The genre of travel regimens in medieval Arabic medicine:

with a critical edition and translation of

Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār

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Diphthongs

The tā’ marbūṭa is transliterated as a (e.g. al-ḥikma). At the end of the first term of the construct state, it is transliterated as at (e.g. ḍarūrat al-mawt). The sg. 3. m. affixed pronoun is transliterated as hu/hi (e.g. madḥiḥi). The masculine nisba is transliterated as i and the feminine nisba is transliterated as īyya (e.g. al-Maṣūrī, ṭibbiyya). Hamzas at the beginning of words are not transliterated. A hyphen separates the proclitics in the transliteration (wa-, fā-, bi-, lī-, ka-; e.g. wa-al-marad). The transliteration follows the Arabic script, therefore the definite article al is transliterated as al after the preposition bi (e.g. bi-al-khall) but transliterated as l after the preposition li (e.g. li-l-safar). For the same reason, the lām of the definite article is transliterated as l even when it is assimilated in pronunciation before the sun letters (e.g. al-safar). Compound names are transliterated as separate words, the hamzat al-wasl is not omitted, ibn is not abbreviated (e.g. Abū al-Ḥasan, ʿAbd Allāh, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā). In case of book titles, only the first
letter of the first word (excluding the definite article, if present) is capitalised, except for other proper names the title might contain (e.g. al-Kīfāya sharḥ al-Niqāya).

Dates are given according to both the Muslim and Christian calendar in this order separated by a slash. If only one date is given, it follows the Christian calendar.

English translations of Arabic passages are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

Technical terms and names of materia medica are present in the glossary only if they appear in Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār. Throughout the dissertation, only the English terms appear in the text for these terms, unless the terminology of different texts is compared. In case of terms which are not present in the glossary, the Arabic original is given in parentheses at the first mention of the term in each subchapter.
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INTRODUCTION

Travel medicine: its definition and concise history

“Travel medicine is a new interdisciplinary field [...]. The primary goal of travel medicine is to protect travelers from disease and death; the secondary one is to minimize the impact of illness and accidents through principles of self-treatment.” The birth of travel medicine as a modern scientific field can be linked to the first international conference on travel medicine in 1988 and the founding of the International Society of Travel Medicine in 1991. Despite a relatively short history of this discipline, there are many volumes dedicated to it. Most of them aim to be a reference guide or practical manual for healthcare professionals and are, therefore, often published in new editions updated with additional material as our travel habits and knowledge of the numerous travel-related health risks change. Only occasionally are there writings discussing the history of travel medicine and such writings, for the most part, focus on the modern scientific results leading up to the birth of the discipline. This is in spite of the fact that healthcare professionals recognise: “Travel medicine as an interdisciplinary concept is not new.”

In their 6-page long book chapter titled History of the development of travel medicine as a new discipline, Gabriela Buck and Robert Steffen first discuss the period “from antiquity to Shakespeare”, where they illustrate the point quoted at the end of the previous paragraph by mentioning Seneca’s (d. 65) critique of the sex tourism in Canopus, the likely possibility that Alexander the Great (d. 323 BC) died due to malaria or typhoid fever, and quote Shakespeare (d. 1616) on three occasions where his writings reflect on the health risks of travel. Then they dedicate a paragraph to the quarantine regulations imposed by port cities on ships in the 14th century. This is followed by a longer and more elaborate section on “explorers and military medicine” which focuses on the period between the 1740s and 1905. In the second part of the chapter, Buck and Steffen detail the developments of the 1970s for the most part (from the 1960s to 1991), leading to “the “creation” of travel medicine”.

1 Steffen – DuPont, Manual of travel medicine, 1.
3 Buck – Steffen, History of the development of travel medicine, 7.
4 Buck – Steffen, History of the development of travel medicine.
This account of the history of travel medicine summarised in the previous paragraph is one of the few overviews of the subject to be found in the volumes dedicated to the discipline of travel medicine. This, taking into account the fact that the chapter, as suggested by its title, focuses on the modern discipline, warrants commendation. Nevertheless, taken under scrutiny from the point of view of another field, namely the history of medicine, it reveals many shortcomings of the approach of similar histories.

Firstly, the time period which is in the focus of such studies starts with the 18th century, concurring with the period of intensive European colonisation of the Americas and India. Whereas this indeed means a baffling amount of travel which provided ample ground to observe health risks related to travel, it necessarily makes any discussion thereof centred around Europe. Meanwhile, travel and its related phenomena were, evidently, prevalent in other parts of the world as well.

Secondly, this very same temporal focus means that the information about the pre-17th century course of travel medicine is scarce. Through examples of travel-related health concerns, ancient Greece and Rome as well as medieval Europe are often evoked; still, these examples provide a rather fragmented image. However, it has to be pointed out that this is reasonable, considering that there seem to be no comprehensive studies on the history of travel medicine of the Graeco-Roman medical tradition which one could reference, and even if there are publications on medieval\textsuperscript{5} vademecums written for travellers in Europe, those traditions are also not studied extensively.

Thirdly, if it is possible to talk about traditions in the plural already for medieval and early modern\textsuperscript{6} Europe, then it is perfectly reasonable to conclude that, when the scope of research is broadened geographically as well, it would likely be more fortunate to talk about a history of travel medicines in the plural.

Therefore, while for the healthcare professional of our time a profound understanding of travel medicines of various time periods and geographical regions is arguably of little practical use, if we aim to achieve a truly comprehensive history not only of travel medicine as a modern scientific discipline but also as a concept, we have to study those various travel medicines first.

\textsuperscript{5} Here, I use the term as it appears in Jackson, The Oxford handbook of the history of medicine's section “Periods”.

\textsuperscript{6} Here, I use the term as it appears in The Oxford handbook of the history of medicine's section “Periods”.
Travel in the medieval Islamic world

As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, travel and the various experiences connected with it are prevalent in all time periods and geographical locations; perhaps especially so in the medieval Islamic world.\(^7\)

While for most, travel in the medieval Islamic world most likely conjures up the travelogues of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn Faḍlān, and Ibn Jubayr as pointed out by Toorawa,\(^8\) there are additional forms of travel to be mentioned, such as trade, military campaigns, or travel in search of knowledge or to obtain education. While one could argue that these types of travel are relevant only to specific strata of the population, we must also not forget about the pilgrimage, an obligatory religious duty of every Muslim if they have the means to perform it, in addition to other religious travels of both Muslims and non-Muslims. Still, this is only a fraction of the possible aims and types of travel; this is best illustrated by a taxonomy of travel proposed by Toorawa in which he differentiates 13 types of travel with numerous sub-categories.\(^9\) Besides the travelogues mentioned in this paragraph, the most well-studied types of travel seem to be the pilgrimage (\(hajj\)), travelling in search of knowledge (\(riḥla fi ṭalab al-ʿilm\)), and trade, based on the number of scholarly volumes and articles dedicated to them.\(^10\)

In modern scholarly studies of various kinds of travel, it is not travelling itself or the circumstances of journeying that are important but rather the aim or goal of the travel which defines the focus of such studies. The questions pertaining to travelling itself focus mostly on itineraries or routes, such as those of pilgrim caravans, traders, armies, or scholars, and less on more day-to-day aspects and issues of travel.

One such aspect of travel is health and sickness. Regardless of the exact goal of a journey, if the traveller falls ill, it either imposes additional costs and delays or makes the goal of the journey impossible to reach. It needs no explanation that it was in the best interests of any traveller to

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\(^7\) In accordance with the scope of the research of this dissertation (see in detail in sub-chapter Research questions), I refer to the period from the \(hijra\) to the fall of the Mamluk Sultanate (1–923/622–1517) as ‘medieval’ and to the geographic area under Muslim rule in this period as ‘Islamic’; much in accordance with the “temporal terms” and “geographical contours” of the medieval Islamic world surveyed for the study of medieval Islamic medicine by Pormann and Savage-Smith. See Pormann–Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic medicine, 1–2.

\(^8\) Toorawa, Travel in the medieval Islamic world, 53.

\(^9\) Toorawa, Travel in the medieval Islamic world, 66–67.

\(^10\) For some examples, see the entry for \(riḥla\) in the Encyclopaedia of Islam’s second edition (Netton, Riḥla), which deals with travelogues for the most part, or Touati’s Islam and travel in the middle ages which is (purposely) dedicated to travelling in search of knowledge, despite the more generic title.
stay healthy throughout his journeys; for this aspect of travel, scholarly studies might mention facilities offering healthcare services, such as hospitals, inns, or hostels, or not discuss the issue at all and likely presume that larger groups either had physicians or other healthcare providers accompanying them (such as in the case of pilgrim caravans or armies) and individuals could resort to the services of institutions or physicians situated along or near their itineraries.

This neglect of how travellers stayed healthy or overcame illness on the road is, however, not to be condemned without acknowledging that there is not much information on it in the sources on which studies on various types of travel rely. Lambourn finds, in another context, that “[t]he everydayness of travel and luggage-making may partly explain why travel knowledges remain largely invisible […];” I would argue that this point is very much valid for travel in the medieval Islamic world in general as well.

However, despite the fact that in general, such sources are simply not interested in the know-how of health and sickness during travel or in particular cases relating to issues of health or healthcare during travel, there is another body of sources where we should expect to find such information, namely medical literature. After all, it stands to reason that physicians of the medieval Islamic world had to acquire adequate knowledge on how to advise, educate, and treat their travelling patients, much like the healthcare professionals of our day. This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that there was a body of medical knowledge on travel medicine.

**Literature review**

When looking for this body of medical knowledge on travel medicine of the medieval Islamic world, the following can be found. Since none of the works reviewed here are devoted specifically to the travel regimens of the medieval Arabic medical tradition, I focus only on the parts relevant to this topic and do not aim to provide comprehensive reviews of the whole books and articles. Additionally, I discuss these works in chronological order to show how the scholarly discourse engaged with the topic of medieval Arabic medical travel regimens over time.

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11 “For many patients, the bīmāristān was part of a larger network of charitable institutions upon which they relied for various needs during different periods of their lives.” Ragab, *The medieval Islamic hospital*, 190. See for example Ragab’s sub-chapter on the patients of hospitals: Ragab, *The medieval Islamic hospital*, 185–201, esp. 189–190 on travellers.

Karl Sudhoff begins his article published in 1910, *Ärztliche Regimina für Land- und Seereisen aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*, by stating that Leopold Senfelder published in 1898, based on a Viennese manuscript, a “small instruction” written by a Viennese and Paduan professor and royal physician, Galeazzo di Santa Sofia (d. 1427) for a high-ranking person on the best dietetics to follow when travelling on sea. As Sudhoff writes, Senfelder referred in his introduction to Galeazzo’s predecessors and to another manuscript in Munich, which Sudhoff reproduces in the article under review here. Additionally, Sudhoff also notes that he also published on another example of such a regimen on land travel written for a Saxon prince in the middle of the 15th century. After this introductory section, Sudhoff writes: “Alle diese und ebenso die im Folgenden zu publizierenden drei Regimina für Reisen beruhen in Wesentlichen auf arabischer Weisheit [...].” After mentioning the observations of Hippocrates for seafarers and Paul of Aegina’s advice for those travelling on land and sea, Sudhoff names three authors writing in Arabic about the topic: al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 323/935) in his Ḥāwī and Maṣṣūrī, al-Majūsī (d. 34/9th century) in his Malakī, and Ibn Sinā (d. 428/1037) in his Qānūn. Sudhoff notes al-Rāzī’s use of previous texts and his additions to and his reworking of the material, al-Majūsī’s condensation of al-Rāzī’s material, and the extensive treatment of the topic by Ibn Sinā, besides providing his reader with a sense of the topics covered by these works. The rest of Sudhoff’s article is dedicated to how this framework expanded in medieval Europe; the authors writing in Arabic are mentioned in the context of Sudhoff’s search for the antecedents of some advice in the Munich manuscript he reproduces in his article, namely for seafarers, regarding skin parasites, and distillation. It is important here to mention Hans Schadewaldt’s *Ärztliche Regimina für Pilgerreisen* from 2006. In it, Schadewaldt reflects on Sudhoff’s article, but from the point of view of medieval Arabic travel regimens, we do not learn much more from Schadewaldt’s work.

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13 Sudhoff, *Ärztliche Regimina*, 263.
14 Sudhoff, *Ärztliche Regimina*, 263.
15 Sudhoff, *Ärztliche Regimina*, 263.
16 Sudhoff, *Ärztliche Regimina*, 264.
17 Sudhoff, *Ärztliche Regimina*, 265.
18 Sudhoff, *Ärztliche Regimina*, 271–272
19 Sudhoff, *Ärztliche Regimina*, 274–275
21 Schadewaldt, *Ärztliche Regimina*. 
The third volume of Fuat Sezgin’s *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, dedicated to medicine, pharmacy, zoology, and veterinary medicine, was published in 1970. In the title index of the volume, Sezgin lists under “tadbīr al-musāfir” five works: a treatise by Ibn Mandawayh (d. 410/1019), three treatises by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. 393/992), and Ibn al-Jazzār’s (d. 369/979–980) encyclopaedia. Ibn Mandawayh’s treatise is still lost today, but Qusṭā ibn Lūqā’s work, written with the pilgrimage in mind, is available in an edition and English translation, while Ibn al-Jazzār’s encyclopaedia is available in an edition, and some of its parts in an edition with English translation (Books 6 and 7; Books 1 and 2 forthcoming); all of these are discussed in more detail in the dissertation. As for why the works mentioned by Sudhoff are not listed, the reason lies, simply and plainly, in the temporal scope of Sezgin’s volume (which is up until ca. 430 AH, meaning ca. 1038 AD) and the fact that the works in question are chapters in encyclopaedias while those listed by Sezgin are works dedicated solely to the topic of travel regimens.

While Manfred Ullmann’s *Die Medizin im Islam*, also published in 1970, remains silent on travel regimens, his *Islamic medicine* published in 1978 contains a passing mention of such writings. The volume’s chapter seven, “Dietetics and Pharmaceutics”, starts with discussing dietetics, where there is a particular paragraph which is of interest here. It begins with the statement: “The Arabs have produced a superfluity of books on hygiene.” Ullmann then gives examples of authors who wrote about the whole field, those writing for individual patients, and those writing only on a section or sections of the field. The paragraph ends with the following: “Finally, there is a series of shorter treatises on ‘the way of life of the traveller’, on the ‘visit to the bath’, on the ‘ptisan’ etc. The works too, on ‘sexual intercourse’ belong here; sometimes they confine themselves to recommending aphrodisiacs, sometimes they border on pornography. At any rate, the abundance of literature documents the importance given to dietetics in the world of medieval medicine.” Despite that there is no further discussion of these topics in Ullmann’s work, nor examples given of such works, they are positioned in the medical tradition as they are mentioned in the sub-chapter on dietetics or, more closely, in the paragraph on books on hygiene.

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22 GAS III/483. For the individual titles, see GAS III/271 (Qusṭā ibn Lūqā), 325 (Ibn al-Jazzār), 329 (Ibn Mandawayh).


Gerrit Bos prepared a critical edition, translation, and commentary of Qustā ibn Āqī’s *Risāla fi tadbīr safār al-ḥajj*, published in 1992. This treatise, to the best of our knowledge, remains the only travel regimen written in Arabic specifically for those undertaking the pilgrimage. This is of special importance as it sets this treatise apart from ‘general’ travel regimens. Besides this fact and the edition and the translation, the extensive and detailed commentary, as well as the indices, a quite short section of the introduction of the volume is also of great importance when surveying the literature, namely the section where Bos reviews the “literary genre to which the Risāla belongs”. Here, Bos mentions ancient Greek and Byzantine authors besides several authors writing in Arabic who wrote about “the preservation of one’s health during a journey”. While this is a brief survey, it nevertheless supplements the information present in the works of Sezgin and Ullmann besides showing that the discussion of this topic in the medieval Arabic medical tradition has antecedents, which is especially clearly articulated in the commentary of Qustā’s *Risāla* where, amongst other things, Bos clearly identifies Paul of Aegina’s influence on Qustā’s text.

Peregrine Horden’s article *Regimen and travel in the Mediterranean* was published in 2004 and largely repeated in 2005 as *Travel sickness, Medicine and mobility in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. In this review, I reference the latter article. Horden poses two questions in his introduction: “What were the connections between personal mobility and health in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean? How is mobility represented in the medical texts?” To answer these, he focuses on “regimen for travel” and “travel as regimen”. In his section on “mobility and fixity”, Horden mentions Ibn al-Jazzār’s *Zād al-musāfir*, but there is no mention of Arabic works in the section on “travel as therapy”. We find those in the fourth section on “regimen for travellers”, namely Ibn Sinā’s *Qānūn* and al-Rāzī’s *Hāwī* and *Manṣūrī*. In the last section of this article, Horden reflects on Sudhoff’s article *Ärztliche Regimina*, looking for “free-standing regimens”, for which he gives Qustā ibn Āqī’s *Risāla* as the only example written in Arabic but refers the reader in a footnote to the survey of the genre in the edition of Bos “for other writings

26 Qustā ibn Āqī, *Qustā ibn Āqī’s medical regime*, 5–6.
27 Qustā ibn Āqī, *Qustā ibn Āqī’s medical regime*, 5.
28 Horden, *Regimen and travel*.
29 Horden, *Travel sickness*, 179.
in Arabic in the genre”. While the points Horden makes and the examples he gives pertaining to Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, and medieval European medicines and medical works would inevitably be incorporated in any study aspiring to such a broad scope, the authors and their texts relevant for an in-depth scrutiny of Arabic medical writings included by Horden are accounted for in this paragraph. Strictly from this point of view, compared to Sudhoff’s article, Horden omits al-Majusi but includes Qusṭā’s Risāla and Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir in his article, both available in the edition of Bos by then.

Peter Pormann’s and Emilie Savage-Smith’s Medieval Islamic medicine, published in 2007, which aims to supplement the works of Ullmann with aspects of the history of medicine which have been studied since the publication of those volumes,34 also mentions travel regimens. In the second chapter of their book, Pormann and Savage-Smith discuss “medical theory”.35 In the chapter’s sub-section dedicated to “regimen and diet”,36 they list the common regimens and topics contained in medical encyclopaedias: “Medical compendia routinely had sections devoted to regimens for infants and for the elderly, both groups requiring special adjustments in diet and other routines. Occasionally regimen for travellers would be treated in a separate section. Another subtopic that attracted particular attention was that of sexual hygiene, with a considerable number of monographs devoted to the topic. [...]”37 In the fourth chapter of the book dedicated to “practice”, there is a sub-section discussing “regimen, circumcision, and personal hygiene”38 but here there is no reference to travelling or travel regimens. Altogether, Pormann’s and Savage-Smith’s Medieval Islamic medicine places travel regimens into the whole of the Arabic medical tradition, even slightly more precisely than Ullmann’s Islamic medicine, but does not discuss them in any detail, similarly to Ullmann’s volume, nor does it refer the reader to previous literature specifically about travel regimens. However, it is important to stress that the scope of this volume does not allow to do so in connection to any of the hitherto less studied aspects of the history of medieval Islamic medicine.

33 Horden, Travel sickness, 195–196, 196 n.66.
34 Pormann – Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic medicine, 2–3, 4.
35 Pormann – Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic medicine, 41–79.
36 Pormann – Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic medicine, 49–51.
37 Pormann – Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic medicine, 50.
38 Pormann – Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic medicine, 135–138.
Not strictly related to the scope of this literature review but nevertheless inevitable to mention is Elizabeth Lambourn’s volume *Abraham’s luggage, A social life of things in the medieval Indian Ocean world*, published in 2018. In it, Lambourn embarks on a quest to reconstruct various aspects of life in Malibarat, India and the details of a voyage from there to Ifriqiyya based on the luggage list of a 12th-century Jewish trader, Abraham Ben Yiju, which is “the only surviving list of luggage and travel provisions known from the medieval Indian Ocean.”³⁹ Besides the appeal of the whole volume for a quite broad audience, of special interest here is the volume’s eighth chapter, “The balanced body, On vinegar and other sour foods”,⁴⁰ where Lambourn is “asking whether any of the foods in Abraham’s luggage list might be understood as “medicinal foods” and so as evidence for the self-prescription of ordinary travelers.”⁴¹ Throughout this inquiry focusing on how to deal with nausea and vomiting and the various uses of vinegar and sour foodstuffs, Lambourn references some Arabic medical works and practices which are discussed in this dissertation.

To sum up, we find that in the volumes serving as standard reference works of medieval Islamic medicine (the works of Sezgin, Ullmann, and Pormann–Savage-Smith), the topic of travel regimens is mentioned but not discussed in any detail. For works dedicated to travel regimens (the articles of Sudhoff and Horden), the focus is either on medieval European examples or answering questions pertaining to a broader issue, where the regimens written in Arabic appear more as antecedents to mention but are not studied in their own right. The only example for this is the work of Bos; while he offers only a brief survey of the genre of travel regimens, his commentary of Qusṭā’s *Risāla* is the most complete analysis of travel regimens to date. The detour to Lambourn’s work shows how a knowledge of the theoretical framework present in medical travel regimens can be used to ‘reverse-engineer’ the practicalities of travel medicine.⁴²

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⁴¹ Lambourn, *Abraham’s luggage*, 220.
⁴² Immediately before the final submission of the present dissertation, it came to my knowledge that an MA thesis on Ibn al-Amšāṭ’s *Iṣfār* was submitted at Leiden University in 2020 (Isoldi, Angela, *A small guide through a vast land*, MA thesis, Leiden University, 2020). Due to the final deadline of my own submission, I had no chance to consider the findings of this piece. However, I was surprised to read in the thesis that according to the author’s knowledge, the *Iṣfār* has not been subject of previous studies because this formulation fails to acknowledge the brief correspondence between Isoldi and myself on the work, dating back to 2019.
Research questions

The title of this dissertation defines its two main subjects: the first being a scrutiny of the travel regimens of the medieval Arabic medical tradition and the second being a critical edition, English translation, and commentary of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s (d. 902/1496) travel regimen titled *al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-āsfār*.

However, before anything else, the scope of this dissertation is to be made clear, since the expressions ‘medieval Arabic medicine’ or ‘medieval Arabic medical tradition’ can be ambiguous.

a) By medieval, I refer to the period from the *hijra* to the fall of the Mamluk Sultanate (1–923/622–1517). Since the sources analysed in this dissertation are from the 3rd/9th to the 9th/15th centuries, the temporal scope of this dissertation is additionally slightly more restricted.

b) By Arabic, I mean ‘written in Arabic language’. While this excludes the use of sources written in other languages used in the geographic area under Muslim rule throughout the time period defined in the previous paragraph, it allows to forgo any differentiation based on the religious and ethnic background of the authors and their texts; as the results of the dissertation will show, such separation of the source material and of the medical discourse on travelling seems unnecessary at this stage of the research.

c) An attempt to define the concept of ‘medicine’ or ‘the medical tradition’ could fill the pages of several dissertations and published volumes; without undertaking such an endeavour, I limit the scope of this dissertation to a scrutiny of the scholarly medical tradition based on its technical texts. I do realise the shortcomings of such constraints as well as the fact that it goes against most of the current approaches to the study of the history of medicine; however, the reasons to do so are twofold. Firstly, a comprehensive study of this material, the results of which could inform investigations of other aspects of the history of Arabic or Islamic medicine, has not been carried out to date. Secondly, such a study is necessary to analyse and evaluate Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s travel regimen accurately. In addition to these restrictions, a scrutiny of the medical texts means the omission of non-medical texts (except for a brief excursus); these texts would mean such a vast amount of source material that they would be worthy of a research project on their own right.

d) The scope of this dissertation is strictly limited to a study of the Arabic tradition only. While Graeco-Roman antecedents are referenced on occasion, it is not the aim of this dissertation to uncover in detail the possible antecedents, parallels, and afterlife of the Arabic tradition in
regards to any other medical tradition, such as the Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, Syriac, Persianate, Indian, Chinese, Ottoman, various European traditions, and so on. Yet again, any such inquiry would deserve its separate research project, and would greatly benefit from intrinsic studies of the separate traditions, even if the results of the latter would then be in need of revisions based on the outcomes of the former.

As for the first main subject of the present dissertation, a scrutiny of the travel regimens of the medieval Arabic medical tradition, my research questions are concerned with the sources themselves and the relationships between them for the most part.

a) What is the corpus of the technical texts of the scholarly medical tradition pertaining to travel regimens, tadbīr al-musāfir or tadbīr al-musāfirīn in Arabic? The volumes and articles of the literature review mention some works and their authors but considering the richness of the Arabic medical literature, one would be right to assume that these works are not representing the whole corpus.

b) What are the topics covered by this corpus of travel regimens? While it was shown in the literature review that Sudhoff acquaints his reader with a general sense of the contents of the Arabic regimens he includes in his article, a complete listing of the topics would allow a systematic discussion of them besides providing grounds for more general observations on travel regimens.

c) What are the relationships between the texts of this corpus? Can the reliance of authors on previous works be determined and established? If so, it would show a network of relationships between the texts, a kind of a family tree or genealogy, similarly to the stemmas of manuscripts.

d) Are there novelties and developments to uncover and identify upon closer inspection of the texts? If the above-mentioned network of relationships of the source texts is established, it would be misleading then not to pay special attention to original and unique aspects of these texts, as it could lead to an unjustified dismissal of the corpus as a more static material where only copying and slight reworking are to be expected.

e) What can be inferred regarding the popularity or importance of travel regimens based on the corpus of such technical texts? While the texts themselves do not reflect on such issues, their broader contexts surely provide information relevant to this question.
As for the second main subject of this dissertation, namely Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s *al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār*, the research questions can be grouped around three major themes: the author, the textual tradition of the treatise, and the evaluation of the text itself.

a) As the author, Ibn al-Amshāṭī is not amongst the well-known physicians of the medieval Islamic world, there are various questions to ask. What can we gather about him from reference works? What are the sources on his life and works? How adequately can his biography be established based on these materials? What is his literary output? Answering these questions is not only necessary for a more comprehensive understanding of the author but would also provide a background for an analysis of any of his works.

b) For the textual tradition of the treatise, its manuscript copies are to be identified, collected, and taken under scrutiny, followed by an investigation of their relationships. While preparing a satisfactory critical edition based on all surviving manuscript copies along with a translation of the text is not a research question per se, it is unquestionably an indispensable basis for any further studies of and based on the text.

c) While there are many approaches to an analysis and evaluation of a text, in the present dissertation I aim to focus on three main features. Firstly, Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s *Isfār* is a technical text of the scholarly medical tradition but the preface of the work is a specimen of the genre of literary prefaces, which necessitates a separate inquiry into these aspects of the work. What can we gather from a closer inspection of the preface of the work? Since this genre offers a framework with its own rules and elements, seeing how the author navigates and utilises these sheds light on either the trends and norms of the genre prevalent to the particular setting represented by the text itself or the personal style of the author. Secondly, in the preface, a patron appears. This prompts questions about the dedication of the treatise besides whether it is possible to date the composing of the treatise itself. Thirdly, since the treatise is part of the corpus of the technical texts of the scholarly medical tradition of travel regimens, it is to be evaluated in relation to this corpus. How is it structured in comparison to the other travel regimens? What are the travel regimens that can be identified as sources used for the compilation of this treatise? What is the author’s method for compiling his text? How original is the text as a whole? What are its novelties? Probing the text with these questions in mind hopefully provides a comprehensive evaluation thereof.
Chapter outline

In chapter 1. Arabic medical texts on *tadbīr al-musāfirīn*, I introduce the sources which form the corpus of the technical texts of the Arabic scholarly medical tradition of travel regimens. I dedicate separate sub-chapters to the texts which are parts of encyclopaedias (1.1), treatises which are travel regimens on their own right (1.2), and texts which are not preserved in manuscripts to the best of our knowledge (1.3). The last sub-chapter is a brief excursus on non-medical texts as potential sources for further studies on various aspects of medieval Arabic travel medicine (1.4).

Chapter 2. The Arabic tradition of *tadbīr al-musāfirīn* consists of two sub-chapters. In sub-chapter 2.1. Analysing the medical content of travel regimens, I take under scrutiny the corpus of travel regimens with the aim of analysing the topics they discuss, while uncovering the relationships between the various texts of the corpus besides pointing out their novelties. I arrange this sub-chapter into fifteen sections based on the topics discussed in the regimens (2.1.1–2.1.14) and offer concluding remarks in the last of these sections (2.1.15). In sub-chapter 2.2. Excursus: probing the sources, I point out some noteworthy issues in relation to some misleading titles (2.2.1), compare the texts of two physicians who both authored two texts of the corpus (2.2.2), and look at the corpus to provide insights on the popularity and importance of travel regimens (2.2.3).

In chapter 3. The biography of the author, Ibn al-Amshāṭī, I collect the reference works which mention Ibn al-Amshāṭī (3.1) and the biographical entries serving as sources for his life (3.2). At the end of these sub-chapters, I summarise the various problems a comprehensive biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī is to resolve. I aim to do this in the next sub-chapter through an in-depth biography of the author (3.3), in addition to a complete list of his literary output (3.4). At the end of the chapter, I point to certain issues deserving further research (3.5).

Chapter 4. The textual tradition of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s *al-Isfār ‘an hikam al-asfār* consists of two sub-chapters. In sub-chapter 4.1. Manuscripts, I describe the three surviving manuscript copies of the treatise in detail (4.1.1–4.1.3) and call attention to their features suggestive of the relations between these manuscript copies (4.1.4). In sub-chapter 4.2. Arabic text and English translation, I detail my editorial and translation methods.
I begin chapter 5. Analysis of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s al-Ifsār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār with a summary or overview of the treatise (5.1), then move on to the analyses. Following the text of the treatise, I first study the preface in depth (5.2) in four sections, paying special attention to its content and form, while listing its possible Quranic allusions and briefly assessing the results of the study as well (5.2.1–5.2.4). Then I inquire about the identity of the patron and provide a proximate dating of the treatise based on the patron and the information present in the preface (5.3). In the last of the analyses, I scrutinise the medical content of the treatise. This sub-chapter is separated into further sections following the structure of the Ifsār to allow for an exhaustive approach (5.4.1–5.4.10). I offer an overview of these besides additional observations and remarks regarding the treatise (5.4.11).

In chapter 6. Conclusion, I summarise the findings of the present dissertation and point out some issues worth of or in need of further research.

Additionally, the dissertation has four appendices. Appendix I – Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s al-Ifsār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār, Arabic text and English translation is where the critical edition of the treatise and its English translation is located, in accordance with the formal criteria for dissertations set by the Department of Doctoral and Academic Affairs. In Appendix II – Glossaries, I list the weights and measures, materia medica, and medical terms of the Ifsār together with the identifications, where applicable, and the English translations consistently used for the Arabic terms throughout the present dissertation, besides referencing the volumes I used for these identifications. The tables of Appendix III – Tables serve as the basis of the analysis of the Ifsār’s epilogue (in section 5.4.10). In Appendix IV – Illustrations, the first folios of the manuscripts are appended.
1. **ARABIC MEDICAL TEXTS ON TADBĪR AL-MUSĀFIRĪN**

This chapter aims to introduce the medical sources written in Arabic on the regimen of the traveller which are analysed and referred to in this dissertation. It consists of four parts.

Sub-chapter 1.1. Chapters in medical encyclopaedias details the chapters of various encyclopaedias dedicated to the regimen of travellers.\(^{43}\) Sub-chapter 1.2. Treatises discusses standalone works of various length dedicated solely to the topic of the regimen during travel. Sub-chapter 1.3. Other medical texts without known manuscripts aims to draw attention to the fact that there are additional relevant works on this subject which are attested by other sources, even if we do not know of any surviving copies of them as of now. Sub-chapter 1.4. Excursus: non-medical texts as sources offers a glimpse into additional types of texts which, in future research, could possibly be utilised to enrich our knowledge and answer additional questions that are outside the boundaries of this dissertation.

In each of the sub-chapters except for the last one, the introduction of the sources follows the chronological order of the authors. The focus is on the sources themselves in accordance with the needs characteristic of the above categories, while, for the sake of brevity, the account of their authors is in all cases only a short summary with references to more exhaustive works on them.

### 1.1. **Chapters in medical encyclopaedias**

#### 1.1.1. **Al-Ṭabarî (d. ca. 250/864): Firdaws al-Ḥikma**

Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarî was born most probably around the year 174/793 and died in 250/864 or shortly after. He served the governor of Ṭabaristān, Māzyār ibn Qārin, after whose execution in 225/840 he gained admission to the Abbasid court in Samarra and served the caliphs al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil. He was Christian but converted to Islam in or after 235/850. Most of his works discuss various medical topics.\(^{44}\)

Al-Ṭabarî completed his most famous work, the *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* (‘Paradise of Wisdom’) in 235/850. It is available in only one printed edition [bibliographical details: *Firdaws al-Ḥikma* =

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\(^{43}\) Ibn al-Jazzār’s *Zād al-musāfir* is included in section 2.2.1. A brief remark: cases of misleading titles instead of this sub-chapter for reasons discussed there.

Browne was the first to acquaint the scholars with the “general plan of the book” by outlining the contents with a summarized translation of the parts’ and chapters’ titles. It is divided into seven thematic parts (naw‘), thirty treatises (maqāla), and 360 chapters (bāb). The 1st part is on the theoretical background of medicine. The 2nd part has five treatises. The 1st is on embryology, pregnancy, the organs, the ages and seasons; the 2nd is on the issues of the souls, the senses, and the faculties; the 3rd is on the temperaments, emotions, some movements, dreams, visions, and the evil eye; the 4th is on nursing, general hygiene and diet; the 5th is on the ideal diet according to the seasons, travel, and some aspects of the diet itself. The 3rd part of the work is on nutrition and dietetics. The 4th part has twelve treatises, dealing with the diseases a capite ad calcem, the muscles, nerves, veins, as well as phlebotomy, pulse, and uroscopy. The 5th part is on the properties of ailments and remedies, flavours, scents, colours, and causes of various changes. The 6th part, in brief, deals with simple and compound medicaments in six chapters. The 7th part discusses assorted, quite interesting topics in four treatises, a summary of Indian medicine being the subject matter of the last one.

The arrangement of the book partially follows the Greek compendiums, and it served as an example for later physicians. Many early and some later medical authors quoted parts of the book. According to Şiddiqī, the Firdaws al-hikma is the first medical compendium written in Arabic. Meyerhof refuted this just a few years later; however, he recognised that this was “so far the earliest Arabic medical compendium published in print”.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the 2nd part, specifically the 5th treatise (pp. 105–114) is especially significant, which comprises seven chapters. Chapters 1–4 deal with the regimen for spring, summer, autumn, and winter, respectively. Chapter 5 is on the regimen for travellers and...
armies. Chapter 6 is on fattening, thinning, and appetizing things. Chapter 7 is on atrophy and useful and harmful things for the organs.  

1.1.2. Al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 323/935): Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb

The biographical accounts of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī’s life are short and do not mention exact dates. He was born around 250/865 in Rayy and practised medicine there and in Baghdad. Biographical accounts on him elaborate on his merits as a physician, hospital director, and teacher as well. Some of them give well-known anecdotes illustrating his knowledge besides the list of his works.

One of his most important works is the Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb (‘The book dedicated to al-Manṣūr on medicine’), a systematic and complete work on medicine. It is available in an edition based on four manuscripts [bibliographical details: al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb, ed. Ḥāzim al-Bakri Șiddiqī, al-Kuwayt: Ma’had al-Makhtūtāt al-‘Arabiyya, 1987]. Its first part is available with a French translation as well. It was translated into Latin in 1175 by Gerardus Cremonensis, as well as into Hebrew. The 9th book was frequently acknowledged and commented upon.

The book has ten treatises (maqāla). The 1st is an introduction to medicine, discussing the various organs; the 2nd is on the humours, the organs, and physiognomy; the 3rd is on the properties of food and medicaments; the 4th is on the preservation of health; the 5th is on cosmetics (zīna); the 6th is on the regimen of the travellers; the 7th is on bonesetting, wounds, and ulcers; the 8th is on poisons and pests; the 9th is on various diseases a capite ad calcem; the 10th is on fevers.

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51 Al-Ṭabarī’s Health regimen or Book of the pearl, “is deliberately designed for the profit of the educated (and affluent) layman” and “on the level of informational content, is a redesigned abstract of his much larger Paradise of Wisdom”, al-Ṭabarī, Health regimen, 1–4. Unfortunately, al-Ṭabarī does not offer a version of his travel regimen in this work; the regimens for the seasons are followed by the regimen in bathhouses and travel is mentioned only once throughout the work. See al-Ṭabarī, Health regimen, 19–21 for a comparison of the contents of the Health regimen and the Paradise of wisdom and al-Ṭabarī, Health regimen, 124, 125 (§132) for the mention of travel.

52 For a summary of these, see Meyerhof, Thirty-three clinical observations, 2–4.

53 For his life and works, see Ullmann, Die Medizin, 128–136; Ranking, The life and works of Rhazes, 82–104; GAS III/274–294; GAL I/267–271; GAL S I/417–421; Adamson, Al-Ṭabarī, esp. ch. 7. Medicine.

54 For the list of the manuscripts of the Mansūrī, see GAS III/281–282 (2. – al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī t-ṭibb); GAL I/269; GAL S I/419.


56 Ullmann, Die Medizin, 134; GAS III/282.
As the list shows, there is a complete treatise written on the regimen of the travellers (pp. 281–300) which is to be analysed in this dissertation. This treatise deals with the issues of hot weather, poisons, thirst, cold weather, freezing, fainting due to hunger, preservation of the limbs, eye affictions due to the snow, cold, or wind, exhaustion, the proper way of eating, prevention of the harms caused by different waters, the regimen of military camps, the regimen of those who travel on sea, lice, paleness of the face, fissures of the lower parts of the leg, the scraping off of the skin due to riding, shoes, and sandals, and falling and hitting the head or other parts of the body.

1.1.3. Al-Rāzī: al-Ḥāwī fī al-ṭibb

Another significant work of al-Rāzī is the al-Ḥāwī fī al-ṭibb (‘The comprehensive [book] on medicine’), an enormous collection of medical notes and extracts for his use as an aide-mémoire, believed to be arranged in part by his students after his death.\(^{57}\) It is available in three editions [one printed in Hyderabad, two in Beirut; bibliographical details of the edition used here: al-Ḥāwī fī al-ṭibb, ṭab’a jadida muṣaḥḥaḥa, 23 vols. in 7, ed. Haytham Khalifa Ṭu‘aymi, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāṯ al-‘Arabī, 2002]. Like the Kitāb al-Manṣūrī, this work was also translated into Latin by the Jewish author Faraj ibn Sālim in 1279.\(^{58}\)

As for the contents of the Ḥāwī, its 23 parts (juz’) follow an a capita ad calcem arrangement of diseases, namely those of the head, the eyes, the ears, nose, and teeth, the lungs, and the gullet and stomach. After a part on purgatives, the arrangement continues with the diseases of the breasts, heart, liver, and spleen, the intestines, and the womb. From part 12, the focus shifts to conditions affecting more organs or the whole body. The following chapters are on cancer and cancerous ulcers, then bruises, dislocation of joints, and ulcers of the reproductive and other organs. Various kinds of fevers are discussed in three parts, followed by parts on smallpox, measles, and plagues, the crisis, and urine. Parts 20–22 are on simple medicaments and pharmacology. The last part is a varied collection of notes on practical matters.

It is here, in part 23 of the Ḥāwī, that al-Rāzī dedicates a chapter to discussing issues of travel with the title ‘On the regimen of travellers and armies on the land and the sea, the protection against hot and cold, the phenomena of the air, hunger, thirst, and what protects the face from

\(^{57}\) The work is often referred to as a collection of case notes, which is not true. However, al-Rāzī did write a work containing case histories under the title Kitāb al-tajārib. The Ḥāwī contains notes based on al-Rāzī’s readings and practice which is, for the most part, not structured in a way that would suggest that it was intended for other readers.

\(^{58}\) Ullmann, Die Medizin, 131.
the burning of the sun and splitting open from the cold’ (vol. VII, pp. 396–401 in the edition mentioned above). Due to the nature of the Ḥāwī, the topics discussed in this chapter are a collection of quotations and notes from previous works (sometimes attributed, sometimes left anonymous), with additional observations by al-Rāzī introduced by the phrase lī, ‘by me’. It is important to note that this is the only regimen on which al-Rāzī collected notes; we do not find any parallels for pregnant women or any age group from newborns to the elderly.


Very little is known of ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Majūsī’s life. Based on his nisbas, he was born into an old Persian Zoroastrian family which originated in the town of Arrajān and practised medicine in Shirāz. The exact dates of his birth and death are not known.90

He wrote his famous Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a al-ṭibbiyya (‘The complete [book] of the medical art’) before 366/977 and dedicated it to the Būyid emir and king, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, this being the reason for the other well-known title of this work, Kitāb al-malakī (‘The royal book’). It was printed in Būlāq [bibliographical details: Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a al-ṭibbiyya, 2 vols, Būlāq, 1294/1877 (repr. Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Sciences at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1996)], and there is a facsimile as well.60 Parts of it are available in French and German translations.61

The work consists of two parts. The first is on theory and the second is on practice, both in ten treatises (maqāla). The first part’s 1st treatise is on the theoretical background of medicine; the 2nd treatise is on the anatomy of homogeneous organs; the 3rd on the heterogeneous organs; the 4th on the faculties; the 5th on the non-naturals; the 6th on the classification and causes of diseases; the 7th on the symptoms of diseases and various ways of diagnostics; the 8th on the external diseases; the 9th on the internal diseases; and the 10th on various symptoms. The second

60 Bibliographical details: Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a al-ṭibbiyya, 3 vols, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Sciences at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1985 (facsimile of Istanbul University Library, MS A.Y. 6375, MS A.Y. 4713a).
part’s 1st treatise is on the preservation of health; the 2nd is on simple medicaments; the 3rd on fevers; the 4th on the curing of skin diseases, ulcers, bites, and poisons; the 5th on the diseases of the head; the 6th on the respiratory organs; the 7th on the digestive organs; the 8th on the genitalia; the 9th on surgery, bloodletting, cauterization etc.; and the 10th on complex remedies. Until Ibn Sinā’s Qānūn ‘overshadowed’ it, the work was quite popular, with more than a hundred manuscript copies of it being still available. However, the extant manuscripts generally contain only parts of the work. It was translated into Latin, partially by Constantinus Africanus before 1086, and the whole work by Stephen of Antioch in 1127. It was used by Jewish physicians as well.

The second part’s 1st treatise begins with general chapters on preserving the health according to the seasons of the year, with various activities, in certain conditions, and the different ages of life. The following chapters deal with specific issues connected to preserving one’s health (exercise, fatigue, bathing, nourishment, water, wine, sleeping, intercourse, mental symptoms, cleansing the body, customs, temperaments, appearance). Chapters 19–24 discuss various regimens, from that of pregnant women to that of the elderly. Chapters 25–29 are on the regimen for the convalescent, safeguarding against infectious diseases, and how to stop various causes of illnesses, while chapter 30 discusses cosmetics (zīna). The last, 31st chapter contains the regimen of the travellers on land and sea (pp. 81–84).

1.1.5. Ibn Sinā (d. 428/1037): al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb

The first 30 years of Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Sinā’s life are known from his autobiography, and an account of his later years was written by one of his students. He was born in 370/980, in Afshana, close to Bukhārā. His father paid great attention to his studies, and according to some sources, Ibn Sinā was well-versed in all the sciences of his age by the time he was 18. After the death of his father, he started working and was consulted not only as a physician

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62 According to Troupeau’s lists to which Micheau also refers, there are [at least] 128 manuscripts of the Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a. Out of these, 50 are dated. While the majority of these are from the 12th and 13th centuries (8 and 13, respectively), there are also 4 dated copies from the 14th century and 3 from the 15th century. See Troupeau, Manuscripts, esp. 313–315. Despite Micheau’s remark that the Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a ‘was overshadowed by Ibn Sinā’s Qānūn’ for which he refers to Ibn al-Qifṭī’s Tārīkh al-ḥukama‘, the two works (that is the Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a and the Qānūn) were obviously used side by side to complement each other in the 15th century, at least by one author for one of his compilations, as I will show throughout the analysis of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s al-Isfār in sub-chapter 5.4. The treatise in the Arabic medical tradition of tadbīr al-musāfrīn.


but also for his political opinions, the latter sometimes leading to stints in exile. He died in 428/1037 in Hamadān, while accompanying the Kākūyid ruler ‘Alā’ al-Dawla. Most of his writings are philosophical and medical works, but he wrote on all other sciences as well. More than 200 works are attributed to him; approximately half of these considered genuine.\(^6^5\)

The enormous *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (‘The canon of medicine’) served as a basis of Muslim and European medical theory and practice for seven centuries. It is available in many printed editions [biographical details of the edition used here: *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb*, 4 vols., ed. Sa‘īd Laḥḥām, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1994]. The encyclopaedia consists of five books (*kitāb*), which are further subdivided into several layers (*funūn, taʿālīm, jumal, and fuṣūl*). The 1st book is on the fundamentals of medicine; the 2nd details medical substances and pharmacology; the 3rd is on pathology arranged according to the organs *a capite ad calcem*; the 4th contains various topics, for example fevers, diagnostics, minor surgery, poisons etc; the 5th is a pharmacopoeia. Numerous manuscripts of the work are known,\(^6^6\) with even more versifications, commentaries, and abridgements.\(^6^7\)

The first book of the *Qānūn* contains four parts (*fann*), the third of these has only one chapter (*al-faṣl al-mufraid fī sābab al-ṣiḥḥa wa-al-maraḍ wa ḍarūrat al-mawt*) and five more discourses (*taʿālīm*). The 1st is on the upbringing of children in four chapters; the 2nd is on the regimen of adults in seventeen chapters; the 3rd is on the regimen of the elderly in six chapters; the 4th is on the regimen of those with bad temperaments; and the 5th is on the changes (vol. I., pp. 318–326 in the edition mentioned above). This last discourse has one chapter dealing with the effects of the seasons, and a clause (*jumla*) on the regimen of travellers. This clause has eight chapters. The 1st is on various symptoms indicating diseases; the 2nd is on the regimen for travellers in general; the 3rd is on the protection against the harmful effects of heat and the regimen of those travelling in hot weather; the 4th is on the regimen of those travelling in cold weather; the 5th is on the preservation of the limbs against the cold; the 6th is on the preservation of the complexion; the 7th is on the harmful effects of different waters and how to prevent them; the 8th is on the

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\(^6^6\) For the list of its manuscripts, see Gutas, *Avicenna*, 512–513.

\(^6^7\) See the references given in Gutas, *Avicenna*, 512.
regimen for the traveller on the sea. As can be seen, scrutinizing this clause with all its chapters is necessary for an outline of a history of these regimens.


Amin al-Dawla Abū al-Faraj ibn Muwaffaq al-Dīn Yaʿqūb ibn ʿIsḥāq Ibn al-Quff al-Malaki al-Masiḥi al-Karaki was born in 630/1233 in Karak. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa taught him medicine in Šarkhad. Ibn al-Quff became acquainted with the other sciences in Damascus besides gaining medical experience in hospitals. He was the first appointed surgeon-physician in ʿAjlūn, and later, the Mamluk sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars called him back to Damascus to serve as a physician and surgeon in the citadel. He died there in 684/1286. Respected amongst his fellow physicians and his students, he wrote treatises upon their requests as well. 68

His Jāmiʿ al-gharaḍ fi ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa wa-dafʿ al-maraḍ (‘The comprehensive [book] of the effects on preserving health and preventing illness’) was written around 674/1275. He dedicated it to his patron Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad and offered a copy of it to the Cairene library of al-Ṣāḥib Bahā’ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥinnā, a long-serving vizier of al-Ẓāhir Baybars. The work is available in a printed edition [bibliographical details: Jāmiʿ al-gharaḍ fi ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa wa-dafʿ al-maraḍ, ed. Sāmī Khalaf al-Ḥamārnah, ʿAmmān: Manshūrāt al-Jāmiʿa al-Urduniyya, 1989]. 69

It consists of 60 chapters. The 1st of these is on embryology; the 2nd is on the ages and their temperaments; the 3rd is on the preservation of health in general; chapters 4–11 deal with the preservation of the health according to age groups, from pregnant women to the elderly; chapters 12–13 are on the preservation of the health of travellers on land and sea; the following chapters up to chapter 30 deal with various circumstances and activities with regard to preserving one’s health; and the second 30 chapters deal with the use of foodstuffs, medicaments, oils, clothing, stones, buying slaves, and physiognomy. 70 This book was also translated into Latin and circulated in the West. 71

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68 For his life and works, see Hamarneh, Ibn Al-Quff’s writings; Hamarneh, Ibn al-Quff.

69 For the description of the manuscripts used in the edition, see Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharaḍ, 92–95.

70 For a more detailed summary of the chapters, see Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharaḍ, 76–92.

71 Hamarneh, Ibn Al-Quff’s writings, 377–378.
As obvious from this overview, chapters 12–13 (pp. 168–172) are to be examined for the purposes of this dissertation.


Abū ‘Abd Allāh Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb was born in 713/1313 near Granada, where he later completed his education. He made a successful career under the Naṣrid sultans Muhammad IV, Yūsuf I, and Muḥammad V. His fortune was tied to Muḥammad V, as he was forced into exile with the dethroned sultan to Fez. Then Ibn al-Khaṭīb settled in Salé, where he wrote many of his works. Later, after Muḥammad V returned to power, he called Ibn al-Khaṭīb back to Granada. Some years later, due to court intrigues and politics, the physician fled to Ceuta, Tlemcen, then Fez. Eventually, his enemies managed to have him sentenced to death for apostasy, and he was strangled in prison before his execution. He is well-known mostly as a biographer, historian, and poet, even though he was a prolific writer in many other fields, amongst them medicine.72


The book comprises two parts (juz’,), which are divided into principles (qāʿida) and subdivided into chapters (bāb), which are sometimes further split into sections (faṣl). The first part is on theory. Its first principle is on the seasons in five chapters (on the seasons, their characteristics, their effects on the body, the changes characteristic of them, and their extents). Its second principle is on the general things determining further division in seven chapters (on the elements of which the body is comprised, the temperaments, the humours, the organs, the essences, the potencies, and the actions). The third and last principle of the first part is on the things necessary for people in six chapters, covering the six non-naturals (air, food and drinks, retention and

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72 On his life and works, see Bosch-Vilà, Ibn al-Khatīb; Vidal-Castro, Ibn al-Khaṭīb.
73 Vidal-Castro, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, 1120.
74 The manuscripts used for this edition are discussed in Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Wuṣūl, 22–24.
excretion, sleeping and wakefulness, movement and rest, and mental movements). The second part of the book is on practice. Its first principle is on the characteristics of the temperaments in four chapters (in general and in detail, on the signs of fullness and the signs of diseases which can be avoided). Its second principle is on the regimens according to the seasons and the four temperaments. The third and last principle contains specified regimens in three chapters: the first for children (from birth to growing up), the second for the elderly, and the third for travellers (pp. 130–134 and 261–267 in the Spanish translation). This chapter is divided into seven sections. The 1st of these is on the preparations before travelling; the 2nd is on nutrition in general; the 3rd on the different kinds of water; the 4th on safeguarding against the harms of hot and cold weather, thirst, and fatigue; the 5th on the issues of the eye; the 6th on choosing the campsite; and the 7th on travelling on the sea. After this chapter, there is an epilogue on medical terminology. While the regimen of travellers comes at the very end of the work, it is nevertheless included and detailed, unlike the regimen of the elderly, a chapter without further sub-division, or the regimen for pregnant women and those in childbed, omitted in this work but regularly appearing in other encyclopaedias.

1.1.8. Ḥājjī Bāshā (d. 810s or early 820s / 1410s or early 1420s): Shifāʾ al-aqsām wa-dawāʾ al-ālām

Ḥājjī Bāshā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khīḍr ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-Aydīnī was born in Konya but travelled to Cairo to study religious sciences. Due to an illness he suffered there, he became interested in learning medicine. In time it became his primary occupation, and he even worked in the Mansūrī hospital. Later, in the last quarter of the 14th century, he returned to Anatolia and served his patron, Ḥusayn Bey, as qāḍī, teacher, and physician, after whose death he moved to Konya and Birgi, where he died. He wrote on Quranic exegesis, mysticism, and philosophy, chiefly in Arabic, but he owes his renown to his medical works.75 He wrote short medical essays, but his main work is the Shifāʾ al-aqsām wa-dawāʾ al-ālām (‘Recovery from illnesses and remedy for pains’), a compendium dedicated to his patron. He composed abridgements and summaries of this compendium both in Arabic and Turkish, and his works enjoyed popularity due to the clarity and simplicity of his style. As for the Shifāʾ itself,

75 On his life and works, see Walsh, Ḥājjī Pasha; Shefer-Mossensohn, Ḥājjī Pasha.
it is divided into four sections (maqāla). The 1st is an introduction to medical theory and practice. The 2nd is on foodstuffs, beverages, and simple and compound medicaments. The 3rd discusses diseases a capite ad calcem. The 4th section deals with conditions affecting more than one organ or the whole body. The 1st maqāla of the compendium is available in edited form [bibliographical details: Sīḥfāʾ al-aqṣām wa-dawāʾ al-ālām, al-Maqāla al-ālā, Fi ʿilm al-ṭibb, ed. Sayyida Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-ʿĀl – Mahā Mazlūm Khiḍr, Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyya, 2016]. In its second half, dedicated to the practical side of medicine, we find regimens associated with the ages from childbirth to childhood, followed by the regimens relating to foodstuffs, beverages and drinks, movement and rest, sleeping and wakefulness, emptying and retaining, bathing, intercourse, diuresis, sweating, nasal discharge, saliva, the health-preserving siwāk, kohl, and snuff, and clothing. These topics are followed by the regimen for the seasons, the elderly, those recuperating from diseases, pregnant mothers and those in childbirth, and those who menstruate during pregnancy, with some medicaments against miscarriage and advice on easing childbirth. The regimen for travellers comes after all these topics (pp. 324–329). However, it is still followed by numerous additional parts on healing diseases and health in general, about the regimen for various ailments and procedures (vomiting, venesection, cupping, leeching, cauterisation, retention, fatigue), and signs of diseases. A summary of the most common weights and measurements completes the work.

1.2. Treatises

1.2.1. Qustā ibn Lūqā (d. 300/912): Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj

Qustā ibn Lūqā al-Baʿlabakkī was born around 205/820. He was a Melkite Christian with a knowledge of Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. He likely travelled to the Byzantine Empire when he was young. He was preparing new translations of Greek scientific works and revising old ones in Baghdad under the caliph al-Mustaʿīn. Later he moved to Armenia, composing works for several patrons. Besides translating, he wrote numerous medical works.77

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76 Shefer-Mossensohn, Ḥājjī Pasha, 23.
77 On his life and works, see Qustā ibn Lūqā, Qustā ibn Lūqā’s medical regime, 1–2; Ullmann, Die Medizin, 126–128; GAS III/270–274.

The treatise consists of 10 chapters (bāb). The 1st chapter is on eating, drinking, sleeping, and sexual intercourse; the 2nd chapter is on fatigue; the 3rd chapter is on massages and rubbing of the foot; the 4th chapter is on the diseases caused by winds; the 5th is on earache; the 6th is on rheum, deflections, and cough; the 7th is on eye diseases; the 8th is on waters; the 9th is on how to improve contaminated water; the 10th is on thirst; the 11th is on the prevention of vermin; the 12th is on the treatment of stings and bites; the 13th is on the prophylaxis against Dracunculus medinensis; the 14th is on the treatment of Dracunculus medinensis. So far, the work is “the only known health guide for the pilgrim to Mecca”.

Considering the fact that so far this treatise is the only published regimen for travellers (and especially for those going on the pilgrimage), and that it was written by a physician well-acquainted with the ancient and Byzantine sources, not just the text itself, but also the selection of the discussed topics and their arrangements are important regarding the history and evaluation of these regimens.

1.2.2. Ibn Sīnā: Tadbīr manzil al-ʻaskar

This treatise, ‘Regimen of military camps’, survives in three known manuscripts. It is available in a printed edition as well [bibliographical details: Shams al-Dīn, ‘Abd al-Amīr, al-Madhhab al-tarbawi ‘inda Ibn Sīnā, Min khilāl falsafatihi al-ʻamalīyya, Beirut: al-Sharika al-ʻĀlamiyya li-l-Kitāb, 1988; p. 280]. Although the treatise is not written for travellers in general but

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78 On his life, see Sourdel, Ibn Makhlad.
79 The manuscripts used for the edition are described in Qustā ibn Lūqā, Qustā ibn Lūqā’s medical regime, 3–5. For other manuscripts of the work, see GAS III/271.
80 For a survey and evaluation of the chapters’ contents, see Qustā ibn Lūqā, Qustā ibn Lūqā’s medical regime, 7–12.
81 Qustā ibn Lūqā, Qustā ibn Lūqā’s medical regime, 1.
82 Gutas, Avicenna, 518 (GMed 12).
rather with the preservation of the health of the military in mind, it is nevertheless included in this study; see section 2.1.13. Regimen for armies.

1.2.3. Ibn Sinā: Risāla fi tadbīr al-musāfirīn

The treatise ‘Regimen for travellers’ is extant in six known manuscripts. It is available in edited form in the same volume as the previously mentioned treatise of Ibn Sinā [pp. 285–294]. Even though Gutas listed the treatise amongst the authentic works of Ibn Sinā, he notes that the attribution is doubtful.83

1.2.4. Ibn al-Amshāṭi (d. 902/1496): al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār

Muẓaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s treatise, al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār (‘Unveiling of the wisdoms of the books’) belongs in this category, being another treatise dedicated solely to the regimen of travellers. As the edition and analysis of this work is one of the focal points of this dissertation, the author and the work are scrutinised later. Therefore, I omit a short introduction thereof here.

1.2.5. Al-Tūnisī (d. after 899/1493): Kitāb al-ṭibb fi tadbīr al-musāfirīn wa- maraq al-ṭā‘īn

Not much is known about ‘Abd al-Qāhir ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Tūnisī. He lived in the 15th century and finished the writing of a copy of his Kitāb al-ṭibb fi tadbīr al-musāfirīn wa-marāq al-ṭā‘īn (‘The book of medicine on the regimen of travellers and the disease of plague’) on 17 Muḥarram 899 / 28 October 1493.84 He dedicated this work to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II,85 and its autograph copy was present in the Ottoman Palace Library according to its 1502–1504 catalogue,86 along with another one of his works, an encyclopaedia, Wasīlat ʿazīz qawm qad dhalla (‘Book of measures for the ruler of a nation humbled’).87 This work contains a short chapter on

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83 Gutas, Avicenna, 518 (GMed 13).
84 MS Ayasofya, 4814-004, f.10r. The folio numbers given for this manuscript are the Western Arabic numerals on the rectos above the upper left corner of the textblocks added by pencil.
85 MS Ayasofya, 4814-004, f. 56r.
87 MS Keleti Gyűjtemény, Török F. 59, p. 166 [this folio lacks Eastern Arabic numeration]. Csorba, Detailed list, no. 237. It is most likely MS Ayasofya, 3762. Cf. Varlîk, Books on medicine, 549 (no. 238).
the regimen for travellers.88 As for al-Tūnisī’s Kitāb al-ṭibb fī tadbir al-musāfirīn wa-maraḍ al-ṭā‘ūn, he dedicated most of it to the regimen for travellers (approximately 30 out of 47 folios).

As this work is available only in manuscript form, which is notably a holograph and unicum to the best of our knowledge, it is not analysed in this dissertation in detail. However, its future edition and analysis would not only contribute additional information on the genre of travel regimens, but, together with Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s work, it would also provide an opportunity to compare the medical traditions of the same period in two different regions through the lens of travel regimens.

1.3. Other medical texts without known manuscripts

1.3.1. Ibn Māhān Ya‘qūb al-Sīrāfi: Kitāb al-safar wa-al-ḥādar fī al-ṭibb

There is not much we know about Ibn Māhān. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a’s account of him in the chapter of early Abbasid physicians is rather short. As translated in the new edition of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a’s ‘Uyūn anbāʾ: ‘Ibn Māhān was known as Ya‘qūb al-Sīrāfī. He is the author of a work entitled The Book of Medicine for Travelling and Residing (K. al-safar wa-l-ḥādar fī l-ṭibb).89 The translators note that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’a’s source for this biography is Ibn al-Nadīm’s Fiḥrist. The only additional information there is that the book, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, is ‘fine’ (laṭīf);90 the same adjective found its way into Ibn al-Qīṭī’s account of Ibn Māhān as well.91

Unfortunately, there is not much we can gather from these brief accounts regarding the content of his work. Therefore, it might be that the book is more of a general, theoretical work, and it might or might not contain sections on practical aspects of medicine (possibly regarding travel regimens as well). On this issue, see section 2.2.1. A brief remark: cases of misleading titles.

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88 MS Ayasofya, 3762, ff.51r–52r.
89 LHOM, 8.38.
90 Ibn al-Nadīm, Fiḥrist, II/373.
91 Ibn al-Qīṭī, Tārīkh al-ḥukamā‘, 378.
1.3.2. Ibn Mandawayh (d. 410/1019): Risāla ilā Abī al-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Baḥr fī tadbīr al-musāfīr

Abū ‘Ali Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mandawayh was a renowned physician born in Iṣfahān, who served several rulers and dignitaries. Besides poetry, he composed numerous works on medicine. Most of these are a collection of 40 epistles he addressed to fellow physicians. One of them is the Risāla ilā Abī al-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Baḥr fī tadbīr al-musāfīr (‘Epistle to Abū al-Qāsim Ahmad ibn ‘Ali ibn Bahr on the regimen of the traveller’). Here, the title implies a travel regimen without a doubt. Unfortunately, while at least 18 of Ibn Mandawayh’s medical works have extant manuscript copies, this epistle is not one of them. Nevertheless, it is a fascinating piece of information, since this is the only work in this list dedicated solely to travel regimens which was written for another physician instead of being dedicated to a patron who is a layman.

1.4. Excursus: non-medical texts as sources

As discussed in the introduction, the source material for this dissertation reflects the medical theory as it pertains to the topic under scrutiny, namely travel regimens. To gather information on various aspects of the social history of travel regimens, it would be necessary to consult other types of sources. With the few examples given in this sub-chapter, I aim to show that to do so is an undertaking not possible in the confines of a single dissertation considering the current state of research; nevertheless, it would be a worthwhile endeavour for researchers of different backgrounds to pose questions related to the practice of travel medicine and answer them based on additional non-medical sources.

Such a source could be any specimen of the historical tradition. Historical writings contain records, descriptions, or mentions of epidemic diseases or specific ailments, injuries, or medical conditions of prominent people but, naturally, only to the degree of the importance of this information to the actual works; besides these, they also record many instances of groups of people travelling. Therefore, it is not only plausible but likely that bits of information relating to travel medicine are also buried in this tradition, even if as of now we are not able to pinpoint and gather these. To do so would require a meticulous reading of thousands of pages which is

92 For his biography and list of his works, see LHOM, 11.16.
93 See GAS III/328–329.
obviously not a possibility for any single researcher; additionally, it is most likely not a viable project, considering the estimable ratio of manual work to the number of findings. However, if more and more reliable editions of historical writings become available in a searchable format and the digital tools and methods for managing and searching such a vast database are available, then attempts to gather data on practical details of travel medicine as reflected in historical writings would surely prove to be fruitful.

A well-known example of a non-medical source on medicine of the Crusader period is Usāma ibn Munqidh’s (d. 584/1188) Kitāb al-iʿtibār, ‘Book of instruction by example’, ⁹⁴ often referred to as his ‘Memoirs’. The anecdotes of the famous adīb and warrior on Frankish medicine are often cited and, as it is pointed out, are “better seen as evidence of contemporary perceptions and attitudes”. ⁹⁵ Not only for insights into issues of the social history of medicine in general but also of travel medicine specifically a systematic analysis of a great number other autobiographies, accounts, memoirs, travelogues, and additional adab works would very likely produce data worthy of further research.

Additionally, there is at least one example of an adab work where we find medical advice for the traveller. This exact case is especially intriguing, since the medical content is written similarly to the medical texts on tadbīr al-musāfirīn; it remains a technical text embedded into an adab work. While it is outside the boundaries of this dissertation to pose the question why and how this happened, hopefully it will be investigated in future research. The work in question is al-Thaʿālibī’s (d. 429/1039) Zād safar al-mulūk and, due to the above reason, is worth a more detailed discussion than the other non-medical sources proposed in this sub-chapter.

Abū Manṣūr ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Thaʿālibī, known as an adīb well-versed in both poetry and prose, was born in Nīshāpūr in 353/961. Not much is known about his family background or education. However, due to the political milieu of his time, he travelled extensively in the eastern part of the Islamic world. As a result, he not only acquired knowledge and gathered materials for his works, but also met some of the prominent scholars of his time. When the khwārazmshāh Abū l-ʿAbbās Maʿmūn ibn Maʿmūn (399–407/1009–1017?) ⁹⁶ invited him to his court, the acquaintances he made there likely included Ibn Sīnā, as the philosopher

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⁹⁴ On the Banū Munqidh, the life of Usāma, and his Kitāb al-iʿtibār, see Humphreys, Munquidh.
⁹⁶ Bosworth, Khwārazm-shāhs, 1066.
was present at the khwārazmshāh’s court along with some other outstanding scholars. Al-Tha‘ālibī spent his last years in Nīshāpūr, where he died in 429/1039. As for his literary output, he was a prolific writer mostly known as an anthologist and literary historian.

His Zād safar al-mulūk fī al-safar ma-madḥihi wa-dhammīhi wa-maḥāsin al-akhlaq fīhi (‘Provision of the rulers’ journey during travel, its praise, dispraise, and the proper conduct during it’), a “collection of ornate prose and of fragments of poems on travel”, contains many chapters on medical questions as well as a chapter on fiqh, discussing legal issues related to travel. While these topics, being as they are uncharacteristic of al-Tha‘ālibī, as well as the fact that this title is not mentioned in his bibliographies or his other writings raise questions about the authenticity of the work, considerable internal evidence attests to its attribution.


The Zād safar al-mulūk consists of an introduction (muqaddima), 50 chapters, and an epilogue (khātima). Chapters 20–31 are the ones containing medical advice, meaning roughly 25% of the whole work. The topics covered in these chapters are the regimen of travellers in general, preventing the harms of waters, the heat, the samūm, and thirst, the regimen for travelling in cold and snow, curing stiffness due to cold, preserving the limbs, curing snow blindness, curing various kinds of fatigue, choosing campsites for the military, and the regimen for those travelling on the sea (pp. 50–75). As can be seen, this covers the issues discussed in encyclopaedias quite neatly. The inclusion of these chapters in the book is all the more impressive since the medical advice contained in them is phrased identically to that found in proper medical works and it is not some kind of elevated prose in artistic style. Also, they do not include anecdotes which could

97 On the problematic nature of his bibliographies and a list of his authentic, doubtful, and rejected works, see Orfalī, The works of Abū Manṣūr al-Tha‘ālibī.
100 On these, see Orfalī, The works of Abū Manṣūr al-Tha‘ālibī, 307–308; al-Tha‘ālibī, Zād safar al-mulūk, ḍād–ghayn.
101 For its description, see al-Tha‘ālibī, Zād safar al-mulūk, nūn–sīn.
provide some value of entertainment and secure a place for these parts in the work. The reason for this is doubtless the intention of the author to “combine in this book of his the transmitted adab material and scientific advice that turns his book into a guide fit to be carried on journeys”.\textsuperscript{102} As for the sources of this material, the editors of the work note that Abū Bakr al-Rāzī is the only source mentioned explicitly by al-Thaʿālibī and that Ibn Sinā’s Qānūn is a likely source since they most probably met and knew each other,\textsuperscript{103} as they were at the khwārazmshāh Abū al-ʿAbbās Maʿmūn ibn Maʿmūn’s court at the same time.

Hopefully, this short excursus is adequate as a glimpse into the possibility of broadening the research and illustrates that it is not just feasible but also desirable to move from a study of medical theory of tadbīr al-musāfirīn to a study of aspects of its social history, once the scrutiny of medical theory, the first steps of which is the aim of this dissertation, is adequately accomplished.

\textsuperscript{102} Al-Thaʿālibī, Zād safar al-mulūk, khāʾ (editors’ introduction); see also pages 1–4 (author’s introduction).
\textsuperscript{103} Al-Thaʿālibī, Zād safar al-mulūk, dhal.
2. **The Arabic Tradition of *Tadbīr al-Musāfirīn***

In this chapter, I analyse the sources introduced in chapter 1. Arabic medical texts on *tadbīr al-musāfirīn*. I split my analysis into two distinct sections.

Sub-chapter 2.1. Analysing the topics of travel regimens takes under scrutiny the content and relationship of the source texts in order to study the medical tradition of *tadbīr al-musāfirīn* as a whole. To better navigate the source material and be able to make more specific observations, this discussion is focused on the topics which are included in travel regimens for reasons explained at the beginning of this sub-chapter. At the end of the sub-chapter, I offer some concluding remarks to present a more comprehensive picture of the entirety of this medical tradition and bring attention to various phenomena occurring throughout the topics discussed.

Sub-chapter 2.2. Excursus: probing the sources contains additional observations based on the source material which are not closely related to medical theory but are nevertheless of importance when trying to put the results of the first sub-chapter into context.

### 2.1. Analysing the Medical Content of Travel Regimens

In the introduction to his *Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj*, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā presents a survey of the topics which general travel regimens and travel regimens written for pilgrims should include. This list is the only one of its kind in all the extant travel regimens mentioned in the previous chapter. Therefore, I quote this part in its English translation by Bos below:

"I will now give you a description of the regimen which must be applied during journeys in general and of the needs of the body during this journey in particular. What one must know about the regimen of the body during journeys in general can be classified according to four points:

1. Knowledge of the regimen in regard to resting, eating, drinking, sleeping and sexual intercourse.
2. Knowledge of the different kinds of fatigue and their cure.
3. Knowledge of the diseases which are caused by the blowing of the different winds and their treatment.
4. Knowledge of the prophylaxis against vermin and of the treatment of the injuries caused by them.

These are the things of which practical knowledge is necessary during journeys in general. The pilgrimage to Mecca, however, is, apart from the four points mentioned, distinguished, by four other points:
1. Knowledge of the different waters and of the improvement (of the quality) of contaminated water.

2. (Knowledge of) the expedients with which one can quench one's thirst in the case of lack or paucity of water.

3. Knowledge of the prophylaxis against the matter from which the *dracunculus medinensis* and hemorrhoids arise.

4. (Knowledge of) the prophylaxis against snakes and of the treatment of the injuries caused by them.\(^{104}\)

Comparing this division to the topics discussed by all the other travel regimens shows that the rest of the physicians do not agree with Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's list. As the rest of the travel regimens are general and not specific, they fall in the first category. They generally do not mention the *dracunculus medinensis*, and fatigue, winds (more precisely solely the *samūm*), and vermin are discussed only occasionally. However, water and thirst are always included in the guides, with the single exception of al-Majūsī who does not write about waters. Therefore, even if later physicians used Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's material when compiling their own guides, they disregarded Qusṭā's division.

In this analysis, I follow the topics that are discussed in the travel regimens. Some of them are general in the sense that they are almost always included in the regimens, while some are more particular, included in only half of the regimens or less. Additionally, there are some more miscellaneous and unique topics discussed by certain authors only. When referring to the encyclopaedias in enumerating these topics, I mean all the texts included in sub-chapter 1.1. Chapters in medical encyclopaedias.

The more general topics are the following. Preparation (what to do before embarking on a journey) and some additional general advice for the traveller are discussed in all the encyclopaedic travel regimens, except for al-Ṭabarī. Regimens for travelling in cold weather or wintertime and in hot weather or summertime are staple elements of travel guides. These are chiefly based on instructions and recommendations regarding some of the six non-naturals (air, food and drinks, retention and excretion, sleeping and wakefulness, movement and rest, and mental movements). Protection of the limbs against the effects of the cold is also more of a general topic (al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb are the ones excluding this), similarly to thirst,

\(^{104}\) Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's medical regime*, 19 (Arabic text: 18, 21).
discussed either in its own chapter or section, included in the regimen for summertime travel, or more broadly in the form of general advice. Waters and improving their quality are another general topic included in all encyclopaedic regimens, except for al-Majūsī’s guide. The regimen of seafarers is the same, as it is excluded only by al-Ṭabarī. Similarly, fatigue is discussed in more or less detail by all except for al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Sinā who refers his readers to a separate chapter on fatigue. The last of the general topics is hunger, treated in more detail by two encyclopaedias but also included in three other encyclopaedic guides, meaning that it is omitted only by two authors (al-Ṭabarī and al-Majūsī).

The more particular topics are the following. Protecting the eyes chiefly against the whiteness of the snow is discussed by al-Rāzī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb and mentioned to a lesser degree by al-Majūsī and Ḥājjī Bāshā. Preserving the complexion and safeguarding the skin against the cold has a similar rate of inclusion, as this issue is examined by al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā and to some extent by al-Majūsī. Prophylaxis against the samūm and treating its effects are included in the regimens of al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā, and Ḥājjī Bāshā. The last of the particular topics is the regimen for armies. It is included in al-Ṭabarī’s and al-Rāzī’s guide, and some elements of it found their way into Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s regimen as well. In addition to these, there is Ibn Sinā’s shorter essay on the regimen of armies.

The more miscellaneous and unique topics are taking care not to swallow leeches or vermin when drinking mentioned by al-Ṭabarī and al-Rāzī, bruising of the skin and injuries due to falling off the mount discussed by al-Rāzī, or the chapter on various signs indicating specific diseases included in Ibn Sinā’s regimen in his Qānūn.

In the following sections of this sub-chapter, I group the topics regardless of their generality or particularity. I start with preparation, then move on to travelling in warm weather and connecting topics (thirst and samūm), cold weather and related topics (preserving and treating the limbs, the eyes, and the complexion), the waters and their improvement, hunger, fatigue, and the regimen for sea travel. The instructions for armies and unique topics come at the end of this sub-chapter.
2.1.1. Preparation and general advice

Preparing oneself for the journey is one of the general topics, included in all the encyclopaedic travel regimens except for al-Ṭabari’s guide and also omitted by Qustā ibn Lūqā. While it would make sense to begin travel regimens with instructions on how to prepare for a journey, this is not always the case. Only half of the authors start their regimens with the necessary preparations, namely al-Majūsī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Ḥājjī Bāshā. In al-Rāzī’s guide, travelling in hot weather and cold weather with all the connected topics come before preparation. In Ibn Sinā’s Qānūn, preparation is included in his travel guide’s second chapter containing general advice regarding health-related issues of travelling, and even in this section preparation does not come first. Lastly, Ibn al-Quff discusses preparation after writing about the different waters and their improvement.

There are three essential components of preparation. The first of these is purification of the body. The physicians recommend two methods for this, purgation (ishāl) and bloodletting (faṣd). Al-Rāzī, al-Majūsī, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb deem this especially important if the traveller’s last purification was a long time ago; the wording of this remark is quite similar in all three cases (lā siyyamā in kāna baʾīd al-ʿahd bi-himā, wa-kāna ʿahdubu bi-ḥi baʾīdan, lā siyyamā in kāna ʿahduhu bi-dḥālika baʾīdan, respectively). Al-Rāzī and al-Majūsī provide additional overall explanation to underline the importance of purging, which is getting rid of excess and bad humours that can cause fevers, ulcers, swellings, pustules, abscesses, and the like. Ibn al-Khaṭīb mentions fevers only. Al-Majūsī recommends purgative medicaments that one is accustomed to taking, while Ḥājjī Bāshā advises bloodletting first, then taking purging medicaments if the traveller’s body is full of excess humours. Interestingly, Ibn Sinā remains completely silent about the issue of purification.

The second main component of preparation is gradually getting accustomed to the anticipated circumstances of the journey. The physicians give general examples, such as eating, sleeping, sleeplessness, moving, thirst, hunger, abstinence, and so on. While the guides of Ibn al-Quff, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Ḥājjī Bāshā present the above general statement and a list of examples, the earlier encyclopaedic guides provide slightly more details. For example, al-Majūsī explains

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106 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 292.
107 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿa, II/81.
108 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Wusūl, 133.
the importance of getting accustomed to sleeplessness: one might need to travel during the night-time, in which case the traveller is better equipped to endure this. Al-Rāzī and al-Majūsī advise changing the mealtimes in accordance with that expected during the journey, while al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā suggest eating the kinds of foodstuffs that will be available on the road even before the journey.

The third major part of preparation is exercise. All physicians writing about preparation recommend either a gradually increased amount of exercise prior to the journey, or to more specifically walk or ride more and more each day depending on the mode of travel. While this point falls into the previous category, it nevertheless draws more attention and is discussed somewhat separately in the regimens.

A unique detail can be found in al-Rāzī’s section on preparation: he recommends the traveller to stockpile the medicaments he is accustomed to for his journey. This advice is not present in any other travel regimen; although, as mentioned before, there is precedent for a somewhat similar approach, namely al-Majūsī recommending purging medicaments one is accustomed to.

Besides preparation, the physicians also give more general advice. It is generally recommended not to travel, move, or hurry on a full stomach as it would lead to diseases and swellings, only eat once resting, eat foodstuffs with high nutritional values but of smaller quantities, and some additional nutritional advice more connected to the topic of hunger and therefore discussed in section 2.1.10. Hunger and nutrition. Al-Majūsī offers some general advice for those who will travel on foot: he instructs to wrap the muscles of the traveller’s thighs with wraps and bandages, tighten the traveller’s trunk with stays (mishadd) to strengthen the back for movement, and to bring a staff or stick (ʿukkāza) to lean on it occasionally as it eases fatigue. These advice are also present in Ibn al-Quff’s guide, the difference between them being that Ibn al-Quff simply writes to tighten the thighs and wrap the trunk, omitting the tools al-Majūsī mentions (wraps, bandages, stays).

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110 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 293; Hájji Bāshā, Sīḥfāʾ al-aqsām, 324.
113 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿa, II/81.
114 Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharad, 169.
2.1.2. Travelling in hot weather

The regimen for travelling in hot weather is one of the staple topics of travel guides. While there is a definable core content in the parts of travel regimens discussing this topic, there are noticeable differences between the authors.

The more general advice for travelling in hot weather is focused on balancing eating and moving, avoiding thirst, and protecting the body from the sun and the heat. Regarding the first, the general consensus is to avoid travelling on a full or an empty stomach. It is al-Rāzī who explains the underlying reasons to his reader: when the stomach is full of food or drinks, moving shakes up the stomach’s contents and this leads to indigestion. Instead of moving with an empty stomach, it is better to eat a small amount of cold and thirst-quenching food or soup and digest for a while before moving out. According to al-Rāzī, travelling on an empty stomach is more harmful for exhausted bodies or those with diseases but less harmful for chubby ones; in some cases of the latter, it can even be beneficial. To avoid thirst, consuming cold or cooling foodstuffs and avoiding thirst-inducing foodstuffs (such as salty, spicy, or sweet food) is recommended; however, this will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. The last of the general advice is protecting the body from the sun and the heat. The main way to do so is dressing up properly, taking special care when covering the head and the chest. Al-Majūsī also adds that properly covering the head and the face prevent the traveller to inhale much hot air; this statement is copied by Ḥājjī Bāshā. Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Quff, and Ḥājjī Bāshā recommend coating the chest or other parts of the body with certain oils or mucous materials besides covering the body with garments.

There is some additional advice usually included in most of the guides. These are to travel during the night and rest during the daytime (al-Majūsī, Ibn al-Quff, Ḥājjī Bāshā) and to consume certain cooling, moistening, and thirst-quenching foodstuffs and drinks before journeying in hot weather (a-Majūsī, Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Quff). The most detailed instructions for resting are provided by al-Ṭabarānī and al-Rāzī who recommend washing oneself with cold or lukewarm water, anointing the body with specific oils, eating cooling and moistening food, sleeping in an airy,

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ventilated space, and avoiding intercourse.\textsuperscript{116} In contrast, Ibn al-Quff advises to wash the limbs with diluted water and then drink some diluted white wine.\textsuperscript{117}

Al-Majūsī gives a list of typical illnesses caused by travelling in hot weather: headache, hectic fever (\textit{hummā al-diqq}), dryness and withering of the body, and other hot and dry illnesses. He states that these are more likely to occur in travellers of hot and dry temperaments and thin bodies.\textsuperscript{118} Al-Majūsī’s list of diseases is faithfully reproduced by Ḥājjī Bāshā,\textsuperscript{119} making it apparent that the latter relied on al-Majūsī’s text greatly when compiling this part.

Some additional issues to point out are the following. It is only al-Rāzī who gives advice on treating headache and fever, not just on how to prevent these. Ibn Sīnā is the only one mentioning that swimming in cold water suddenly causes many problems so the traveller should wait patiently and enter the cold water gradually. Ibn al-Khaṭīb provides general advice for travelling in hot weather, however, his text is worded and arranged in a greatly different manner than all the other texts.

2.1.3. Preventing and quenching thirst

Thirst is chiefly discussed as a section of the regimen for travelling in hot weather. The exceptions are al-Rāzī with a separate sub-section on thirst and to a smaller extent al-Majūsī and Ḥājjī Bāshā who write about thirst in more length. Al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Quff and Ibn al-Khaṭīb are more succinct regarding thirst.\textsuperscript{120} In the case of Ibn Sīnā, this is due to the fact that he refers his reader to a separate chapter on thirst and provides only the most important information in his travel regimen.

The general advice is to not eat much and avoid eating things that cause thirst, such as salty, spicy, or sweet foodstuffs and rather consume meals that have moistening and cooling properties, such as dishes prepared with vinegar, sour grapes, and \textit{dūgh}, buttermilk. These instructions are included in all of the guides and sometimes with examples of specific dishes, except for al-Ṭabarī who only writes that in case of thirst, the traveller should wash his face and legs and then drink


\textsuperscript{117} Ibn al-Quff, \textit{Jāmiʿ al-gharad}, 170.

\textsuperscript{118} Al-Majūsī, \textit{Kāmil al-ṣināʿa}, II/81.

\textsuperscript{119} Ḥājjī Bāshā, \textit{Sihfāʾ al-aqsām}, 325.

sip by sip. Another general advice is to not speak much and avoid opening the mouth, noted by al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā, and Ibn al-Quff. Al-Rāzī advises not to hurry as hurrying leads to frequent and heavy breathing, resulting in thirst. Moreover, Ibn al-Quff and Ḥājjī Bāshā mention dūgh cooled with ice as a drink useful for preventing thirst.

Some authors recommend drinking specific drinks before travelling to prevent getting thirsty. Al-Majūsī recommends mucilage of psyllium seeds and juice of purslane seeds with some sour pomegranate juice, almond oil, or pumpkin gourd oil. Ibn al-Quff recommends barley sawīq. Ḥājjī Bāshā relies here on al-Majūsī again, listing the same materials as al-Majūsī, except that instead of juice of purslane he writes milk of purslane seeds. Al-Rāzī gives the longest list of drinks and foodstuffs to consume before travelling to ward off thirst.

A widely recommended method of quenching thirst is to put things into one’s mouth; either a specific pill for which al-Majūsī, Ibn al-Quff, and Ḥājjī Bāshā all provide a recipe or alternative things if the pill is not available or cannot be prepared. The recipe is obviously the same in all three cases. Ḥājjī Bāshā again likely copied it directly from al-Majūsī, as their recipe is five dirhams of gourd pumpkin seed kernel, serpent melon kernel, cucumber kernel, and purslane seed, two dirhams of corn-starch, tragacanth, and chalk, all pulverised together neatly, then kneaded with mucilage of psyllium seeds and formed into pills. Ibn al-Quff mentions serpent melon seed kernels, cucumber seeds, and purslane seeds from the first group of materials but adds white poppy, and for the second group of materials he lists corn-starch and chalk and adds sugar. He does not provide measurements or preparation methods. Alternatives for the pill are

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122 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 284.
123 Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharāḍ, 170; Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sīḥfāʾ al-aqsām, 326.
124 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿa, II/82.
125 Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharāḍ, 170.
126 Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sīḥfāʾ al-aqsām, 325.
127 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 284–286.
129 The edition of Ḥājjī Bāshā has qaṭān instead of qaṭūnā which is likely a typo or mistake: Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sīḥfāʾ al-aqsām, 325.
130 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿa, II/82.
131 Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharāḍ, 170.
quince (al-Majūsī, Ḥājjī Bāshā), a lead or dirham coin (al-Majūsī), a similarly shaped thing prepared from tragacanth and gum Arabic (Ḥājjī Bāshā), or generally a piece of silver, crystal, pearl (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ḥājjī Bāshā), or any smooth pebble (Ibn al-Khaṭīb). In addition, Ḥājjī Bāshā recommends 3 dirhams of purslane put into vinegar if nothing else is available. It is al-Rāzī once more who provides the longest list of such alternatives, even if in his case, we do not find the recipe for the above-mentioned thirst-quenching pill. Instead, he provides the recipe for a pill which, in addition to its usefulness against thirst also alleviates fever. It is one part cucumber seeds and pumpkin gourd seeds each, half part lettuce seeds and purslane seeds each, and quarter part pure liquorice rob pulverised finely, then kneaded with juice of purslane or mucilage of psyllium seeds, shaped into small pills like lupin beans.  

In addition to the recipe, al-Rāzī also provides instructions regarding dosage for thirst-quenching and for fevers both, noting that the pill is also useful against burning urine in his experience.

The last interesting advice is to drink water with vinegar if water is scarce, as this is especially good for quenching thirst. While this practice is mentioned only by Ibn Sinā and Ḥājjī Bāshā, they either used the same source or Ḥājjī Bāshā copied from Ibn Sinā as the two sections are almost exactly the same: wa-idhā shariba al-māʾ bi-al-khall kāna al-qalīl minhu kāfiyan fī taskīn al-ʿaṭash ḥaythu lā yūjudu māʾ kathīr is how Ibn Sinā phrases his advice, compared to which Ḥājjī Bāshā only changes minhu to min al-māʾ.

2.1.4. The samūm

Qustā ibn Lūqā deems discussion of the various winds, their effects and curing of their harms, a necessary element of all health guides. Accordingly, he dedicates chapter 4 of his travel regimen written for the pilgrims to this topic, advising to cover the head, ears, nose, and mouth with a turban and if the ears are weak to plug them with some cotton soaked in oils. Qustā ibn Lūqā recommends this against hot and cold winds alike and against much sand. Without any specification of various types of winds, he recommends warm remedies against the cold winds and cold remedies against the warm winds and discusses some of the illnesses caused by the

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133 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 285.
134 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/322
135 Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sihfāʾ al-aqsām, 325.
136 Qustā ibn Lūqā, Qustā ibn Lūqā’s medical regime, 39, 41 (Arabic text: 38, 40).
winds separately. The discussion of the effects of winds is heavily influenced by Hippocrates and Galen, as shown by Bos.\(^\text{137}\) Despite this, only three of the travel regimens (those of al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā, and Ḥājjī Bāshā)\(^\text{138}\) analysed in this dissertation include anything regarding winds, more specifically on the *samūm* only without any reference to other kinds of winds.

The *samūm* is “a hot wind of the desert accompanied by whirlwinds of dust and sand [...] especially characteristic of the Sahara, in Egypt, in Arabia and in Mesopotamia”. In the *ḥadīth* literature we find that Hell’s taking breath in summer is the *samūm* and in the Quran (15:27) that the *jinn* were created from the fire of the *samūm*.\(^\text{139}\) In a medical sense, the dangers of the *samūm* lie in the fact that it is, as an extremely hot and dry wind, considered to have strong warming and drying qualities besides the addition of dust and sand it carries. This means that when travelling in the *samūm* is unavoidable, the recommended precautions (and treatment for the afflictions it causes as well) are aimed at countering the *samūm*’s warming and drying properties with cooling and moistening drinks and foodstuffs besides some physical protection to prevent the heat and sand from getting to and into the body.

Al-Rāzī dedicates a subsection of his travel regimen to the *samūm* that is approximately half the length of his subsections on travelling in hot weather or that on thirst. Most of al-Rāzī’s subsection on the *samūm* focuses on prevention. He recommends eating balanced foodstuffs prepared with fats and not drinking a lot after eating, covering one’s face with a turban, secluding oneself from the direction of the wind’s blowing if possible, and rinsing the mouth with water hourly and drinking it only when it is cold. A lot of al-Rāzī’s advice pertains to preparing before journeying in the *samūm*, such as coating the chest and stomach with mucilage of psyllium seeds and juice of purslane with pumpkin gourd seed oil and egg whites, sucking on purslane as well as eating lots of dishes prepared with it and cooked with *rāʾib* (a kind of yoghurt) or whey and butter, drinking pumpkin gourd oil, and eating chopped up onions soaked in *rāʾib* for a night and then drinking the *rāʾib* as this allows the traveller to only rinse with water, and when he drinks water he is able to drink only a little and eat only a minimal amount of food with cooling properties as to avoid dangerous thirst. While it is possible to heed this advice once on the journey, as all the materials recommended have cooling and moistening properties, al-Rāzī phrase these more as

\(^{137}\) Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, *Qusṭā ibn Lūqā’s medical regime*, 8, 96–97 n.65.


\(^{139}\) Wensinck, *Samūm*, 1056.
things to do prior to starting travel in the *samūm*. If the damage caused by the *samūm* grows stronger then al-Rāzī advises hiding one's head in his garments and seeking shelter from the wind hourly, sniffing sweet pumpkin gourd oil and almond oil.

In Ibn Sinā’s travel guide, the discussion of the *samūm* is the second half of chapter 3 which is on travelling in hot weather. This section also contains preventative advice and instructions for treatment but, unlike in the case of al-Rāzī, the treatments are discussed in greater length. Ibn Sinā’s preventive advice is wrapping the nostrils and mouth with a turban and veil and abstaining from demanding physical activity in the meantime, eating onions in *dūgh* before the journey and also drinking the said *dūgh*, sniffing rose oil and pumpkin gourd seed oil as well as drinking pumpkin gourd oil. Ibn Sinā gives some detailed information regarding the onions in *dūgh*: the onions are to be finely chopped before they are put into the *dūgh*, then it should soak there for a night or they are to be left in there to be preserved like a jam. Interestingly, coating the chest and belly is not mentioned here. For treating the afflictions of the *samūm*, Ibn Sinā recommends pouring cold water on the limbs and also washing the face with cold water, preparing one’s meal from cooling herbs, putting cooling oils and saps on one’s head such as rose oil and sap of houseleek tree, then washing oneself and avoiding intercourse. Curiously, Ibn Sinā recommends salty fish once the traveller’s body calms down, despite the fact that salty foods, especially fish, are commonly advised against in general due to its thirst-inducing drying qualities. Additionally, Ibn Sinā recommends mixed wine, milk if the traveller does not have fever, and sour *dūgh* if the traveller has fever but not a putrid one. Ibn Sinā’s last advice is regarding drinking: if the traveller gets thirsty while sleeping in recovery, he is to rinse his mouth only as drinking a lot leads to immediate death. If drinking is unavoidable, it should be sip by sip until the traveller’s body calms down so his thirst can be quenched. The best method is to drink water mixed with rose oil first and only then pure water.

Ḥājjī Bāshā’s discussion of the *samūm* also consists of preventive measures and advice on treatment. He recommends covering the nose and mouth and enduring this, eating chopped onion which was soaked in buttermilk (he uses the word *mukhūḍ* instead of *dūgh*) for a day and a night as well as drinking the buttermilk used for this, sniffing cooling and moistening oils (without providing any examples), and drinking pumpkin gourd oil prior to the journey. For treatment, Ḥājjī Bāshā advises pouring cold water on the body and legs, putting rose oil and rose
water on the head, then sitting in cold water, and eating dishes prepared with lettuce, cucumbers, purslane and the like (all are moistening and cooling) thereafter, rinsing with cold water and drinking only after that, as well as sleeping after consuming buttermilk if the traveller is not feverish. For the issues regarding travelling in hot weather, Ḥājjī Bāshā was shown to consistently work from al-Majūsī’s travel regimen. As al-Majūsī does not write about the samūm, here, Ḥājjī Bāshā had to look for another source which was in this case Ibn Sinā’s section on the samūm, which is especially apparent when inspecting the methods of treatments more closely.

2.1.5. Travelling in cold weather

The regimen for travelling in cold weather is the other staple topic of travel guides, as all the encyclopaedic guides include a subchapter or section dedicated to this matter. The issues discussed regarding travelling in the cold are what to eat and drink before and during the journey, how to protect one’s body from the cold, and what to do once resting, besides some general advice.

The more general points mentioned by al-Majūsī, Ibn al-Quff, and Ḥājjī Bāshā are to travel during the daytime and rest during the nighttime. It is worth pointing out that these are the same authors that recommended the opposite for travelling in hot weather. Ibn al-Quff even notes that walking is a more beneficial way of travelling in the cold than riding. While he does not explain the otherwise obvious reason for this, al-Majūsī does write that walking warms the legs; this is his reason for suggesting wrapping the legs even more if one is riding. Another general point of the physicians is to not travel on an empty stomach. Al-Rāzī is the most specific regarding this when he writes that one should eat until full and drink a sufficient amount of wine as well and then move only to a degree that keeps the consumed foodstuffs in one’s stomach warm while any outbursts or flare-ups that might be caused by too excessive movement on a full stomach are avoided. This can be found in two more regimens. Ibn Sinā also presents this same
advice in a different way but in the case of Ḥājjī Bāshā, it is an obvious copying of al-Rāzī’s material.\(^{145}\)

The recommended foodstuffs are concurrent for the most part. Most of the advice regarding dishes focuses on listing the ingredients to include that have strong warming properties. These are garlic, onion (especially raw onion), almonds, butter (made from milk of cattle according to Ḥājjī Bāshā), assafetida, pepper, ginger, mustard (listed only by Ibn al-Khaṭīb), leek (karrāth, listed by al-Rāzī only), and isfīdābāj.\(^{146}\) Al-Rāzī praises garlic especially, for it has such strong warming properties that it ignites the innate heat until it spreads into the whole body and forms a surplus even in the limbs.\(^{147}\) Ibn Sinā says that garlic is especially useful when the brain and mental faculties are affected by the cold.\(^{148}\) Assafetida is recommended by al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā: they advise mixing a dirham of it into wine. Ḥājjī Bāshā also gives this advice but it seems to be a copy of Ibn Sinā’s words.\(^{149}\) Ibn al-Quff is the only one who list specific types of meats to use, namely game meat, such as meat of gazelle, rabbit, and duck, or if the traveller finds that these do not agree with him, then meat of sheep or young goats are preferable with the above-mentioned warming herbs.\(^{150}\)

Moving on to drinks, the consensus is to consume strong, mostly unmixed, and not sour wine. Al-Rāzī writes that it is possible to mix the wine with some lukewarm water to warm it up a little before consuming it.\(^{151}\) It is also generally recommended to mix pepper and ginger into the wine as to add additional warming properties to it via the herbs.

The advice on how to protect the body from the cold from the outside is also similar in nature in all the encyclopaedic regimens; nonetheless, some differences between the texts are easy to discern and enable grouping of the sources. Ibn Sinā is the most succinct on this issue, writing that the pores should be closed, and the cold is to be prevented from entering the nose and

\(^{145}\) Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/323–324; Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sihfāʾ al-aqsām, 327.

\(^{146}\) A dish prepared from meat, onions, butter, oil, parsley, and coriander or a white stew. A great collection of sources and studies regarding isfīdābāj is presented by Bos in Maimonides, On the elucidation of some symptoms, 60–31 n.117.

\(^{147}\) Al-Rāzī, al-Mansūrī, 286–287.

\(^{148}\) Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/324.

\(^{149}\) Al-Rāzī, al-Mansūrī, 287; Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/324; Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sihfāʾ al-aqsām, 327.

\(^{150}\) Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharaḍ, 171.

\(^{151}\) Al-Rāzī, al-Mansūrī, 286.
mouth. Ibn al-Khaṭīb shortened a section from Ibn Sīnā’s guide which contained this advice. Al-Rāzī is also briefer in this case as he writes that the traveller should wrap himself excessively especially if he travels in the wind’s eye; however, doing so should be avoided if there is pain, coarseness, or coughing in the chest or if the traveller has weaker chest or lungs, as doing so leads to excessive breathing which results in strong coughing and maybe even coughing up blood. Ibn al-Qūf gives some more details on clothing: he recommends fluffy, fuzzy garments made from cotton, wool, or goat hair, cotton turbans, and excessively covering the limbs by making gloves and leg-covers from wool with fur lining. The most detailed instructions for properly dressing up is provided by al-Majūsī. He recommends napped and fur garments for the whole body, caps and turbans for the head and face, and wool or silk wraps for the limbs. For travelling in even colder areas with snow or wind, al-Majūsī advises putting goat hair between the fingers, wrapping them in paper (kāghad), putting on socks, then shoes, then fur boots or fur gloves in case of the hand. He also recommends to not wear too tight boots as to allow for some movement of the limbs. Here, Ḥājjī Bāshā obviously copies al-Majūsī’s material once again. Ḥājjī Bāshā adds covering the pores, nose, mouth, and ears to prevent the cold reaching them. Al-Majūsī is more specific about covering the pores: he recommends using Egyptian willow oil, lily oil, and bay laurel oil as these all close the pores and therefore keep the warmth of the body inside and the cold outside. Ibn al-Qūf lists violet oil, lily oil, and chamomile oil, while Ibn al-Khaṭīb names iris oil as an example of warming oils to use. Al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Sīnā advise using warming oils in general without examples.

Another more significant topic of regimens for travelling in cold is resting. Al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā give the most detailed instructions on how to rest properly after travelling in cold weather, although Ibn Sīnā focuses mostly on what to eat. Gradually warming up by a fire is advised instead of rushing to the fire straightaway. Al-Rāzī then recommends taking a long bath and getting

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152 Ibn Sīnā, al-Qānūn, I/323.
154 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 286.
156 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-sīnāʿa, II/83.
157 Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sihfāʾ al-aqsām, 327.
158 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-sīnāʿa, II/82.
159 Ibn al-Qūf, Jāmiʿ al-gharaḍ, 171.
massaged or if a bathhouse is not available, then simply massage in a heated dwelling until the skin of the face becomes red is appropriate. After this, a long sleep under many blankets helps prevent fever. In Ibn Sinā’s opinion, warming oils should be used after gradually warming up and it is actually [physically] hot foods that cause a sensation similar to being feverish, therefore he recommends eating dishes with warming properties instead. It is quite curious that Ibn Sinā recommends adding whey and butter to the dishes to make the garlic and almonds agreeable; while butter is amongst the warming ingredients listed in general, whey is cooling and moistening so while it might make dishes with a lot of garlic taste more acceptable it should also decrease the warming properties of any dish which seems counterintuitive at first glance. Ḥājjī Bāshā mentions warming oneself with garments before approaching a fire as well as using euphorbium oil,162 one of the warming oils on the body and the legs.163 Ibn al-Khaṭīb recommends bathing in hot water when the traveller is tired and using oils in which chamomile or dill was boiled with a gentle massage. While this advice is located in his section on travelling in cold, it is more focused on tiredness as he also writes that violet and rose oil are to be used if this occurs in the summer.164

Al-Rāzī dedicates a separate subchapter to what to do if the traveller becomes frozen in general and al-Majūsī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Ḥājjī Bāshā also write about this in greater length. As treatment of frozen limbs is a separate issue, these discussions focus on freeze or chill manifesting as hypothermia or a state close to it with rigid or firm skin. Al-Rāzī recommends resting in a warm, leeward place, getting a good massage with warm hands on the whole body except for the head, and drinking strong wine with assafetida, myrrh, and pepper. Once the life comes back to the frozen traveller, he is to eat some isfīdābāj and drink a moderate amount of wine, then sleep for a long time under warm blankets until he is ready to take a long, hot bath followed by massage and using iris oil or narcissus (narjis) oil in which a certain tree used for fumigation (qīṣṭ), beaver testicles, musk, and euphorbium was put.165 The advice of al-Majūsī is similar in nature, albeit shorter. He recommends warming up by a fire before bathing, then using dill oil or lily oil, dressing up still in the bathhouse and staying in a warm place afterwards, eating meat broth and

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162 Farbayūn, inspissated sap of plants of the Euphorbia genus. The edition has duhn al-farbayūn and identifies it as purslane: Ḥājjī Bāshā, Shīfāʾ al-aqsām, 326.
163 Ḥājjī Bāshā, Shīfāʾ al-aqsām, 326.
isfīdabāj, and lastly taking a long nap under blankets. He does not mention massaging. Ibn al-Khaṭīb does recommend massage and the use of oils with pepper, euphorbium, and pellitory added to them, also coating the limbs with garlic and galbanum in addition to using the oils. A unique advice from him is to put the limbs in water of rapeseed in which fig, chamomile, cabbage, and basil was boiled if the innate heat starts to dissipate from the limbs, as this treatment prevents putrefaction and therefore the need of surgery. Ḥājjī Bāshā copies al-Majūsī but he also adds the use of warm compresses, the putting of dill oil, Egyptian willow oil, lily oil, and bay laurel oil on the traveller’s body and his garments. He also adds that tar is the best to coat the limbs with, as it prevents putrefaction.

Unique features in these regimens can also be observed. While al-Ṭabarī provides his reader with only a few words on travelling in cold which he bases on Galen, he shares a personal account: he saw people from the mountains of Tabaristan overcoming the cold by eating garlic and kebabs and drinking so much pure wine that some of them became drunk and as a result fell asleep on the snow that continued to fall on them, but they did not notice a thing.

Al-Rāzī gives a list of typical diseases befalling those travelling in the cold, namely freezing (jumūd), hunger, fainting (al-jūʿ wa-al-ghashy, likely hungry fainting, al-ghashy al-jūʿī), apoplexy (sakta), limpness (istirkhāʾ), spasms (kuzāz), decay or putridity of the limbs (ʿafan al-atrāf), and two additional afflictions (ḥ.ḍ.r and ‘.q.l. al-b.ṭ.n). He also states that occurrence of these diseases or affictions is less likely in those accustomed to the cold and those with a temperament more resistant against such diseases. Additionally, al-Rāzī dedicates a short subchapter to hungry fainting, a strong hunger resulting in fainting and slumber which can lead to death. It can be treated with providing specific foods and strong wine with warming spices, massage of the cardia and limbs but al-Rāzī provides some additional methods of treatment for when the affliction does not subside.

Ibn Sīnā also emphasises at the beginning of his regimen for wintertime travel that travelling in the cold is dangerous and even if prepared, many travellers die because of the cold. He also

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166 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿa, II/83.
168 Ḥājjī Bāshā, Shifāʾ al-aqsām, 328.
169 Al-Ṭabarī, Firdaws al-ḥikma, 113.
170 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 286.
171 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 288.
lists typical related diseases and afflictions. Some of these are familiar from al-Rāzi’s list, such as shrivelling (tashannuj), spasms (kuzāz), freezing (jumūd), and apoplexy (sakta); however, Ibn Sinā also adds dying from drinking opium and mandragora and also being affected by the hunger called būlimūs. In this part of his travel regimen, he offers more overall advice as he writes about the above afflictions in more detail separately.

The last of the more unique features can be found in Ibn al-Quff’s writing, as he dedicates a few sentences on what to do if one must travel during the night or in much snow. It is in this latter part where we find some additional methods and materials, namely the use of warm compresses on the limbs when resting made with water in which turnip (līf), a kind of mint (nammām), and wormwood (shīkh) was boiled, in addition to using warming oils with beaver testicles, assafetida, and euphorbium, as well as drinking pure wine in which some big theriac is added.

2.1.6. Preserving and treating the limbs

Apart from al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb, all the authors who wrote on wintertime travel dedicate either a separate section to the protection and treatment of the limbs (al-Rāzi, Ibn Sinā) or include a section on it in their regimen for travelling in the cold (al-Majūsī, Ḥājjī Bāshā). Ibn al-Quff focuses on how to properly protect the limbs as it was shown in the previous subchapter, but he does not include instructions for treatment. While the instructions of these authors regarding covering and wrapping the limbs discussed in the previous subchapter also pertain to this issue, here the focus is the discussion of the various treatments and only partially on additional preventive methods.

For prevention, generally the use of warming oils is recommended before wrapping, padding, and covering the limbs. Al-Rāzi recommends oils of lily, Sambac jasmine (rāziqī), Egyptian willow, iris, and bay laurel. All four authors agree that it is not recommended to endure the painful cold instead of applying additional warming oils, layers of clothes, or warming oneself up. Al-Majūsī notes that it is better to walk than ride and Ibn Sinā advises against too tight shoes, as

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172 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, 1/323.
173 Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharaḍ, 171.
175 Al-Rāzi, al-Mansūrī, 289.
not moving the feet or restricting their movement results in a more severe affliction by the cold.\textsuperscript{176} They also advise taking additional care if the traveller stops feeling the pains due to the cold without him changing his covers or the cold subsiding, as this signals a loss of sense in the limbs. Al-Rāzī recommends immediately changing the covers on the limb followed by a gentle massage and covering the limb once more, followed by some walking.\textsuperscript{177} Al-Majūsī advises the use of Egyptian willow oil, lily oil, or bay laurel oil, in addition to padding the space around and between the fingers with pieces of squirrel, sable, or goat hair, and then putting on goat fur socks or stockings as to prevent new or further harm due to the cold.\textsuperscript{178} Ibn Sīnā recommends using paper (\textit{kāghad}), hair, or fur as padding. His choice for preventive treatment at this stage is the use of warming and fragrant oils, such as oil of iris or Egyptian willow, or if these are not available then oil with pepper and pellitory, euphorbium, assafetida, or beaver testicles, in addition to dressings prepared with galbanum and garlic.\textsuperscript{179} Ḥājjī Bāshā faithfully copies al-Majūsī’s advice yet again on this issue.\textsuperscript{180}

More serious afflictions of the limbs are separated into two cases. The first is if the affected limb started to decay without discolouration and the second is if the limb turned green or black.

In case of limbs that are not discoloured, only al-Majūsī provides and additional symptom, namely swelling of the limb.\textsuperscript{181} Nevertheless, the treatment to follow is fairly similar in all four regimens. Putting the affected limb into warm water in which various things with dissolving qualities were boiled is one of the treatments. Al-Rāzī lists chaff or wheat, rapeseed, cabbage, dill, chamomile, wormwood (\textit{shīkh}), \textit{khām}, melilot, flax seed, and fenugreek (\textit{ḥulbat}) to be used on their own or combined.\textsuperscript{182} Al-Majūsī names chamomile, melilot, and dill as examples of warming and dissolving materials to boil in the water.\textsuperscript{183} Ibn Sīnā mentions snow water or water in which fig, cabbage, basil, dill, chamomile, wormwood, pennyroyal (\textit{fūdanaj}), or a kind of mint (\textit{nammām}) was boiled.\textsuperscript{184} Here, Ḥājjī Bāshā seems to combine al-Rāzī’s and Ibn Sīnā’s advice,
leaving out (khām) and pennyroyal but adding marjoram (marzanjūsh) to the list. In addition to putting the affected limb into such warm water, all authors agree that the traveller should also use warming oils and to go near a fire a few times to warm up somewhat, although al-Majūsī does not mention the latter instruction explicitly. Ibn Sīnā has some further recommendations, namely, to walk a bit to move and exercise the legs and limbs a bit, then massage them, anoint them, coat them, and also use warm compresses. He also notes that some people put the affected limb into cold water and find this useful as it drives the pain away and compares this treatment to the act of putting a frozen fruit into cold water, resulting in the extremities of the fruit turning level and smooth, while putting the frozen fruit near the fire would ruin it.

In case the affected limb turns green or black, the authors also agree on the general treatment for the most part. It is to make a deep incision on the limb without delay and allow the blood to flow out of the incision freely. To do so, the physicians recommend putting the limb into warm water to prevent the blood from clotting and disrupting its own flow. Once the flow of the blood subsides, the limb is to be coated with Armenian bole on its own (Ḥājjī Bāshā), mixed with vinegar (Ibn Sīnā), water and vinegar (al-Rāzī), or rose water and vinegar (al-Majūsī). This coating is to be left on for a day and a night, then washed off and coated again until the treated part becomes firm, solid, and wrinkly and the tissue starts to regrow. Ibn Sīnā recommends this treatment for when the limbs turn a dull colour.

If putrefaction sets in, a more severe treatment is necessary. Instead of incisions, the putrid parts should be removed before the putrefaction spreads to the healthy tissue (al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā) or dressings are to be used that help these putrefied parts fall off (al-Rāzī, al-Majūsī, Ḥājjī Bāshā). The recommended dressings are a warm dressing made with boiled beet and cabbage mixed with hot butter (al-Rāzī) and a warm dressing made with marshmallow, mallow, or gooseberry leaves pulverised and mixed with violet oil (al-Majūsī). These dressings or bandages are to be changed multiple times a day for as long as all the discoloured tissue falls off, then medicaments that promote tissue growth can be used. If the putrefaction reached the bones, while some

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85 Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sīhḥāʾ al-aqsām, 328.
86 Ibn Sīnā, al-Qānūn, I/324.
88 Ibn Sīnā, al-Qānūn, I/325.
89 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 290.
90 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿa, II/83.
authors briefly write that the affected part needs to be removed, they agree that this treatment pertains to surgery.

2.1.7. Protecting the eyes

Protection of the eyes from the harsh whiteness of the cold is mentioned briefly by al-Majūsī and Ḥājjī Bāshā.394 Both recommend putting a black veil in front of the eyes and wearing black, dark blue, or green outer garments. It is only al-Majūsī who writes that the reason for this is that the above-mentioned colours collect the seeing light (al-nūr al-bāṣīr) and prevent it from scattering.395

Ibn al-Khaṭīb dedicates a short but separate chapter to the protection and treatment of the eye. For protection, he also recommends black, blue, and green garments in general, and turbans and headcloths in particular. Additionally, he instructs the traveller to look at a [dark coloured] cloth carried in his hand. For ophthalmia (ramad) and swelling from the wind and dust Ibn al-Khaṭīb advises bending over steam of wheat chaff and venesection of the cephalic vein (qīfāl).396

Not surprisingly, the longest discussion of the topic is provided by al-Rāzī in two parts, the first on protecting the eye against the harsh whiteness of the snow, the second on relieving the pain of the eyes caused by the wind or cold.397 Against the snow, al-Rāzī recommends wearing a black turban, headband, some eye covers (see section 2.2.2. Authors with two texts: the case of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā for its detailed discussion), and carrying a black cloth in one’s hands to look at them.398 This latter advice might be Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s source for the same recommendation in his own text; however, it is worded in a different manner, therefore Ibn al-Khaṭīb either rephrased the instruction, or added it from another source or based on his own experience. For the burning sensation and strong pains of the eye, the movement and roughness of the eyelids, and the possibly resulting ophthalmia, al-Rāzī advises to cover and protect the eyes, first and foremost. It is also beneficent to lean over the vapours of boiling wheat chaff, marjoram (marzanjūsh), camomile, or dill on their own or together, or leaning over the vapours of aged wine heated by throwing hot stones into it. In case of redness of the eye, al-Rāzī recommends venesection of the

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392 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a, II/89; Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sīḥā’ al-aqṣām, 328.
393 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a, II/89.
395 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 290, 291.
396 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 290.
cephalic vein, followed by bathing the next day, eating, drinking strong wine, and sleeping for a long time. This recommendation strengthens the theory that Ibn al-Khaṭīb used al-Rāzī’s passages regarding the eye but instead of simply copying, Ibn al-Khaṭīb paraphrased and significantly simplified his source material. Finally, al-Rāzī writes that applying a hot compress on the eyes afflicted by the cold is a grave mistake, but one might resort to this if the redness of the eyes does not subside after the treatment he recommended.196

2.1.8. Preserving the complexion

One of the least frequently discussed topics is preserving the complexion and taking care of the facial skin of the traveller. Al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā have short and succinct recommendations for some frequent skincare-related issues of travellers,197 obviously building on the tradition of cosmetics (zīna) contained in their encyclopaedias. The basic idea behind prevention is the same in case of both authors.

Al-Rāzī is concerned with paleness (shuḥūb) of the face due to the sun or wind, and quite simply states that seeking shade and covering oneself prevents this. If doing so is not possible, he recommends covering the face with a mixture of tragacanth, cornstarch, gum Arabic, dried mucilage of psyllium seeds, and mucilage of quince seeds admixed with egg white or purslane water and washing this mixture off once resting. Al-Rāzī notes that only one of these materials is useful, just like cake (kaʿk) dissolved in water or egg white with tragacanth alone. For treatment, he advises coating the face with a qayrūṭī, chicken fat, and milk, then washing it off the next day with warm water and flour of chickpea (ḥimmīṣ). In case of more serious affliction, al-Rāzī directs the reader to his chapter on cosmetics.198

Ibn Sinā focuses solely on prevention, advising the traveller to coat his face with sticky things, such as mucilage of psyllium seeds, mucilage of the arfaj plant (‘arfaj, Rhanterium epapposum), tragacanth or gum Arabic dissolved in water, egg white, semolina cakes (al-kaʿk al-samīdḥ) soaked in water, flat bread or pastry (qurṣ), and “the recipe of Qrīṭūn”. Ibn Sinā refrains from mentioning even the simplest treatment and rather refers his reader to his chapter on cosmetics.199

196 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 291.
199 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/325.
2.1.9. The different waters

The issue of the different waters and their improvement is a fundamental topic of all travel regimens, as al-Majūsī is the only one who does not write about it. The discussion of this topic in the Arabic-Islamic medical tradition relies on the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, waters, and places* heavily.

The importance of the issue of different waters is underlined by the statement of Ibn Sinā and Ibn al-Khaṭīb that the difference of waters causes more diseases than the difference of foodstuffs. The rest of the authors start with their advice straightaway.

The chapters or subsections of travel regimens on the issue of waters generally consist of two types of advice: general and specific according to exact types of waters. One of the more general points which al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Quff, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb all make is that bringing water and clay from one’s home and mixing either of them into the water found at the first resting place of the journey is good practice. Then, some from this water can be mixed again into water from the following resting place and so on until the traveller reaches his destination. While waters are simply to be mixed, if clay is thrown into the water, the authors do not fail mentioning that it should be left to settle and meanwhile it purifies the water. Ibn al-Quff and Ibn al-Khaṭīb also mention taking food from one’s home. Al-Rāzī and Ḥājjī Bāshā generally recommend mixing wine or vinegar into the waters one comes across but Ibn Sinā is more specific, stating that wine is useful if the corruption of the water is not strong, and vinegar is useful in the summer when water is scarce. Ibn al-Khaṭīb also advises mixing pure vinegar into the water during the summer but using oxymel during the winter, without offering any explanation like that of Ibn Sinā. Another generally useful regimen according to Ibn Sinā is to mix sour robs into any kind of water. The other general advice on how to repel the harms of the different waters is connected to foodstuffs. All authors praise the qualities of onion in this regard, especially with vinegar. Ibn Sinā goes even further and writes that onion is like theriac against the harms of the different waters.

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different waters.\textsuperscript{206} Besides onion and vinegar, al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā recommend garlic and lettuce,\textsuperscript{207} Ibn al-Quff mentions garlic and aged wine,\textsuperscript{208} Ibn al-Khaṭīb mentions only onion and vinegar,\textsuperscript{209} and Ḥājjī Bāshā recommends onion, garlic, and vinegar.\textsuperscript{210}

Before moving on to how to make specific waters potable, Ibn Sīnā discusses in some length what he means by carefully dealing with the different waters: abundant purification (\textit{tarwīq}), abundant filtering (\textit{istirshāḥ}) from earthenware vessels, and boiling, as these methods purify the water and separate the pure water from the contaminants. Ibn Sīnā deems distillation (\textit{taqṭīr}) by vaporisation (\textit{tasʿīd}) to be the best of these methods. The next method is putting one end of a twisted wool cord into a vessel which is full to the brim and putting the other end of the cord into an empty vessel, waiting for it to dribble the pure water into the empty vessel. Ibn Sīnā praises this method as well, especially if done repeatedly. For boiling, he recommends putting warm clay and wool balls into the boiling water and then taking those out and squeezing them, as they collect pure water. Lastly, Ibn Sīnā mentions using warm, preferably sundried clay to be put in the water generally as it breaks the water’s corruption.\textsuperscript{211} Although other authors advise to purify, filter, and boil various waters, they do not compare these methods or describe them in more detail, like Ibn Sīnā does.

There are 12 different types of waters mentioned by the authors with some further variation in case of certain types. The following part of this subchapter presents these types and the recommendations of the physicians on how to make these safe for consumption. Ḥājjī Bāshā does not write about any kind of water, but generally recommends using things with opposing qualities than those of the waters, following the principle \textit{contraria contrariis currentur}.

Salty (\textit{māliḥ}) water is discussed by al-Ṭabarī, al-Rāzī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Quff, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb.\textsuperscript{212} All of these authors recommend putting carob, myrtle seeds, or azerole (\textit{zuʿrūr}) into salty water, although Ibn al-Quff advises to eat azerole after drinking salty water instead of throwing it into the water like carob or myrtle seeds. Al-Ṭabarī recommends azerole to be thrown into the water

\textsuperscript{206} Ibn Sīnā, \textit{al-Qānūn}, 1/326.
\textsuperscript{208} Ibn al-Quff, \textit{Jāmiʿ al-gharad}, 168.
\textsuperscript{209} Ibn al-Khaṭīb, \textit{al-Wuṣūl}, 131.
\textsuperscript{210} Ḥājjī Bāshā, \textit{Sīhfāʾ al-aqsām}, 329.
\textsuperscript{211} Ibn Sīnā, \textit{al-Qānūn}, 1/325.
and also eaten after drinking salty water, in addition to drinking wine before and after and eating quince after drinking salty water. He also advises to put clay (ṭīn khūzī, maybe clay from the Khuzestan region) or stalk (without specifying which plant’s stalk) into salty water. Al-Rāzī, however, recommends eating quince before drinking salty water. He also recommends putting clay into the water, but he mentions warm clay in general. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, too, mentions eating quince in general. Mixing vinegar or oxymel into salty water appears first in al-Rāzī’s guide, and later it is also found amongst the advice of Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Quff and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Another interesting method is that offered by Ibn al-Quff, namely putting a pericarp into the water, since it will fill with sweet water only.

Muddy and thick (kadīr, ghalīz) water is mentioned by the same authors, namely al-Ṭabarī, al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Quff (only muddy), and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. The methods they recommend show more variety than in the case of salty water. Al-Ṭabarī simply and solely recommends eating garlic. However, he shares two of his personal experiences: he asked people from Egypt how they make the muddy water of the Nile safe to consume and they throw pulverised kernel of peach (khawkh) and apricot (mishmish) into the water. He also saw bleachers (qaṣṣārīn) purify muddy water by adding alum into a bowl and pouring water onto it, and once it dissolved, they poured that into a water pit or container, and they moved the dissolved mixture around in it to purify the place and make it appropriate for washing. Similarly to al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Sinā also recommends eating garlic after drinking muddy water but also mentions that Yemeni alum purifies it. The latter advice appears in al-Rāzī’s guide (Yemeni alum filters and purifies muddy water fast), making it a possible source for this addition. However, this is only a last measure for al-Rāzī, as he recommends pouring muddy water from vessel to vessel and he advises other methods only if this is too difficult. One of these is using Yemeni alum, and the other is filtering the water through a cloth stained with moist cake (ka’k). Ibn al-Quff recommend various methods of purification, namely shaking the water, boiling it, or filtering it. Ibn al-Khaṭīb adds to these methods evaporation and filtering it from a vessel into another via a wool cord.

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Bitter (murr) water is discussed briefly by al-Ṭabarī, al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Quff, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb. The general recommendation is to mix something sweet into bitter water or eat sweet things; al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Quff say nothing more. Al-Rāzī’s advice is the same, although he names rose water (julāb) and sugar as examples. Ibn Sinā recommends drinking water of chickpea and similar things before drinking bitter water as well as eating chickpeas, in addition to the previous advice. Ibn al-Khaṭīb does not mention any of these, however, he recommends consuming quince and similar things.

Stagnant (qāʾim) water is mentioned by al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā (also swampy, ājamī), Ibn al-Quff (also sour, hāmid), and Ibn al-Khatib (also putrid, ‘urfūna). The general advice of all these physicians is to mix into such waters robs of sour and costive fruits or to simply eat such fruits. The examples they provide are sour grapes, pomegranate, apple, quince, ribes, and azerole. Al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā also advise against warm foodstuffs.

Al-Ṭabarī, al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā, and Ibn al-Khaṭīb include waters in which there are leech, or in the case of al-Rāzī, leech, vermin, weeds, and grass. With the exception of al-Ṭabarī, they all recommend drinking such water through some kind of a filter as to not swallow leeches or other vermin by accident. In the opinion of Ibn Sinā, this also helps prevent nausea due to the bad humours of such waters. Al-Rāzī adds eating fatty foods and purifying the water as additional advice for travellers who must consume such waters. Ibn al-Khaṭīb mentions eating fatty foods and fat if one drank leech or vermin by accident. Al-Ṭabarī also has advice on what to do if one swallowed leech by accident: drink sour vinegar, salt, wormwood (shīkh), or garlic. It is also al-Ṭabarī who presents a more elaborate method to make poisoned water or water full of deadly vermin safe to consume. It is to throw little fir spurge (shubrum) into it, burn the surrounding trees and the vermin dwelling in them, and smoke the place with galbanum or antler of red deer, since those make vermin flee. His other advice is to put speedwell (ḥabaq al-māʾ), wild thyme (ṣaʿtar), or wormwood (shīkh) into the wine one consumes.

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Alumic and acrid (shabbi) water is included in the list of various waters by Ibn Sinā (also acrid, ‘afis) and Ibn al-Quff.217 Ibn Sinā advises one to drink after it something that soothes the disposition, such as wine, while Ibn al-Quff recommends eating anything one desires after drinking alumic water. The latter also writes to put sukk, a kind of perfume,218 into alumic water.

Al-Rāzī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb mention waters that urge one to pee shortly after consumption or in an otherwise uncomfortable manner.219 In this case, al-Rāzī recommends drinking wine with the water or consuming it with boiled celery seeds and fennel. Ibn al-Khaṭīb recommends eating butter and sugar besides boiled celery and fennel.

The same authors, al-Rāzī and Ibn al-Khaṭīb include unpotable (zuʿāq) water.220 Al-Rāzī advises the traveller who is forced to drink such water to purify it with the following method: put the water into a clean earthenware pot, cover it with twigs, throw a piece of clean, fluffy wool on top of it, then put the pot onto kindled embers, and once the wool is moist, squeeze the water out of it and drink only that. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, perhaps reflecting on this somewhat complicated procedure, writes that simple evaporation and oxymel is enough to make unpotable waters potable.

Al-Ṭabarī mentions two kinds of waters only found in his guide, namely dirty (quadhir) and stinking (muntin) waters.221 For the first one, he advises throwing azerole and thyme (ṣaʿtar) into the water, and for the second one, he recommends boiling in, then throwing into it lupine (būmūs, n. 1 turmus), celery root, mountain fennel, or rue.

Al-Rāzī also has unique mentions, namely waters that either loosen the stomach or cause nausea.222 For the first one, he recommends eating foodstuffs that agree with the stomach, and for the second one, he recommends drinking it with rob of pomegranate.

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221 Al-Ṭabarī, Firdaws al-ḥikma, 110–111.
222 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 294, 295.
2.1.10. Hunger and nutrition

Al-Rāzī, Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Quff, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Ḥājjī Bāshā all discuss hunger in varying detail and provide instructions regarding nutrition and eating during a journey in general. The discussions are heavily focused on the proper diet to follow on a journey in general besides additional related, nevertheless general advice. Al-Rāzī dedicates a separate short subchapter to hungry fainting, which is mentioned in section 2.1.5. Travelling in cold weather and discussed in section 2.2.2. Authors with two texts: the case of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā and therefore not repeated here. In addition, Ḥājjī Bāshā’s section on this matter clearly seems to be a copy of Ibn Sinā’s text, consequently the name of the former is not mentioned every time the latter’s is.

All four authors recommend eating foodstuffs with high nutritional value paired with small quantities. Ibn Sinā explains briefly that this serves to make the digestion of the traveller good and prevents excess materials building up in the veins. Ibn al-Quff offers examples for the best of such foodstuffs: roasted livers and good birds, from which he deems liver of sheep, liver of two-year-old goats, chicken, and francolin the best besides ground meat.

Apart from al-Rāzī, the physicians advise to not travel on a full or empty stomach. Ibn Sinā and Ibn al-Quff give some explanations. Riding on a full stomach spoils the food and the digestion and leads to drinking more water while there is still much undigested food in the stomach, which can possibly cause vomiting. Ibn al-Quff notes that for a certain body figure, travelling on a full stomach is permittable. He also writes that if one travels on an empty stomach it can lead to excess heat dissolving in the body. All five physicians who write about nutrition agree that therefore the traveller should eat only when he is resting. If it is not possible for him to wait for this occasion, al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā recommend eating only a little instead of a full meal.

Except for Ibn al-Quff, the physicians advise to avoid herbs and fruits that generate moist humours in general and only consume them if they are needed to counter the effects of hot weather or treat an affliction. Ibn al-Khaṭīb lists some additional foodstuffs to avoid, namely anything that makes one thirsty, that is all the salty or sweet foodstuffs. Al-Rāzī generally advises not eating food that is not from one’s own country.

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224 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 288.
Ibn Sinā has a general list of foodstuffs useful against hunger: anything prepared from roasted livers, kebab made with grease, fat, almonds, or almond oil. In his opinion, eating one piece from such a kebab wards off hunger for a long time. He records a more radical method as well: ‘it is said’ (qīla) that if a person drinks a raṭl of violet oil mixed with wax so it becomes qayrūṭī, plaster-like, that person will not feel hunger for ten days. While Ḥājjī Bāshā compiled his own text most likely from Ibn Sinā’s chapter, he omitted repeating this part.

2.1.11. Fatigue

While the longest discussion of fatigue is provided by al-Rāzī, al-Majūsī, Ibn al-Quff, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Ḥājjī Bāshā all offer advice on how to treat fatigue, and Ibn Sinā refers his reader to a separate chapter on fatigue.

Al-Rāzī advises those afflicted by severe fatigue (iʿyāʾ, taʿab) in the following way. They are to rest for a while when they stop the journey and then go to the bath if possible. If the traveller cannot find a bath, then he is to bathe in warm water so that it relaxes and reddens his skin. This is to be followed by a gentle massage, especially around the joints. Then the traveller is to anoint his body, again with special care regarding the joints, with oils in which dill and chamomile were boiled if it is wintertime and with violet oil in summertime. Then the traveller is to rest and sleep for a long time in warmth and under blankets. Once he wakes up, he is to repeat massaging, bathing, and anointing himself and only then return to his usual regimen.

In comparison to these instructions, al-Majūsī uses only the word iʿyāʾ for fatigue and ghamz for massage instead of dalak. He recommends massage and anointing only, the latter with fine and warm violet oil with a focus on the legs and back as to moisten these organs that were overtaken by dryness. He then instructs the traveller to follow the regimen of those affected by fatigue (here using both iʿyāʾ and taʿab).

Ibn al-Khaṭīb offers a quite faithful version of al-Rāzī’s advice, and while he omits the details about the joints, he uses both dalak and ghamz when mentioning massaging the body.

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225 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/321.
227 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/321.
228 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 292.
229 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿa, II/81.
Meanwhile, Ḥājjī Bāshā relied on al-Majūsī, although he amended the list of oils with oil of chamomile and lily and omitted the importance of anointing the legs and back. Ibn al-Quff uses the word \textit{ta‘ab} for fatigue and he is the one who deviates most from the general advice outlined above: he recommends resting, relaxing the thighs, and anointing the thighs with oil of violet, pumpkin, or snake (hayya) to moisten them, besides putting the traveller on guard regarding anything that might befall the thighs due to fatigue.\footnote{Ḥājjī Bāshā, \textit{Sihfāʾ al-aqsām}, 325.}

\subsection*{2.1.12. Regimen for sea travel}

All encyclopaedic travel regimens include a regimen for seafarers, except for al-Ṭabarī’s text.\footnote{Ibn al-Quff, \textit{Jāmiʿ al-gharāḍ}, 169.} Besides some words on preparation, these regimens mostly focus on preventing nausea (\textit{ghathayān}) and vomiting (\textit{qay‘}) and the regimen to follow if these preventive methods fail. In addition to these, al-Majūsī includes a small section on lice, often troubling those travelling on ships. The most unique feature of these regimens is found in Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s guide who discusses in length his explanation of dizziness (\textit{mayd}).

Al-Rāzī’s instructions on how to prepare for travelling on sea are to eat less in the days prior to embarking, eat foodstuffs that strengthen the cardia, and once embarking, avoid looking at the water. Additionally, he recommends bringing some provisions of robs and medicine the traveller is accustomed to.\footnote{Al-Rāzī, \textit{al-Manṣūrī}, 295–296; al-Majūsī, \textit{Kāmil al-ṣināʾa}, II/83–84; Ibn Sinā, \textit{al-Qānūn}, I/326; Ibn al-Quff, \textit{Jāmiʿ al-gharāḍ}, 172; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, \textit{al-Wuṣūl}, 132–133; Ḥājjī Bāshā, \textit{Sihfāʾ al-aqsām}, 329.} Ibn al-Quff advises purging the body before embarking with the purgatives one is used to, as this helps preventing nausea, repeated vomiting, and mixing of the healthy humours with the putrid ones.\footnote{Al-Rāzī, \textit{al-Manṣūrī}, 295–296.}

The physicians recommend some further ways to prevent nausea and vomiting once on board. These are to sniff pleasant-smelling things and ‘take thing after thing from those [things] that soothe nausea’, according to al-Rāzī.\footnote{Ibn al-Quff, \textit{Jāmiʿ al-gharāḍ}, 172.} Al-Majūsī is more specific, recommending drinks made of sour grapes, minted pomegranate, apple, tamarind, sucking on sour pomegranate and sour quince or sniffing these.\footnote{Al-Rāzī, \textit{al-Manṣūrī}, 296.} Ibn Sinā mentions various additional methods. For eating, he

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[	extsuperscript{129}] Ḥājjī Bāshā, \textit{Sihfāʾ al-aqsām}, 325.
\item[	extsuperscript{130}] Ibn al-Quff, \textit{Jāmiʿ al-gharāḍ}, 169.
\item[	extsuperscript{132}] Al-Rāzī, \textit{al-Manṣūrī}, 295–296.
\item[	extsuperscript{133}] Ibn al-Quff, \textit{Jāmiʿ al-gharāḍ}, 172.
\item[	extsuperscript{134}] Al-Rāzī, \textit{al-Manṣūrī}, 296.
\item[	extsuperscript{135}] Al-Majūsī, \textit{Kāmil al-ṣināʾa}, II/83.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
recommends quince, apple, pomegranate, foodstuffs prepared with costive things strengthening the cardia, foodstuffs that prevent vapours from rising to the head, such as lentils (ʿadas) with vinegar, sour grapes, pennyroyal (fūdanaj), and thyme (ḥāshā), or bread cooled or sopped in odorous wine or thymed cold water. As for drinks, Ibn Sīnā mentions drinks with seeds of celery or wormwood (afsatin, probably a typo of afsantīn), as both prevent and calm nausea. Additionally, he advises to cover the inside of the nose (anfus, likely a typo for unf) with white lead. Ḥājjī Bāshā faithfully copies Ibn Sīnā’s recommendations of eating the lentil-based meal and sopped bread, all the drinks, and covering the inside of the nostrils. The rest of Ḥājjī Bāshā’s regimen relies on the texts of al-Rāzī and al-Majūsī. Ibn al-Quff advises consuming robs that strengthen the cardia and prevent nausea once the traveller embarks the ship, such as rob of sour grapes and pomegranate or rob of ribes and barberry (barbāris), besides a drink prepared from tamarind. He recommends sucking on quince and sour pomegranate, sniffing myrtle and rose, and eating costive foodstuffs but a smaller amount in general than usual.

If these methods fail and the traveller becomes nauseous or vomits, Ibn Sīnā notes that this subsides after the first few days, recommending fighting nausea and vomiting as long as possible but vomit without restraint if it happens. Al-Rāzī states that vomiting multiple times is not harmful. If it occurs frequently, his advice is to consume robs, sumac (summāq), and pomegranate seeds. If vomiting is excessive, he instructs to follow the treatment of summer cholera. Al-Majūsī recommends sniffing sandalwood, rose water, or warm clay moistened with vinegar and vine, and eating costive meals such as cooked meat steeped in vinegar (maṣūṣ), jelly (hulām), foodstuffs prepared with sorrel (ḥummāḍ), sumac, and chickpeas, besides applying the preventive methods and avoiding looking at the water. Ibn al-Quff even recommends drinking warm water if necessary in order to truly empty one’s stomach once vomiting. Curiously, his advice is to strengthen the thighs and upper arms, anointing the feed and head excessively, bandaging these with vinegar, sandalwood, and rose water, consuming the generally recommended drinks with celery seeds, and bandaging the cardia with water of myrtle, vinegar,

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238 Ibn Sīnā, al-Qānūn, I/326; Ḥājjī Bāshā, Sihfāʾ al-aqsām, 329. The edition of the Qānūn has cooled bread while the Sihfāʾ has sopped bread. The Sihfāʾ has nostrils (minkhar) instead of the Qānūn’s nose (anfus, likely for unf).
240 Ibn Sīnā, al-Qānūn, I/326.
241 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 296.
242 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿa, II/83.
and sandalwood. Moreover, he advises following this regimen as long as the traveller is on the sea, not just for the time he is afflicted by severe vomiting. 243 These instructions are not found in the other regimens.

It is only Ibn al-Quff who writes on what to do after arriving at one's destination. He recommends resting, going to the bath, restoring one's original diet, and strengthening the brain [likely with an appropriate diet] until the mind returns to his pre-travel ways. 244

Al-Majūsī states that lice often afflict the seafaring traveller due to perspiration, dirt, and scarceness of bathing. He advises to coat the body with a mixture of lily, long aristolochia (zarāwand ṭawīl), smearwort, lice-bane (maywizaj), and oleander (dīflā). Then the afflicted person is to go to the bath the following day, cleaning his body well, washing his head with marshmallow, beet, and borax, and then dressing in clean and fine cotton garments. 245 The rest of the authors do not write about this issue at all.

As for Ibn al-Khaṭīb, he admittedly summarises the opinion of the rest of the physicians (qāla al-aṭibbāʾ, ‘the physicians said’), which is to withhold vomiting but let it occur once it happens, except if it is excessive, eating costive foodstuffs that strengthen the cardia (quince, apple, and pomegranate), drink seeds of celery and wormwood, consume foods that prevent vapours rising to the brain (lentils with vinegar, sour grapes, pennyroyal, and thyme), and coating the inside of the nostrils with white lead. However, this summary seems to rely on Ibn Sīnā’s regimen for the most part. Following this section, Ibn al-Khaṭīb moves on to his lengthy explanation of dizziness. Here, he compares the stomach of someone riding a ship to a butter churning skin, noting the effect of certain humoural qualities on the process, that there is a difference between people according to the strength of their cardias and brains, and that due to factors and considerations, certain people are more or less susceptible to dizziness. 246 This explanation is also unique and therefore has no parallels in any of the other regimens discussed here.

244 Ibn al-Quff, Jāmiʿ al-gharad, 172.
245 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣīnāʿa, II/83–84.
246 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Wuṣūl, 132–133.
2.1.13. Regimen for armies

Regimens for armies are included by al-Ṭabarī and al-Rāzī only, although some of the elements of these can be found in Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s regimen as well. In addition to these is Ibn Sinā’s shorter essay on the regimen of armies.

Al-Ṭabarī advises armies according to the season or weather. In wintertime, he instructs to rest close to one another and to the riding animals to utilise the warmth of the breath, sleep in excavated burrows previously warmed up by a fire, putting heating stones around the tents, and drinking honey beverage. This is where al-Ṭabarī shares his experience regarding the people of the mountainous regions of Tabaristan mentioned in section 2.1.5. Travelling in cold weather. The second group of advice from al-Ṭabarī pertains to the summertime regimen of armies. He advises setting camp on separate hills, covering the tents with cold trees or shrubs, and consuming sawīq mixed with cold water. If the air is thick and foggy, al-Ṭabarī recommends drinking pure wine, eating spicy foods, and consuming more garlic, while on malodorous flatlands fragrant oils are useful. After these, al-Ṭabarī moves on to the issue of the different waters. At a later point in the discussion of water, al-Ṭabarī includes one last section which, although useful for simple travellers, is aimed at armies: he recommends sprinkling the tents of the army with water in which Armenian cucumber (qithā [sic] al-ḥimār) was boiled, as it repels vermin. Ultimately, al-Ṭabarī’s instructions for armies focus on the proper place and way to set up the camp and sleeping places, in addition to a warming or cooling drink to consume.

Similarly, al-Rāzī starts with instructions on setting up camp in summertime and wintertime. In summertime, he marks out hills, just like al-Ṭabarī, but includes some further instructions: the tents should face the northern winds, they should be set up with some distance between them, and if possible, the riding animals should also be kept away from the tents. In wintertime, he designates depressions sheltered by hills, thickets, or mountains, with the tents facing south or east and set up close to one another, just like the riding animals. Al-Rāzī gives instructions for

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247 Al-Ṭabarī, Firdaws al-ḥikma, 110, 111; al-Rāzī, al-Mansārī, 295; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, al-Wuṣīl, 132. The regimen of al-Rāzī was translated by Frölich. This translation is quoted in Garrison, Notes on the history of military medicine, 82. Unfortunately, I was not able to find the articles quoted by Garrison (n.18 and n.19) in Langenbeck’s Archives of Surgery.


249 Al-Ṭabarī, Firdaws al-ḥikma, 110.

250 Al-Ṭabarī, Firdaws al-ḥikma, 111.
when sultry, moist, southern airs (eating less, avoiding wine, increasing exercise) or coarse and dry airs (the opposite) are present around the camp. An interesting point he adds is when a lot of souls fall ill in the camp, they should move away from the camp to a place above the winds, not under them. In case of vermin present at the campsite, al-Rāzī refers the reader to his separate chapter on repellents, advising to use the proper repellent for various vermin discussed there. He also notes that bad weeds and trees diffuse pungent or harmful airs, therefore they are to be burned or the camp is to be set up above the wind. His last advice is to examine the foodstuffs and the reason behind illnesses affecting a large portion of the army to oppose and avoid those if necessary.²⁵³

Ibn al-Khaṭīb includes a chapter in his regimen on choosing the campsite without mentioning the army, writing about the direction houses are to face instead of tents. Nevertheless, his advice is mostly in accordance with al-Rāzī’s advice regarding campsite locations and directions of the dwellings, even if it is worded in a different way.²⁵²

The essay of Ibn Sinā on the regimen of the military camps is included in the list of the medical works of Ibn Sinā prepared by Gutas. This list is, however, not separated further into “authentic and pseudepigraphic” works,²⁵³ nor does the editor of Ibn Sinā’s essay supply any information or inquiry regarding this issue.²⁵⁴ This is especially problematic considering the fact that this essay attributed to Ibn Sinā follows al-Rāzī’s guide for armies almost verbatim. There are only a few differences between them; most or perhaps even all of them are either typos or mistakes due to the typical ways of the corruption of the text in manuscripts. The editor of Ibn Sinā’s essay used two of the three surviving (and known) manuscript copies, and only one of those had Ibn Sinā’s name in the colophon.²⁵⁵ Therefore, one must wonder whether a scrutiny of all surviving manuscripts of this essay could prove that this essay is pseudepigraphic, as it would be unlikely that Ibn Sinā himself copied al-Rāzī so faithfully and decided to circulate the text as his own.

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²⁵² Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 295.
²⁵⁴ Gutas, Avicenna, 512.
²⁵⁵ Shams al-Dīn, al-Madhhab al-tarbawī, 55.
²⁶⁰ Shams al-Dīn, al-Madhhab al-tarbawī, 280, n.5.
2.1.14. Unique topics

The more miscellaneous and unique topics are bruising of the skin and injuries due to falling off the mount, preventing splitting of the skin of the feet, lice and abrasion and wounds caused by riding or the shoes one is wearing. In a way, many parts of Qustā ibn Lūqā's regimen for pilgrims can also be considered as unique, since the rest of the regimens do not discuss a lot Qustā ibn Lūqā's material (such as his chapters on earache, diseases caused by the changes of weather, and the *dracunculus medinensis*). Ibn Sinā's chapter on various sings indicating specific diseases is mentioned in section 2.2.2. Authors with two texts: the case of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā, unique issues in each of the topics are pointed out in the previous chapters, and Qustā ibn Lūqā's regimen is meticulously commented by Bos. Therefore, this subchapter is focused on the first four topics mentioned here.

In the opinion of al-Rāzī, if one falls or gets knocked by a riding animal or something else, it is best to perform bloodletting at once on the opposing side, avoid consuming meat and wine, coat the afflicted part of the body, and bandage it with strengthening bandages. If the traveller falls on his head, it is best to perform venesection of his cephalic vein (*qīfāl*), coat his head with a mixture of wine vinegar, rose oil, and three times as much rose water, also drinking from this, giving him barley water to drink, and restricting him for three days until the warm swelling on the outer parts of his brain are dealt with. If the traveller's mind is not confused, then those parts are healthy. If his mind is confused, the treatment requires more bloodletting, pouring more rose oil, rose water, and wine vinegar on his head, and bandaging it with the following preparation: myrtle leaves, flower of pomegranate, and peel of pomegranate are boiled in water and vinegar until these are cooked thoroughly, then this is mixed with some sukūk (a kind of perfume), aloeswood, calamus (*qaṣāb al-dharīra*), vinegar, water, and aged costive wine, all beaten together. Fruit juices and gentle massage to relax the constitution are also recommended, besides some foodstuffs and

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drinks. Then, al-Rāzī discusses in similar detail the treatment of a fall to the chest or nearby parts of the body, as well as treatment of a severe fall or hit in general. At the end of this chapter, al-Rāzī gives recipes for various remedies against a severe fall and coughing blood, severe fall and bruising, falling followed by fever and a warm swelling, falling or a blow resulting in severe blood loss, and a treatment for minor bruising and weakness. This is the only occasion in the travel regimens scrutinised in this dissertation that a regimen contains more recipes instead of the occasional ones scattered in between the texts.

The chapter on how to prevent or treat splitting of the skin of the heel or the feet by al-Rāzī is similar to the skincare sections, therefore footcare might be a proper designation for it. Putting the feet in hot water to loosen them, then sprinkling them with finely pulverised tragacanth followed by a good massage is useful in general against splitting of the skin according to al-Rāzī, while coating the heels with moist asphalt (zīft) or putting a cloth soaked in oil under the feet before putting on shoes are good for preventing such afflictions. Besides this treatment and preventive method, al-Rāzī provides additional ones, some containing additional recipes on how to properly mix certain remedies.

Getting rid of lice is discussed by al-Rāzī and Ibn al-Jazzār, besides al-Majūsī who writes about lice commonly afflicting those travelling on ships (discussed in section 2.1.12. Regimen for sea travel). According to al-Rāzī, lice are generated due to the change of waters, lots of fatigue, perspiration, dirt, scarcity of bathing, and scarcity of changing garments, all of which necessarily afflict the traveller. After this statement, al-Rāzī moves on to prevention and treatment. In comparison, Ibn al-Jazzār is of the opinion that “this happens because of a bad and putrid humor which nature expels from the skin and the flesh.” While Ibn al-Jazzār does not provide preventive measures, he separates treatment for those who have a cold temperament and those who have a warm temperament as well as for those cases where lice appeared due to dirt. Al-Rāzī recommends taking care about bathing and cleaning oneself whenever it is possible and

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263 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 298–299.
265 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 300.
266 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 298.
268 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 296.
changing the clothes, wearing cotton if possible. With the exception of the changing of the waters and fatigue, these are all the reasons leading to the generation of lice according to al-Rāżī. The treatments al-Rāżī and Ibn al-Jazzār recommend have many similarities. Al-Rāżī recommends putting ‘killed’ quicksilver (ziʾbaq maqtūl), one mixed into oil, to be put onto a wool necklace and worn around the neck. In comparison, Ibn al-Jazzār recommends preparing ointments for the afflicted body parts prepared from quicksilver killed with ashes of felt, vinegar, and olive oil, or from quicksilver mixed with litharge, vinegar, and olive oil. Al-Rāżī’s recipe for an ointment is leaves of chinaberry tree (azdarākht) or leaves of oleander (diflā) put into oil. Another material to coat the body with for ten days is red arsenic (zirnīkh aḥmar), lice-bane (maywizaj), soapwort (kundus), and borax with vinegar left on the body for a while and then washed off with warm water. A quite similar ointment of Ibn al-Jazzār contains lice-bane, borax, and arsenic mixed with oil and vinegar which he recommends for those who have a cold temperament. Additionally, al-Rāżī also advises to fumigate the clothes with soapwort, lupine (turmus), leaves of chinaberry tree, or a certain wood used for fumigation (qusṭ), or anointing oneself with powdered quicksilver or soapwort mixed into an oil. Besides other ointments and treatments which do not have a parallel in al-Rāżī’s chapter on lice, Ibn al-Jazzār recommends pulverised red arsenic mixed with olive oil to anoint the body with.

The last unique topic to be discussed in this chapter is abrasions and wounds caused either by riding or by the shoes. For any part of the body that became abraded, al-Rāżī advises treatment as soon as the traveller rests. This means sprinkling the afflicted part with cold water to cool, clean, and refresh it. If the part is still hot, then it is to be covered with a cotton cloth soaked in cooled rose water, changing this dressing when it warms up. In case of a burning sensation and pain, the skin is cured with liniment of white lead. For blisters caused by the tightness of the shoes al-Rāżī advises taking the shoes off, sprinkling the blisters with cold water or finely pulverised pomegranate flowers, and coating them with lyceum (ḥuḍād), acacia Senegal

(aqaqiyā), Armenian bole, or gallnuts (ʿafṣ) rubbed in water. Ibn al-Jazzār also discusses wounds caused by pressure of the shoes and offers treatments for it, depending on whether the wound is accompanied by an inflammation or not. If there is inflammation, he recommends a poultice of the lung of a ram, lamb, or fox; if there is no inflammation, his first remedy is sprinkling the wound with the burnt and pulverised bottom part of the shoe, and his second remedy is quite similar to that of al-Rāzī, as it is burnt and pounded gallnut, pomegranate flower, pomegranate peels, sumac (summāq), or acacia Senegal. Additionally, Ibn al-Jazzār advises what to do if someone stumbles and the toes are affected by stumbling. Bos points out that the first two remedies of Ibn al-Jazzār (lung poultice, pulverised shoe leather) are quite similar to those of Paul of Aegina. This suggest that either al-Rāzī was not consulting Paul of Aegina’s text for this chapter, or he decided not to include these two remedies. As it will be shown in section 2.2.2. Authors with two texts: the case of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā that one of al-Rāzī’s sources is Paul of Aegina, it can be assumed that al-Rāzī knew about Paul of Aegina’s discussion of this topic.

2.1.15. Concluding remarks

While the above sections took under scrutiny each of the various topics discussed by travel regimens separately and therefore allowed for a closer study of aspects and elements of the discussion of certain topics, there are some general remarks to be made as well as observations to be stressed which appear in most of the thematic discussions but might, at first reading, not be adequately pronounced.

The most striking observation is likely the fact that Qusṭā ibn Lūqā’s treatise indeed does not seem to be an integral part of the tradition in the sense that his division of topics to be included in travel regimens is clearly disregarded by later physicians. In addition to the difference of topics, Qusṭā’s approach to dealing with these is also different from that of the other physicians writing their travel regimens. These aspects combined explain the lack of passages identified as being copied or used by later physicians.

Similarly to Qusṭā’s treatise, Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir also seems underrepresented at first. This is, for the most part, due to facts discussed in section 2.2.1. A brief remark: cases of

278 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 298.
misleading titles. Nevertheless, there are still a few passages shared, at least to some degree, between Ibn al-Jazzār's relevant chapters and, most notably, al-Rāzī's regimen.

On the grounds of the above scrutiny, the relationship of the source texts is as follows. There are many passages attesting to the fact that al-Majūsī's regimen was used by Ibn Sīnā, Ḥājjī Bāshā, and Ibn al-Quff, even if to varying degrees. Al-Rāzī's regimen seems to have influenced Ibn Sīnā, Ḥājjī Bāshā, and maybe even Ibn al-Quff, although these influences are far less obvious than the copied and reworked passages of al-Majūsī found in other physicians' works. Ibn Sīnā's regimen was used by Ḥājjī Bāshā and most likely by Ibn al-Khaṭīb as well. Besides these relationships, there is a section of Ibn al-Quff's and Ḥājjī Bāshā's texts which might indicate a relationship between those two texts. It is striking that al-Ṭabarī's name does not appear in this list; it seems that his text was not consulted by later physicians when they compiled their regimens, or at least not with the intent to reuse parts of the text.

It is important to point out that despite the connections between the texts listed in the above paragraph, each and every physician's regimen contains novelties. Besides the constantly varying arrangement, inclusion, and omission of topics, upon closer reading we can also find at least one but usually more elements in all the texts which lack an antecedent in earlier travel regimens. This stands true even in the case of Ḥājjī Bāshā, who is most often pointed out as having copied or reused sections from his predecessors throughout the thematic analysis of the regimens. As the majority of the travel regimens scrutinised are contained in encyclopaedias, the question of their usability without their contexts – i.e. the whole encyclopaedias – might arise. While there is no single regimen which covers all of the possible topics, it can be said that the topics they include are mostly discussed in such a way that they can be useful even without the rest of the encyclopaedias (assuming, of course, a general knowledge of medical theory). The most notable examples of interconnectedness between the regimens and the other parts of the encyclopaedias can be found in Ibn Sīnā's and, to a smaller extent, al-Rāzī's regimens, as these refer their readers to other chapters of their encyclopaedias for discussion of certain topics. When such issues are mentioned, it is agreed upon that treating certain afflictions do require a physician (fevers which do not improve) or a surgeon (serious affliction of the limbs).

Generally speaking, the regimens focus on prevention and aim to provide general knowledge on the proper regimen to follow during travels. As such regimens are part of the practical side of
medicine, explanations of the theoretical background of afflictions and treatments are scarce. Some examples for such can be found in al-Rāzī’s guide and in al-Majūsī’s text to a smaller degree. As for treatments, the regimens focus on changing the regimen of the six non-naturals appropriately; while variants of a recipe related to quenching the thirst appears in some regimens, we do not find references to previously prepared compound medicaments or using single medicaments together in a way that their combining would require the knowledge or skills of a pharmacist.

In summary, the medical tradition of *tadbīr al-musāfirīn* of the 9–15th centuries is an ever-changing and evolving mass of information realised by each physician in a different manner both in terms of their selection and their structuring of the material that they include in their regimens, in addition to enriching it by additional details. The above scrutiny proves that studying either the whole tradition or parts of it yield both particular and general results and will hopefully prompt further inquiries based on the same sources as well as through the inclusion of new source material.

### 2.2. Excursus: probing the sources

While the previous sub-chapter focused on the medical content of the source material, the aim of this sub-chapter is to offer additional observations, not strictly or not at all related to medical theory, based on the same texts.

Section 2.2.1. A brief remark: cases of misleading titles brings attention to the terminology used in the titles of travel regimens, pointing out the fact that there are occasions when a certain work is not a travel regimen, even if it conforms to usual titles of such works. This fact can be observed amongst medical works, of which the most notable example is Ibn al-Jazzār’s *Zād al-musāfir*, therefore discussed in detail below, and it is also detectable when the researcher is in search of manuscripts. Unfortunately, both can cause difficulties when looking for additional sources for the tradition of travel regimens.

Section 2.2.2. Authors with two texts: the case of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā investigates the similarities and differences of the two-two texts authored by al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā. In both cases, we find a chapter in an encyclopaedia (the *Manṣūrī* and the *Qānūn*, respectively) and an additional travel regimen written by the same author. Despite the fact that the objects of these inquiries are texts on a certain medical topic, the results are intriguing for other reasons. In the
case of al-Rāzī, we can see how notes possibly turned into a compilation in addition to al-Rāzī’s method of compiling, while for Ibn Sinā the comparison raises some issues which can be seen as preliminary steps of probing the authenticity of Ibn Sinā’s treatise.

Section 2.2.3. Travel regimens in encyclopaedias: the question of inclusion and position revolves around when, where, and how the physicians included their travel regimens in their encyclopaedias. The findings are indicative of the place of travel regimens in the whole of the medical tradition and, in addition, also offer a general timeline of presumed importance.

While these studies are not on medical theory, they hopefully illustrate some of the difficulties to overcome in further research and highlight the fact that a closer inspection of such texts can lead to results that are of importance outside the realm of travel regimens as well.

2.2.1. A brief remark: cases of misleading titles

The introduction to the sources of the Arabic medical tradition of travel regimens presented in chapter 1. Arabic medical texts on tadbīr al-musāfirīn demonstrates a straightforward terminology. The term ‘travel regimen’ consistently appears as tadbīr al-musāfir, ‘regimen of the traveller’ or with the plural form, tadbīr al-musāfirīn, ‘regimen of the travellers’. In the case of encyclopaedic works, the titles of the relevant chapters testify to this terminology, similarly to the shorter treatises’ titles. As for the longer treatises, while there is some variation in their titles, the chapter headings and the texts use the same phrasing. Even in this case, the titles seem to contain some form of the s.f.r root consistently. This fact might urge the researcher to seek to compile an exhaustive list of sources on travel regimens, especially regarding works considered lost or those surviving only in manuscript form, a listing likely to be based on a lengthy and extensive overview of bibliographical works and manuscript catalogues. While such an investigation might add some further titles to the list presented above, it would require a careful and thorough assessment of each and every finding before adding it to the list definitively. One reason for this is that despite the precise terminology of travel regimens in the medical tradition, the appearance of some form of the s.f.r root in a title does not necessarily guarantee a travel regimen.

One such title is ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Jibrīl’s (d. 450s/1058–1066) Kitāb tadhkirat al-ḥāḍir wa-zād al-musāfir (‘The book of the reminder of the sedentary and provision of the traveller’). ‘Ubayd
Allāh, a friend of Ibn Buṭlān (d. ca. 458/1065), was “not only celebrated for his skill as a practitioner but also familiar with all aspects of medical theory.” He was likely born in Baghdad but moved to and settled in Mayyāfāriqīn later, where he worked in the Fāriqi hospital. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, he authored ten works on various medical topics, the *Kitāb tadhkirat al-ḥādir wa-zād al-musāfīr* being one of them. While it has no known, extant manuscripts, ‘Ubayd Allāh composed an abridgement of it under the title *al-Rawḍa al-ṭibbiyya* (‘Medical garden’) at the request of Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali. As this treatise offers concise explanations for 50 medico-philosophical terms, it becomes evident that the original work must be on medical theory rather than practical medicine, to which travel regimens belong. Therefore, the *Kitāb tadhkirat al-ḥādir wa-zād al-musāfīr* is a fortunate case, as we still have some knowledge pertaining to the original work, due to its abridgement. If we were to find a title alone without any additional information, it could only be included in a list of dubious titles. Another case is Ibn al-Jazzār’s *Zād al-musāfīr wa-qūṭ al-ḥādir*. As it is a medical handbook of diseases *a capite ad calcem*, it is not intrinsically related to the genre of travel regimens. Nevertheless, its relevant chapters justify its inclusion in the present survey at the end of this section. Shedding more light on the above facts is especially important since this work seems to be the first that comes to mind when somebody talks about travel regimens.

Another reason for treading carefully, especially concerning manuscripts that one cannot access and evaluate, is the significance of travel in Sufism. While both the terms *safar* and *siyāḥa* have particular connotations relating to Sufism, it seems that Sufi textbooks of the 10th to 11th centuries used the term *safar* more frequently, and those after the 11th century mentioned *siyāḥa* even less, as the focus of Sufi practices and debates changed. The chapters on issues of travel in Sufi works seem to use the words *safar*, ‘travel’, or its plural form *asfār*, as well as *musāfīr*, ‘traveller’, or its plural form frequently. Therefore, when finding a manuscript with a somewhat

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282 On his life, see Schacht, *Ibn Buṭlān*.
283 LHOM, 8.6.
286 On these, see Ullmann, *Die Medizin*, 113; Meyerhof, *An Arabic compendium*.
287 Salamah-Qudsi, *Crossing*, 147.
288 See the examples given throughout Salamah-Qudsi, *Crossing*. 
universal title for travels or travellers even without any terms raising doubts in the researcher (e.g. ādāb, ‘manners’, a term atypical of the medical regimens altogether), it can only be identified as yet another ‘unresolved’ or dubious title in the list without further study, with higher chances of it being related to Sufism than to medicine. While manuscripts are often classified in the catalogues according to the intellectual fields in which they belong, in some instances this could settle the debate; one must note, however, that these classifications can contain mistakes. Therefore, a genuinely meticulous survey cannot invariably rely on these. In many cases, acquiring manuscript copies or accessing the manuscripts themselves for further clarification is quite difficult. Consequently, it is questionable whether further lengthy and complicated research for unknown manuscripts in catalogues would yield worthwhile and confirmable results, at least until digitalisation of manuscript collections becomes more widespread, and the accessibility of collections improves.

Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 369/979–980): Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir

Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālid Ibn al-Jazzār was born in 285/898 in Qayrawān. He died in the same city in 369/979–980. His father and his paternal uncle were both physicians. He was a student of the court physician of his native city, where later he started to practice medicine. According to his biographers, he did not pursue courtly positions but dedicated himself to studying and practising medicine. He wrote in the fields of various sciences, especially in medicine.

His Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir (‘Provisions for the traveller and nourishment for the sedentary’) is a medical handbook on different diseases discussed a capite ad calcem in a concise form. The whole work is edited, but it is not, properly speaking, a critical edition for many reasons. Proper critical editions with English translations are available of the 6th book and

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289 This remark reflects my own observations and findings based on similar investigations. While some forms of the root s.f.r of course appear occasionally in titles of works related to fields other than medicine and Sufism, this phenomenon is most pronounced in Sufism.


the 7th book in two parts,\textsuperscript{295} the second part including the critical edition of a Hebrew translation as well. Critical edition of the Arabic text with an English translation of the 1st and 2nd books are forthcoming.\textsuperscript{296} Bos gives detailed descriptions of the manuscripts used in the editions.\textsuperscript{297}

The work became quite popular even outside the Islamic world, as it had already been translated into Greek by the beginning of the 11th century, into Hebrew by three different translators, and into Latin by Constantine the African in 1124, serving as a source for medical compendiums, commentaries, and later as a textbook by European medical schools. Some parts of it served as the basis for some Western European medical concepts and treatises.\textsuperscript{298}

Although the \textit{Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir} does not contain chapters dedicated specifically to the concerns of a traveller, it does deal with specific issues bearing importance during travel as well, for example, the 1st book’s chapters 9–10 on head lice and headache, chapter 13 on dizziness and vertigo, chapter 24 on spasms (\textit{kuzāz}); the 2nd book’s chapter 6 on dimness of the eye; the 3rd book’s chapter 14 on swoon (\textit{ghashy}); the 4th book’s chapter 6 on thirst and chapter 10 on nausea;\textsuperscript{299} the 7th book’s chapters 9–12 on poisons, viper bites, stings by wasps, bees, and scorpions (pp. 25–33, 77–89 in Arabic and English respectively, in the edition of Bos), chapter 14 on fatigue and pain (pp. 38–41, 94–96), and chapter 29 on wounds caused by the pressure of the shoes (pp. 69, 132).

\textbf{2.2.2. Authors with two texts: the case of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā}

A noteworthy aspect of the sources discussed above is that in two instances, we find authors having composed multiple texts. Both al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā compiled two different texts on travel regimens. The fact that in both cases, the relevant passages are not merely variations of each other but essentially different types of texts justifies a more thorough comparison of both pairs of regimens.


\textsuperscript{296} Ibn al-Jazzār, \textit{Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir I–II}. I would like to express my gratitude to Gerrit Bos and Fabian Kās for providing me with a preliminary copy of the Arabic text and the English translation.

\textsuperscript{297} For the list of manuscripts see GAS III/305–306 (2. – Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir); GAL 1/274; GAL S 1/424; as well as in the forthcoming edition and translation of Books I–II by Bos and Kās.


\textsuperscript{299} The list of these chapters is based on Ibn al-Jazzār, \textit{Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir I–II}. 
Al-Rāzī: a collection of notes and a treatise (*maqāla*) of an encyclopaedia

In the case of al-Rāzī, one of the texts is a purposefully compiled treatise (*maqāla*) of an encyclopaedia dedicated to the regimen of travellers, while the other is part of a massive collection of notes used as an aide-mémoire, not meant for an audience. This is particularly interesting because the comparison of the two texts provides an opportunity to investigate some aspects of the process of compiling a text that is meant to be part of an encyclopaedia. As we have a collection of quotes with the commentaries of al-Rāzī, it can reveal which topics and elucidations the author deemed important. Additionally, it enables us to clearly contrast the quotes with his own opinion, be it more of a theoretical remark or practical addendum. In addition, the encyclopaedic passage can shed light on how the above are reflected in a text compiled with care. In the following comparison, the 23rd part of the *al-Hāwī fī al-ṭibb* (‘On the regimen of travellers and armies on the land and the sea, the protection against hot and cold, the phenomena of the air, hunger, thirst, and what protects the face from the burning of the sun and splitting open from the cold’, *fī tadbīr al-musāfirīn fī al-barr wa-al-bahr wa-al-iḥtirās min al-harr wa-al-bard wa-ḥawādith al-hawā’ wa-al-jā’ wa-al-ʿatsh wa-mā yakḥazū al-wajh min ihtirāq al-shams wa-al-tashaqquq bi-al-bard*) is abbreviated as H, while the sixth treatise of the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb* (‘On the regimen of the travellers’, *fī tadbīr al-musāfirīn*) is referred to as M.

Firstly, I analyse H, then move on to evaluating M.

H starts with the remark of al-Rāzī that he wishes to include notes on the changing of the waters here, whereas fatigue (*iʿyāʾ*) is treated in its own separate chapter. The notes seem to be organised according to the physicians from whom al-Rāzī quotes, rather than by topics. The first authority, not surprisingly, is Galen. Al-Rāzī paraphrases Galen’s statements collected from five of his works, namely, from the tenth treatise of the *Ḥīlat al-bur’*,³⁰⁹ the first and fourth treatises of the *al-ʿIlal wa-al-ḥifẓ al-ṣīḥha*,³⁰⁸ and two succinct quotes from the *al-Adwiya al-mufrada*³⁰⁷ and the commentary of the Afīdhīmiyā. The first quotation states that eating immediately after travelling in cold weather and then stopping for a rest results in disturbance of the temperature, making the traveller uncertain whether he

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³⁰⁷ Sezgin gives a short list of the mentions of this title in the *Ḥāwī*. See GAS III/110.
³⁰⁸ Sezgin gives a short list of the mentions of this title in the *Ḥāwī*. See GAS III/98.
³⁰⁹ Under which the *Ḥāwī* cites it, see GAS III/122.
has a fever or not. The second one is also connected to travelling in cold, stating that many travellers perished due to it, became half-dead, or affected by spasms (tashannuj) or freezing (jumūd). The third quotation asserts that once the body softens after exhaustion, it is to be anointed and gently massaged, followed by resting, especially in case of aching joints. The fourth instance is a longer summary on the correct practices regarding the timing, quantity, and quality of eating when travelling. The fifth, rather succinct quote states that coating oneself with oil blocks the cold out. The last one directly quotes the following description: ‘we have seen a group who travelled in the intense cold and all were frozen and dead just as one dies from drinking opium’. Then, al-Rāzī adds that cold can cause fainting due to hunger (al-ghashy al-jūʿī). As the following short section begins with qāla, ‘he said’, it is probably another quote from Galen, detailing that travelling in extreme heat for a long period of time can lead to such exhaustion that one recovers only after soaking in warm water, settling for a while, and quenching one’s thirst.

The second authority of H is al-Ṭabarī. Al-Rāzī paraphrases him saying that cold is banished by eating garlic and walnut abundantly, drinking pure wine after it, and anointing the limbs with oil. Interestingly, al-Rāzī here draws on the whole of the Firdaws al-ḥikma’s second part’s fifth discourse, as walnuts are mentioned in its fourth chapter on the regimen of winter, while the rest of the information is located in the fifth chapter on travels and armies. Another matter worth pointing out is that al-Ṭabarī recounts three of his personal experiences, one related to travelling in cold weather and two regarding the issue of purifying water, and al-Rāzī does not note any of them, even though he directly quoted Galen’s personal observation on one occasion.

After this, some anonymous sources follow on preventing hunger and thirst besides two treatments for the eye afflicted by the cold. The first of these is the theme of violet oil and wax mixed together preventing hunger for ten days if consumed, which frequently appears in later sources as well.

The next authority of H is Shamʿūn, likely Simeon of Taibūthā, with a shorter quote on covering the limbs against the cold with a cloth soaked in warming oils and two longer quotes on the samūm and curing afflictions caused by it. The first of these states that one is to cover his nostrils and mouth with a turban and if thirsty, only rinse his mouth with water or drink a little,

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304 Al-Rāzī, al-Ḥāwī, VII/396.
305 See LHOM 6.5.1.; GAS III/176–177.
for if he drinks enough to quench his thirst, he dies immediately. As for the treatment, it is cold applications, rinsing with water, drinking water with rose oil first and only then undiluted water, as well as a list of useful foodstuffs, in addition to washing with cold water, anointing, bandaging, and avoidance of intercourse. Both frequently appear incorporated into later regimens regarding the samūm.

The following physician whose ideas H quotes is Oribasius. The first quote is a shorter one on drinking barley sawīq on summer journeys and on the proper drinks and nourishment on winter journeys with a few additional succinct points regarding wintertime travel. The next part is Oribasius’s advice regarding proper nourishment for seafarers to prevent the vomiting occurring on the first day on sea. The last two topics here are on the treatment of freezing and the treatment of sunburn.

This is followed by an anonymous quote regarding treatment of the eye afflicted by the cold, namely leaning over the vapour of boiling yarrow (qayṣūm) and melilot as well as pouring some of these onto the eye, applying kohl to it with garlic, and inserting mayl (maybe meaning the instrument with which one applies collyrium) into it as to cause sneezing. While al-Rāzī notes this practice in H, it is not commonly found in later works.

The next quote is from Aṭlā’us as in the edition, with a footnote saying it is Ibn Ṭalāwus in the manuscript, therefore referring to Anqīlā’us, one of the physicians amongst those who summarised and commented upon Galen’s sixteen books. The short quote is on the treatment of the eye afflicted by the cold.

The following section is “from a book ascribed to Galen in the Siyāsāt al-ṭibb”. This lengthier part can be divided into two parts, the first concerned with travelling in cold weather (oiling the limbs, proper drinks and foodstuff, what to do once leaving the cold) and the second with travelling in warm weather (proper nourishment, drinking, sun protection, proper place for sleeping, avoidance of intercourse, treating headache).

H then moves on to various works of Ibn Māsawayh, namely the al-Masāʾīl, al-ʿIlal wa-al-aʿrāḍ, al-Ṭibb al-qadīm, and the al-Aqrābādhīn al-qadīm, with notes of al-Rāzī added to each of them except for the second one. The quote from the al-Masāʾīl starts with a categorical statement:

change of waters is more harmful than change of nourishment or air. Al-Rāzī notes that in this section he “writes what is useful against the change of the waters”, and the next part quoted is a short exposition of the actual harms caused by the change of the waters. The quote from the al-
ʿIlal wa-al-ʿrād’s first discourse is a simple statement that travelling in the cold afflicts some travellers (namely with spasms, freezing, and other diseases). As for the next quote from the al-
Ṭibb al-qadīm, it is a short one on countering the effects of the samūm (eating onions soaked in dūgh overnight with bread as well as drinking the same dūgh). A second quote from it states that if a person is exhausted and his body is not free from excess [humours], it results in ulcers (qurūh). Al-Rāzī adds his personal observation at this point, as he has seen a man addicted to wine travelling without undergoing venesection, and as a result his body became filled with abscesses (damāmil). This is followed by another note claimed as al-Rāzī’s own, containing a general summary of the foundations of summertime and wintertime travels. The last quote from Ibn Māsawayh is from his al-Aqrābādhīn al-qadīm, a succinct sentence on what prevents the limbs from falling off [due to the cold]. Here, al-Rāzī inserts a quite lengthy note of his own where he contemplates the reason behind putridity or decay due to freezing, followed by a practical discussion of treatment according to his theory.

The following quotation is attributed to al-Khūz and Ibn Māsawayh, therefore it is a possibility that it is originally from al-Khūz as quoted by Ibn Māsawayh, and here by al-Rāzī. It notes that onion is useful against the changing of waters as well as samūms, as it produces thick moisture in the stomach.

The changing of waters seems to be the guideline here, as the following quotes from Qustus start with stating that garlic and lettuce are useful for this. Then longer parts from the Siyāsat al-
ṣīḥha are quoted on the proper camping place of armies and its preparation in wintertime and summertime, followed by instructions on making thick and muddy as well as alumic and acrid water safe to drink. This section ends with another quote on military encampments, namely that if the air is bad and sultry, exercise is to be increased with a moderate regimen.

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308 Al-Rāzī, al-Hāwī, VII/398.
309 See GAS III/184–185.
The next physician from whom H quotes is Qrīṭūn. The quoted parts are recipes for a face cream and its alternatives that are useful in cold weather to safeguard against fissures. Al-Rāzī adds his own knowledge as well, listing in addition to the materials quoted chicken fat, wax, oil, and marrow.

A statement from Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq follows from his Ḥifṣ al-ṣīḥha, stating that the traveller needs food of little quantity but high nutritional value. After this, Paul of Aegina is quoted regarding vomiting on the first day of travelling on the sea. Then, al-Rāzī notes that covering the limbs in tar helps prevent putrefaction due to the cold.

After these topics, the following note returns to the issue of purification and humours, quoting from the Afidhimiyyā regarding two possible outcomes due to exhaustion without prior purification and with excess humours. Al-Rāzī amends this with succinctly noting the course of action for both cases. The last but one authority is Balinās, Apollonius of Tyana. A treatment for nausea of those travelling on the sea is quoted from his al-Ṭabʿiyyāt. This is followed by yet another insertion by al-Rāzī regarding a short recipe against thirst. The last authority of H is Aristotle, with three quotes from his al-Masāʾil al-ṭabīʿiyā. The first one is the statement that the traveller gets sick from a change of the waters more than from a change of the foodstuffs or air. The other two are on treating fatigue during summertime and wintertime.

To sum up, H quotes from the following authorities, not counting its anonymous sources: Galen, al-Ṭabarī, Shamʿūn (Simeon of Ṭaybūthā), Oribasius, Atlāʾus (Ibn Ṭalāwus, Anqīlāʾus), Ibn Māsawayh, Quṭṭūs, Qrīṭūn, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, Paul of Aegina, Balinās (Apollonius of Tyana), and Aristotle. As for the notes of al-Rāzī, they are mostly of a practical nature with a few hints at underlying theoretical considerations, which is to be expected due to the genre of H. The topics on which the notes are collected are wide-ranging and cover the topics of travel regimens neatly. There is some information collected regarding preparation for travel (purging), military encampments, and the treatment of vomiting during sea travel. Slightly more can be found regarding the different waters and the ways of making them safe to consume and countermeasures for hunger and thirst, besides both preventive measures and treatment for the effects of the samūm. The lengthiest topics are travelling in hot and cold weather or during

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310 See GAS III/60–61. The name is Qrīṭūn in the edition, with a footnote stating that it appears as Qrīṭūn in the manuscript.
311 See Strohmaier, Apollonius of Tyana.
summertime and wintertime, with the notes touching upon general information as well as special afflictions with both prophylaxis and treatment. An interesting phenomenon is that for some definitive statements and observations, al-Rāzī gathered more than one quote. It is not clear from the text or arrangement of H, however, if his purpose was to back up these statements and gather more authority for them by quoting them from multiple sources, or possibly to identify the original source of these statements.

Moving on to M, its neat organisation shows that it was compiled with care. It discusses 19 different topics. The first of these is travelling in hot weather, followed by the *samūm*, and thirst. The fourth topic is travelling in cold weather, and then issues related to travelling in the cold, namely stiffness, fainting due to hunger, preservation of the limbs, snow blindness, and the burning and pain of the eye due to the cold or wind. The following topics are fatigue, preparation, different waters, military encampments, and travelling on the sea. The last five topics are on highly practical matters, such as lice, paleness, splitting of the skin of the feet, skin abrasion due to riding or from the shoes, and falling off one’s mount.

The first part of M ‘on the protection against the heat and following what harms result to the traveller’ (fī al-ḥtirās min al-ḥarr wa-talāḥuq mā yaḥdathu min aḍrārihi bi-al-musāfīr) can be separated into four smaller parts discussing general advice regarding the fullness of the stomach when travelling, protection against the sun, instructions for resting properly, and treatment of headache and fever. It is quite interesting that comparing the parts of H relating to the issues discussed in this first part of M suggests that here al-Rāzī compiled his very own text. While naturally certain foodstuffs and materials match those mentioned in the quotes of H, there is not a whole or partial section in M that conforms to any of the notes of H, meaning that al-Rāzī completely dissected and rearranged them, while adding quite a lot of additional information based on his own knowledge not recorded in H’s notes.

The second part of M ‘on the protection against the *samūm* and treating what occurs from its harms’ (fī al-ḥtirās min al-*samūm* wa-ʿilāj mā yaḥdathu min nikāyatihā) focuses on prevention rather than treatment. The notes on the *samūm* in M from Shamʿūn are more about treatment; nevertheless, the material is partially incorporated into this part of M. However, the text here also suggests that this part is based on al-Rāzī’s knowledge not recorded in his collection of notes, since other than from Shamʿūn, H only contains one more relevant quote, namely the usefulness
of eating onions soaked in ḏūgh overnight against the effects of the samūm as well as drinking the same ḏūgh after eating the onion (quoted from Ibn Māsawayh). While this advice appears in M, there is difference in the terminology used. In M, al-Rāzī writes that purslane is beneficial when eaten, as well as when it is consumed in dishes before the journey prepared in a kind of yoghurt (rāʾib) and butter (samn), or if the yoghurt is not fluid, then in yoghurt whey (maṣḥ)312 and butter. A bit later comes the soaked onion: chopped and soaked in rāʾib for a night and a day, then eaten, and the yoghurt drank. Rāʾib is “yoghurt made without rennet after churning its butter and removing it”313, in addition, yoghurt is drained of its whey. Rennet is a group of enzymes produced by the stomachs of ruminant herbivores used to curdle milk for making yoghurt and cheese. While milk sours naturally, rennet greatly facilitates the process. ḏūgh in a historical context means buttermilk, a by-product of churning butter from soured milk; it is sour, thick, and drained of whey.314 This does not indicate clearly whether ḏūgh is made specifically from milk soured with the aid of rennet or if milk soured on its own is also an appropriate base material. Nevertheless, as rāʾib is a yoghurt and ḏūgh is buttermilk, there is a difference in their production methods and refer to evidently different dairy products. The quote from Ibn Māsawayh in H uses the term ḏūgh, while al-Rāzī uses rāʾib. Unfortunately, there is nothing that would indicate why al-Rāzī decided to recommend rāʾib instead of ḏūgh, which seems to be invariably favoured and recommended by physicians of later times. In the absence of further clues, a tentative explanation might be based on Ibn Sayyār’s 10th century cookbook, according to which it might be that rāʾib was considered to have colder properties than buttermilk,315 therefore it might be more potent against the hot and drying samūm.

The third part of M ‘on quenching thirst and repelling its harms’ (fī taskīn al-ʿatash wa-dafʿ maḍārrīhi) is similar to the previous two parts in that it is obviously worded by al-Rāzī without any evident quotes relating to those of H on thirst. It contains general advice on what kind of drinks and food to consume and avoid, with additional instructions on when and how to consume them. It also gives preventive measures, such as what to put into one’s mouth, what herbs to sniff and chew on, and it even gives a recipe for pills against thirst which are, in addition,

313 Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, Annals, 590.
314 Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, Annals, 585; cf. Ghanoonparvar, ḏūgh; Bazin – Bromberger, Churns and churning.
315 See Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāq, Annals, 131–133.
useful against burning fevers, coarseness of the chest, and burning urine. It closes with some advice on what to do if thirst overcomes the traveller on his way.

The next six parts of M are all related to various issues of travelling in cold weather. The first of these, the fourth part of M ‘on the regimen of those who need to travel in the cold and snow’ (fī tadbīr man aḥtāja an yusāfira fī al-bard wa-al-thalj al-kathīr) starts with a neat transitional sentence shifting the focus of the reader from the previous topics connected to travelling in hot weather to those travelling in the cold, highlighting some typical ailments, such as freezing, hunger, fainting, apoplexy etc. In this part, al-Rāzī starts with a general regimen regarding what to eat and drink, when to do so in relation to travelling, with some additional advice on what to do once resting. This latter part has some details resembling a quote in H attributed to Galen, however, it is considerably reworked.

The fifth part of M ‘on the treatment of those afflicted by freezing due to the cold’ (fī ʿilāj man aṣābahu jumūd min al-bard) does not have obvious parallels in H. While some of the materials recommended in M can be found in a quote of H from Galen, this is presumably just a coincidence, as it is on preventive measures rather than treatment. However, there is a quote in H from Oribasius regarding what to do if one is suffering hypothermia and cold in the snow. While the main points of this quote can be found in M, al-Rāzī gives a more detailed and amended treatment with a more systematic arrangement. In M, al-Rāzī advises preparing a warm resting place sheltered from the wind, massaging the whole body except for the head, and applying a warming compress. In this part, he gives some instructions regarding the manner of massaging, then moves on to when and what to feed and give to drink to the afflicted person, which is followed by a long sleep, hot bath, more massage, and anointing the body with specific oils.

In the sixth part of M, there is advice ‘on fainting due to hunger and its treatment’ (fī al-ghashy al-jūʿī wa-ʿilājihi). In H, there is a note from al-Rāzī stating that fainting due to hunger happens from the cold, right after the quote from the Afīdhīmiyā discussed above recounting that a company travelling in the cold perished due to freezing just as one dies from drinking opium. The reason al-Rāzī chose to insert this note here might be that this hungry fainting results in a slumber-like state, possibly leading to death. Besides this, there is only one additional mention of this kind of fainting in H, another note of al-Rāzī, being a shorter and general one on what to eat and drink principally when travelling in hot or cold weather. For the latter, he states that one
should drink strong and pure wine after eating fatty foods in the cold to avoid hungry fainting overcoming him. The advice al-Rāzī compiled in M for when hunger starts to overcome the traveller is in accordance with these notes. Then, he provides additional instructions for when this is not enough to treat hunger, including sprinkling and sniffing warming things besides massage. At this point, if things get better, he refers the reader to the previous treatment, and provides even more methods of treatment if necessary. Given the lack of external material on the topic in H, this part is apparently predominantly based on al-Rāzī’s own knowledge and experience.

The next, seventh part is on the preservation of the limbs. Regarding this issue, H quotes from Galen, al-Ṭabarī, Shamʿūn, and Ibn Māsawayh, in addition to two notes made by al-Rāzī himself. M starts with a general regimen for footcare for travelling in cold weather, stating that the toes are to be massaged, anointed with oil, wrapped, and padded with fur, before putting on warm socks. If heelless, light shoes are worn, then the heels are to be raised with some padding. In H, Galen advises oil in general to prevent the cold reaching the body; al-Ṭabarī is more specific in writing about anointing the limbs of the body with oil; Shamʿūn advises wrapping the limbs in cloths and cotton soaked in warming oils or any oil. The use of oil, *zayt* in the Arabic, is common in all these quotes of H and M as well, while the wrapping is present in M but without specification of the use of oil-soaked cloths. The use of warming oils comes as the next notion mentioned in M, with a few examples given for such oils. Then, al-Rāzī moves on to the uses of tar instead of such oils, as it is more useful and offers additional protection against putrefaction of the afflicted limbs. This information comes directly from al-Rāzī, according to the notes in H, as he records this there as his own (*lī*). Then, he states that the traveller should not try and endure painful cold, as it can lead to fast decay of the limbs, also describing the signs of this (the sensation that the cold has diminished without having changed his covers, put on additional ones, or the cold having actually subsided). This descriptive part is, in general, not found in later guides meant for travellers, nor is there any mention of this in H, which indicates that providing this information is once again an example of the ingenuity of al-Rāzī. He offers advice on how to treat this stage, as well as what to do if the condition persists but the limbs have not turned green or black. This section has no parallel in the quotes of H; the following section discusses treatment of discoloured limbs, for which there is a parallel in H. It is a note from al-Rāzī, in which he writes
that the only reason of putrefaction that he can think of is the lack of dissolution, and then writes about the treatment according to this. In M, the same ideas and treatments are found but worded more in accordance with an encyclopaedic text. This part is closed with criticising the method of the ‘ignorant healers’, juhāl al-muʿālijīn, namely cutting away the putrefied parts and with improper techniques too, rather than applying the proper treatment of hot dressings to remove the putrid parts.

The eighth part is a rather short one ‘on the eye, if blinded by the snow’ (fi al-ʿayn idhā qamirat min al-thalj). Here, al-Rāzī recommends putting on a black turban and headband as well as looking at a black piece of cloth held in one’s hands. While there are no corresponding notes in H regarding snow blindness, this short section closes with an interesting piece of advice. It is to “fasten in front of the eyes the thing (al-shay) that the Turks (al-atrāk) use on their travels made from the black hairs of the tails of black mounts”. In later guides written for travellers, the use of a black veil, burqu’, is often advised to protect the eye. From this guide of al-Rāzī, however, it would seem that around the 9th to 10th centuries in the regions of Mesopotamia and Jibāl, such veils were associated mostly with Turkic travellers and were made of black animal hair; otherwise al-Rāzī, a learned man referring to them in this way instead of using the name of one of the common veils would not make any sense. The editor of M states in a footnote that “the thing is the burqu’ or the khayliyya in the language of the people of Mosul”, a woven, square-shaped fabric with a size of 30–40 cm, the best of which is made from horse tail or some from donkey tail, and the cheaper ones from goat hair. Unfortunately, the editor does not provide any source for this information. If this thing was indeed a burqu’, as suggested by the editor and accepted by later guides, that would imply holes for the eyes being present on the veil, which seems to contradict to its purpose of protecting the eyes from the glaring whiteness of the snow. However, the second name given by the editor, khayliyya, might be a more accurate one, as it derives from the same root as one of the terms for horses, khayl. Since this piece of garment was made from the hair of riding animals, this would be an obvious connection. Another solution might be the shaʿriyya, from the word for hair, shaʿr, “a short horse hair or goat-wool net that fell down from the head to just below the eyes”. As this garment is a net covering the eyes, it would be a more practical

316 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 290.
317 Al-Rāzī, al-Manṣūrī, 290 n.20.
318 Stillman, Arab dress, 147. For a similar garment from a later period, the bīsha, see Stillmann, Arab dress, 149.
addition to the turban and headband to cover the eyes than a veil with holes for the eyes. ʿAbd al-Rāziq, in his study on women in the Mamluk period, notes that this type of veil, also worn by men, is seldom mentioned in chronicles and Mamluk marriage contracts,319 while Stillman notes that the Cairo Geniza attests its usage in the early Ayyubid period;320 therefore it is plausible that the same or a rather similar veil might have been already in use at the time of al-Rāzī. The reason for later guides adapting the word burquʿ might be that they mean a veil in general, especially since due to al-Rāzī not giving the name of this specific garment, later physicians had no means to preserve its accurate designation via quoting or paraphrasing, as was done in the case of some other materials recommended in travel regimens.

The next, ninth part is ‘on the burning and pain occurring in the eye due to the strongness of the cold and the wind’ (fī al-ḥarqa wa-al-wajʾ al-hādīthayn fī al-ʿayn an shiddat al-bard wa-al-riḥ). There are three relevant notes or quotes on this issue in H, one from Ibn Ṭalāwus and the other two anonymous. The contents (the treatments and materials used) of all three of them are neatly incorporated into this part of M with many additional elements from al-Rāzī. First, he lists the possible symptoms, then moves on to general and more specific treatments. He even states that one particular treatment, use of hot compresses on the eye, is actually harmful, which suggest that this practice was probably frequent.

While the second thematic unit composed of several parts ends here, there are ten more topics discussed in the following parts of M. Part ten is on fatigue and its treatment (fī al-taʿab wa-al-iʿyāʾ wa-ʾilājihi). While H remarks that fatigue is discussed in its own chapter (which is the one immediately before the chapter on travel regimens), it nevertheless contains one quote from Galen regarding the issue, the content of which is incorporated into the text of M. This short part of M gives concise, overall advice for treatment, but it specifies the different materials to be used in wintertime and summertime.

The eleventh part of M is ‘on preparing the body for travelling and the regimen of nourishment during it’ (fī iʿdād al-badan li-l-safar wa-tadbīr al-ghidhāʾ fihi). It starts with the importance of purifying the body before travelling (via venesection and purging), explaining the consequences of neglecting this. In H, there are three quotes related to this topic, more precisely the possibility

319 ʿAbd al-Rāziq, La femme, 245.
320 Stillman, Arab dress, 147.
of ulcers and abscesses resulting, from Ibn Māsawayh, Paul of Aegina, and al-Rāzī himself. Then, M moves on to detailing that the traveller is to gradually get accustomed to the circumstances and daily routine of his travelling days before embarking on his journey regarding the six non-naturals, but al-Rāzī also includes quite practical bits, such as preparing provisions of the medicine that the traveller is accustomed to using.

The next, twelfth part of M is a lengthier part ‘on what repels the harms of the difference of waters and their foulness’ (fī mā yadfa‘u ḍurar ikhtilāf al-amyyāh [sic] wa-radā‘atahā). This section is interesting since H contains some quotes asserting that the changing of waters is more dangerous than the changing of foodstuffs or the air. This is quoted from Ibn Māsawayh and Ḫunayn ibn Ishāq, with the former quote containing a concise explanation as well. This is not reflected in the text of M; it is possible that al-Rāzī’s intention was to present a text with a more practical approach. While in the previous part he could point out fairly straightforward dangers of not purifying the body, in the case of different waters the dangers stated in the quoted explanation of Ibn Māsawayh might not be concrete enough for a layman, as these dangers are the spoiling of the digestion and the generating of bad humours, concepts arguably more technical than that of ulcers. In the first section of this part, al-Rāzī gives general advice, such as mixing waters from the previous dwelling places or soil from his home into the new waters. In addition to this practice, he states that mixing wine or vinegar into the water is useful, besides eating onions, garlic, vinegar (likely referring to foods prepared with it), and lettuce, which are the same foodstuff mentioned in H’s quotes from al-Khūz and Ibn Māsawayh and Qusṭūs. In the following sections, al-Rāzī discusses how to purify water with solid particles in it and how to consume various kinds of water safely. In these sections, he integrates the additional information provided by the quotes of H and adds his own knowledge in the process of organising the material.

The following, thirteenth part is ‘on the regimen of military encampments’ (fī tadbīr manāzil al-ʿasākir). It consists of short instructions on how to set up the tents and the encampment in summertime and wintertime, as well as according to the quality of the air, followed by concise advice on what to look out for if a lot of people get sick and what to do if there are vermin or insects in the vicinity of the camp. There are two quotes regarding this issue in H, both from Qusṭūs. Elements of this appear in an abridged form in M; the omitted information is mostly
regarding vermicides. For these, in M, al-Rāzī simply recommends using the ones he mentioned, as the eighth treatise of his encyclopaedia is dedicated wholly to poisons and vermin. An issue of possible interest is the fact that in H’s second quote from Qusṭūs, the proper Arabic word for military encampment, *muʿaskar* is used, while al-Rāzī uses the expression *manzil/manāzil al-ʿaskar*, ‘the army’s camp site/sites’. This latter expression is the one routinely used in the military regimens discussed throughout this dissertation.

The fourteenth part is ‘on the regimen of the traveller of the sea’ (*fī tadbīr rākib al-bahr*). Al-Rāzī gives short, concise advice regarding preparations, what to do to avoid nausea and vomiting, as well as what to do if despite the measures he mentions one becomes nauseous or vomits. This part offers scarce data regarding specific drinks, foodstuffs, and medicaments, as these have their own place in other discourses of M. Therefore, when comparing this part with the relevant quotes in H from Oribasius, Paul of Aegina, and Balīnās, this is the most striking difference. On closer inspection there appears an additional difference, as in H, Oribasius recommends for the seafarer to eat less on his first day of journey, while al-Rāzī recommends this as a preventive measure to follow in the days prior to embarking on sea.

The fifteenth part ‘on what prevents lice and what is useful against lice’ (*fī mā yamnaʿu tawallud al-qaml wa-yughnī mā tawallada minhu*) has no parallels in the examined chapter of H. In M, al-Rāzī first lists the reasons which might lead to lice infestation, then proceeds to give examples on how to avoid it happening, such as careful bathing and cleaning or regularly changing clothes. In the second half of this section, he lists various materials that repel lice, either applied to the garments or on the skin.

For part sixteen ‘on what prevents paleness of the face due to the sun and wind’ (*fī mā yamnaʿu shuḥūb al-wajh min al-shams wa-al-rīḥ*), this is not the case, as H has notes from Qrīṭūn containing numerous materials with which to cover the face, in addition to a readily available alternative and some additional materials mentioned by al-Rāzī. In M, al-Rāzī begins with the simplest statement: seeking shadow and covering the face prevent paleness. He recommends covering the face with one material only or a combination of materials selected from Qrīṭūn’s list in H, not forgetting to clean the face when resting, and only putting these on while travelling. He gives the alternative as well in M (soaked pastry or egg whites with tragacanth). He ends this part with materials to use in case of more marked paleness, directing the reader to his chapter on cosmetics.
(zīna) for treatment of a more serious affliction. While previous parts either seem to be al-Rāzī's work without notes recorded in H to support his work, or a careful, thought-out, slightly selective, and more organised integration of quoted material with his own, this section seems even more selective and arranged.

The following two parts ‘on what prevents splitting [of skin] on the ankle and feet’ (fī mā yamna‘u min al-shiqāq fī al-‘aqīb wa-asāfil al-rijl) and ‘on the abrasion resulting from riding or from the shoes and sandals’ (fī al-saḥaj al-ḥādith min al-rukūb wa-min al-khuff wa-al-na‘l) are quite practical ones, nevertheless, they are usually not discussed in other such regimens, nor are there any notes in H on these issues. Both parts contain preventive measures and treatments, and are presumably based on al-Rāzī’s knowledge, expertise, and experience regarding typical nuisances occurring on journeys.

The last, nineteenth part ‘on falling or hitting the head and other parts of the body’ (fī al-saṣṭa wa-al-ḍarba ‘alā al-ra’s wa-sā‘ir al-badan) is similar to the previous two parts in that it has no parallel material in H, nor is it a topic often discussed in other regimens. In this part, al-Rāzī focuses first on the treatment of falling on the head or a blow on the head, not only by describing various treatments, but also by describing how to determine the severity of the trauma. Then, he writes about treatment of falling on the chest or parts near it. In the second half of this part, al-Rāzī gives recipes for remedies useful for the trauma of falling and heavy blows, those resulting in spilling of blood, bruises, fever and hot swelling, a lot of blood loss, as well as light bruises and weakness. Either the majority of these are from al-Rāzī’s own experience, or a thorough search could uncover the origin of these recipes in other medical works. The text of M itself does not allude to any source material, even though the style and arrangement shows a contrast. The first half of this part is similar to the whole of the discourse on the regimen of travellers, while the second half with the recipes clearly follows the usual recipe list format. This, however, is definitely not evidence that the material must have been copied, as it is quite logical to switch the format when more complex recipes are given in this quantity.

Based on this study of H and M and a comparison thereof, the general tendency seems to be that al-Rāzī put an immerse effort into arranging his encyclopaedic text, meant for a sizeable audience, in a neat and practical way. He either took special care to incorporate his source materials into his own text in a seamless way, or another possibility is that despite taking notes,
he relied more on his memory and knowledge of their contents rather than the quoted texts themselves. Comparison of the treatments and *materia medica* of the quoted parts of H and those in M shows that al-Rāzī was selective when incorporating material from others and he extensively supplemented them in every case. Travel regimens are part of the practical half of medicine, and this is reflected in M, as al-Rāzī omitted some theoretical points and discussions from M that are recorded in H. A further manifestation of this is the last section of M, consisting of wholly practical issues of travel, rarely mentioned in other Arabic travel regimens and without corresponding notes in H. Based on the present analysis, it appears that al-Rāzī’s method points well beyond a simple compilation of other texts; it is rather defined by careful evaluation and integration of source material which is heavily augmented, drawing on his own knowledge and expertise. This can, on occasion, be demonstrated in the cases when some of the treatments and ideas are clearly recorded in H as his own.

**Ibn Sinā: a clause of the *Qānūn* and a self-contained essay**

In his meticulously organised *Qānūn*, Ibn Sinā placed his travel regimen after his other regimens and thereby classified it as a case of changes or transitions (*intiqālāt*; in the ‘Fifth discourse on changes’, *al-ta’līm al-khāmis fī al-intiqālāt*). Here, he discusses the regimen according to the four seasons in a chapter, then his travel regimen follows as a clause (*jumla*; ‘The clause on the regimen of the travellers’, *al-jumla fī tadbīr al-musāfirīn*). His other travel regimen, the *Risāla fī tadbīr al-musāfir*, being a self-contained essay with a generic title, one expects it to cover most or all the general topics of travel regimens in a concise form. First I will compare the arrangement of the material of both texts along with the topics they discuss, pointing out noteworthy differences between them, and then, I will briefly summarise the results. In the following comparison, the regimen of the *Qānūn* is referred to as Q, while the shorter essay is abbreviated as R.

Q is divided into eight chapters (*faṣl*). R lacks such designated divisions; the edition supplies section titles but notes at the first such title that it is “not present in the manuscript.”[^321] It is not made clear, however, whether this is true only in case of the first section title or all of them.

The first chapter of Q is ‘on watching out for symptoms warning of diseases’ (*fī tadāruk aʿrāḍ tandhuru bi-amrāḍ*). In it, Ibn Sinā writes that if one has such and such a symptom, he is to do a

certain thing to avoid certain diseases that the given symptom indicates. He summarises that if something (e.g. appetite, sleeping, mental sharpness: a few examples from his list) differs from its usual quantity or quality, it warns of a disease. There is no parallel section in R. The reason for this might be that this first chapter of Q does not refer to travelling at all. While it is the first chapter of the Qānūn’s travel regimen, the reason of its inclusion here is more likely due to the topic of the discourse, changes, as its contents are more universal and not specific to travel. If there is no underlying consideration behind this classification, it might have been more appropriate to lift this chapter one degree up and include it under the discourse directly, resulting in the discourse having two chapters (one on the seasons and this one) and the clause on the regimen of travellers.

The second chapter of Q is ‘a general remark on the regimen of the traveller’ (qawl kullī fī tadbīr al-musāfir). The first section of R (after the basmala, hamdala, ṣalwala, and before the first chapter heading added by the editor) is the parallel of this chapter. All in all, the contents of both texts are similar, as they focus on two issues for the most part, namely nourishment and fatigue. The main difference is the elaboration. Q is better articulated and more well-rounded altogether, offering reasonings and explanations for some statements, while R is more succinct, practical, and straightforward. In Q, Ibn Sīnā also had the opportunity to refer his reader to another chapter of his book which deals with fatigue in detail. The difference in the level of elaboration answers for the minor differences in content; however, there are two details which are an exception to this. The first is the purging of the body via venesection or medicaments before embarking on a journey if one does so regularly. The first part of R begins with this advice, while Q completely omits this topic. The second exception is hunger and thirst: while R mostly sticks to general rules on eating, Q gives advice preventing hunger and thirst as well. R discusses thirst in its next section.

The third chapter of Q is ‘on safeguarding against the heat, especially during a journey, and the regimen of those travelling in it’ (fī tawaqqī al-ḥarr wa-khuṣūṣan fī al-safar wa-tadbīr man yusāfiru fīhi). R has a parallel section dubbed ‘travel during summer’ (al-sayr fī al-ṣayf), discussing travelling in hot weather in general. The discussion in Q can be divided into two parts. The first expounds the two issues that it raises in its starting sentence, which states that neglecting to

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*Ibn Sinā, Qānūn, I/320.*
manage oneself well enough during travel in hot weather, one ends up being weakened and thirst over coming him, besides the possibility that the heat of the sun harms him. The countermeasures are covering oneself and coating one’s exposed parts with appropriate materials, travelling only after the (moistening) food one ate has been digested, sniffing rose and violet oil (both considered to have a moistening effect), and proceeding gradually when applying cold water. The second part of Q’s chapter discusses the samūm by providing preventive measures and the instructions to counter the harms of the samūm. Q sums up its advice in the end by stating that one should sit (and rest) in cold places, wash one’s legs with cold water, drink cold water sip by sip if thirsty, and eating food that can be digested easily. The relevant section of R is lengthier than the corresponding chapter of Q. Regarding safeguarding oneself against the effects of the heat, the advice R gives is identical to the points raised by Q in general; however, due to its greater length, it provides the reader with considerably extended lists of useful foodstuffs and medicaments for each issue. It also gives a recipe for a thirst-quenching pill, in addition to alternatives if the pills are unavailable. An interesting feature of this part of R is that it quotes al-Rāzī three times (‘al-Rāzī said’, qāla al-rāzī and later ‘he also said’, wa-qāla ayḍān). While the general points raised here are already present in the text, it briefly mentions the samūm; however, it is treated quite succinctly. The second quote is about not travelling when full of food, and the third is on thirst. Thirst is the only topic amongst the quoted ones that is discussed in detail, by listing various foodstuffs that quench it and giving instructions for when water is scarce yet one is thirsty. All things considered, Q gives brief instructions with only a few practical examples but deals with the samūm in detail. R is lengthier due to the vast number of examples for practical use besides the instructions given, but at the same time it only touches on the samūm. It gives the impression of being less organised than Q, which is confirmed by the quotations present in R. In contrast to the previous section, this one seems closer to a work in progress rather than a finished and carefully designed section.

Chapter four of Q is ‘On the regimen of him who travels in cold’ (fi tadbīr man yusāfiru fi al-bard). It starts with a rather expressive introductory note on the dangerous nature of travelling in fierce cold and on the necessity of proper equipment, which still could not prevent many travellers from perishing due to certain afflictions and actions or falling victim to the illness būlimūs. Pointing out that each disease and affliction is treated in the Qānūn’s corresponding
part, Q gives general advice on preventing the harms of the cold (covering oneself with clothes and warming oils as well as acting gradually when warming oneself). The author closes this chapter with the warning that one should not travel in cold on an empty stomach, and specifying which foodstuffs and drinks in general have warming properties that one should include in one’s meals. After this chapter offering general advice, chapter five of Q is ‘On preserving the limbs from the harms of the cold’ (fī hīfṣ al-āṭrāf ‘an ẓurar al-bard). First it lists practical preventive measures regarding warming the limbs as well as keeping them warm. Then it provides information on what to do if the limbs have been affected by the cold, depending on how bad the damage is. This chapter is rather practical, with plenty of medical materials being mentioned, and with some shorter explanations and reasonings for some of the recommended measures. In contrast, R deals with travelling during wintertime and in cold in its next section under the heading ‘travel during winter’ (al-safar fī al-shitā’) in a somewhat different manner. It provides concrete advice on what to wear and which warming oils to use but it does not give further details regarding warming foodstuffs than does Q. Then, after briefly mentioning the way to protect the eye with a dark veil against the whiteness of the snow, it moves on to the proper way of warming oneself, bathing, and using oils. This same section continues to discuss preserving the limbs and treating them, if needed, as well as what to do if things have got to the point that the limbs fall off. As can be seen, R shows the same arrangement (general advice and the way to preserve and cure the limbs) with the sole difference that it is not separated into two sections. While Q refers the reader to other relevant chapters of the Qānūn, R includes some additional practical information on certain issues.

At this point, Q and R start to differ significantly in content and therefore in arrangement as well. The next, sixth chapter of Q is ‘on preserving the complexion during the travel’ (fī hīfṣ al-lawn fī al-safar). It is a rather short part, instructing the traveller to cover the face with certain viscous materials, and referring the reader to the Qānūn’s chapter on cosmetics (zīna) if the wind, cold, or sun splits the skin open. The seventh chapter of Q is ‘On safeguarding the traveller against the harms of the different waters’ (fī tawaqqī al-mūsāfir maḍarrat al-miyyāh al-mukhtaliq). This chapter starts with giving various methods to purify dirty water, then moves on to how to make waters of certain qualities (salty, alumic etc.) safe to drink, and finally it discusses the practice of mixing water from the traveller’s home or a previous resting place into the water of the following
stop in his journey, in addition to the necessity to drink through a cover, so as not to swallow
the leeches or get nauseous. These two topics are completely omitted in R.

R continues with a section on the regimen of those travelling on sea, and chapter eight of Q is
on the same topic too (fi tadbīr rākib al-bahr). Q advises on how to prevent nausea and vomiting
by consuming appropriate foodstuffs and drinks. The method of R is quite striking in comparison
with Q, as it tells the reader to get provisions of robes\textsuperscript{323} and usual medicaments, to eat less in the
days prior to the journey, strengthen the stomach, and not to look at the water when embarking
on the journey, to sniff [oils useful against nausea], and to “take thing after thing from the things
that alleviate vomiting which are mentioned in the books of medicine”.\textsuperscript{324} Since R quotes from a
named authority only once, even if on three issues, this way of referring to medical books in
general is somewhat odd, as in practice this act tends to be the excuse for giving an exhaustive
list of concrete usable foodstuffs and medicaments, so characteristic of R up to this point. R closes
this chapter with the statement that it is possible to vomit if needed, as it is not harmful as long
as it is not excessive. If it is, then the robes and certain foodstuffs are to be used, and if it is still
excessive, treatment similar to that of summer cholera is to be employed.

This being the last chapter of Q, the following sections of R are without parallels in Q. The next
section of R is ‘on treating the eye’ (fi ‘ilāj al-‘ayn). This is a rather short section on what to do
when the glare of the snow has burnt the eyes. The following section is on what to do with painful
and itching extremities of the hands and legs during winter. The next one is on the splitting of
the skin of the hands and legs, again due to the cold, with an additional short sentence regarding
persistent fissures of the skin. These sections are short as well. Besides their extreme brevity, they
belong to the regimen of wintertime travel or travelling in the cold, which makes the reader feel
like reading mere notes jotted down after the last section, obviously composed with more care
and planning. After these short sections, the next part of R is ‘on treating abrasion of the skin and
wounds caused by shoes’. First, R gives a few medicaments which prevent swellings (waram)
forming on skin abrasions, as well as some that are useful for wounds. Then it moves on to discuss
what to do with swellings. After this the section ends with another quote from al-Rāzī (qāla al-
rāzī) on abrasions from riding and other things. The following section is a short sentence on

\textsuperscript{323} Insipissated juice of ripe fruit, obtained by evaporation of the juice over a fire till it acquires the consistence of
a syrup. Chipman, The world of pharmacy, 281.

\textsuperscript{324} Shams al-Din, al-Madhhab al-tarbawi, 292.

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treating blisters (nafākhāt) caused by shoes, and the last section contains some advice on treating sunburn.

To sum up, the discussions in the two works of general advice, of travelling in warm weather, and of travelling in cold weather seem to concur for the most part. Q is more organised and contains some hints at theoretical explanations, while R is more practical with longer lists of foodstuffs and medicaments. There are only a few peculiarities unaccounted for by the different nature of the two texts regarding these topics, namely the inclusion or omission of purging as a preparatory measure, the prevention of hunger, and the varying details in elaborating on the samūm. Major differences between the two texts appear in the following parts. Q has chapters on skincare and the different waters, but R completely lacks these, which is especially problematic in the case of the second topic, being as it is a constant and crucial aspect of travel regimens in general. Regarding travelling on the sea, R excuses itself from its usual exhaustive lists of practicalities by referring to the advice to be found in medical books in general, while Q gives the usual general advice. In addition to these, R contains some quite short sections, or rather notes, on highly practical issues rarely mentioned in travel regimens. While Q does not include direct references to direct quotations from other physicians identified by name, R quotes explicitly from al-Rāzī four times in total. Another striking feature of R not mentioned until now is that parts of it seem to be taken from al-Majūsī’s travel regimen. These are as follows. The first section of R which lacks a title seems to be an excerpt of the beginning of al-Majūsī’s regimen. The second section of R on travelling in summer is a copy of al-Majūsī’s regimen up to the point where R quotes from al-Rāzī, apart from some omissions and simplifications of al-Majūsī’s text. The third section of R on travelling in wintertime and treating the limbs afflicted by the cold is yet again a slightly modified copy of al-Majūsī’s regimen for those travelling in winter. While it is not my intention to investigate the authenticity of R (authentic but doubtful in the list of Gutas), it seems more like a collection of materials and notes, rather than a substantial treatise meant for a specific audience. Besides a purely philological analysis, it would be quite interesting to analyse the manuscripts of the text. Maybe such an inquiry could yield results which, alongside a philological study, would support the hypothesis that R is an early work of Ibn Sinā, or even just

325 Gutas, Avicenna, 518 (GMed 13).
a collection of notes, that ended up being copied a few times, in which case its authenticity could be regarded as confirmed rather than dubious.

2.2.3. Travel regimens in encyclopaedias: the question of inclusion and position

Based on the list of the medical sources on travel regimens in this chapter, it seems that there are more encyclopaedias that include such a regimen than there are self-contained treatises dedicated to the topic. Although the scale might tip in favour of the latter as more treatises and their manuscripts will hopefully be (re-)discovered and edited, the occurrence of travel regimens in encyclopaedias deserve some further thought, as some observations regarding the inclusion of regimens and their position in the whole work can be made.

Travel regimens are always situated in the sections of encyclopaedias dedicated to the preservation of health (ḥifż al-sīḥha), which is a subject within the practical part of medicine. An obvious consequence of this fact is that in the case of encyclopaedias which are dedicated to the theoretical part of medicine, travel regimens alongside all other regimens for preserving health are absent. A straightforward example of this is Ibn Rushd’s (d. 595/1198) Kitāb al-kulliyāt fī al-tibb; while the sixth book of the work is on the preservation of health, the approach is highly theoretical, in accordance with the concept and method of the whole work. The book that complements the theoretical approach of the Kulliyāt is Ibn Zuhr’s (d. 557/1162) Kitāb al-taysīr fī al-mudāwāt wa-al-tadbīr, which focuses on the symptoms and treatments of diseases, rather than the preservation of health.

As for the preservation of health, the parts of encyclopaedias (as well as monographs) discussing it are focused on the six non-naturals (air, movement and rest, eating and drinking, sleeping and wakefulness, excretion and retention, and mental movements) but the proper regimen of these is unique to each and every person based on their physiology. While there is an abundance of medical material on the preservation of health written in Arabic, some detailed

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326 On his life and works, see Arnaldez, Ibn Rushd.
327 On his life and works, see Álvarez Millán, Zuhr, Banū, 147–150. On the Kitāb al-taysīr, see Azar, The sage of Seville, 36–42. On the relationship of Ibn Rushd and Ibn Zuhr (and therefore on the connection of the two works), besides their biographies, see Azar, The sage of Seville, 75–82.
and comprehensive, some specific, what is of special importance regarding the encyclopaedias under partial scrutiny in this dissertation is the categories created by the physicians which form the basis for discussions of the proper regimens, even though not all of them are discussed in each encyclopaedia. In some cases, we find general or specific advice on all the six non-naturals. Sections on regimens tailored to the properties of the seasons are commonly included, as are special regimens according to the various temperaments. Perhaps even more prevalent is the discussion of regimens according to age groups, starting from childbirth and on to the regimen of the elderly. This is where one can find chapters dedicated to the care of pregnant women or for those in childbed, occasionally for people recuperating from diseases, and other specific or ‘miscellaneous’ categories. This is also where travel regimens are generally placed by the authors. Travel regimens are routinely included after the discussion of regimens according to the seasons, temperaments, and age groups, but their position amongst the additional regimens varies from author to author.

In al-Ṭabarī’s *Firdaws al-hikma*, the earliest encyclopaedic source discussed here, the only regimen besides those for the seasons is the one for travellers. The fourth treatise of the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī* of al-Rāzī is dedicated to the preservation of health. Focusing on the six non-naturals and touching on toothcare, eyecare, preserving the hearing, and safeguarding against contagious diseases, it includes regimens according to the seasons, for pregnant women and childbirth, for women in childbed, for the newborn, for the wetnurse, and then simply for ‘the rest of the people’ (*sā’ir al-insān* [sic!]; weaned children, young people, grown-up people, and the elderly). In contrast to this, the sixth treatise of this encyclopaedia is wholly dedicated to the regimen of travellers. Contrary to these distinguished positions, al-Majūsī and Ibn Sinā included their travel regimens at the very end of their sections on the preservation of health. However, we find that in the next encyclopaedic source, written some 200 years after Ibn Sinā, Ibn al-Quff promotes his travel regimen to the beginning of his ‘miscellaneous’ regimens right after discussing temperaments and age groups. As for Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Kitāb al-wuṣūl*, a cursory look at the contents is misleading. He discusses three regimens, those for children, for the elderly, and for the travellers, respectively. While this way his travel regimen comes at the very end, it is far more

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detailed than his second regimen, and it is also important to point out that while he omits almost all of the usual main categories (including only some of the regimens for specific age groups), he still includes a regimen for travellers. Ḥājjī Bāshā’s *Shifāʾ al-aqsām* betrays a similar arrangement, albeit his regimens before that of the travellers cover all the main categories in addition to many specialised ones.

Based on these considerations, it seems that travel regimens formed a highly valued part of an encyclopaedia’s section on the preservation of health in the 9th and 10th centuries, and while they fall behind other regimens by the end of the 10th century, their importance is still sufficient to warrant inclusion until the 13th century, from which time they enjoy a modest revival. The periods in which shorter or longer treatises were dedicated to the discussion of travel regimens corroborate this observation in general (see sub-chapter 1.2. Treatises for these); however, Ibn Mandawayh’s lost treatise might indicate a slightly later decline in popularity, while the two treatises from the late 15th century attest a pronounced renewal of interest in the topic.
3. THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR, IBN AL-AMSHĀṬĪ

When looking at the textual tradition of the treatise *al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār*, two of its manuscripts give the name of the author as al-shaykh al-imām al-‘allāma Muẓaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-‘Antābī, also known as al-Amshāṭī. One of these manuscripts also contains a short biography of the author which names al-Sakhāwī’s *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmiʿ* and ‘some other work(s)’ as its source material. While the manuscripts are discussed in detail in the next chapter, the data presented briefly in this paragraph is what they contain regarding their author.

To establish a comprehensive account of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s life, in sub-chapter 3.1. Reference works, I turn to the standard reference works and mentions of him in the secondary literature, then in sub-chapter 3.2. Sources, I examine the various biographical entries dedicated to him. At the end of both parts, I summarise the various problems present in the literature regarding the life and works of Ibn al-Amshāṭī. To anticipate, these are the issue of alternate birth dates, the scarcity of sources, especially regarding his positions and date of death, a lack of a complete list of his works both in the sources and reference works, and the generally unsatisfactory state of reference works. Therefore, in sub-chapter 3.3. The biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, I present an in-depth biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, where I aim to resolve the issues pointed out in the first and second parts of the chapter. In sub-chapter 3.4. the works of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, I offer a complete list of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s works based on the reference works, the sources, and the evidence to be found in manuscripts. This part contains a detailed review of the only work of Ibn al-Amshāṭī available in edited form. Sub-chapter 3.5. Concluding remarks summarises the findings of this chapter and brings attention to certain issues deserving further research.329

3.1. Reference works

Brockelmann wrote a short entry on Ibn al-Amshāṭī in his GAL. From this we learn that Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū al-Thanā’ Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-‘Aytābī al-Amshāṭī was born around 812/1407 [sic!] and died in Rabī’ II 902/December 1496 in Cairo. He studied fiqh, medicine, and military science, utilising his knowledge as a cannon master in many campaigns. Brockelmann lists manuscripts for four of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s works (*al-Qawl al-sadid, al-Isfār, Ta’sis al-ṣiḥḥa*, and

329 I would like to thank Máté Horváth and Mónika Schönleber for their invaluable comments on an earlier version of this chapter.
his Mūjaz commentary). Brockelmann’s sources are al-Sakhāwī’s al-Daw’ al-lāmiʿ and al-Shawkānī’s al-Badr al-tāliʿ.339 It is worth noting that 812 AH corresponds to 1409 AD, while 1407 AD would match 810 AH, an alternate birth date. Despite that Brockelmann does not mention this second date, it is the most likely cause for the discrepancy in the birth dates he gives.

Ḥājjī Khalīfa records an immensely important fact in his Kashf al-ẓunūn in the entry for the Mūjaz al-Qānūn. He writes: “And one of its commentaries is al-Munjaz. It is an elaborate commentary in two volumes by the chief physician (raʾīs al-ṭibbāʾ) Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Amshāṭī, the Hanafi, born in the year 810 [AH].”330 Here, in addition to the alternate birth date, we find a piece of crucial information: according to Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Ibn al-Amshāṭī was chief physician. However, if we turn to the entry for the Lamḥa, a medical work on which Ibn al-Amshāṭī commented, we find Ḥājjī Khalīfa stating: “Muẓaffar al-Din Maḥmūd al-ʿAyntābī, known as Ibn al-Amshāṭī, commented on it and named it Taʾsīs al-ṣiḥḥa.”331 While Ḥājjī Khalīfa omits to bring up the chief physicianship here, he includes it again in the entry on Ibn al-Amshāṭī in the Sullam al-wuṣūl,332 his biographical dictionary. As he adds that “al-Suyūṭī mentioned him in his Aʿyān al-aʿyān,” we can quickly locate the source for this critical detail.

As for the works of al-Baghdādī supplementing the data found in the Kashf al-ẓunūn, both contain entries on Ibn al-Amshāṭī and his works. In his biographical dictionary, the Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn, under Ibn al-Amshāṭī, he states: “Muẓaffar al-Din Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Yaʿqūb, the Cairene, the Hanafi, known as Ibn al-Amshāṭī, was born in 815 [AH] and died in 902 [AH].”333 Considering that none of the sources gives the date 815 AH, it is perhaps a typo for 810 AH. Four of his works are listed here, namely: Taʾsīs al-ṣiḥḥa, a commentary on al-Niqāya, al-Qawl al-sadīd, and the Munjaz. In al-Baghdādī’s bibliographical supplement to the Kashf al-ẓunūn, the Īḍāḥ al-maknūn, we find short entries on only two of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s works, al-Kifāya Sharḥ al-Niqāya334 and al-Qawl al-sadīd.335 Interestingly, al-Baghdādī remains silent regarding the issue of chief physicianship as well as the rest of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s works.

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330 GAL II/103, GAL S II/93.
331 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Kashf, II/1900.
332 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Kashf, II/1561.
333 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Sullam, III/305 (no. 4839).
334 Al-Baghdādī, Hadiyyat, II/411.
335 Al-Baghdādī, Īḍāḥ, II/371.
336 Al-Baghdādī, Īḍāḥ, II/249.
Regarding modern Arabic biographical dictionaries, both al-Zirikli and Kahhâla have entries on the author. In his al-ʿAʾlâm, al-Zirikli presents his entry under the name Ibn al-Amshâṭi. He gives the same dates as Brockelmann. For the author’s name, al-Zirikli gives Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn Ismāʿīl, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, Abū al-Thanāʾ al-ʿAynī (al-ʿAytābī) by origin, the Cairene, the Hanafi, known as Ibn al-Amshâṭi. As for his life, al-Zirikli summarises the accounts given in his primary sources in a few short phrases, then lists the same four works as Brockelmann. At the end, he quotes al-Sakhâwī regarding his friendship with Ibn al-Amshâṭi, then explains that al-Amshâṭi was Ibn al-Amshâṭi’s maternal grandfather, who was a comb trader. Al-Zirikli references al-Shawkânî’s al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ, al-Sakhâwī’s al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ, two catalogue entries,337 and both of Brockelmann’s entries.338

In Kahhâla’s Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn, there are two entries for the author. One is under the name Maḥmūd al-Amshâṭi (no. 16521). Here, Kahhâla gives the same dates of birth and death, but he gives the alternate birth date 810/1407 in a footnote. For the full name, he gives Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, Abū al-Thānāʾ al-ʿAynī (al-ʿAytābī) by origin, the Cairene, the Hanafi, known as Ibn al-Amshâṭi (Muẓaffar al-Dīn). Besides the same dates of birth and death (with a typo of the former in the main text), there is a summary of Ibn al-Amshâṭi’s life quite similar to al-Zirikli’s entry, and the list of the same four works. Kahhâla’s sources are al-Shawkânî’s al-Badr al-ṭāliʿ, al-Sakhâwī’s al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ, Ḥājī Khalīfa’s Kashf al-ẓunūn, al-Baghdādi’s Ḥiṣb al-makrūn and Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn, al-Zirikli’s al-ʿAʾlâm, and Brockelmann’s Supplement entry.339 Kahhâla’s second entry is for Maḥmūd al-ʿAytābī (no. 16534), augmenting the previous entry340 with more elements of his name and completing the list of his four works.341

While the respective purposes of the works mentioned above differ significantly, I would like to point out some noteworthy issues. Firstly, there is no complete list of Ibn al-Amshâṭi’s works provided in any of them. The case of al-Baghdâdi is also intriguing, as he lists four works in his

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338 Al-Zirikli, al-ʿAʾlâm, VII/163.
339 Kahhâla, Muʿjam (1993), III/794. The exact same entry can be found in the earlier edition as well, with the typo in the name but without the typo for the date of birth: see Kahhâla, Muʿjam (1957), XII/145.
340 Kahhâla, Muʿjam (1957), XII/188.
341 Kahhâla, Muʿjam (1993), III/797.
short biographical entry while only two of the four are accounted for in his register of titles. Secondly, only the same two biographical works are cited as sources in all of the reference works discussed above. The exception is Ḥājjī Khalīfa, who makes a reference to al-Suyūṭī. If we broaden the scope of search for information on Ibn al-Amshāṭī, we find that Behrens-Abouseif mentions a certain al-Amshāṭī while only two of the four are accounted for in his register of titles. Secondly, only the same two biographical works are cited as sources in all of the reference works discussed above. The exception is Ḥājjī Khalīfa, who makes a reference to al-Suyūṭī. If we broaden the scope of search for information on Ibn al-Amshāṭī, we find that Behrens-Abouseif mentions a certain al-Amshāṭī when discussing master calligraphers. Here, she cites al-Sakhāwī’s al-Daw’ al-lāmi’ and his Dhayl ‘alā Raṭ al-ʾizr.343 This al-Amshāṭī is, however, the brother of our author. Thirdly, the case of chief physicianship is intriguing, to say the least. Ḥājjī Khalīfa is the only author to record that Ibn al-Amshāṭī was chief physician, most likely relying on al-Suyūṭī here.

As being appointed to this position was quite an achievement,343 it seems truly peculiar that this fact is not present in all of the accounts on Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s life.

3.2. Sources

The sources mentioned in the above accounts are Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī’s (830–902/1427–1497) al-Daw’ al-lāmi’, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī’s (843–911/1445–1505) A’yān al-a’yān, and Muḥammad al-Shawkānī’s (1173–1255/1759–1839) al-Badr al-tāli’. The rich historiographical production of the 15th century, however, compels one to try and locate additional contemporary accounts of the author’s life besides those of al-Sakhāwī’s and al-Suyūṭī’s. Despite the generous abundance of source material, probing the works of the most prominent historians of the century has not yielded much new information, as we will see shortly.344

The relevant parts of the works of Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442), one of the foremost historians of the period,345 are still too early for our author’s life. The same can be said about his famous rival, Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (762–855/1361–1451),346 even though it would be

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342 Behrens-Abouseif, The book, 118. I would like to thank Peter Nagy for bringing this reference to my attention.

343 Regarding what this position meant, see Pormann – Savage-Smith, Medieval Islamic medicine, 87–88; Chipman, The world of pharmacy, 125, referencing Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Faṭḥ Allāh and Abū Zakariyya, Physicians under the Mamluks (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1987), who cites al-Qalqashandī’s Ṣubḥ al-aʾshā.


345 See vol. 7, no. 2 of the Mamlūk Studies Review devoted to him.

346 On his life, see Marmon, al-ʿAynī, Badr al-Dīn.
quite interesting to read Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī’s account of someone with whom he shares the al-‘Aynī or al-‘Ayntābī nisba. The case remains the same for the works of the last of the famous trio, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Hajjār al-‘Asqalānī (773–852/1372–1449).\textsuperscript{347} As for Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (779–853/1377–1448), besides his dates of birth and death the scope of his Dhayl also disqualifies him as a likely source.\textsuperscript{348} Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Taghrībirdī’s (812–874/1409–1470)\textsuperscript{349} al-Manhal contains biographies from 1248 to the 1450s, his al-Nujūm al-zāhira continues up to 1467, and his Hawādith al-duhūr covers the years 1441–1469. While this rules out finding our author’s short biographical note in the list of those deceased during the year 1496, neither is there even a passing mention of him in these works. ‘Alī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī’s (819–900/1416–1494)\textsuperscript{350} Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-‘abdān covers the years 1384–1475, while his other historical work, Inbā’ al-haṣr deals with a much shorter period, 1468–1473 and parts of 1480–1481. There is no passing mention of our author here in either of the works, despite the fact that the second one mentions our author’s brother, Shams al-Amshāṭī, many times. A fellow physician, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Malāṭī (844–920/1440–1515),\textsuperscript{351} son of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn (d. 872/1468) mentions Shams al-Amshāṭī in the Nayl al-amal a few times and reports his death as well. The major work of Muḥammad ibn Ahmad Ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafi (852–874/1448–1524),\textsuperscript{352} Badāʾīʾ al-zuhūr also mentions Shams al-Amshāṭī but not our author.

However, the biographical account written by al-Sakhāwī on Ibn al-Amshāṭī provides a clue: Ibn al-Amshāṭī travelled with al-Biqāʿī, who said that our author was born at the end of 810 AH, corresponding to early 1408. Additionally, al-Suyūṭī quotes from al-Biqāʿī’s “Muʾjam” an anecdote related by Ibn al-Amshāṭī to al-Biqāʿī.\textsuperscript{353} Therefore, the relevant works of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Umar ibn Ḥasan al-Biqāʿī (809–885/1407–1480)\textsuperscript{354} likely hold some further details about Ibn al-Amshāṭī. However, al-Biqāʿī’s biographical dictionary, ‘Unwān al-zamān bi-tarājim al-shuyūkh wa-al-aqrān regrettably does not mention our author or his brother. While it does contain an

\textsuperscript{347} On his life, see Rosenthal, \textit{Ibn Hadjār al-‘Askalānī}. On the rivalries of the three, see Broadbridge, \textit{Academic rivalry}.

\textsuperscript{348} See Reisman, \textit{A holograph MS}.

\textsuperscript{349} On his life, see Popper, \textit{Abū ‘l-Mahāsin}.

\textsuperscript{350} See Massoud, \textit{The chronicles}, 133–134.

\textsuperscript{351} See Massoud, \textit{The chronicles}, 67.

\textsuperscript{352} On his life, see Brinner, \textit{Ibn Iyās}.

\textsuperscript{353} Al-Ṣuyūṭī, \textit{Naẓm}, 174.

\textsuperscript{354} On his life, see Saleh, \textit{al-Biqāʿī}, as well as the material listed in the following footnote.
autobiography with some details on his travels,355 it still does not mention Ibn al-Amshāṭi. A later abridgement of the 'Unwān al-zamān compiled by al-Biqāʾi himself under the title 'Unwān al-ʿunwān lists the names and dates of birth and death of the teachers, peers, and students of al-Biqāʾi. Here we find a short entry on Ibn al-Amshāṭi containing his name and date and place of birth.356 Al-Biqāʾi's chronicle, Izhār al-ʿaṣr li-ḥaṣr al-ʿaṣr covers the years 855–870/1451–1467. The parts comprising the years 855–865 AH are available in edition; the rest, however, is preserved in manuscript form only. In the edited parts, there are mentions of Shams al-Amshāṭi but not of Ibn al-Amshāṭi.357

To summarise, it seems that we are, for the most part, left with the same three sources for Maḥmūd Ibn al-Amshāṭi's life, i. e. al-Sakhāwī's al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ,358 al-Suyūṭī's Aʿyān al-ʿaṣr,359 and al-Shawkānī's al-Badr al-ṭālī,360 also, the entry in al-Biqāʾi's 'Unwān al-ʿunwān must also be added to this list as a fourth source, as it is the origin of an alternate birth date, even if it does not contain any other information. Al-Sakhāwī's account is by far the most detailed; however, it naturally cannot give a date of death, nor does it contain any information regarding the chief physicianship. It is al-Suyūṭī who includes the latter information, and al-Shawkānī, living four centuries later, is the only one providing us with a date of death. Regrettably, biographies of the brother, Muḥammad,362 do not contain much additional information on Maḥmūd himself.

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355 Al-Biqāʾi, ‘Unwān al-zamān, II/61–85. Studies on various events recorded in this autobiography from different points of view are: Goudie, How to make it in Cairo; Goudie, Al-Biqāʾi's self-reflection; Saleh, In defense of the Bible, 7–20; Guo, Al-Biqāʾi’s chronicle; Guo, Tales of a medieval Cairene harem.
356 I would like to thank Kenneth Goudie for bringing this entry to my attention.
357 I was unable to access the edited parts of the work. I would like to thank Kenneth Goudie for looking through the volumes in search of the Amshāṭis.
358 Al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍawʾ, X/128–129 (no. 541).
359 Al-Suyūṭī, Naẓm, 174 (no. 189).
360 Al-Shawkānī, Badr, II/292–293 (no. 536).
362 A non-exhaustive list of his biographies and mentions: al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍawʾ, VI/301–304 (no. 1034); al-Sakhāwī, al-Dhayl, 295–298; al-Sakhāwī, Wajīz al-kalām, III/393 (no. 2567, obituary); al-Malāṭī, Nayl al-ʿamal, IV/284, VII/48, 76, 94, 137, 270 (obituary); al-Ṣayrafi, Īnba’ al-ḥaṣr, 156,251, 284, 320, 324, 360, 361, 362, 448, 491, 492, 493, 503, 512, 517.
3.3. The biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī

For the reasons discussed above concerning the source material, the following biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī relies mostly on al-Sakhawi’s account, with some additional information from other accounts as well as from biographies of others. In order to resolve the problems pointed out with regard to the data present in the reference works and the sources, the biography is separated into six parts. The first of these is dedicated to Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s family relations and his name. In the second part, I propose a resolution of the multiple birth dates recorded for Ibn al-Amshāṭī. The third part focuses on his studies. Here, wherever it was possible, I tried to identify his teachers and contemporaries by referring to their biographies in al-Sakhawi’s al-Ḍawʾ, in the hope that it facilitates further research on them if needed. The fourth part of this biography focuses on Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s travels and the more practical skills he acquired. The fifth part is dedicated to his teaching activities and the positions that he held. The last, sixth part is devoted to the data regarding his last years and death, besides offering a glimpse of the praise of his character present in the biographical accounts.

Family:

Maḥmūd ibn Ḥasmīl ibn Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abū al-Thanāʾ al-ʿAynṭābī [=from Gaziantep] by origin, the Cairene, the Hanafi, was the son of the imām Shihāb al-Dīn and full brother of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kajkāwī. He was known as Ibn al-Amshāṭī. This nasab can be traced back to his maternal grandfather, Shams al-Dīn, who was a comb trader (the Arabic word for comb being misht/musht, pl. amshāṭ). From the biography of the brother, Muḥammad, we learn that their mother was called Firdaws, daughter of al-Shams Muhammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Mūsā. Unfortunately, the sources remain silent on which of the two brothers was older, for which I presently offer a resolution. Al-Sakhawi records that Muhammad’s father died in 819/1416–1417, so he grew up under the care of his grandfather the comb trader. While there is no mention of this fact in the biographies of Maḥmūd, he certainly grew up under their grandfather’s care together with his brother.

363 Al-Sakhawi, al-Ḍawʾ, VI/301.
364 Al-Sakhawi, al-Dhayl, 205.
Date of birth:
While all sources agree that Ibn al-Amshāṭī was born in Cairo, they record two different birth dates: 810/1407–1408 and 812/1409–1410. The first one is based on the account of al-Biqā‘ī, and it is repeated by al-Suyūṭī; the second one can be found in al-Sakhāwī’s report, repeated by al-Shawkānī. According to al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s brother, al-Shams Muḥammad al-Kajkāwī was born on 26 Dhū al-Ḥijja or Dhū al-Qa‘da 811 / 12 May or April 1409, as he read it in Muḥammad’s handwriting,365 while ‘Abd al-Bāṣīṭ al-Malaṭī writes that he was born in 812/1409–1410.366 Suppose we evaluate ‘Abd al-Bāṣīṭ’s 812 as an inaccurate version of the very end of 811 and accept April/May 1409 as the correct date of birth for Muḥammad. In that case, there could have been enough time for Muḥammad’s mother to become pregnant and give birth to Maḥmūd still in 812 (from late May 1409 to early May 1410). However, if 810 (from June 1407 to late May 1408) is the correct birth date of Maḥmūd, it would mean more time in between the two pregnancies (even up to a year, instead of a maximum of three months). Although biologically both scenarios are entirely possible, 810 and the end of 811 are more probable. Therefore, I would suggest that 810/1407–1408 is the more likely birth date of Maḥmūd Ibn al-Amshāṭī.

Studies:
Al-Sakhāwī gives a detailed account of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s studies.367 He memorised (ḥāfaẓa) the Qur’an, Ṣadr al-Shari‘a al-Thānī’s (d. 747/1346) Niqāya fī al-fiqh, and Ibn Ḥājib’s (d. 646/1249) Kāfiya. He versified (naẓama) parts of Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī’s (d. 646/1249) Nuzhat al-naẓar and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khujandi’s (fl. beginning of 8th/14th c.) al-Talwīḥ fī al-tibb. He studied fiqh under (ishtaghala fī al-fiqh ʿalā) Ibn al-Dīrī (d. 867/1463),369 al-Amin al-Aṣṣarāʾī (d. 883/1475),370 al-Shumunnī (d. 872/1468),371 and al-Badr Ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. 875/1471).372 He studied (akhadha fī) nahw and other subjects as well from al-Amin al-Aṣṣarāʾī.373 As for medicine, he studied

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365 Al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw‘, VI/301; al-Sakhāwī, al-Dhayl, 235.
367 Al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw‘, X/128.
368 Al-Shawkānī explicitly mentions Ibn Ḥajar: see al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, II/293.
369 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw‘, III/249–253.
370 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw‘, X/240–243.
371 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw‘, II/174–178.
372 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍaw‘, X/138–143.
373 Al-Shawkānī gives al-Shumunnī as Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s nahw teacher, which is most probably an error: al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, II/293. Al-Sakhāwī lists Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s fiqh teachers, then writes that he learned nahw from the second one and others. Al-Shawkānī does the same but mentions only two of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s fiqh teachers, so the
(akhadha) under al-Shumunni and al-Sharaf ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 873/1468–1469), as well as under Salām Allāh (d. 886 or 887/1481–1483) in Mecca. He learned from him the qirā'a of al-Khaṭīb Abū al-Fadl al-Nuwayrī in the Shamsiyya. In Mecca, he also studied from (samīʿa al-lā) al-Taqi ibn Fahd (d. 871/1466–1467) and Abū al-Fath al-Maṭ ṣī (d. 859/1454–1455). He learned (akhadha) timekeeping (al-mūqāṭ) from al-Shams al-Maḫjallī. He studied (samīʿa al-lā) from al-Shams al-Shāmī (d. 831/1428) the Dhayl mashyakhat al-Qalānīsi written by al-ʿIrāqī (d. 896/1494). From al-Shāmī’s biography, we can gather that he learned this work from Abū al-Ḥaram al-Qalānīsi (d. 765/1364) himself. As for Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s next teacher, he studied under al-Badr Ḥusayn al-Būṣrī (d. 838/1434–1435) the Sunan of al-Dāraqutnī (d. 385/995) as a classmate of al-Sunbātī. Al-Sakhāwī writes that Ibn al-Amshāṭī studied from ‘our shaykh’, undoubtedly referring to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, and that he received jāzās from a number of his teachers. Even though Ibn al-Amshāṭī is not a figure well-known to us today, the list of his teachers and fellow students undeniably places him in the centre of the network of the learned late Mamluk Cairene elite.

**Travels and ‘practical’ skills:**

He travelled to Damascus many times and attended paraenetic sessions of Abū Shīr (d. 844/1441). He performed the pilgrimage many times and lived in Mecca for studying (jāwarā). From the biography of one of his teachers in Mecca, we can date at least one of his pilgrimages

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374 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw', VI/284–286.
375 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw', III/257–258.
376 Either the younger or older Muhammad Abū al-Fadl al-Nuwayrī, as the brothers followed their father and one another as khaṭībs of Mecca. See al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw', VII/44–45 (no. 93) and al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw', VII/45 (no. 94).
377 On the Ibn Fahd family, see Meloy, Ibn Fahd.
378 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw', VII/161–162; al-Suyūṭī, Naẓm, 139–140.
380 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw’, VII/4.
381 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw’, IV/171–178.
382 For his biography, see al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Durar, IV/235.
383 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw’, III/150.
385 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw’, IV/82–83.
and study periods. Al-Sakhāwī records that Salām Allāh first studied – or rather taught (jāwara)\(^{386}\) – in Mecca shortly before 850/1446, and this was when Ibn al-Amshāṭī studied medicine from him.\(^{387}\) Ibn al-Amshāṭī visited al-Ṭāʾif accompanying al-Biqaʿī. As mentioned above, al-Biqaʿī’s 'Unwān al-zamān contains a short autobiography, written in 841/1437. While most of his travels recorded in this autobiography are dated, he does not mention travelling to al-Ṭāʾif. It might be that this particular journey took place after 841/1437, or maybe it is not mentioned explicitly because it would be taken for granted that one would visit this town after the pilgrimage (which he does not date), rather than as another separate journey from Cairo.

Ibn al-Amshāṭī was stationed in some frontier towns or ports (thughūr)\(^{388}\) and travelled to participate in jihād. This jihād could very well refer to the campaigns to Cyprus and Rhodes (in which al-Biqaʿī participated as well and wrote al-Isfār ‘an ashridat al-asfār, “an incomplete epitome of his eye-witness accounts”, lost today).\(^{389}\) If so, it might be a logical assumption that Ibn al-Amshāṭī was stationed in the frontier ports of Cilicia. However, as ships from Būlāq, Beirut, and Tripoli sailed to Cyprus and Rhodes in campaigns in the 1430s and 1440s,\(^{390}\) pinpointing the exact possibilities based on the data provided by al-Sakhāwī (the life span of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, plus the terms thughūr and jihād) would be an ambitious, if not impossible undertaking.\(^{391}\) Ibn al-Amshāṭī devoted attention to swimming (sibāḥa), bookbinding (tajlīd), and archery (ramy al-nushshāb). He was treating patients (ʿālaja), fencing (thāqafa), shooting cannons (ramiya bi-al-madāfī), and worked in naphtha and perhaps ointment production (ṣanʿat al-naft wa-al-dahāshāt, supposing that the latter is a typo for dihānāt), learning from the masters.

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\(^{386}\) See Ende, Mudjāwir.

\(^{387}\) Al-Sakhāwī, al-Ḍawʾ, III/257.

\(^{388}\) See Bosworth – Latham, al-Thughūr.

\(^{389}\) Guo, Al-Biqaʿī’s chronicle, 122, 125. As Saleh points out, al-Biqaʿī mentions only two naval expeditions as jihāds in his autobiography (al-Biqaʿī, ’Unwān al-zamān, II/67), but this work was not available to Guo, therefore the 100 campaigns mentioned by him is probably the citation of a corrupted text. See Saleh, In defense of the Bible, 12–13, esp. 13 n.28. A glimpse of al-Biqaʿī’s personal account of naval campaigns is preserved in Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī’s Inbā al-ghumr and is available in an annotated translation: Frenkel, Yehoshua, “Al-Biqaʿī’s naval war-report”, in Stephan Conermann (ed.), History and society during the Mamluk period (1250–1517), Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Research College I, Göttingen: V&R Unipress–Bonn University Press, 2014, 9–19.

\(^{390}\) See Fuess, Rotting ships, 53–56.

\(^{391}\) For a comparison and analysis of the thughūr in the 14th–15th centuries, see Dekkiche, Crossing the line, 268–273.
Teaching and positions:

Ibn al-Amshāṭī took up the leadership of numerous schools (madrasa). As for medicine, he also taught it and composed works on it and instructed a group of students. According to al-Sakhāwī, he visited the sick, the leading officials (ruʿasāʾ), and others in modesty, with the aim of doing pious deeds.

Ibn al-Amshāṭī taught fiqh in the Zimāmiyya madrasa after the Muʾayyadiyya in 827/1423. In the biography of Ibn al-Shams al-Rāzī (d. 870/1465), Ibn al-Amshāṭī took over two positions from his brother who died in 885/1480. One of these is the imamate of the Šāliḥiyya madrasa. The other one is another teaching position of fiqh at a certain dars Baklamish in the Muʿayyadiyya. This dars, ‘class’ or ‘lecture’ is only mentioned on two occasions by al-Sakhāwī: in the biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī and in the biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s brother. Due to lack of additional sources, the most that can be said is that this was a class endowed by a certain Baklamish which took place in the Muʿayyadiyya. Additionally, Ibn al-Amshāṭī taught fiqh in the old Žāhiriyiya madrasa after Saʿd al-Dīn al-Kamākhī (d. 886/1481). He taught medicine in the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque and the Mansūriyya after al-Sharaf ibn al-Khashshāb (after the latter died in 873/1468–1469) as a deputy of (niyābatan ʿan) Ibn al-Khashshāb’s son, then in his own right. He also substituted (nāba) Saʿd ibn al-Dīrī (d. 867/1463), shaykh of the Muʿayyadiyya and those after him in judgeship. Therefore, it seems that Ibn al-Amshāṭī was mostly active in the former Fatimid centre of Cairo, since the above madrasas are situated in the walled part of the city (almost exclusively in the

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397 Founded in 797/1394–1395 by the amīr Zayn al-Dīn Muqbil al-Rūmī. For the description of the madrasa, see al-Maqūrizī, al-Khīṭat, IV/584–585.
398 For the description of the market, see al-Maqūrizī, al-Khīṭat, III/244–245.
399 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw’, X/99.
400 For the description of the madrasa, see al-Maqūrizī, al-Khīṭat, IV/485–490. On the position of imām, prayer leader, see Petry, The civilian elite, 258–259.
402 On the various endowed classes that took place in mosques, see Berkey, The transmission, 53–56.
403 For the description of the madrasa, see al-Maqūrizī, al-Khīṭat, IV/505–512.
404 For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Daw’, 1/160–161.
405 For the description of the madrasa, see al-Maqūrizī, al-Khīṭat, IV/513–515. For the description of the hospital, see al-Maqūrizī, al-Khīṭat, IV/692–707. As there was a specific place for the chief physician in the hospital to teach (al-Maqūrizī, al-Khīṭat, IV/696), and al-Šuyūṭī writes that Ibn al-Amshāṭī was chief physician, the designation ‘al-Mansūriyya’ might refer to the hospital rather than to the madrasa in this case.
407 On the office of nāʾib qāḍī, deputy judge, see Petry, The civilian elite, 228–229.
Bayna al-Qaṣrayn area), with the notable exception of the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque.\footnote{On the “urban centers” of 15th century Cairo, amongst them the Bayna al-Qaṣrayn area, see Petry, The civilian elite, 131–138.} Later, at an unspecified date, Ibn al-Amshāṭī abandoned all the professions and positions mentioned above, except for those related to medicine.

Unfortunately, there is no reference to Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s position as chief physician, raʾis al-ʾatibbāʾ, other than al-Ṣuyūṭī’s short account.\footnote{Al-Ṣuyūṭī, Naẓm, 174.}

His character, last years, and death:

Al-Sakhāwī dedicates a fairly extensive part of his biographical account to praising the character of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, emphasising his modesty, righteousness, charm, his desire to do good and pious deeds, and so on. As an example of his interest in the friendship of those with distinguished merits, al-Sakhāwī writes that he had a firm belief in the imām of the Kāmiliyya madrasa\footnote{For the description of the madrasa, see al-Maqūṭī, al-Khitāt, IV/494–496.} and Ibn al-Ghamrī.\footnote{Probably Abū ʿAbbās al-Ghamrī, son of Muḥammad al-Ghamrī (d. 1445). Unfortunately, al-Sakhāwī does not give his date of birth or death, only that he was young when his father died. For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Dawʾ, II/161–162.}

When Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s brother died in 885/1480, he inherited his brother’s fortune. Once in Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s possession, he set it aside for some projects apart from the ones they had previously managed together, like construction of a cistern near the khānqāh of Siryāqūs. He commissioned a turba as well.

According to al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Amshāṭī was one of his oldest friends, listening to his newest works once a week. The biographer even compiled his al-Ibtihāj bi-adhkār al-musāfir al-ḥājj for his friend’s sake. Even when Ibn al-Amshāṭī was becoming frail, he kept visiting monthly. Al-Sakhāwī recounts hearing Ibn al-Amshāṭī saying that on a cloudy day in his youth, he saw, without a doubt, a man walking in the clouds. This is the same anecdote told by Ibn al-Amshāṭī to al-Biqāʿī, according to al-Suyūṭī’s entry.\footnote{Al-Sakhāwī, Naẓm, 174.} Al-Sakhāwī’s account ends with the statement that, as of 899 AH (1493–1494), Ibn al-Amshāṭī was confined to his house, as he had become too weak to move. He forsook most of his positions, such as teaching at the Ẓāhiriyya, in favour of his student, al-ʿallāma al-Shihāb ibn al-Šāʿīgh (born 854/1450–1451).\footnote{For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Dawʾ, I/239.} From al-Shihāb ibn al-Šāʿīgh’s

\footnote{Al-Sakhāwī, al-Dawʾ, X/129. For his biography, see al-Sakhāwī, al-Dawʾ, I/239.}
biography, we can gather that he was not only a student of Ibn al-Amshāṭi but also a relative, being the son of Shams al-Amshāṭi’s brother-in-law. Based on the biographical accounts, it seems that Ibn al-Amshāṭi probably left several other positions to be filled by this young relative.

The biography included in the Mosul manuscript gives Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s date and place of death as 902 (1496–1497), Cairo. As the manuscript’s year of copying is 1568, it would be interesting to know whether there is indeed an additional biographical account of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s life, or else some 70 years after his death, the author or copyist of the biography was able to gather this information some other way. Al-Shawkānī, four centuries later, gives the date of death as Rabi’ I 902 / November-December 1496 with the additional detail that the burial took place in Cairo.

### 3.4. The works of Ibn al-Amshāṭi

Yet again, al-Sakhāwī’s account is the most helpful one regarding the works of Ibn al-Amshāṭi, as al-Shawkānī mentions only three commentaries rather briefly, while al-Ṣuyūṭī’s short account does not touch on this issue at all. However, even the list provided by al-Sakhāwī requires supplementation. Even though in most cases the information regarding the works of Ibn al-Amshāṭi are rather limited, I divided the list into four categories. The first is dedicated to his work on fiqh, the second to his two medical commentaries, the third to his two additional works on medicine, and the fourth to his work on the buying of slaves, the only example of his works available in an edited volume as of now.

#### A work on fiqh: al-Kifāya sharḥ al-Niqāya

Among Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s works, the sources record only one which is not on medicine, being a commentary of the *Niqāya fī al-fiqh* which he memorised during his education. It is titled *al-Kifāya sharḥ al-Niqāya*. According to al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Amshāṭi borrowed material from his teacher al-Shumunni’s commentary for his own commentary. Al-Shumunni allowed him (*adhīna lahu*) to use it for teaching and giving legal opinions.

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409 See section 4.1.2. MS Mosul, Madrasat Yahyā Bāshā 175–9 for a detailed description of the Mosul manuscript and the text of this biography.
410 Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr*, II/293.
411 Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr*, II/293.
413 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawr*, I/129.
Medical commentaries: the *Munjaz* and the *Taʾsīs al-ṣihha*

Ibn al-Amshāṭi wrote two medical commentaries. The first of these is a commentary on Ibn al-Nafīs’s (d. 687/1288) *al-Mūjaz fī al-ṭibb*. It is “a nice commentary in two volumes” that learned men wrote from his dictation and the people circulated a copy of it amongst themselves, named *al-Munjaz*. Ḥājjī Khalīfa had a copy of it and writes that it “demonstrates his proficiency in the profession”. Based on MS 6713 of the Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya of Tunis, Ibn al-Amshāṭi finished this work on 16 Muḥarram 878/16 June 1473.

His second medical commentary is a commentary of Abū al-Saʿd ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Sāwī al-ʿAfīf al-İsrāʾīli’s (d. after 689/1290) *al-Lamḥa al-ʿafīfa fī al-ṭibb*. It is named *Taʾsīs al-ṣihha*. Besides citing its title and part of its incipit, Ḥājjī Khalīfa notes that the commentary is interspersed with the original text.

**Additional works on medicine: the *İsfār* and the *Taʾsīs al-ʾitqān***

As for Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s other medical works, al-Sakhāwī states that formerly, Ibn al-Amshāṭi used to work for Ibn al-Bārizī who is the recipient of the advice in his *Kurrāsa yuḥṭāju ilayhā fī al-safar* (‘A booklet needed during the journey’). While the sources do not mention its actual title, this is the treatise known as al-İsfār ‘an ḥikam al-ʾasfār.

The short biography on the title page of the Mosul manuscript gives one additional title, *Taʾsīs al-ʾitqān wa-al-matāna fī ʿilal al-kulā wa-al-mathāna* (‘The foundation of proficiency and hardiness regarding the illnesses of the kidney and the bladder’). However, this is not mentioned in any of the sources or the literature utilised in this chapter, even though there is at least one surviving manuscript copy of the work.

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418 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, II/156.
419 Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ*, X/129.
420 Brockelmann uses the title of the Mosul manuscript ("Al-İsfār fi ḥukm al-ʾasfār", GAL S II/93) and al-Ziriklī writes that the *Kurrāsa* is perhaps (laʿallahā) the treatise *al-İsfār* (al-Ziriklī, *al-ʿAʾlām*, VII/163).
Al-Qawl al-sadid fi ikhtiyār al-imāʿ wa-al-ʿabīd:

In addition to the works listed above, one finds mention of one more treatise, named al-Qawl al-sadid fi ikhtiyār al-imāʿ wa-al-ʿabīd, which Ibn al-Amshāṭi finished writing in 883/1478–1479, according to Ḥājjī Khalīfa.421 The treatise ‘The pertinent remark on selecting female and male slaves’ is the only work of Ibn al-Amshāṭi available in a printed edition [bibliographical details: al-Qawl al-sadid fi ikhtiyār al-imāʿ wa-al-ʿabīd, ed. Muḥammad ‘Īsā Ṣāliḥiyya, Beirut: Muʿassasat al-Risāla, 1996]. Due to this fact, a more detailed review of the edition follows, in which I pay attention to how the editor treated the text and its wider context, more specifically its genre and its author.


The al-Qawl al-sadid is dubbed as “a rare/excellent treatise on purchasing and examining slaves” on the title page of the edited volume. Here, the date of death given for the author, Ibn al-Amshāṭi, is 933/1496. As none of the sources or reference works recorded 933 AH as the date of his death, this might be an unfortunate typo, especially as the main text contains the correct date.422

The edition begins with an introduction (pp. 5–18) regarding the phenomenon of slavery, setting up discussion of the topic by noting that the nomad (badāʾi) populations did not know slavery, unlike the settled (mutahaddīr) populations, giving as examples civilisations prior to the Arabs, as well as the pre-Islamic Arabs. The focus of the introduction, however, comes after this opening, namely the way all the issues of slavery are adapted to and resolved in the framework of Islam, the different kinds or categories of slaves, and slave markets where traders sometimes deceived their buyers to secure higher selling prices. This theme serves as the transition to the last section of the introduction, in which the editor summarises the contents of the treatise.

In the second chapter of the edition, “Works on the buying of slaves in the Arabic culture” (pp. 19–20), the editor states that the number of manuscripts regarding this matter is limited. Then the editor describes the manuscripts of seven works that he gathered on the subject, in addition

421 Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Kashf, II/249. Al-Baghdādī also lists this work (al-Baghdādī, Hadiyyat, II/411) as well as Kābīlā (Kābīlā, Muʿjam (1993), 794; Kābīlā, Muʿjam (1957), 145) and al-Zīrikī (al-Zīrikī, al-ʿĀlam, VII/163). Brockelmann mentions it as well (GAL S II/93).
422 Ibn al-Amshāṭi, al-Qawl al-sadid, 22.
to mentioning the relevant chapters of hisba manuals, medical works, and treatises on physiognomy and referring the reader to articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam's New Edition.

The third chapter is dedicated to the author, Ibn al-Amshāṭi, and his works (pp. 21–24). For a biography, the editor offers an excerpt of al-Sakhāwī’s account, referring the reader to the accounts of al-Sakhāwī and al-Shawkānī besides the entries in the works of al-Ziriklī and Kaḥḥāla. This biography is followed by a list of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s works with some of their manuscripts. In the case of the Munjaz, the editor quotes from the epilogue of the first part of MS 6713 of the Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya of Tunis and notes that Ibn al-Amshāṭi finished writing the work on 16 Muḥarram 878/16 June 1473 and that the copyist, Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Fatḥ al-Ṣūfī, finished the copy on 17 Rabi’ II 892/12 April 1487. 423 For the Isfār, he lists two copies in Mosul, no. 175 and no. 237. 424 The editor lists one manuscript for the Ta’sīs al-ītqān, and more copies for the commentaries of the Lamḥa and the Niqāya.

The fourth and last preliminary chapter describes the manuscripts used for the edition (pp. 24–28). The first is MS Ayasofya 3361 of the Süleymaniye Library (chosen as the basis of the edition), the second is MS orient. A 1237 of the Gotha Research Library, and the third is MS firāsā ṭala’at 15 of the Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmiyya in Cairo, which is a draft (musawwada/muswadda) finished on 5 Rabi’ II 883 / 6 July 1478. 425 The descriptions give the most basic data and some elements of physical description, with the editor’s note that he could examine the first two manuscripts, but he could access only the microfilm copy of the third one.

The next part is the actual edition of the text (pp. 29–116). The text is formatted neatly for ease of reading. In the notes, the reader finds a critical apparatus mixed with references or explanatory notes that focus almost exclusively on geographical areas, towns, groups of people, hadīth, or verses of the Quran mentioned in the main text. The apparatus mostly serves to note the omission of a word or section in a manuscript, additions from a manuscript, and variant readings preserved in one of the manuscripts. However, the editorial methods are not discussed. After the basmala, the preface (pp. 31–33) starts with the author’s name (qāla, ‘he said’) and asking for God’s blessings. Starting with the hamdala, the preface is in saj’, in accordance with husn al-ibtidā’.

424 No. 175 is MS Mosul, Madrasat Yaḥyā Bāshā 175-9 described in section 4.1.2. MS Mosul, Madrasat Yaḥyā Bāshā 175-9 and used for the edition based on its microfilm copy of the Maḥad al-Makhtūṭat al-ʿArabiyya, al-ṭibb 317. Unfortunately, I was not able to acquire a copy of no. 237.
After the baʿdiyya, comes the reason for writing this treatise: Ibn al-Amshāṭi has read Ibn al-Akfānī’s (d. 749/1348) treatise al-Nazār wa-al-taḥqīq fī taqālib al-raqiq, and while he praises the work, he finds that it lacks important information which he wants to amend by writing this treatise. Here we can find the phrase sālikan fīhi bi-ʿawn Allāh ajmal al-masālik, which also appears in the same part of the Isfār, albeit without the insertion of bi-ʿawn Allāh. There is no mention or indication of a patron in the preface. The work is arranged into an introduction, three chapters, and an epilogue. The introduction (pp. 35–39) contains general advice for those wanting to buy slaves. The first chapter (pp. 41–62) discusses the various peoples of the word with their disposition, colour, morality, character and so on. The second chapter (pp. 63–74) offers similar information arranged according to geographical areas. The third chapter (pp. 75–104) is on physiognomy. The epilogue (pp. 104–116) discusses how to examine slaves properly and what defects of slaves the slave traders are wont to conceal and hide. Unfortunately, throughout the text, references to other works of the author are absent, nor is anything marked explicitly as the author’s own experience or observation that he added to this treatise, details that could potentially have enriched our knowledge of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s life.

The edition ends with a bibliography (pp. 117–129) and indices (pp. 131–145).

3.5. Concluding remarks

This chapter began with a survey of the reference works which contain entries on Ibn al-Amshāṭi. These are Brockelmann’s GAL, Ḥājī Khalīfa’s Kashf al-ẓunūn and Sūlām al-wuṣūl, al-Baghdādī’s Ḥaddiyat al-ʿārifīn and ʿIdāḥ al-maknūn, al-Ziriklī’s al-Aʿlām, and Kaḥṣāla’s Muʿjam al-muʿallīfīn. Besides additional problems, the most striking result of this survey was probably the scarcity of sources.

A closer inspection of the historical tradition of the 15th century managed to uncover one additional source which was not referenced at all in the entries of the reference works listed above. With the inclusion of this, the number of sources on the life and works of Ibn al-Amshāṭi is four. Considering the abundance of biographies and other historical works written in the 15th century, this low number is quite peculiar. The most likely reason is that for this period we do not know of specialised medical biographies, like Ibn Juljul’s (d. 384/994) Ṭabaqāt al-ṭibbāʿ wa-al-

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46 See Witkam, Ibn al-Akfānī.
The illustrious position of the philosopher-physicians (ḥakīm-ṭabīb) is a thing of the past in 15th-century historical writings. Instead of them, we find accounts on the jurist-physicians (faqīh-ṭabīb) who most likely merit inclusion because of their knowledge of religious sciences and their teaching activities and positions related to these matters; that they also learned and practiced medicine seems to be secondary. In the case of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, this is the likely reason he is mentioned by the biographers; as was shown in his biography, he was active in the field of jurisprudence and, based on his social network, he was a member of the learned religious elite of his time. Although the fact that, at some point, he forsook all of his positions except those related to medicine seems to suggest that the preferred physicianship, his involvement in the domain of religious sciences warranted a place for him in some biographical dictionaries.

The most complete biography and list of works of Ibn al-Amshāṭī to date is the one presented in this dissertation. In it, after sketching his close family relations, I offered a resolution for the multiple birth dates recorded in biographies, attempted to outline his relationship with the learned elite of his time through his studies, reviewed the positions he held, and paid attention to various other aspects of his life besides listing all his works that we know of. However, despite my best efforts, there are still some questions left as well as further possibilities for research.

Perhaps the two most pressing issues regarding Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s biography are to locate the exact source for his date of death and to clarify the question of chief physicianship. In addition to these, Ibn al-Amshāṭī was far from being a pure academic; besides his learning, teaching, and his occupation as faqīh and physician, he acquired various practical skills during his involvement in jihād. If further research could identify the campaigns in which he participated besides establishing a more precise picture of his travels, it might provide additional details to his

427 Behrens-Abouseif, The image of the physician, 334.
428 On this, see Behrens-Abouseif, The image of the physician, esp. 341; Chipman, The world of pharmacy, 127–128. Chipman examined some of the most prominent Mamlūk biographical dictionaries in search of pharmacists based on some occupational nisbas. Despite the difference of physicians and pharmacists, the results are quite interesting and the conclusions stand true for physicians as well: Chipman, The world of pharmacy, 128–135.
biography and to our understanding of him both as a person and author. Needless to say, further analysis of his social network is also a possibility, especially with the growing number of projects focusing on network analysis. Moreover, the list of his works would surely benefit from the addition of references to surviving manuscript copies.
4. THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF IBN AL-AMSHĀṭĪ’S

AL-ISFĀR ‘AN ḤIKAM AL-ASFĀR

Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s hitherto unedited treatise, al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār enriches our knowledge not only about the Arabic medical tradition of travel regimens but also regarding medical theory and its history as a medical work produced in 15th-century Cairo. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to an in-depth scrutiny of the textual tradition of the Isfār.

Sub-chapter 4.1. Manuscripts discusses in detail the three manuscript copies used for the critical edition of the text in three sections, one for each manuscript arranged in chronological order. The description of the manuscripts as in the sections containing the text of the Isfār are presented in the same arrangement. While descriptions of the whole codices differ greatly due to the differences in their availability, they are nevertheless included in this analysis due to the additional information which can be deduced based on observations of the whole codices. The sub-chapter ends with some concluding remarks reflecting on the relationship of the texts preserved in the three manuscript copies under scrutiny.

Sub-chapter 4.2. Arabic text and English translation, as the title suggests, offers the critical edition of the text with an English translation after some notes on the methods of edition and translation.

4.1. Manuscripts

To the best of my knowledge, the treatise al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār has (at least) three surviving manuscript copies. These are MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmīʿ 210-16, described by the Library’s catalogues and the codex majāmīʿ 210 still present and available for consultation in the Library’s Nile Corniche branch. The second is MS Mosul, Madrasat Yahyā Bāshā 175-9. A catalogue from 1927 records the contents of the codex and Brockelmann’s GAL lists 175-9 as ‘Al-Isfār fi ḥukm al-asfār Mōṣul 237, 1759’. When double-checking the title in the indices of GAL, instead of this entry, we find a slightly different title in another entry: ‘al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār Mōṣul 34, 53439 listed amongst the works of Abū Saʿd ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1166). The 1927 catalogue gives the additional information that the Kashf al-qunūn provides the title as al-

429 GAL S II/93.
430 GAL S I/565.
Isfār ‘an al-asfār, but what is worth pointing out is that majmūʿa 153 contains nine treatises in total and all the rest are on medicine. Regarding this, Sellheim noted that ‘no. 3, al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār [Mawṣil 34, 53.4] should be deleted because of faulty ascription’. Unfortunately, I was not able to acquire a copy of this manuscript to clear this issue. Regrettably, I was also unable to track down the manuscript numbered as 237. However, a microfilm copy of 175-9 is available in the Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭat al-ʿArabiyya in Cairo. The Maʿhad also possesses copies of some other works of the same codex but not all of them. The third surviving manuscript copy of al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār is MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, majmūʿat Āl Yahyā, 123 majāmīʿ (123-11). The Library’s catalogue describes the treatises contained in the majmūʿa, and the Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭat al-ʿArabiyya has a microfilm copy of 123-11. In this case, I could not locate copies of other treatises from this codex in the Maʿhad’s holdings.

In the following, I aim to give a description of the three manuscripts, in the order above (Cairo, Mosul, and Tarīm manuscript). In general, all descriptions follow the same base structure. Firstly, I describe the codices (contents, codicological observations). Then I move on to the specific manuscripts (title, author, date, copyist, dedication, incipit, explicit, colophon, contents, physical description, scribal errors, scripts and hands). As I was able to examine the Cairo manuscript in person, its description is more detailed than the other two. Other than this, the descriptions vary slightly according to unique features of the specific manuscripts. In most cases, I quoted or summarised catalogue entries and texts of library tags wholly or partially, as the information they contain are essential for the descriptions, besides the fact that some of these are not easily accessible. I translated the shorter, list-like descriptions into English, but I quoted the more lengthy and descriptive ones in their original Arabic. When presenting sections of the Arabic texts, a slash ( / ) indicates ends of lines and the Eastern Arabic number 5 (٥) represents the dividers.

43 Al-Jalābī, Makhṭūṭāt, 34; Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Kashf, 1/86.
43 Sellheim, al-Samʿānī, 1025.
4.1.1. MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmīʿ 210-16

Description in the Egyptian National Library's catalogues

The description of the manuscript in the Khedivial Library's catalogue is as follows:433

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مجموعة في مجلد بقلم عادى أوراقها عدد 269

[...]
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ومن 254 الى 269

16 شرحه الأسفار عن حكم الأسفار لبعض الإفاقى ألقى لنا أنظير دواوين الأشواق بالديار المصرية في الغالب محمد الجقيم البارزى الشافعي وهو في أمر طبية يحتاج المسافر الى استعمالها أوّله المحسن سيره الله الذي أمر بالأسفار للتفكر والاعتبار رتبه على مقدمة وثمانية فصول وخاتمة

نس 16 ج 1 نخ 210 نع 440

The description of the manuscript in the Egyptian National Library's catalogue is as follows:434

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225
ال DESCRIPTION وصف          al-Isfar ʿan ḥikam al-asfār
Physical description: 16 leaves (254–269); 18x14 cm.
Information: written in naskh script; number of lines 17.
Incipit:
الحمد لله ... وبعد، فلما عزم على سير الأبرار واحترم زياره البيت المختار ... لمحو الذنوب والأوزار خلاصة الأعصار وإمام أهل الأمصار، وكان من القواعد الكبار جلب المصالح ودر المفاسد والمضار ... ورتبه على مقدمة وثمانية فصول وخاتمة ...
Explicit:
... أصل القصب الفارسي وزراوند مدحرج أجزاء سوية وستة ويشد اللثة والأسنان فزن أيل محرق ملح أندراقي محترق هليج أصفور ورد من كل واحد جزء وجنائزة نصف جزء... وهذا ما أردنا عمله.
```

Restoration: in need of restoration.

Topic: medicine

Administrative call number: majāmīʿ 210 treatise 16

Microfilm number: 53935

434 Al-Halwaji, Catalogue, I/154.
The first description suggests that this work is a commentary of the previous one, which is not the case. The second description treats the incipit with quite some liberty, and it provides erroneous readings as well, both in the incipit and explicit. Additionally, the textblock size does not correspond to what I could measure when examining the manuscript.

Contents of the codex (MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmiʿ 210)

As for the whole codex, the Khedivial Library's catalogue lists its contents in one entry under its call number.\textsuperscript{435} It gives the number of the treatise, its topic/field, title, incipit, explicit, and if known, its author, details of composition and copying besides the folio numbers. The Egyptian National Library's catalogue of its collections, indispensable as it is, does not give any index to ease locating the contents of whole collections. Rather, one must find the titles individually in the alphabetical list of the four volumes. Thanks to the Khedivial Library's catalogue and personal examination of the codex, in this case, the titles to be located were known. Looking at the data given in each description, while they contain much additional information, they seem to accommodate many errors as well (e.g. measurements, data on ījāza).\textsuperscript{436}

The following table lists the works of the collection based on the entries of both catalogues mentioned in the previous paragraph and the data collected when examining the codex. Even though the catalogue entries give additional information, only the ones related to dating are listed here. The names of authors, names of copyists, and titles follow the text of the catalogues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.; ff.</th>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Dating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.; 23r–47v</td>
<td>usūl al-fiqh</td>
<td>Ibn Qutlūbughā, Qāsim ibn Qutlūbughā (d. 879/1474)</td>
<td>Sharḥ 'alā Mukhtāsaṣr al-Ḥalabī 'alā Manār al-anwār fī usūl al-fiqh</td>
<td>copyist: 'Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Ḥanāfī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{435} Fihrist al-kutub al-‘arabīyya, VII:1/258–261.

\textsuperscript{436} The list of the entries in al-Halwaji, Catalogue, listed in order of the treatises: 1: II/493–494 (no. 748); 2: II/421–422 (no. 632); 3: III/270–271 (no. 395); 4: I/26–27 (no. 371); 5 [labelled as treatise number 6]: II/108 (no. 150); 6 [labelled as treatise number 7]: II/495 (no. 753); 7 and 8 [labelled as treatise number 8]: I/144–14 (no. 63); 9: I/466–467 (no. 692); 10: II/203 (no. 297); 11: IV/195–196 (no. 291); 12: III/281–282 (no. 411); 13: IV/356 (no. 527); 14: I/129 (no. 188); 15: III/376 (no. 540); 16: I/154 (no. 225).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date of Copying / Date of Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4; 48r–52v</td>
<td>ṣaḥābī al-ḍawāwīn ʿarabī al-madāʾi adab adīth al-ḥadīth, al-ṣāriʿah wa-ṣūrāt al-qaṣīdāt</td>
<td>862 / 1 June 1458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5; 53r–57v</td>
<td>sharḥuḥu / ṣaḥābī al-ḍawāwīn ʿarabī al-madāʾi adab adīth al-ḥadīth, al-ṣāriʿah wa-ṣūrāt al-qaṣīdāt</td>
<td>721/1321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7; 64r–67v</td>
<td>sāʿiruḥu / muṣṭalāḥ al-ḥadīth, al-ṣāriʿah wa-ṣūrāt al-qaṣīdāt</td>
<td>Ijāza with inscription from Ibn Kathīr at the end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8; 68r–76v</td>
<td>muṣṭalāḥ / muṣṭalāḥ al-ḥadīth, al-ṣāriʿah wa-ṣūrāt al-qaṣīdāt</td>
<td>Ijāza dating: 7 Shaʿbān 843 / 13 January 1443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9; 77r–103v</td>
<td>ʿal-ḥadīth, al-ṣāriʿah wa-ṣūrāt al-qaṣīdāt</td>
<td>(Mukhtasar fi munāṣabāt) Tarājim al-Bukhārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10; 104r–138v</td>
<td>ʿal-ḥadīth, al-ṣāriʿah wa-ṣūrāt al-qaṣīdāt</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11; 139r–186v</td>
<td>adab / al-madaʾī al-naʿawāyya, al-ṣhiʿr al-ʿarabī – dawāwīn wa-qaṣīdāt</td>
<td>1465 / 8 July 1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12; 187r–204v</td>
<td>– (baʿd fuḍalāʾ al-qarn al-tāṣiʿ)</td>
<td>Sharḥ qaṣādaṭ Umm al-Qurā aw al-hamzıyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13; 205r–242v</td>
<td>tibb</td>
<td>870 / 1465 place of composing: Damascus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14; 242r–244v</td>
<td>sharḥuḥu / al-tibb</td>
<td>date of composing: 870 / 1465 place of composing: Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15; 245r–253v</td>
<td>sharḥuḥu / al-tibb</td>
<td>882 / 1477</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Dates and places are approximate and based on the given text.*
Seven of the treatises have their dates of copying recorded, ranging from 607 to 882 / 1210–1478, and the 9th treatise is an autograph with the author's date of death being 1333. Based on the authors, the 14th treatise is from the 13th century, the first two treatises are from the 15th century, as well as the 16th treatise based on its dedication (however, there are no dates of copying to determine whether the manuscripts themselves are from the same century). While this still leaves some treatises without even rough estimates for dating, there is no direct evidence suggesting that the collection contains treatises from after the 15th century.

**Description of the codex (MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmiʿ 210)**

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmiʿ 210 is a composite volume consisting of 16 different works. During my visit to the Dār al-Kutub in February 2020, I was able to examine the codex. In the following, I give its codicological description.

**Binding:**

The codex is bound with a Western binding, as the covers extend beyond the edges of the textblock. The book covers measure 19.5 x 14 cm and are 3 mm thick. The thickness of the closed volume is 5.5 cm. The boards are pasteboards covered with a greyish brown textile, frayed at the long edges of both boards. The spine is covered with a brownish-black leather, extending over the textile-covered boards by 3 cm. This leather cover is worn out as well, frayed at the top, the bottom, and at the joints. The covering material is torn at the top at the joints of the boards and spine (4 cm and 7 cm on the front side and backside, respectively). The call number of the codex is on the spine in gold in two lines (مجاميع / ۰۰۲۱۰). Both the front and back covers have the stamped impression of the library’s stamp on the upper part of the covers over the meeting point of the textile and leather coverings. Its outer border has the text ‘Bibliotheque sultanique’ (in upper case). The inner part has the Arabic equivalent, although the text is not clearly legible. As the library was named Dār al-Kutub al-Sulṭāniyya between 1914–1922, the stamp is a strong indicator that the codex was (last) rebound in this time.

The doublure on the inner side of the boards is a greenish-brown paper. In the end, there is a flyleaf from the same paper with its stub glued to f.266v. As of now, there are no flyleaves at the front of the textblock. However, another stub from this paper is present in the textblock, glued to f.11r, indicating that when the volume was (last) rebound, there was a flyleaf at the beginning as well.
The textblock spine is lined with reused paper with printed French text on it. This lining is torn into smaller sections lengthwise; nevertheless, it completely conceals the stitching of the textblock. The stitching can be seen only on ff.1–23, as these folios are loose (ff.1–10 as a quire, f.11 completely loose, ff.12–22 as a quire, f.23 completely loose). The sewing of these parts seems like it was prepared with three supports.

The textblock itself is attached to the binding only at the end, by three thicker threads secured between the board on the back and its cover. On the front, the stubs of these threads can be seen in between the front board and its cover. These observations support the previous assumption about the sewing of the textblock.

The primary endbands are covered by secondary endbands of a simple pattern of yellow and red threads alternating.

Textblock:

The textblock has a modern foliation of Hindu-Arabic numerals written by pencil on the middle top part of the rectos. There are some exceptions where certain folios have text on these parts. F.1 is numbered on the verso. The foliation was originally erroneous, as the number 25 was written twice, leading to misnumbered pages until page number 50. Then, this foliation was corrected by the same hand either by writing on top of the erroneous form or by crossing it out and then writing the correct number. As a result, there is a discrepancy of one folio number between the numbers given in the Khedivial Library’s catalogue and the numbers present in the volume now in case of the second, third, fourth, and fifth works of the volume.

A closer observation of the textblock reveals that it is quite difficult to deduce information on the history of this composite volume. Since the basic features and measures of the textblock generally change for each work it contains, these are summarised in the following table. The sizes of the textblocks are given in centimetres. While the textblock measurements are varying, they were trimmed, as suggested by many cases where parts of the marginalia are cut off. Measurements of the written areas and numbers of lines vary with each work, occasionally even in the same work. Therefore, these data are not summarised in the table. In general, the inks used throughout the texts seem to be a solid black, with a few exceptions of more translucent, greyish blacks or browns. Reds are sometimes used for chapter headings, keywords, overlining, and dividers. The hands change with each work, occasionally even within a given work in case of
notes and certificates. The page layouts are generally the same, the main texts occupy the middle of the pages in a justified block, except for some title pages, colophons, certificates, and poetry.

As for the writing support, it is generally a creamy white, varnished paper, with no visible fibres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>ff.</th>
<th>Textblock</th>
<th>Ink</th>
<th>Misțara</th>
<th>Catchwords</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1r–11v</td>
<td>18 x 13,5</td>
<td>black, red</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>slanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>12v–22v</td>
<td>18 x 13,5</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>ruling?</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>23r–47v</td>
<td>18 x 13,5</td>
<td>black, red</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>45°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>48r–52v</td>
<td>17,5 x 13</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>ruling?</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>53r–57v</td>
<td>17,5 x 13</td>
<td>black, red</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>58r–63v</td>
<td>18 x 13</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>64r–67v</td>
<td>18 x 13</td>
<td>black, red</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>occasional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>68r–76r</td>
<td>18 x 13</td>
<td>black, red</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>45°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>77r–103v</td>
<td>18 x 13</td>
<td>greyish black</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>104r–138v</td>
<td>18 x 13</td>
<td>black, red</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>slanted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>139r–186v</td>
<td>17,5 x 13</td>
<td>brown</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>187r–204v</td>
<td>18 x 13</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>45°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>205r–242r</td>
<td>18 x 13</td>
<td>brownish black</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>45°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>242v–244v</td>
<td>17 x 12,5</td>
<td>greyish black</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>245r–253v</td>
<td>17 x 12,5</td>
<td>black, red</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>254r–269v</td>
<td>17,5 x 12,5 / 18,5 x 12,5</td>
<td>black, red</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>horizontal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some unique features not presented in the above table. Nos. 1–2 have the same yellow discolouration on the outer bottom corners, probably from flipping the pages there. Nos. 3–8 have traces of soaking on the top, which seem quite similar as if soaking happened at the same time. The support of no. 4 is a brown paper with visible fibres, with additional traces of soaking on the side and bottom, as well as traces of bookworms. No. 5 has different traces of bookworms and heavy yellow discolouration on the upper outer corners of the paper. The paper of no. 7 is visibly less varnished. Its catchword on f.66v does not match the text of the following folio (a certificate begins there). No. 8 has manmade, clean, straight, and small holes punched through all its folios on the top and bottom near the spine. No. 9 is less varnished with heavy stains of soaking from the top down to the bottom of the folios. No. 10 is less varnished as well, with a lot of discoloured yellow dots, smaller and occasional stains of soaking, and visible fibres. The support of no. 11 is a warm pink-tinted paper with some traces of bookworms, its folios
punched through similarly to no. 8, however, only at the bottom. Most probably, it was previously in a type II binding, as the traces of a flap are visible on ff.139–141 and f.155 as well. There are unfoliated, smaller bifolia inserted between ff.159–160 and ff.171–172 (the latter is not tinted). After no. 12, there is a smaller, unfoliated, empty folio, from a visibly different paper.  

The support of no. 15 is a brown paper. No. 16 has a creamy white, varnished paper, but with traces of fibres. It has two different textblock sizes: ff.254–263 measure 17.5 × 12.5 cm, while ff.264–269 measure 18.5 × 12.5 cm. Ff.264–266 are creased. I was not allowed to use a light sheet for the examination of papers. Therefore, I could not determine whether the group of works with identical textblock sizes and similarly looking papers indeed have the same type of paper.

Due to the modern binding, the quires are not apparent. In the cases where the textblock sizes change, it is visible that approximately half a centimetre of paper width is lost due to the binding, which in some cases results in the ends of lines or catchwords being difficult to read (especially in no. 13). There are only a few cases where the stitching in the middle of the quires is visible. Quire signatures are not present in the volume; the only exception seems to be no. 9, where there is a Hindu-Arabic number two on the upper left corner of f.86r and a Hindu-Arabic number three on the top left corner of f.96r. Therefore, I have dispensed with trying to determine the formula of the quires.

**Description of MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmīʿ 210–16**

I was provided with a digital copy of the manuscript in the form of 31 JPG files of different sizes (2409–3182 x 3401/4107 pixels; 72 dpi) on CD. All images are watermarked with the logo of Dār al-Kutub. The edges of the paper or the bindings rarely appear on the photos. During my visit to the Dār al-Kutub in February 2020, I was able to examine the manuscript itself while examining the codex.

**Title, author, date, and dedication:**

MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmīʿ 210–16 (ff.254v–269v) bears the title al-İsfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār (f.255r, the word ‘ḥikam’ being vocalised). The manuscript is not dated. No name of author, scribe, copyist, or owner is recorded in the manuscript; the only reference to these is in the colophon (f.269v: ghafara Allāh li-kātibihi wa-li-ṣāḥibihi wa-li-muşannifihi wa-li-man qaraʾa la-hum). It is

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437 This inserted folio is not accounted for in any of the foliations or catalogues, therefore I avoided devising a new, ‘corrected’ foliation with a shift in all consecutive folio numbers.
dedicated to a patron (f.245v, al-Kamālī Abū al-Ma‘āl Muḥammad al-Juhani al-Bārizī al-Shāfi‘ī).

For more details on the dedication, the patron, and an approximate dating of the treatise itself, see sub-chapter 5.3. Dedication and dating.

Incipit (f.254v):

الحمد لله الذي امر بالاسفار للتفكير والاعتبار وأداء فراض الحج والاعتمار وجعل في الطب من الأسرار ما يحفظ الصحة وبري من الأضرار وصل الله على سيدنا محمد عيده ورسوله الشافي من المضار وعلي الله واصحابه الاخيار ما طرد الليل النبار وأضواء فجر وانار وبعد

Explicit (f.269v):

واما ما يحتاج إليه من السنونات فسنون يجلو الأسنان زبد البحر محرق ورماد الصدف ورماد القصب الفارسي وزراوند مدحرج اجزاده وسنون يشتند اللثة والأسنان قرن ايل محرق ملح اندراني محرق هليلج اصفر ورد من كل واحد جزو جلنان نصف جزور

Colophon (f.269v):

وهذا / وما اردنا عمله قد كمل / نسأل الله تعالى ان يجعله من صالح العمل / منقدا من الأوصاب والعلل مثيرًا من كل امر حللا / والحمد لله رضنا وصل الله عل سيدنا / غفر الله لكتابه ولصاحبه / ولمصفه ولمن قرأ لهم ودعا بالغفارة / وسلم / الجمعين

The colophon begins in the last line of the explicit, with spacing between the triple dividers. To the right of the colophon's triangle is the stamp of the Khedivial Library (al-Kutubkhāna al-Khidīwiyya al-Miṣriyya) in blue ink. To the left of the colophon's triangle is a librarian's note on the number of pages (‘adad awrāqihi ٩٦٢) underlined and signed. It is written over the same illegibly faded note that was recorded by the person who wrote the folio numbers in pencil.
Contents:

The treatise begins with a *basmala* and *ṣawāla*, which are followed by the incipit (f.245v). The preface proper is on ff.254v–255r. On f.255r, there is a list of the chapters with their titles. The treatise is arranged into a short introduction, eight chapters, and an epilogue. The introduction is on the reasons for compilation (ff.255r–255v). The 1st chapter is on some general issues of travelling (ff.255v–257r); the 2nd chapter is on travelling in hot weather (ff.257r–257v); the 3rd chapter is on burning winds (ff.257v–258v); the 4th chapter is on travelling during winter (ff.258v–259v); the 5th chapter is on the preservation of limbs (ff.259v–261r); the 6th chapter is on the preservation of complexion (ff.261r–261v); the 7th chapter is about water (ff.261v–263r); the 8th chapter is on travelling on the sea (ff.263r–263v). The epilogue is divided into two chapters: the 1st is on simple medicaments, hot and cold (ff.264v–264r); the 2nd is on compound medicaments, listed in 13 categories (ff.264r–269v). The treatise ends with the colophon on f.269v.

Physical description:

The writing surface is a creamy white, varnished, non-watermarked paper with some visible, browner fibres. The chain lines are horizontal, grouped in threes, with 1 cm between each of them. The distance between two groups is 4.3 cm. The number of laid lines in 2 cm is 17–18. These data put this paper in type 3/3 according to the rough typology of non-watermarked papers provided by Humbert.\(^{438}\)

The textblock measures 17.5 x 12.5 cm for ff.254–263 and 18.5 x 12.5 cm for ff.264–269. Despite the different sizes, both parts were trimmed, as both have marginalia with parts of their texts cut off. At the meeting point between the two parts, an additional 0.5 cm width can be measured, which is lost due to the current binding of the codex. F.254 is torn at the crease at the bottom up to the lowest stitching. It folded upon itself on the verso side. There is a brownish yellow thread sticking out between f.257 and f.258. Ff.264–266 have creases as if they were crumpled together. There is a round yellow discoloration on f.266 (over the written area, lines 7–10, close to the spine). Towards its middle, on the recto side, the ink is slightly paler black. The stub of the

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\(^{438}\) This type of paper was present from the 11th to the 15th century in most places of the Islamic world, becoming frequent in the 14th century, and almost exclusive in the 15th century. Unfortunately, this does not facilitate accurate dating of the paper. However, it is worth noting that similar measurements are present in most of the 15th century manuscripts of this paper type in Humbert’s corpus (Tableau IV, Type 3/3). Humbert, *Papiers*, 21–22, 33–38.
greenish-brown end flyleaf is glued to f.266v. F.269 is glued to f.267r with a stub. The modern binding makes it quite impossible to give a formula for the quires. Only these last details show that the penultimate quire ends with f.266, while the last quire is a singulion (ff.267–268) with a single folio (f.269) attached to its beginning with a stub.

The written area from the bottom of the first line to the bottom of the last line is 11 x 9 cm. The written area is a justified block in the middle of the pages. The number of lines per page is 17. A mistara (11 x 9 cm) was used for preparing the written area. The first lines of pages are written on top of the upper line of the mistara. On f.63v, one line is left empty between the 8th chapter and the epilogue. For justification of the text, superscription is used in many cases, though the justification is somewhat sloppy. The manuscript was not foliated. Page numbers were added later, on the middle top of the recto pages by pencil. Catchwords appear on all the verso pages, written horizontally below the last line separately. They are the first word of the next folio (f.254v, 255v, 256v, 257v, 258v, 267v), with the preceding wa- (f.264v, 265v, 266v, 268v), aw- (f.263v), min (f.259v), fa-innahu (f.261v), or an (f.262v). The catchword on f.263v is the only exception, being bizr al-m.l.r for bizr al-mulākhiyya. The text was written with solid black ink. Chapter headings, keywords, and the dividers (inverted commas on ff.254v–255r and f.269v; three inverted commas in a triangle shape on f.269v) are written with a deep red ink. In some cases, keywords are in black ink but marked with red overlines. While the reds seem the same with some slight variation (maybe different batches prepared with the same pigment), there are two instances when the red is rather orangey (f.257v:16, wa-idhā kāna; insertion above f.268r:9, mā).

Scribal errors:

A curved line between the words indicates places of omission. The insertions are inscribed on the margin mostly horizontally, or in an approximately 45-degree angle upside down (f.255v, 266v), and once vertically (f.264r). Omitted words are also inserted above the line (f.257v, 263v, 268r twice). Occasionally, parts of the marginalia are cut off, but it is obvious that all the insertions end with the abbreviation sād-ḥā’ for saḥḥa, with one exception (f.265v). In one case, the correction of cacographic error is done by repeating the word in the margin with the abbreviation bā’ for bayān(uhu) (f.256v). There are examples of writing the affected letter in small above or below the main letter shape (f.256v, 262r, 268r, 269r). The third method is writing the abbreviation sād-ḥā’ similarly to the shape of the Eastern-Arabic numeral ٤ (٤) under the affected
letter while writing on top of the original letter to try to conceal and correct the cacographic error (f.254v, 255r, 256v, 257v, 258v, 259v twice, 260v, 261r, 264r, 265r, 266v, 268r [three more corrections are not marked], 269r). Cancellations are made by crossing out the main letter shapes with a continuous line (f.255r twice, 256r, 256r). In some cases, whole words are scraped off the paper (f.254v, 262r, 262v). Scraping off certain letters and diacritical marks to correct the text is common (f.254v twice, 255r, 255v, 256r, 257r, 258v, 259r, 262r, 263r, 264r, 264v twice, 265r, 266r, 266v twice). In many cases, this was employed to correct the conjugation of verbs and change masculine forms to feminine and vice versa (f.255v twice, 257r, 258v twice, 261r twice, 262r twice, 262v, 263r, 265v thrice). In one case, the two dots of the infixum tāʾ of stem VIII were removed (263r); the stem I form of the verb was used in the other two manuscripts. On f.267v, two red dots were placed above a word and then removed, probably sponged up while the ink was still wet.

Scripts and hands:

The script of the main text is a serifless, legible naskh with the descending element of nastāʾīq. The words are slightly descending onto the baseline. The letter alif in its joined form is slanted to the right above the x-line. The lām-alif ligature does not have a visible loop. The counters of the letters ‘ayn, ghayn, fāʾ, qāf, mīm, hāʾ (in final connected position), wāw, and tāʾ marbūṭa are generally not present. The catchwords, interlinear insertions, and corrections of cacographic errors are made by the same hand. He is probably the kātib referred to in the colophon. In the marginalia, a second hand can be observed: it is a serifless, legible naskh as well, but the letter-shapes are slenderer. Joined alifs are vertical. The lām-alif ligature has a triangular-shaped loop. The bodies of ‘ayn and ghayn not in first positions are triangular and counterless, but the other counters are present. The alif maqṣūra in the preposition fī is characteristically different as well. This second hand is responsible for most of the cancellations and addenda (f.255r [two cancellations and marginalia], 255v, 256r [cancellation], 257r, 257v, 258v, 261r, 263r, 264r, 266v, 268r, 269r). On f.255r, where the second hand corrected the table of contents, it is also obvious that he did not only make cancellations in the main text and added marginalia, but also inserted two prepositions into the main text. Also, certain vocalizations seem to be from this second hand (f.258r, 264v, 265v). However, a few marginalia and cancellations of single words are from the main hand (f.256r [cancellation], 256v [correction of cacographic error], 261v, 264v, 265r [cancellation], 265v, 266v [cancellation], 267r [cancellation], 268v [two cancellations]).
Diacritical pointing is used throughout the main text and the marginalia as well. The preposition *fi* is mostly written with *alif maqṣūra*. The *tā’ marbūta* has its dots almost all the time. Conjugation of third-weak verbs is not consistent. Scraping off diacritical marks mentioned in the previous section is frequently employed to correct conjugation, mostly for alternating the *yā’* and *tā’* imperfect prefixes. In some cases, the letter *sīn* has three subscript dots (f.256v, 257r, 257v, 258v, 263r marginalia, 265r, 268r); however, the same words can be found in the text written with dotless *sīn*. Dots are occasionally missing from verbal prefixes and *yā’* letters in medial or end positions. Diacritical points are missing systematically only once in a short sentence (f.26iv). Vocalization is rarely present (f.254v, 255r twice, 258r twice, 260v, 261v, 265v, 268r). The letter *hamza* only appears in a few cases (written on the line, on *alif* chairs, or dotted *yā’* chairs), mostly toward the beginning of the text. Generally, it is omitted or replaced by *yā’* in medial positions. However, *hamza* is written peculiarly on top of a *wāw* chair in one case on f.256r (line 16; *fi buṭ‘īhā*, في بطنها).

4.1.2. MS Mosul, Madrasat Yaḥyā Bāshā 175-9

Contents and description of the codex (MS Mosul, Madrasat Yaḥyā Bāshā 175) A catalogue of the manuscripts of Mosul from 1927 does not give any kind of physical description, but it lists the treatises contained in the codex as follows:439


The author of the catalogue, al-Jalabī had read this collection and wrote an article three years later correcting a mistake in the catalogue entry. Initially, he attributed both the 7th and 8th treatise to the same author; however, they were written by a father and his son, respectively. He
also quoted the biography of the son, present in the manuscript under the title of the 8th treatise.\textsuperscript{440} In another article, al-Jalabī quoted two more biographies which were recorded in the manuscript by the same hand: one for the author of the 9th treatise, and one for the author of the 11th treatise.\textsuperscript{441}

Other than the catalogue and the two articles mentioned above, I have not found further descriptions of this codex; therefore, I am not in the position to give a proper codicological description of it.

Despite this, some characteristics can be observed due to the following. Besides the 9th treatise, the Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya prepared microfilm copies of the 7th and 8th treatises as well under the call numbers al-ṭibb 693 and al-ṭibb 762, respectively. Both are foliated on the upper left corner of the recto sides with Hindu-Arabic numerals. This foliation was seemingly prepared with the same ink as that of the main texts. However, it is not always clearly visible, due to apparent trimming of the textblocks or creases. As for the 7th treatise, its f.1or has \textit{al-thānī} written above the numeral (slightly trimmed, but legible). F.2or most definitely had its quire signature (being \textit{al-thālith}), even though it is not visible on the manuscript due to trimming, for f.1or of the 8th treatise has \textit{al-rābiʿ}. Unfortunately, this treatise is comprised of only 14 folios; therefore, no further observations can be made regarding the quire signatures. While the same foliation is present on the 9th treatise as well, none of its nine folios has visible quire signatures. Nevertheless, paired with the similarities of the textblocks and scripts, this might indicate that at least these three treatises (with either the current 6th treatise or an entirely different work) formed a codicological unit before ending up as part of MS Mosul, Madrasat Yahyā Bāshā 175. Since the 11th treatise has its own short biography, it might be that this proposed previous codicological unit contained treatises 10 and 11 as well. Regardless of the above speculations, the codex as a whole is a quite practical medical collection with six of its treatises on pharmacology and dietetics, two on poisons and antidotes, and the rest also on practical matters.

\textsuperscript{440} Al-Jalabī, \textit{Man huwa al-Qūṣūnī}.
\textsuperscript{441} Al-Jalabī, \textit{Mahmūd al-ʿAntābī al-Aṃshūṭī}. 
Description of MS Mosul, Madrasat Yahyā Bāshā 175-9

I was provided with a digital copy of the microfilm copy of the manuscript in the form of 13 JPG files of different sizes (2880 x 4736 pixels for the cover; 5176–5696 x 4864–4992 pixels for 2-2 pages; 5288 x 4864 pixels for the back; 200 dpi). The microfilm copy was made by the Ma’had al-Makhtūtāt al-‘Arabiyya with the call number al-tibb 317. During my visit to the Institute, I was able to consult the microfilm copy in addition to the digital images.

Description on the library tag:

The information on the library tags is as follows:

Library: Madrasat Yahyā Bāshā al-Jalīlī – al-Mawsīl
No. of film: 33 [+34]
No. of book: 8
Title of book: Majmūʿa fī al-tibb (containing 11 treatises)
Topic: medicine
Author: numerous authors
Date of copying: –
No. of leaves: – [257]
Size: 24.5 x 15 cm

Title, author, and date:

MS Mosul, Madrasat Yahyā Bāshā 175-9 (ff.1r–9r) bears the title Kitāb al-isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār (f.1r, vocalized). The name of the author is given immediately after the title: al-shaykh al-imām al-‘allāma Muẓaffar al-Din Maḥmūd al-‘Antābī, known as al-Amshāṭī. The name of the copyist is given in the colophon (f.9r): Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Q.l.t.y al-Azhari. The date of copying is given in the colophon as well: 16 Rabī’ al-awwal 976 (9 September 1568).

Title page (f.1r):

كتَاب الإسْفَار عن حُكْم الأَسْفار
للشيخ الأُمَام العَلّامة مُظَفّر الدين مَحْمُود
العنتَابي المعْرُوف بالأمشَاطي
تغمدَهُ الله تعين برحمَته

* The data in square brackets is given only on the tag at the end.
مولفه محمود بن احمد بن حسن بن احمد بن اسمعيل، بن اسمعيل الشيخ مظفر الدين، المنشاطى، الحنفى القاهرى، اخو قاضى القضاه بمصر محمد الامشاطى الحنفى ولد في حوالى سنة اثني عشر وثمانين، وكان فقيهاً طبيباً فاضلاً متفناً في جميع العلوم، درس وافتى وحدث واصل شرح في الفقه وأفشى على الموجز (في الطب) لابن النفيس حسنا جامعاً، حافلاً في مجلدين كبيرين، وشرح أيضاً على النقايه في الفقه، وشرحه في الطب (موجز) لابن النفيس حسناً جامعاً، حافلاً في مجلدين كبيرين، وشرح أيضاً على اللمحة في الطب، كذلك كتب عدّة رسائل في الطب منها تاسيس الاتقان، والمتانه في علل الكلى والمثانة، ومثله القول السديد في اختيار العامه العبيد، ومنها رسائل في ما يحتاج إليه المسافر، كتبها لابن البارزى، وكان صالحاً خيراً، حسن الاعتقاد، ذكر أنه راي وهو دون البلوغ، رجلاً يمشى في الغمام، لا يشك في ذلك، وكان على طرقاته حسن، عمر، واسن، فنزل عن وظائفه وأقبح على الله تعالى وعمل عدة من الخيات والآثار، توفي سنة اثنتين، وتعمم بالقاهرة، رحمه الله تعالى.

نقلت ذلك من الضوء وغيره

Incipit (f.1v):
الحمد لله الذي امر بالاسفار للتفكير والاعتبار وذاء فرايض الحج والاعتمار وجهاد المتمردين من
التكافر وجعل في الطب من الأمراض ما يخفظ الصحة ويرى الأضرار واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له النافع الصار وشهد ان سيدنا محمد صل الله عليه وآله وسلم من الأضرار المضار الهادي إلى المنافيق والما抱歉 صلى الله عليه ووعليه الاخيار، وازواجه الأظهار، وإصباحه، الاجيار ما طرد الليل البهار وأما النفر وآثار وعيد...

Explicit (f.9r):
واما ما يحتاج إليه من السنونات فسنون جلول الامسان زبد البحر مريح ورماد الصدف ورماد اصل القصب الفنانى وراويد مدح رجى سريو، وسنون تشد اللثه والاستان فقرون، بملع اندريان مريح هليلج أصفر ورد من كل واحده جز مجئان نصف جزء

Colophon (f.9r):
هذا آخر ما اردنا فعله، تم الكتاب، عون
الملك الوهاب، والله أعلم بالصواب، واليه المرفع والماب، على يد اقل عباد الله واحوجهم إلى عفوه وغفرانه

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Contents:

The treatise begins with the title and author's name. The actual text of the treatise is preceded by a short biography of the author (f.1r). After this part, the manuscript follows the same structure as MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmīʿ 210-16. On f.1v, the text begins with the basmala, which is followed by the incipit. The preface continues after the incipit, but with some changes compared to the Cairo manuscript's text (ff.1v–2r). After this part, on f.2r, the chapters with their contents or titles are listed. The introduction is on ff.2r–2v. The 1st chapter is on ff.2v–3r; the 2nd chapter is on ff.3r–3v; the 3rd chapter is on ff.3v–4r; the 4th chapter is on ff.4r–4v; the 5th chapter is on ff.4v–5r; the 6th chapter is on f.5r; the 7th chapter is on ff.5r–6r; the 8th chapter is on f.6r. The epilogue's 1st chapter is on ff.6r–6v; its 2nd chapter is on ff.6v–9r. The treatise ends with the colophon on f.9r.

Physical description:

It seems that the lower right corner of the manuscript got soaked, leaving a mark on the folios up to ten lines from the bottom vertically and to the middle of the lines horizontally. However, the text remained legible even on the copy. The number of lines per page is 31. The title page and first page have 14 lines, while the last page has 34 lines. The justification of the text block is quite neat. There are only a few cases of superscription, mostly in the biographical section. The manuscript was foliated on the upper left corners of the recto sides with Hindu-Arabic numerals. Catchwords appear on all the verso pages, written in an approximately 45° angle below the last line separately. They are the first word of the next folio (f.1v, 4v, 5v, 6v, 7v, 8v), with the preceding
wa- (f.2v, 3v). The catchwords on f.2v, 3v, and 4v stained the following recto pages. The text was written most probably in black ink. Chapter headings, keywords, and the dividers (full circles on ff.1v–2r, full and hollow circles on f.9r) are most probably in red ink. In the digital copy, these parts are greyer and blurrier compared to the darkness and sharpness of the supposed black ink. In some cases, keywords are overlined. The title and author’s name on f.1r also show on f.1v, while the dividers and the red wa-ba’du (especially the part “a’du”) show on f.1r, and these parts also left faint marks on f.2r.

**Scribal errors:**

There are only a few scribal errors I was able to locate on the copy of the manuscript. Place of omission is indicated once by an inverted caret between the words with its extended arm pointing towards the margin. The insertion is inscribed on the margin horizontally, with the abbreviation ṣād-hāʾ for ṣahha under the inserted word (f.2v). The numeral 2 (٢) is used once on f.5r for a one-word gloss. A cacographic error is corrected by writing the abbreviation ṣād-hāʾ in a shape similar to the Eastern-Arabic numeral ٤ (٤) under the affected letter while writing the correct form above the letter shape (f.7v).

** Scripts and hands:**

The script of the short biography is a serifless, legible nastaʿliq. The words are descending onto the baseline. The isolated alifas are either straight and vertical or slanted to the right with left-foot hairlines. The lām-alif ligature does not have a visible loop. The counters are visible only in the letterforms of ẓā’-ẓā’, sād-dād, and isolated háʾ. Horizontal lines are somewhat elongated. The bowls of the letterforms are pronounced, and the descendents are elongated, almost reaching to the ascender lines of the next lines. The title of the biography is a more decorative, partially seriffed naskh with some variation in each of its four lines regarding the lettershapes.

The script of the main text is a serifless, legible naskh. The words are sitting neatly on the baseline. The letter alif is straight and vertical in isolated positions but slightly slanted to the right above the x-line in its joined form. The lām-alif ligatures are neat and somewhat triangular with visible loops, resembling the al-lām alif al-warrāqiyya. The counters are visible only in the letterforms of ẓā’-ẓā’, sād-dād, and in some cases in isolated, connected, or final connected forms of háʾ and tā’ marbūṭa. The catchwords, interlinear insertions, and corrections of cacographic errors are made by the same hand. The script on the first page of the main text (f.1v) is more
spaced out and airy than the rest of the text. Chapter headings are further emphasised by elongation of the horizontal lines. Diacritical pointing is used throughout the text. The preposition \( fī \) and the \( tā’ \) marbūṭa have their dots almost all the time. The preposition \( fī \) is written in two distinct forms throughout the text by the same hand. Dots are occasionally missing from verbal prefixes. Vocalization is present occasionally throughout the text. The letter \( hamza \) is omitted or replaced by \( yā’ \) in medial positions. It appears once on f.6r.

4.1.3. MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-ǩāf, majmūʿat Āl Yaḥyā, 123 majāmiʿ (123-11)

Contents and description of the codex (MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-ǩāf, majmūʿat Āl Yaḥyā, 123 majāmiʿ)

Based on the catalogue of the Maktabat al-ǩāf,\(^{443}\) 123 majāmiʿ contains 12 treatises (nos. 3842–3853).\(^{444}\) The catalogue gives the number, title, author with the date of death (if known), incipit, explicit, type of script, name of scribe (if known), date and place of copying (if known), whether there are words written in red, number in the collection, number of lines, and finally the measurements. At the end of the entries, all manuscripts are identified as Maktabat al-ǩāf, majmūʿat Āl Yaḥyā, under the number 123, majāmiʿ, Tarīm. In the following, I summarize the treatises of the collection in order based on the catalogue mentioned above, giving only their number, title, and if known, the name of the author, copyist, and date of copying.

No. 3842: Masʾala li-l-shaykh Aḥmad al-Bājīrī fī maʿrifat mulūk wa-sulātīn
Copyist: Yūsuf ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Mallāh

No. 3843: Albūm [sic] fī ḥawādith al-Rūm
Author: ‘Ābd al-Raḥmān al-Bustāmī (d. 858/1454)

No. 3844: al-Bashāʾir al-hātima bi-asbāb ḥusn al-khātima
Author: ‘Ābd Allāḥ Mir Ghanī (d. 656/1258)
Copyist: ʿAbd al-Maʿṭī al-Samalāwī
Date of copying: 1077/1666–1667

No. 3845: Shārḥ al-waraqāt
Author: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Mahallī (d. 864/1459)
Copyist: ‘Ābd al-Maʿṭī al-Samalāwī
Date of copying: 1077/1666–1667

No. 3846: Talqīn al-mayyit

\(^{443}\) I would like to thank Kinga Dévényi and Anne Regourd for referring me to this catalogue.

\(^{444}\) Al-ʿAydarūs, Fihris, II/1601–1605.
As for the authors, the given dates of deaths range from 656 to 1250 / 1258–1834. The dates of copying range from 977 to 1242 / 1569–1826. Due to the presence of 19th century treatises in this collection, as well as the slightly varying measurements in general, it is right to assume that MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, majmūʿat Āl Yaḥyā, 123 majāmīʿ is a composite volume with 12 treatises on various topics, which were bound together not earlier than 1826. It is a possibility that the codex was (re)bound when it was microfilmed by the Maʿhad al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya in 1976.445 Based on the available data, nothing more can be said about this volume with certainty.

In accordance with the system of shelfmarks of the previous two manuscripts, I will refer to the 11th treatise of this majmūʿa as 123-11.

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Description of MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, majmūʿat Āl Yahyā, 123 majāmīʿ (123-11)

I was provided with a digital copy of the microfilm copy of the manuscript in the form of 13 JPG files of different sizes (2030 x 1536 pixels for the library tag at the front; 2064 x 1664 pixels for the library tag at the end; 2064/2080 x 1664 pixels for the images of the manuscript; 200 dpi). The microfilm copy was made by the Maḥad al-Makhtūṭat al-ʿArabiyya with the call number al-ṭibb 17. During my visit to the Institute, I was able to consult the microfilm copy in addition to the digital images.

Description on the library tag:

The information on the identical front and back library tags is as follows:

ف 43 حكم الأسفار
لمؤسس في بيان الحاجة إلى السفر وما ينفع للمسافر فعلاً، والسفر في البحر، وما يتطلب المسافر من الأدوية المفردة والمركبة.
وأخيراً: "حمد الله الذي أمر بالأسفار، للتفكير والاعتبار "
وآرها: "وما قبلها إلى سنة السفنات وستون يد الثقة والأسنان: قرن أبل مجري. وهذا آخر ما أردناه، والله سبحان وتعالى أعلم".

نسخة كتبها أبو الصلاح محمد الحنفي سنة 2801 ه بمصر، وبعض [sic] كلماتها

A second tag was put on the library tag with the date of microfilming:

جامعة الدول العربية
المنظمة العربية للتربية والثقافة والعلوم
معهد المخطوطات العربية
صور في يوم الاثنين 1396 ه 31 ربيع الأول
الموافق 22 مارس 1976 م
Title, author, and date:

The 11th treatise of MS Tarim, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, majmūʿat Āl Yaḥyā, 123 majāmīʿ (ff.100r–110r) bears the title Irshādāt li-man arāda al-safar (underlined thrice), Kitāb al-isfār ʿan h.k.m al-asfār (f.1r, not vocalized, except for the hamzas) written below the underlining. The name of the author is given immediately after the title: al-ʿallāma Muẓaffar al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAntābi, known as al-Amshāṭi. The name of the copyist is given in the colophon (f.110r): Abū al-Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥanafi. The date and place of copying is given in the colophon as well: 17 Jumādā al-awwal 1083 (10 September 1672), Egypt.

Incipit (f.100v):

الحمد لله الذي امر بالاسفار ٥ للتفكر والاعتبار ٥ وادا فرابض الحج والاعتمار ٥ / وجهاد المتمردن من الكفار ٥ وجعل في الطب من الاسرار ٥ ما يحفظ الصحة / ويري من الاضرار ٥ واشهد ان لا اله الا الله النافع الضر ٥ / وشاهد ان ميتا محمد ابده ورسوله المختار ٥ الشافي من المضر ٥ الهادي الي / المناق والمسار ٥ صلى الله عليه وعلي ٥ / الله الامصار ٥ وازواجه الاطهار ٥ / واصحابه الاخيار ٥ ما طرد الليل النهار ٥ واضا الفجر وانار وبعد ٥

Explicit (f.110r):

واما ما يحتاج اليه من السنونات فسون يجلو الاسنان زبد البحر / محرم ورماد الصدف ورماد اصل القصب ٥ / الفارسي وراوند مدحرج / اجزا سوية وسنون يشد الله والاسنان قرن ابل محرم ملح الاندزاني / محرم هليلج اصفر ٥ / ورد من كل واحد حر جننان نصف جز

Colophon (f.110r):

/ وهذا آخر ٥ / ما اردننا والله سحناته وتعلاني اعلم ٥ / تمه العمر أبو الصلاح محمد ٥ / الحنفی ٥ / في ١٧ جمادى الاولى / من شهر سهٰما ١٠٨٣ مصر ///

The colophon begins in the last line of the explicit. The date of copying is written in an approximately 45° angle, the day on the right side, the year on the left side of the copyist's name, shaping a triangle.
Contents:

The treatise begins with a title page with the title and the author’s name, as well as many notes (f.100r). The manuscript follows the same structure as the previous two. On f.100r, the text begins with the *basmala*, which is followed by the incipit following the text of MS Mosul, Madrasat Yaḥyā Bāshā 175-9 with some changes in the part with the *shahāda*. The preface continues after the incipit (f.100v). After this part, the chapters with their contents or titles are listed (ff.100v–101r). The introduction is on f.101r. The 1st chapter is on ff.101r–102r; the 2nd chapter is on ff.102r–102v; the 3rd chapter is on ff.102v–103r; the 4th chapter is on ff.103r–103v; the 5th chapter is on ff.103v–104r; the 6th chapter is on f.104v; the 7th chapter is on ff.104v–105v; the 8th chapter is on ff.105v–106r. The epilogue’s 1st chapter is on f.106r; its 2nd chapter is on ff.106r–110r. The treatise ends with the colophon on f.110r.

Physical description:

Each of the microfilmed images is stained in different patches, making it impossible to make assumptions about the condition of the manuscript. The text, however, remained legible on all folios and areas. F.104v and f.105r are the middles of a quire, as the thread clearly shows on the image, so there is a chance that the textblock is a regular quinion. According to the catalogue of Maktabat al-Āḥqāf, the page dimensions are 20,5 x 13 cm. The number of lines per page is 27. The justification of the textblock is neat. The chapter headings, as opposed to the main text, are always written in a separate line, aligned to the centre. The manuscript has a modern foliation on the upper left of the recto sides with Hindu-Arabic numerals. Catchwords appear on all the verso sides, written horizontally below the last line separately. They are the first word of the next folio, written by the same hand as the main text. While this is not apparent on the images, as in the case of the Mosul manuscript, some of the words are in red ink according to the catalogue. Keywords are overlined throughout the text.

446 Al-ʿAydarūs, *Fihris*, II/1605.
Scribal errors:

The text is free of marginalia, and there are only two instances of scribal corrections that I was able to locate. One is an interlinear correction, where the scribe inserted the correct word above the erroneous one with a superscript ṣād-ḥāʾ for ṣāḥḥa (f.103r). The other one is a cancellation by crossing out two words with a single line (f.109v).

Scripts and hands:

The script is a serifless, legible nastaʿlīq. The words are descending onto the baseline. The isolated alifs are either straight and vertical or slightly slanted to the right. The lām-alif ligature does not have a visible loop. The counters are visible only in the letterforms ṭāʾ-ẓāʾ and šād-ḍād, with some exceptions where it is not visible even in these letterforms. Horizontal lines are somewhat elongated. The bowls and descenders of the letterforms are pronounced. The catchwords and the interlinear insertion are made by the same hand. Diacritical pointing is used throughout the text. The preposition ʿfī and the tāʾ marbūṭa have their dots almost all the time. The preposition ʿfī is written in two distinct forms throughout the text. Vocalization is rarely present. The letter hamza is omitted, and in medial positions only its chair is present.

4.1.4. Concluding remarks

“Thinking of the stemma one should try to avoid thinking of a tree and its branches. The few disparate textual witnesses that we do have are often nothing more than a small pile of twigs and branches, of which we will probably never know where in the tree(s) of transmission they had their place.”448 This is how Witkam starts his article in which he recounts his practical experience in editing Arabic texts, stemmatology, and Islamic manuscripts. In this article, he focuses on the course of his editing of a text with sixty-six manuscripts. However, in an earlier article, he gave some other examples and scenarios as well, where he did not “reject the principles of stemmatization”, but concluded that “it is hardly ever possible to establish in practice a carefree and unstrained stemma”.449 In the case of al-Isfārʾan ḥikam al-aṣfār, there are three manuscripts at our disposal. This number certainly spares many problems resulting from having an abundance of copies as well as those coming from editing unique manuscripts. Despite this, it still has its pitfall. Namely, it would be quite convenient to arrange the manuscripts in

448 Witkam, The philologist’s stone, 34.
449 Witkam, Establishing, 98.
chronological order and link them together, as a cursory study of the variant readings could support this decision. Such a stemma, however, could be misleading. Even with an only potential connection of the manuscripts and inclusion of hypothetical versions, it would be unlikely to include possibly surviving, but not yet discovered copies, neither those lost to us in their correct place in the ‘tree’. Instead of producing such a stemma full of uncertainties, I aim to compare them based on the descriptions above and the variant readings. In order to make the text less cumbersome, hereinafter I reference the three manuscripts in a shortened form: (MS) C for MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, majāmīʿ 210-16; (MS) M for MS Mosul, Madrasat Yahyā Bāshā 175-9; and (MS) T for of MS Tarīm, Maktabat al-Āḥqāf, majmūʿat Āl Yahyā, 123 majāmīʿ (123-11).

Even though a chronological order might be misleading, as mentioned above, the first things to consider are the data on copying. While we have such data on M (16 Rabīʿ al-awwal 976 / 9 September 1568) and T (17 Jumādā al-awwal 1083 / 10 September 1672; Egypt), for C, we have no relating information in the colophon or other places of the manuscript. As noted in the description, nothing indicates that the codex of C contains treatises copied after the 15th century. Based on the dedication of the work, I infer in sub-chapter 5.3. Dedication and dating that the most probable period the treatise was written is 842-850/1438-1447. Therefore, I presume that C was actually copied in the 15th century. This presumption is supported by some observations of the text of C. Firstly, the characteristics of the paper seem to correspond to those of the 15th century. This presumption is supported by some observations of the text of C. Firstly, the characteristics of the paper seem to correspond to those of the 15th century. Secondly, it has the simplest prefaces of the three manuscripts. As the other two texts have whole rhythmic units inserted into the sajʿ and on more occasions break up a rhythmic unit of C into more units, this is not a case where the principle of difficilior lectio potior would be applicable by default. A simpler preface, however, would provide the perfect opportunity for later copyists to amend it and shape it more to the needs and liking of their commissioners. It could be a possibility that the text of C is an earlier version preserved in a later copy. However, the corrections present in the manuscript make this implausible. Thirdly, there is a distinct second hand responsible for the majority of cancellations and addenda. Only a few marginalia and single-word cancellations are made by the main hand of the text, while the second one made the more significant changes. A conspicuous feature of these is the chapter titles. These are corrected by the second hand both in the table of contents and in the actual text. The substantial changes of the epilogue are also made by the second hand. This would suggest
that C might be an early copy of the text, maybe even a quite neatly composed draft or scholarly copy which was re-read and corrected after composition. Lastly, a unique feature of C is providing the correct spelling or meaning of foreign words on three occasions, all omitted by M and T. These are for qayrūṭ and dūgh in chapter 1 (see in the edition: 230:2–3, 230:8) and kāghad in chapter 5 (240:7–8). On the other hand, both M and T have the spelling and explanation of būlimūs in chapter 4 (236:4–5). Even with this exception, the principle of difficilior lectio potior can be applied here, especially since the treatise is dedicated to the head of the chancery, a layman. While some explanation of technical terms can be a welcome addition in such a case, if physicians had commissioned M and T, such information might have been superfluous. (Since the codex of M comprises medical treatises, at least one of the two manuscripts might indeed have been prepared for a physician.)

While the observations above could suggest a reasonably straightforward stemma, other clues indicate that the copyists of M and T might have had a slightly different version of the text at their disposal. M and T both omit the text of C in some cases where an involuntary scribal mistake is not likely. Such examples can be found in 232:20–21, 240:6–7. They also simplify the text ending chapter 8 (250:16–17); while they have a simple God almighty knows best, C has a more lengthy praising formula separating the actual chapters from the prologue on simple and compound medicaments. On some occasions, both M and T supplement the text of C with additional information of a medical nature, such as on 232:21, 240:23. Despite that these additions are short, it is unlikely that the scribe himself makes such additions or substitutions without the use of another manuscript or notes. There are two occasions where the marginal and interlinear notes of C are worth mentioning. In the list of simple cold medicaments, C has flower of violet in a marginal note (252:11); nor M, neither T included it. In case of a liniment recipe, a verb in a marginal note of C is included in M but omitted from T (268:5). T has some shorter insertions as well as omissions in some places not present in C or M (226:7, 230:11, 238:1, 9, 244:6, 7, 246:2).

There are, however, two interesting errors in T. The first one is at the end of chapter 4 (238:5–6), where the scribe most probably skipped a line. In a list of plants, after the first word, he copied two plant names, then returned to the beginning of the list, and ended it with the last two plant names already present in the list due to the error. The layout of C (f.259v:11–12) could result in such a line-skipping mistake, as the wa- for the two repeated plant names aligns perfectly with
the wa- of the actual second item of the list. As for M (f.4v:3–4), the layout is accidentally somewhat similar, but the words do not align as neatly for this error as in C. On another occasion in chapter 7 in 248:6–7, T skipped another line. Here, the words causing the error are yushrabu ma’ahu, which appear perfectly aligned in C (f.262v:5 and 6). For both line-skipping errors, the layout of C can be pinpointed as the origin of the scribal mistake. In the end, however, this presents only two instances that would obviously link C and T.

A further meticulous study of the critical apparatus would result in a lengthier list, as expected. Even so, it would not present more straightforward cases to define the relationships of the manuscripts better. Based on the above selection of examples as well as the ones left out, it seems that the copyists of M and T based their work on a cleaner copy of C, with the reasonable possibility that the copyist of T had C at his disposal as well.

4.2. Arabic text and English translation

Editorial methods:

When preparing the critical edition of the treatise, my aim was to produce a readable Arabic text, therefore the only disruption in the main text is the indication of the folios of the manuscripts. Marginalia, interlinear notes, and scribal mistakes and corrections are always relegated to the critical apparatus.

MS C serves as the basis of the text edition. Differences, additions, and omissions in the other manuscripts are always indicated in the apparatus. Occasionally, some elements present only in MS M and T are included in the main text; these are also always noted in the apparatus. Besides presenting these in the description of manuscripts, the initia and colophon of both MS M and T are reproduced in the apparatus.

The addition or omission of the conjunction wa- and the definite article al- as well as changing the al- to li-l- are noted in the apparatus, as well as variant readings of diacritical marks, characters with three diacritical dots, personal suffixes, case endings, and numerals. The exception is the orthography of the hamza; the characteristics of the hamzas are noted in the description of the manuscripts and the changes in the orthography of hamzas in the medial position are not marked in the apparatus.

I reproduced the use of red ink, following MS C, to show and illustrate the original division of the text. The paragraphs and punctuation marks are my additions. Vocalisation and hamzas are
rarely present in the manuscripts; while I have not added vocalisation to the main text, I supplemented it with *hamz*as and *shadda*ss and marked the indefinite accusative endings with the intention of facilitating reading.

**Translation methods:**

When producing the English translation of the original Arabic, my intention was to produce a “precise study translation” as fully as possible. My aim was not an ornate and lucid English paraphrased version; this means that the English translation can be dull or complicated at times. However, by staying closer to the original Arabic text, the translation I hope manages “to reproduce the information carried by the original work, for the purposes of special study by those who cannot read the original language.”

Technical terms and names of *materia medica* are translated consistently. All of these are listed in the glossaries (see Appendix II – Glossaries). The ten chapters of the work (eight main chapters and the two chapters of the epilogue) are all designated as *fusul* in the Arabic, and therefore rendered as ‘chapter’ in English on all occasions. Other Arabic terms are also translated in the same way throughout the translation and the structure of the original was also observed as much as possible. While this makes the English monotonous at times, especially in the epilogue, this reflects the Arabic original as well. To still produce a readable English, I supplemented the translation with words in square brackets when necessary. In some cases, when the original meaning is not easily reproduced in English, the original is reproduced in transliteration and supplemented with an explanatory note; these terms are also listed in the glossaries and the notes generally provide the reader with the same information as the glossary.

Due to the formal criteria for the dissertation set by the Department of Doctoral and Academic Affairs, the Arabic text and the English translation are in Appendix I. Additionally, instead of presenting the original Arabic and the English parallel side by side, they are on consecutive pages; nevertheless, the paragraphs are still arranged parallelly for ease of cross-referencing the original and the translation, whenever needed.

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450 See the notes of Hodgson on three different types of translations (re-creative, explanatory, and precise study translation): Hodgson, *The venture*, 1/67–69. I would like to thank Mónika Schönléber for referring me to this summary.

451 Hodgson, *The venture*, 1/68.
5. **ANALYSIS OF IBN AL-AMSHĀṬI’S **\textit{AL-ISFĀR ‘AN ḤIKAM AL-ASFĀR}**

Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s treatise, \textit{al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār} encompasses several aspects worth of exhaustive analyses. This chapter focuses on three such features.

Sub-chapter 5.1. A summary of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s \textit{al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār} is a short survey of the contents of the treatise. It aims to offer a concise picture of the whole work in order to help the reader navigate the scrutiny of the text.

Sub-chapter 5.2. An in-depth study of the preface analyses the preface of the work separately due to the contrast between the genre of literary prefaces and the rest of the work (a technical, medical text), warranting distinct aspects and criteria for the study of the preface and the main text.

Sub-chapter 5.3. Dedication and dating investigates the patron to whom the treatise is dedicated and offers a hypothetical dating for the composing of the treatise itself.

Sub-chapter 5.4. The treatise in the Arabic medical tradition of \textit{tadbīr al-musāfirīn} takes under scrutiny the medical content of the treatise following the structure of the treatise itself. This scrutiny leans on the analysis and results of chapter 2. The Arabic tradition of \textit{tadbīr al-musāfirīn}, especially of its first sub-chapter, heavily, since this is what allows to accurately evaluate Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s \textit{Isfār} both in term of its structure and its content.

5.1. **A summary of Ibn al-Almshāṭi’s **\textit{al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār}**

This sub-chapter's purpose is to offer a brief summary of the contents of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s \textit{al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār} and thereby provide the reader with a general overview of the work before moving on to further analyses of the text.

**Preface:**

In sub-chapter 5.2. An in-depth study of the preface, I provide an in-depth analysis of the preface, and therefore, this summary is only a short outline of the three parts of the preface.

The initia begins with a \textit{basmalah} and a \textit{ṣalwala}. It continues in \textit{saj} with a \textit{ḥamdala}, and then follows the rhetorical concept of ‘skilful opening’\textsuperscript{452} before ending with another \textit{ṣalwala}.

The middle part starts with the \textit{ba’dīyya}, from where Ibn al-Amshāṭi builds up to the introduction of the patron. After this, Ibn al-Amshāṭi gives his reason and method of compilation

\textsuperscript{452} Bonebakker, \textit{Ibtidāʾ}, 1006.
for this treatise and expresses the intended purpose of the work. The last item of this middle part of the preface is the title of the treatise.

In the last part, Ibn al-Amshāṭi turns to God, attempting to secure his favour through praise and appeal. Then, he ends the preface by listing the titles of the treatise's chapters (faṣl).

Introduction:

In a short but theoretically dense introduction (muqaddima), Ibn al-Amshāṭi states that the sudden deviation from the usual circumstances of life can be the cause of dangerous diseases, and the exertion and fatigue of travelling strengthen this effect. He briefly explains the underlying reasons (the dissolved harmful humours cause swellings or diseases) and articulates his approach to the topic; the traveller should know what is useful and harmful to avoid illnesses. In other words, he advocates prophylaxis or prevention.

First chapter:

The first chapter can be divided into three parts of approximately equal lengths discussing preparation for travelling, hunger, and thirst.

In the first part of the first chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭi lists ten principles to observe for the successful purging (istifrāgh) of the body before embarking on a journey. These are, in brief, the following. Being full of harmful humours and having potent strength are needed so as not to weaken the traveller. Having a warm and moist temperament is also necessary since other dispositions do not have so many excess humours to purge or purify. The fourth principle is adequate symptoms, meaning that susceptibility to specific ailments prohibits purging. Appearance and age are to be considered as well. Excessively hot or cold weather and the overly hot or cold climate of the country where the traveller lives prohibit purging. The last two principles are the frequency of purging and one's vocation; those purging rarely or frequently are not permitted to purify before travelling. At the end of the last principle, Ibn al-Amshāṭi specifies the means of purification: purgation/diarrhoea (ishāl) and bloodletting (faṣd). Furthermore, he lists five factors to consider when performing bloodletting without any further explanation: the intensity of the pulse, intensity of strength, the sturdiness of muscles, age of adolescence, and redness of complexion. After the issue of purging, Ibn al-Amshāṭi recommends exercising, walking, or riding to meet the conditions expected during one's journey gradually. Besides exercise, he recommends getting used to any other circumstances which are likely to occur, e.g.
sleeplessness, hunger, or thirst. He also advises the traveller to bring with himself what eases the anticipated hardships of the journey.

In the second part of the chapter, which discusses hunger, Ibn al-Amshāṭi advises eating food prepared from roasted livers, especially if the food was made with oils and fats. He also explains why these foodstuffs work well against hunger, adding some theoretical explanation to the practical list of proper foodstuffs. At the end of this section, he includes the narrative of drinking violet oil to prevent hunger; ‘it is said’ (qīla) that drinking a ṭal of the mixture of violet oil and wax prevents hunger for ten days.

In the third part of the chapter on thirst, Ibn al-Amshāṭi advises eating foodstuffs with moistening and cooling effects in addition to those prepared with sour things. In the case of hot weather, there are some mucilages, juices, and oils to consume. Ibn al-Amshāṭī completes this list with the recipe of a thirst-quenching pill and offers two easy to come by substitutes (either a lead coin or a dirham) if the pill is unavailable or cannot be prepared on the journey. At the end of this section, Ibn al-Amshāṭī forbids eating food that causes thirst, such as certain salty, acrid, and sweet foodstuffs.

As can be seen, the chapter’s first part is more theoretical with some practical advice and the last part resembles a list with a recipe inserted into it, while the second part is somewhere in between the two.

Second chapter:

In this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭi discusses travelling in hot weather. He presents a concise theoretical discussion of what happens in this situation, noting that frequent drinking and thirst both have their harms, and the sun can cause headache and fever. He advises not to travel during the daytime and to cover one’s head, face, and chest. In the second half of this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭi provides detailed instructions for those with dry temperaments. Besides simply presenting what and when to eat and when to travel, he gives short theoretical explanations to back up his recommendations. At the end of the chapter, he recommends using rose or violet oil or cold water with vinegar on the temples hourly to prevent or alleviate a headache.
Third chapter:

The object of this chapter is closely related to the previous one, as it discusses the *samūm*, a ‘very hot and burning wind’. First come the precautions, such as covering the face and nose, eating onion soaked in *dūgh* (‘buttermilk’), and inhaling rose oil or pumpkin seed oil, since both have cooling and moistening properties and therefore counteract the drying and warming properties of the *samūm*. Approximately two-thirds of the chapter deal with treating the negative effects caused by the *samūm*. Ibn al-Amshāṭī groups his advice into two parts: besides washing the limbs or face with cold water, first he specifies what to eat and which oils to use if the traveller does not have a fever, then he proceeds to discuss the treatment of those affected by fever, detailing what, when, how, and why to drink besides advice on washing oneself, eating, and avoiding intercourse.

Fourth chapter:

In this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī discusses travelling in winter, in the cold, or to cold places. He explains why cold poses a danger to the body, freezing it or resulting in a kind of hunger, *būlimūs*. After explaining what this condition is, Ibn al-Amshāṭī lists two more common dangers of travelling in the cold: the limbs falling off and weakening of the vision. Then, he gives advice in general on when to travel, how to cover oneself, what oils to use, and how to warm oneself. Lastly, he details what to do in case the traveller was affected by the cold. He lists oils to use, instructs on how and where to set up camp and warm oneself, and what and when to eat.

Fifth chapter:

In the previous chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī promises to write (‘God Almighty willing’) on preserving the limbs in cold weather. In this chapter, he gives some practical preventive measures for the traveller to safeguard his limbs, including the prevention of the weakening of sight. Then he moves on to how to cure the affected limbs. Here, he provides some theoretical background once again. While he notes that this affliction does not necessarily cause ulcers, he nevertheless divides the treatment according to the type of ulcers (external and internal, with additional sub-categories) and the swollenness of the limb. As for the treatment of swollen limbs, he quotes the method of the empiricists (*wa-qāla baʾḍ al-mujarrībīn*) of immersing the organ in cold water, including that some physicians believe that this method is comparable to immersing a stiff fruit
in cold water. Then Ibn al-Amshāṭī elaborates on the proper treatment according to the state of the limb (swollen, discoloured and putrid, or fallen off).

**Sixth chapter:**

In this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī provides useful and practical advice on how to preserve the complexion by coating the skin with various substances. He gives a recipe of a *qayrūṭī* (‘plaster’) and another one for treating fissured skin. Since discolouration of the skin can be caused by excessive heat or cold in addition to washing oneself with costive waters, this chapter offers a thematic link between the previous chapters on travelling in hot or cold weather and the following chapter on waters.

**Seventh chapter:**

In this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī discusses the various types of water the traveller encounters on his journey. He points out that the constitution needs water more than it needs food; therefore, a change in waters can make the traveller sicker than a change in foodstuffs. In the first part of this chapter, he lists the best and worst kinds of water with their characteristics. In the second part of this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī details the prophylaxis against particular types of water. He states that vaporisation (*taḥṣūd*), distillation (*taqṭūr*), and boiling ward off the possible harms, and he explains why and how these processes work. Then he deals with salty, alumic, and stagnant waters in particular. In the third and last part of this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī advises the traveller to bring water or clay from his homeland or sour robs and mix it into the waters he encounters, in addition to drinking through some filter to avoid drinking any vermin with the water.

**Eighth chapter:**

In the last chapter of the work, Ibn al-Amshāṭī explains why nausea and vomiting occur when travelling on sea. He then gives some practical advice on what to eat, drink, and sniff to prevent nausea and vomiting and calm and strengthen the stomach. The chapter ends with praising God and a *ṣalwala* for Muḥammad, his family, and his companions.
Epilogue:

The epilogue (khātima) lists all the medicaments the traveller should bring along in two chapters (faṣl).

In the epilogue’s first chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī lists simple medicaments in two groups, hot and cold ones. In total, he lists 45 hot and 29 cold medicaments.

In the second chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī generally follows a more practical approach. In most cases, he lists certain compound medicaments to use for certain ailments, organised according to the type of the medicaments. These are syrups (9), robs (6), electuaries (5), purgative pills (4), suppositories (2), pastilles (3), medicinal powders (3), collyriums and eye remedies (3), oils (13), liniments and powders (2 and 2, respectively), haemostatics (2), and dentifrices (2), for a total of 56 recipes. In some cases, Ibn al-Amshāṭī includes shorter or longer theoretical remarks, additional information, and instructions in addition to the recipe.

5.2. An in-depth study of the preface

While a systematic analysis of the whole text would indeed contribute to our knowledge of the linguistic and stylistic features of medieval Arabic medical texts and might provide some insights regarding the characteristics of Arabic preserved in the variants of the three manuscript copies, it would not do much to further an evaluation of the literary qualities of the text. This aspect, however, is of particular importance since the author dedicated the work not only to a simple kātib, ‘scribe’, but to the kātib al-sirr, ‘head of the chancery’. A necessary qualification for fulfilling this post, besides many other things, was eloquence and mastery of the ornate prose style (inshāʾ) of the chancery. Therefore, one would expect the author to strive to showcase his literary prowess to his patron. As opposed to that of the whole text, a thorough scrutiny of the preface would provide a perfect testing-ground to appraise the author’s belletristic capabilities for the following reasons.

The muqaddima (plural muqaddimāt, ‘introduction, preface, foreword, exordium’), the preface to prose works emerging in the 3rd/9th centuries, is an independent literary form from the 4th/10th century onwards. It consists of three distinct parts (initial commendations, a middle part, and closing praises), and its construction relies on the use of standardised patterns,

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453 Freimark, Mukaddima, 495; Freimark, Das Vorwort, 161–162.
expressions, and topoi. Nevertheless, it provides the author with an opportunity to present these elements with his unique twists integrated into the formulae and topoi. This way, the **muqaddima** can incorporate the specific functions desired by the author and allows him to showcase his literary skills as well. As a result of this, it proves to be a rewarding ground for a survey, as Freimark demonstrated.\(^{454}\) Another point to make is what Bauer notes in his article on Mamluk literature: one of “the major fields of activity of the Mamluk adîb” is the *inshā’,* which includes “drawing up of [...] related texts (such as prefaces to books) in elaborated and rhymed prose”.\(^{455}\) The fact that literary anthologies include examples of *saj’* and *inshā’* besides poetry\(^{456}\) suggests that such texts were considered a part of literature and therefore had literary qualities.

Returning to the treatise *al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār,* Ibn al-Amshāṭī conforms to the language of medical works throughout the whole work. Still, he has the opportunity to abandon this style and participate in a kind of “literary communication” in the *muqaddima.*\(^{457}\)

In this analysis, I will first examine the content following its tripartite structure, focusing on its functions and topoi besides its literary quality, then I will analyse its form, with particular attention to the *saj’,* or ‘rhymed prose’. I will also point out some of the Quranic allusions that appear in the preface as well.

However, looking at the structure of the work, we must notice that there is another, ‘second’ *muqaddima* or introduction following the one analysed here. Therefore, to avoid any further confusion, I will use the term ‘preface’ when talking about this ‘first’ one and reserve the terms *muqaddima* and ‘introduction’ for the other one, as that is the part which was explicitly named so by the author.

### 5.2.1. Content

The initia, as a rule, begins with the obligatory doxological formulae. In this case, these are a *basmala,* immediately followed by a *ṣalwala* for Muḥammad. The following parts are in *saj’.* The initia continues with a *ḥamdala,* where Ibn al-Amshāṭī begins implementing the rhetorical

\(^{454}\) Freimark, *Das Vorwort.*

\(^{455}\) Bauer, *Mamluk literature,* 119, 125

\(^{456}\) For examples, see Bauer, *Mamluk literature,* 125–126.

\(^{457}\) While this part of Bauer’s article regarding the “adabization of the ulama” focuses on poetry, some of his observations definitely hold for the *saj’* of a preface, since it also possessed literary qualities, as shown above. Bauer, *Mamluk literature,* 108–111.
concept of ḥusn al-ibtidā’ or barā’at al-istihlāl, ‘skilful opening’, meaning that in the following parts of the initia he alludes to the main theme of the work. He praises God who commanded men to travel, then elaborates the allusion by invoking the concepts of religiosity, pilgrimage, ‘umra, and of course, medicine. All these images are conjured in connection to the praising of God, as they are expressed in relative clauses connected to the phrase al-ḥamd lillāh alladhī, ‘praise be to God who’. The initia concludes with a ṣahwala for Muḥammad (who is now the curer of harms, al-shāfī min al-maḍārr), his family, and his companions.

The middle part starts with the baʿdiyya, the epistolary and textual formula separating the doxologies from the preface proper. In this case, its exact form is wa-baʿdu. Instead of immediately jumping to more ‘practical’ functions of the preface proper, Ibn al-Amshāṭī starts with building up the scene with the use of powerful religious concepts so as to provide a compelling setting for the introduction of the patron. These blend into the initia quite smoothly as the invoked images unfold, to wit the inner preparation for religious travel, crucial elements of the pilgrimage, trust in God’s forgiveness, the abolishment of sins, the Hereafter, and the end of times. It is as if the reader himself is part of this preparation in a heightened religious state. This elevated background provides the stage for the patron to appear as none other than the imām, the ‘leader’ of people (ahl al-amṣār, ‘cities’ folk’). Here, there might be a wordplay, as the singular form of amṣār is miṣr, which also stands for Egypt (albeit with different declension and without a plural form). First, the patron’s various qualities are praised (generosity, knowledge, magnificence, and splendour). Then, after some honorific adjectives, Ibn al-Amshāṭī gives the patron’s name and office, using the most exalted designation possible for the latter. Then, Ibn al-Amshāṭī asks God to keep his patron safe from harm and in the best circumstances. While this form of addressing the patron is more formal than personal, the setting created for his introduction, the level of laudation, and the following blessing fulfils the function of captatio benevolentiae. It is interesting to note that the completion of this function takes up approximately half of the preface proper.

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458 Bonebakker, *Ibtidā’*, 1006.
459 The “lesser pilgrimage” to Mecca. The ‘umra can be performed at any time of the year and consists of fewer rituals compared to the ḥajj; however, it is also possible to perform it alongside the ḥajj in specific ways. For a detailed analysis of the ‘umra, see Chaumont, *‘Umra*.
461 For more details on this, see sub-chapter 5.3. Dedication and dating.
In the middle part of the preface proper, a new train of thought begins, in which we can detect various functions. The first of these is the specification of the reason for compilation. Ibn al-Amshāṭī states that the most important of the great principles is the preservation of health and offering useful things for those travelling in desolate places, alone and without medicaments. These latter specifications are expressed through parallelism. We find two phrases for both conditions (‘without a companion, a servant, without medicaments, or remedies’) and all four words are negated the same way in the Arabic original. The preface continues; to quote the author: ‘I decided to compile a book for His Highness, His Excellency, in which I show the way for this, following the best methods.’ This testimony makes it clear that Ibn al-Amshāṭī keeps away from the most popular topoi for justification of writing his book, namely, being asked to do so (whether it is a real or fictitious request). It is his own decision to compile this work, in all probability wishing to live up to the great principles mentioned at the beginning of this section by providing a useful compilation for those in need of it. To some extent, this can be connected to the topos that it is meritorious to write a book and share knowledge. The reason for writing is followed by the purpose of the work. Quoting Ibn al-Amshāṭī once more, his book is ‘being a substitute for carrying those books on the crossroads of travels and [being] a collection of all which split from it, by means of summarising.’ This clearly corresponds to the popular topos of composing a book that makes the previous ones on the topic superfluous. His reason to do so, as can be seen, is not the unsatisfying quality of the works he aims to replace with his book; rather, it is a practical issue. This premise might serve Ibn al-Amshāṭī to maintain his modesty. His humility is further emphasised by the fact that he does not mention his name throughout the preface; his person only appears due to the use of verbs in the first-person singular on three occasions. The method of compilation (summarising) can be linked to the topos of shortness; instead of all the excessive works on the topic, this one will be concise. Besides the functions and topoi, this part contains literary features as well. The terms ‘books’ and ‘travels’ are homonyms in the Arabic original (asfār), and the terms ‘crossroads’ and ‘split’ are derived from the same roots.

463 Freimark, Das Vorwort, 36–40.
464 Freimark, Das Vorwort, 48.
465 Freimark, Das Vorwort, 48–49.
466 Freimark, Das Vorwort, 54–56.
467 Freimark, Das Vorwort, 50.
(f.r.q). Another element of this section is the repeated use of singular indefinite nominals in the accusative. Following this, the author states that this is why he named his book *al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār*, translated as *The unveiling of the wisdoms of the books*. The original title fits the common tendency of witty intitulations for two reasons. Firstly, both *isfār* and *asfār* go back to the same root (*s.f.r*). Secondly, *asfār* has just been shown to be a homonym, and while the title ‘The unveiling of the wisdoms of the journeys’ would also make sense, I favour rendering *asfār* as books for the following reasons. While according to Arabic scholars, the phrase would primarily refer not to ordinary books but rather those of the Scriptures or those on religious sciences, the term’s additional meaning is a book that reveals truths.\(^9\) Moreover, such volumes are depicted as “large, heavy books of religious knowledge” carried by donkeys on journeys.\(^7\) While Ibn al-Amshāṭī certainly does not refer to religious books when using *asfār*, he surely utilises the additional layers of meaning related to books. For more clarity, I quote the translated sections of the preface, noting the number of the rhythmic units in square brackets, where in rhythmic unit 43, *asfār* is ‘books’ without a doubt and in 44 it is ‘journeys’: ‘[37] I decided to compile a book for His Higness, [38] His Excellency [39] in which I show the way for this, [40] following the best methods. [41] Containing secrets, praise be to God, came [42] the books (*kutub*) of this great discipline [medicine. [43] Being a substitute for carrying those books (*al-asfār*) [44] on the crossroads of travels (*al-asfār*) [45] and being a collection of all which split from it, by means of summarising, [46] I named it *al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār*.’ As it is carrying of the books which contain the knowledge needed on journeys that Ibn al-Amshāṭī wants to spare his patron, in my opinion it is clearly the wisdoms (*ḥikam*) of these knowledge-bearing books (*asfār*) on medicine that he wishes to uncover in his treatise.

In the third part of the preface, the author praises God and asks Him to grant him a favourable reception and completeness for his work and deem it an undertaking worthy of redemption from Hell.

The preface ends with a table of contents, enumerating the book’s chapters and their titles.

5.2.2. Form

Regarding saj’, ‘rhymed prose’, its medieval analyses in Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī’s (d. ca. 400/1010) Kitāb al-ṣinā’atayn, ʿDiyā’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr’s (d. 637/1239) al-Mathal al-sāʾir, and al-Qalqashandi’s (d. 821/1418) Šubh al-ʾašā’ are frequently consulted. During the following analysis, I relied on encyclopaedia entries471 and modern analyses472 as well. I adopted the term rhymeme: “The rhymeme is a particular group of sounds which repeats at the end of every line throughout the entire poem. [...] The rhymeme includes the rawiyy and all successive sounds if any exist; under certain conditions, preceding sounds are also included, even if they do not form a continuous sequence with the rawiyy.”473 Since this term is also used in the case of saj’, it allows a clear description of elements of the rhyme other than the concurring consonant or rhyme letter, which ends the rhythmic units. As the last words of the rhythmic units were pronounced in their pausal form,474 I observed this rule throughout the following analysis. In this part of the dissertation, I deviate from transliteration in favour of transcription. I separate the preface into numbered lines according to the rhythmic units. First I divide the numbered rhythmic units into words (alfāẓ)475 and syllables, and then I list the rhymemes of the units and the morphological patterns of the last words of the units. This is followed by an analysis of the use of rhymemes and patterns in the rhythmic units, the length of the rhythmic units, and some additional aspects of the saj’.

Rhythmic units of the preface:

1. (الحمد / لله / الذي) / أمر / بالسفاَر

471 Ben Abdesselem, Ṣadī; Borg, Ṣaj’.
472 Frolov, Classical Arabic verse; Drory, Models and contacts; Orfali, The art of the muqaddima.
473 Drory, Models and contacts, 64.
474 See Stewart, Ṣaj’ in the Qurʼān, 109–110.
475 Here, I attempted to follow the method of Ibn al-Athīr (Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sāʾir, I/255–257). As he only gives a few examples of groups of rhythmic units and their word counts without any further explanation, occasional mistakes on my part are probable. According to Stewart, Hayim Sheynin’s system in his study of the maqāmāt is “virtually identical” to Ibn al-Athīr’s system (Stewart, Ṣaj’ in the Qurʼān, 114); however, I could not access Sheynin’s analysis for further explanation and examples of this method.
للتفكير والاعتبار

lil ta/fak/ku/ri/wal/iʾ/ti/bār

وأداء فرائض الحج والاعتمار

wa/ʾa/dâʾ/ʾi/fa/rāʾ/ʾi/dil/ḥaj/ji/wal/iʾ/ti/mār

وجعل في الطب من الأسرار

wa/jaʾ/ʾa/la/fit/ṭib/bi/mi/nal/ʾa/srāʾ

ما يحفظ الصحة ويبرئ من الأضرار

mā/yah/.fa/zuṣ/ṣilḥ/ha/ta/wa/yu/b/riʾ/u/mi/nalʾa/ḍ/rāʾ

وصلي الله على سيّدنا محمد وأعده ورسوله الشافى من المضار


وعلى الله وأصحابه الأتى

wa/ʾa/lâʾ/ʾa/hi/wa/ʾa/ṣḥâ/ʾa/hilʾ/akh/yâr

ما طرد الليل النهار

mâ/ṭa/ra/dal/lay/lan/na/hâr

وأضاء جهر وأثار

wa/ʾa/ḍâʾ/ʾa/faj/run/wa/ʾa/nâr
(وعبد / فلًا) / عزم / علي / سير / الأبرار

wa/ba'/du/fa/lam/mā/‘a/za/ma/‘a/lā/si/ya/ab/rā

11. واحترم / لزيارة / البيت / المختار

wa/ta/za/ma/li/zi/yā/ra/ti/bay/ti/mukh/tār

12. من / كل / جبار

min/kul/li/jab/bār

13. ولزم / العج / بالأنتقاء

wa/la/zi/mal/‘aj/ja/bil/in/ti/qār

14. والثج / والاعتذار

wal/thaj/ji/wal/i/’ti/dhār

15. وجوار / تلك / المشاعر / الكبار

wa/ji/wā/ri/ti/ka/ma/shā/i/ri/ki/bār

16. بالذل / والانكسار

bidh/dhal/li/wal/in/ki/sār

17. رجاء / كرم / الغفار

ra/jā/u/ka/ra/mil/ghaf/fār

18. يمحو / الذنوب / والأوزار

yam/hūdh/dhu/nū/ba/wal/aw/zār
19. ورفع / الدراجات / في / دار / القرار

wa/ra/fa/ʿad/da/ra/jā/ti/fī/dā/ril/qa/rār

20. خلاصة / الأعصار

khu/lā/ṣa/tal/ʿa/ṣār

21. وإمام / أهل / الأمصار

wa/i/mā/mu/ʾah/lil/am/ṣār

22. عين / أعيان / ساكني / الأقطار

ʿay/nu/ʿa/yā/nī/sā/ki/nīl/ʿaq/tār

23. من / إذا / ذكر / جوده / استغنى / عن / السحاب / الهُمَّار

man/i/dhā/dhu/ki/ra/jū/du/hus/tagh/nā/ʿa/nis/si/ḥā/bil/ham/mār

24. وإذا / تُأُمِّل / علمه / استصغر / في / جنبه / البحر / الزخّار

wa/i/dhā/tu/ʾum/mi/la/ʿil/mu/hus/taṣ/gha/ra/fi/jan/bi/hil/baḥ/ruz/zakh/khār

25. وإذا / تُحَدّث / عن / المجد / والسودة / علم / أن / القطب / الذي / عليه / المدار

wa/i/dhā/tu/hud/di/θa/ʿa/nal/maj/di/was/saw/da/ti/ʿu/li/ma/ʿan/na/hul/qut/bul/la/dhi/
   ʿa/lay/hil/ma/dār

26. (المقر الأشرف الكريم العالمي العالمي الاعالي الكاباني إبر المعالي محمد الجهني البازري الشافعي ناظر
   دواوين الإنشاء الشريفة) / بالديار / المصرية

al/mu/qir/rul/ash/ra/ful/kā/rī/mul/ā/līl/a/mā/mīl/ā/la/mīl/a/lā/mīl/kā/mā/lī/a/būl/mā
   sha/ri/fa/ti/bid/di/yā/rīl/mīs/riy/yā
27. وسائر / الممالك / الإسلامية

wa/sâ/i/ril/ma/mâ/li/kil/is/lâ/miy/ya

28. رجّعه / الله / بعد / بلوغ / الأوطار

raj/ja/a/hul/lâ/hu/ba'/da/bu/lû/ghil/aw/târ

29. سالماً / من / الآفات / والأخطار

sâ/li/man/mi/nal/â/fâ/ти/wal/akhir/tnâr

30. على / أجل / الأوصاف / وأجلّ / الأخطار

'a/lâ/aj/ma/lil/aw/şâ/fi/wa'/a/jal/lil/akhir/tnâr

31. وكان / من / القواعد / الكبار

wa/kâ/na/mi/nal/qa/wâ/i/dil/ki/bâr

32. جلب / المصالح / ودرء / المفاسد / والمضارّ

jal/bul/ma/şâ/li/hi/wa/dar'/ul/ma/fâ/si/di/wal/ma/dâr

33. وكان / من / أهمها / حفظ / الصحة / والأخيار

wa/kâ/na/min/a/ham/mi/ha/hif/zuş/ši/hâ/ti/wal/akhir/yâr

34. والنذور / بما / لعّله / ينفع / لذي / البراري / والقفار

wan/nu/dhû/ru/bi/mâ/lâ/al/la/hu/yân/â/u/lu/dhil/ba/râ/rî/wal/qi/fâr
35. (حيث) / لا / صاحب / ولا / جار

\[ \text{hay/thu/lä/sä/hi/ba/wa/lä/jär} \]

36. ولا / عقاقير / ولا / عقار

\[ \text{wa/lä/a/qä/qi/ra/wa/lä/aq/qär} \]

37. (رأيت / أن / أجمع) / لحضرته / الشما

\[ \text{ra/ʾay/tu/ʾan/ʿaj/ma/ʾa/ḥad/ra/ti/hish/sha/mā} \]

38. وحومنه / العليا

\[ \text{wa/ḥaw/mä/ti/hil/ʿul/yā} \]

39. (كتاباً) / أرشد / فيه / إلى / ذلك

\[ \text{ki/tā/ban/ʿur/shi/du/fī/hi/lā/dhā/lik} \]

40. سالكاً / فيه / أجمل / المسالك

\[ \text{sā/li/kan/fī/hi/ʾaj/ma/lal/ma/sā/lik} \]

41. فيه / أمشي / المسالك

\[ \text{fa/jā/a/ḥam/dil/lä/hä/wi/yan/li/ḥas/rār} \]

42. كتب / هذا / الفنّ / الكبار

\[ \text{ku/tu/bi/hā/dhāl/fan-nil/ki/bār} \]

43. مغنياً / عن / حمل / تلك / الأسفار

\[ \text{mugh/ni/yan/ʿan/ḥa/ma/li/ti/kal/ʿas/fār} \]
في / مفارق / الأسفار

fi/mā/fā/ri/qil/'as/fār

---

45. جامعاً / لانتشار / ما / تفرّق / منها / على / سبيل / الاختصار

jā/mi/'an/lin/ti/shā/ri/mā/far/ra/qa/min/hā/‘a/lā/sa/bi/lil/ikh/ti/ṣār

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46. فذلك / حَمِيَّه / الإسفار / عن / حِكَم / الأسفار

fa/li/dhā/li/ka/sam/may/tu/hul/‘is/fā/ra/‘an/ḥi/ka/mil/‘as/fār

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47. والله / تعالى / المسؤول / وهو / الكريم / الغفّار

wal/lā/hu/ta/ʿā/lāl/mas/‘ū/lu/wa/hu/wal/ka/ri/mul/ghaf/fār

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48. (إن) / يتحمله / بالقبول / فلا / يبتغي / له / عثار

ʾin/yut/hi/fu/hu/bil/qu/bū/li/fa/lā/yub/ta/ghī/la/hu/‘i/thār

---

49. ويسعقه / بالكامل / فلا / يحتاج / إلى / اعتذار

wa/yus/i/fu/hu/bil/ka/mā/li/fa/lā/yuḥ/tā/ju/i/lā/ti/dhār

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50. ويجعله / سبباً / للنجاة / من / النار

wa/ja/a/la/hu/sa/ba/ban/lin/na/jā/ti/mi/nan/nār

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51. والفوز / بمرافعة / الأبرار

wal/faw/zi/bi/mu/rā/fa/‘a/ti/labal/rār

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Rhymemes:
- ār: 43 times; ārr: 2 times (lines 6, 32)
- iyya: 2 times (lines 26, 27)
- ālik: 2 times (lines 39, 40)
- ā: 2 times (lines 37, 38)

Patterns:
- afa’al [A]: 18 times (lines 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, 18, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 30, 33, 41, 43, 44, 46, 51)
- fa’al [B]: 6 times (lines 12, 17, 23, 24, 36, 47)
- ifti’al [C]: 6 times (lines 2, 3, 13, 14, 45, 49)
- fi’al [D]: 5 times (lines 15, 31, 34, 42, 48)
- fa’al [E]: 3 times (lines 8, 9, 19)
- maf’al [F]: 3 times (lines 6, 32, 40)
- fa'al [G]: 2 times (line 35, 50)
- feminine nisba ending: 2 times (lines 26, 27)
- fu’la: 1 time (line 38)
- infi’al [H]: 1 time (line 16)
- maf’al [I]: 1 time (line 25)
- mufta’al [J]: 1 time (line 11)

The two lines unaccounted for above are lines 37 and 39. Shāmā in line 37 is ‘politeness’ or ‘refinement’ used to elevate, praise, or exalt one’s rank. Line 39 ends with the demonstrative pronoun dhālika.

The use of rhymemes and patterns:
In the previous section on the contents and topoi of the preface, I used a tripartite division. However, breaking up the preface into more sections facilitates some observations regarding the patterns employed at the ends of lines and the changes of the rhymeme. Lines 1–5 [section 1] are dependents of the ḥamdala, while lines 6–9 [section 2] are dependents of the salwala. Lines 10–30 [section 3] are connected to the patron; 10–20 [3a] serve as the introduction to the patron’s appearance, 21–25 [3b] are the patron’s praise, 26–27 [3c] are the naming of the patron, while 28–30 [3d] are asking God’s favours for the patron. Lines 31–36 [section 4] are the transition to the topic and matters of the treatise. Lines 37–46 [section 5] are connected to the treatise; 37–40 [5a]
state the aim of writing the treatise, 41–45 [5b] describe the methods of compilation, and 46 [5c] is the naming of the treatise. Lines 47–51 [section 6] plead to God for favourable intervention regarding the treatise’s merits.

The low number of different rhymemes present in the preface is striking. Except for three pairs of rhyme members (2-2-2), all other rhyme members (45) end with the rhymeme ār/ārr. In saj’, the rhymeme can change even after a few rhyme members; despite this, Ibn al-Amshāṭī chose to stick to one rhymeme for the majority (~88%) of his preface. When analyses of more 15th century prefaces become available, they would provide data necessary for determining whether this is a general characteristic or tendency of the saj’ formulated in this period or if this construction was a deliberate choice on the part of Ibn al-Amshāṭī. If the latter is true, it would mean that Ibn al-Amshāṭī created an opportunity to parade his talents, as adhering to one rhymeme while avoiding clumsy repetition of the same words (but not of patterns) becomes increasingly difficult and demanding the longer the rhymeme goes on.

Where changing of rhymemes occurs, it is obviously connected to the functions or content of the rhythmic units. The main rhymeme changes to the feminine nisba ending in section 3c, stating the name and title of the patron. The subsequent two deviations from the main rhymeme come nine lines later, in section 5a, expressing the aim of writing. Lines 37–38 have the rhymeme ā, the last words of these rhythmic units are both laudatory phrases of the patron, while lines 39–40 end with the rhymeme ālik. All three instances concur with clearly definable sections of the preface.

For the rest of the lines, analysing the combinations of the same rhymeme and various patterns does not provide such clear-cut results. The first and last rhyme members end with the most common pattern of the preface, af‘āl, framing the whole preface. The patterns in section 1 are ACCAA; after the opening and framing rhythmic unit, the patterns are in pairs. The pattern formula for section 2 is FAEE; the first two rhythmic units match each other only in their rhymemes but the second two share the same pattern as well. Section 3 is more problematic in this regard. The patterns of 3a are Aj(BCC)DHBA(E)A. The parentheses indicate rhythmic units omitted in the Cairo manuscript but included in the Mosul and Tarīm manuscripts. The first inclusion is more skilful, with a pair of rhythmic units sharing a pattern besides the rhymeme. The second inclusion separates a pair of rhythmic units that would form a couple based on their
patterns; however, it observes the rhyme and contains a fitting Quranic allusion (see in section 5.2.3. Quranic allusions). The patterns in section 3b are AABBI, where it can be reasoned that the fifth pattern is a variation before the change of the rhyme occurring in section 3c. Section 3d again shows a more orderly composition, as its patterns are AAA. Section 4 seems yet again to be irregular in this regard, as its pattern formula is DFADGB. In the last two rhythmic units, however, the parallel structure of the Arabic text (essentially both units are formed by the same type of negation used twice in both units) aptly makes up for not ending the section by employing the same pattern for the rhythmic units. Section 5a works through the two variant rhymes discussed above. The formula of sections 5b and 5c is ADAAC/A, where the slash separates the subsections. The pair in 5b is where the homonym asfār occurs. As in the case of 3b, here too it can be theorised that the uncoupled pattern before 5c is yet another variation before the content-wise quite important rhythmic member containing the title of the treatise. Section 6 is also mixed, as its pattern formula is BDCGA. Nothing much can be said about this section’s patterns other than observing that the last rhythmic unit ends with the most prominent pattern of the preface as a kind of framing. In total, from the 45 rhythmic units with the rhyme ār/ārr, there are six pairs and two trios that share the same pattern for their last words, which means 18 rhythmic units (40%).

The length of the rhythmic units:

After looking at the length of the rhythmic units, it is apparent that the shorter type of saj’ was preferred by Ibn al-Amshṭī when he composed the preface. The word count of the rhythmic units of the short saj’ does not exceed ten words, according to Ibn al-Athīr.66 This is true for the rhythmic units of Ibn al-Amshāti’s preface, with the notable exception of line 26, which contains the name and title of the patron, and line 25 immediately before it. It can easily be argued, however, that the name and title are not part of the saj’, in which case the actual saj’ would be bi-d-diyāri / l-misriyya, making line 26 a proper short rhythmic unit. Other than this, there are two somewhat lengthier (but still short) rhythmic units, namely line 6, which is the first line of section 2, and line 45, which is the one before the line containing the title of the treatise. Lines 23–25 also tend to be slightly longer, leading up to the line containing the name and title of the patron. Therefore, these elongated short lines are likely compiled so on purpose to call the listener’s or

reader’s attention to a change of content or of an important part of the content. In the case of lines 23–25, it also serves as a transition and further escalation of the scene for the introduction of the patron.

While the unit of measurement in saj′ is traditionally the single word, examining the syllables is more and more common.477 In the case of this preface, however, the results of such an inquiry are not so impressive. It seems that Ibn al-Amshāṭi was not paying special attention to the balance or parallelism of the syllables in his rhythmic units. There are no obvious repeating patterns in the length of the syllables, other than those at the end of rhythmic units coupled due to their last words sharing the same morphological pattern. Yet again, in the light of other studies on prefaces of this period, it would be possible to decide whether this is a tendency and possibly a norm as well or rather a lack of additional refinement.

However, it is important to note that if we turn back to the ‘original’ measurement of word count, there are examples where the rhythmic units are balanced, especially if the introductory phrases, which are not a part of the saj′ in Ibn al-Athîr’s analysis, are not counted.478 This way, already lines 1 and 2 are balanced: if the words al-ḥamdu li-llāhi ʾl-ladhi are the introductory phrase, then amara / bi-l-asfār and li-l-tafakkuri / wa-l-i’tibār are both two-two words as per Ibn al-Athîr’s counting system. This way, lines 3 and 4 are also balanced: wa-adāʾi / farāʾiḍi / ʾl-ḥajji / wa-l-i’timār and wa-jaʿala / fit-ṭibbi / min / al-asrār both contain four words. Applying this method, many additional balanced couples of rhythmic units can be identified. The lack of frequent changing of the rhymeme and the lower ratio of rhythmic units sharing the same pattern for their last words makes the grouping of the rhythmic units difficult. Focusing only on the word count, the following consecutive lines are of the same length: 1–2 (2 words), 3–4 (4 words), 7–8 (4 words), 10–11 (4 words), 12–13 (3 words), 17–18 (3 words), 23–24 (8 words), 35–36 (4 words), 37–38 (2 words), 39–40 (4 words), and 46–49 (6 words). This gives a total of 24 lines, nearly half of the rhythmic units.

When looking at the sections, there is an interesting rhythm of wordcounts. The rhythmic units of section 1 grow longer towards the end of the section (2·2·4·4·5). The wordcount for the lines of section 2 is 3·4·4·3. While concurrence of morphological pattern would enable the

477 On this, see Orfali, The art of the muqaddima, 195, esp. n.77; Stewart, Saj′ in the Qurʾān, 113–116.
478 Ibn al-Athîr, al-Mathal al-sāʾir, I/255–257; Stewart, Saj′ in the Qurʾān, 113–118.
rhythmic units to cross-reference one another ('XYXY'), I have not found a reference to such a phenomenon based on word count or length in Ibn al-Athīr’s analysis of saj'. Section 3a shows a decreasing tendency, as the wordcount here is 4-4-(3-3-2)-4-2-3-3-(5)-2, where the parentheses indicate the lines given only in the Mosul and Tarīm manuscripts. Section 3b is something of an explosion (3-4-8-8-11) with the patron’s praising, while section 3d returns to a more moderate wordcount (5-4-5). Section 4 shows a neat increase and a closure with a balanced couple (4-5-6-7-4-4). Section 5a is neatly balanced (2-2-4-4), but the rest of the section is more irregular (5-4-5-3-8-6). The beginning of section 6 is also balanced, with decreasing length of the last units (6-6-6-5-3). To make sense of these numbers, it is important to note that balanced couples were deemed the best, second best is where the second unit is longer (although not excessively so) than the first, and if the second part of a couple is shorter than the first, it is considered faulty. The increasing trends present in sections 1, 3, 4, and 5 likely fall in the second category in general, while they contain perfectly matched couples as well. While the decreasing closure of sections 2 and 6 might be faulty based on the strict rules, I would argue that these ‘deviations’ are well used since section 2 ends the obligatory doxological section and section 6 closes the entirety of the preface.

Some additional aspects:

As shown above, Ibn al-Amshāṭī managed in this preface to conform to Ibn al-Athīr’s preference for the short type of saj’, albeit without paying attention to balancing the syllable-length of the rhythmic units. However, it seems that Ibn al-Amshāṭī avoided repetition. Looking at the rhythmic units and their contents, it is noticeable that reiteration of the same meaning with different words is not apparent anywhere in the preface, except for lines 37–38. Avoiding this kind of repetition, or “excess”, is another “literary principle” of Ibn al-Athīr.479

Internal rhyming of the rhythmic units is relatively rare throughout the preface. There is one instance where it seems to be the result of conscious compilation, namely in line 45 (other than the internal rhyme in line 46 due to the title). The few resemblances to an internal rhyme are clearly partial and occasional, governed by the content of the rhythmic units instead of a stylistic choice.

479 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mathal al-sā’ir, 1/214; Gully, The culture of letter-writing, 146.
Parallelism of syntactical structures is more expressed in the second half of the preface. It is employed within a rhythmic unit as well as between rhythmic units. Examples of the first would be lines 30, 32, 35–36. Examples of the latter are lines 35–36, 37–38, 48–49. The indefinite accusatives of lines 39, 40, 41, 43, and 45 also provide some sense of connectedness, even if these cannot be considered as proper parallelisms.

An additional matter to consider is the following. According to Ibn al-Athīr, saj’ is more than balance and a concurring consonant of the last word of the units: the words should be nice, glowing, humming, and buzzing instead of being meagre and dull, and the form should follow the meaning instead of making the meaning a dependant of the form. It is obvious when reading the preface as a whole that the content progresses and the functions and plot advance nicely and flawlessly. The near-monorhyme might offset the loose adherence to balance, especially since balance is applauded but not imperative. The preface meets the fundamental formal requirements of saj’, and in addition, the meaning or content obviously enjoys priority over adhering to a complicated form or strict observance of balance.

5.2.3. Quranic allusions

Some words of the preface likely allude to terms found in the Quran. Therefore, a short list of these words follows, arranged according to the lines of the preface and giving the sūra and āya in which the terms appear in the Quran. While the list presented below is likely not exhaustive, it nevertheless shows Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s attention to detail.


Line 15, mashā’ir in its singular form, mash‘ar: 2:198: a place or places where a religious ritual or rituals of the pilgrimage take place.

Line 17, al-Ghaffār: 20:82, 38:66, 39:5, 40:42, 71:10: one of the names and attributes of God, the all-forgiving, much forgiving, rendered here as repeatedly forgiving.

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481 Kinberg, Piety.
482 Hawting, Pilgrimage, esp. 96; Rubin, Sacred precincts.
483 Peterson, Forgiveness; Böwering, God and his attributes, 321.
Line 18, yamḥū: 13:39: the verb mahā, 'to erase' occurs three times in the Quran. In 13:39, its form is the same as in line 18 of the preface (“God erases or confirms whatever He wills”).

Line 18, awzār: 16:25: the plural form occurs in another sūra as well (47:4) but in 16:25 the term ‘burdens’ is mentioned along with the Day of Judgment. There are other examples for this association with the singular form of the term.

Line 19, (raf') al-darajāt: 6:83, 40:15, 58:11: the levels of Paradise, degrees or rankings by which people are raised in this world and in the afterlife by God's decision.

Line 19, Dār al-Qarār: 40:39: this exact term for Paradise, ‘the abode of permanence’, appears in the Quran only once.

Line 22, aqṭār: 33:14, 55:33: the term ‘regions’ appears only in this plural form in the Quran.

Line 23, hammār in the active participle form of stem VII, munhamir: 54:11: this root occurs only once in the Quran when telling the story of the people of Noah (“so We opened the gates of the sky with torrential water”).

Line 43, asfār with the meaning of ‘books’: 62:5: while asfār as ‘journeys’ appears on numerous occasions, it means ‘books’ only in one instance, in 62:5 (“those who have been charged with obedience to the Torah, but have failed to carry it out, are like asses carrying books”).

Line 50, najāt [min al-nār]: 40:41: 'deliverance' or 'salvation', which appears in this exact form only once in the Quran (“why do I call you to salvation when you call me to the Fire”).

5.2.4. Concluding remarks

The literary style of Mamluk muqaddimas is not frequently analysed. Due to the paucity of such works, we do not have a precise picture of what was common practice and considered aesthetically pleasing. Surely, comparing a 15th-century muqaddima of a scientific work to the standards of the maqāmāt of al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) or al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) or other earlier examples of saj‘ is deceptive and pointless if we try to evaluate how Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s saj‘ was...
looked at, as the functions and topoi of the preface are not representative of the whole picture. While this means that a decisive conclusion cannot be reached as of now, the above analysis perhaps suffices to show that such prefaces are indeed rewarding objects for study.

The study of the contents shows that the beginning of the preface already bears literary qualities, as the initia with the doxological formulae adheres to *husn al-ibtidāʾ*, ‘skilful opening’. In the middle part of the preface, Ibn al-Amshāṭī endeavours to describe a scene with powerful religious imagery that carries the reader to the more matter-of-fact functions of the preface. As demonstrated above, even through these more pragmatic functions, Ibn al-Amshāṭī takes care to embellish his text with the use of various literary devices.

The *sajʿ* of the preface has a distinct tendency to monorhyme, a feature prevalent in Quranic *sajʿ*:⁴⁹ Changing of the rhymeme concurs with parts of the preface having a distinct content and function. Grouping of rhythmic units by last words of the same pattern is only moderately present. Still, due to the near-monorhyme, this feature is apparent only upon closer inspection of the preface. In terms of syllables, identical syllable patterns and partial correspondences are not evident. Lengthwise, the *sajʿ* is short, as the rhythmic units do not exceed ten words, except for one unit. Although a syllable-analysis of the preface does not show much patterning, the wordcount-analysis unravels a nicely flowing rhythm in which the two parts not conforming to the standard aesthetics of the length of units and couples are obvious tools of closure.

Once similar analyses of prefaces, especially those of scientific works, become available, they will provide the context that is necessary to accurately evaluate the literary qualities of this preface of Ibn al-Amshāṭī and identify which of the above characteristics are part of the trends and/or norms and which are reflections of his own literary style.

### 5.3. Dedication and dating

The initia of the manuscript begins with the *basmala* and a *ṣabwala* for Muḥammad, then the text is rendered into a *sajʿ*. In accordance with *husn al-ibtidāʾ*, Ibn al-Amshāṭī praises God for commanding to travel and for ‘making medicine hold secrets’ (*wa-jaʿala fī al-ṭibb min al-asrār*) which preserve health and cure harms. The initia is closed with another *ṣabwala* for Muḥammad, his family, and his companions. The preface proper after the *baʿdiyya* shows the picture of

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preparing oneself with humbleness and restraint for visiting ritual sites, while anticipating God’s forgiveness at the end of times. This is when the patron appears: he is the imām whose qualities are praised, then his name and title follow: al-Muqirr (‘the Safeguarder’), al-Ashraf (‘the Noblest’), al-Karīm (‘the Beneficent’), al-ʿĀlī (‘the Sublime’), al-Amāmī (‘the Foremost’), al-ʿĀlamī (‘the Renowned’), al-ʿAllāmī (‘the Insightful’), al-Kamālī (‘the Perfect’; shortened form of Kamāl al-Dīn), Abū al-Muḥammad al-Juḥānī al-Bārizī al-Shāfīʿī, nāẓir dawāwīn al-inshāʾ al-sharīf bi-al-diyār al-miṣrīyya wa-sāʿir al-mamālik al-islāmiyya (‘the superintendent of the noble chancery of Egypt and the rest of the Muslim countries’). Following this, Ibn al-Amshāṭī elaborates on his reasons and ways of writing this treatise for his patron, the naming of the treatise, and gives the table of contents as well after expressing his hopes that his work will be appreciated.

The phrases nāẓir dawāwīn al-inshāʾ al-sharīf and al-diyār al-miṣrīyya wa-sāʿir al-mamālik al-islāmiyya are strong indications that the patron was a high-ranking official of the Mamluk Sultanate. As the Ṣubḥ al-aʾshā fi ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ by al-Qalqashandi (d. 821/1418) is “the culmination of the secretarial manuals and encyclopaedias of the Mamluk period”,492 it should be the fundamental source when looking for ‘the superintendent of the noble chancery’. In the introductory section, al-Qalqashandi writes about the office of ṣāḥib al-dīwān [i.e. al-inshāʾ] (‘head of the Chancery’) at length.493 Yet in later parts of his work when he gives a detailed description of the administrative office-holders (arbāb al-waṣāʾif al-dīwāniyya) and their duties, the ṣāḥib al-dīwān is not listed. Still, when writing about the kātib al-sirr (‘secretary, scribe of the secret’), al-Qalqashandi records that this office was introduced by the sultan Qalāwūn (r. 678–689/1279–1290).494 Besides the kātib al-sirr’s numerous tasks, the kutṭāb al-dast (‘scribes of the pedestal’, the higher-ranking scribes) and kutṭāb al-darj (‘secretarial scribes’, who prepared the documents for the kutṭāb al-dast) are in his dīwān. This indicates that the kātib al-sirr is the ṣāḥib al-dīwān, meaning the head of the Chancery. As al-Qalqashandi explains, the latter two designations were used as synonyms: in his time, the superintendent was called ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshāʾ in Egypt, and if one wanted to address him in a more exalted way, there were the options of ṣāḥib dawāwīn al-inshāʾ (by using the plural), nāẓir dawāwīn al-inshāʾ (since nāẓir is grander

492 Bosworth, al-Ḳalḵashandī, 510.
493 Al-Qalqashandi, Šubḥ al-aʾshā, I/131–129.
494 Al-Qalqashandi, Šubḥ al-aʾshā, IV/28–29. On the chancery and Qalāwūn, see Northrup, From slave to sultan, 239–242.
than šāhib), and even more, bi-al-diyyar al-misrīyya and bi-al-mamlūk al-islāmiyya could be added. All this makes it quite logical that the official kātib al-sīr is the one to be looked for when identifying the patron, noting that the treatise’s author used the most exalted designation possible for dedicating his work.

Considering one of the above mentioned nisbas, namely al-Bārizī, the case is easier. The Bārizī family lived in ʿAmā for many generations, where they held several civilian posts besides occupying the judgeship for around 120 years with only one interruption. It was Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (769–823/1368–1420) who, after various events, ended up in Cairo with ties to none other than the sultan al-Muʿayyad Shaykh (r. 815–824/1412–1421), being his kātib al-sīr in addition to holding other posts as well. This Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad had two sons: Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad (d. 822/1419), an amīr whose funeral was attended by the sultan al-Muʿayyad, and Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, who followed his father as kātib al-sīr and to whom the treatise al-Isfār ‘an ġikam al-ṭasīr is dedicated. One of their sisters, Mughul, married the future sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842–854/1438–1452).

Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAllāma al-Qāḍī Nāṣir al-Dīn Abī al-Maʿālī Muḥammad ibn al-Qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahīm ibn Hibatallāh al-Bārizī al-Ḥamawi al-Juhānī al-Shāfiʿī was born on 11 Dhū al-Ḥijja 796/7 October 1394 in ʿAmā. He grew up under the care of his father, memorizing the Quran. Travelling around the Middle East, they first went to Cairo (829/1426–1427), then returned to Syria, and lived in ʿAmā, Aleppo, and Damascus, in accordance with the posts of the father. Meanwhile, Kamāl al-Dīn pursued studies in the fields of law, grammar, literature, and rhetoric. In 815/1412, they moved to Cairo, where Nāṣir al-Dīn first became muwaqqīt (‘signer’), then filled the post of

495 Al-Qalqashandi, ʿubh al-ʾashā, 1/123.
496 For a comprehensive discussion of the family, see Martel-Thoumian, Les civils, 248–266.
497 Hirschler, The formation, 106–107, v.48.
501 See Martel-Thoumian, Les civils, 255.
502 As recorded by Ibn Taghrībirdī. Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Nujum, XIV/13 lists ‘Uthmān twice in the genealogy, as opposed to all other sources listing him only once: Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Manhal, XI/10; al-Maqrīzī, Durar, III/247; al-Sakhawī, al-Dawr, VIII/236; al-Suyūṭī, Naẓm, 168 (the latter two listing Shams al-Dīn Ḥibriḥ, also connecting the family to one of the companions of the Prophet).
503 For a detailed list of the works he studied and his teachers, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Nujum, XIV/13–14; al-Sakhawī, al-Dawr, VIII/237.
Kātib al-sīrār from 3 Shawwāl 815/6 January 1413. Due to Kamāl al-Dīn’s skills in free prose, poetry, letter writing, and composition, he became his father’s deputy.

After his father died, Kamāl al-Dīn paid 40,000 dinars to the sultan to become the new kātib al-sīrār on 25 Shawwāl 823/2 November 1420. Soon, 17 days after the death of the sultan al-Mu`ayyad, on 26 Muḥarram 824/31 January 1421, he left this post and was named nāẓir al-jaysh by the amīr Ṭāṭar, who was to become sultan al-Ẓāhir Ṭāṭar (r. 29 Sha`bān 824–4 Dhū al-Ḥijja 824/29 August 1421–30 November 1421). Kamāl al-Dīn lost the post after the death of al-Ẓāhir Ṭāṭar. Between holding offices, he returned to his studies. Later, Barsbāy was enthroned as sultan (r. 8 Rabī’ II 825–13 Dhū al-Ḥijja 840/31 March 1422–7 June 1438). He named Kamāl al-Dīn kātib al-sīrār of Damascus on 7 Rajab 831/22 April 1428. Meanwhile, he was the Damascene shāfi‘ī qāḍī al-quḍāt as well. After the kātib al-sīrār of Cairo was removed, Barsbāy recalled Kamāl al-Dīn to Cairo as kātib al-sīrār on 20 Rabī’ II 836/14 December 1432. However, he was removed again on 7 Rajab 839/26 January 1436. On 1 Rajab 840/9 January 1437, he returned to Damascus as qāḍī al-quḍāt and khaṭīb of the Umayyad mosque. After Jaqmaq secured the throne for himself (19 Rabī’ I 842/9 September 1438), his brother-in-law, Kamāl al-Dīn was called back to Cairo as kātib al-sīrār once again on 17 Rabī’ II 842/7 September 1438 and remained in this position until his death on 26 Ṣafar 856/18 March 1452. Even Jaqmaq attended his funeral. Kamāl al-Dīn performed the ḥajj in 850/1447. According to contemporary sources, he was admired and often portrayed as the embodiment of the ideal kātib.

As can be seen, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad filled the position of kātib al-sīrār of the Sultanate three times: first between 25 Shawwāl 823–26 Muḥarram 824/2 November 1423–31 January 1421;
then between 20 Rabī’ II 836–7 Rajab 839/14 December 1432–26 January 1436; and lastly between 17 Rabī’ II 842–26 Ṣafar 856/7 September 1438–18 March 1452.

Since the treatise *al-Isfār ‘an ḥikam al-asfār* was dedicated to him as *kātib al-sīr*, it was most probably compiled during one of these three periods. The patron performing the *ḥajj* gives the perfect opportunity for composing such a work for him, which would make the period 17 Rabī’ II 842–856/7 September 1438–1447 the most convenient timeframe for the writing of the treatise. The theme of travel for religious purposes in the preface could support this presumption. However, due to the lack of decisive evidence from other sources, the certain date of composition of the treatise itself cannot be determined.
5.4. The treatise in the Arabic medical tradition of *tadbīr al-musāfirīn*

This sub-chapter scrutinises the medical content of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s *al-Isfār ‘an hikam al-asfār*. While this means that the preface is not discussed here, in all other respects the analysis follows the structure of the *Isfār* and is thus arranged into an analysis of the introduction, the eight chapters separately, and the two chapters of the epilogue together. A more detailed study of each chapter also allows for a precise identification of sources used by Ibn al-Amshāṭī in addition to pinpointing the novelties of his treatise. To do so, I rely on the results of chapter 2. The Arabic tradition of *tadbīr al-musāfirīn*, especially of its first sub-chapter, where the various topics of travel regimens of earlier physicians are analysed and observations on the medical tradition of travel regimens are formulated.

Besides these in-depth studies, at the end of the sub-chapter, I provide some concluding remarks to summarise the findings and point out the various phenomena observed in multiple chapters.

5.4.1. ‘Introduction on the need for compiling this book’

In a short but theoretically dense introduction (*muqaddima*), Ibn al-Amshāṭī states that the sudden deviation from the usual circumstances of life can be the cause of dangerous diseases, and the exertion and fatigue of travelling strengthen this effect. He briefly explains the underlying reasons (the dissolved harmful humours cause swellings or diseases) and articulates his approach to the topic; the traveller should know what is useful and what is harmful to avoid illnesses. In other words, he advocates prophylaxis or prevention.

Ibn al-Amshāṭī discloses the general dangers of travelling in his introduction. The main danger is quite simply the abrupt and sudden deviation from one’s regular regimen, leading to dangerous diseases (*amrāḍ khaṭira*). Two necessary occurrences of travelling, exertion (*ta’ab*) and fatigue (*naṣab*) warm the body and dissolve harmful humours, facilitating their transfer from place to place, thereby furthering the emergence of diseases besides possibly causing swellings (*waram*). Additionally, these harmful humours can mix with and corrupt good humours resulting in burdensome diseases (*amrāḍ ša’ba*). According to Ibn al-Amshāṭī, this is the reason the traveller
should be aware of what is harmful or useful for him so that via treating oneself avoidance of such diseases is possible.

It is interesting to note that Ibn Sinā expresses himself as fa-yajibu an yahraṣa ‘alā mudāwāt amr nafsihi li-ṭuṣibahu amrād kathira,\(^{56}\) ‘it is necessary to strive for treating his own matter so that he is not affected by many diseases’, in comparison to Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s wajaba (‘alā al-musāfir an ya’rif mā yaḍurruhu wa-yanfu’u hu li-’) yahraṣa ‘alā mudāwāt nafsihi li-an lā yuṣibahu shay’ min dhālika,\(^{57}\) ‘it is necessary (for the traveller to know what harms him and what benefits him to) strive for treating himself so that none of these [diseases] affects him’. Even though the points made in both texts before the quoted sections are identical (leaving the usual habits, fatigue), the wording of these parts is different altogether. In addition, while Ibn Sinā mostly lists these and then moves on to giving general advice, Ibn al-Amshāṭi offers more detailed explanation and sticks to providing a short but nevertheless theoretical reasoning for the need for his treatise and the genre of travel regimens in a broader sense, due to the universality of his argument. Therefore, it is a possibility that Ibn al-Amshāṭi was inspired by this part of Ibn Sinā’s travel regimen, especially since similar parts are not found in other guides; however, it is important to stress that if this is the case, Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s introduction is elaborated in a way that it is very much his own product and not just a heavily reworked copied material.

5.4.2. ‘First chapter on what is necessary for the traveller to do’

This chapter is titled simply as ‘the first chapter’ in the main text but a more descriptive title appears at the end of the preface where Ibn al-Amshāṭi lists his chapters. This chapter is dedicated to preparatory measures with the three essential components thereof discussed in section 2.1.1. Preparation and general advice (purification, getting accustomed to certain things, and exercise), and to prevention of hunger, and prevention of thirst. The analysis of this chapter therefore follows this tripartite structure of preparation, hunger, and thirst.

Ibn al-Amshāṭi does not detail why purifying the harmful humours from the traveller’s body is necessary, nor does he say whether it should be done via purgation or bloodletting, as the rest of the physicians do apart from Ibn Sinā who remain silent on this issue. Despite this, Ibn al-Amshāṭi offers something unique: ten principles to observe in regard to purging (istifrāgh). These

\(^{56}\) Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/321.

are having harmful humours, adequate strength, a warm and moist temperament, adequate symptoms, not being too thin or fat, too young or old, the weather not being too hot or cold, the country one is in not being too hot or cold, being accustomed to purging, and one’s profession. The second unique element in this chapter by Ibn al-Amshāṭī is five additional things to consider for venesection, namely the pulse, strength, state of the muscles, age of the person, and the redness of his complexion. Such rules or propositions are not mentioned in any of the previous travel regimens as a set of conditions or factors to consider. Therefore, antecedents of these principles are to be uncovered from outside the genre of travel regimens. This fact also means that inclusion of these rules is Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s original addition to the issue of pre-travel purification.

The ten principles of purging can be found in Ibn Sinā’s Qānūn. Ibn Sinā first enumerates these principles, then he explains their meaning. In comparison, Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s approach is to give short clarifications immediately after stating each one of these principles. In addition to this, while both explanations convey the same meaning, they are structured and worded in a noticeably different way. After general remarks on purging, Ibn Sinā moves on to discuss the various methods of purging, including venesection. Despite the detailed discussion he dedicates to venesection, there is no parallel there for Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s five issues to consider in regard to venesection. Properly identifying the source of these ideas in general and a particular Arabic text Ibn al-Amshāṭī might have relied on would require further scrutiny, especially since the issues of purging and particularly venesection is a much-discussed topic already in the Greek medical tradition and a comprehensive analysis of various methods of purging (and purging in general) in the Arabic medical tradition is still a desideratum.

After purification, Ibn al-Amshāṭī discusses exercise and getting accustomed to new habits and circumstances as part of preparing for a journey. He recommends exercising more in general, besides walking or riding more and more each day depending on the mode of travel during the journey. These recommendations conform to the usual instructions previous physicians

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58 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, 1/334.
59 See for example Peter Brain’s study and translation of three Galenic texts on venesection: Brain, Galen on bloodletting. Galen’s principles regarding venesection are discussed in Brain, Galen on bloodletting, 122–134 (Chapter 7, Galen’s practice of venesection), esp. 131–132.
590 Ambjörn gives a brief summary of issues related to purgative drugs and lists related works from the contemporaries of Qustā ibn Lūqiā: Qustā ibn Lūqiā, Qustā ibn Lūqiā on purgative drugs and purgation, i–iii and Qustā ibn Lūqiā, Qustā ibn Lūqiā on the preparation of purgative drugs, 125–129.
recommended. On closer inspection, however, it becomes obvious that Ibn al-Amshāṭī must have relied on al-Majūsī’s text, as al-Majūsī writes: \textit{wa-man lam yakan lahu ’ādat al-mashy fa-l-yarūḍ nafsahu bi-al-mashy qabla dhālika wa-yu’awwiduhā dhālika qalīlan qalīlan wa-yazīdu fi miqdārihi fi kull yawm ‘alā tadrij ḥattā yu’allīfu hu wa-yahūnu ‘alayhi},\textsuperscript{521} ‘and who is not accustomed to walking is to exercise himself with walking before that and get used to it bit by bit and increase its quantity gradually each day until he is accustomed to it and it becomes no trouble for him’.

Compared to this, Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s text has only the following minor differences: it begins as \textit{[fa-in kāna mimman yurīdu al-safar māshiyan] wa-lam yakan lahu ‘āda bi-al-mashy fa-l-yartāḍa}, using the stem VIII verb of the r.w.d roots\textsuperscript{522} instead of al-Majūsī’s stem I form, then it has ḥattā ta’āllafa, using the stem V form of the ‘.l.f roots instead of al-Majūsī’s stem II form, and ends with the slight variant \textit{wa-yahūnu ‘alā al-ṭabī‘a ḥamluhu}, ‘and its bearing becomes easy for the constitution’. The changes at the beginning and end of this section are to fit the quote into the flow of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s text, while the two occasions where the stem of the verbs changed might even originate in the manuscript copy Ibn al-Amshāṭī had access to, since the meaning remains the same and the difference between the written Arabic variants of the words can be minuscule depending on the script of a manuscript in both cases.

From the circumstances and conditions of travel, Ibn al-Amshāṭī names sleeplessness, hunger, and thirst to which the traveller should gradually get accustomed to if these are expected to happen during his journey.

In the second part of the first chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī discusses hunger. In this part, it becomes obvious that Ibn al-Amshāṭī relied on Ibn Sinā’s travel regimen, as Ibn Sinā writes: \textit{al- qaṭ’ima al-muttakhidha min al-akbād al-mashwiya wa-nahwahā, wa-rubbamā uttukhidha minhā kubab ma’a lazūjāt wa-shuḥūm mudhāba qawāyiya wa-lawz wa-duhn lawz wa-al-shuḥūm mithla al-baqr, fa-idhā tanāwala minhā wāhida šabara ‘alā al-jū’ zamānan lahu qadr,}\textsuperscript{523} ‘food made from roasted livers and similar things, and perhaps kebabs made from them with viscid things and melted greasy solid fats and almonds and almond oil and solid fats like [that of] the cattle, and if

\textsuperscript{521} Al-Majūsī, \textit{Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a}, II/81.

\textsuperscript{522} As noted in the critical apparatus of the Arabic text, this form (\textit{fa-l-yartāḍa}, Ibn al-Amshāṭī, \textit{al-Isfār}, 228p:14) is a conjecture. The stem VIII form of the verb appears in line 16 on the same page, while for the verb in line 14 M and T have the same stem I form as in al-Majūsī’s text but in C it is clear that two letters were scraped off the paper from the middle of the word.

\textsuperscript{523} Ibn Sinā, \textit{al-Qānūn}, 1/321.
[somebody] eats from these one he endures hunger for an amount of time. Ibn al-Amshāṭi starts with fa-al-at’ima al-muttakhidha min al-akbād al-mashwīya\(^{524}\) to fit the quoted section into his paragraph, then amends Ibn Sinā’s text by inserting an explanation that livers are digested slowly and once digested, they are nutritionally abundant and approvable and do not descend fast. Then, Ibn al-Amshāṭi returns to his source: wa-idhā uttukhidha minhā kubab ma’a lazūjāt wa-shuhūm qawiya ka-shuhūm al-baqar al-mudhāba wa-lawz wa-duhnihi fa-idhā tanāwala minhā wāḥida šabara ‘alā al-jū‘ zamānan ṭawilan.\(^{525}\) As can be seen, the only changes Ibn al-Amshāṭi makes are to include the example of melted cattle fat in a more concise and logical way and switching ‘for an amount of time’ [lit.: for a time which has an amount or scope] to ‘for a long time’. While Ibn Sinā ends his list here, Ibn al-Amshāṭi yet again offers an explanation for his reader: he advises this food because oil and fat added to livers increase the slowness of digestion, since fats generate phlegm which blots the stomach. The continuation of this explanation is also Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s own: he states that those with carnal appetite are to eat fatty foods such as oils, solid fats, and fatty tails of sheep for this reason. Following this second amendment, Ibn al-Amshāṭi returns once more to his source text and includes with some modifications the practice of drinking a raṭl of violet oil mixed with wax to not feel hungry for ten days. To illustrate the slight changes, Ibn Sinā writes: wa-qīla: law anna insānan shariba qadr raṭl min duhn al-banaʃsaj, wa-qad adhāba fihi shay’an min al-sham’ ḥattā šāra qayrūṭīyyun lam yashtahi al-ṭa’ām ‘ashara ayyām.\(^{526}\) Meanwhile, Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s text is as follows: wa-qīla annahu man shariba raṭılan min duhn al-banaʃsaj idh batththa fihi qalil min al-sham’ ḥattā šāra qayrūṭīyyan (bi-fāṭḥ al-qāf wa-iskān al-taḥtiyya wa-damm al-rā’ al-muhmala thumma wāw wa-ṭā’ muhmala) lam yashtahi [sic] al-ṭa’ām ‘ashara ayyām.\(^{527}\) The most striking difference is a unique feature of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s regimen, namely the inclusion of the description of pronunciation of foreign words.

In the third part of the first chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭi discusses what prevents thirst. He divides his advice into two sections, the first is what the traveller should consume and the second is what the traveller is to avoid consuming. He recommends consuming foodstuffs with moist and cooling properties and gives specific examples as well as materials to cook with, amongst them

\(^{524}\) Ibn al-Amshāṭi, al-Isfūr, 228:20.

\(^{525}\) Ibn al-Amshāṭi, al-Isfūr, 228:21–23.

\(^{526}\) Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/321.

dūgh, ‘buttermilk’, where the pronunciation and explanation of a foreign word appears again. In case of extremely hot weather, Ibn al-Amshāṭi advises drinking certain drinks and either sucking on quince seeds or taking a thirst-quenching pastille, for which he includes the recipe, in addition to naming two substitutes for the pill, a lead coin or a dirham. This part is clearly based on al-Majūsi’s regimen with some alterations, omissions, and amendments. As these sections are somewhat lengthier, they are presented parallel to each other. The differences are highlighted in bold. The words Ibn al-Amshāṭi omitted from al-Majūsi’s text are in red, the words added by Ibn al-Amshāṭi are in green.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Majūsi[528]</th>
<th>Ibn al-Amshāṭi[529]</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa-lā yastakhthiru min al-ghidhāʾ fa-in kathurathu taʿṭṭasha</td>
<td>[3] –</td>
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The second section of the third part of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s first chapter lists the foodstuffs forbidden for the traveller to eat: foods that make one thirsty, such as salty or fresh fish, salted food, seasoned cheese, cooked fava beans, as well as acrid and sweet foods. Ibn al-Amshāṭī likely relied on al-Majūsī’s text for this section as well, omitting only dairy products (albān) from al-Majūsī’s list and slightly rearranging the rest of the mentioned foodstuffs. This is followed by the advice to drink water with vinegar if water is scarce, as even a small quantity of the mixture quenches thirst. Here, Ibn al-Amshāṭī returned to Ibn Sīnā, indicated by the identical wording: wa-idhā shariba al-mā’ bi-al-khall kāna al-qalīl minhu kāfiyan fī taskīn al-‘aṭash ḥaythu lā yūjadu mā’ kathīr.\(^{530}\)

Two main characteristics of this chapter can be pointed out as a summary. The first is that the chapter gradually moves from the discussion of more theoretic concepts and issues towards providing rather practical and particular advice. The second is that Ibn al-Amshāṭī relied on the travel regimens of al-Majūsī and Ibn Sīnā heavily; Ibn al-Amshāṭī compiled his text by way of copying his sources with minor alterations to adapt the source materials to his needs and
amended the material when he deemed it lacking. It must be stressed, however, that these addenda seem to be Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s own products and add clarity, theoretical backing, and explanation to the compiled text, besides his original inclusion of the material on purification, not witnessed in any of the earlier travel regimens scrutinised in this dissertation.

5.4.3. ‘Second chapter on travelling in hot weather’

In this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī presents a concise theoretical discussion of what happens in the body when travelling in hot weather. Some general advice is followed by Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s recommendations for those who have a dry temperament with short explanations added throughout the section. While in the first chapter pinpointing the exact passages Ibn al-Amshāṭī incorporated into his treatise was straightforward, this seems hardly possible for this chapter. The one source which is identifiable is al-Majūsī’s regimen, as some of its unique points recur; however, in this case, there are no substantial quotes at all, nor is the structure of the source material observed.

Ibn al-Amshāṭī begins by stating: *al-safār fī al-hārr muḍīr ruḥādθu amrāḍan radi’a,*530 ‘travelling in the hot [weather] is harmful, [it] brings forth malicious diseases’, compared to al-Majūsī who writes after some other things *fa-innahu rubbāmā ābdatha al-sayr fī al-shams wa-al-hārr amrāḍan radi’a,*531 ‘travelling in the sun and the hot [weather] likely brings forth malicious diseases’. Al-Majūsī proceeds to give headache, hectic fever (*ḥummā al-diqq*), and dryness and withering of the body as examples, then writes that these occur *lā siyyamā li-āṣḥāb al-amziā al-hārra al-yābis wa-al-abdān al-qadīfa,*532 ‘especially in those of hot and dry temperaments and thin bodies’. Ibn al-Amshāṭī does not list specific diseases. Instead, he gives an explanation: travelling in hot weather weakens the strength, as hotness dissolves the moist fluids, thereby weakening the innate heat. To counter this, the constitution demands drinking water to moisten, cool, and strengthen the dissolved fluids. In Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s opinion, this more frequent drinking causes many diseases, as well as thirst if there is no water to drink. Additionally, the sun can harm the brain, causing headache and fever due to its drying effect, *lā siyyamā fī al-mizāj al-hārr al-yābis wa-al-abdān al-qadīfa,*533 especially in [those with] the hot and dry temperament and [those

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with] the thin bodies'. As can be seen, while it is a possibility that the beginning and end of this theoretical section is indeed based on al-Majūsī's regimen, the explanation provided by Ibn al-Amshāṭī instead of some examples of such diseases is clearly Ibn al-Amshāṭī's own, even more so considering the fact that a similar line of argumentation is not present in any of the other regimens from where he might have borrowed the idea.

In the following part, Ibn al-Amshāṭī advises those not accustomed to moving in hot weather to not journey during the daytime. If they must do so, they are to cover their head, face, and chest with a turban, hood, or kerchiefs so that the heat of the sun is mitigated and inhaling of the hot air is lessened. While al-Majūsī also continues with this point after finishing the previous train of thought with an additional element, the two texts are so different that it is safe to say Ibn al-Amshāṭī relied on his source only for the general idea instead of simply copying it. Nevertheless, this reliance is easy to pinpoint as it is only al-Majūsī (and Ḥājjī Bāshā, who obviously copied al-Majūsī) who is concerned with the issue of inhaling hot air.

The last part of this chapter contains specific recommendations for those with dry temperaments. Ibn al-Amshāṭī advises to consume barley sawiq and fruit syrups or fruit juices before the travel. While these are also generally suggested by other physicians, Ibn al-Amshāṭī goes further by explaining why barley sawiq is particularly useful. Firstly, those with a dry temperament have excess bile. Secondly, the dissolution [of moisture and fluids] is increased in such persons, due to the innate heat dissolving from the inside and the external heat dissolving from the outside, in addition to the movement necessary for travelling furthering this warming effect besides weakening of the strength. Barley sawiq is not only cold and moistening but also a repellent of yellow bile. Such an explanation is not found in the other travel regimens. Additionally, Ibn al-Amshāṭī instructs to wait after consuming the recommended foodstuffs to let them settle in the stomach instead of shaking them up to the cardia and ruining their digestion by movement. The last of the recommendations is to use oil of rose and violet with cold water and vinegar on the temples hourly, as these cold and moist materials help prevent headache.

The evidence indicates that in compiling this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī relied on his own discretion for the most part on what to include and omit and how to structure the material. It is interesting to note that besides his unique explanatory addenda Ibn al-Amshāṭī chose to omit
listing prohibited foodstuffs, the use of mucous materials besides clothing to cover oneself, and the proper way of resting when travelling in the heat.

### 5.4.4. ‘Third chapter on things concerning burning winds’

This chapter discusses the *samūm* in two sections. The first one focuses on preventive measures, while the second one is dedicated to treating the afflictions caused by the *samūm*. It is al-Rāżī, Ibn Sinā, and Ḥājjī Bāshā who include the *samūm* in their regimens. They treat the topic in a similar manner, giving advice on prevention and then treatment (see section 2.1.4. The *samūm*).

Ibn al-Amshāṭī advises those who travel in the *samūm*, ‘a hot and burning wind making the body dry and chapped’ to cover the face and nose and endure scarce inhaling and breathing, as it could lead to serious diseases or even death. He recommends eating onion soaked in *dūgh*, ‘buttermilk’. He explains that the two materials work well together because the *dūgh* strengthens the onion if it was already a stronger one. The last of Ibn al-Amsāṭī’s preventive advice is to inhale rose oil or pumpkin seed oil, since both are cold and moistening, thereby countering the warming and drying properties of the *samūm* and keeping the brain safe. He also notes that putting these on the head with some vinegar is beneficial against *sirsām* and melancholia. Ibn al-Amsāṭī’s advice agrees with that of the other physicians. Nevertheless, it is not possible to identify a direct source for his material. We find short explanations which are lacking in the other texts besides omission of certain issues included in those texts (advised or prohibited foodstuffs and beverages, coating the chest with mucous materials, regularly rinsing the mouth with water, detailed instructions for the *dūgh*-soaked onion), in addition to the lack of identifiable quotes or even heavily reworked sections from the other physicians’ works. Based on the omitted issues with the inclusion of the two oils and enduring the state of difficult breathing due to the covered face and nose, Ibn Sinā’s section on the *samūm* is the closest to Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s text. However, for this first part, Ibn Sinā was at most an inspiring guideline for Ibn al-Amshāṭī when compiling his own text, since it is so decidedly different from the source material.

For the part on treatment, however, Ibn al-Amshāṭī relied more heavily on Ibn Sinā. First, Ibn al-Amshāṭī instructs the afflicted traveller to pour cold water on his limbs, wash his face, eat

foodstuff prepared from cold herbs, and put cold oils and saps on his head. Ibn al-Amshāṭi does not list rose oil and willow oil (khilāf) but adds many examples of cold herbs. Otherwise, he follows Ibn Sinā’s text. Ibn al-Amshāṭi recommends abstaining from intercourse, however, he includes this point at a later part of his regimen. He omits only one statement of Ibn Sinā, namely that salty fish is beneficial once the afflicted person’s constitution settles, but the fact that milk is the best if such a person does not have a fever is repeated together with the recommending dūgh for those having a fever which is not putrid. Ibn al-Amshāṭi forbids drinking plenty of water and provides a detailed explanation for this: a bigger quantity of water cannot be stopped by any organ from reaching the heart, abound in heat, and thus the cold water can extinguish the innate heat. If the water is only a draught, the stomach retains it first and thus when it gets to the heart, the heart becomes content and the innate heat is not harmed. In comparison, Ibn Sinā only warns that drinking a lot of cold water leads to immediate death. Therefore, both Ibn Sinā and Ibn al-Amshāṭi recommend drinking gulp after gulp, as well as to begin drinking rose oil and water mixed together before drinking pure cold water. Then, it is advisable to rest in a cold place, wash the legs with cold water, and eat food that is easily digestible. Ibn al-Amshāṭi follows his source in this part while amending it with examples. Due to the length of these sections, they are presented parallel to each other in order to better illustrate the similarities, omissions, and addenda. The differences are highlighted in bold. The words Ibn al-Amshāṭi omitted from Ibn Sinā’s text are in red, the words added by Ibn al-Amshāṭi are in green.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ibn Sinā537</th>
<th>Ibn al-Amshāṭi538</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thumma yaghtasila, wa-l-yaḥḍhar al-jimāʿ</td>
<td>moved to [5]</td>
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<tr>
<td>wa-idhā ʿaṭasha ʿalā al-nawm tajazzā bi-al-maḏmaḍa wa-lam yashrab rayyah [sic] fa-innahu ḥīnaʿidhan yamūtu ʿalā al-makān</td>
<td>wa-yajīb an lā yashrabu rayya min al-mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bal yajību an yatajazzā bi-al-maḏmaḍa wa-in lam yajid buddan min an yashraba, yashrabu jurʿa baʿda jurʿa</td>
<td>bal yaktafī al-maḏmaḍa wa-in lam yakun budd min al-shurb shariba jurʿa baʿda ukhrā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-idhā sakana mā bihi wa-sakana al-hāʾij min ʿaṭashihi shariba, wa-in badaʿa awwalan qabla sharbihi fa-shariba duhn ward wa-māʾ mamzujayn, thumma shariba al-māʾ, kāna ʿaṣwab</td>
<td>fa-idhā sakana mā bihi min ʿaṭash shariba wa-yanbaghi an yabtadī bi-shurb duhn ward wa-māʾ mamzujayn thumma yashrabu al-mā</td>
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These observations suggest that the main source for this chapter was Ibn Sinā's section on the *samūm*. In the first half of the chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭi follow his source only in general. In the second half, he observes it more closely with some modifications and rearrangement, and even
though he omits a few words, he expounds it greatly by providing explanations and additional examples. In the end, he changes and augments it to the degree that justifies concluding with confidence that he adds extra value to the source material.

5.4.5. ‘Fourth chapter on the matter of travelling in winter’

This chapter can be separated into three parts, as Ibn al-Amšāṭī first discusses the general dangers of cold, then moves on to preventive measures, and finally to treatment of those afflicted by the cold.

In the first part, Ibn al-Amšāṭī explains why travelling during wintertime or in cold places is dangerous: the cold quenches the innate heat, causing spasms (kuzāz), shrivelling (tashannuf), and freezing of the body. Another possibility is būlimūs or the hunger of the cattle, when the organs are in need of nutrition even when the stomach is full, likely due to the corrupted cold temperament afflicting the cardia, according to Ibn al-Amšāṭī. Additional dangers are the limbs falling off, especially when one is riding, or weakening of the vision due to looking at the ice and snow. The only physicians who included a list of typical diseases are al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā (see section 2.1.5. Travelling in cold weather). From these two, only the latter includes būlimūs and on the grounds of some expressions it is even more likely that Ibn al-Amšāṭī took inspiration from Ibn Sinā here. The changes Ibn al-Amšāṭī made, however, are so profound that comparing the two texts side by side would be pointless. Besides omitting a brief descriptive section and some reasons of possible death, Ibn al-Amšāṭī includes the explanations mentioned above which cannot be found in any of the other travel regimens. Additionally, he includes the limbs and eyes at the end of his list with which he presents a more rounded picture about the dangers of travelling in cold at the beginning of his chapter.

In the second part, Ibn al-Amšāṭī presents general advice for those travelling in the cold. He begins with stating that the traveller’s journey should be during daytime and his rest during nighttime. Al-Majūsī’s fa-yanbaghi li-ṣāḥib dhālika an yakūna masiruhu bi-al-nahār wa-rāḥatuhu bi-al-layl539 is obviously recognisable in Ibn al-Amšāṭī’s fa-yanbaghi li-l-musāfir fihi an yakūna masiruhu bi-al-nahār wa-rāḥatuhu bi-al-layl.540 However, Ibn al-Amšāṭī briefly explains that the reason for this is that during the daytime, the traveller benefits from the heat of the sun but during

539 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣinā’a, II/82.
the night, the cold becomes more severe, and thus it is recommended to rest and seek shelter during the night. After this, Ibn al-Amshâṭī recommends anointing oneself with oil of Egyptian willow, lily, olives, bay laurel, or similar oils to prevent the cold reaching the organs inside the body. This comes from al-Majûsî’s guide, although from a bit later section of his text. Ibn al-Amshâṭī finishes this thought with that this is due to the oils clogging the pores. With this notion, Ibn al-Amshâṭī goes back to Ibn Sinâ’s regimen, where we find the same idea, followed by the advice to protect the nose and mouth from the cold air getting into them,\(^5\) which is the next one in the list of Ibn al-Amshâṭī’s advice. Ibn al-Amshâṭī adds that this is especially important when it is windy, then mentions the importance of the protection of the limbs which he discusses later – Ibn Sinâ does the same regarding the limbs. As the last topic of the second part, Ibn al-Amshâṭī moves on to discussing how to warm oneself when resting. He advises the traveller not to proceed to warming himself straightaway but to protect himself from sudden exposure to warmth after exposure to cold, since this would exhaust and weaken the body and the strength. This effect is present also when one warms oneself in a hurry, going close to a fire and then leaving it, therefore Ibn al-Amshâṭī does not recommend this. It is best to warm oneself gradually. This idea in general is mentioned by Ibn Sinâ in a much briefer way;\(^6\) while Ibn Sinâ’s sentences might be the inspiration for this discussion by Ibn al-Amshâṭī, due to the level of elaboration, it is definitively not an expanded copy of Ibn Sinâ.

In the last, third part, Ibn al-Amshâṭī presents the general regimen of those weakened by the cold. This includes oils to use, proper places for a campsite, warming oneself, as well as what and when to eat. The first instruction for the traveller is to warm himself and use warm oils such as oil of iris, lily, castor, chamomile, and similar oils. From the warming oils in general, al-Majûsî names oil of Egyptian willow, lily, and bay laurel; Ibn al-Quff lists oil of violet, lily, and chamomile; Ibn al-Khaṭîb names iris oil; and al-Ṭabarî and Ibn Sinâ refrain from giving examples (see section 2.1.5. Travelling in cold weather). In this case, the most probable scenario is that Ibn al-Amshâṭī gives examples of warming oils based on his own knowledge instead of borrowing a list from another physician. After this topic, Ibn al-Amshâṭī moves on to the issue of the proper resting place. He recommends choosing a warm place sheltered from the wind and away from the


passage of streams, and to place the riding animals close to the tent to utilise their warmth. In addition to this, Ibn al-Amshāṭi instructs the traveller to take all his garments off if possible, or at least those most afflicted by the cold and put something else on. While al-Rāzī, al-Majūsī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and Ḥājjī Bāshā all give instructions for travellers afflicted by the cold, their passages differ greatly from Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s discussion of this topic, as they focus for the most part on massage, bathing, warming oils, sleeping under blankets, and consuming warming foodstuffs. The only similarity is al-Rāzī’s recommendation to choose a warm, leeward resting place; this is, however, only a similarity and does not indicate a closer relationship between the passages. An interesting feature to point out is the inclusion of placement of riding animals by Ibn al-Amshāṭi, since this instruction only appears in the regimens meant for armies (see section 2.1.13. Regimen for armies). The rest of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s advice pertains to foodstuffs and nutrition. The foodstuffs in this case should be warm and richly seasoned with warming herbs, such as garlic, nutmeg, mustard seeds, assafetida, onion, pepper, cinnamon, long pepper, and ginger, not listed in a similar way by the rest of the physicians. As for nutrition, Ibn al-Amshāṭi states that the traveller should not travel on an empty stomach. Therefore, he should eat the recommended foodstuffs and wait for it to descend to the bottom of the stomach properly. In general, this last section seems to be geared more towards a traveller afflicted by the cold who decides to rest on the road, while bathing and massage often recommended by the other physicians would presuppose access to certain facilities (although al-Rāzī advises massage even if a bathhouse and its services are not available).

In summary, Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s chapter on travelling in winter is inspired by al-Majūsī’s and Ibn Sinā’s relevant passages. This is most noticeable in the first half of the chapter, where we can occasionally find the same expressions, not just similar ideas. As we progress towards the end of the chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭi moves away from his sources, as there are no parallels to find in the other regimens. Additionally, there are examples of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s tendency to include concise theoretical explanations in this chapter as well as in the previous ones.

5.4.6. ‘Fifth chapter on the guarding of the limbs and their treatment’

In this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭi discusses various methods of protecting the limbs and the eyesight, then dedicates approximately two-thirds of the chapter to the treatment of the limbs according to the severeness of their affliction.
As for prevention, Ibn al-Amshāṭi advises massaging the limbs until they warm up, then coating them with warm, aromatic oils, such as oil of Egyptian willow or iris, or if these are not available, then olive oil, especially if it was mixed with pellitory, pepper, and assafetida. Jasmine oil is another alternative, as well as sprinkling the limbs with garlic. The usefulness of tar is stressed but Ibn al-Amshāṭi deems all the materials that he listed good for preventing decay of the limbs. Here, Ibn al-Amshāṭi obviously borrows from Ibn Sīnā; however, in the second half of this section, Ibn al-Amshāṭi omits the bandages mentioned by Ibn Sīnā and recommends garlic separately, in addition to stating that tar is useful, while Ibn Sīnā deems it unsafe. While Ḥājjī Bāshā writes that tar is the most effective of such materials as it protects the limbs from putrefaction, it is not likely that this is Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s source. The similarities and differences of Ibn Sīnā’s and Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s passages are illustrated by the following side by side comparison. The differences are highlighted in bold. The words Ibn al-Amshāṭi omitted from Ibn Sīnā’s text are in red, the words added by Ibn al-Amshāṭi are in green.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ibn Sīnā543</th>
<th>Ibn al-Amshāṭi544</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yajibu an yadlukahā al-musāfir awwalan ḥattā taskhunu</td>
<td>yajibu an yadluka al-musāfir fi al-bard aṭrāfahu hattā taskhunu [1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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543 Ibn Sīnā, al-Qānūn, I/324.
fa-innahu amān wa-lā ka-al-qāṭrān  

[6] wa-al-qāṭrān nāfiʿ jiddan

[7] wa-kull dhālika mimmā yamnaʿu al-fasād ilayhā

The next set of preventive measures Ibn al-Amshāṭī recommends is properly padding and covering the limbs. He advises putting the undercoat hair of goats with hare fur or something similar between the fingers, then wrapping the legs with kāghad, ‘paper’, putting on stockings, then shoes. Here, al-Majūsī seems to be the likely source, even if Ibn al-Amshāṭī added hare fur but omitted additional garments mentioned by al-Majūsī (fur boots and fur gloves). The relation of the two texts is shown below with the differences in bold and the addenda in green.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Majūsī545</th>
<th>Ibn al-Amshāṭī546</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[...] (bi-)an yaḍaʿa bayna al-aṣābiʿi  shaʿr al-marʿāz</td>
<td>wa-yaynaḥa bayna aṣābiʿi  shaʿr al-marʿaẓ wa-ʿalayhā wa-br al-arnab aw ghayrah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-yaluffahā bi-al-kāghad</td>
<td>thumma yalūfā bi-al-kāghad (bi-al-muʿjama al-ṣafūḥa wa-al-dāl al-muhmala wa-huwa al-waraq fārisi muʿarrab)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last bit of information regarding prevention by Ibn al-Amshāṭī concerns protection of the eyes. Weakening of the vision due to looking at the sharp whiteness of the snow and ice can be prevented by hanging black, green, or dark blue rags in front of the eye and wearing a turban and garments of these colours, although black is the most effective of these colours. This part also relies heavily on al-Majūsī’s text. In this case, virtually nothing pertaining to content is omitted or added, despite the changes Ibn al-Amshāṭī makes to al-Majūsī’s text. These are illustrated below, with the differences in bold, the omissions in red, and the addenda in green. The

comparison here does not mark the rearrangement of words, as those are obvious on a closer reading of the sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>al-Majūsī(^{547})</th>
<th>Ibn al-Amshāṭī(^{548})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(wa-yanbaghī aydan) an yataharraza min an yanāla al-baṣar al-ḍa’f bi-sabab al-nazar ilā al-thalj fa-inna dhālika yafruqu al-nūr al-bāṣir</td>
<td>(wa-):an yataḥarraza an yanāla al-baṣar da’f min al-nazar ilā al-thalj wa-al-jamad li-anā shiddat bayādiḥimā yufarriqu al-nūr al-bāṣir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-yuqallīlahu bi-an yu’allaqa ’alā al-‘ayn al-khiraq al-sūd wa-takūna al-‘imāma sawdā’ wa-in amkana an takūna thiyābuhu sawdā’ kuḥliyya aw khudrān fa-l-yaf’al dhālika</td>
<td>wa-yuqallīlahu wa-yamna’u min dhālika ta’liq al-khiraq al-sawdā’ ’alā al-‘ayn wa-al-‘imāma al-sawdā’ aw lubs al-thiyāb al-sawdā’ in amkana wa-kadhālika al-khuḍr wa-al-kuḥliyya yaqūmu maqām al-sūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa-inna ḥādhihi al-alwān tajma’u al-nūr al-bāṣir wa-tamna’u min tafarruqīhi wa-al-lawn al-aswad aqwāhā fī’lan fī dhālika</td>
<td>fa-inna ḥādhihi al-alwān tamna’u an yufarriqa al-nūr al-bāṣir wa-yajma’uHU wa-al-aswad aqwāhā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After means of prevention, Ibn al-Amshāṭī moves on to treatment. Other than the above measures against less serious freezing, the physicians focus their discussion on the various stages of the affliction of the limbs, namely decay without discolouration, green or black discolouration, and putrefaction. Before treatments, Ibn al-Amshāṭī includes the symptoms of decay caused by the cold and a short theoretical explanation on what happens inside the body. When moving on to treatments, Ibn al-Amshāṭī separates his advice in a different way than the previous physicians, discussing treatment of various external and internal ulcers, stiff but not discoloured limbs, and discoloured and already putrefying limbs.

According to Ibn al-Amshāṭī, the symptom of decay reaching the limbs due to the cold is that the traveller does not feel the pain and cold in the affected limbs. Either the cold suppresses the innate heat of the organ and restrains what would dissolve from it, or it harms the organ without reaching this suppressing effect. The first of these happens because the severe cold and the obstruction of the pores causes the heat, vapour, and blood to move to the inside of the organ.

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\(^{547}\) Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣināʿ, II/83.

\(^{548}\) Ibn al-Amshāṭī, al-Isfār, 240:8–12.
When these materials dwell in the inside of the organ, they burn it and putrefy, causing ulcers. As shown in section 2.1.6. Preserving and treating the limbs, previous physicians discuss treatment of frozen limbs, discoloured limbs, and discoloured and putrefied limbs; however, they do not include a theoretical explanation of how and why the cold affects the limbs, neither do they mention ulcers as a possible affliction and therefore their treatment is likewise not included in their travel regimens. The only exception to this is Ibn Sīnā who writes that if the cold has afflicted the organ, suppressed the innate heat, and restrained what would dissolve from it, exposing the organ to putrefaction, it is to be treated in accordance with his instructions in his chapter on ulcers. Therefore, his exposition is shorter and refers his reader to another part of his encyclopaedia. This means that this brief theoretical explanation as well as the treatment of various kinds of ulcers is another novelty of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s travel regimen; even if he utilises additional medical literature and his knowledge, his inclusion of these topics is unparalleled.

Ibn al-Amshāṭi advises the following treatments for ulcers. External, clean ulcers (qarḥa naqīya) are to be dried, while external, putrid ulcers ([qarḥa] ‘afīna) are to be cured with warm, consuming remedies and cauterisation if the ulcer is not painful. For ulcers with nothing being consumed from their middles, it is sufficient to bind their edges together. However, if the skin perishes from an ulcer, it is treated with sealing medicaments such as gallnuts and pomegranate peel, and if the meat is perishing, then with medicaments facilitating tissue growth besides having drying properties, such as red anemones and basilicon liniment. After these types of external ulcers, Ibn al-Amshāṭi moves on to internal ulcers (qurūḥ bāṭīna). In case of internal ulcers, their draining medicaments should be prepared with additional drying agents such as honey and medicaments according to the specific place of the ulcer. For citratrisation, a sticky material similar to Lemnian earth is to be produced by gripping the ulcers. Internal ulcers should not be distressed further by using hot water. When looking for a source material of this section, Ibn Sinā’s more detailed discussion of the various kinds of ulcers and their treatments is an obvious choice for three reasons: Ibn Sinā refers his reader to this part of his encyclopaedia, he is the only physician mentioning ulcers in his travel regimen, and it is evident that Ibn al-Amshāṭi relied on Ibn Sinā’s text when compiling. On closer inspection of Ibn Sinā’s chapter on ulcers, Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, 1/324.

there are short sections which are similarly worded, especially the one pertaining to internal ulcers. However, Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s discussion is more simplified and streamlined, and for the other kinds of ulcers, he does not repeat and copy the medicaments recommended by Ibn Sinā. It is a possibility that this section of Ibn Sinā was a looser inspiration for Ibn al-Amshāṭī, similarly to the ten principles of purging (discussed in section 5.4.2. ‘First chapter on what is necessary for the traveller to do’). However, just as in that case, here too it is impossible to assert with certainty that Ibn al-Amshāṭī used the Qānūn’s chapter on ulcers when compiling his text; the similarities might be a result of a profound knowledge of the Qānūn and meanwhile it is a plausible possibility that he mostly relied on his own medical knowledge and compiled this section without closely using a source text.

In the second case of affliction Ibn al-Amshāṭī discusses, when the cold harms the organ but does not suppress the innate heat and drives materials to the inside of the organ, the afflicted organ is either swollen or not. If the organ is not swollen, it is to be massaged and anointed with warm oils, such as olive oil. If the organ is swollen, it is to be put into water of rapeseed or water in which fig and cabbage, hot aromatic plants, dill and chamomile, or similar plants were boiled alone or together. This section seems to be a combination of al-Majūsī’s and Ibn Sinā’s advice.559 The former is the only one of the physicians who also mentions swelling as a symptom, and recommends chamomile, melilot, and dill to be boiled in the water used to treat the organ. Ibn Sinā mentions snow water or fig, cabbage, basil, dill, chamomile, wormwood (shīkh), pennyroyal (fiđanaj), and a kind of mint (nammām) to be boiled in the water. Al-Majūsī includes anointing as a treatment for swollen limbs, and Ibn Sinā continues with compresses, approaching a fire, slightly exercising the limbs, then massaging and anointing it. Ibn al-Amshāṭī omits all these and sticks to putting the organ into the aforementioned water. Then he moves on to describe the treatment of the empiricists: immersing the organ in cold water, driving the pain away, comparing it to the frozen fruit put into cold water resulting in the freezing leaving the fruit. This section likely originates from Ibn Sinā’s account of the same treatment, as he is the only physician to include this in his travel regimen; while Ibn Sinā says some people do this (mīn al-nās), Ibn al-Amshāṭī links the treatment to some of the empiricists (ba’d al-mujarrībīn). To further illustrate

559 Al-Majūsī, Kāmil al-ṣinā’a, II/83; Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/324.
the relationship of the two sections, they are presented side by side, with the differences in bold, the omissions in red, and the addenda in green.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ibn Sinā552</th>
<th>Ibn al-Amshāṭī553</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(wa-min al-nās man) yaghmisuhu fī mā’ bārid</td>
<td>(wa-qāla ba’ḍ al-mujarrībin annahu) ghams al-ʿudw fī mā’ bārid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next type of affliction in Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s discussion is when the limb turns dull-coloured. It is only Ibn Sinā who uses this particular expression, and the treatment offered by him and by Ibn al-Amshāṭī concurs with the treatment the rest of the physicians prescribe for a limb which turned green or black. This is, following Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s words, a deep incision of the limb, then putting it into hot water to avoid clotting and to let the blood flow freely before it stops on its own accord. Then it is to be coated with Armenian bole soaked in vinegar and rose water. This coating is to be changed after a day and a night. Besides Armenian bole, tar is also useful on its own. On closer inspection, it becomes apparent that Ibn al-Amshāṭī borrowed this expression of dullness from Ibn Sinā but relied on al-Majūsī for changes compared to Ibn Sinā’s treatment. It seems that Ibn al-Amshāṭī combined the two sources organically instead of sticking to his sources more exactly. The relationship of the three texts is illustrated again in a side-by-side comparison, with the differences in bold, the omissions in red, and the addenda in green.

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552 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/324.
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[M]</td>
<td>fa-amnā idhā akhadha al-ṭaraf yakmudu fa-yajibu an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[IS]</td>
<td>fa-in kānat al-asābi’ qad akhḍarrat aw aswaddat fa-yanbaghi an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>wa-idhā akhadha al-ṭaraf yakmadu fa-ṭariq ‘ilājihi an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[M]</td>
<td>yashruṭa sharṭan ‘amīqan wa-yatruka fi al-mā’ al-ḥār r ḥattā yakhrajju minhā al-dam (wa-yatruku ḥattā yanqāṭi’u min dhāṭihi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[IS]</td>
<td>yashruṭa wa-yasīlu minhu al-dam wa-al-‘udw) mawḏū’ fi al-mā’ al-ḥārr li-allā yajmuda shay’ min al-dam fi fūḥāt al-ḥattā yashruṭa al-yukhraju bal yutrakhu ḥattā yashruṭa min nafṣihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[M]</td>
<td>wa-al-qatrān yanfā’u bid’an wa-akhiran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[IS]</td>
<td>(fa-in kānat al-asābi’ qad akhḍarrat aw aswaddat fa-yanbaghi an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>wa-al-qatrān nāfī’ awwalan wa-akhiran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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554 Al-Majūsi, Kāmil al-ṣinā’u, II/83.
555 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/325.
The last type of treatment discussed by Ibn al-Amshāṭi is for when the afflicted organ is not only black or green but it is past this stage and the organ starts to putrefy. First and foremost, Ibn al-Amshāṭi instructs to act fast and eliminate the putrid parts so that the healthy tissue next to it does not start to decay. For this, one should boil the outer parts of cabbage and beet, make a mixture from it with clarified butter, and put it onto the organ until it makes the putrid parts fall off. For this first section, Ibn Sinā is a likely inspiration, as he expresses the same concern but instead of offering a treatment, refers his reader to another chapter of his encyclopaedia. As redirecting the reader is not a possibility for Ibn al-Amshāṭi, he articulates the general instruction in a clearer way and also includes a treatment. Then, Ibn al-Amshāṭi includes another method, namely warm bandages made from the leaf of marshmallow, mallow, and gooseberry in a powdered form and mixed with violet oil. This bandage is to be applied two to three times a day to make the putrid parts fall off, then the rest of the organ is to be treated like ulcers. This second part is a more faithful copy of al-Majūsi’s text. This means that for the treatment of putrefied organs, Ibn al-Amshāṭi combines the material from his two sources, being clearer and more inclusive in the first half of this section than Ibn Sinā but sticking more closely to the text of the treatment recommended by al-Majūsi.

The most prominent feature of this chapter is probably the arrangement of its material. Starting with prevention, Ibn al-Amshāṭi includes protection of the eyes, more precisely the vision, in this chapter. While some other physicians dedicated separate, short chapters to this topic (see section 2.1.7. Protecting the eyes), Ibn al-Amshāṭi discusses only its wintertime protection. Symptoms of the effects of the cold reaching the limbs and an explanation on how the cold actually harms the limbs is mentioned only on one occasion in previous regimens. Including ulcers and their treatments in the regimen is a novelty offered by Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s text. While al-Majūsi and Ibn Sinā are still obviously the sources for Ibn al-Amshāṭi, he uses his materials in different ways. There is, of course, the method seen before when Ibn al-Amshāṭi rearranges the source material with omissions, addenda, and inclusion of explanations as well as his own material. However, there are examples for more simple copying as well as more complicated combining of the two sources as well.

5.4.7. ‘Sixth chapter on preserving the complexion’

In this short chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī states that the colour of the traveller’s skin (his face, hands, and legs) might change due to the hot or cold weather or because of washing himself with costive waters. To avoid this, he offers advice on how to preserve the complexion of the face and treat fissures of the skin caused by the cold, wind, or sun.

For protecting the face, Ibn al-Amshāṭī recommends coating it with something sticky with a glutinous agent, such as mucilage of psyllium seeds, purslane seeds, tragacanth, and gum dissolved in water or egg whites and semolina pastries soaked in water. It is only al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā who write about this issue in their travel regimens. As before, al-Rāzī’s text was surely not consulted by Ibn al-Amshāṭī when he compiled his own chapter but it is obvious that he used Ibn Sinā’s passage. However, Ibn Sinā omits any kind of introductory remark and offers this preventive measure only, referring his reader once more to a separate chapter for a treatment of fissures. Focusing on the treatment only, the two texts run parallel to each other neatly. Besides a variation for seamless inclusion in his chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī changes mucilage of arfaj plant (‘arfaj, Rhanterium epapposum) to purslane seeds and omits mentioning flat bread loaves (dissolved in water like semolina pastries) and “the recipe of Qrīṭūn”.

For treating the fissures, Ibn al-Amshāṭī provides a recipe for a qayrūṭī, ‘plaster’, or recommends oils and greases if preparing the plaster is not possible: four dirhams each of [two kinds of] sandalwood and rose, five dirhams of melilot, two dirhams of saffron, half a dirham of camphor, ten dirhams of wax, and half a raṭl of rose oil in winter or four ʿuqiyas in summer mixed well. Ibn Sinā mentions various qayrūṭīs in general in his chapter on the fissures of the skin in various places of the body but he does not include a recipe for any of them in these passages.

5.4.8. ‘Seventh chapter on the matters of the waters’

In this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī discusses the various types of water the traveller encounters on his journey. After a general point he makes, the chapter can be separated into three parts. In the first part, Ibn al-Amshāṭī lists the best and worst kinds of water with their characteristics. In the second part, he discusses prophylaxis. In the third part, he gives some additional advice.

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559 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/325.
Ibn al-Amshāṭī begins this chapter by stating that the difference in waters makes the traveller sick more often than the difference of food because the constitution needs it more and it is less capable of enduring its lack than a lack of food. While the explanation is Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s own, the statement itself likely comes from Ibn Sīnā (Ibn al-Amshāṭī writes ikhtilāf al-miyāḥ yūqiʿu al-musāfir fī amrād akthar min ikhtilāf al-aghdhiya, while Ibn Sīnā writes inna ikhtilāf al-miyāḥ qad yūqaʿu al-musāfir fī amrād akthar min ikhtilāf al-aghdhiya.) Despite this, it is important to point out that based on al-Rāzī’s notes in the Ḥāwī, not only Ibn Māsawayh wrote this in his al-Masāʾil but it can be easily traced back to Aristotle’s al-Masāʾil al-ṭabīʿiyya (see in section 2.2.2. Authors with two texts: the case of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā). Nevertheless, the content of this statement is the reason Ibn al-Amshāṭī deems it necessary to mention some of the principles regarding waters.

The first part of this chapter starts with the statement of Ibn al-Amshāṭī: “I say that the water does not nourish but refines nourishment.” While it can be taken for certain that Ibn al-Amshāṭī is not the first one who actually said this but this remark has its origins in the Hippocratic tradition on water(s) and nourishment, it is obvious that the rest of this part indeed relies on the Hippocratic Airs, waters, places. Ibn al-Amshāṭī starts with the best kinds of waters: first are the waters of springs of clayey lands descending from elevated places, abundant and uncovered, far from their source, lightweight, running towards the summer sunrise or north. These are clearly the Hippocratic waters flowing from high places and earthy hills, coming from very deep springs, the best of which are those running towards the summer rising of the sun. After such spring waters, Ibn al-Amshāṭī praises rainwater, since it is of excellent and delicate consistency, especially if it is from plentiful clouds, despite the fact that it putrefies fast, in which case it should be boiled. The Hippocratic text also praises rainwaters as the

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561 Ibn al-Amshāṭī, al-Isfār, 246:3.
562 Ibn Sinā, al-Qānūn, I/325.
566 Hp. Āēr. VII; Jones, Hippocrates, I/89. In this section, I use the abbreviation present in the Liddell-Scott Greek-English Lexicon when referencing the work of Hippocrates, the English translation of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s treatise, and the English rendition of the Hippocratic Airs, waters, places by W. H. S. Jones.
“lightest, sweetest, finest, and clearest” of waters in addition to discussing its generation in greater detail and warning the reader that “they need to be boiled and purified from foulness.”

Still in the first part of this chapter after the two kinds of good waters mentioned in the above paragraph, Ibn al-Amshâṭi moves on to a general discussion of bad waters. He starts with waters of water pits and canals and waters flowing toward west and south, especially if affected by southern winds. He then lists the overall effects of certain waters: tranquil ones burden the stomach, swampy ones produce phlegm, and those with minerals are bad in general with the exception of iron-rich water, which strengthens the bowels. Ammonic water loosens and aluminous water obstructs the bowels, while salty water first relieves then confines them. Hot water corrupts the digestion which can lead to hectic fever and heated fever. Tepid water causes nausea or due to its heat leads to colic. Lastly, ice and snow are harmful for the nerves but useful to cool down oneself with these from the outside. Ibn al-Amshâṭi ends this part with stating that moderately cold water is the most appropriate for a healthy person.

Comparing these with the Hippocratic text, the following observations can be made. The discussion of the worst of the waters, namely swampy waters is more detailed in the Hippocratic text but the capacity of swampy waters to cause of phlegm is mentioned. The second-worst are hard, hot, or mineral-rich waters, which are “hard, heating waters, difficult to pass and causing constipation”. Interestingly, the Hippocratic text includes iron-rich waters here as well and does not make it an exception, although it is stressed that in some cases, bad waters can be beneficial for certain constitutions and diseases. The orientation of waters is also discussed by the Hippocratic text, describing those facing south as the worst waters, especially with southern winds. Finally, waters from snow and ice are considered bad for all purposes by the Hippocratic text. The differences found in Ibn al-Amshâṭi’s text clearly indicate that he utilises the evolving and adapted tradition built on the Hippocratic text.

In the second part of this chapter, Ibn al-Amshâṭi discusses general prophylaxis, then writes about salty and stagnant waters in greater detail and aluminic and ammonic water briefly. Ibn al-Amshâṭi starts by stating that vaporisation and distillation repel or lessen the harms of the

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569 Ibn al-Amshāṭi, al-Isfār, 246:8–16.
difference of waters as this difference occurs due to the foreign parts mixed into the water. He also briefly explains why these methods and boiling the water are effective. At first, it might be tempting to say that Ibn al-Amshāṭi was inspired by Ibn Sinā who explained these and an additional filtering method in his travel regimen (see section 2.1.9. The different waters); on closer inspection, however, it is obvious that this is not the case. Here, Ibn al-Amshāṭi did not consult Ibn Sinā’s text but rather a shared, as of now unidentified, source material or tradition.

For consuming salty water, Ibn al-Amshāṭi recommends mixing it with vinegar and oxymel besides throwing carob and myrtle seeds into it. He explains the negative effects of salty water and lists how the materials he lists protect against these effects. The recommended materials are the same as those mentioned by the other physicians, although Ibn al-Amshāṭi does not list azerole (zu’rūr) and also omits other methods. However, it is only he who explains why the materials he does list work.

Ibn al-Amshāṭi then advises drinking mucilage of psyllium seeds or other similar things making the constitution tender with alumic water and drinking costive things with ammonic water. Ibn Sinā and Ibn al-Quff mention alumic water but with different materials, therefore it seems that these two kinds of water and their method of consumption relies on Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s own knowledge. It can be pointed out that the methods recommended by Ibn al-Amshāṭi oppose the general negative effects listed by him in the previous section.

The last kind of water discussed by Ibn al-Amshāṭi is stagnant water of wādis and swamps. If such a water is putrid, Ibn al-Amshāṭi advises against warm foods as those would facilitate the water’s getting through to the organs but recommends costive and cooling fruits and herbs such as quince, apple, and ribes, as these protect against putridity and counteract the loosening effect of swampy waters. While costive things are the general recommendations, previous physicians discuss stagnant waters under the Arabic term qā’īm while Ibn al-Amshāṭi uses the term rākid. Al-Rāzī and Ibn Sinā both advise against warm foodstuffs; the sections of these two physicians are, however, not likely to be a source for Ibn al-Amshāṭi, as the first is noticeably different altogether and the second would be even more reworked, changed, and amended than usual. It

is more likely in this case, again, that the source is the common tradition rather than an exact passage of another travel regimen.

In the last part of this chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭi provides additional general advice for the traveller regarding waters. These are bringing water from his country and mixing it into the waters he consumes during his journey, taking clay from his home country and mixing it into the waters then letting it settle before drinking, as well as using something to filter the water for fear of worms or leech being in it. Finally, Ibn al-Amshāṭi recommends mixing sour robs into waters in general. The only author listing all of this advice is Ibn Sīnā (see section 2.1.9. The different waters). When comparing the two texts, there are some short concurrent sections but for the most part the same concepts are expressed differently by Ibn al-Amshāṭi, in addition to a brief explanation not present in Ibn Sīnā’s text. This would mean that such reworking that Ibn Sīnā’s text was at most only an inspiration for Ibn al-Amshāṭi.

Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s method of compiling this chapter can be characterised by stressing that here he relies on the medical tradition on waters instead of relying on the travel regimens of his predecessors. However, as a scrutiny of the afterlife of the Hippocratic texts and concepts about the different waters in the Arabic-Islamic medical tradition seems to be a desideratum, pinpointing the exact state of this tradition Ibn al-Amshāṭi utilised, placing it in time and space, and connecting it to other physicians and texts with certainty are not possible.

5.4.9. ‘Eighth chapter on the circumstances of the traveller on the sea’

In the last chapter of the work before the epilogue, Ibn al-Amshāṭi explains how nausea and vomiting occur when travelling on sea. Dizziness and the sensation that everything is turning around someone who is therefore unable to stand firm are the result of the fine humours being stirred up by the movement of the ship. These humours therefore move in a way that is not natural for them, and the spirit tries to oppose it with a contrary natural movement. These two movements then result in a circular movement leading to nausea and vomiting. Vomiting then does not stop until it is so excessive that the stomach becomes depleted. A similar explanation cannot be found in any of the previous travel regimens; it is only Ibn al-Khaṭīb who explains dizziness (see in section 2.1.12. Regimen for sea travel), however, his explanation is an unlikely antecedent for Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s exposition. This either goes back to another source or relies on Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s own knowledge.
To prevent vomiting, Ibn al-Amshâṭi recommends consuming costive fruits such as quince, sour pomegranate, sour apple, minted syrups of these, or tamarind. These, taken separately or together, strengthen and empty the stomach while preventing excess materials from flowing to it. Drinking celery seeds and absinthe can calm nausea. Here, Ibn al-Amshâṭi explains that this is due to a characteristic of these materials. Another advice is consuming sour things which strengthen the cardia and prevent vapours rising to the brain, such as lentils with sour grapes and vinegar. The last preventive method is smelling sandalwood and Armenian bole soaked in rose water and vinegar, besides smearing white lead onto the inside of the nose in order to prevent both nausea and vomiting. This section builds on combining al-Majûsî’s and Ibn Sinâ’s preventive advice: Ibn al-Amshâṭi advises eating the fruits listed by Ibn Sinâ and consuming the drinks mentioned by al-Majûsî, then inserts an explanation not found in either of his sources. Then, Ibn al-Amshâṭi returns to Ibn Sinâ’s text and repeats the drinks mentioned there, yet again including an explanation of his own on why exactly those drinks are beneficial. The cardia-strengthening foodstuffs come from Ibn Sinâ, the materials to sniff are, with some changes, from al-Majûsî, and the use of white lead is, again, from Ibn Sinâ. It is important to point out that this is another example of rearranging the source materials and mixing their parts in a way that was probably more logical to Ibn al-Amshâṭi, and besides the rearranging, he omitted certain practices (sucking on sour fruits, general dietary remarks, not looking at the water, and the issue of lice from al-Majûsî; bread cooled in odorous wine or cold water from Ibn Sinâ) and also provided his own insights via short theoretical explanations regarding certain materials. To better illustrate this process, the sources are compared side-by-side, with the differences in bold, the omissions in red, and the addenda in green.

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s76 Al-Majûsî, Kâmîl al-ṣinâ’a, II/83.  
s77 Ibn Sinâ, al-Qânûn, I/326.  
To sum up Ibn al-Amshāṭī's method of compilation for this chapter, he starts with his own theoretical explanation, then uses his two sources, al-Majūsī and Ibn Sīnā, to compile a text for which he uses materials from both authors as well as omits from both texts, rearranges the material he chooses to keep, and includes short theoretical remarks in between. The chapter ends with praising God and a ṣalwala for Muḥammad, his family, and his companions as a way to wrap up the eight chapters before moving on to the epilogue.

5.4.10. ‘Epilogue on what is advisable for the traveller to carry’

The epilogue (khātima) lists all the medicaments the traveller should bring along in two chapters (fāṣl), one for simple medicaments and one for compound medicaments. Considering
the fact that none of the travel regimens discussed in this dissertation contain a list of simples or a mini-pharmacopoeia, identifying the source(s) Ibn al-Amshāṭī used for his epilogue would require a scrutiny of the rich tradition of Arabic pharmacopoeias or, as a start, at least of those circulating in 14th-century Cairo. Instead of following this direction, which could make a separate research project on its own right, I choose a different approach for the analysis of the epilogue.

In order to provide a comprehensive overview of the pharmacological material of the treatise, I first resort to simple statistical methods. In case of the first chapter of the epilogue on simple medicaments, I survey the simples mentioned in the eight chapters of the treatise as well as those listed in the recipes in the second chapter of the epilogue. The ratio of overlapping simples and those present only in one of the three sample groups (‘main text’, list of simples, ingredients of recipes) will be an indicator of the interrelatedness of and dialogue between these three parts of the treatise.

For the second chapter of the epilogue, I focus on the recipes themselves while sticking to simple statistics. Besides this method, I also note interesting features of this chapter.

At the end of this section, I present some additional observations regarding the whole of the epilogue and attempt a preliminary evaluation of it based on the data gathered throughout this analysis.

First chapter of the epilogue

In the epilogue’s first chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī lists simple medicaments in two groups, hot and cold ones. In total, he lists 45 hot and 29 cold medicaments. The majority of these are plants and plant-based substances (~96%), with only one mineral substance (tar) and two animal-based substances (honey and beaver testicles).

The list of simples and the ‘main text’:

To compare the simple medicaments Ibn al-Amshāṭī mentions in the eight chapters of the Isfār with those he lists in the epilogue’s first chapter, I collected the former in Table 1 (see in Appendix III – Tables). I marked each item Ibn al-Amshāṭī listed in the epilogue’s first chapter by colouring them red if listed as hot or blue if listed as cold. I marked the items only in case of a perfect match with the exception of mucilage of psyllium seeds and purslane seeds, since the text
confirms that the mucilages are cold just like the seeds. To arrive at more precise results, I separated the simples into two groups: the first is foodstuffs, drinks, or their ingredients and the second is medicaments or their ingredients. The basis of this division is Ibn al-Amshāṭī's text, as I listed materials in the first category when he recommends them as foodstuffs or drinks and in the second category when he refers to them as medicaments, mostly for external, but sometimes for internal use.

Based on this comparison, it is stunning how low a percentage of foodstuffs and medicaments of the eight chapters of the Isfār are listed in the epilogue's first chapter. From a total of 65 foodstuffs, 21 is listed in the epilogue (~32%) and from a total of 68 medicaments, 24 are listed in the epilogue (~35%). If we are to take a look from the point of view of the epilogue's first chapter, 18 of the 45 hot simples (40%) and 7 of the 29 cold simples (~21%) appear in chapters 1–8, or in total 27 of the 74 simples (~36,5%). Those not mentioned in the eight chapters of the Isfār are listed in Table 2 (see in Appendix III – Tables).

Even if we disregard the foodstuffs, recommending medicaments in the eight main chapters of the work of which only approximately one-third is included in the list of materials the traveller should bring with himself on a journey clearly indicates that the eight chapters and the epilogue are separate parts of the treatise. The main chapters fit into the general tradition of travel regimens and the epilogue seems to be a practical addition to the text which does not reflect on the main text.

The list of simples and the compound medicaments:

To compare the simple medicaments of the first chapter of the epilogue to the ingredients of the recipes present in the second chapter of the epilogue, I list the simples and reference the recipes in which they appear in Table 3 (see in Appendix III – Tables). If the match is not perfect, it is noted in brackets and accounted for it when calculating percentages.

From the 45 hot simples, 24 are not mentioned as a recipe ingredient (~53%). 6 are not a perfect match (~13%); however, these might still be considered as matches due to the nature of these medicaments. 15 are perfect matches (~33%). This means that either approximately one-third or half of the hot simples appear as ingredients in recipes.

Relying on Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s list, flower of violet is cold but violet oil is hot. He lists pumpkin seeds as cold but pumpkinseed oil is not listed, therefore I wanted to avoid jumping to conclusions which are not specified in the text as well as asserting the qualities of not listed materials from other sources, as my focus here is an internal analysis.
From the 29 cold simples, 10 are not mentioned as a recipe ingredient (~34.5%). 4 are not a perfect match (~13.8%); however, one of them in my opinion is still a match (watermelon seeds as peeled watermelon kernels) and therefore will be counted as such and the other three are not matches. 15 are perfect matches (~51.7%). This means that 16 of the cold simples appear as ingredients in recipes (~55.2%).

In total, either 31 or 37 of the simples listed in the first chapter of the Isfār’s epilogue appear as recipe ingredients in the second chapter of the epilogue (~41.9% and 50%, respectively). This ratio undoubtedly suggests that the simples and compounds of the epilogue are to be treated separately. This proposition is further supported by the fact that if we take a look from the point of view of the recipes themselves, there are an additional 94 ingredients not listed in the epilogue’s first chapter with variations in some of them, putting their final number above 100. This is illustrated in Table 4 (see in Appendix III – Tables), which shows the ingredient list of the recipes of the second chapter of the epilogue, with the hot and cold single medicaments of the first chapter of the epilogue coloured red or blue, respectively.

The list of simples according to the numbers:

Based on the data produced by comparing the list of simples to those mentioned in the eight chapters and the recipes of the Isfār, it is not an inventory of materials mentioned in the eight chapters of the book, and neither is it a kind of shopping list for the recipes of the second chapter of the epilogue. Moreover, there are some medicaments in it which do not appear anywhere else in the work, 24 from the 74 simples (~36.5%), listed in Table 5 (see in Appendix III – Tables).

Nevertheless, it can be a useful addition to the ‘classical’ travel regimen, that is the eight main chapters of the Isfār, as a list of ‘what he [the traveller] should bring with him from the simple medicaments581 on the journey. This is due to the fact that the regimen itself generally mentions the characteristics of the afflictions or that of the medicaments to use (hot or cold), therefore it can function as a handy list of substitutes, even if the moistening or drying property of the medicaments is not disclosed in the list and the degree of hotness or coldness varies between the medicaments. In some cases, the regimen recommends warming or cooling remedies in general, or names a few and advises ‘similar’ medicaments; for both type of instructions, the list of simples can also be useful.

581 Ibn al-Amshāṭī, al-Isfār, 2532.
Second chapter of the epilogue

In the second chapter of the epilogue, Ibn al-Amshāṭī lists compound medicaments to use for certain ailments, organised according to the type of the medicaments. In total, he provides 57 recipes for his reader. In some cases, he also includes shorter or longer theoretical remarks, additional information, and instructions besides the recipes.

In addition to the recipes of the epilogue, Ibn al-Amshāṭī includes two more recipes in the treatise, namely a recipe for a thirst-quenching pastille in his first chapter and a qayrūṭī, ‘plaster’, for fissures of the skin in his sixth chapter. Since these were discussed with the chapters they are in, these two recipes are not counted and accounted for in this analysis of the epilogue.

Forms or types of preparation:

The types of compound medicaments and the names of recipes are as follows. For ease of referencing them, I supplied each recipe with an ID code based on its type and number both in the Arabic text and the English translation and listed those here in addition to an approximate percentage of each type of medicament compared to the total of 56 recipes.

- syrups: 9 in total (~16%), SY1–9 (pure oxymel, honey oxymel, mint-infused pomegranate syrup, sour grape syrup, rose syrup, violet syrup, water lily syrup, borage syrup, sandalwood syrup),
- robs: 6 in total (~10.7%), R1–6 (robs of: sour apple, quince, sour grapes, pomegranate, lemon, barberry),
- electuaries: 5 in total (~8.9%), E1–5 (triphala, electuary of purging cassia, quadruple theriac, electuary of ajowan, electuary for ripe phlegmatic cough),
- purgative pills: 4 in total (~7.1%), PP1–4 (pill for purification of the body, pill for purging black bile and phlegm, pill to make the breath pleasant, pill of kings against diarrhoea),
- suppositories: 2 in total (~3.6%), SU1–3 (suppository of violet, warm suppositories for cold colic, warming the back, and purging black bile),
- pastilles: 3 in total (~5.4%), PA1–3 (camphor pastille, aloeswood pastille, rose pastille),

587 Ibn al-Amshāṭī, al-Isfār, 244:8–10.
medicinal powders: 3 in total (~5.4%), MP1–3 (maqliyāthā powder, seed powder against burning urine, powder against incontinence of urine),

collyriums and eye remedies: 3 in total (~5.4%), C1–3 (remedy for inflammation, collyrium for warmness and roughness of the eye and tears, antimony),
oils: 13 in total (~23.2%), O1–13 (oils of: violet, rose, poppy, lettuce, pumpkin, iris, jasmine, lemon balm, castor bean, chamomile, cucumber, myrtle, quince),
liniments and powders: 2 and 2 in total, respectively (~3.6% and ~3.6%), L1–2 and PO1–2 (liniment for tissue growth, basilicon liniment, soldering powder, drying powder),
haemostatics: 2 in total (~3.6%), H1–2 (Cyprian vitriol, burnt alum),
dentifrices: 2 in total (~3.6%), D1–2 (dentifrice for clearing the teeth, dentifrice for strengthening the gums and the teeth).

In pharmacopoeias, the "most common form" of arrangement is when "each chapter is devoted to a particular form of preparation". The 'mini-pharmacopoeia' of the Isfār follows this common arrangement method. While the order of the types of preparations is not exactly the same as that in Kūhīn al-ʿAṭṭār's (d. after 658/1260) Minhāj al-dukkān, it is mostly similar when only the preparations mentioned by Ibn al-Amshāṭī are investigated.

**Some statistics based on the recipes:**

"A typical recipe would be composed of the following elements, not necessarily always in this order: The heading or title of the drug; its indications; the ingredients and their quantities; the manner of preparation; recommended dosage or application. Often the expression mujarrab (tried) or nāfiʿ (effective, beneficial) would appear at the end of the recipe, sometimes together with the pious hope of in shāʾa allāh taʿālā, ‘God willing.’"

In Table 6 (see in Appendix III – Tables), I noted whether a recipe contains (y) or lacks (n) most of these elements, namely the title, use, ingredients, quantities, preparation, and recommended dosage or application. A dash (−) marks quantities, preparation, and dosage for recipes H1–2, since those are, in fact, not actual recipes. A tilde (~) indicates when an element is

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584 See Chipman, *The world of pharmacy*, 16 for a comparison of the preparations mentioned in the *Minhāj al-dukkān* and nine other pharmacopoeias.
not included in a recipe, only some information related to it. On two occasions, the affirmative y letter is in parentheses, as in these cases those elements are not in the actual recipe but rather in an explanation right before the recipe. From this examination, the following data can be gathered.

43 recipes have a title (~76.9%). Only 33 recipes include a description on what they are to be used for (~58.9%). Not counting recipes H1–2, 24 include quantities (either specific or nonspecific; ~44.4%) and one some guidelines for quantities. 49 contain more or less detailed instructions for preparation (~93.7%), again disregarding recipes H1–2 when calculating the percentages. As for dosage or application, without recipes H1–2, only 11 recipes provide some information (~23.4%) and 3 contain some guidelines (~5.6%).

None of the recipes is marked as tried (mujarrab) or effective (nāfiʿ). While at first this might make the recipe collection seem more theoretical than practical, in my opinion it indicates the exact opposite. As this ‘mini-pharmacopoeia’ is not an integral part of travel regimens but a unique addition to a regimen, Ibn al-Amshāṭī was completely free to choose whatever recipes he wished to include. Therefore, it is logical to assume that he would only choose recipes which he either knew and trusted (and this way all were tried or effective by default) or which seemed to be effective based on the recipes themselves.

When inspecting the ingredients of the recipes (see Table 4 in Appendix III – Tables), it is apparent that none of them give substitutes for certain ingredients. Likewise, synonyms are not provided for any ingredient of the recipes.

**Theory mixed with recipes:**

Moving away from statistics and taking under scrutiny the recipes once more, it becomes apparent that in some cases, there are inserts in the text which pertain to medical theory and are not essential for the recipes at all.

We find such a theoretical explanation right at the beginning of the second chapter of the epilogue, where Ibn al-Amshāṭī states that the simple syrups which are plain as clear water are the best and then proceeds to explain why this is so. The next lengthy bit of additional

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586 The only variations in the recipes are as follows: either leaves or peels of citron (SY3, SY4); clarified butter or almond oil depending on the desired shelf-life (E1); bud or nadd (E3).

587 A synonym is given in the list of hot simples: barsāwushān is kuzbarat al-biʿr, maidenhair. See Ibn al-Amshāṭī, al-Isfar, 2524–5 and 2534–5.
information is in the recipe of the triphala electuary (E1), where we get an exposition on the benefits of honey. Regarding suppositories, Ibn al-Amshāṭī gives some instructions on how to shape them according to the application.

In some other cases, where the preparation can be made in different ways or with different ratios of ingredients to better suit the needs of the patient, Ibn al-Amshāṭī is also a bit lengthier and notes this, such as in case of recipes SY1, SY2, E1. In case of oils, he offers two different methods of preparation and compares those, noting which method is more appropriate for what kinds of oils.

Additional observations regarding the epilogue

As shown throughout the analysis of the epilogue, the epilogue is a separate unit of the treatise, independent of the ‘main body’ of the travel regimen, that is the first eight chapters of the Isfār. Moreover, the two chapters of the epilogue are also independent components of the epilogue. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned, both the list of simples and the recipes are useful additions to the travel regimen. For the simples, the knowledge of their properties can help the reader or traveller when choosing a simple medicament to treat an affliction or alleviate certain symptoms, while for the recipes, more than half of them include what they are used for and almost all of them contain instructions for preparation.

The intended purpose of the epilogue, however, is still not clear. This ‘mini-pharmacopoeia’ is written by a physician for a layman, at least according to the dedication of the Isfār. Therefore, it is interesting to inspect what is included in such, albeit much longer texts which are written by physicians to physicians and by pharmacists to pharmacists, in order to arrive at a rough estimation of the epilogue’s place on the spectrum between a theoretical or practical approach.

The epilogue is clearly a list of simples and a list of recipes. We do not find any additional information on why the simples might not suffice, how to gather, examine, or store the ingredients, what certain preparation methods mean exactly, nor is there a section on the weights and measures used in the recipes. Therefore, we lack sections typical of pharmacopoeias of medical encyclopaedias but also do not have at our disposal enough practical instruction to assume that a non-practitioner could necessarily prepare each and every recipe on his own, provided he has the ingredients and utensils needed. Assuming the knowledge of a pharmacist, however, the instructions can sometimes seem superfluous. Considering all these factors, it is a
possibility that this epilogue could function as a checklist when a well-off layman travels with an entourage which includes a physician who could then rely on this epilogue besides his own knowledge when sourcing the simples or compounds from pharmacists on way stations. Bearing in mind the inclusion of theoretical bits in between the recipes, it is also possible that Ibn al-Amshāṭī illustrates and underlines the broadness of his knowledge by including pharmacological material at the end of his travel regimen, while also attempting to remain entertaining through educating with these theoretical snippets which break up the monotony of a recipe list, at least throughout the first half of the recipes.

While we will likely never know for sure the reasons Ibn al-Amshāṭī decided to include the epilogue, a list for a ‘travel medicine kit’ of simple drugs and compound remedies, in his travel regimen, it is the most significant innovation of the Isfār if we look at the whole of the medical tradition of medieval Arabic travel regimens. While it is true that al-Rāzī provides some recipes in his regimen in the Mansūrī for specific afflictions, this singular example is rather partial and ad hoc compared to a dedicated epilogue. The epilogue of the Isfār is most definitely a novelty, one which provides material for many future analyses.

5.4.11. Concluding remarks

In this section, I aim to summarise the findings of the detailed analyses of the chapters and provide some additional observations and remarks as to offer an overall impression of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s al-Isfār ‘an Ḥikam al-asfār.

In sub-chapter 2.1 Analysing of the medical content of the travel regimens, I investigated all of the topics earlier travel regimens discussed. None of them contain all the topics and Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s Isfār is no exception to this, even if the omitted issues are not numerous. These are the treatment of the eyes (only preventive measures are discussed), fatigue, and the various unique topics of earlier physicians. While Ibn al-Amshāṭī does not include a chapter on the regimen for armies, some of its elements can be found in his travel regimen. Additionally, he does not discuss all kinds of waters in his chapter on this issue; this might be an indication of what kinds were likely to be found by his audience on their travels.

When compiling the text of the Isfār, Ibn al-Amshāṭī utilised two of the earlier travel regimens: that of al-Majūsī in the Kāmil al-ṣinā’ u al-ṭibbiyya/Kitāb al-malakī and that of Ibn Sinā in the Qānūn. Despite the detailed scrutiny of the Isfār’s text, quotes from other travel regimens seem
to be absent. In addition to these works, it is obvious that Ibn al-Amshāṭi also relied on the medical tradition in general and not just its section specific to travel regimens; this is especially evident in case of the first chapter (ten principles of purging, five rules of venesection) and the seventh chapter (Hippocratic tradition on water).

While Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s exact method of compilation varies from chapter to chapter, his main methods can still be outlined. Compared to all his predecessors, Ibn al-Amshāṭi clearly paid more attention to theory and explanations. In such sections of the Isfār, it is apparent that these short remarks and elucidations are Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s own; while in some cases the ideas appear elsewhere, these antecedents are nowhere near as detailed or clear as those in the Isfār. As for Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s two main sources, we find more than one approach. There are examples where Ibn al-Amshāṭi obviously copied sections from al-Majūsī or Ibn Sīnā, either without change or with only minuscule variations so that the quotes fit into the flow of his own text. The best-attested process is when Ibn al-Amshāṭi works with one of his source texts closely but also changes expressions, omits certain things, and adds either short, practical material or more lengthy explanations not found elsewhere in his source (or other travel regimens, for that matter). The third main technique is when Ibn al-Amshāṭi combines both al-Majūsī’s and Ibn Sīnā’s texts when writing his own; in these cases, he also frequently employed slight changes, omissions, and additions. There are examples where a certain idea is already present in al-Majūsī’s or Ibn Sīnā’s regimen, but they are elaborated in a markedly different way in the Isfār.

Besides the methods of compilation characterised in this paragraph, a lot of the sections of the Isfār were identified as penned based on Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s own knowledge and experience. To give a rough numeric estimate of the originality of the Isfār, based on the number of lines of the work as they are in my edition (not counting the prologue, titles of chapters, the epilogue, and the colophon), only approximately 22% of the text can be linked to specific passages of al-Majūsī’s or Ibn Sīnā’s travel regimens where Ibn al-Amshāṭi copied these passages either with or without modifications. This means that approximately 78% of the Isfār’s text is the work of Ibn al-Amshāṭi, which seems quite high in a setting where the most common (and accepted) method of compilation is copying. If we decide to count the epilogue as well, it raises the approximated percentage of original content to 88%. Additionally to this ‘ratio of originality’, we find examples of Ibn al-Amshāṭi providing his reader with the correct spelling and pronunciation of certain
words of foreign origin in addition to explaining their meaning (for the words qayrūṭ [spelling-pronunciation only], dūgh, and kāghad in the Cairo manuscript and for the word būlimūs in all three manuscripts), for which there are no examples or parallels in other travel regimens.

After discussing the sources and the relationship of the text with its sources besides additional remarks on compilation, it is vital to take inventory of the innovations in Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s Isfār. Following their order of appearance, the first two are the ten principles to observe in regard to purging and the five things to consider for venesection in the first chapter of the Isfār. Although these are not inventions of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, he is still the only one to include this material in a travel regimen. The treatment of ulcers is the fifth chapter of the work is also a novelty; although Ibn Sīnā mentions it and refers his reader to another chapter of the Qānūn, only a part of the Isfār’s discourse regarding ulcers relies on this section of the Qānūn. Truly including ulcers is therefore unprecedented before Ibn al-Amshāṭī, in addition to the discussion of treatment of afflicted limbs being organised differently than in previous travel regimens. The explanation on how nausea and vomiting occur is also unique to Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s Isfār; the only similarity is nature is Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s explanation of dizziness but for its content, the two explanations do not have much in common. While all of these sections are impossible to point out in a concise form, it is important at least to mention and acknowledge the numerous explanatory discourses, both shorter and lengthier ones, provided by Ibn al-Amshāṭī. Generally, these explanations are not only beneficial in the framework of the Isfār or travel regimens but also in a wider medical context, as the unravelled bodily processes occur generally in medical contexts, not just those connected to travelling. Finally, the epilogue itself is the most notable novelty or innovation of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s Isfār, as there is no other travel regimen which would contain a list of simples or a ‘travel-pharmacopoeia’, even if it was shown that the main chapters and the epilogue’s two chapters are not interconnected.
6. CONCLUSION

The present dissertation had two major undertakings, the first being a scrutiny of the travel regimens of the medieval Arabic medical tradition and the second being an edition, translation, and analysis of Ibn al-Amshāṭi’s *al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār*.

For the close examination of these travel regimens, the corpus collected in this dissertation is the most comprehensive to my knowledge. Through the analysis of this corpus, it became apparent that the classification of topics present in Qusṭā ibn Lūqā’s regimen of the pilgrims, however well-articulated, has not had a distinct impact on other works of this genre. Similarly, Ibn al-Jazzār’s *Zād al-musāfir* does not seem to be an integral part of this tradition. The detailed textual collation of the regimens allows for the (re)construction of the relationships between the specimens of this genre. In brief, al-Majūsī’s regimen was used by Ibn Sinā, Ḥājjī Bāshā, and Ibn al-Quff; al-Rāzī’s influenced Ibn Sinā, Ḥājjī Bāshā, and maybe Ibn al-Quff; Ibn Sinā’s was consulted by Ḥājjī Bāshā and most likely by Ibn al-Khaṭīb as well; there might be a relationship between Ibn al-Quff’s and Ḥājjī Bāshā’s regimens; and it seems that al-Ṭabarī’s text was not copied by later physicians. Additionally, the thorough comparison of the texts also facilitated pinpointing the novelties of each and every one of these texts, whether they be with regard to arrangement, inclusion or omission of topics, or elements completely unique to a given text. The results of these two aspects are of special importance when assessed together, since they clearly show that the medical tradition represented in the Arabic travel regimens of the 9th–15th centuries was a dynamic tradition, not a simple repetition of the exact same material and arrangement thereof throughout the centuries, even if it seems that the significance of these regimens also changed during this period.

While travel regimens represent a tiny fraction of the totality of the medical tradition, taking them under detailed scrutiny yielded some results relevant not only to this fraction but to the whole. Namely, the comparison of the relevant parts of al-Rāzī’s *Ḥāwī* and *Maṣūrī* provides an insight into the compilation methods of al-Rāzī which are also indicative of such methods in general. Similar in-depth studies of specialised themes can also allow for clarifying and resolving issues of authenticity, as suggested by the analysis of Ibn Sinā’s treatises. Moreover, structuring the analysis according to the topics discussed by travel regimens pinpointed some aspects of the medieval Arabic medical tradition deserving systematic studies; two examples are purging and
the issue of waters, both being significant in the whole medical discourse, not just that restricted to travel regimens.

However, note must be made of the fact that even the enumeration of the sources of the present dissertation refers to works without surviving manuscript copies in addition to a regimen still in manuscript form. Together with the fact that there are also medical encyclopaedias surviving only in manuscript form as of now, it means that the complete corpus of travel regimens will grow as more editions will become available, which would undoubtedly provide new findings in regard to the history of these regimens.

The most significant result of the present dissertation is the critical edition, English translation, and detailed study of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār. While the critical edition allows for a multifaceted analysis of the treatise, through the English translation the work becomes accessible for those scholars of the history of medicine who are not specialised in Arabic. Such endeavours hopefully facilitate future comparative analyses of the different travel medicines.

The author of the treatise, Ibn al-Amshāṭī is mentioned in several reference works, namely in Brockelmann’s GAL, Ḥājjī Khalifa’s Kashf al-ẓunūn and Sullam al-wuṣūl, al-Bağhdādī’s Hadīyyat al-ʿārifīn and Isdāḥ al-maknūn, al-Zirikli’s al-Aʾlām, and Kaḥḥāla’s Muʿjam al-muʿallīfīn. A careful reading of the accounts on Ibn al-Amshāṭī in these volumes shed light on some problematic points, and while these accounts reference the sources of the author’s life, a closer inspection of the historical tradition of the 15th century managed to uncover an additional source. This way, the number of sources on the life and works of Ibn al-Amshāṭī reaches four. The biography presented in this dissertation, which also aimed to resolve the unsettled questions referred to in this paragraph, shows that Ibn al-Amshāṭī was active in the field of jurisprudence, which is the most likely reason for his inclusion in the biographical dictionaries; based on his social network, he was a member of the learned religious elite of his time; he was active mostly in the Bayna al-Qaṣrayn area of Cairo; and at some point he forsook all of his positions except those related to medicine, indicating that he preferred physicianship.

The critical edition of the Isfār is based on three manuscripts, one in Cairo, one in Mosul, and one in Tarīm, Yemen. While at this point of the research I refrain from setting up a definite stemma, their codicological study yielded results based on which a preliminary stemma can be
drawn. The presumed period of copying of the Cairo manuscript and the dates of copying of the Mosul and Tarīm manuscripts put them in this chronological order (that is: Cairo, Mosul, Tarīm). The Cairo manuscript might be a neatly composed draft or scholarly copy. Based on an examination of the critical apparatus and collation of the relevant sections of the manuscripts, it seems that the copyists of the Mosul and Tarīm manuscript based their work on a cleaner copy of the Cairo manuscript, with the reasonable possibility that the copyist of the Tarīm manuscript had the Cairo manuscript at his disposal as well.

An example of complementing current knowledge outside the field of history of medicine is the in-depth study of the preface of the Isfār. Content-wise, the preface most definitely bears literary qualities. The initia with the doxological formulae adheres to ḥusn al-ibtidāʾ, ‘skilful opening’; the middle part of the preface describes a scene with powerful religious imagery; and while the last part is concerned more with matter-of-fact functions, even here various literary devices are employed. The sajʿ of the preface has a distinct tendency to monorhyme; changes in the rhymeme clearly concur with apparent changes of content and function; the length of the sajʿ is short, except for one rhythmic unit. The literary style of Mamluk muqaddimas or those of technical texts is not frequently analysed. While this means that as of now, linking these characteristics either to the trends or norms of the circumstances of the treatise or to the personal style of the author is beyond the bounds of possibility, this study demonstrates that such prefaces are a rich ground for survey and hopefully also inspires similar studies as well, the results of which could contribute to a comprehensive picture on both Mamluk muqaddimas and those of technical texts.

While due to the lack of definitive evidence, a precise dating of the Isfār is not possible, the information recorded in the dedication of the work collated with the biography of the patron allows for identifying the most convenient timeframe for the compilation of the treatise, being 842–850/1438–1447.

The scrutiny of the Isfār as a text within the corpus of travel regimens produced the following main results. Firstly, taking inventory of the topics Ibn al-Amshāṭī discusses in the Isfār, it becomes apparent that it is a comprehensive work. Only the treatment of the eyes and fatigue are omitted, not counting the unique topics; while there is no separate section with instructions for armies, elements of the content of these appear in Ibn al-Amshāṭī’ regimen. Secondly, Ibn al-
Amshāṭī utilised two of the earlier travel regimens as sources when compiling his own text, namely al-Majūsī’s regimen in the *Kāmil al-sinā‘a al-ṭībīyya/Kitāb al-malakī* and Ibn Sinā’s regimen in the *Qānūn*. While quoted sections from other travel regimens seem to be absent, it is obvious that Ibn al-Amshāṭī also relied on the wider medical tradition when introducing new material into the corpus and when discussing topics already present in the corpus. Connected to this point are Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s methods of compilation. The least attested of these is copying with minuscule variations made to fit the quoted parts into the new text. The most frequent method is a kind of dissection of the source text, with changes, omissions, and either practical or theoretical addenda which cannot be found elsewhere in the corpus. Additionally, there are examples of Ibn al-Amshāṭī carefully merging his two sources, also with omissions, changes, and addenda. Moreover, it is apparent that Ibn al-Amshāṭī paid more attention to theory, explanations, and elaborating certain ideas than any of his predecessors had. Lastly, only approximately 22% of the text can be directly linked to specific passages of al-Majūsī’s or Ibn Sinā’s travel regimen, meaning that roughly 78% of the *Isfār*’s text is the work of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, or 88% if counting the epilogue as well. Besides this ‘ratio of originality’, a complete inventory of all novel details of the *Isfār* would be quite lengthy; deserving special mention regarding originality and novelty is the fact that including a list of simple medicaments and recipes is a feature unparalleled in other travel regimens.

Be that as it may, besides the observations and findings of the present dissertation regarding Ibn al-Amshāṭī and his *al-Isfār ‘an hikam al-asfār*, several questions remain unanswered. Unfortunately, due to the paucity of sources, there are some aspects of the biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī still lacking definite evidence, most notably regarding the military campaigns in which he participated, his position as *ra‘īs al-ṭībā‘*, chief physician, and the first source for his date of death. Additionally, a complete inventory of the manuscript copies preserving his literary output is still to be compiled. Regarding the manuscripts of the *Isfār*, the codicological descriptions of the Mosul and Tarīm manuscript are incomplete since I could not consult the originals. Additionally, for a truly definitive edition of the text, the survival of two additional manuscripts which were in Mosul is to be investigated and if possible, these manuscripts are to be consulted. As for the *Isfār* as a treatise, its epilogue most definitely provides ample material for research on both theoretical and practical matters. An inquiry into the impact of the whole treatise on
subsequent texts will perhaps be possible once research is done on post-15th-century travel regimens.

Nevertheless, it is my sincere hope that this dissertation, as a first attempt of a comprehensive discussion of medieval Arabic travel regimens, inspires further research into this genre, besides making a contribution to the field of medieval Arabic-Islamic medicine through providing a critical edition, translation, and analysis of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s Isfār.
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