and prestige.

25. Knowledge is so slow and difficult to acquire – even though people strive to proceed with brevity and clear exposition as much as they can, live long lives, have accurate thoughts, and cooperate with one another, with sound natural disposition – that it baffles the eye and makes the mind waver.
26. Observe the activity of nature when unhindered by obstacles, and follow nature's example in your own actions.
27. How wonderful patience is, were it not that one pays for it with part of one's lifetime!
28. The more a thing is expected, the longer one thinks it takes in coming and the less one thinks of its value.
29. One should hope for good things, but assume that they will be few.
30. Injustice is in our nature and it is abandoned only for fear of the Hereafter or for fear of the sword.
31. One benefit can only be accomplished through multiple corruptions.
32. Those who pursue their own interests are many times as numerous as those who are concerned for God's creatures.
33. If you wish to live among people, you will run the risk of injustice, If you wish to avoid that risk, it is you who must treat others unjustly. Do not hope to find a middle way.
34. Solitude is the best time of life.
35. Solitude is the best way of life.
36. Solitude is the result of wisdom.
37. Bad people are always searching for someone with whom they can pass their days in small talk, pleasure and idleness; when they are alone, they suffer because of the wickedness that is found in their souls. The opposite is true of good people, for they are their own good company.
38. The root of every misfortune is the desire for the world.
39. How often will people turn their back on their [real] interests, and cling to the world, and then it slips away from them!
40. I wonder how a man, who does not know the time of his death and at all times believes in happiness and misery, can rely on the world and disregard his most important concern.
41. How many people delight in their hopes without even beginning to fulfil them.

42. Hopes are the dreams of the wakeful.
43. There are many things to do at any time, therefore choose the most important of them.
44. What is the situation of the person, who neglects his concerns at the appropriate times, hoping for other occasions to arrive, pushing them away every time, until he dies hoping?
45. As long as you are in a state in which you are able to be in charge of your body and exercise your soul, keeping them both in good order without being stingy or wasteful, you should not change your state; for you have something that moves you, and if you wanted to stay in the same place, you would not be able to do so. Many a person who has changed his state for one that he considered better has found it worse.
46. Do not show enmity toward a happy person, for the opposite of a happy man is a wretched man.
47. If each of two enemies were to confront the other with his issue, it would be a matter of chance which of them would subdue his adversary. Accordingly, we are commanded, when pursuing important matters, to merge all issues and make a single issue of them, with heavenly assistance.
48. Be eager to take people as your friends; beware of the arrows of ambitions, for they hit the target.
49. Beware of wronging the scholars, for they are God's people.
50. When someone who possesses true knowledge is wronged, God will expose the injustice done to him and help him, and will soon forsake his oppressor.
51. God has His beloved ones, whom He guards with His eye that never sleeps; these are the scholars.
52. The learned are those who are truly happy.
53. As long as no good works come forth from those who are by the masses conventionally called the fortunate ones of this world, they are in fact the evil ones.
54. A person may say a word of wisdom on one occasion and look for the same on a different occasion, but will be unable to find it.
55. Whoever associates with fools in spite of their ignorance and is enticed into attending their circles by his love of this world, should only blame himself when their evil gets hold of him.
56. Adjust the scales, then weigh.
57. When you come to possess a material intellect, then you are a true man, in absolute terms.<sup>46</sup>

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46 This subject matter is discussed by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. The latter calls it the first stage of the development of the intellect, see Ibn Sīnā's *De anima*, 48–49.

58. Rely on your knowledge when no objection can impair it.
59. What a wonderful thing is unanimous opinion!
60. What a wonderful thing is a fitting opinion!
61. A reasonable action is performed according to the intention by which it is produced, and not because of the absolute good.
62. What a wonderful thing is the opinion that is brought about between a sincere person asking for advice and an honest and intelligent man giving advice.
63. Trust only him who believes firmly in what he hopes or fears and is certain that the only truth is his belief; as to the one who doubts his belief or does not have belief in anything at all, do not rely on him, nor take him as your companion. When the one who is convinced of his belief is not a member of your religious community, beware of him too, for he may consider you an unbeliever according to his faith, regard you as an enemy and treat you with hostility.
64. Trust [your] religion more than your fellow believers.
65. Know for certain that sound belief is the reason for practising the precepts of religion. The practise of the precepts of religion may be evidence of the certainty of true belief; he who practices these precepts may do so by imitation of others, without knowing anything else, but he may also do it out of piety; the signs, if they are the consequence of the certainty of true belief, show the traces of divine inspiration [in his belief] and his fair conduct towards the other creatures of God, which comes of his own accord.
66. How wonderful, a life of freedom!
67. Contentment is the gate to freedom!
68. Whoever has sufficient means for the necessities of life, but instead sells his soul to another, hoping for the luxuries of life, is the stupidest of fools.
69. How few are the needs of man, were he impartial to himself!
70. Steer clear from the company of those who adore worldly things, for if you find them, they will tie you down, and they will cause you grief, if you cannot find them.
71. When angry, choose the company of someone whose presence will alleviate your bad mood.<sup>47</sup>
72. The loss of a friend heralds a departure.

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47 All MSS (as well as the editions of Müller and al-Najjār) have *man lā tub'idu ṣuḥbatuhū*, which is the opposite: 'whose presence will *not* remove you from your state/mood'. The negative *lā* is missing in the Nizār Riḍā edition.

73. When a wise man is hurt by you or imagines himself to be hurt by you even if you have not hurt him, then it may be useful to disavow this if you are innocent, and to apologize if you have indeed hurt him. On the other hand, when it appears to you that a resentful man imagines himself to have been hurt by you, deprived of his benefit or contradicted, then beware of him, for he will constantly think of plans to hurt you.
74. Friends are like one soul in different bodies.
75. The physician is the person in charge of the human body, not in absolute terms, but in relative terms, as he compares it to his own body. The human physique is among the noblest of compound things, so that the one concerned with this matter must [also] be one of the noblest men.
76. Wealth is a magnet for the souls of the ignorant and knowledge is a magnet for the souls of the wise.
77. I have seen fools admiring the rich, even though they know for certain that they will not give them any part of their wealth, except the price of commodities or payment for labour, the same as what they get from the poor.
78. The best among the learned is the person whose knowledge is in harmony with his mind.
79. When you can stay away from people with the minimum of sufficiency, that would be the best situation.
80. If you fear for your money and only spend it on the most important things, you should see to it that you do [just] this during your lifetime.
81. Wisdom is following the example of God, Exalted be He.
82. A man is given insight in his own faults only through the faults of others.
83. If you have attached beautiful traits of character to your soul, you are paying it the utmost honour, for if you are, for example, not susceptible to anger, while everyone else is, you will become the finest man in that respect.
84. The more perfect a thing is, the more pleasure it gives; the more defective a thing is, the more pain it causes.
85. Read much of the biographies of wise men and follow their example as much as you can during your lifetime.
86. Give your soul power over your body.
87. Improve the quality of food and reduce its quantity.
88. Abstain from giving your body more food than necessary to sustain its strength. Beware of giving it too much, but increase the nourishment of the soul.
89. The nourishment of the soul by means of the sciences proceeds step by step. Start with small and easy portions and advance gradually, for the soul

- will crave for more when it grows stronger; when it has become a natural habitus [*malakah*], everything will become easier for it.
90. A strong stomach digests any kinds of food that enters it and a virtuous soul accepts any kind of knowledge that is brought to it.
  91. As long as you are not able to bear solitude you are compelled to associate with people.
  92. Associate with people in what gives them pleasure, but do not forsake the nearness of God, Exalted be He.
  93. Someone wrote to his teacher complaining of difficulties in his affairs. His teacher wrote back saying: 'You will not be saved from what you dislike, until you have abstained from many a thing that you love, and you will not reach what you love, until you have endured many a thing that you dislike Peace be upon you'.
  94. Be thankful to him who does good and to him who does no evil; forgive people for their actions and do not blame them, for every creature has its particular nature.
  95. Approve of the same things in others as you do in yourself and disapprove of the same thing in them as you do in yourself.
  96. Do not forsake any of your deeds of devotion to God, Exalted be He.
  97. Truly obey God and people will obey you.
  98. There is nothing more useful than sincere intention.
  99. Take from everything that which may guide you toward the goal at which it is aimed.
  100. Do not depend on anything that you acquire by chance.
  101. Humble yourself to men, and especially to the religious scholars and the shaykhs, and do not think little of anyone; for the scholar often conceals his knowledge in order to select someone to whom he can entrust it, just as the farmer selects his land.
  102. In every science, study the sayings of its first masters.
  103. Always study intensively the books of divine revelation, for they contain all wisdom.
  104. Spend much time in the company of the shaykhs; you will either benefit from their knowledge or from their way of life.
  105. If you look attentively at the virtuous in all their doings, you will find much wisdom in it.
  106. I have seen that the most important thing for the majority of the people is that which brings them money.
  107. How often do people hear prophetic and wise commandments, but apply only those which bring them money.
  108. How strong is man's reliance on bodily pleasures!



109. Do not neglect to think about the future in the present time.
110. The man who does not think about the future is unprepared for it.
111. Contentment forms the basis of everything good and virtuous.
112. Man can attain everything he desires through contentment.
113. The contented man is assisted in the fulfilment of his desires.
114. Aim at the utmost degree of human perfection, for if you are unable to reach that level, yet you will attain the degree that is in your power. If you aim at the second-best degree of perfection, hoping to proceed from it to the following, you will probably end by abandoning effort and being content with less than you deserve.
115. Beware of forsaking any of the physical acts of devotion, for they are an excellent aid to reaching the spiritual acts of devotion.
116. Solitariness is sufficient honour, for God, Exalted be He, is one.
117. The more absolute solitariness is, the nobler it is, for the oneness of God, Exalted be He, can by no means be corrupted by a plurality of aspects.
118. Hold fast unto God, Exalted be He, depend on Him, put your faith in Him alone, and He will protect you, supply you with all [your] provisions and will not disappoint your belief.
119. Let the religious community become your aid, and its members your brothers; do not rely on governments, for it is the religious communities that will endure.
120. Habituate your soul to the good, both in thought and action, and you will obtain the good from God, Exalted be He, and from men, now and in the future.
121. Do not strive for solitude as long as you still have the least spark of ambition.
122. If the weak would not overstep their power, they would be spared many a danger.
123. I wish I knew how to excuse myself if I have known (how to act) but did not act; I hope God, Exalted be He, will forgive me.

[15.51.10]

Here is some of the poetry that I have heard from my uncle – may God have mercy upon him:<sup>48</sup>

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48 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:297 (lines 1–3, 6).

[15.51.10.1]

My two friends, ask Passion and leave me!  
 What do you want from a yearning, suffering man?  
 Don't ask him about parting and how it tastes:  
 parting is another kind of death.  
 The camel drivers have called: 'Departure will be soon, so say farewell!'
   
 Thus I was bereaved of my heart and my friends.  
 Their camels set off when darkness had fallen,  
 but light shone from those who travelled, carried on the camels.  
 I did not know that your being far would kill me,  
 until I did<sup>49</sup> and I was deluded in thinking myself consoled.  
 I cried from passion after that, to no avail.  
 How else, since meeting has turned into wishing?

He said, describing a gathering:<sup>50</sup>

May rain bless a day on which our joy  
 was complete and a cup of cool wine brought us together;  
 When Fate's vagaries had turned away from us  
 and we, in delight, attained our desires  
 In a gathering perfect in its loveliness: if al-Junayd<sup>51</sup>  
 had been there he would have been charmed.  
 We had fun (*fukāhah*) there and fruit (*fākihah*),  
 and a cup of wine (*rāḥ*), and leisure (*rāḥah*), and song,  
 5 Amid drinking companions like suns, men  
 of learning, excellence, high standing, and brilliance,  
 Whose conversation does not bore the listener,  
 so nice that the eye would envy the ear;  
 Sincere friends, their minds pure,  
 chaste, harbouring no immoral thought,  
 Magnanimous men, always doing good things that  
 earn them praise among people.

49 Did what? Interpretation uncertain. Instead of *fa'altu* (thus A), read perhaps *fa'alti* or *fa'alta*, 'you did (viz. leave me)'.

50 Metre: *munsariḥ*.

51 Al-Junayd (d. 298/910), famous mystic and *zāhid* ('ascetic, renunciant').

- We recited our love poems (*aghzāl*), turning them into riddles (*nulghī-zuhā*)  
 on the name of a gazelle (*ghazāl*) who came to flirt with us (*yughāzilunā*),
- 10 On a day of gloom when the clouds poured out  
 as if they were the hand of our host.  
 We had a brazier, scintillating on every side  
 with fire, warming us.  
 Facing it stood a fawn, holding in his hand  
 a bird, like a lover near him, wasting away;  
 It looked, as he was turning it over (*yuqallibuhū*) in the fire,  
 like my heart (*qalbī*) that he has taken as a pawn.  
 The cups of wine kept chasing  
 worry away, where joy was our army.
- 15 We kept our conversation a secret, and did not  
 divulge it, for fear of slanderers who might hear us;  
 And no eye of one with sight saw us  
 save the bubble-eyes that watched us.<sup>52</sup>  
 The nicest life is that which we hide  
 in fear, even if our secret were public.  
 O day of ours! Shall we see you again  
 in Baalbek, will you return to us?

He also said:<sup>53</sup>

- O my friend! My piety is gone  
 since I came to Baalbek.  
 How can my religion be sound  
 after being charmed and shamed  
 By every slender youth with lissom  
 figure, resembling the full moon?  
 He looks with the cutting sword of his glance,  
 drawn only to murder me.
- 5 It is as if there is wine in his mouth  
 mixed with honey and musk.

52 The bubbles resulting from wine being mixed with water.

53 Metre: *mujtathth*.

Cheerfully, he laughs conceitedly  
 when he sees me cry.  
 He has no pity when I  
 humbly complain.  
 The falsehood of a slanderer who  
 told lies to him makes it worse for me.  
 He did not fear God when  
 he defamed me to him, to my ruin.  
 10 In the laws of love he became  
 my owner, though I own him.

[15.51.10.2]

He also said:<sup>54</sup>

The lover's secret is made public by his tears:  
 how can it be ever be hidden when one is in love?  
 My friends, have you ever seen a man to whom  
 lions are humble, but who is humbled by gazelles?  
 I used not to be one of those whose heart is enslaved  
 by passionate love; but passion is a sovereign ruler.  
 My lord, breaking off comes after union  
 and before our hope stands abandonment.  
 Will you pity this grieving, ardent lover by visiting him,  
 O you, all whose deeds are beneficence?  
 You will find a man who will welcome you, decent,  
 with a cheerful face whose heart is distraught

He also said:<sup>55</sup>

I would give my life for him of the graceful figure, who has  
 no equal in beauty and beneficence,  
 Drowsy, though his lover's eyelids  
 cannot escape a visit from insomnia.  
 His saliva seems a vintage wine,  
 cooled with water and ambergris perfume.

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54 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:297 (lines 2–3).

55 Metre: *kāmil*.

But now he resists me,  
 abandoning me, turning away, rejecting me.  
 I shall have to bear with his being bored with me;  
 perhaps my endurance will help me.

He also said:<sup>56</sup>

The grey doves of the sanctuary in La'la<sup>57</sup> pitied me  
 by lamenting in the tree tops; my tears streamed forth.  
 They lamented, doubting(?)<sup>58</sup> the yearning of their hearts,  
 and I lamented as someone bereaved who lost a child.  
 I bade them farewell and then returned, bereft  
 of my heart and them:<sup>59</sup> O disillusion of him who said farewell!  
 'O my spirit', I said, 'Depart, for they have departed!  
 And if they do not return, do not return!'

He also said:<sup>60</sup>

I was regretful, but regret or passion does not avail;  
 I lamented for Najd but Najd was deserted.<sup>61</sup>  
 The camels left with him I love and my tears  
 streamed forth. 'You have died!' they said. This is what loss means.  
 I am deprived of a pleasant life after he departed;  
 but despite myself the bond with him will last long.

He also said:<sup>62</sup>

Are you stingy with greeting and salutation?  
 I'd give my life for you! Why, when you are Abū l-Kirām?<sup>63</sup>

56 Metre: *rajaz*.

57 A place of uncertain location, possibly between Basra and Kufa (it means 'mirage').

58 It is not clear why their yearning should be doubted. Instead of *mirā'an* (as vowelled in A) read perhaps *marā'in*, '(they lamented) sights'. See also above, the note at Ch. 10.81.5.

59 Whether *wa-* in *wa-hum* is intended as the conjunction 'and' or the particle meaning 'with them', in either case one would have expected *wa-īyāhum* instead.

60 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

61 Najd is the central Arabian plateau; archetypical locus for love lyrics.

62 Metre: *wāfir*.

63 Literally, 'Father of the Generous', here a nickname not necessarily meaning that he has any children.

Ramadan is here, so do good deeds in it,  
 so that your fasting may be well-received!  
 Do not draw the sword of your glance in it  
 and do not brandish the lance of your figure.  
 Don't you fear the Merciful, you who would  
 declare killing to be lawful in the holy month?

[15.51.10.3]

He said, as a riddle on the name Abū l-Kirām:<sup>64</sup>

You who ask me about the one who delights my eyes,  
 think, for I have a problem for you!  
 One that has nine, equalling 'he wanted'<sup>65</sup>  
 in their numbers; understand this and do not ignore it!  
 The eighth letter is like the well-known fourth<sup>66</sup>  
 and the fourth is like the first,  
 And the seventh is five times the ninth  
 and ten of the sixth: show it to me!<sup>67</sup>  
 And a tenth of its second, times five,  
 is like the sixth, the best.<sup>68</sup>  
 This is the name of whom I love; if you know it,  
 tell me<sup>69</sup> and don't delay!

64 Metre: *sarī*. The riddle, one of many of its kind, uses the numerical values of the letters of the Arabic alphabet (for which the ancient order is used, as still in e.g. Hebrew, not the one used in dictionaries). A note in A (left margin), not wholly legible and partly cut off, announces 'The explanation of this and the following riddle, on the external interleaf inside (?), even though it is obvious, is in the margin, so look it up [there].': Such an explanation has not been found. Below this note in MS A another note says: 'To the binder: He who writes these lines says: He made an error in placing the external interleaf here and he put it at the end of the book, on the blank folio; so look there.'

65 In Arabic, 'Abū l-Kirām' is written with nine letters (ʾ, b, w, ʾ, l, k, r, ʾ, m), the numerical values of which are 1, 2, 6, 1, 30, 20, 200, 1, 40, respectively, adding up to 301, which is also the sum of the letters of *shāʾa* ('he wanted'), i.e. *sh* (300) and ʾ (1); note that the *hamzah* sign (not considered a proper letter) does not count.

66 It is not wholly clear why the *alif* (the first letter of the alphabet) is called 'well-known', as it is in the following poem too.

67 *Fa-zhīrhu*, a licence for *fa-azhīrhu*. The seventh letter ( $r = 200$ ) equals five times the ninth ( $m = 40$ ) or ten times the sixth ( $k = 20$ ).

68 Or, 2 divided by 10 equals 0.2; multiplied by 30 equals 6. Why this 6 should be called *al-afdal* is not clear.

69 *Fa-khbīr*, a licence for *fa-akhbīr*.

He said, as a riddle on the name Abū l-Karam:<sup>70</sup>

You who ask me about a loved one I will not name,  
 out of fear of someone spying – but I shall put him in a riddle:  
 He has a compound name, of sixty multiplied  
 by half of a sixth of it. Now understand the meanings!<sup>71</sup>  
 A fifth of his seventh is double his sixth  
 and a tenth of his eighth is the square of his second.<sup>72</sup>  
 The third of the name by H is like its fifth,  
 and the well-known first resembles the fourth<sup>73</sup>  
 This is the name of the one I want. Do not clearly pronounce its letters,  
 (I'll give my life for you!); I'll keep it hidden as long as I live.

He also said, as a riddle on the same:<sup>74</sup>

I give my life in ransom for a man half of whose name is the square root  
 of Q,  
 and whose fifth is L plus Y plus K.<sup>75</sup>  
 The sixth of its letters multiplied by its half  
 and a fourth part are like the eight nice ones.<sup>76</sup>  
 Double the second of the name by five  
 is like half of its termination, by analogy, a sufficiency.<sup>77</sup>

70 Metre: *basīṭ*. Abū l-Kirām and Abū l-Karam may well be variants of the same person's name. Perhaps the poet discarded one letter in order to obtain the round number that allows more ways of multiplication and division. It should be noted that the English translations offer scope for ambiguities not present in Arabic, because in English many ordinals and fractions are homonyms (e.g. 'tenth' standing for 'āshir, 'tenth in a sequence' and 'ushr, 'tenth part').

71 'Abū l-Karam' has eight letters adding up to 300 (1+2+6+1+30+20+200+40), which equals 60 times 5 (5 being half of a sixth of 60).

72 Or, 40 (a fifth of 200) equals two times 20; and 4 (a tenth of 40) equals the square of 2.

73 Or, 6 multiplied by 5 (the value of the letter *h*) equals 30; *alif* is both the first and the fourth letter.

74 Metre: *sarī*.

75 Q (*qāf*) is 100, of which the square root is 10; half of 'Abū l-Karam' here means the first four of its eight letters, which add up to 10. L (*lām*, 30) plus Y (*yā*, 10) plus K (*kāf*, 20) equals 60, which is a fifth of 300, the total for Abū l-Karam.

76 This does not seem to make sense unless instead of *wa-rub'uhū* one reads *wa-thulthuhū*. Then, 20 (the sixth letter) multiplied by 10 (half of 20, or the first half of the name) equals 200; plus 100 (one third, *thulth*, rather than one fourth, *rub*; of the total) equals 300, the sum of the eight letters (called 'nice' presumably because of the rhyme).

77 Double the second (2) is 4; times 5 equals 20, which is half of the last letter (40); assuming

The seventh is two thirds, and the third  
 is a fifth of the fifth; the allusion should suffice.<sup>78</sup>  
 The fourth is the first, O my master,  
 – this is the one who caused my eyelids to bleed.<sup>79</sup>  
 It has two parts; one of them  
 I want to have, the other part is governing.<sup>80</sup>  
 This is the name of whom I love. Would there be a lover  
 who could remain chaste with such temptation?

He said, as a riddle on the name Aqish:<sup>81</sup>

You who ask me about him whom the moons resemble:  
 Not so fast! I will conceal him forever.  
 The name is composed of T and A;  
 a sixth of its third is half of its second,<sup>82</sup>  
 And the first of the name is a tenth of Y;<sup>83</sup> so pay attention  
 to what I say and conceal it. I shall not name him.

[15.51.10.4]

He said:<sup>84</sup>

After the people had gone an ardent lover, lamenting  
 what struck him, declared his desires to be forbidden.

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that  $\text{أقش}$  is to be read *inhāhu* as a licence for *inhā'ihī*. The meaning of the last two words, if there is one, is unclear.

- 78 The seventh letter (200) is two thirds of the total; the third (6) is a fifth of the fifth letter (30).
- 79 The first and fourth letters are the same. 'Bleeding' eyes (i.e., eyes reddened by weeping) are often mentioned in poetry, although the word used here, *ru'āf*, normally refers to nosebleed. Again, the rhyme is responsible.
- 80 The name consists of two words, Abū and (a)l-Karam, the first being the 'governing' and the second the 'governed' word (which thus has the genitive). The poet wants the second, *al-karam* ('generosity'). The use of the feminine *iḥdāhumā* ('one of the two') instead of the masculine (*aḥadahumā*) is a gross error, unless one admits that the word 'word' (*kalimah*, feminine) may be implied.
- 81 Metre: *basīf*. The name Aqish or Āqish (Akiş?) is Turkish.
- 82 T (*tā*, 400) plus A (*alif*, 1) equals 401, the letters A (1), Q (100), Sh (*shīn*, 300) also add up to 401. A sixth of Sh (300) is 50, which is half of Q (100). Reading *thā'* (as in ALR) instead of *tā'* does not add up.
- 83 Y (*yā'*) is 10; one tenth is 1 (the letter *alif*).
- 84 Metre: *sarī'*.



He bade the one he loved farewell; then he turned  
 to occupy himself with death and related matters.  
 'Such', his companion said to him,  
 'is the requital of those who part from their loved ones'.

He also said:<sup>85</sup>

My course in life is like a mirror, in which  
 handsome and ugly people see their likeness in truth.  
 The beauty that meets the handsome one pleases him,  
 and the ugliness of what he encounters pains the ugly one.  
 The handsome one always looks at it,  
 and the wretched ugly one stays far from it.  
 Likewise, among the people of this world  
 only the noble ones, in nature and character, visit me.

He also said:<sup>86</sup>

Thirty years of my life have gone by and I have not despaired  
 nor have I been granted any of the things I sought.  
 Time has been resisting me, intentionally, but I am  
 steadfast towards misfortune, impregnable.  
 I have curried my fortune's favour with every virtue  
 and excellence, but it rewarded me with dire straits.  
 Well, a despondent soul suits a man better  
 and is more pleasant than the whisperings of false desires.

He also said:<sup>87</sup>

This is the world. Be not deluded  
 by anything in it: it is an *accident*<sup>88</sup> that will pass.

[15.51.11]

My paternal uncle Rashīd al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Khalīfah is the author of the following works:

85 Metre: *khafif*.

86 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

87 Metre: *wāfir*.

88 'Accident' is used in the philosophical sense.

1. Useful summary of the science of arithmetic (*K. al-mūjaz al-mufīd fī 'ilm al-ḥisāb*); four volumes, dedicated to al-Malik al-Amjad, Lord of Baalbek, in the month of Ṣafar of the year 608/July-August 1211, while they were encamped on al-Ṭūr.<sup>89</sup>
2. Mensuration (*K. al-misāḥah*).
3. On medicine (*K. fī l-ṭibb*), dedicated to al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Najm al-Dīn Mas'ūd, the son of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb; in it the author summarizes the generalities of the art of medicine and his knowledge of diseases, their causes and remedies.
4. On market medicine (*K. ṭibb al-sūq*), dedicated to one of his disciples, in which the author mentions the diseases that occur frequently and their treatment by medicaments that are easily accessible and well-known.
5. On the balancing of the pulse in relation to the movements of the musician (*M. fī nisbat al-nabḍ wa-muwāzanatihi ilā l-ḥarakāt al-mūsīqāriyyah*).<sup>90</sup>
6. On the reason why mountains were created (*M. fī al-sabab alladhī lahu khuliqat al-jibāl*), dedicated to al-Malik al-Amjad.
7. On the elements (*K. al-uṣṭuqussāt*).
8. Marginal notes and experiences in medicine (*Ta'ālīq wa-mujarrabāt fī l-ṭibb*).

## 15.52 Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk<sup>1</sup>

[15.52.1]

The esteemed, learned and complete physician Badr al-Dīn al-Muẓaffar was the son of the judge and learned authority Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm. Although his father was the judge of Ba'labakk, Badr al-Dīn grew up in Damascus, where he studied the art of medicine. God brought together in him an exceeding amount of knowledge, intelligence and virtue. He studied

89 The Mountain, probably short for Ṭūr 'Abdīn, a plateau in northern Mesopotamia.

90 The Arabic text follows AB (*mūsīqāwīyyah*), which, though rare, may be better than *mūsīqāriyyah* (LR). Ibn Sīnā, *Qānūn* (Būlāq), 1:126, uses the expression *nisab mūsīqāwīyyah*. But 'music' is normally *mūsīqī*, not *mūsīqā*, so the *nisab* should be *mūsīqīyyah*, and *mūsīqāriyyah* may be correct after all; this would mean 'of the musician' (*mūsīqār*).

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1. Ms R has a note before the biography in the body of the text, which is referring to the last nine biographies (not present in Version 1): 'These biographies can be found in a different handwriting than that of the author. This is how they are positioned, but God knows best!'

the art of medicine under our shaykh, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī – may God have mercy upon him – and attained to the utmost perfection within the shortest possible time in both its theoretical and practical aspects. Badr al-Dīn was a highly ambitious student, and his soul contained all good qualities. I found that he studied with a single-mindedness unmatched by any other students. Moreover, there were no physicians who were equal to him. He strove continually to increase his knowledge and his pursuit of learning and understanding, memorizing many medical books and philosophical works.

I was myself a witness of an instance of his high ambition and great talent. The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī had composed a treatise on vomiting.<sup>2</sup> Each of his disciples studied it with him, but Badr al-Dīn proceeded to memorize it and studied it on his own initiative, from beginning to end. The shaykh Muhadhhab al-Dīn was delighted at this, and Badr al-Dīn became his pupil, assiduously reading and studying under his guidance.

In the year 622/1225, when the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn travelled to the lands of the East in order to enter the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, he was accompanied by Badr al-Dīn, who continued to study with him. As a result, the younger man worked in the hospital of al-Raqqah and composed a beautiful treatise on the climate, weather conditions and predominant [characteristics] of al-Raqqah. He lived in al-Raqqah for some years and studied philosophy there under the guidance of Zayn al-Dīn, the blind – may God have mercy upon him – who was an authority in the philosophical sciences.

Later, however, Badr al-Dīn went back to Damascus. When al-Malik al-Jawād Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yūnus, the son of Shams al-Dīn Mawdūd, the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, conquered Damascus in the year 635/1237, he invited Badr al-Dīn to enter his service. He enjoyed the good favour of the Sultan, and obtained an important position in his government. Al-Malik al-Jawād depended upon him in medical matters and appointed him chief of all the physicians, oculists and surgeons, confirming the appointment with a decree in the month Ṣafar of the year 637 [September 1239].

Thanks to his continuous desire to do good works and his incessant concern for the benefits of the art, Badr al-Dīn revived some of the benefits of medicine that had been lost, and brought back certain of its virtues that had long been forgotten. One of his most excellent achievements, one that had a long-lasting effect and won him the highest [deserved] reward, was his persistent effort to

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<sup>2</sup> This treatise has been mentioned in the entry on Muhadhhab al-Dīn ibn ‘Alī (Ch. 15.50). It was composed in the month of Rabī‘ 1 of the year 622/1225.

buy a number of houses adjacent to the 'Great Hospital' that had been founded and dedicated as a religious endowment by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him. Badr al-Dīn worked very hard to that end and paid for the houses with his own money. In the end, having acquired them, he had them incorporated into the hospital: small rooms were enlarged and converted into wards for the patients. Badr al-Dīn built them in the best possible way, with their walls plastered and running water installed, so that the hospital was improved by his most noble action.

Badr al-Dīn continued to teach medicine, and he also served al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, the son of al-Malik al-Kāmil, treating him and his family in the ruler's quarters in the fort of Damascus, as well as others who took refuge there, while visiting the hospital from time to time to treat patients there as well. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ gave the physician a written certificate, appointing him chief physician of Damascus, in the year 645/1247. Badr al-Dīn also attended several of the successors of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who ruled over Damascus, thanks to whom he enjoyed a permanent salary, an important position, great prestige and the highest favours. He continued to frequent the citadel and the hospital, while increasing his knowledge in his leisure time.

Badr al-Dīn's high ambition and noble origins are shown, as I found, by the fact that he devoted himself completely to the science of religious law. He had a room at the Qilījīyah Law College, which had been dedicated as a charitable endowment by the emir Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Qilīj – may God have mercy upon him – and was located next door to the physician's house. He studied books on jurisprudence and the literary arts, learnt the Qur'an perfectly by heart, and came to know its commentaries and its various readings until he became an outstanding expert in that domain, in which his teacher was the shaykh and authority Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāmāh – may God have mercy upon him.

The physician Badr al-Dīn devoted himself whole-heartedly to worship and religion and being of assistance to other Muslims. Accounts of his virtue and kindness continued to reach me. One day, one of his works, *The Soul's Gladdener* (*K. Mufarriḥ al-nafs*) had come into my hands. I wrote him the following letter:

[15.52.1.1]

Your servant has learnt what our master the physician and learned authority Badr al-Dīn, may God strengthen his happiness and prolong his leadership, has put down in writing, in his concise and characteristic style, in his inimitable book *The Soul's Gladdener*, the supplier of joy and togetherness, with which he has surpassed the ancients and rendered powerless

all other physicians and philosophers, and with which he has changed the remedies for the heart and become the leader in charge of this lofty mission. No wonder that there is no one similar to him: our master and shaykh of [our] times, the symbol of our generation. May God render his life full of happiness and fill the earth with his writings, so that many will be able to derive benefit from them.

In the same epistle, I added the following verses that I extemporized:<sup>3</sup>

Because of the light of Badr al-Dīn<sup>4</sup>  
 the sun's face is almost hidden:  
 A sage, eminent, a learned man,  
 noble of disposition and of soul,  
 The most knowledgeable of all people in medicine,  
 the science of the pulse and palpating,  
 Expert in medical cures,  
 from certitude rather than from conjecture.  
 5 So who is Hippocrates then, or the Shaykh,<sup>5</sup>  
 among Greeks or Persians?  
 So many cures has he invented,  
 so many has he rescued from a relapse.  
 He has risen in sound opinion above Qays  
 and in expressions above Quss.<sup>6</sup>  
 He donated to my heart  
 the book *The Soul's Gladdener*,<sup>7</sup>  
 A book in which support descended  
 from the World of Holiness(?).<sup>8</sup>  
 10 The light of its content revealed itself  
 for us in the darkness of the ink.

3 Metre: *hazaj*.

4 Badr al-Dīn means 'the full moon of the religion'. The first foot of this line is metrically irregular (SLSSL instead of SLLL or SLLS).

5 Ibn Sīnā.

6 Qays ibn 'Āṣim (a contemporary of the prophet Muḥammad) was legendary for his wisdom. On Quss ibn Sā'idah see above, Ch. 10.64.17.1; 10. 68.1.4; 14.55.2; and 15.31.2.

7 The syntax requires reading *kitāba mufrīḥi l-nafs*, which is metrically irregular; one could emend it to *kitāban mufrīḥa l-nafs*, 'a book that is *Gladdening the Soul*'.

8 The vowelling in A, 'ālim *al-quds*, suggests 'the scholar of Jerusalem', which is not clear. The phrase 'realm, or world, of Holiness', 'ālam *al-quds*, whatever it could mean here, is used by several writers on esoteric matters.

How beautiful, the flowers of its handwriting  
 in the garden of the paper!  
 Its virgin thoughts appeared  
 and the eye was at a feast.  
 How much it gave me  
 of repose and cheer!  
 I met what it contained  
 with kisses and study,  
 15 And from it I shall reap fruits  
 that are sweet, from a good plant.

I also wrote the following verses in [another] letter:<sup>9</sup>

My lord Badr al-Dīn, whose merits and  
 beneficence are being recited,  
 And who has risen in glory so that  
 Saturn falls short of his loftiness;  
 If he speaks, because of his expressions  
 ‘Saḥbān drags (*yashabu*) the train’ of inarticulateness.<sup>10</sup>  
 My longing for a meeting with you has increased  
 beyond limit; my sincere affection is proof.  
 You will not be absent from my thoughts, nor shall I be oblivious  
 of the blessings you bestowed on me all along.  
 May God prolong the days of the sublime authority, the illustrious mas-  
 ter, the learned physician, the great and virtuous leader, the sign of his  
 time, the unique one of his age, the full moon of this world and of reli-  
 gion, the supporter of kings and sultans, the intimate friend of the emir  
 of the Faithful. May God watch over his Excellency, offer him his full  
 protection in both worlds, suppress his desires and subdue his enemies.  
 May happiness always reign in his home and may tongues never cease  
 to unite in thanking and praising him. The servant ends by [expressing]  
 his great yearning to serve [Badr al-Dīn]. If he had had the eloquence of  
 the supreme shaykh and the lengthy manner of expressing himself of the  
 virtuous Galen, still he would have been unable to describe the sorrow  
 of his yearnings and the pain that he suffers because of this farewell. He

9 Metre: *sarī*.

10 On Saḥbān, legendary orator, see above, Ch. 15,31.1 and 15,37.4. The line seems to allude to a saying found in al-Tha‘ālibī, *Nathr al-naẓm*, 18: *fa-ka’anna fihimā Saḥbān yashabu dhayl faṣāḥatīhi* (‘as if in it Saḥbān drags the train of his eloquence’).

prays humbly to God, exalted be He, to facilitate their joyous meeting and make the encounter easy for them both with regard to their mutual preferences. When your servant heard, O master, that you had been appointed chief of all physicians – God, exalted be He, granted them special favours through that appointment and bestowed upon them ample benefits – he attained the summit of happiness, set his mind to extreme joy, and realized that God, exalted be He, had indeed kept a benevolent eye on His flock and united them under his good care. Herewith, this art was raised in importance and its light spread. It received the greatest honours, virtues, fortune and brilliant splendour. For that reason, the period in which we live, is ennobled by the art [of medicine] more than other periods [in history], and the status of science is now contrary to what was once described by Ibn al-Khaṭīb in [his commentary on] the *Kullīyyāt* (*The Generalities*).<sup>11</sup> God be praised for rendering His all-embracing favours and perfect graces. The master [Badr al-Dīn] is the first to be entrusted with the concerns of this art and given full power over the [other] masters and scholars in the field.

She was fit only for him  
and he only for her.<sup>12</sup>

The presence of glory has continued to be brought forth by his good qualities and the marks of sovereignty indicate his virtues and nobility. May God, exalted be He, aid him in his new post and help him in everything he does in the future and in the present, if God, He be exalted, wills.

[15.52.1.2]

I also wrote the following verses to him in the year 645/1247:<sup>13</sup>

I am writing while in me there is a longing too strong to be encompassed  
and an exceeding gratification that continues forever,  
Within my breast a fire of grief because of the distance,  
that blazes with bigger flames than burning embers;  
And I have a yearning that will not cease for him  
to whom I owe favours that keep recurring in my thoughts:

11 Ibn al-Khaṭīb is Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Kullīyyāt* is not the famous work of that title by Ibn Rushd but the first section of Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*, *On generalities*, see Ch. 11.19, title no. 62.

12 Metre: *mutaqārib*. From a poem by Abū l-'Atāhiyah, in which he personifies the caliphate of al-Mahdī as a woman (*Dīwān*, 612, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, iv:33).

13 Metre: *tawīl*.

He is the eminent Badr al-Dīn, the most excellent celebrated man,  
 who, at the apogee of exalted deeds, is unique in his time.  
 5 A sage, who has comprehended what Hippocrates said formerly  
 and who knows what Galen said after him;  
 Who knows the studies of the Leader, the Shaykh;<sup>14</sup>  
 whenever he reads them aloud the words come like pearls.  
 And if pearls of words come from his sea of knowledge,  
 it is no wonder, for pearls come from the sea.  
 When he speaks he surpasses all speakers and his expressions  
 are magic, but the licit kind of magic.  
 When he treats a sick man or aids a destitute one his excellence  
 (*faḍl*)  
 and beneficence (*ifḍāl*) bring cure (*burʿ*) and kindness (*birr*),  
 10 With great modesty (*hayā*) and a cheerful face (*muḥayyā*) when the  
 clouds  
 of his generosity pour out, making rain dispensable;  
 Far-reaching, near with munificence, ample with boons; whenever  
 he appears Right Guidance is in the radiance of the full moon  
 (*badr*).<sup>15</sup>  
 Badr al-Dīn has no equal in learning and intelligence  
 and the shining characteristics that he possesses.  
 O master, whose noble deeds are deemed by those with hopes  
 to be the most excellent treasure,  
 My longing for you has increased, I am full of emotion and  
 have lost patience because our mutual closedness is so remote.  
 15 But though dwellings be far or near I have great loyalty  
 that will not cease all my life.  
 From my father favours have reached me from you  
 that you have generously given, to many to count or encompass.  
 You have respected an old bond with us that you know about;  
 decent loyalty is one of the traits of a noble man.  
 Someone like you bestows boons on a friend  
 when he has a time when he has influence.  
 All I can do is to express my gratitude  
 and to pray for you inwardly and openly,

14 Ibn Sīnā.

15 This line, with its abundant internal rhymes (*madā, nadā, jadā, badā, hudā*) seems to have been inspired by a similar one by al-Jilyānī in his long ode on Saladin, see above, Ch. 15.11.2.1 (vs. 81).



20 To extol your sublimity in every gathering  
 and to recite the verses<sup>16</sup> of praise in poetry and prose.  
 My poem comes to you to praise and thank you,  
 because you are deserving of eulogies and gratitude.  
 May you always be in lasting good fortune and blessing,  
 a long life, in good health, and high standing!

The servant kisses the hand of the master, the great and learned physician, the noble chief, the unique leader, Badr al-Dīn. May God prolong its strength and graces. May He multiply its<sup>17</sup> benefits and give blessings therefrom to those close to God and suppress its enemies and those who bear a grudge by the duration of its happiness. May its favours remain everlasting and its benefits perpetual and long-lived, as long as the days pass into years and as long as the movements of the heart and the arteries go together. May [God] continue to accord our master the best wishes, as long as he is still aware of the breath of life in him. May He well reward him, as long as his firm roots do not become untied, but continue to expand and be manifold. May He still continue to promulgate his praises in the seats of splendour. May the praises, whose beautiful exterior never ceases to be, be adorned and shine. May He curb my yearnings and longings, which cannot be contained in words, nor encompassed by pages. Yet, [the servant] relies on our master's grasp of knowledge, his sincere love and friendship and his deep trust in his supporters and companions. I received my father's letter with the glad tidings, which filled his heart with joy and his soul with delight, of our master's appointment as chief of all the other physicians and of his good care and benevolent treatment of them. My father had described our master's favours and generosity toward him, and that he was well-known for his kindness and celebrated for his virtues and his benevolence. Our master, who knows best the paths of honour and the fact that evil men consider knowledge blameworthy, may he receive help from God to remain forever doing good, excelling in noble things, reaching the highest ranks, obtaining perpetual happiness and being protected from evil.

This is a prayer it would be enough for me to be silent with,  
 for I asked God on your behalf but He has already done.<sup>18</sup>

16 The verb *talā* ('to recite') and the word *āy* ('verses') used here normally refer specifically to the Qur'an.

17 'It' refers to the addressee's hand, and 'hand' in Arabic can also mean 'favour, benefit'.

18 Metre: *ṭawīl*. A line by al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 496.

Our master, may the high ranks be beautified by him and the elevated positions become nobler by his fine insight, has already surpassed by his virtues and nobility all those who are famous for their merits, has distinguished himself among his contemporaries for his dignified conduct and good influence. He is the example to all the other physicians and to all his supporters and loved ones.

People divided joy between themselves  
in portions; the luckiest one was I.<sup>19</sup>

The servant again kisses the hand of his master for favours and seeks for his needs and services he may render him.

[15.52.2]

Badr al-Dīn, the son of the judge of Ba'labakk, is the author of the following books:

1. On the temperament of al-Raqqah (*M. fī mizāj al-Raqqah*).
2. The Soul's Gladdener (*K. mufarriḥ al-nafs*). In this work, the author examines the several kinds of ailments of the heart and their remedies; this is a very useful book, dedicated to the emir Sayf al-Dīn al-Mushidd Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Umar ibn Qizil<sup>20</sup> – may God have mercy upon him.<sup>21</sup>
3. Entertaining anecdotes on medicine (*K. al-mulaḥ fī ṭibb*). In this work, the author mentions many excellent matters and useful facts from the works of Galen and other authors.

⟨He died on Tuesday the 21st of the month of Ṣafar of the year 670 [28 September 1271] and was buried in the cemetery of Bāb al-ṣaghīrah – may God the Most High have mercy upon him.⟩<sup>22</sup>

19 Metre: *kāmil*. By Abū l-Qāsim Ghānim ibn Abī l-'Alā' al-Iṣbahānī, in al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmah*, iii:320; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, 175; idem, *Ijāz*, 238; attributed (probably incorrectly) to Ibn Sukkarah al-Hāshimī in al-Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-luṭf*, 151.

20 Emir and poet, d. 656/1258. On him, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxi: 353–365; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāṭ*, iii: 51–56.

21 For an edition, see Badr al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Ba'labakk, *Mufarriḥ al-nafs* (Ḥanūn). A critical edition and translation is currently being prepared by Robert Sieben. The treatise has also been attributed, but apparently wrongly, to Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Abī l-Futūḥ al-Baghdādī known as Ibn al-Mar'ah, and to Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣaḥnūn al-Dimashqī; see *GAL S* i:901.

22 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.

15.53 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī<sup>1</sup>

The great physician and unique scholar Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī l-Maḥāsīn was the son of an Andalusian who lived in North Africa and [later] moved to Damascus, where he stayed until his death – may God have mercy upon him. The physician Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad grew up in Damascus and studied the art of medicine under our shaykh Muhaddhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī<sup>2</sup> – may God have mercy upon him. He devoted himself to his master assiduously, and had not the slightest difficulty in memorizing everything from the books of the ancients that students of medicine should learn by heart. The physician Shams al-Dīn was so gifted that he was also able to memorize the whole of the first book of the *al-Qānūn*, which comprises the entire *Generalities*, and no one was capable of matching him. He went to the root of things and acquired a good understanding of their meaning, and it was for that reason that he came to be known as al-Kullī (‘the Generalist’). In addition, Shams al-Dīn studied many scientific works and became a medical practitioner. He had a keen intelligence and possessed much knowledge, never wasting a moment, but studying and practising science under all circumstances. Shams al-Dīn’s appearance was pleasing and his conversation rather witty. He served as personal physician to al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā, the son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil, in Damascus, until that ruler died – may God have mercy upon him. Afterwards, he practised for some time at the ‘Great Hospital’ that had been founded by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī – may God have mercy upon him – visiting it frequently and treating the patients there.

⟨He died in the month of Muḥarram of the year 675 [June 1276] in Cairo. This has been reported by the judge Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarastānī.⟩<sup>3</sup>

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1. See on him also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ii:3.

2 See on him Ch. 15.50.

3 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.

15.54 Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Salām<sup>1</sup>

This physician united [in himself] the art of medicine, the philosophical sciences, a praiseworthy character, a sound opinion, perfect virtue and common kindness. He was a native of the town of Hama, but spent much of his life in Damascus, where he studied under our shaykh, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī, and others. Having become a distinguished master in the art of medicine, he travelled to Aleppo where he increased his knowledge.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn entered the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghāzī, the ruler of Aleppo and held this post until al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad conquered Damascus, whereupon the physician accompanied al-Malik al-Nāṣir to that city. His patron relied upon him and bestowed many favours upon him.

I have written the following poem to express my nostalgia for Damascus, in which I describe the city and praise him [i.e., Muwaffaq al-Dīn]:<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps a time that has gone by in Damascus<sup>3</sup>  
will return, the abode will be near after separation,  
Time, after its tyranny, will grant justice,  
and I may meet with loved ones.  
For I have looked forward for so long to seeing its remains  
and have yearned for so long for its inhabitants.  
Memories of it make me reel  
as pure vintage wine makes one reel.  
5 It is amazing: there is a fire of yearning between my ribs  
that blazes with a flame of my glistening tears.  
Long have I known the abodes and their inhabitants;  
so many adversities of separation has my heart encountered!  
If a man had choice<sup>4</sup> and power  
he would guard himself against all vicissitudes;  
But Destinies rule mankind  
and decree a matter<sup>5</sup> the essence of which cannot be ascertained.

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1.

2 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

3 On Jilliḡ as a ‘poetic’ name of Damascus, see above, Ch. 10.69.3.9 (in line 9 the normal name, Dimashq, is used).

4 The word *ikhtiyār*, in theology and philosophy, also means ‘free will’.

5 The word *amr*, ‘thing, matter’, also refers to God’s ‘command’.

Damascus is the utmost for those whose who aim to see  
 and select everything beautiful in the lands;  
 10 So describe it, if you are judging with your reason,  
 for describing other places is a kind of folly.  
 It has no like elsewhere on earth as a Paradise,  
 so leave the Valley of Bawwān,<sup>6</sup> don't mention al-Khawarnaq!<sup>7</sup>  
 In it are black-eyed damsels and youths,<sup>8</sup> who appear rising  
 like suns and moons, in the finest splendour;  
 Its rivers are water rippled<sup>9</sup> by the wind  
 or water gushing forth, unrestrained;  
 Its trees are divided between every genus,  
 their fruits, finely formed, are of every species.  
 15 The birds on the branches answer one another;  
 how sweetly coos the grey dove on a leafy branch!  
 And if the birds were not singing on their trees  
 the waters would not make the impression of applauding.  
 And wine that relieves the soul of the pain of love's anguish  
 and removes the worry of the sleepless mad lover:  
 When it is mixed in the cup its rays appear  
 like the rays of a glittering flash of lightning.  
 How lovely, the gardens in the two wadis,  
 with the splendour of their gushing water!  
 20 So many waters, beautifully near a meadow,  
 so many meadows, beautifully near a mansion!  
 And growing on the carpets of meadows are violets,  
 while in the midst of clear water are waterlilies.  
 The soft breeze passes over it on all sides,  
 gently, as if a kind doctor were taking the pulse.<sup>10</sup>

6 The Valley of Bawwān, in southern Persia, memorably described in a poem by al-Mutanabbī, is often listed as one of three or four beauty-spots on earth (normally including the Ghūṭah, the fertile land south of Damascus).

7 Al-Khawarnaq, often mentioned as one of the wonders of the world, was the name of a legendary palace near Najaf in Iraq, said to have been built for the Sasanian emperor in the early 5th century AD; it was still used by the early Abbasids.

8 A reference to the paradisiacal damsels (or 'houris', from Arabic *ḥūr*) and youths mentioned in the Qur'an.

9 Literally, 'made like a chain' (cf. *sayf musalsal*, 'a glittering sword').

10 A good instance of *takhalluṣ*, the apt transition in a poem from the lyrical introduction to another theme such as eulogy.

Whoever would love to live a life of comfort  
 would spend in it what remains of his lifetime;  
 And whoever hopes to have a refuge for his well-being (*salāmah*)  
 will find it with 'Abd al-Salām al-Muwaffaq,  
 25 A learned sage, eminent, gracious,  
 who has risen to the summit of nobility and glory.  
 No one, for any dangerous illness,  
 is more experienced or more skilful<sup>11</sup> than he.  
 His merits (*faḍā'il*) concern every field of knowledge and philosophy,  
 his benefaction (*ifḍāl*) is found in west and east.  
 He scatters gathered wealth among those who deserve it,  
 and he gathers the scattered, dispersed lofty qualities.  
 He does not cease to guide those who seek his excellence  
 with the light of sciences, which shines with eloquence.  
 30 In his love of doing good he is the most generous benefactor,  
 in his kindness towards people he is the most gracious sympathizer.  
 There are many motives in this world for passionate love;  
 he who strives towards exaltedness with resolve is loved.  
 The hearts of all living beings there will have  
 a sweet affection for him that reveals the rank of those who flatter  
 him.  
 His appearance offers the most handsome sight to the eye,  
 his words offer the sweetest speech to the ear.  
 The reach of his arm is never found too short for generosity,  
 his mind is never found too narrow for forbearance.  
 35 He has much modesty; the characteristics of his soul indicate  
 a fine origin, rooted in noble qualities.  
 May his happy fortune endure as long as the east wind blows  
 and as long as ringdoves coo.

When the Mongols were advancing toward Damascus, much to the alarm of the people of the city, the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn removed to Egypt, where he resided for some time. Later, he served al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Hama, and stayed with him there. He was highly privileged, received ample benefits and enjoyed an elevated position.

11 The form *aḥdhaqi* (instead of *aḥdhaqa*) is a solecism: in poetry any diptote noun can be treated as a triptote, with the exception of elatives (see e.g. al-Sirāfi, *Mā yaḥtamīlu l-shi'r min al-ḍarūrah*, 43).

### 15.55 Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Minfākh<sup>1</sup>

The renowned learned physician Abū l-Faḍl Asʿad ibn Ḥulwān was a native of al-Maʿarrāh who studied the art of medicine and became a distinguished practitioner. He served al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb in the East for many years, but ultimately resigned his post. He died in Hama in the year 642/1244–1245.

### 15.56 Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh<sup>1</sup>

[15.56.1]

The great physician and noble scholar [Najm al-Dīn] Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Faḍl Asʿad ibn Ḥulwān [Ibn al-Minfākh ‘son of the bellows’] was known as the son of the songstress (*ibn al-ʿālimah*) because his mother was a Damascene singer ‘the daughter of *Dahīn al-Lawz*’ (i.e., the one anointed with almond-oil). Najm al-Dīn was born in Damascus in the year 593/1196. Brown-skinned and of slender built, he had a sharp mind and was highly intelligent and eloquent: no one could equal him in research or match him in debate. He studied the art of medicine under the guidance of our master, the physician Muhadhhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī,<sup>2</sup> and in due course became distinguished in that domain himself. Najm al-Dīn was also distinguished in the philosophical sciences and well-versed in the science of logic. His writings are witty and well composed, as he was also outstanding in the literary sciences. He composed epistles and poetry, knew how to play the lute, and had a fine handwriting.

Najm al-Dīn served al-Malik al-Masʿūd, Lord of Āmid, as a physician. For a time he enjoyed his patron’s favour and was appointed vizier, but eventually the ruler became hostile toward him and confiscated all his belongings. As a result, he removed to Damascus and settled there. Many came to study the art of medicine under his guidance, and he became a distinguished citizen. Al-Ṣāhib Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Maṭrūḥ wrote him the following poem in answer to a letter that Najm al-Dīn had sent him:<sup>3</sup>

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book but is lacking in Version 1.

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1. On him, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 308 n. 1; Joosse and Pormann, ‘Aphorisms’, 247 under entry 6.

2 On him, see Ch. 15.50.

3 Metrum: *kāmil*. Ibn Maṭrūḥ, *Dīwān*, 133.

How excellent, fingers that are noble  
 and have ascended, to give shining stars!  
 And (how excellent) a letter, such that if it had come down to  
 those two angels they would not have claimed to produce magic!<sup>4</sup>  
 Whenever I read one line of its eloquence  
 I saw the Great Sign.<sup>5</sup>  
 Be amazed, therefore, by a star (*najm*) who with its merits  
 made people oblivious of the sun (*shams*) and the full moon (*badr*)!<sup>6</sup>

Najm al-Dīn – may God have mercy upon him – was, because of his sharp temperament, an impatient individual and it seldom happened that he displayed amiable behaviour. A group of people envied him his accomplishments and sought to harm him. One day he quoted the following poem to me:<sup>7</sup>

I have heard that the demons, when they eavesdropped,  
 were stoned with stars.<sup>8</sup>  
 But when I rose and became a Star (*najm*)  
 I was shot at with every cursed, stoned devil.

In his old age, Najm al-Dīn entered the service of al-Malik al-Ashraf, the son of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Homs in Tall Bāshir. After having held that post for a short period, he died – may God have mercy upon him – on the thirteenth of Dhū l-Qa‘da of the year 652 [25 December 1254]. His half-brother by his mother, the judge Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-‘Ālimah, told me that he had died of poisoning.

4 Hārūt and Mārūt, two angels who descended to earth in Babylon, trying to prove, in vain, that they would not be tempted to sin; they taught mankind sorcery (see Q al-Baqarah 2:102).

5 Cf. Q al-Nāzi‘āt 79:20, «He [Mūsā/Moses] showed him [Pharaoh] the Great Sign», explained as the miracle of the stick turning into a snake, followed by the hand that turns white (see e.g. Q al-A‘rāf 7:106–109).

6 A play on the names Najm al-Dīn, Shams al-Dīn (perhaps Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kullī), and Badr al-Dīn (perhaps Badr al-Dīn Qāḍi Ba‘labakk).

7 Metrum: *wāfir*. Al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, vi:247. Poet unknown; the poem suggests that it was composed by Najm al-Dīn himself.

8 As is told in the Qur’an and the relevant exegesis (Q al-Ḥijr 15:18, al-Jinn 72:8–9), some demons (jinn) were eavesdropping on God’s High Council, whereupon they were pelted by angels with meteors or shooting stars. In the following line the word *rajīm* has been translated with its two current meanings, ‘cursed’ and ‘(to be) stoned’.



[15.56.2]

Najm al-Dīn ibn Minfākh is the author of the following works:

1. The precise book on combining and dividing, in which he mentions the diseases, their similarities and the differences between each of them in most cases (*K. al-tadqīq fī l-jamʿ wa-l-tafriq*).
2. Disclosure of the distortions of al-Dakhwār<sup>9</sup> (*K. hatk al-astār ʿan tamwīh al-Dakhwār*).
3. Explanatory remarks with regard to the results of his experiences and the like (*Taʿālīq mā ḥaṣala lahu min al-tajārib wa-ghayrihā*).
4. Commentary on the prophetic traditions dealing with medical matters (*Sharḥ aḥādīth nabawiyyah tataʿallaqu bi-l-ṭibb*).
5. On what is neglected in the *Book on Generalities* (*K. al-muḥmalāt fī kitāb al-kullīyyāt*).
6. Introduction to medicine (*K. al-mudkhal ilā l-ṭibb*).
7. On causes and accidents (*K. al-ʿilal wa-l-aʿrāḍ*).
8. Guide to simple drugs (*K. al-ishārāt al-murshidah fī l-adwiyah al-mufradah*).

### 15.57 ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī<sup>1</sup>

[15.57.1]

The great physician and renowned scholar ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad, a descendant of Saʿd ibn Muʿādh<sup>2</sup> from the tribe of Aws, was born in the year 600/1203 in Damascus, where he grew up to become the most erudite man of his time and the cynosure of his generation. ʿIzz al-Dīn unites in himself all the virtues: outstanding excellence, noble ancestry, perfect manliness and boundless generosity, and he is a guardian of brotherliness. He studied the art of medicine until he reached the utmost perfection in it, such as was never attained by any other master. He is well-versed in the universals and particulars of medicine, and used to frequent the best physicians and the

9 Al-Dakhwār (meaning unknown) was the nickname of the physician Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAlī; see for him Ch. 15.50.

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book but is lacking in Version 1. The name of the copyist of MS L is Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Suwaydī al-Anṣārī, most likely a son of this physician (who also bore the *nisbah* al-Anṣārī). The marginal note in H gives another part of his name: ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Ṭarkhān.

2 Contemporary (‘Companion’) of the Prophet Muḥammad, d. 5/627. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Saʿd b. Muʿādh’ (W. Montgomery Watt).

greatest philosophers, among them our shaykh, the physician Muhaddhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn ‘Alī, and others, from whom he learnt medical usages and philosophical secrets.

‘Izz al-Dīn has also studied the literary sciences, attaining the highest rank in that domain, and distinguishing himself in knowledge of the Arabic language. There is no poet who can equal him: ancients and contemporaries alike fail to attain his status. His poetry contains eloquent phrases, truthful meanings, well-constructed puns and amazing parallels. He unites in himself all the different sciences and all varieties of prose and poetry. He is the quickest of men in composing poetry spontaneously and the most gifted in declaiming it. Several times I have witnessed him reciting a poem, rich in allusions, that he had composed on the spur of the moment. There is no one who can match him, for that art is his speciality.

‘Izz al-Dīn’s father – may God have mercy upon him – was a merchant from al-Suwaydā’ in the Ḥawrān, a man with a fine character, noble origins, gentle speech and good deeds. Between him and my father there was a firm and praiseworthy friendship. I myself studied with ‘Izz al-Dīn at the school of shaykh Abū Bakr al-Ṣiqillī – may God have mercy upon him. Our long-standing friendship remained the same throughout the years, and has even grown steadily with time. The physician ‘Izz al-Dīn is indeed the most illustrious physician of his generation with respect to his knowledge and memory, treatment and amicability, beneficial cures and precise methods. He is still practising as a doctor at the al-Nūrī hospital, granting patients their ultimate desire by taking away their maladies and according them the finest gift by supplying them with health. He has also served at the hospital in [the Damascene district of] Bāb al-Barīd,<sup>3</sup> has often frequented the citadel of Damascus, and has been a teacher at the Dakhwāriyyah college, receiving salaries from all four of these posts.

‘Izz al-Dīn has copied in his own handwriting a great many books on medicine and works in other sciences. Some of these are written in accordance with the method of Ibn al-Bawwāb, whereas others resemble *Muwallad al-Kūfi*-script. Each of these scripts is more radiant than the most sparkling stars, brighter than the most sumptuous jewels, finer than the prettiest gardens and filled with more light than the rising sun. ‘Izz al-Dīn once told me that he had copied three versions of Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Qānūn*. In the year 632/1234 a merchant

3 This small hospital, sometimes referred to as al-Bimāristān al-Ṣaghīr, was situated to the west of the Great Mosque of the Umayyads and had been functioning about half a century before Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī founded what came to be called the Nūrī hospital to the east of the Great Mosque; Pormann & Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 96–100; Ragab, *Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 52.

from Persia arrived in Damascus, bringing with him a copy of Ibn Abī Ṣādiq's *Commentary on Galen's 'On the Usefulness of the Parts'* (K. *Manāfi' al-a'ḍā'*). This was a reliable copy that was transcribed in the author's handwriting, and had not been available in Syria before. My father acquired it, on which occasion 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī wrote him a poem in his praise, from which I recall the following lines:<sup>4</sup>

Be so kind – for you are a man of noble and lofty qualities – as to let me  
 have  
 the *Commentary on The Usefulness of the Parts of the Body!*  
 Lending rare books has always been  
 a custom of scholars and eminent people.

At this, my father sent him the book, which consisted of two volumes. 'Izz al-Dīn made a copy of it in the most beautiful handwriting, with the points of all the letters rendered with the utmost accuracy.

[15.57.2]

The following is a specimen of his poetry, which he recited to me himself. In it, he is preoccupied with and worried about the discomfort of dyeing his hair with *katam*:<sup>5</sup>

If changing the colour of my grey hair  
 could bring back my lost youth  
 It would not fully compensate to me what my spirit  
 suffers from the trouble of dyeing it.

The following verses are some that he recited to me concerning my book on the history of physicians entitled '*The Best Accounts of the Classes of Physicians*' (K. *'uḡūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-atibbā'*).<sup>6</sup>

Muwaffaq al-Dīn, you have achieved what you desire  
 and have reached the highest of splendid ranks!  
 You have provided a fine history of those who have gone,  
 though their bones have now decayed.<sup>7</sup>

4 Metre: *kāmil*.

5 Metre: *mukhalla' al-basīṭ*. *Katam* is a plant used to dye one's hair black, identified by Dozy, *Supplément*, as 'troëne' (= troène), a kind of privet.

6 Metre: *sarī'*.

7 Compare Q al-Nāzī'at 79:11, «when we have become decayed bones».

May God single you out with His beneficence  
in this world and the next.

The following verses are a riddle on the name 'Alī:<sup>8</sup>

What is a name such that when you curtail it  
the curtailed part is the square root of the remainder?<sup>9</sup>  
But no virtuous man (*fāḍil*) will think it right to curtail it  
on account of the pluses (*faḍl*) or minuses in him.

He also wrote:<sup>10</sup>

Wine: I have been deprived of it<sup>11</sup> because of the fasting  
I have to observe continuously in Ramadan.  
They have imposed fixed penalties (*ḥudūd*) for drinking it, without limit  
(*ḥadd*),  
to the lasting regret (*nadāmah*) of the drinking companions (*nad-  
mān*).  
The infidels have claimed excessive prices<sup>12</sup> for it  
and they have denied it to all humans and jinn.  
Then they said, 'Boiled wine is permitted', so they killed it  
by boiling it with burning fires.  
They boiled it with the fire of my yearning for it,  
and it turned into a soul without a body.

And also:<sup>13</sup>

This pious man's inner self is a rascal:  
woe to those who listen to his falsehood!

8 Metre: *sarī*.

9 A, bottom margin: 'The copyist says: This is a riddle on 'Alī [<sup>ʿ</sup>l-y], for if this is "curtailed" the y is omitted and what remains is 'Al [<sup>ʿ</sup>l, 70 + 30], the two (letters) counting as 100; the y [10] that is omitted after it is the square root of 100.'

10 Metre: *khafif*.

11 Reading *ḥurimtuḥā*; A vowels it *ḥarramtuḥā*, 'I declared it forbidden', which is possible but the following suggests a passive form.

12 The plural verbal form, instead of the required singular, is a bad solecism; moreover, it only scans properly if one reads *taghālū l-ʿulūju* instead of the correct *taghālawu l-ʿulūju*.

13 Metre: *khafif*.

His house is more confined than his breast,<sup>14</sup>  
his mind is narrower than his eye.

ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Suwaydī is the author of the following works:

1. The Brilliant Book: on jewels (*K. al-bāhir fī l-jawāhīr*).
2. The Guiding Aide-Mémoire and Sufficient Store: on medicine (*K. al-tadhkirah al-hādiyah wa-l-dhakhīrah al-kāfiyah fī l-ṭibb*).<sup>15</sup>

⟨He died on Tuesday the 3rd of the month Shaʿbān of the year 690 [1 August 1291] and was buried in his tomb at the foot of Mount Qāsiyūn – may God the Most High have mercy upon him.⟩<sup>16</sup>

### 15.58 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī<sup>1</sup>

He is the learned physician and resourceful literary scholar ʿImād al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, the son of the judge and preacher Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbbās ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd al-Rabʿī. He was a man of virtuous soul, perfect manliness and all-embracing generosity. He was immensely gifted, highly intelligent and possessed outstanding knowledge. He was born in the year 605/1208 in the city of Dunaysir,<sup>2</sup> where he grew up and studied the art of medicine. He distinguished himself in it and mastered all its concepts. He was capable of maintaining existing health and restoring it in case it diminished. My first encounter with him was in Damascus in the month of Dhū l-Qaʿdah of the year 667/1258. I found him a man with a soul as generous as Ḥātīm's,<sup>3</sup> a nature like that of Akhzam,<sup>4</sup> manners sweeter than the breeze and words gentler than the air of paradise. He let me listen to some of his poetry, original qua meaning, unusual in purpose, containing various kinds of paronomasia and types of antithesis,

14 *Aḥraj*, applied to a person, means 'more scrupulous', and applied to a house, 'more confined'.

15 See Ullmann, 'Tadhkira', 33–65.

16 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1.

2 Dunaysir is nowadays a medieval ruined town of Upper Mesopotamia (within the borders of modern Turkey), situated 20 km. south-west of the city of Mārdīn.

3 Ḥātīm al-Ṭāʿī (late sixth-century AD), poet, proverbial for his generosity.

4 An allusion to an old, proverbial verse by an obscure poet: 'a nature I know of Akhzam', Akhzam being the poet's son, see al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ al-amthāl*, i:457.

eloquent phrases and motifs. As to medicine, he distinguished himself in it more than any of the ancients or his contemporaries, whereas in literature he was unrivalled by any poet or prose-writer. In addition to this, he was the singular man of his time and the leader of his generation in the science of religious law, according to school of Imām al-Shāfi‘ī. He had travelled from Dunaysir to Egypt and from there to Syria and settled in Damascus, where he served the palaces of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf in the fort of the city. He also frequented the Great Hospital of al-Nūrī in Damascus.

[15.58.1]

The following are specimens of his poetry that he recited to me, among which:<sup>5</sup>

I implore you by God, reader of my verse, or listener,  
 lower on it the cloak of forbearance and generosity,  
 And, in your graciousness, cover my errors that you will find,  
 for my knowledge is rich in poverty.

He also said:<sup>6</sup>

Yes, let those who wish say about me whatever they like, but I  
 have fallen in love with that mole and that black eye.  
 He tormented me by rejecting me, but the more he wrongs me  
 he is O so much more attractive and sweeter to me!  
 Sleep has been forbidden to me after he rejected me, turning away;  
 as he declared separation permissible, he made union forbidden.  
 A gazelle who raided my heart with the spear-shaft of his figure  
 and who sunk arrows from his eyelids in my breast.  
 So do not blame me for loving him, for  
 I swear by that face: I will not hear any blame.

He also said:<sup>7</sup>

When your dark cheek-down (*‘idhār*), O my desire,  
 appears on your cheek and curls round,  
 It provides me with an excuse (*‘udhr*) towards lovers  
 and the apology (*i‘tidhār*) that was uttered is correct.

5 Metrum: *basīṭ*.

6 Metrum: *tawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:300 (lines 1, 5).

7 Metrum: *sarī‘*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:300 (lines 1, 3).

And this was a Sign for me,  
since he combined night and day together.

He also said:<sup>8</sup>

There is a gazelle who has a resting place in my breast  
and body, and in my heart a seat of power.  
Let those who blame me not expect that I will get over it;  
if I should wish to be consoled I would be a traitor.  
From the excess of my passion and my lovesickness there are  
in my liver and my eyes fires and a flood.

He also said:<sup>9</sup>

I am in love with a pretty full moon  
with a halo of beauty,  
Like a gazelle (*ghazāl*), but  
the sun (*ghazālah*) is jealous of him.  
Because of the fire of my passion  
I sent him a letter  
And I said, You are my beloved  
and my master, most certainly,  
And I have witnesses to testify to you,  
well known for their probity:  
My body, wasting away, and my eyes,  
pouring out tears.

[15.58.2]

He also said:<sup>10</sup>

I made you dwell in my heart that is filled with loyalty  
and I made its deepest part your residence.  
I cut off my desires from all other people  
and I abandoned them when I knew I loved you.<sup>11</sup>

8 Metrum: *tawīl*.

9 Metrum: *mujtathth*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii:200–201, Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:393.

10 Metrum: *kāmil*.

11 An alternative interpretation, ‘when I knew your love (for me)’, is possible but less likely,

He also said:<sup>12</sup>

Yes, my heart is preoccupied by his glances,  
 so stop! Neither rebuke nor blame will be of any use.  
 Whatever you may have heard about past passion,  
 it is a report correctly transmitted, in my view.<sup>13</sup>  
 Neighbours of us! I implore you by God, be kind!  
 For I am a captive of what these big eyes impart.  
 Dear one, on whose cheeks grows down  
 that distracts me from all that used to distract me!  
 Let those who wish blame me for loving him, but I  
 have sworn an oath: I shall never stop loving him.

He also said:<sup>14</sup>

My masters, who departed from me! My forbearance suited them  
 and they did not send me any message about themselves.  
 Ask not what happened to me the day you left;  
 rather ask about my store of tears, how they flowed!  
 Have pity on a grieving one with few to help him,  
 who is dying of love without having attained his desire from you!  
 He has spent long nights, because you abandoned him  
 for so long, finding wakefulness sweet,  
 While grey doves on the willow branches aided him  
 with their lament, and the soft breeze when it blows in the meadow.  
 Will you grant him union, one day?  
 And if you refuse, grant him an apparition in his slumber!  
 For the memory of you dwells in his heart's core,  
 where no other people enter.  
 Everyone who blames him for loving you will say,  
 once they have seen your beauty, 'Come, have another look!'

He also said, as part of a longer poem:<sup>15</sup>

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since Arabic love poems deal far more often with the lover's passion than that of the beloved.

12 Metrum: *ṭawīl*.

13 He uses the terminology of Islamic prophetic Hadith.

14 Metrum: *basīf*.

15 Metrum: *ṭawīl*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:300–301.



I swore an oath about him: 'I shall not swerve from my infatuation with  
 him',  
 and my heart swore to what I had sworn.  
 If he offers to me union with him for sale for the price of my life-blood,<sup>16</sup>  
 I will buy it: here is my heart, offered as an advance payment.

He also said:<sup>17</sup>

Cease reproaching me for loving him!  
 My soul has grown weary of your blame.  
 Between me and forgetting him is a day's journey,  
 but it is one of the day journeys of the sun.<sup>18</sup>

[15.58.3]

He also said:<sup>19</sup>

When the conversation is about them, how beautiful it is!  
 When death is caused by the tyranny of passion, how just it is!  
 Say to the reproacher, 'You have spoken at length; I am not listening.'  
 There is a day's journey<sup>20</sup> between forgetting him and my heart.  
 I shall never stop loving those I love,  
 as long as my heart and passion are one and the same.  
 A gazelle who prophesies beauty to mankind;  
 I wish I knew who let his temple-locks dangle!<sup>21</sup>  
 He has alighted in my heart and all my limbs;  
 who has made it licit to shed my blood for loving him?  
 By the life of his eyes and the lance of his figure,  
 my spirit is restless because of his cheeks.  
 Suppose I am the one who is mad with love for him,  
 who is it then who chained his cheeks with down?<sup>22</sup>

16 *Muhjah* has a range of meanings, including 'blood of the heart, blood, heart, spirit, soul, life'.

17 Metrum: *munsariḥ*.

18 I.e., the distance between east and west.

19 Metrum: *kāmil*. Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:201, Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:301 (lines 6–7).

20 See the preceding epigram.

21 There is an untranslatable play on words: *arsala*, 'to let (hair) hang down', also means 'to send as an apostle'.

22 I.e., instead of chaining the mad one.

He also said:<sup>23</sup>

Stop at the willow trees of the Sanctuary and Stony Sands!<sup>24</sup>  
 Perhaps then my burning agonies will cease.  
 After they departed my eyelids swore  
 that they would never meet<sup>25</sup> unless we meet;  
 And my tears, whenever I restrained them,  
 swore they would never dry up.<sup>26</sup>  
 Dear Arabs of the tribe, have pity and have mercy  
 on a lover who is wretched by on account of your harshness!  
 The whole of me has perished in the love of you;  
 now that the whole of me is gone only my last breath remains.  
 By Him who let my love of them and your harshness remain:  
 would that it had not remained, since you abandoned me!

He also said, as part of a longer poem:<sup>27</sup>

I asked you to grant protection (*tujīr*) to one madly in love;  
 but asking was of no avail. So why are you unjust (*tajūr*)?  
 You have deprived a grieving man of being with you,  
 who from his ardent longing seeks protection.  
 The shortest day of being abandoned is long;  
 the longest night of being together is short.

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

When the lute raises its voice with an Allahu Akbar  
 and he who invites us to joy advertizes the wine,  
 I always think fit to prostrate myself to it,  
 but only after the cup has performed its bow.<sup>29</sup>

23 Metre: *ramal*.

24 Numerous places are called al-Ḥimā and al-Abraq; here they are merely meant to evoke an ancient Bedouin atmosphere.

25 I.e., 'close.'

26 *Tartaqī*, as a licence for *tartaqī'u*. Form VIII of *RQ'*, not found in the lexica, is attested elsewhere (e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, v:260: *wa-tawālat admu'ī lā tartaqī*).

27 Metre: *wāfir*.

28 Metre: *mutaqārib*. Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, ix:301; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:393; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:201.

29 In ritual prayer, initiated with the formula *Allāhu akbar* ('God is the Greatest'), prostration

[15.58.4]

He also said, on a pretty boy called al-Jamāl:<sup>30</sup>

They said, 'You have fallen in love with, among all people,  
 a young fawn and now you are killed by your love of him!'  
 'Don't be amazed,' I replied, 'by what happened:  
 the sword of beauty (*jamāl*) is drawn in his eyelids.'<sup>31</sup>

He also said, on a once pretty boy who hinted at a meeting:<sup>32</sup>

When I asked you to pity my heart<sup>33</sup>  
 arrogance called out to you: 'Do not have sympathy for anyone!'  
 You merrily moved in the robe of beauty, having  
 left me and having taken the spirit from my body.  
 But in the end, when Time brought an event to you  
 that you were unable to remove by hand,  
 You sent for me, seeking a meeting, so that I would come back.  
 But now 'you have been destroyed by what destroyed Lubad!'<sup>34</sup>

He also said:<sup>35</sup>

I am in love with his honeyed (*ma'sūl*) saliva  
 and in raptures about his figure like a quivering lance (*'assāl*);  
 A moon: when you<sup>36</sup> see him come towards you  
 you see a moon at its fullness in a lucky constellation.  
 His glance wounds my heart, just as  
 my gaze wounds him in his cheek.<sup>37</sup>

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(*sujūd*) follows bowing (*rukū'*). Al-Ṣafadī comments that 'bowing' as a metaphor suits the wine-jug rather than the cup, quoting a parallel in verses by Ibn Miknasah al-Iskandarī (but one could argue that a cup, too, bows when one drinks from it).

30 Or Jamāl al-Dīn. Metre: *kāmīl*.

31 The metaphor is supported by the fact that *jafn*, 'eyelid', also means 'sword-sheath'.

32 Metre: *basīṭ*.

33 Literally, 'my liver' (see above, e.g. Ch. 15.45.3, vs. 8 of poem 'Her phantom').

34 The legendary sage Luqmān was promised a lifetime of seven of his long-lived vultures, Lubad being the name of the last of them. The last hemistich is a quotation (changing *-hā*, 'them', into *-ka*, 'you') from a famous poem by the pre-Islamic poet al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī (Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, 6).

35 Metre: *sarīf*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:394, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:201–202.

36 A has 1st ps. sing. (*abṣartuhu ... abṣartu*), but a 2nd ps. sing. is far more usual in such a context.

37 An allusion to blushing, 'bloody' cheeks.

I told those who rebuke me for loving him,  
 now that my heart is in mortmain to his rejection of me:<sup>38</sup>  
 'He whose hand is in the water up to his forearm  
 knows the difference between hot and cold water.'<sup>39</sup>

He also said:<sup>40</sup>

If my eyes overflow with tears I say: 'Because of my thoughts  
 about him!' Or, if my tears recede, I say: 'From my fire!'<sup>41</sup>  
 Whenever I wish to forget loving him, I find that  
 the fire of loving him is better than shame.

He also said:<sup>42</sup>

I asked to be with him. Beauty answered  
 for him, by way of allusion:  
 The letter N of his brow, the letter 'ayn of his eyes,  
 together with the letter M of his mouth, made up the answer.<sup>43</sup>

[15.58.5]

He also said:<sup>44</sup>

In the letter Ş of his eye, if you examine it,  
 with the N of his brow and the M of his mouth<sup>45</sup>  
 There is an excuse for those lost in their infatuation with him;  
 so why should those who do not understand it blame them?

38 Interpretation not wholly clear; *Fawāt* has *mawthūqun 'alā wajdihī*, 'firmly fixed on passion for him'.

39 A slightly different version of this line concludes an epigram of Ibrāhīm ibn Naṣr ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Thamānīn (dates unknown) in al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, vi:154; it is possible they are both quoting an unidentified poet.

40 Metre: *baṣīṭ*.

41 i.e., as if the tears were evaporated by the ardour of love.

42 Metre: *kāmil*. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, iii:394, al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, iii:202 (who comments: 'good poetry').

43 The Arabic letter N (*nūn*) is a semicircle; the letter 'ayn looks somewhat like an eye (and the word for 'eye' is 'ayn'); and the letter M (*mīm*) is a little circle. Together they spell *na'am*, 'yes'.

44 Metre: *kāmil*.

45 The Arabic letter Ş (*şād*) is roughly oval in shape; for the letters N and M see the preceding epigram. Together, the letters spell *şanam*, 'idol'.

He also said, with a riddle on ‘Uthmān:<sup>46</sup>

I asked all people, thinking that I  
 see among them some who know truth and sincerity,  
 About a name, whose bearer possessed the utmost degree of beauty,  
 by whose abandoning and shunning me my heart is wretched.  
 Its letters are five, there is no doubt about it,  
 and anyone with a sound mind knows it for a truth.  
 If one fifth – a fifth being one – disappears  
 eight remain, the oddest of remainders!<sup>47</sup>

He also said, in a poem in praise of al-Malik al-Sa‘īd Ghāzī ibn al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the ruler of Mārdīn:<sup>48</sup>

Aided by God in his sound judgement; bold; his squadrons  
 fill the earth’s surface, on plains and mountains.  
 Riding the horse of seriousness on a day of battle, his ‘stronghold’ being,  
 after the standing steeds, the quivering hardened spears.<sup>49</sup>  
 On a day of terror his severing sword punctuates the lions,  
 the punctuation being with blank swords after the dotting with  
 lances.<sup>50</sup>

[15.58.6]

He also composed this strophic poem:<sup>51</sup>

46 Metre: *ṭawīl*.

47 In Arabic, ‘Uthmān has five letters; if the first is omitted, the word *thamān*<sup>in</sup>, ‘eight’, remains.

48 Apparently an Artuqid; identification uncertain; see *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. ‘Artukids’ (Cl. Cahen); Bosworth, *Dynasties*, 194–195. Metre: *basīf*.

49 Horses and weapons being the true warrior’s stronghold is a common motif. The word *ṣawāfin* (‘standing steeds’) alludes to the related form *ṣāfināt* in Q Ṣād 38:31.

50 *Shakl* refers in fact to providing the vowel signs in Arabic, normally coming after writing the diacritical dots. The ‘lions’ are presumably the enemy fighters.

51 Metre: *wāfir*. A strophic poem (*mukhammasah*, ‘quintupled’) with the rhyme scheme *aaaa a bbbb a cccc a*, etc.; normally based on the lines of an existing poem (here italicized in the translation). Here, however, the original lines seem to have been cherry-picked, cento-like, from several poets. The first two italicized lines are the opening lines of a long ode by Sibṭ ibn al-Ta‘āwīdhī (d. 584/1188); see his *Dīwān*, 339, but the remaining lines are not found there. Four lines (1, 3–5) are contained in a short poem quoted anonymously in a much later source, al-‘Āmilī, *Kashkūl*, 638, and the last two lines are from a poem by Abū Shās, quoted in al-Shābushtī, *Dīyārāt*, 183.

I swear by my love for you: my passion will not change,  
 Though my body has suffered from emaciation,  
 And my heart and innermost says,<sup>52</sup>  
*I see that Time changes its hue,  
 but love for you shall not leave my heart.'*

My censurer is engaged in tittle-tattle,  
 But I shall not be distracted from loving you.  
 How could it ever occur to me to abandon you?  
*A love that Time cannot change:*

*impossible that a censurer could change it.*  
 When the time came that I was to be killed by being abandoned,  
 While my eyes and my heart wept for it,  
 And when departure was to occur in earnest, without any doubt,  
*She came, her tears on her cheeks resembling  
 her necklaces, and began to speak.*

I said to her, 'Be gentle with your subjects!  
 For my heart is afflicted by your remoteness!'  
 She replied – desires (*munā*) asked from her are fatal (*manāyā*) –  
*'Tomorrow morning our mounts will be bridled;  
 will you say farewell, good friend?'*

My tormentor speaks without affection.  
 When departure was nigh and my condition had changed for the worse,  
 And our abode had become desolate by our separation,  
*I said to her, 'Upon your life, I do not care  
 whether the tribe is staying or departing is imminent!'*

Tomorrow, being abandoned by you, my heart will dissolve  
 And will not find a cure when you are not near.  
 But I will have hope, by which my plight will cease,  
*When the daughters of the vine will be my drink  
 and your charming, beautiful face my dessert.*

When I shall be compensated for wakefulness at night  
 By your nearness, with a pleasant being-together,  
 And behold beauty added to perfection,  
*Then I shall be safe from Time's vagaries  
 and whatever the censurer says will be nothing to me.*

52 *Qalbī wa-fūādī*, 'my heart and my heart' (with following verb in the singular).

[15.58.7]

On a pretty boy, a darner by craft, he said:<sup>53</sup>

You have cut my heart to pieces with the bitterness of forsaking me, O  
my hope!

Perhaps with sweet words from you you'll mend it (*tarfī-hī*).

I have disobeyed the censurer who keeps censuring me,  
and in my opposition to his censure is my relaxation (*tarfīh-ī*).

On a pretty boy called ʿĪsā he said:<sup>54</sup>

You, whose name carries Christ, while  
the cup of death is contained in his eyelids and eyes,  
You oppose Jesus in deed, for he  
revived the dead and you kill with longing.

He composed this quatrain:<sup>55</sup>

It is for you to command that I die of love;  
if you want me to perish, I am all yours!  
I swear by God, my heart said that if it could walk  
it would gladly walk straight from me to you.

He also said:<sup>56</sup>

My master, by Him who decreed that I should love you,  
how happy, by God! is a day on which I see you!  
If it be your pleasure that my soul should perish,  
then let my heart perish, for, by God! all is your ransom.

He also said:<sup>57</sup>

You, who broke the contract with the covenant:  
see, your beauty has gone but my passion remains.

53 Metre: *basīt*.

54 Metre: *kāmil*. ʿĪsā is the Muslim name of Jesus in Arabic.

55 Metre and form: *dūbayt* ('two-liner'), the term used in Arabic for an originally Persian form, called *rubāʿiyyah* ('quatrain') in Persian.

56 Metre and form: *dūbayt*.

57 Metre and form: *dūbayt*.

If I have excused myself, it is that loyalty has taught me  
to walk, in matters of love, with lovers.

He also said:<sup>58</sup>

My master, how much longer will you wrong a lover?  
Traitor! How much more of this spurning and avoiding?  
Others enjoy your favours, while passion is in my heart!  
A lover cannot endure it if he is jealous.

He also said:<sup>59</sup>

In the heart a fire of ardent love is burning;  
By God! If you abandon me, my fortitude will cease to be.  
You who have robbed your lover of his sleep,  
come back to me, for no one remains to me but you!

[15.58.8]

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Dunaysirī composed the following works:

1. A guiding treatise on the grades of simple drugs (*al-M. al-Murshidah fī daraj al-adwiyah al-mufradah*).
2. A book on the Great Theriac (*K. Naẓm al-tiryāq al-fārūq*).<sup>60</sup>
3. On the mithridate antidote (*K. fī Mithrūdītūs*).<sup>61</sup>
4. On the *Prognosticon* by Hippocrates in *rajaz* metre (*K. fī Taqdimat al-maʿrifah li-Abuqrāt, urjūzah*).
5. Collected Poetry (*K. Dīwān shiʿr*).

⟨He died on the 23rd (or 26th) of the month of Ṣafar in the year 685 [20 or 23 April 1286].⟩<sup>62</sup>

58 Metre and form: *dūbayt*.

59 Metre and form: *dūbayt*.

60 The Great Theriac (a famous antidote for poisons) is sometimes also called *al-Fārūq*, that is 'the one that makes a difference between life and death'. MSS HR note that this title, and the following one, were *urjūzahs* or in verse.

61 See Totelin, 'Mithridates'. Mithrūdītūs was the name of a celebrated theriac, or all-purpose electuary, allegedly composed by Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus on the Black Sea (r. 120–63 BC); rue was one of its major components. See Maimonides, *On Poisons*, 301 nos. 11–12; Watson, *Theriac & Mithridatum*.

62 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.



### 15.59 Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb al-Sāmīrī<sup>1</sup>

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb al-Sāmīrī is the great physician and unique scholar, the leader of his generation and the one man of his time, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb ibn Ghanā‘im. He was born and bred in Damascus. He distinguished himself in the art of medicine, but was also well-versed in the philosophical sciences. His medical knowledge was outstanding in both theory and practice, as it encompassed all its universals and particulars. He was praised for his medical treatment and deserved acknowledgment for his amicable behaviour, which was flattering when he was among the notables and distinguished at all other times. He was a strong adherent of the restoration and maintenance of bodily health. A large group of physicians used to study under his guidance and many students benefited from his knowledge. His writings contain intelligible language and sound allusions and are well-composed and deeply meaningful.

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb al-Sāmīrī wrote the following books:

1. A commentary on the *Generalities* in Ibn Sīnā’s *Canon*. In it, he has compiled what Ibn Khaṭīb al-Rayy mentioned on this subject in his *Commentary on the Generalities*, and also what al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī said about it in his *Commentary on the Generalities*, and likewise what others said about it. He gave an accurate account of their respective discussions of this subject. It is a well-written and serious work. (*Sharḥ al-Kullīyyāt min kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*).
2. The solution of Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh’s doubts concerning the *Generalities* (*Ḥall Shukūk Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Minfākh ‘alā l-kullīyyāt*).
3. An introduction to the sciences of logic, physics and metaphysics. (*K. al-Mudkhal ilā ‘ilm al-manṭiq wa-l-ṭabī‘ī wa-l-ilāhī*).<sup>2</sup>

⟨He died in the month of Ramadan of the year 681 [December 1282].⟩<sup>3</sup>

1 This biography occurs in Versions 2 and 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1.

2 A marginal note in Ms A reads: ‘It has been reported of al-Muwaffaq al-Sāmīrī that he revisited a patient who was suffering from diphtheria, and whose tongue hung out on his chest. Al-Muwaffaq then promptly started to bleed this patient on both his left and his right hand (during all of which the patient was conscious). And in exactly that instance the patient was restored to health and his tongue returned to its usual state.’

3 This statement of his death is found only in MSS HR. It should be noted that the death dates in the last nine biographies were not written by IAU, but added by a different author.

15.60 Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff<sup>1</sup>

[15.60.1]

The great and learned physician Amīn al-Dawlah Abū l-Faraj, the son of the incomparable and learned shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Ishāq ibn al-Quff, was a Christian from al-Karak, having been born in al-Karak on Saturday, the thirteenth of Dhū l-Qa'dah of the year 630 [21 August 1233].

His father, Muwaffaq al-Dīn, was a friend of mine, who always placed special emphasis on his friendship with me and upheld it throughout his life. His company was precious to me, and his geniality was a delightful feast. He was the light of his generation and the most quick-minded person of his period. Muwaffaq al-Dīn was unequalled at memorizing poetry, and was an authority in the transmission of historical information and other facts. He distinguished himself in his knowledge of the Arabic language and was outstanding in the literary arts, combining in himself the practical and theoretical applications of penmanship and second to none in dealing with figures of speech and unusual meanings. Furthermore, his well-proportioned handwriting was a pleasure to the eyes, unmatched by copyists from other cities and countries. During the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad he was a scribe in Ṣarkhad, working in the bureau of charitable relief services.

His son Abū l-Faraj showed signs of excellence from his early youth, and this was confirmed at a later age. He possessed good manners and rarely spoke, was broad-minded, and loved to hear tales about the lives of the learned. His father wanted him to learn the art of medicine, and asked me to become his teacher. Abū l-Faraj stayed with me until he had memorized the principal works that are commonly memorized by students, such as *The Questions* by Ḥunayn and the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and *Prognosticon*. He learnt how to comment on their thematic purport and came to understand the principles of their composition, and afterwards studied, under my guidance, the [part on] medical treatment in the work of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī. He came to know about the types of illnesses and the most significant diseases occurring in [human] bodies, became familiar with what precedes the treatment of patients, and spent effort on the treatment itself. I taught him the basics and the various parts of that domain, and made him understand its mysteries and benefits.

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<sup>1</sup> This biography occurs in Version 2 and Version 3 of the book, but is lacking in Version 1. On him and his oeuvre, see Hamarneh, *Ibn al-Quff*; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 176–177; Spies, *Anatomie und Chirurgie ... nach Ibn al-Quff*.

Abū l-Faraj's father later moved to Damascus the well-guarded, where he held a high administrative post. His son accompanied him there, and attended the company of a group of learned scholars in a variety of sciences, studying the natural sciences and the parts of philosophy under the guidance of the shaykh Shams al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Khusrawshāhī and 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Ghanawī al-Ḍarīr. Abū l-Faraj also studied the art of medicine with the physician Najm al-Dīn ibn Minfākh and with Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb, the Samaritan. In addition, he studied Euclid's *Elements* with the shaykh Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Urḍī,<sup>2</sup> understanding it so well that he was able to open the lock of its doctrine and solve all its problems.

Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff served as a physician in the fort of 'Ajlūn, where he lived for some years. Then he returned to Damascus and served in its well-guarded fort, treating the sick there. He was praised for his deeds and thanked for all other things.

[15.60.2]

Abū l-Faraj [ibn al-Quff] is the author of the following works:

1. The Salutory [Book]: on medicine (*K. al-shāfi fī ṭibb*).
2. Commentary on the *Generalities* in the *Canon* of Ibn Sīnā (*Sharḥ al-kulliyāt min kitāb al-qānūn li-Ibn Sīnā*), in six volumes.
3. Commentary on the *Aphorisms* (*Sharḥ al-fuṣūl*), in two parts.<sup>3</sup>
4. On the preservation of health (*M. fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥah*).
5. The foundation of the surgeon's craft (*K. al-'umdah fī ṣinā'at al-jarrāḥ*), twenty treatises.<sup>4</sup>
6. On theory and practice (*M. 'ilm wa-'amal*), in which the author mentions all that is necessary for the surgeon, so that there is no need for him to use another [treatise].
7. The comprehensive book on the purpose (*K. jāmi' al-gharaḍ*), in one volume.

2 Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Urḍī (7th/13th cent.) was an astronomer at an important observatory in Maragha, in north-western Iran. A celestial globe made by him around the year 1288 is preserved today in Dresden, Staatlicher mathematisch-physikalischer Salon; see Carey, 'The Gold and Silver Lining'; Savage-Smith, *Celestial Globes*, 200 no. 5; Saliba, *Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-'Urḍī*; Schmidl, 'al-'Urḍī'.

3 See Pormann & Joosse, 'Aphorisms', 235–240; see also Carpentieri & Mimura, 'Phrenitis', 194–198.

4 For an edition of this text, see Ibn al-Quff, *K. al-'Umdah* (Hamarnah), and Hamarnah, *Ibn al-Quff*. In his *K. al-'umdah fī ṣinā'at al-ṭibb*, Ibn al-Quff has devoted a special chapter on the preparation of ethereal oils, which were commonly known as *duḥūn*. He described about 34 different oils together with their medical action, see El-Gammal, 'Preparation'.

8. Marginal notes on the third book of the *Canon* (*Ḥawāshī ‘alā thālīth al-qānūn*), not extant.
9. Commentary on the ‘pointers [and reminders]’ (*Sharḥ al-ishārāt*), a rough draft, not completed.
10. Maghribi investigations (*al-Mabāḥith al-maghribiyyah*), left unfinished.<sup>5</sup>

⟨Abū l-Faraj ibn al-Quff died in Jumādā 1 of the year 685 [June-July 1286]⟩<sup>6</sup>

5 A marginal note in MS R reads: ‘I said this in a time in which the author, the well-known Abū l-Faraj, had risen to great heights in medicine. He composed useful works and wrote books that were unprecedented. Among them the following should be mentioned: “The comprehensive book on the purpose of preserving health and preventing disease”. This is an important book! He also wrote [a book called] “Making it easy to arrive at knowledge of the *Book on Aphorisms*”, in which he commented upon the *Aphorisms*. – This extended title is most likely nothing else than his *Sharḥ al-fuṣūl* [no. 3 in list]. These extended titles were very common among Arabic commentators on the Hippocratic Aphorisms; see for example al-Sinjārī, *Taysīr al-wuṣūl ilā taḥṣīr al-fuṣūl* (Pormann & Jooisse, ‘Aphorisms’, 225–228), al-Kīshī, *Wasā’il al-wuṣūl ilā masā’il al-fuṣūl* (Pormann & Jooisse, ‘Aphorisms’, 245–246), al-Manāwī, *Tahqīq al-wuṣūl ilā sharḥ al-fuṣūl* (Pormann & Jooisse, ‘Aphorisms’, 247).

In MS A (fol. 306a) the colophon appears under the book-list stating that the copy was completed by ‘Abd al-Hādī ibn Abī al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī l-Faraj on 27 Sha’bān 773 (4 March 1372). Beneath the colophon in A is the following note: ‘The copyist says: Praise be to God and blessing on His prophet and his family. I have meticulously collated this copy with the copy of the author to the best of my efforts. Then I found in the draft of the author, in his handwriting, things that he had not included in the autographed exemplar that he presented and dedicated to important people, so I included this in order to preserve what he reports and to encompass all knowledge. I reached up to [the biography of] al-Ṣāḥib Amin al-Dawlah [al-Ghazāl] and I found that this copy had many additions in the biography under this name and in the following. I abandoned the collation from this point onwards, since there is no extra material.’

6 Added in MSS GbHLR, which also omit titles 5–10.