

# A SMALL GUIDE THROUGH A VAST LAND

*Study on a 15<sup>th</sup> century medical guide for travellers*

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## INTRODUCTION

“It is difficult to remain an emperor in presence of a physician, and difficult even to keep one's essential quality as man. The professional eye saw in me only a mass of humours, a sorry mixture of blood and lymph. This morning it occurred to me for the first time that my body, my faithful companion and friend, truer and better known to me than my own soul, may be after all only a sly beast who will end by devouring his master.”

Marguerite Yourcenar, *Memoirs of Hadrian*

### Study on a health guide for travellers

The essay you are about to read is a study on a health-guide for pilgrims and travellers, written in the mid of the 8<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> and entitled *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*. The author of this treatise, Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Hasan Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-‘Ayntābī, also known as Ibn al-Amshāṭī (812/1409-902/1496) was a prominent jurist and physician active in some of the major scholarly institutions of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Mamluk Cairo. His authority as a physician went beyond the scholarly community, as he was appointed *ra'īs al-aṭibba'* (Head of the Physicians) by the Mamluk Sultan. In fact, *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* was written for a member of the administration of Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842/1438-857/1453), the Chief Secretary Muḥammad al-Juhanī al-Bārīzī (796/1394-856/1452). By writing *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*, Ibn al-Amshāṭī adapted the contents of the treatise to an audience lacking any professional medical knowledge in order to provide his patron with a practical manual for preserving his health and treating some major diseases he could potentially contract during the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The dedication of a medical manual to a courtly patron is not a *unicum* in the history of Islamic medicine. In fact, physicians often dedicated treatises on dietetics and hygiene for the preservation of health to special patients, such as royal and courtly patrons. For instance, Ibn al-Muṭṭarīn (d. 587/1191) wrote a treatise on the preservation of health for the Ayyubid ruler Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (532/1138-589/1193) entitled *al-Maqāla al-Nāṣiriyya fī Ḥifẓ al-Umūr al-Ṣiḥḥiyya*. Similarly, also the prominent 12<sup>th</sup> century philosopher and physician Maimonides (d. 600/1204) authored a treatise on the regimen of health (*Fī tadbīr al-Ṣiḥḥa*) dedicated to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's son al-Malik al-Afḍal.<sup>1</sup> Even more relevant for the purpose of the present study is the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān fī safar al-ḥajj* (or *Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj*) dedicated to the Abbasid vizir al-Ḥasan ibn Makhḥad ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 269/882) by the Christian physician Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (ca. 205/820-300/912). In fact, as it will be discussed at the end of this essay, *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān fī safar al-ḥajj* is possibly the treatise that have the greatest affinity with Ibn al-Amshāṭī's *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*.

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<sup>1</sup> Manfred Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997, reprint), 99. See also Ahmed Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital: Medicine, Religion and Charity* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015), 157 (note 74). For Ibn al-Muṭṭarīn treatise see also: “Ibn al-Muṭṭarīn”, Bio-bibliographies, Islamic Medical Manuscripts at the National Library of Medicine (Last access 12/04/2020), <https://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/arabic/bioI.html>.

Overall, these treatises are relevant for various reasons. First, they are indicative of the prestige physicians could enjoy in courtly environment. Their close interaction with rulers or prominent members of the ruling elite might in fact enlighten some aspects of the relevance of physicians in medieval Islamic society. Secondly, the creation of this kind of medical compendia shows that expert physicians would, when necessary, re-elaborate scientific contents in order to make them suitable for readers lacking a professional background in the field. Finally, prescriptive medical manuals such as *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* provide us with an insight into the hygienic rules and therapeutic remedies considered appropriate at the time these treatises were written.

The interest, at the core of the present essay, toward the study of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* is therefore twofold. On the one hand, we want to assess the scholarly authority of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, and therefore the relevance of a work he addressed to a member of the ruling class. On the other hand, we want to examine how a professional physician such as Ibn al-Amshāṭī would re-elaborate his medical knowledge into a manual intended for a non-professional readership, and what kind of contents would he decide to include..

### State of the field: the study of Mamluk literature

Another important reason for the realization of this essay on *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* is the desire of contributing to the scholarly re-evaluation of the cultural heritage of the Mamluk era through the study of its Manuscripts legacy. In fact, the literary contexts in which *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* came into existence is possibly the less explored phase of Arabic literature. This dearth of scholarly research dealing with Mamluk literature seems to be due to the wrong assumption that this historical period was marked by a general intellectual decadence that caused a stagnation in the development of the literary tradition. This misconception, mainly originated from Western colonialist ideologies, has not been consistently opposed by contemporary scholarship.<sup>2</sup> In fact, scholarship has traditionally associated the enormous textual production that took place during the two and a half century of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria to an anxious desire of preserving a cultural heritage that was felt as evanishing and decaying or, alternatively, to a widespread unoriginality and slavishness toward tradition.<sup>3</sup>

In his article *Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches*, Thomas Bauer has argued that the Mamluk period did not represent a period of cultural stagnation, but rather a special stage characterized by a broad and lively intellectual and literary activity and in continuity with the previous phases of Arabic literature.<sup>4</sup> Such a new perspective determines a completely different approach to the literary output and intellectual achievements of this historical period. In fact, as the study of this period has deepened, the scholarly perspective about the flourishing cultural activity characterizing the Mamluk era has been reoriented. Although politically speaking the Mamluk period could have been perceived as a moment of turmoil and instability, it seems that it was not a sense of cultural loss to trigger such a massive literary production. Rather, the impression that

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Bauer, “Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches” in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005), 105-107.

<sup>3</sup> Elias Muhanna, *The World in a Book: Al-Nuwayri and the Islamic Encyclopedic Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 15. See also Muhsin al-Musawi, “Pre-modern Belletristic Prose” in *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*, edited by Roger Allen and D. S. Richards (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2006), 101-102.

<sup>4</sup> Bauer, “Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches”, 112.

we get from the sources of that period is that, especially in cities like Cairo, scholarly institutions and material had reached an unprecedented abundance, making it necessary to create a cultural apparatus via the selection, organization and elaboration of earlier material.<sup>5</sup>

*Al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* represents an example of the production of abridgements and similar works aimed at collecting information from multiple sources and make it accessible for a larger audience. This, however, does not imply that *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* uncritically reports what found in other sources: on the contrary, it is the result of a careful selection and active re-elaboration of material on the part of the author. For this reason, *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* comes in support of the argument that sees the Mamluk period as intellectually dynamic phase in the history of Islamic culture.

### Structure of the essay

In order to grasp the significance of a work such as *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* in its literary contexts, there are several elements that deserve to be carefully analysed. The first, essential issue that we need to address is the authorship of the treatise. Since we do not possess any autobiographical reference left by the author of the treatise, to reconstruct the life and scholarly career of Ibn al-Amshāṭī we must recur to multiple sources, written both by his contemporaries and by later scholars. The first chapter of this essay is therefore a bio-bibliographic survey realized via the consultation of several major reference works (such as biographical dictionaries) and the collection of data regarding Ibn al-Amshāṭī life and scholarly output. As we will see, the picture that emerge from the collation of the sources is that of a pious man and respected scholar with a remarkable educational background, embedded in the rich network of scholars and scholarly institutions that constituted the intellectual milieu of the time. *Al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* does not represent but a small part of the literary output of this scholar, who was a prolific author in the field of medicine.

A detailed textual analysis of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* is instead the subject of the second chapter. This chapter examines the reason for which this treatise was written, as well as its contents, structure and form. In addition, the analysis will dwell on the medical theory and pharmacological knowledge underlying the work.

Finally, to complete the study of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*, the third chapter will offer an overview of the genre to which the treatise belongs. Normative travel literature has not received much scholarly attention, despite the popularity of this genre in pre-modern literature, both in Islamic contexts and beyond.<sup>6</sup> Texts belonging to this genre could have a moral connotation or, like *al-Isfār*, a medical one. Chapter 3 will therefore discuss a major distinction between normative works giving a behavioural code to travellers and those exclusively related to the preservation of health and the therapy of diseases that may occur during a journey.

Ultimately, each chapter contributes in demonstrating that *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* is the work of an authoritative scholarly figure who collected and re-elaborated relevant information he wanted to transmit with someone unfamiliar with his field of expertise. In doing so, Ibn al-Amshāṭī

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<sup>5</sup> Muhanna, *The World in a Book*, 56.

<sup>6</sup> Houari Touati, *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), 239. For the relevance of this genre in Western literatures see Norman Dorion, *L'art de voyager: Le déplacement à l'époque classique* (Sante-Foy, Quebec: Presse de l'Université de Laval, 1995).

managed to create a treatise that fits within the frame of an established literary tradition and yet presents a valuable degree of originality.

### The Manuscript of al-Isfār ‘an hukm al-asfār

The parts of *al-Isfār ‘an hukm al-asfār* reported in this essay are the result of the edition and translation of the text that I have made based on a manuscript of *al-Isfār* kept in the National Library of Cairo (Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Watha’iq al-Miṣriyya). Therefore, references will be made to the edition reported in appendix. All the errors in the edition and translation remain mine.

The edition presented at the end of this study aims to render the text of *al-Isfār ‘an hukm al-Asfār* as readable and clear as possible. Since there are no other copies of the book available but the manuscript preserved in the Cairo National Library, the following edition has been based exclusively on this copy.<sup>7</sup> The presence of at least another manuscript of *al-Isfār ‘an hukm al-asfār* is attested in Mosul, but its consultation (if ever it survived) was impossible due to the political situation and the social turmoil affecting the whole country of Iraq and in particular the city of Mosul.

The manuscript of *al-Isfār ‘an hukm al-asfār* preserved in Cairo is part of a convolute (i.e. a collection of different manuscripts in one codex) catalogued as *Majāmī’* 210. The convolute which contains fifteen other works (*risāla*) on different topics, including Islamic jurisprudence (*usūl al-fiqh*)<sup>8</sup>, tradition (*‘ilm al-ḥadīth*)<sup>9</sup>, medicine<sup>10</sup> and poetry,<sup>11</sup> for a total of 269 pages. Each of the sixteen components of the convolute represents an independent manuscript. The type of paper and the script of each manuscript vary consistently. Most of the manuscripts of the convolute are undated and do not bear the name of the copyist. The few manuscripts of which the date and/or the copyist is known have all been written by different hands and in different times, the earliest one being dated 607/1210 (*risāla* 11, *Makārim al-akhlāq*)<sup>12</sup> and the most recent 921/1515 (*risāla* 4, *I’jāz al-Munāẓirīn*).<sup>13</sup>

There are no sufficient elements to establish, even approximatively, the date in which the sixteen manuscripts were assembled in the convolute. The front page of *risāla* 1 (the first manuscript of the convolute) presents an undated short *waqf* statement endowing the book to a *khānqāh*<sup>14</sup>, but there is no evidence of the *waqf* being related to the whole convolute. Similarly, the seal of the Khedivial Library (*Kutub Khāna Khadiviyya*) apposed on the first and last page of the convolute does not allow us to come to any satisfactory conclusion, but at least allows us to assume that the manuscripts were assembled by the time they entered the library.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>7</sup> As I will mention in Chapter I, the existence of another manuscript of *al-Isfār ‘an hukm al-Asfār* is attested in Mosul. See: Carl Brockelmann, Joep Lameer (trad), *History of the Arabic written tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), Supplement Vol. 2, 97; and al-Karmalī “Maḥmūd ‘Antāby and Ibn Sāni’” in *Majallat Lughat al-‘Arab*, part 4, Year 8, 259.

<sup>8</sup> *Risāla* 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Risāla* 2, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Risāla* 13, 14, 15 and 16.

<sup>11</sup> See *Fihrist al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-mahfūza bil-kutubkhāna al-khidīwīya* (Cairo, 1890) 7:1:258-261.

<sup>12</sup> *Fihrist al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-mahfūza bil-kutubkhāna al-khidīwīya*, 7:1:260.

<sup>13</sup> “Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in The Egyptian National Library” accessed February 19, 2020.

[https://digitallibrary.al-furqan.com/our\\_is\\_item/manid/741308/groupid/56548/childlist/0/recordset/60738/value/our\\_is\\_item/manid/722165/groupid/56548/childlist/our\\_is\\_item/manid/712018/groupid/56548/childlist/0](https://digitallibrary.al-furqan.com/our_is_item/manid/741308/groupid/56548/childlist/0/recordset/60738/value/our_is_item/manid/722165/groupid/56548/childlist/our_is_item/manid/712018/groupid/56548/childlist/0).

<sup>14</sup> The *waqf* mentions the name of the *khānqāh* Kolshanī, on which I was not able to find further information.

<sup>15</sup> Probably around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when also the catalogue (*Fihrist al-kutub al-‘arabiyya al-mahfūza bil-kutubkhāna al-khidīwīya*) was compiled.

Given the lack of any signature, *tamallukāt* (ownership statements) and colophon, the history of the manuscript of *al-Isfār* preserved in the Dār al-Kutub is almost impossible to reconstruct. The name of the copyist is not indicated, nor are the date and place of copy. Corrections recurring all over the manuscript, written with different handwriting and ink, may possibly suggest that the manuscript was collated with another copy of *al-Isfār* after the main text had been written (see below). The paper of the manuscript does not present any watermark: in fact, it is a thick, locally made Islamic paper, in which wirelines and chain-lines are barely visible or not visible at all, the general texture and colour are uneven and display some imperfections.<sup>16</sup> The fact that some marginal comments have been partially cut indicates that the pages were trimmed after the corrections of the manuscript were made, possibly when the manuscript had to be assembled with the other components of the convolute *Majāmi'* 210. The unusual number of sewing stations also endorses the hypothesis of a later restoration of the manuscript: at the present state, the visible sewing stations are eight while in most cases Islamic Manuscript present only two stations.<sup>17</sup>

Given the lack of other manuscripts to compare with the Dār al-Kutub copy of *al-Isfār*, it is difficult to ascertain if the manuscript used for the present essay reproduces the whole original text of the treatise or if it is only an abridgment of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's work. In any case, I hope that the present essay will succeed in giving a small contribution to the study of this text and, possibly, in triggering further research.

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<sup>16</sup> Francois Deroche, *Islamic Codicology: an Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2006), 52.

<sup>17</sup> Karin Scheper, *The technique of Islamic bookbinding: methods, materials and regional varieties* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 63.



## CHAPTER 1

### Ibn al-Amshāṭī: a bio-bibliographical survey

#### 1.1. The sources

This chapter represents an attempt to reconstruct the life, the scholarly activity and the literary output of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, prominent scholar and physician that lived in Cairo in the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century and authored the short medical treatise examined in this study. Indeed, in order to grasp the significance of *al-Isfār* ‘*an ḥukm al-asfār* in its historical and intellectual context, it is necessary to start by investigating on its authorship. As we will see, in fact, the almost one-century long lifespan of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, encompasses several crucial events marking the final phase of the Mamluk Sultanate. Moreover, with his rich scholarly network, his intellectual career and personal commitment to pious deeds, Ibn al-Amshāṭī represents an important example of how scholars were active social and cultural agents during the last century of the Mamluk sultanate. Therefore, examining the life and career of this scholar, his connection with other intellectuals and his relationship with power, is a key element for understanding the function and value of his legacy.

Although Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Amshāṭī does not figure among the most famous scholars active during the last century of the Mamluk Sultanate, the extant accounts about him offer us a very interesting portrait of a proficient scholar, who apparently was held in high esteem by his contemporaries. Since the manuscript of *al-Isfār* kept in Cairo does not provide us with any biographical information about its author, one must recur to the historical sources (and in particular in the biographical dictionaries) compiled by Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s contemporaries and later scholars in order to get some information about him. Therefore, in order to reconstruct the life and work of this figure in the most accurate way possible, I collected and compared in this chapter several sources, from detailed biographical accounts to brief bibliographical notes. The earliest biographical accounts in our possession were written when Ibn al-Amshāṭī was still alive by some of his contemporaries, such as al-Sakhāwī (1428/831-1497/902) and al-Suyūṭī (849/1443-911/1505), thus before 902/1496, year that later sources indicate as the death date of the scholar.

Some important information was found in a note attached to a manuscript (dated 976/1568) of *al-Isfār* ‘*an ḥukm al-asfār* found in Mosul<sup>18</sup> and published in an article of Anastās al-Karmalī’s *Majallat Lughat al-‘Arab* in April 1930. Later biographical dictionaries like *al-Badr al-Ṭālī*’ by Muḥammad al-Shawkānī (d.1839), the *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn* by Isma‘il Basha Baghdadi (d.1920) and *al-A lām* by al-Ziriklī (d.1976), largely took and summarise the information provided by earlier biographers, especially al-Sakhāwī, adding the death date of Ibn al-Amshāṭī and some more precise indications regarding the titles of his works. Finally, bibliographical dictionaries such as the 17<sup>th</sup> century *Kashf al-Zunūn* by Ḥājī Khalīfa and the more recent *Iḍāḥ al-maknūn* (also by Isma‘il Basha Baghdadi) contain relevant information regarding the literary output of Ibn al-Amshāṭī, and therefore the reconstruction presented here benefitted from these sources too.

It must be noticed, however, that the perspective and function of each of these sources is quite different, as they were written by different authors in a time-span that goes approximatively from the

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<sup>18</sup> On the existence of this manuscript see also Brockelmann, Lameer (trad), *History of the Arabic written tradition*, Supplement Vol. 2: 97.

15<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, since Ibn al-Amshāṭī did not enjoy the same long-lasting popularity as some of his contemporaries, the space and attention dedicated to this scholar and his literary production varies through the sources, and while some accounts are pretty detailed, others summarize the information in a few lines.

## 1.2 Early life

Among the earliest accounts on the life and work of Ibn Al-Amshāṭī, the one given by his well-known contemporary al-Sakhāwī figures as one of the most complete and detailed, besides it being extremely valuable as it is based on the personal relationship between the two scholars. In fact, al-Sakhāwī says that a very close friendship existed between him and Ibn Al-Amshāṭī, and describes the scholar as one of his oldest and dearest friends, recalling that they travelled and attended lectures together, and that he never saw from him but good deeds.<sup>19</sup> This enthusiasm was allegedly mutual, since Ibn al-Amshāṭī seems to have highly appreciated the scholarly activity of al-Sakhāwī: in fact, he is said to have asked him for a copy of his best works and to have attended regularly (once a week) his friend's lectures.<sup>20</sup> Not surprisingly, therefore, many later authors (like al-Ziriklī and al-Shawkānī) used the richly detailed biography written by al-Sakhāwī as the main source of information regarding Ibn Al-Amshāṭī's life and work.

According to the biographical account reported by al-Sakhāwī in *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Hasan ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ismā'īl Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn al-Imām Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Ayntābī, also known as Ibn al-Amshāṭī, was born in Cairo round 812 AH (1409 CE).<sup>21</sup> This same date is also reported in *al-A'lām* by the modern scholar al-Ziriklī,<sup>22</sup> who seems to have based most of his information about Ibn al-Amshāṭī on *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*.<sup>23</sup> Not all the sources, however, agree on this birthdate and some of them, like al-Biqā'ī (809/1407-885/1480)<sup>24</sup> and al-Suyūṭī<sup>25</sup>, report that he was born in 810 AH (1407 CE).

<sup>19</sup> Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992), 10:129.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, 10:129.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi'*, 10:128. The same date is reported by Brockelmann: see Brockelmann, Lameer (trad), *History of the Arabic written tradition*, Supplement Vol 2:97.

<sup>22</sup> Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām: qāmūs tarājīm li-ash'har al-rijāl wa-l-nisā' min al-'Arab wa-l-musta'ribīn wa-l-mustashriḥīn* (Bayrūt: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1979), 7:163.

<sup>23</sup> In various instances that I will mention in this chapter, al-Ziriklī faithfully reports and summarizes the information provided by al-Sakhāwī and mentions other sources only in a footnote.

<sup>24</sup> al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 7:163 (note). Al-Biqā'ī, a Qur'ān commentator, Shāfi'ī jurist, theologian, polemicist, *ḥadīth* critic, biographer, historian, mathematician, *murābiṭ* (holy warrior) and poet, was born in a small village in the Anti-Lebanon mountains. His education that took place in Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Cairo, was centred on the sciences of the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, grammar, poetry, arithmetic, logic, and theology. He was one of the favourite students of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), and became also a member of the Mamlūk administration and participated to several military campaigns. Al-Biqā'ī's reputation is mostly due to his main work, the massive Qur'anic commentary *Naẓm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar*, written in almost twenty-three years, for which he is acknowledged as the foremost commentator of the ninth/fifteenth century. His biographical encyclopedia *'Unwān al-zamān bi-tarājīm al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān* is an outstanding source for reconstructing the life of the scholarly elite of his time. See Walid Saleh, "al-Biqā'ī", in *EI3*. Educated in several cities, engaged mostly with religious studies, actively participating to the political life of the sultanate, embedded in a rich network of scholars and members of the political milieu, al-Biqā'ī represents another example of the proactive scholars populating the Mamlūk sultanate and, as such, his life and career presents several parallelism with that of his colleague and friend Ibn al-Amshāṭī, about whom he wrote in his *'Unwān al-zamān*.

<sup>25</sup> Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'iqyān fī a'yān al-a'yān* (New York: Syrian-American Press, 1927), 174. Since al-Suyūṭī mentions al-Biqā'ī as a source for another information related to Ibn al-Amshāṭī's early life, he might have possibly got also the birthdate of the scholar from the *'Unwān al-zamān bi-tarājīm al-shuyūkh wa-l-aqrān*.

Information about Ibn al-Amshāṭī's family is quite scarce: from his genealogy, we can deduce that already his father Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Ayntābī was a religious authority (Imām). Some of the sources refer to Ibn al-Amshāṭī's brother Shams al-Dīn (812/1409-885/1480) as prominent scholar and Hanafī chief judge of Egypt.<sup>26</sup> Al-Sakhāwī explains Ibn al-Amshāṭī's appellative as derived from his maternal grandfather's commercial activity in trading combs (in Arabic *mushṭ*, pl: 'amshāṭ).<sup>27</sup> Apparently, Ibn al-Amshāṭī's maternal grandfather raised him and his brother after they had lost their father at a very early age.<sup>28</sup> The *nisba* al-'Ayntābī indicates that Ibn al-Amshāṭī's paternal family originally came from the city of 'Ayntāb, today Gaziantep, in south-eastern Anatolia, still under the authority of the Mamluk Sultanate at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup>

No more details are known regarding the social status and financial conditions of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's family: the overall situation at the time Ibn al-Amshāṭī was born, however, was not a stable one, under both the economic and the political point of view. In fact, successive outbursts of the plague (the most serious of which in 749/1348-49<sup>30</sup> and in 808/1406<sup>31</sup>) and the famine of 806/1403<sup>32</sup> had severely damaged the economy of the Sultanate, which suffered the dramatic decrease of agrarian and industrial workforce.<sup>33</sup> The administration, affected by the economic crisis, became unable to guarantee the stability of the Sultanate.<sup>34</sup> The order was partially restored after the rise to

<sup>26</sup> Al-Sakhāwī hints at Ibn al-Amshāṭī's brother for the first time while describing the former's scholarly career, but in this instance, he does not give any further details about him, not even his name. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128. The short note accompanying the Mosul manuscript of *al-Isfār* says that Ibn al-Amshāṭī's brother was the Hanafī's chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of Egypt (see Anastās Marī al-Karmālī "Maḥmūd 'Antāby and Ibn Sānī" in *Majallat Lughat al-'Arab*, part 4, Year 8, .259). Since he was a prominent figure of the time, it is possible to find information about him in several other sources: the *Nayl al-amal*, for instance, reports that Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Shams al-Dīn al-Amshāṭī was an outstanding *faqīh*, and confirms what said in the Mosul manuscript of *al-Isfār* regarding his position as chief judge of the Hanafī's. See Ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-amal fī dhayl al-duwal* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'aṣriyya, 2002), 7:270. In *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, al-Sakhāwī includes Shams al-Dīn al-Amshāṭī among the scholars that studied with al-'Asqalānī, and adds that he became *qāḍī* of the Hanafī's in 877/1472. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Jawāhir wa-l-durar fī tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*, (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1999), 3:127. A more detailed biographical account of Shams al-Dīn can be found in *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* 6:301-304. Like his brother, Shams al-Dīn al-Amshāṭī seems to have enjoyed a high reputation for his morality: in the *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr*, Ibn al-Ṣayrafi, refers to him as an incorruptible judge. See Carl F. Petry, *The Criminal Underworld in a Medieval Islamic Society* (Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, 2012), 81-82.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128.

<sup>28</sup> This information appears in the biographical account of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's brother Shams al-Dīn: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 6:301.

<sup>29</sup> Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 68-69. The presence of Anatolian *nisba* (especially from 'Ayntāb) is attested among the members of the scholarly milieu of Mamluk Cairo, but in general, intellectuals with a similar provenience seem to have been rare. In this case, the Anatolian *nisba* represents a noteworthy information, especially if considered together with Ibn al-Amshāṭī belonging to the class of the '*ulamā*', to which most of the Anatolians tended to be assimilated. As I will discuss in the next chapter, it is possible that, to a certain extent, Ibn al-Amshāṭī's familiarity with Persian remedies was due to his family's provenience from a territory subjected to the influence of Persian culture. Moreover, Anatolian *nisba* were particularly frequent among the group of merchants, especially those involved in the state commercial bureaucracy and monopolies, which could be significant in respect to Ibn al-Amshāṭī's grandparent business.

<sup>30</sup> Holt, P.M., "Mamlūks", in *EI2*.

<sup>31</sup> Jean-Claude Garcin, *États, Sociétés et Cultures du monde Musulman Médiéval, Tome I: L'évolution politique et sociale* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), 347.

<sup>32</sup> Garcin, *États, Sociétés et Cultures du monde Musulman Médiéval*, 1:347.

<sup>33</sup> Garcin, *États, Sociétés et Cultures du monde Musulman Médiéval*, 1:347. The plagues caused also the loss of very important centres of production: Alexandria, for instance, that had a pivotal role in the textile industry, fell into an unyielding decline as it was hit by the pest. Moreover, while the sedentary population was decimated, the tribal pressure increased over the cultivable land and the routes.

<sup>34</sup> Garcin, *États, Sociétés et Cultures du monde Musulman Médiéval*, 1:347: the arrive of Timūr Lang at Damascus in 803/1401 also had severe consequences on the political situation of the Mamluk Sultanate. On the other hand, the inability

power of al-Malik al Ashraf Barsbay (r.825/1422-841/1438), who secured a strict control over the commercial routes of Red Sea and the Hijaz.<sup>35</sup> This implied a strong militarization of the frontiers and the realization of various military campaigns, among which the three naval operation that led to the conquest of Cyprus by the Mamluks in 829/1426.<sup>36</sup>

It is possibly within the context of increasing militarization following this period that Ibn al-Amshāṭī took part in the military activities of the Sultanate as a *murābiṭ* (holy fighter). In fact, al-Sakhāwī (and the later sources based on his biography) states that Ibn al-Amshāṭī participated in jihad and that he was stationed in some frontier cities (*rābaṭa fī ba'd al-thughūr*).<sup>37</sup> The biographical account also reports that Ibn al-Amshāṭī was a skilful soldier, versed in the art of war, excellent in swimming, accomplished in archery, wrestling, duelling and shooting with the cannon, able to make *naft* and other oils.<sup>38</sup>

Ibn al-Amshāṭī travelled outside Cairo several times, and not only for military reasons: in fact, he is said to have performed the holy pilgrimage to Mecca more than once (*hajja ghair marra*), to have spent some time in the holy places (*jāwara*)<sup>39</sup> and to have repeatedly visited Damascus.<sup>40</sup> The sources do not provide more details on Ibn al-Amshāṭī early life except for his education, which will be analysed in detail in the next section. The only personal account transmitted by al-Sakhāwī<sup>41</sup> and al-Biqā'ī<sup>42</sup> (from which al-Suyūṭī and al-Shawkānī<sup>43</sup> allegedly took the information) is that of a vision Ibn al-Amshāṭī had, at an early age, of a man walking in the sky in a foggy day. Neither al-Sakhāwī nor al-Suyūṭī give a possible interpret to this vision, while an attempt to explain the anecdote appears in al-Shawkānī's work. However, it is not the meaning of this vision *per se* that should be discussed here, but rather the significance of such an information in the biographical account of a scholar. Contemporary studies on the bearing of visions and dreams in Islamic culture have in fact demonstrated that not rarely scholars would use such narratives to legitimate and promote individual morality.<sup>44</sup> In fact Muslim tradition, on the basis of several *ḥadīth*, associates the dreams and visions

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of Timūr Lang's heir to maintain the control over the conquered lands after his death in 807/1405, favoured the re-establishment of the Sultanate's political order.

<sup>35</sup> Holt, P.M., "Mamlūks", in *EI2*. The revenues of the Mamlūk sultanate increased, especially from 1425-1427/828-830 thanks to the monopoly of the spice trade with the West.

<sup>36</sup> Holt, P.M., "Mamlūks", in *EI2*. These operations against Cyprus, the major naval operation ever realized by the Mamlūks, reduced the Island to a vassal of the Sultan.

<sup>37</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128, and similarly Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī ' bi-maḥāsin man ba'd al-qarn al-sābi'* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1998), 810; and al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 7:163. The term *thaghr* (pl. *thughūr*), was generally used to indicate strongholds between the Dār al-Islām and the Dār al-Ḥarb, and in particular the fortresses built in the frontier zone with the Byzantine empire (in the north and northeast of Syria) and with the Christian kingdoms in the north of al-Andalus. See E. Honigsmann, "al- *Thughūr*" in *EI2*. Given the multitude of fortresses existing at that time in the frontier zones of the Mamlūk Sultanate and the lack of any more specific indication in the sources, it is not possible to know with certainty in which of these fortresses Ibn al-Amshāṭī was stationed, and al-Sakhāwī's words might indicate that Ibn al-Amshāṭī went to more than one of those. It is important, however, to consider the significance and prestige of the *thughūr* as area to perform *jihād*. See Michael Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2006), 98.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128. In Lane's Lexicon: *naft* or *nift*, an oil used to smear camels for the mange or as a suppository to heal other diseases.

<sup>39</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128: the *mujāwara* or *jiwār*, i.e. being neighbour of God, was considered a pious deed associated with *hajj*. See Touati, Cochrane (trad.), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 207.

<sup>40</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:129.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Sakhāwī (*al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:129) attests that also al-Biqā'ī had reported this event.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī'*, 810

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Dreaming and Vision in the World of Islam. A History of Muslim Dreaming and foreknowing* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 73.

of pious believers to a minor form of prophecy<sup>45</sup> and to a direct contact with the divine realms.<sup>46</sup> For this reason, dreams and visionary experiences (the latter considered superior to the former among pietistic circles)<sup>47</sup> represent an important theme especially in mystic literature and hagiography, but also in historiography, medicine and folklore.<sup>48</sup> It seems therefore that these pietistic implications of vision could possibly explain the value of reporting Ibn al-Amshāṭī's visionary experience in his biography.

### 1.3 Scholarly career

#### 1.3.1 Masters and Companions

*Al-Daw' al-lāmi'* is also the source that most emphasizes the rich list of scholarly authorities with which Ibn al-Amshāṭī completed his scholarly career, both in Cairo and outside Egypt. From the account provided by al-Sakhāwī, it is possible to observe how Ibn al-Amshāṭī was embedded in the dynamic and flourishing network of scholars engaged with different fields of knowledge shaping the intellectual milieu of the Mamluk Sultanate. It is therefore with the intention of following al-Sakhāwī's footsteps that special attention will be given to this aspect of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's life.

The scholarly formation of Ibn al-Amshāṭī started with memorizing the Qur'ān, the popular Hanafī compendium *Nuqāya fī al-Fiqh* by the jurist Ṣadr al-Sharī'a (d. 747/1346)<sup>49</sup> and the grammatical manual *al-Kāfiya* by Ibn al-Ḥājib (570/1175-646/1249).<sup>50</sup> Later on, he collected selected passages of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (773/1372-852/1449) *ḥadīth* compendium *Nuzhat al-Nazar*.<sup>51</sup> Together with *fiqh*, medicine was the main subject of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's studies, and the medical compendium *al-Talwīḥ fī al-Ṭibb* by al-Khajandī (d. 750/1349) seems to have been an essential text for his education as a physician.<sup>52</sup> Al-Sakhāwī also reports the name of several scholars with which Ibn al-Amshāṭī studied various disciplines, both in Cairo and in the Ḥijāz. Among others, he studied *fiqh* under the guidance of the Hanafī *shaykh* Sa'ad al-Dīrī (d. 867/1462),<sup>53</sup> al-Amīn al-Aqsarā'ī

<sup>45</sup> Sirriyeh, E., *Dreaming and Vision in the World of Islam*, 61. For the various *ḥadīth* reported in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī present dreaming and vision as a fraction of prophecy see: Ibid, 204.

<sup>46</sup> Sirriyeh, E., *Dreaming and Vision in the World of Islam*, 77.

<sup>47</sup> Sirriyeh, E., *Dreaming and Vision in the World of Islam*, 62.

<sup>48</sup> Nile Green, "The Religious and Cultural Roles of Dreams and Visions in Islam", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 13, no.3 (Nov., 2003): 287 and 309.

<sup>49</sup> Ubaydallāh ibn Mas'ūd Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Thānī al-Maḥbūbī, Hanafī jurist and grammarian: his *al-Nuqāya* is an abridgment of the *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-Hidāya* by his grandfather Burhān al-Dīn Ṣadr al-Sharī'a al-Awwal 'Ubaydallāh b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Maḥbūbī (7<sup>th</sup> century AH). See Brockelmann, Lameer (trad.), *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, 1:407-408.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Amr 'Othmān Ibn 'Omār Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Yūnus, known as Ibn al-Ḥājib as he was the son of a Kurdish chamberlain, was a celebrated grammarian who authored the *al-Kāfiya*, a short manual of Arabic syntax. See: Ben Cheneb, Moh, "Ibn al-Ḥādījib", in *EII*.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128: The scholar is not explicitly named, but indicated with the expression "*shaykhunā*". Since al-'Asqalānī is the author of the *Nukhbat al-Fikar* (a work on *ḥadīth*) of which the *Nuzhat al-Nazar* is a commentary, and considered the fact that al-Sakhāwī was his pupil (and possibly also Ibn al-Amshāṭī), interpreting "*shaykhunā*" as indicating the famous *ḥadīth* scholar seems to be the most plausible explanation. See: Franz Rosenthal, "Ibn Ḥādījar al-'Asqalānī", in *EI2*.

<sup>52</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khajandī's *al-Talwīḥ ilā asrār al-tanqīḥ* (i.e. the medical work mentioned by al-Sakhāwī) is an abridgment and adaptation of Ibn Sinā's *Qanūn*. See Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* (Beirut: Dar Ihya' al-turāth al-'arabī, 1957), 10:192 and Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn* (Beirut, Dar Ihya' al-turāth al-'Arabī, reprint from 1941-1943), 1:482.

<sup>53</sup> Chief of the *ḥanafī* judges (*qaḍī al-quḍāt*) of the Diyār Miṣr between 842/1438 and 866/1461. See Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī mulūk miṣr wa-l-Qāhira* (Cairo, Wizārat al-thaqāfa, 1963), 15:230 and 16:271. There is no indication

(797/1397-880/1475)<sup>54</sup> and al-Shamannī (801/1399-872/1468).<sup>55</sup> With al-Amīn al-Aqsarā'ī, Ibn al-Amshāṭī also studied grammar, while he learnt medicine from al-Shamannī and from al-Sharaf Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 863/1459).<sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Amshāṭī's scholarly career brought him to Mecca, where he studied medicine and attended lectures on the *khuṭbas* of the *qāḍī* of Mecca Abū al-Faḍl al-Nawīrī (d. 786/1384).<sup>57</sup> He also learnt the *mīqāt*, i.e. the proper way of establishing the time of prayer, from Shams al-Maḥallī (786/1384-849/1445)<sup>58</sup> and attended lectures on the commentary of the *Mashyakha* of al-Qalānisī (654/1256-722/1322).<sup>59</sup> In the holy city, Ibn al-Amshāṭī attended also the lectures of the renowned *ḥadīth* transmitter (*musnid*) al-Taḳī Ibn Fahd (d.871/1466)<sup>60</sup> and of the *shāfi'ī* jurist Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Marāghī (d. 859/1455).<sup>61</sup> Together with al-Biqā'ī (that, as mentioned above, represents another important source for the biography of Ibn al-Amshāṭī), he attended the lectures of al-Badr Ḥusayn al-Būṣīrī (d. 838/1435).<sup>62</sup> He studied part of the work of al-Dāraqutnī (306/918-385/995)<sup>63</sup> under the guidance of the *mālikī* authority Abū al-Qāsim al-Nawīrī (d.857/1453)<sup>64</sup> and, together with al-Sakhāwī, he was a student of al-'Asqalānī (773/1372-852/1449).<sup>65</sup> Eventually, Ibn al-Amshāṭī achieved the permission of transmitting the texts he had learnt (*ijāza*) from all of his masters.<sup>66</sup>

Ibn al-Amshāṭī had prominent scholars not only as masters but also as companions: al-Sakhāwī, besides describing the loving, fraternal friendship between Ibn al-Amshāṭī and himself (*wa-baynanā wudd shadīd wa-ikhā' akīd*), also affirms that they attended lectures and travelled together (*ṣaḥibtuḥu sāfirān wa-ḥāḍiran*).<sup>67</sup> An episode that al-Sakhāwī mentions in another work, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, confirms what said in *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*: at the beginning of the book, the scholar recounts that one day he went to the madrasa *al-Karubiyya* in Giza, where he met his companions al-Biqā'ī, Muẓaffar al-Dīn al-Amshāṭī and another scholar (namely 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Kurdī, not better identified). After spending the evening together in Giza, the group headed to the Pyramids, where they stopped to discuss about these ancient monuments.<sup>68</sup> This episode, besides being a small yet

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whether Ibn al-Amshāṭī studied with him before his appointment as chief judge of after. See also: Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 1:895.

<sup>54</sup> Hanafī muftī, of Turkish origins but born and dead in Cairo. Al-Sakhāwī was himself among his students. See: al-Ziriklī, *al-A' lām*, 8:168.

<sup>55</sup> Al-Shamannī, ḥanafī *faqīh*, grammarian and expert of *ḥadīth*, who had among his pupils also al-Suyūṭī. See: 'Ādil Nuwayhid, *Mu'jam al-Mufasssīn min ṣadr al-Islām wa-ḥattā al-'aṣr al-ḥadīr* (Beirut: Mu'assasat Nuwayhid al-thaqāfiyya lil-ta'līf wa-l-tarjama wa-l-nashr, 1988), 1:72.

<sup>56</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, 10:128. Al-Sharf Ibn al-Khashshāb was the author of a collection of *ḥadīths* and an expert in various fields, including medical sciences, which he taught in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. See: Ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-amal*, 6:61-62.

<sup>57</sup> For Abū al-Faḍl al-Nawīrī see Tāḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *Dhayl al-taqīd fī rūāḥ al-sunan wa-l-masānīd*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmiyya, 1990), 1:51.

<sup>58</sup> Probably the *shāfi'ī* *faqīh* Shams al-Maḥallī also known as al-Ghamrī: see al-Ziriklī, *al-A' lām*, 6:315.

<sup>59</sup> Ibrāhīm al-Qalānisī, scholar active in Damascus and Cairo and author of a *Mashyakha*: see Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 1:85.

<sup>60</sup> According to Ibn Khalīl, al-Taḳī Ibn Fahd was a much-celebrated *shāfi'ī* jurist and hadith scholar from Mecca. See Ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-amal*, 6:252.

<sup>61</sup> As a scholar, al-Marāghī excelled in various fields, but especially in jurisprudence. He authored a *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī* and a *Sharḥ al-minḥāj*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'iqyān fī a'yān al-a'yān*, 139-140.

<sup>62</sup> As reported by Ibn Khalīl, Badr Ḥusayn al-Būṣīrī was the master of several other famous scholars. See: Ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-amal*, 4:367.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Dāraqutnī was a leading Sunnī *ḥadīth* scholar, considered among the most prominent of his time. See Jonathan A.C. Brown: "al-Dāraqutnī" in *EI3*.

<sup>64</sup> For Abū al-Qasim al-Nawīrī see al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'iqyān*, 166.

<sup>65</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:128.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:128.

<sup>67</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:129.

<sup>68</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī dhīl al-Silūk*; (Cairo, Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiyya, 2014), 2: 8-9. In this occasion, al-Sakhāwī indicates a book entitled *Anwār al-lawī al-Ajrām fī Kashf 'an Asrār al-Ahrām* written by

remarkable insight into some scholars' shared moment, is significant inasmuch it provides us with an evidence of the fact that a friendly relationship between al-Sakhāwī and Ibn al-Amshāṭī actually existed, and that it was not something that al-Sakhāwī remarked only while compiling the biography of the latter. Finally, in *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, al-Sakhāwī also reports attests that Ibn al-Amshāṭī travelled to Ṭā'if together with al-Biqā'ī, with whom, as mentioned before, he also attended lessons.<sup>69</sup>

To find such a detailed list of teachers is quite common in the biographies of Mamluk scholars written by medieval historians and biographers, who generally tend to report the names of the authorities rather than those of the institutions where scholars pursued their education.<sup>70</sup> The main reason for this was the concept of knowledge transmission as based mostly on the personal interaction between a master and a disciple, even more that in the close study of a text or on the reputation of any institutions.<sup>71</sup> This idea, very central to Islamic education, implied that the student's relationship with his masters was determinant for his scholarly career, and so was the character, morality and intellectual reputation of the instructor: as observed by Berkey, a scholar's education was judged "not on *loci* but on *personae*".<sup>72</sup> Therefore, the list of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's masters is not a simple biographical record, but stands to indicate the prestige of his education and, as a consequence, his authority as a scholar. The friendly relationship that Ibn al-Amshāṭī and other scholars (among which al-Sakhāwī himself) had as students is also relevant inasmuch it remarks a commonality of values and education between them and, therefore, their belonging to the same social group.

### 1.3.2 Teaching and practising

Once he became a professional scholar, Ibn al-Amshāṭī superintended the chiefship of several madrasas of Cairo and started teaching in some of them, sometimes as a temporary substitute for other masters and sometimes independently.<sup>73</sup> Al-Sakhāwī reports that Ibn al-Amshāṭī taught *fiqh* in the madrasa *Zamāmiyya*,<sup>74</sup> in the *Zāhiriyya al-Qadīma*<sup>75</sup> and in the *Ṣālihiyya*<sup>76</sup> succeeding his brother

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Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Hashīmī al-Idrīsī al-Miṣrī, and adds some observations about the pharaonic monuments.

<sup>69</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:128.

<sup>70</sup> Jonathan Porter Berkey: *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 23.

<sup>71</sup> Berkey, J.P.: *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo*, 21-22.

<sup>72</sup> Berkey, J.P.: *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo*, 23.

<sup>73</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:128. Reconstructing the enormously rich constellation of madrasas functioning in Cairo during the Mamlūk sultanate is a great enterprise that certainly requires further investigation. Here, only a small attempt will be made in order to localise in terms of time, space and importance the main schools where Ibn al-Amshāṭī exercised as a teacher of Medical science and Islamic jurisprudence. For this purpose, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-athār* by al-Maqrīzī (766/1364-845/1442) represents a most helpful guide, since its author was almost a contemporary of Ibn al-Amshāṭī and therefore must have witnessed, at least to a certain extent, the same institutions.

<sup>74</sup> Founded in 797/1395 by an amīr of Barqūq, the madrasa *Zamāmiyya* was situated in the area of the *suwaīqa al-ṣāhib* (i.e. around the gate called *Bāb Khūkha* on the western wall), and had a *minbar* from which the *khuṭba* was pronounced every Friday. See: al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-i'tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-l-athār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'ilmiyya, 1997), 3:189. Al-Maqrīzī expresses here his discontent for the exaggerate proximity of this madrasa/mosque to the one of *al-Ṣāhibiyya*, since whoever prayed in one of the two mosques would hear the *takbīr* coming from the other (*fa-yasma'u kullu man ṣallā bil-mawdu'ayn takbīr al-ākhar*). A novelty (*mubtada'*), this, that al-Maqrīzī blames as an abominable yet recurrent thing in Cairo (*min shanī' mā ḥadatha fī ghayr mawḍi'*). The proximity of the madrasa to the *suwaīqa al-ṣāhib* is also mentioned by al-Sakhāwī (*al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:128).

<sup>75</sup> Probably the one in the area of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, founded by the *qaḍī* Kamāl al-Din Ṣāḥib during the reign of Baybars (r.658/1260-676/1277). See: al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:224-225.

<sup>76</sup> Also in the area of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, but more ancient than the former: in fact, it was founded by the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (r. 637/1240-647/1249) in 639/1241. This madrasa is particularly significant inasmuch, as attested by al-

Shams al-Dīn. He also exercised the function of *qāḍī* substituting for various judges, among which his previous master al-Sa‘ad ibn al-Dīrī.<sup>77</sup>

Ibn al-Amshāṭī taught Medicine in the *jāmi‘* of Ibn Ṭūlūn<sup>78</sup> and in the *Manṣūriyya*<sup>79</sup> (taking the place of his master al-Sharaf Ibn al-Khashshāb), and educated a new generation of skilful and prepared physicians.<sup>80</sup> The medical profession was the one that Ibn al-Amshāṭī exercised the most, giving, according to al-Sakhāwī, proof of great piety by visiting sick people of any social background, often without charging money for his services. Even when later on in his life he retired from jurisprudence in order not to interfere with his brother (*bi-ḥaythu annahu lam yubāshir ‘an akhīhi*) and from several other activities, he did not stop being a physician.<sup>81</sup> In the concise biographical account written by al-Suyūṭī on Ibn al-Amshāṭī, he is said to have achieved the prestigious position of *ra‘īs al-aṭibba’*.<sup>82</sup> This information is extremely important because it indicates that, as Head of the Physicians, Ibn al-Amshāṭī was personally at the service of the Sultan (who chose and nominated the physicians for this office) and that he was responsible for the qualification of all the other physicians practicing within his field.<sup>83</sup>

#### 1.4 Literary output

As many of the scholars populating the intellectual scene of Mamluk Cairo, Ibn al-Amshāṭī also wrote several works in which he re-elaborated the knowledge he had acquired during his career with the aim of transmitting it to successive generations of scholars. His literary output seems mostly, but not exclusively, related to medical science. However, it must be said that not all the sources report the same number of works: for instance, some of the titles mentioned in earlier accounts do not figure in later sources, and some titles seldom appear. For this reason, it seems legitimate to deduce that not all of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s works shared the same popularity and diffusion or, at least, that not all of them were considered worthy the same scholarly attention. In any case, since the sources are not consistent in this regard, the list of Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s works that follows might be possibly incomplete, despite it being the result of a collection and collation of information found in different sources. However, it will hopefully be sufficient for understanding his scholarly contribution.

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Maqrīzī, it was the first one in the Diyār Miṣr to offer, from 641/1243, lessons of the four Sunni *madhhab* in one place (a pattern later followed by several other schools in Cairo). See: al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4:217-218.

<sup>77</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw‘ al-lāmi‘*; 10:128.

<sup>78</sup> The mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, founded in 262/876, was restored during the reign of Lājīn (Mamlūk sultan of Egypt and Syria from 696/1296 to 698/1299), who established and endowed there professorships in the four rites of law, exegesis, hadith, and even medicine, providing also stipends for 150 students. See: Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo*, 62. The custom of using the *jāmi‘* for education was very common in Mamluk Cairo, where the main function of these structures was indeed that of institution of learning, while their function as Friday Mosque was secondary, which explains the great number of *jāmi‘* in the city. Apparently, not all scholars were approving this overcrowding of mosques and madrasas (as it can be seen from the discontent expressed by al-Maqrīzī in the description of the *Zamāmiyya* mentioned above): in fact, the Prophetic tradition wanted the city to have only one congregational mosque for the Friday service. See: George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and The West*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 20-21.

<sup>79</sup> This madrasa was founded in Bayn al-Qasrayn as part of the Qalawwunid complex (together with the *maristān* and the *qubba*), for which the Sultan Qalāwūn (r. 678/1279-689/1290) took valuable building material from the fortress of Rawdah. See: al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:323.

<sup>80</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw‘ al-lāmi‘*; 10:128.

<sup>81</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw‘ al-lāmi‘*; 10:128.

<sup>82</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-‘iqyān fī a’yān al-a’yān*, 174.

<sup>83</sup> Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Faṭḥ Allāh and Abū Zakariyya: Physicians under the Mamluks* Supplément aux Annales islamologiques (Cairo: Institut Français d’archéologie orientale, 1987), 5-6.



Since most of the sources mention it and praise its quality, the *Sharḥ al-Mūjaz* (or *al-Munjaz fī Sharḥ al-Mūjaz*) can be possibly considered Ibn al-Amshāṭī's major work.<sup>84</sup> This two-volume commentary of the *al-Mūjaz fī al-Ṭibb* ("Summary of Medicine") of Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288)<sup>85</sup> seems to have been particularly successful: al-Sakhāwī, for instance, affirms that various copies of it circulated and that it received very positive reviews from other scholars (*qarraḍahu lahu ghayr wāḥid*).<sup>86</sup>

Most of the sources also refer to a second major medical work, the *Sharḥ al-Lamḥa* (or *Ta'sīs al-ṣiḥḥa fī Sharḥ al-Lamḥa*),<sup>87</sup> a commentary of the *Lamḥa fī al-Ṭibb* on molecular pathologies (*al-amrāḍ al-juz'iyya*), written by a certain 'Afīf Abū Sa'd Ibn Abī Surūr al-Sāwī<sup>88</sup> as a summary of the work of several previous physicians. Interestingly, the commentary by Ibn al-Amshāṭī is the only one reported by *Kashf al-Zunūn* for the *Lamḥa*<sup>89</sup> and therefore must have been, if not the only one, one of the few commentaries of Ibn Abī Surūr's work.

Ibn al-Amshāṭī authored also some short medical treatises, among which the *risāla* presented in this thesis, *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*, analysed in detail in the next chapter.<sup>90</sup> The sources that mention this treatise among the works of Ibn al-Amshāṭī report that *al-Isfār* was written for the *nāẓir al-dawāwīn* al-Bārizī (d.856/1452).<sup>91</sup> Such a dedication, to which we shall return while examining the text in the next chapter, hints at a personal and intellectual connection between a prominent member of the administrative elite and Ibn al-Amshāṭī. Such a relationship proofs what al-Sakhāwī says about Ibn al-Amshāṭī modestly visiting high-rank member of society (*wa mashā li-l-marḍā fa-li-l-ru'asā' 'alā wajh al-iḥtishām*)<sup>92</sup> and al-Suyūṭī entails by mentioning his position as *ra'īs al-*

<sup>84</sup> The *Sharḥ al-Mūjaz* is mentioned in most of the biographies. See: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:129; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 7:136; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tāli'*, 811. It is mentioned also in the Mosul Manuscript (al-Karmalī "Maḥmūd 'Antāby and Ibn Sāni'", 259), by Ḥājī Khalīfa in the *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 2:1900; and by Isma'īl Pasha al-Baghdādī al-Bābānī in the *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn* (Istanbul, Mu'assasat al-Tārīkh al-'Arab, 1951), 2:411.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn al-Nafīs is among the foremost physicians of the 7th/13th century. Except for the date of his death, not much is known about his life, since his almost contemporary Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a does not mention him in his biographical dictionary of physicians. He was born around Damascus and studied medicine, grammar, logic, and Islamic religious sciences. After he moved to Cairo, he was given the important post of Chief Physician of Egypt. He died in Cairo in 687/1288 and left all his fortune and his books to the Maṣṣūrī hospital that had been completed shortly before (683/1284). His admirers exalted him as a second Avicenna, and indeed his scientific legacy is outstanding. The above mentioned *Mūjaz* (an extract from most parts of the *Qānūn* of Ibn Sīnā) is a concise manual of the whole of medicine particularly useful for practitioners and was subject of several commentaries. It was also translated in other languages and its popularity lasted until the beginning of the 20th century. See: M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, "Ibn al-Nafīs", in *EI2*.

<sup>86</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:129. See also Brockelmann, Lameer (trad), *History of the Arabic written tradition*, Supplement Vol. 2:97.

<sup>87</sup> See: al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:129; al-Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn*, 2:411; Ziriklī *al-A'lām*, 7:136; al-Shawkānī *al-Badr al-tāli'*, 811; Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 2:1561; al-Karmalī "Maḥmūd 'Antāby and Ibn Sāni'", 259. See also Brockelmann, Lameer (trad), *History of the Arabic written tradition*, Supplement Vol. 2:97.

<sup>88</sup> Almost nothing is known of this physician. The *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn* says that he was the *shaykh al-aṭibba'* (chief physician?) of Egypt but omits his death date (al-Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn*, 1:665). He must have lived after the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE since his treatise is said to summarize the work of al-Ilāqī (d. 536/1141). See Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 2:1561.

<sup>89</sup> Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 2:1561.

<sup>90</sup> Only three sources mention this treatise, and just two of them (al-Karmalī and Ziriklī) report its title as given in the manuscript. Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:129 (defines it as *risāla*); Ziriklī *al-A'lām*, 7:136 (defines it as *kurrāsa*, booklet), al-Karmalī "Maḥmūd 'Antāby and Ibn Sāni'", 259. See also: Brockelmann, Lameer (trad), *History of the Arabic written tradition*, Supplement Vol. 2: 97.

<sup>91</sup> See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:129, Ziriklī *al-A'lām*, 7:136, al-Karmalī "Maḥmūd 'Antāby and Ibn Sāni'", 259. The note attached to the manuscript of Mosul also mentions that *al-Isfār* was written in occasion of al-Bārizī's departure for the pilgrimage.

<sup>92</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 10:128.

*aṭibba*'. Moreover, it allows us to insert this treatise within the tradition of medical texts written for courtly patrons.<sup>93</sup>

A second treatise, *al-Qawl al-sadīd fī ikhtiyār al-'imā' wa-l-'abīd*, deals with the correct way of choosing female and male slaves, and gives instructions on how to detect weaknesses or illnesses and other bodily defects of slaves that merchants may deceitfully hide at the market. This work is not mentioned by al-Sakhāwī, but it is known to the author of the note attached to the Mosul Manuscript,<sup>94</sup> and so it is for Zirīklī.<sup>95</sup> Isma'īl Pasha al-Baghdādī al-Bābānī mentions this treatise in two instances, one in the *'Idāḥ al-maknūn*<sup>96</sup> (where he states that the work was finished in 883/1478) and the second in *Hadiyat al-'arīfīn*.<sup>97</sup> *Al-Qawl al-sadīd*, edited and made available in printed version a few decades ago,<sup>98</sup> constitutes a most interesting text documenting some of the social aspects of slave trade during the late Mamluk period. Ibn al-Amshāṭī presents it as an extended and revised version of a similar treatise by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (known as al-Akfānī, d. 749/1348) entitled *al-Nazar wa-l-tahqīq fī taqlīb al-raqīq*.<sup>99</sup>

A less known medical treatise that could be possibly attributed to Ibn al-Amshāṭī is the *Ta'sīs al-'itqān wa-l-matāna fī 'ilal al-kulā wa-l-mathāna*, on diagnosing kidneys and bladder diseases, but since the only source to mention this manual is the Mosul Manuscript's note,<sup>100</sup> the attribution can not be made with a satisfactory degree of certainty.

Besides these works on medical science, Ibn al-Amshāṭī authored a commentary of a compendium of Hanafī law, the *Nuqāya*,<sup>101</sup> entitled *Sharḥ al-Nuqāya*, in which he developed further a commentary made on the same work by his teacher al-Shamānnī, who had given him the permission of transmitting the text.<sup>102</sup>

### 1.5 Old age and passing

Ibn al-Amshāṭī's retirement from his scholarly activity did not imply a complete retirement from the intellectual scene. On the contrary, he is said to have regularly attended the weekly lessons of al-Sakhāwī and asked for copies of his friend's best works.<sup>103</sup> The intellectual affinity and keen

<sup>93</sup> As mentioned in the introduction, there are other examples of treatises on health preservation dedicated to royal or courtly patron by their physicians, and they represent a significant demonstration of the trust that physicians could enjoy in such environment. The *'Uyūn al-Anbā'* of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a mentions, for instance, a treatise by Maimonides (d. 1204) dedicated to the Ayyubid king al-Malik al-Afdal (*Fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥa*) and another by Ibn al-Mutrān (d. 1191) dedicated to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (*al-Maqāla al-Nāṣiriyya fī ḥifẓ al-Umūr al-ṣiḥḥiyya*). See: Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital: Medicine, Religion and Charity*, 157 (note 74).

<sup>94</sup> Al-Karmalī "Maḥmūd 'Antāby and Ibn Sānī", 259-260.

<sup>95</sup> Zirīklī *al-A'lām*, 7:136.

<sup>96</sup> Al-Bābānī, *Idāḥ al-maknūn*, (Beirut, Dar Ihya' al-Turāth al-'Arabī), 2:249.

<sup>97</sup> Al-Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn*, 2:411.

<sup>98</sup> Mahmūd Ibn Ahmad al-'Aintabī al-Amshāṭī, *Al-Qawl al-sadīd fī ikhtiyār al-'imā' wa l-'abīd* edited by Muḥammad 'Aīsā Ṣālahiyya (Mu'assasat al-Risāla, 1997).

<sup>99</sup> Ibn al-Amshāṭī, *Al-Qawl al-sadīd*, Muḥammad 'Aīsā Ṣālahiyya (ed.), 31. See also: Brockelmann, Lameer (trad), *History of the Arabic written tradition*, Supplement Vol. 2:175.

<sup>100</sup> Al-Karmalī "Maḥmūd 'Antāby and Ibn Sānī", 259. Al-Rāzī had authored a work on the same topic. See L.E. Goodman, "al-Rāzī" in *EI2*.

<sup>101</sup> *Al-Nuqāya fī furū' al-fiqh al-ḥanaḥī* is a selection from the different branches of ḥanaḥī law compiled in 806/1403 by the jurist 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Sīrāmī, of which not many details are known, except that the was originary from the *bilād al-'ajam*. See: Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn*, 6:211.

<sup>102</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi*, 10:129. The *Sharḥ al-Nuqāya* is also mentioned by al-Shawkānī and al-Bābānī. See: al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭālī*, 811; and al-Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn*, 2:411.

<sup>103</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi*, 10:129. Al-Sakhāwī also affirms that he dedicated his book *al-Ibtihāj bi-'adhkār al-musāfir al-hājj* to Ibn al-Amshāṭī. On this book, see Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 1:2.

friendship that characterized the relationship between the two scholars lasted until their old age, as can be seen in al-Sakhāwī's description of Ibn al-Amshāṭī as a most agreeable person, devoted and loyal to his friends, generous, humble and highly respectable.<sup>104</sup> The sense of equity and piety of Ibn al-Amshāṭī is furtherly highlighted in the account of his brother's funeral.<sup>105</sup> al-Sakhāwī remarks integrity of the physician by saying that he equally divided the inheritance and endowed part of it for the maintenance of a water cistern close to the *khānqāh* al-Siryaqūsiyya.<sup>106</sup>

Al-Sakhāwī and Ibn al-Amshāṭī continued visiting each other regularly until the latter's physical condition deteriorated to the point that he was not able to leave his house anymore. Al-Sakhāwī concludes his friend's biography with the image of a very old and debilitated man (*wa-hwa alān fi sana tis 'a wa-tis 'īn... za 'id al- 'ajz 'an al-ḥaraka*), to whom he wishes a good passing (*khatama allah lahu bi-khayr*) and a generous reward in the afterlife for his good deeds (*wa-na 'ama al-rajula raghb 'an jumla waṣā 'ifīhi*).<sup>107</sup>

Al-Sakhāwī is not the only biographer to write about Ibn al-Amshāṭī before his death: in fact, also his contemporary al-Suyūṭī ends his brief account by praising the virtues of the physician while he is still alive, saying that he is a pious and virtuous man (*wa-na 'am al-rajul hwa dīnan wa khayran*). Later sources, among which the note attached to *al-Isfār* Manuscript of Mosul, state that Ibn al-Amshāṭī died in 902/1496.<sup>108</sup> His death coincided with the end of the sultanate of al-Ashraf Qaitbay (r. 872/1468-902/1496) and of a second apogee of the Mamluk sultanate, after which the political stability of the sultanate was irremediably lost, overshadowed by the rivalry with the Ottomans.<sup>109</sup>

### 1.6 Considerations on Ibn al-Amshāṭī as an intellectual of his time

On the base of this bio-bibliographical survey, a few considerations should be made regarding Ibn al-Amshāṭī scholarly career, and the way it is represented in the detailed biography written by al-Sakhāwī. In fact, some aspects of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's life and career seem to be shared by various other members of the social group of the '*ulamā*', at least in the last decades of the Mamluk Sultanate, and al-Sakhāwī's biography contains elements that seem to characterize the literary representation of the scholarly elite in that particular historical context. Therefore, it is important to ponder which aspects of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's life did al-Sakhāwī emphasise the most and which ones he just briefly mentioned, since they can give us some hints at what their contemporaries were supposed to know (or would consider more relevant to know) about this scholar. In fact, as modern studies on biographical

<sup>104</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi*'; 10:129.

<sup>105</sup> That must have happened in 885/1480, according to Ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-amal*, 7:270.

<sup>106</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi*'; 10:129. The *khānqāh* was the urban residences of Ṣūfīs: this one, the Siriaqūsiyya, located in the east part of Cairo, was founded by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and finished in 725/1325. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Buldaniyāt* (Riyadh: Dar al-'aṭa' lil-nashr wa-l-tawzī', 2001) 157. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century, these institutions were highly influential over the Mamlūk elite, which lavished considerable sums to endow the *khānqāhs*. See. Petry: *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, 139.

<sup>107</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi*'; 10:129.

<sup>108</sup> Al-Karmalī "Maḥmūd 'Antāby and Ibn Sāni'" p.259; the same date is given by al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tāli*', 811; Ziriklī, *al-A' lām*, 7:136; and al-Bābānī, *Hadiyyat al- 'arīfīn*, 2:411. See also Brockelmann, Lameer (trad), *History of the Arabic written tradition*, Supplement Vol. 2, 97.

<sup>109</sup> Garcin, *États, Sociétés et Cultures du monde Musulman Médiéval*, 1:348: The strong mark that this small renaissance left in the architecture of Cairo show that it must have been indeed a period of prosperity supported by a relatively flourishing economy.

dictionaries have argued, this kind of literature can be interpreted as “a mirror in which are reflected some important aspects of the intellectual and cultural development of the Islamic community”.<sup>110</sup>

An element that seems particularly worthy notice is the small space al-Sakhāwī dedicates to details related to Ibn al-Amshāṭī's exercise of the medical profession. Ibn al-Amshāṭī's scholarly career is described in detail and important information is given about the places where he taught *fiqh* and medical science, but not much is said about his activity and achievements as a physician. In fact, the biographical account written by al-Sakhāwī represents this aspect of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's life quite marginally, emphasizing only what, in this profession, was related to pious deeds (like visiting sick people out of charity) or scholarly activity (like writing commentaries to medical books and teaching). Moreover, with no apparent reason al-Sakhāwī omits the fact that Ibn al-Amshāṭī achieved the prestigious position of *rā'is al-aṭibbā'*, an information that we can find instead in the biography written by al-Suyūṭī. The hypothesis that Ibn al-Amshāṭī became head of the physicians after al-Sakhāwī completed his biography is to exclude, since by that time Ibn al-Amshāṭī was in his old age, and al-Sakhāwī himself describes him as an old man unable to move and close to death. Possibly, al-Sakhāwī would have intentionally omitted details about Ibn al-Amshāṭī's career as a practitioner, being the purpose of his biography to emphasize his belonging to the '*ulamā'*' class rather than his skilfulness as a physician.<sup>111</sup> As stated by Petry, during the Mamluk sultanate a person's belonging to the social group of the '*ulamā'*' rested on his scholarly activity and his position in the juridical hierarchy.<sup>112</sup> By focusing on these points, al-Sakhāwī succeeds in representing Ibn al-Amshāṭī as a member of the rich network of scholars constituting a special segment of the civilian elite. Moreover, according to the protocol hierarchy given by al-Qalqashandī the head of the medical professions came after the military and the judiciary-administrative groups,<sup>113</sup> and although it would seem that physicians were highly appreciated in the Mamluk court, scholars would attribute more prestige to the theoretical knowledge of medicine rather than to its practice.<sup>114</sup> Not surprisingly, therefore, al-Sakhāwī focused on the scholarly career of Ibn al-Amshāṭī rather than on his achievements as a practitioner.

Another element that is worthy notice is that the description of Ibn al-Amshāṭī's scholarly activity includes not only the branches of knowledge in which he excelled, but also various religio-

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<sup>110</sup> Wadad al-Qadi, “Biographical dictionaries: inner structure and cultural significance,” in G. Atiyeh (ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 94.

<sup>111</sup> A comparison with earlier biographical encyclopaedias compiled during the Ayyubid period, such as the one by Ibn al-Qifṭī (568/1172-646/1248) and that by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (600/1203-668/1270), give a clearer impression of how did the representation of physicians in literary sources had evolved by the Mamlūk period. For instance, while the earlier biographical works were exclusively dedicated to eminent physicians, the ones compiled during the Mamlūk period did not distinguish physicians as a stand-alone group of scholars. Rather, they included them within the whole religiously legitimate scholarly community, listing their competences and achievements in the field of Medicine as one of the aspects of their scholarly activity. Moreover, while Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a mentioned in their works both Muslim and non-Muslim physicians that had significantly contributed to the development of Medical Sciences, Mamlūk sources gave instead much more importance to their religious affiliation. This could be possibly due to the fact that, under the Ayyūbids, physicians actually enjoyed a prominent position in society and could become quite influential figures at the service of the ruling class, while the Mamlūks would reserve such a prestige only to religious scholars. Moreover, early biographical dictionaries, such as the one of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, might have been written with the aim of presenting the medical profession as a stand-alone branch of knowledge. And, finally, authors like Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, who was himself a physician, had the appropriate means to evaluate the both the practical and scholarly achievements of his fellows. See: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, “The Image of the Physician in Arab Biographies of the post-classical Age” in *Der Islam: Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East* (De Gruyter); vol. 66 (January 1989), 333; and Behrens-Abouseif, *Faṭḥ Allāh and Abū Zakariyya: Physicians under the Mamluks*, 4.

<sup>112</sup> Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, 246.

<sup>113</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, *Faṭḥ Allāh and Abū Zakariyya: Physicians under the Mamluks*, 3-4.

<sup>114</sup> Behrens-Abouseif, “The Image of the Physician in Arab Biographies of the post-classical Age”, 336.

academic institutions to which he was linked. The number of madrasas, among those mentioned before, endowed by *amīrs* and sultans, shows that this kind of institutions played a pivotal role in the interaction of the scholarly milieu with the power in charge. Sponsoring of religious buildings and foundations was in fact crucial to Mamluks for supporting their image as guardians and patrons of orthodox Islam. The extraordinary amount of mosques, madrasas and *khānqāh* that flourished at the time in Cairo, proved without parallel in the Muslim world at the time, is among the clearest evidence of the Mamluks interest in religious legitimacy.<sup>115</sup> The most important institution of knowledge were concentrated in the area on Bayn al-Qasrayin,<sup>116</sup> where Ibn al-Amshāṭī exercised most of his teaching career (except for the chair of medicine in the madrasa of Ibn Ṭūlūn, located in the proximities of the Citadel). The majority of these institutions of knowledge (primarily devoted to religious education) had been founded before the rise of the Mamluks, but maintained a pivotal role in the education of the scholarly elite even under the Sultanate, that supported them with numerous endowments. In fact, they represented the “zenith of the academic hierarchy” of the Mamluk state, and the most prominent scholars of the later Middle Ages studied or taught in at least one of these institutions.<sup>117</sup> Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s career in several of these schools is indicative of his prestige and value as a scholar.

Finally, the reference to Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s military engagement with jihad and *ribāṭ*<sup>118</sup> (which were perceived as twin concepts already from the 2<sup>nd</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>119</sup> was definitely something meaningful for his contemporaries. In fact, the participation of scholars in holy war was a popular phenomenon in medieval Islamic society and, throughout the whole course of Islamic history, the ‘*ulamā*’ often took part to jihad as combatants, advisers, preachers or functionaries.<sup>120</sup> Their activity had a highly symbolic value, as it was perceived as an imitation of Prophet Muhammad’s martial activity together with a claim to authority for the religious scholar “at the expense of and even in defiance” of the authority in charge.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, participating to jihad meant that the ‘*ulamā*’ knowledge was supported by exemplary practices,<sup>122</sup> and contributed to their image as “vigilant defenders” of Islam.<sup>123</sup> By mentioning Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s involvement in holy war and military abilities together with his qualities as a scholar, al-Sakhāwī might have wanted to legitimize his authority on a multiple level. However, the much greater attention dedicated to Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s scholarly career entails that the quest of knowledge and the juridical activity was even more valuable than other devotional practices.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Anna Contadini: “Mamlūks II”, in *EI2*.

<sup>116</sup> Petry: *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, 146.

<sup>117</sup> Petry: *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, 330.

<sup>118</sup> *Ribāṭ* was also the term used to indicate the religious and military institutions located at the frontiers, often in dangerous places. See J. Chabbi, N. Rabbat: “Ribāṭ”, in *EI2*. The highly meritorious acceptance of fighting at the frontiers appears already in early *ḥadīth* traditions and in the *Book of Jihād* attributed to ‘Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubarak (d.181/797). See: Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 207.

<sup>119</sup> Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, 100.

<sup>120</sup> Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 201.

<sup>121</sup> Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History*, 115

<sup>122</sup> Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 202.

<sup>123</sup> Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 220.

<sup>124</sup> Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 203.

## CHAPTER 2

### Al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār: a textual analysis

With all the information about Ibn al-Amshāṭī scholarly career and intellectual authority in the back of our mind, we shall now embark upon the analysis of his *risāla* entitled *al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the sources alternatively refer to this treatise as *risāla* or *kurrāsa* (i.e. booklet),<sup>125</sup> and report that it was written for a high-rank member of the administrative elite, namely al-Bārizī, in occasion of his pilgrimage to Mecca. Since *al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār* has not been, to my knowledge, subject of previous studies, this chapter represents a first attempt to make a general analysis of this treatise and highlight its most significant characteristics.

#### 2.1 Function and content of al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār

##### 2.1.1 For whom and why was the treatise written

Our first step in understanding this work will address two essential questions, the first one regarding the purpose of the text, and the second one regarding the kind of information it conveys. In the preface (*iftitāḥ*) and the introduction (*muqaddima*) of the treatise, Ibn al-Amshāṭī provides the reader with important elements related to these questions. In fact, as often happens in the Islamic manuscript tradition, the preface of *al-Isfār* contains information such as the dedication (*ihdā’*), the title of the book (*tasmiya*) and the reason for which the author embarked upon its composition.<sup>126</sup>

The first element that must be examined in order to gain a better understanding of the text is the dedication, i.e. the section that follows the *basmalah* and invocation at the beginning of the preface. In fact, the dedication contains a clear reference to the patron and the occasion for which *al-Isfār* was written:

“Now, as he decided to travel the path of the pious and set out to perform *jiwār* and visit the holy places with humility, ask the mercy of the Forgiver to erase his sins [...] the leader of the city dwellers (*imām ahl al-amṣār*),<sup>127</sup> the most notable man among the inhabitants of the lands (*‘ayyīn a’yān sākinī al-aqṭār*), whose generosity would make the pouring cloud superfluous, and whose wisdom would make the ocean seem small; the personification of magnificence, the keystone, the illustrious, generous, excellent, outstanding, renown, perfect Abū al-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad al-Juhanī al-Bārizī al-Shāfi‘ī, head secretary of the Egyptian chancery (*nāẓir dawāwīn al-inshā’ al-sharīfa bil-diyār al-Maṣriyya*) and all the Islamic kingdoms (*sā’ir al-mamālik al-islāmiyya*) [...]”.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>125</sup> The Arabic sources that mention it describe it as a *risāla* (al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw’ al-lāmi’*, 10:129) or *kurrāsa* (booklet, see: al-Ziriklī, *al-A’lām*, 7:163).

<sup>126</sup> On the inclusion of such elements in the preface of books and its recurrence in the Arabic literary and manuscript tradition see: Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: a vademecum for readers* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 202-203.

<sup>127</sup> For the translation of *ahl al-amṣār* as “people of the cities” see Kees Versteegh, *The Arabic Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 172-173.

<sup>128</sup> MS folio 1, verso, line 6-14. Edition: § ii.

This short section provides us with two key information: first, that the treatise was written for a prominent member of the Mamluk administration and, second, that the specific occasion of its composition is the departure of this functionary for the pilgrimage to Mecca and other holy places of the *Hijāz*. The political prominence of the *qāḍī* Muḥammad al-Juḥanī al-Bārīzī (796/1394-856/1452) is well attested in the historical sources of the time. Al-Sakhāwī<sup>129</sup> and Ibn Taghrī Birdī<sup>130</sup> indicate him as one of the most significant political figures of the Mamluk administration. In fact, he held various important positions in the Mamluk administration in both Egypt and Syria. In 842/1438, during the sultanate of Jaqmaq (r. 842/1438-857/1453), he was appointed *kātib al-sirr*,<sup>131</sup> office that he kept until his death. The fact that Ibn al-Amshāṭī wrote *al-Isfār* in occasion of al-Bārīzī's pilgrimage is significant under many aspects. In fact, not only does it give us a hint at the purpose of the treatise, but it also allows us to date *al-Isfār* with a certain degree of accuracy on the base of information that we can find in other sources such as *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, where Ibn Taghrī Birdī attests that al-Bārīzī performed the pilgrimage in 850/1447.<sup>132</sup> In that year, al-Bārīzī was in charge of the *kitābat al-sirr* in Cairo (as mentioned also in the quotation reported above) and Ibn al-Amshāṭī, at the end of his thirties, should have been by then an affirmed physician. Therefore, it is highly likely that *al-Isfār* '*an ḥukm al-asfār*' was written around that date.

Besides the dedication, the preface of *al-Isfār* contains several other elements that must be analysed for understanding the text. In fact, shortly after mentioning his patron, Ibn al-Amshāṭī explains the purpose of *al-Isfār*:

“It seemed opportune to me to put together [...] a book in which I give instructions on this [travelling] in the most beautiful way. And, praise to God, it came out free from the secrets of this great craft [medicine], sufficient for carrying on travelling in those crucial moments, collecting and conveying scattered knowledge by way of a compendium”.<sup>133</sup>

Because of his patron leaving for a long and difficult journey, Ibn al-Amshāṭī wants to collect and organize in a clear and useful way medical advice that can help keeping a healthy body while travelling. The statement reported above also shows that, by writing *al-Isfār*, Ibn al-Amshāṭī does not want to generate new knowledge, but rather to collect and re-organize existing but scattered information in an easily accessible way. This “revealing” function of the treatise emerges also from the title of the treatise that, in agreement with the Arabic literary tradition, is presented within the

<sup>129</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*; 9:236-239.

<sup>130</sup> Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*, 16:13-18. Al-Bārīzī was born in the city of Hāma, in Syria, and from a very early age was educated under the guidance of his father, who also held the relevant offices in the Mamluk administration. Al-Bārīzī studied jurisprudence with several prominent scholars and excelled in the disciplines related to chancery and correspondence. Around the age of twenty, he was assisting his father in the office of *kātib al-sirr* and, some years later, he was holding this position by his own. He was appointed *kātib al-sirr* several times in Cairo and Damascus, where he also exercised the profession of judge together with that of secretary of Chancery. Although he repeatedly left this office for various reasons (once, for instance, to devote himself to his studies), the Mamluk sultans did not stop turning to al-Bārīzī for his services as *kātib al-sirr*. The last one of these sultans was, as mentioned above, Jaqmaq (of which al-Bārīzī seems to have been the brother-in-law), who summoned him from Damascus (where he was in charge as a *qāḍī*) to Cairo. As mentioned by Bauer, with the Mamluk Sultanate “the duties of the *kātib* came to be fulfilled by people who had received the training of a religious scholar. The result was a rather homogeneous group of '*ulamā*' who became the bearers of Islamic religious as well as of secular culture”. See Bauer, “Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches”, 108.

<sup>131</sup> The *kātib al-sirr* was the head secretary of Chancery, alternatively also called *ṣāhib diwān al-inshā'*. See: Mathieu Eychenne, *Liens personnels, clientélisme et réseaux de pouvoir dans le sultanat mamelouk (milieu XIIIe -fin XIVe siècle)* (Beirut and Damascus: Presses de l'Ifpo, 2013), 549.

<sup>132</sup> Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, 16:17.

<sup>133</sup> MS folio 2, recto, line 2-4. Edition: § ii.

opening section. It is in fact after the sentence reported before that Ibn al-Amshāṭī adds *fa-li-dhalika sammaytuhu al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* (and for this reason I entitled it “Unveiling the regime of travels”). In the manuscript used for the present study, the title of the treatise appears only in this instance, being the front of the texblock (also called *ṣahr al-kitāb* or *ṣahriyyah*) a blank page.<sup>134</sup>

### 2.1.2 Contents and structure

On the base of the sections of the preface reported above, we can conclude that *al-Isfār* is a medical compendium on the regime for travellers, and that its function is to make useful information easily accessible for someone who does not have the same familiarity of the author with medical texts and sources. It certainly does not seem an easy endeavour: therefore, in this section the analysis will focus on how did Ibn al-Amshāṭī organize the text and which contents did he decide to include in order to fulfil this task. Again, the opening section of the treatise proves essential for this question, as it contains a short description of the contents (*tartīb* or *tabwīb*)<sup>135</sup> which provides us with important information regarding the internal structure of the treatise:

“I have organized it [the treatise] in an introduction, eight chapter and a conclusion. The introduction explains the necessity for writing down this book. The first chapter is on the things that the traveller should do [before leaving]. The second chapter deals with the regime of the traveller in hot weather, and the third chapter with what concerns hot winds. The fourth chapter is about travelling in wintertime. The fifth chapter is on protecting the limbs, and the sixth chapter on protecting the skin tone. The seventh chapter regards the problems of water. The eighth chapter deals with the matters of who travels by sea. The conclusion is about what the traveller should carry with him and it consists of two parts: the first one about simple remedies and the second on compound remedies. And with those two, the ten chapters of the book are completed”.<sup>136</sup>

As can be seen from this quotation, Ibn al-Amshāṭī opted for organizing the contents of the treatise in ten parts, excluding the preface and the *muqaddima*. The first eight chapters present different case-scenarios or circumstances in which travellers could find themselves and that could be detrimental for their health, and provide tips and remedies in order prevent and cure the diseases that may occur in certain situations. The *khātima*, which is the longest section of the treatise, is divided in two chapters and lists a series of useful simple and compound remedies indicating their use and benefits.<sup>137</sup>

The organization of first eight chapters represents an essential feature of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*. In fact, by dividing the contents in this way, Ibn al-Amshāṭī provides the reader with a highly practical guide to medical remedies suitable for specific situations. For this reason, the first eight chapters are remarkably different from the *khātima*, whose organization, based on drug categories, resembles more that of the traditional pharmacopoeias discussed in the following section. Moreover, the first eight chapters give not only instruction for the preparation and usage of apposite drugs, but also dietary and practical advice aimed at preventing the damages that a determinate situation can cause. Overall, the internal structure of these chapters follows a similar pattern: each one begins with

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<sup>134</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 37. The title was usually incorporated in the preface of a work, and only later featured also on the front of the texblock.

<sup>135</sup> The preface is usually the place where, in the Islamic Manuscript tradition, the *tartīb* is given. See: Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 203.

<sup>136</sup> MS folio 2, recto, line 8-15. Edition: § iii.

<sup>137</sup> This list of remedies, or *pharmacopeia*, occupies almost 20% of the whole book.



a short explanation of how specific environmental conditions affect the traveller, then it provides the traveller with indications on how to protect his own health and, finally, it gives instructions on the medicaments that could be used for curing the diseases caused by those conditions. For instance chapter four, which deals with travelling in wintertime, begins with a description of the detrimental effects of cold weather:

“Travelling in wintertime or in cold zones is extremely dangerous, as cold turns off the natural bodily heat, causes stiffness and freezes the body. And even if it did not reach that point, it could possibly cause the hunger called *būlīmūs* (...), a type of hunger called “cow hunger”, which is when the organs are starving while the stomach is satiated, and the organs are craving for food but the stomach rejects it. The reason for this is the degeneration of cold humours, as cold weather can cause degeneration of cold humours that affects the upper stomach. Moreover, cold weather can also cause the limbs to fall, especially if one was riding and his limbs were hanging, and looking at ice and snow weakens eyesight. In one word, travelling in cold weather and cold places implies hardship and danger and, if it is inevitable, the person who travels in these conditions should move in the daytime and rest at night, as travelling in the daytime minimizes the damages of cold because of the heat of the sun”.<sup>138</sup>

After describing the damages caused by cold weather, Ibn al-Amshāṭī presents a series of remedies that can prevent them. In most cases, the ingestion or application of a variety of simple drugs, foods, oils and spices is prescribed for the prevention of certain diseases. Some chapters also include instructions for preparing compound remedies: chapter one, for instance, contains the recipe of a pill for quenching thirst (*al-ḥubb al-musakkin li-l-ʿaṭsh*),<sup>139</sup> while chapter six that of an ointment, the *qayrūtī*, for healing the skin that has cracked because of the sun or the winds.<sup>140</sup>

Embedded within these dietary recommendations, we find also practical instructions. For instance, shortly after the section quoted above, chapter four gives indications on where to camp at night:

“If he [the traveller] stops at night, he should chose a warm camp site such as a valley or a cave, protected from winds, away from the passage of floods. Also, he should place the animals used for riding close to the tent, so to get warmer with the abundance of [their] breath”.<sup>141</sup>

Recommendations of this kind, that do not involve the use of any substance or remedy but deal with practical measures, occur in several other chapters. In chapter one, for instance, after describing the recipes of the pill for quenching thirst Ibn al-Amshāṭī adds that, in case the necessary ingredients were not available, the traveller could just hold in his mouth a small piece of lead (*qiṭʿat usrub*) for calming thirst and minimizing the need of drinking water.<sup>142</sup> In chapter two, which deals with travelling in hot weather, he recommends the traveller to cover his head, face and chest with a turban, a hood, scarfs or a *jubbah* to protect those parts from the sun and avoid inhaling hot air.<sup>143</sup> Suggestions related to clothing feature in various instances: for example, in chapter five (on the protection of limbs) the author advises the traveller to keep his fingers warm by wrapping them in fine goat wool

<sup>138</sup> MS folio 5, verso, line 8-17 and folio 6, recto, line 1-4. Edition § 4.a.

<sup>139</sup> MS folio 3, verso, line 11-14. Edition § 1.c.

<sup>140</sup> MS folio 8, verso, line 3-6. Edition: § 6.b.

<sup>141</sup> MS folio 6, verso, line 5-7. Edition: § 4.c.

<sup>142</sup> MS folio 3, verso, line 15. Edition: § 1.c.

<sup>143</sup> MS folio 4, recto, line 14-15. Edition: § 2.a. The *jubbah* is a long outer garment open in front with wide sleeves.

or rabbit fur, and to wear black and put black pieces of cloth in front of his eyes to protect them from the dazzle of snow. Practical recommendation of this kind are abundant in chapter seven, that deals with the ways to improve water quality and suggests, for instance, to deprive water from worms by drinking it through a filter.<sup>144</sup>

As mentioned above, the last two chapters of the manual, which together constitute *khātima*, have a clearly distinct structure. In fact, their internal organization is based on the categories medicaments belong to rather than on the conditions for which they would be prescribed. Since the *khātima* represents a selection of *materia medica* based on travellers' needs, further details regarding this section will be discussed while dwelling on the pharmacological background of the treatise.

By warning against the danger certain situation, recommending practical measures, giving dietary indications and prescribing medical remedies, Ibn al-Amshāṭī manages to collect in a concise yet exhaustive manual all the information a traveller needs to keep a healthy body through the hardships of a journey. *Al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* is efficiently planned, both in its general organization and in the structure of every single chapter, and successfully conveys useful medical information without ambiguities and confusion even to those that are not acquainted with the subject. Despite its apparent simplicity, however, *al-Isfār* actually represents the result of a selection and re-elaboration of a great medical tradition with which the author of the treatise was familiar. Unfortunately, neither Ibn al-Amshāṭī nor the bio-bibliographical sources in our possession mention the sources used for writing *al-Isfār*, and possibly believing that specific texts were used as sources might even be a wrong assumption. For this reason, our investigation will dwell on the general medical theory that underlies the manual rather than on particular medical texts.

## 2.2 The medical background of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*

### 2.2.1 Medical Theory

The structure and content of *al-Isfār* make it possible to individuate, even in absence of explicit references, the medical theory that underlies the treatise. As we will discuss in this section, *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* clearly belongs to that part of the Islamic medical tradition developed from the Greek medical system. Obviously, this does not indicate an implicit belittling on the part of the author of another existing medical tradition known as Prophetic Medicine (*ṭibb nabawī*), which was based on the Qur'an and the Sunna and intended, by the clerics that authored it, as an alternative to the Greek-based medical systems.<sup>145</sup> *Al-Isfār* does in fact contain at least one hint to the medicine of the Qur'an and the Sunna and, as the next chapter will show, this tradition definitely has an important place in the normative literature related to travel.<sup>146</sup> However, if we consider that *al-Isfār* was written by a professional physician to fulfil the needs of a state official with a religious scholarly background, it is clear that references to a medical tradition based on religious texts might have been considered unnecessary. Moreover Ibn al-Amshāṭī's career as a physician was, as mentioned in the previous chapter, strongly marked by his work on Ibn al-Nafis' *al-Mūjaz fī al-Ṭibb*, summary and commentary of the Avicennian *Qanūn*: not surprisingly, therefore, *al-Isfār* follows the stream of this tradition.

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<sup>144</sup> MS folio 10, recto, line 1. Edition § 7.e.

<sup>145</sup> See E. Savage Smith, "Ṭibb", in *EI2*. Prophetic Medicine was not considered as contrasting or detrimental for medical practices based on the Greek humoral system.

<sup>146</sup> In the *khātima*, for instance, Ibn al-Amshāṭī praises the properties of honey and comments that its qualities are also mentioned in the Qur'an and Sunna. See: MS folio 12, verso, line 11-12. Edition § 10.3.1.

The theoretical principles at the base of *al-Isfār* emerge quite clearly in various instances. The introduction (*muqaddima*), for example, explains how travelling affects the body as follow:

“The traveller leaves all of a sudden the conditions to which he is used, and this brings along a series of dangerous illnesses. Tiredness and fatigue make things worse, since they cause the bodily temperature to raise and melt the bad humours (*al-akhlāṭ al-radī’a*), moving them from a place to another. If [these humours] come in contrast to some of the main organs or the others, a tumour will appear, depending on the kind and quantity of the humour: but if they mix with the good humours, they will spoil them, generating troublesome diseases. For this reason, the traveller must know what damages or benefits him in order to seek for his own treatment, so that no one of these diseases will affect him.”<sup>147</sup>

The concept underlying these lines derives from a core idea of medieval Islamic medical theory: health is the result of the balance between substances that are present in human body, and any variation in the quality and quantity of these substances leads to the loss of the balance with detrimental consequences for the health. Bodily humours (*khilṭ*, *akhlāṭ*) have a pivotal role in the maintenance, degeneration or re-establishment of the balance, as they are the fluid substance into which nourishment is first transformed before being assimilated by the body.<sup>148</sup> Heir of the Galenic/Hippocratic medical tradition, medieval Islamic medicine distinguishes four types of primary humour, blood (*dam*), phlegm (*balgham*), yellow bile (*ṣafrā’*) and black bile (*sawdā’*), each one having a specific temperament: blood is hot and moist, phlegm is cold and moist, yellow bile is hot and dry, and black bile is cold and dry. All these fluids are present in the human body in different quantities, and every healthy person has a distinct humoral balance, the loss of which leads to a status of sickness. To each of these humours correspond a series of unnatural humours produced by the alteration of their characteristics. Changes in temperature are among the main causes of humours’ degeneration: a too high degree of heat, for example, can cause yellow bile to turn into a greenish colour, becoming toxic and affecting organs such as the stomach. Heat has indeed the worst influence on these humours because it causes them to “cook”, which is an irreversible process, but also an excess of cold, humidity or drought can destabilize the original balance and lead to serious illnesses.<sup>149</sup>

Through *al-Isfār*, Ibn al-Amshāṭī repeatedly stresses the importance of humours and the dangerous effects of their degeneration on the body. Since the traveller, as explained in the introduction, is more likely to undergo alterations in his bodily balance, in the first chapter of *al-Isfār* Ibn al-Amshāṭī suggests the traveller to purify his body from the bad humours before embarking upon a journey:

“He who intended to travel should expel the bad humours from his body with purge and bloodletting, following these ten principles (...).”<sup>150</sup>

As mentioned in the previous section, at the beginning of each chapter Ibn al-Amshāṭī illustrates how certain environmental conditions affect bodily health. In many cases, it is mainly because of the effects of such conditions on the humours that the traveller’s health is at risk. As explained in chapter two, for example, hot weather causes the wet humours to dissolve, weakening the bodily temperature.

<sup>147</sup> MS folio 2, recto, line 16-17; folio 2, verso, line 1-6. Edition § iv.

<sup>148</sup> István Ormos, “The Theory of Humours in Islam (Avicenna)”, *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5/6 (1987): 604.

<sup>149</sup> For the theory explained here see: Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, 57-60.

<sup>150</sup> MS folio 2, verso, line 7-8. Edition § 1.a.

Humours are not, however, the only elements on which the bodily health depends. Another important component that needs to be taken into consideration in order to maintain or restore the health of an individual is his temperament (*mizāj*), i.e. the result of the interaction of the four elements (fire, water, earth and air) within the human body.<sup>151</sup> By nature, each individual have a different temperament, due to the dominance of a certain element over the others and to external factors such as climate, place, age and sex of an individual.<sup>152</sup> Because of their different temperaments, bodies may react differently to external conditions and medical treatments. Chapter one, for instance, discourages people with cold or hot-dry temperament from purifying their body with purge and bloodletting because it may lead to a deficiency of the bodily moisture:

“The third [condition] is a hot-wet temperament: the hot-dry temperament and the cold one with small blood are an impediment because each one has small superfluous moisture and the expulsion brings to its excessive deficiency”.<sup>153</sup>

In chapter two, instead, Ibn al-Amshāṭī addresses explicitly those who have a dry temperament and recommends them to take special measures when travelling in a hot climate:

“If the traveller [in a hot weather] has a dry temperament, he should take some barley mush (*sawīq al-sha'īr*) and fruit syrup before the journey, because in the person with this temperament the yellow bile is more abundant, and therefore he needs to keep his stomach busy with food (...)”.<sup>154</sup>

Since sickness is caused by the loss of the natural balance of a body, medicine has the scope of maintaining or recreating the original right proportion of elements. Therapy is oriented on the principle *contraria contrariis*: any alteration of the natural balance is healed by introducing in the body, through food or medicaments, substances which temperament is opposite to the one of the element causing the alteration.<sup>155</sup> In the medieval Islamic medical tradition, dietetics has a pivotal role in this sense, as can be seen from the abundance of treatises that stress the therapeutic properties of food and give it priority over other remedies.<sup>156</sup> *Al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* is no exception to that: together with simple and compound remedies, foodstuffs are often prescribed for preventing or curing certain diseases. An example is the same quotation from chapter two reported above: barley mush (*sawīq al-sha'īr*), being a food with cold-wet temperament, is suitable for contrasting the heat and dryness caused by hot weather.<sup>157</sup> Similarly, chapter three suggests the consumption of cold-tempered foods such as spinach (*isfānākh*), portulaca (*baqla ḥamqā'*), pumpkin (*qara'*) and lettuce (*khass*) to compensate the effects of hot winds.<sup>158</sup> Chapter four, instead, recommends the use of hot-tempered

<sup>151</sup> Following the Greek medical tradition, medieval Islamic medicine considers the human body as a single unit consisting of seven components: other than the *mizāj* (temperament) and the *akhlāt* (humours), the other components are the *arkān* (elements), *af'āl* (functions), *arwāh* (life force) *a'qā'* (organs) and *quwā* (faculties). See Bashar Saad and Omar Said, *Greco-Arab and Islamic herbal medicine: traditional system, ethics, safety, efficacy, and regulatory issues* (New Jersey, John Wiley & Sons, 2011), 126. A wider discussion of the medical theory related to these elements would not be particularly relevant in this context, since the present analysis focuses only on the aspects of this medical theory that emerge from the text of *al-Isfār*.

<sup>152</sup> Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, 57.

<sup>153</sup> MS folio 2, verso, line 9-12. Edition § 1.a.

<sup>154</sup> MS folio 4, recto, line 16-17, folio 4, verso, line 1-2. Edition § 2.b.

<sup>155</sup> Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, 99.

<sup>156</sup> Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, 99.

<sup>157</sup> MS folio 4, verso, line 6-7. Edition § 2.b.

<sup>158</sup> MS folio 5, recto, line 9-10. Edition § 3.a.

spices such as garlic (*thūm*), nutmeg (*jawz*), mustard (*khardal*), asafoetida (*ḥaltūt*), onion (*baṣal*), pepper (*fulful*), cinnamon (*dār ṣīn*) and ginger (*zanjabīl*) to increase bodily temperature in cold climate.<sup>159</sup>

As mentioned in the previous section, Ibn al-Amshāṭī gives also recommendations related to clothing. Such an attention to his aspect is not unusual: other treatise belonging to the same medical tradition stress the importance of clothing and clothing materials for changing or maintaining the temperature of the body.<sup>160</sup>

Finally, when the bodily conditions are seriously damaged and neither dietary nor practical measures are sufficient for bringing the body back to its healthy state, drugs represent the solution. Since the pharmaceutical section of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* occupies a considerable space in the treatise and presents a remarkable variety of simple and compound remedies, this part deserves a separate analysis. The following section will therefore discuss in details the *materia medica* of the treatise.

### 2.2.2 Pharmacology

The considerable amount of medicaments that feature in *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* is indicative of the pivotal role of pharmacology in treating diseases. In the medieval Islamic medical system, pharmacology represented in fact one of three pillars of therapy, together with surgery and dietetics.<sup>161</sup> As happened for medicine, pharmacology continued and surpassed the Hellenistic tradition, and became one of the fields in which Islamic sciences excelled, also because of the broader range of remedies available in the Islamic domains.<sup>162</sup> In addition to monographic treatise, pharmacology became the subject of special chapters in medical compendia, as in the case of *al-Isfār*.

It is true that simple and compound remedies figure all over the treatise, as for every of the situations treated in the main chapters Ibn al-Amshāṭī indicates some specific drugs that the traveller must use in such situation. The pill for quenching thirst (*al-ḥubb al-musakkin li-l-'aṭsh*) of chapter one and the ointment prescribed in chapter six (*qayrūtī*) mentioned above are among the remedies that appear within the main eight chapters. In chapter two Ibn al-Amshāṭī recommends the traveller to apply regularly violet or rose oil mixed with cold water on his temples (*wa-yajibu an yaṣḥabahu fī safarihi dahan al-ward wa-l-banaḥsaj li-yasta'mila minhā sā'a ba'd sā'a 'alā ṣadghayhi bi-l-mā' al-bārid*) in order to minimize the damages caused by extreme heat.<sup>163</sup> Rubbing with hot-tempered oils such as iris oil (*sawsan*), lily oil (*zanbaq*), castor oil (*khurū'*) and chamomile oil (*bābūnaj*) is instead prescribed in chapter four against the damages of extreme cold.<sup>164</sup> However, besides the remedies scattered in these chapters, Ibn al-Amshāṭī dedicates an entire, independent section of the treatise, the *khātima*, to the inventory of the drugs that a traveller should carry with himself.

In line with the Galenic and medieval Islamic pharmaceutical tradition, Ibn al-Amshāṭī divides the remedies in two main groups: simple (*al-adwiya al-mufrada*) and compound remedies (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*).<sup>165</sup> The first part of the *khātima* deals with simple remedies and divides them in two

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<sup>159</sup> MS folio 6, verso, line 10-12. Edition § 4.c.

<sup>160</sup> Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, 101.

<sup>161</sup> Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, 103.

<sup>162</sup> Savage Smith, E.: "Ṭibb" in *EI2*. See also Leigh Chipman, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 4.

<sup>163</sup> MS folio 4, verso, line 9-11. Edition § 2.b.

<sup>164</sup> MS folio 6, verso, line 3-4. Edition § 4.c.

<sup>165</sup> Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, 103.

subgroups according to their temperament (hot or cold). The second part of the *khātima* presents a more diverse categorization of compound remedies:

“The second chapter deals with what [the traveller] should bring along of syrups (*ashriba*), robs (*rubūb*), electuaries (*ma'ājīn*), pills (*hubūb*), salves (*shiyāfāt*), pastilles (*aqrās*), cataplasms (*safūfāt*), collyria (*akhāl*), eye-salves (*shiyāfāt al-'ayn*) oils (*adhān*), liniments (*marāhim*), powders (*dharūrāt*) and dentifrice (*sanūn*)”.<sup>166</sup>

This categorization of compound remedies resembles that of the two main professional dispensaries (*aqrābādhīnāt*)<sup>167</sup> circulating in Egypt and the Levant at the time Ibn al-Amshāfī wrote *al-Isfār*: the *al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr* by the Iraqi scholar Ibn al-Tilmīdh (466/1074-569/1165)<sup>168</sup> and the *Minhāj al-dukkān* by the Egyptian al-Kūhīn al-'Aṭṭār.<sup>169</sup> In comparison with these two professional dispensaries, however, *al-Isfār* presents a more limited range of categories and recipes: for instance, *al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr* contemplates more than fifty kinds of compound remedies for a total of more than four hundred recipes, while in *al-Isfār* approximatively fifty recipes in total are grouped under thirteen categories.<sup>170</sup>

Likewise, also the measurement system of *al-Isfār* is much more limited than the one presented in professional formularies. The *dirham*, the *daniq*, the *raṭl* and the *mithqāl*,<sup>171</sup> are only

<sup>166</sup> MS folio 11, recto, line 4-6. Edition § 10. The *rubūb* are made of “inspissated juice of ripe fruit, obtained by evaporation of the juice over a fire till it acquires the consistence of a syrup”. The *ma'ājīn* are “pasty mass composed of a medicine, usually in powder form, mixed in a palatable medium, as syrup, honey, or other sweet substance”. The *safūfāt* are “a compound medicinal powder sprinkled externally” and the *marāhim* “a liquid or semifluid preparation that is applied to the skin as an anodyne or a counterirritant”. See Chipman, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, 281.

<sup>167</sup> The Arabic word for dispensatorium, *aqrābādhīn*, comes from Greek γράφιδιον via Syriac *graphīdhīn*. See A. Dietrich, “al-Kōhēn al-'Aṭṭār” in *EI2*.

<sup>168</sup> Ibn al-Tilmīdh (also known as Muwaffiq al-Mulk and Amin al-Dawla) was a Christian Arab physician of Baghdād. Son of a physician, he studied for a long time in Persia before returning to Baghdād and succeeding his father. He was highly esteemed by his contemporaries and was appointed *rā'is al-aṭibba'* and director of the famous 'Aḡudī hospital of Baghdād, a role that he kept until his death at the age of 92. Some of his students became eminent physicians and founded medical schools outside Iraq: among them, al-Dakhwār (d. 628/1230) was the first teacher of Ibn al-Nafīs (whose *al-Mūjaz fī al-Ṭibb* has been discussed in Chapter I). According to later sources, it seems that Ibn al-Tilmīdh based most of his works (commentaries and summaries) on the works from the Hippocratic Corpus and from Galen, or of works by Ibn Sīnā, al-Rāzī, and Ḥunayn. His pharmacological work, *al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr*, knew a very large diffusion and replaced the pharmacopoeia of Sābūr b. Sahl (d. 255/869) which had been used until then. See: M. Meyerhof, “Ibn al-Tilmīdh” in *EI2*.

<sup>169</sup> The *Minhāj al-dukkān wa-dustūr al-a'yān fī tarkīb al-adwiya al-nāfi'a li'l-'abdān* (“The management of the [pharmacist's] shop and the rule for the notables on the preparation and composition of medicines beneficial to the bodies”) is a manual for professional pharmacists. It was written in Cairo around 658/1260 by the Jewish pharmacist Abū al-Munā Dāwud ibn Abī Naṣr al-Kūhīn al-'Aṭṭār al-Hārūnī al-Isrā'īlī, about whom almost nothing is known. The book is divided in 25 chapters containing a great amount of simple drugs, recipes of compound remedies, a list of measures and weights, instructions for the gathering and storage of the *materia medica*, and professional advice for running a pharmacy. It became a most popular work and continued to be used at least until the 1960s. See A. Dietrich, “al-Kōhēn al-'Aṭṭār”, in *EI2*, and Chipman, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, 1. On the circulation of these formularies in the Mamluk Sultanate see Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital*, 215. These two pharmacopoeias have been recently the subject of deep research, the results of which have been published in two main books: Leigh Chipman's *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, and Oliver Kahl: *The Dispensary of Ibn al-Tilmīdh*, (Leiden, Brill 2007).

<sup>170</sup> *Al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr* includes categories that do not figure in *al-Isfār*, such as stomachics (*jawāriṣh*) elixirs (*iksīrīn*), purgatives (*mushil*), etc. See: Kahl, *The Dispensary of Ibn al-Tilmīdh*, 36-38.

<sup>171</sup> Approximatively, the *dirham* would measure 3,125g, the *daniq* (1/6 *dirham*) 0,52g; the *raṭl* 406g and the *mithqāl* 4,46g. See Kahl, *The Dispensary of Ibn al-Tilmīdh*, 33. The *dirham* and the *mithqāl* were the basic units of measurement. Derived from those used in the late Roman Empire, the weights and measures used in Islamic Egypt and Syria were not uniform in the whole area, but each region had its own weights. This meant that physicians and pharmacists might be using the same words for different weights. Therefore, several medical encyclopaedias would devote a chapter to this

metrological units used in *al-Isfār* besides some less precise (or nonspecific) units like the *miqdār* (literally “amount”). The metrological units used by Ibn al-Tilmīdh and al-Kūhīn al-‘Aṭṭār are instead more numerous and articulated.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, professional pharmacopoeias such as the *Minhāj al-dukkān* devote a chapter specifically to the explanation of parameters used, due to the fact that the metrological units were not homogeneous in the territories of the *Dār al-Islām*. *Al-Isfār* instead does not show a similar concern, probably because it was originally supposed to address an audience that attributed to the various units the same value as the author of the treatise.

Similar limitations can also be noticed in the pharmacological apparatus necessary for realizing the medicaments of *al-Isfār*. The preparation of the drugs listed in the *khātima* and elsewhere in the treatise does not require more than a simple pestle and, occasionally, a pot. Other formularies do instead present a range of utensils owned by professional pharmacists and medical practitioners. Some of the recipes of *al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr*, for instance, imply the use of more or less special tools and containers that not all people could possess, and that certainly could not be easily carried in a journey.<sup>173</sup> The preparation of the medicament called *dīk bar dīk*, for instance, requires the use of an aludel (*uthāl*),<sup>174</sup> the recipes of “cheese water” that of a stone cauldron (*ṭinjīr ḥajar*),<sup>175</sup> etc.

Finally, also the variety of *materia medica* listed in *al-Isfār* is not as diverse and rich as the one of *al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr* and the *Minhāj al-dukkān*. A comparison between the recipes, substances and products that feature in *al-Isfār* and those reported in the other major formularies could possibly be the subject of further investigation, but for the time being it has only proved that some recipes of remedies with a similar name do not have the same ingredients in all the pharmacopoeias.<sup>176</sup>

However, despite the limitations of *al-Isfār* in terms of *materia medica*, metrological units and pharmacological apparatus, it is still possible to say that the *khātima* presents the same kind of organization of the major pharmacological texts of the time. This similarity does not regard only the division between simple/compound remedies and the typologies of applications that shapes the general structure of pharmacopoeias. Also in the internal structure around which individual recipes are built, *al-Isfār* follows the scheme that features more or less invariably in *al-Aqrābādhīn* and the *Minhāj*. Each recipe is constituted by these essential parts: the name of the remedy, its range of application, the list of necessary ingredients with doses, the instructions for combining the ingredients and finally the directions for its use.<sup>177</sup> A regular recipe would therefore look like the following example:

“(...) the Cassia Fistula electuary, useful against colics, bilious and phlegmatic diseases of the intestines: take Isfahan violet and Turpethum forty [dirhams] each, Indian salt seven and

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topic in order to avoid ambiguities that could have been dangerous for both the consumer’s safety and the producer’s reputation. Chipman, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, 89-92.

<sup>172</sup> Kahl, *The Dispensatory of Ibn al-Tilmid*, 33-34, and Chipman, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo*, 89-92.

<sup>173</sup> For an overview of the pharmacological apparatus of *al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr* see: Kahl, *The Dispensatory of Ibn al-Tilmid*, 34-36.

<sup>174</sup> Kahl, *The Dispensatory of Ibn al-Tilmid*, 164.

<sup>175</sup> Kahl, *The Dispensatory of Ibn al-Tilmid*, 116.

<sup>176</sup> As an example, if we compare the three recipes of pastilles reported in *al-Isfār* (*qurṣ al-kāfūr*, *qurṣ al-‘ūd* and *qurṣ al-ward*) with the recipes of the homonymous pastilles reported in *al-Aqrābādhīn al-Kabīr*, we see that, although the pastilles are prescribed for the same diseases, the ingredients indicated in one treatise are different from the ones indicated in the other. See: Kahl, *The Dispensatory of Ibn al-Tilmid*, 50 and 56; and *al-Isfār* § 10.6.1-2-3.

<sup>177</sup> On the presence of these elements in the recipes of *al-Aqrābādhīn* see Oliver Kahl, *The Dispensatory of Ibn al-Tilmid*, 27-28.

a half dirhams, fennel seeds, anise and mastic five dirhams each, liquorice paste fourteen dirhams, fifteen dirhams of Scammonia and hundred dirhams of Cassia Fistula beans. Weight all these drugs and mix with one hundred dirhams of Cassia Fistula essence (...) and hundred dirhams of honey. Drink from five to ten dirhams.”<sup>178</sup>

In conclusion, a comparison with the two main pharmacopoeias circulating in the medieval Islamic world demonstrates that the pharmacological section of *al-Isfār* represents a miniature version of major pharmacological works. In fact, it is much reduced for what concerns the variety of remedies, the substances used, the instruments etc., but it does follow the structural patterns of bigger pharmacopoeias. To a certain extent, at least for what concerns some particular recipes, we can attribute the differences between these treatises to the fact that they were written at different stages in the development of Islamic pharmacology. However, the most important reason that determines the limitations of *al-Isfār*'s pharmacological section is the audience that the treatise addresses. In the *khātima*, Ibn al-Amshāṭī makes a careful selection of remedies useful against specific diseases that may occur during a journey and suitable for people not professionally acquainted with the preparation of medicaments. Yet, in this selection Ibn al-Amshāṭī managed to respect the organizational patterns around which professionals pharmacopoeias were built.

As in the case of the medical theory, also in the case of pharmacology Ibn al-Amshāṭī successfully manages to select and adapt contents belonging to an advanced scientific tradition for the needs of an audience lacking the instruments of professionals.

### 2.3 Stylistic features of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*

As a conclusion to this chapter, it is opportune add some general remarks on the stylistic features of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*. It must be said that, overall, the language of the treatise is fairly simple and does not display noteworthy esthetical features. The only parts to show a clear aesthetical concern are the preface and the conclusion of the treatise, both written in rhymed prose (*saj'*). The use of ornamented language at the beginning and at the end of the treatise is not unusual: in fact, even the functional *risālas* that, like *al-Isfār*, do not have a literary pretension, may employ pieces of *saj'* in order to please the audience,<sup>179</sup> especially if addressed to state officials and meant to be read by a larger, knowledgeable public.<sup>180</sup> In *al-Isfār*, the use of the rhymed prose also mark a clear distinction between the so called “superscription” and “subscription” and the main body of the text (i.e. the introduction, the main chapter and the *khātima*).<sup>181</sup>

A part from the preface and the conclusion, the treatise is characterized by a very practical style, without ornamented and redundant passages. Abbreviations are not used (at least in the Cairo Manuscript), but the author generally prefers short, dry sentences, recurring often to the use of suffix pronouns and avoiding unnecessary repetitions. In the recipes, for instance, if some of the ingredients are needed in the same amount, the quantity is reported just once at the end of the list of those

<sup>178</sup> MS folio 13, recto, line 3-10. Edition § 10.3.2. In *al-Isfār*, recipes that have an identical process of preparation are grouped together and the preparation is illustrated just once. The twelve different kinds of oils listed at the end of the treatise, for instance, share the same method of preparation, which is explained once for all of them. For the translation of the *materia medica* the following book has been used: M.A.H. Ducros, *Essai sur le droguier populaire Arabe de l'Inspectorat des Pharmacies du Caire* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale, 1930).

<sup>179</sup> Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, “The Essay and Debate (Al-Risāla and Al-Munāẓara)” in *Arabic literature in the post-classical period*, edited by Roger Allen and D. S. Richards (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2006), 136.

<sup>180</sup> A. Arazi, H. Ben-Shammai, “Risāla” in *EI2*.

<sup>181</sup> On the definition of these sections see: Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 80.



ingredients. Instructions for the preparation of remedies generally employ very few words (almost as in the case of our cookbooks), such as *yudaqu al-jamī*, “crush everything”, *yuqarriṣ aqrāṣ.ruqāqan*, “make [it] into flat pastilles” etc. Conditional clauses, characterized by the coordination of “*in...idhā...*” or “*in...ann...*” (“if...then...”), are very common and represent an effective way of indicating the suitable medicament for each specific situation (for instance: *fa-’in kāna wāriman [...]* *ann yūḍi’ al-’uḍw fī mā’ al-saljam*, “and if it was swollen [...] put the limb in rapeseed water”).<sup>182</sup> However, such a stylistic drought does not affect the quality of *al-Isfār* nor does it compromise the function of the treatise. On the contrary, instructions generally result very clear, and conciseness contributes in avoiding ambiguities. A similar style often features in the kind of short, technical monographs to which *al-Isfār* belongs. Authors writing this kind of essay, that Hämeen-Anttila has categorized as “technical *risālas*”,<sup>183</sup> show indeed little concern for the aesthetical aspect of the work. Instead, they spend a much bigger effort in articulating the concepts they wish to express in the clearest way possible, exploiting the great flexibility that characterizes the *risāla* in terms of length, content and style.

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<sup>182</sup> MS folio 7, verso, line 15-16. Edition § 5.c.

<sup>183</sup> Hämeen-Anttila, “The Essay and Debate (Al-Risāla and Al-Munāzara)”, 134. The term *risāla* does not indicate only a piece of written correspondence (whether private or official) between two parts, but it is also loosely used, over the history or Arabic literature, for compendia and monographs of (usually) limited extension written on a specific topic. Hämeen-Anttila categorizes *risālas* according to a tripartite scheme that distinguishes functional (i.e. conveying a message to a recipient), technical (i.e. essays or tracts) and literary (i.e. belonging to the tradition of the belle-lettres) *risālas*.

## CHAPTER 3

### The literary genre to which *al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār* belongs

Following the analysis of the form and contents of *al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār*, this chapter attempts to demonstrate its belonging to a particular literary genre. As it will be argued here, the prescriptive character of *al-Isfār* allows us to include this medical treatise in a specific category of normative travel literature, namely the *tadbīr al-musāfir* (i.e. “conduct of traveller”). By giving an overview of other examples of this literary tradition, this chapter aims at identifying the characteristics *al-Isfār* shares with previous works as well as its distinctive features.

#### 3.1 Normative travel literature: a premise

The kind of literary production dealing with the normative aspects of travelling, to which *al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār* belongs, has not been explored in depth. In fact, most of the scholarly investigation on travel literature has focused on travel reports, while much less has been done to examine normative rather than descriptive works.<sup>184</sup> However, travel literature, in a broad sense, comprehends not only works recounting factual or fictional voyages, or describing routes and remote places, but also writings that define the proper conduct to observe during a journey, and aim at providing travellers with the necessary knowledge useful to preserve their moral and physical integrity in a delicate situation. In fact, since travelling represents a different condition from the ordinary and sedentary life, the traveller needs a special set of habits and rules that can help him through his difficult situation.

In Arabic literature, normative works for travellers deal with various aspects of travelling, and especially with its moral, legal and medical implications.<sup>185</sup> Some works; for instance, indicate how to manage properties before leaving for a journey, while others focus on the ways of maintaining a healthy body while travelling. In his book *Islam and travel in the Middle Ages*, Houari Touati outlines the characteristics on the literature of the “right way to travel” and discusses the relevance of some works in the development of this genre in Arabic literature. In this chapter, I would like to argue that, within the genre of normative travel literature, it is possible to make a further distinction between *adab al-musāfir* and *tadbīr al-musāfir*. With the former, authors generally refer to works with a more ethical and legal connotation, while the latter is used for indicating the medical “regime for travellers”. Indeed, the moral and the hygienic code are not mutually exclusive as a topic and, as we will see in the examples discussed below, works of *adab al-musāfir* often include a section

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<sup>184</sup> It has been argued that some travel reports (like the *Rihla* of Ibn Jubayr) also contain practical indications for travellers, such as how and where to find support and assistance. See Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital*. 189-190. Overall, it is possible to say that the “normative” works on travelling are complementary to the travel reports, and that, if considered together, they give a more complete picture of the multi-layered implications of travelling in pre-modern Islamic world, from its most practical aspects to its religious value.

<sup>185</sup> Because of the special status of travellers, Islamic law has seen the urgency of elaborating the legal aspect of travelling in order to facilitate the traveller in the carrying of his religious duties. In particular, rules were drawn regarding ritual purity, prayers and fasting during the travel. See Peters, R., “Safar”, in *EI2*. As we will see in this paragraph, some scholars added to this a series of duties that the traveller should perform before leaving, in order to facilitate the life of his relatives and community after his departure.

related to body care. However, as they present important differences in terms of authorship and purpose, it is opportune to recognize the *adab al-musāfir* and *tadbīr al-musāfir* as different kinds of “*viatica peregrinorum*”.

### 3.2 Works regulating the religious, moral and legal aspects of travelling: the *adab al-musāfir*

In Islamic contexts, the normative travel literature made its appearance in the late-eighth century CE, and matured around the tenth century.<sup>186</sup> The *Mu‘jam al-Udaba’* by Yāqūt, for instance, mentions a book entitled *Kitāb fī ādāb al-musāfirīn* (“On the conduct of travellers”), now lost, among the works of the polymath and hadith expert Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nawqātī, also known as Abū ‘Umar al-Sijistānī (d. after 382/992).<sup>187</sup>

By the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the *adab al-musāfir* figures among the sections of major *ḥadīth* works. For instance, the Sunni scholar al-Bayhaqī (384/994-458/1066)<sup>188</sup> devoted to the normative aspect of travelling a section of his massive *ḥadīth* collection, the *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*. The last part of the *Kitāb al-ḥajj* entitled *Jummā’ abwāb ādāb al-safar*, presents a series of *ḥadīth* indicating what a traveller should say or do in certain situations.<sup>189</sup> At the beginning of the section, al-Bayhaqī reports hadiths related to the ritual of *istikhāra*,<sup>190</sup> the day recommended for the departure (*al-yawm alladhī yastahibbu an yakūn khurūjuhu fīhi*),<sup>191</sup> the invocations to say leaving the house, the farewell from one’s people (*al-tawdī’*) and other initial stages of a journey. The end of the chapter report instead hadiths and qur’anic quotations related to the return of the traveller. Most of the hadiths report invocations and prayers the traveller should say in different moments of the journey: while stopping to camp, when fearing some people (*bāb mā yaqūlu idhā khāfa qawman*),<sup>192</sup> when darkness takes him by surprise (*bāb mā yaqūlu idhā janna ‘alayhi al-layl wa hwa fī al-safar*).<sup>193</sup> Some hadiths indicates instead which acts are recommended, disapproved or forbidden during a journey: for instance, it is forbidden to hit in the face the animals used for riding (*bāb al-nahī ‘an al-ḍarb fī al-wajh*)<sup>194</sup> or disapproved to travel alone (*bāb karāhiyat al-safar waḥdihi*).<sup>195</sup>

<sup>186</sup> Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 240.

<sup>187</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Udaba’*, ed. Ihsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1993) 5:2345. See also: Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 240. For the translation of *adab* as “norm of conduct” see: F. Gabrieli, “Adab”, in *EI2*.

<sup>188</sup> Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Husayn al-Bayhaqī, Shāfi‘ī jurist and an Ash‘arī theologian. He attended the *ḥadīth* classes of a large number of scholars in the major scholarly centres of Iran, Iraq, and the Arabian Peninsula and became a teacher himself. He authored a number of substantial works on *ḥadīth* and religious law, among which the massive ten-volume *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā* mentioned above. See E. Dickinson, “al-Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr” in *EI3*.

<sup>189</sup> Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Husayn al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā (Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2003), 5:409-431.

<sup>190</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, 5:409. *Istikhāra* derives from a root *kh-y-r*, which expresses the idea of option or choice and consists of entrusting God with the choice between two or more possible options. Divine inspiration usually takes place by means of a *ru’yā* (i.e. vision or dream). In order to avoid a return to paganism, Islam set the rules under which the rite of *istikhāra* might be practised. According to the Tradition, this practice consists in two *rak‘a*, followed by a prayer, emphasising the omniscience and omnipotence of God and including a reference to the subject of the consultation. After pronouncing one of the various existing formulas, the devotee goes to sleep and receive the revelation in a dream. Generally, the inspiration revealing the decision to be taken is immediately perceived, but in case the response is not clear enough in the consultant’s mind, he can recur to alternative solutions. There is not a fixed place where the *istikhāra* should be performed, but apparently sleeping in a sanctuary or mosque was a common practice. See: T. Fahd, “*Istikhāra*”, in *EI2*.

<sup>191</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, 5:411.

<sup>192</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, 5:415.

<sup>193</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, 5:414.

<sup>194</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, 5:418.

<sup>195</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-sunan al-kubrā*, 5:421.

The prominent jurist and theologian al-Ghazālī (450/1058-505/1111) also included a book of *ādāb al-musāfir* in his *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*.<sup>196</sup> Like al-Bayhaqī's *Jummā' abwāb ādāb al-safar*, also al-Ghazālī's *Kitāb ādāb al-safar* is a collection of hadiths and qur'anic quotation aimed at providing travellers with a moral/religious code based on the example of the Prophet. The *Kitāb ādāb al-safar* represents a systematic illustration of the practical, legal and devotional acts that a traveller must (or should) perform from the beginning to the end of his journey (*min awwal al-nuhūd ilā ākhar al-rujū'*).<sup>197</sup> In the first part of the book, al-Ghazālī discusses the purpose (*niyya*) and advantages (*fawā'id*) of travelling. Here, al-Ghazālī develops a categorization based on the Islamic legal categories that distinguishes cases in which travelling is opportune or forbidden, mandatory or supererogatory.<sup>198</sup> For instance, travelling for the pursuit of knowledge is mandatory or supererogatory depending on the type of knowledge the traveller pursues,<sup>199</sup> it is mandatory if for devotional purposes and recommended if someone is escaping from a situation of religious disorder,<sup>200</sup> but forbidden if someone is escaping from a plague.<sup>201</sup>

The second part of the *Kitāb ādāb al-safar* articulates in eleven chapters the moral, religious legal duties of travellers such as paying the debts before leaving (*radd al-muḥālim wa-quḍā' al-duyūn*),<sup>202</sup> bidding farewell from relatives and friends (*an yuwaddi' rufaḳā' al-ḥuḍḍar wa-l-ahl wa-l-asdiqā'*),<sup>203</sup> performing the *istikhāra* and saying certain invocations before leaving the house.<sup>204</sup> Some of these chapters report hadiths related to practical recommendations. The second chapter, for example, deals with the choice of a traveling companion (*an yakhtāra rafīqan wa-lā yakhruja waḥdihi*) and the ninth one with the proper treatment of the animal used for riding.<sup>205</sup> Some of the practices recommended to the traveller on the base of the Prophet's example have a distinct hygienic connotation. For example, the tenth chapter (*yanbaghī an yastashābuhu sittat ashyā'*, “the traveller should carry with himself seven objects”) reports two versions of an hadith related by 'Ā'isha in which she indicates some objects that the Prophet would necessarily carry with himself in a journey: a mirror, a flask, a pair of scissors, a *miswāk*, a kohl jar and a comb. Other hadiths reported in the same chapter stress the importance the Prophet attributed to the application of kohl, which he praised for improving the eyesight and strengthening the eyelashes. Al-Ghazālī continues saying that the Sufī added to the list of objects to be carried in a journey also a coffee pot to keep pure water and a rope to dry washed clothes.

<sup>196</sup> Considered the greatest of al-Ghazālī's works for its size and for the importance of its content, the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* is a complete guide for the devout Muslim to every aspect of the religious life, from worship and devotional practices, to conduct in daily life and advance along the mystic way. It is divided into four “quarters”, dealing with *'ibādāt* (cult practices), *ādāt* (social customs), *muhlikāt* (vices, or faults of character leading to perdition), *munjiyāt* (virtues, or qualities leading to salvation), and each quarter is divided in ten books (W. Montgomery, “al-Ghazālī”, in *EI2*). The *Kitāb ādāb al-safar* discussed here is the seventh book of the *'ādāt* quarter. See Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2005), 712-737.

<sup>197</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 713.

<sup>198</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 713-720.

<sup>199</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 714 (*al-safar fī ṭalab al-'ilm, wa-huwa imma wājib wa-imma nafl, wa-dhalika bi-ḥasab kawn al-'ilm wājiban aw naflan*).

<sup>200</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 716 (*an yakūn al-safar li-l-harb min sabab mushawwash li-l-dīn wa-dhalika ayḍan ḥasan*).

<sup>201</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 716 (*wa-lakin yastathnī minhu al-ṭā'ūn fa-lā yanbaghī an yafīr minhu li-wurūd al-nahī fīhi*).

<sup>202</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 720.

<sup>203</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 722.

<sup>204</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 722-723.

<sup>205</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 721-723.

In the section that follows (*fī-mā lā budda lil-musāfir min ta'allumihi min rukhaṣ al-safar wa-adala al-qibla wa-l-awqāt*), al-Ghazālī illustrates the religious/ritual concessions admitted for the travellers (such as the *tayammam*, i.e. doing the ablutions with sand instead of water, or the breaking of fast) and indicates the conditions under which they are admissible. Finally, he concludes the *Kitāb ādāb al-safar* by explaining the principles for knowing the *qibla* direction and the right time for the five prayers.<sup>206</sup>

A chapter on the *ādāb al-safar* figures also in a later hadith collection, the *Makārim al-Akhlāq* by the Shi'i scholar al-Ṭabrisī (active in the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>207</sup> This chapter (*fī al-safar wa-mā yata'allaqu bihi*)<sup>208</sup> also treats many of the themes discussed in the hadiths collections mentioned above, although with a different structure. In the eight parts that constitute this chapter, al-Ṭabrisī addresses themes such as the convenient and inconvenient time for travelling (*fī al-safar wa-l-awqāt al-mahmūda wa-l-madhmūma lihi*),<sup>209</sup> the proper invocations to say at the beginning of a journey (*fī-mā yastahibb 'and al-khurūj ilā al-safar*),<sup>210</sup> the code of conduct to observe during the travel (*makārim al-akhlāq fī al-safar*) and the suitability of a companion.<sup>211</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī dedicates a chapter to practices related to commerce, such as the protecting of the baggage, pondering the best choice in business and searching goods (*fī ḥifz al-mitā' wa-l-istikhāra wa ṭalab al-ḥāja*)<sup>212</sup> and another section to the right way of taking care of the pack animals (*fī ḥusn al-qiyām 'alā dawābb*).<sup>213</sup> The *Makārim al-Akhlāq* provides the traveller also with dietary advice: the section entitled *fī badhl al-zād wa-l-marū' fī al-safar* ("on the abundance and wholesomeness of the provisions during the journey") recommends the travellers to improve their diet and include in it almonds, sugar, barley, roasted nuts and sweets.<sup>214</sup>

A later, less famous example of *adab al-musāfir* is represented by the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century hadiths collection *al-Ghurar al-sāfir fīmā yaḥtāju 'ilāhi al-Musāfir* (*The highlights about what the Travellers Need*), authored by the Mamluk scholar Muhammad Ibn Bahādur al-Zarkashī (745/1344-794/1392).<sup>215</sup> An extant, incomplete copy of *al-Ghurar al-sāfir* is preserved in the manuscript

<sup>206</sup> Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 727.

<sup>207</sup> Son of the Imāmī scholar Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan, Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī was active during the 6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. He owes his *nisba* to the village of Ṭabris (Ṭabrish), between Kāshān and Iṣfahān (see E. Kohlberg, "al-Ṭabrisī" in *EI2*), but neither his birth date nor his death date is known with certainty, despite him being a prominent scholar: only in one instance he is said to have died in 548/1153 in Sabzevār. His *Makārim al-Akhlāq* is among the main Shi'i sources in the field of ethics. It is divided in twelve main chapters in which the author collects hadiths of the Prophet and Imams related to several aspects of life, including hygienic routines such as going to the *ḥammām* and trimming the hairs. See Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq* (Quwait: Maktaba al-Alfayn, 1994), 6 and 605-608.

<sup>208</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, 309-345.

<sup>209</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, 311.

<sup>210</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, 318.

<sup>211</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, 324.

<sup>212</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, 329-332.

<sup>213</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, 339.

<sup>214</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-Akhlāq*, 327.

<sup>215</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Bahādur al-Zarkashī studied *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *uṣūl* in Syria (in Damascus and Aleppo) and Cairo. He became a prominent Shāfi'i jurist, man of letter and exegete, and was active in Cairo as a teacher and as a mufti. He was also connected with the Sufi circles and held the role of *shaykh* in the *khānqāh* Karīm al-Dīn. In the *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, Dāwudī remembers him as an ascetic scholar that spent most of his time in isolation for studying, while people close to him would take care of his needs. See Dāwudī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1983), 2:162. Of the 33 works attributed to him, about 23 are extant, the most famous of which is *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* (where al-Zarkashī brings together every major topic related to understanding the Qur'ān) and the *Zahr al-'arīsh fī taḥrīm al-ḥashīsh* (on the detrimental effects of hashish consumption). As he lived at a time of significant scholarly activity, his works must have drawn the attention of the successive generation of scholars,

collection of the Princeton University Library, and an edition of this work, published with the academic periodical *Majallat al-Ḥikma*, has been used for the present study. The limited access to this work compromises the realization of more exhaustive research: however, from few sources available it is possible to grasp the more distinctive features of this treatise.<sup>216</sup>

*Al-Ghurar al-sāfir* resumes many of the themes treated by previous hadiths collections regarding the moral, religious and practical duties of travellers. However, unlike the other examples of *adab al-musāfir* mentioned above, *al-Ghurar al-sāfir* is not part of a bigger collection of hadiths and qur'anic quotations related various aspects of life, but it is a monography dedicated exclusively to the code of conduct for travellers. In the introduction, al-Zarkashī explains that the treatise does not address any particular patron, but it is meant to be “a friend to the stranger” and “a companion to the lonely”, accompanying the traveller in his voyage (*fa-hadhā kitāb lil-gharīb anīs, lil-wahīd jalīs, yakūn raftiqan lil-musāfir fī safarihi*). The three chapters of this treatise deal with various aspects of travelling, such as its spiritual and material significance, its preparation and the hardships it implies. The first chapter (*fī madlūl al-safar wa-fawā'idihī*, i.e. “on the significance of travelling and its advantages”)<sup>217</sup> gives an overview of the moral and psychological implications of travelling with reference to the Qur'an and the Sunna, quoting *ḥadīth* that are favourable and unfavourable to it. It also explains the advantages and disadvantages of travelling with secular arguments, such as the opportunity of seeing marvellous lands, the personal development that travelling bears, but also suffering it implies, such as homesickness and leaving familiar places and people.<sup>218</sup> As al-Ghazālī did in the *Kitāb ādāb al-safar*, also al-Zarkashī distinguishes two types of travel, the “quest” (*ṭalab*) and the “getaway” (*harab*), and classifies each of them according to the five legal categories (*aḥkām*): *wājib* (necessary), *mustaḥabb* (recommendable), *ḥarām* (illicit), *makrūh* (inconvenient) and *mubāḥ* (admissible). The *harab* voyage is necessary from a place where the illicit prevails, recommendable from a place where “innovation” (*bid'a*) can not be refused, *ḥarām* when a person has been appointed with a public function, inconvenient when one is escaping from a place where a plague has spread, and admissible for the sick temporarily leaving an unhealthy place.<sup>219</sup> The *ṭalab* voyage is necessary for the holy pilgrimage and the jihad, recommendable for pursuing knowledge, illicit when it has sinful purposes, inconvenient when made in order to accumulate money, and admissible when for business and leisure.<sup>220</sup> The second chapter, *fī mā yata'allāqu bihi 'inda al-safar* (“on what concerns [the traveller] for the journey”), illustrates sixteen points that the traveller should accomplish or avoid before his departure. The performing the divination called *istikhāra* figures as the first point recommended in the list, which also includes the prohibition of leaving on Fridays between dawn and

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and it is highly possible that al-Suyūṭī benefited from *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* for the structuring and content of his *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*. See A. Rippin, “al-Zarkashī” in *El2*. *Al-Ghurar al-sāfir* (or *al-sawāfir*) is also mentioned in Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 2:1201.

<sup>216</sup> For the Princeton Manuscript see: “*al-Ghurar al-sawāfir 'an mā yaḥtāju ilayhi al-musāfir*” in Princeton University Library, Online Catalogue (last access 10 April 2020): <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/6265536>. See also: Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 241 (note 61). Touati probably used a different Manuscript since he reports information that are not extant in the manuscript mentioned here. Since I could not consult the manuscript itself, I based the overview of the treatise on the information related by Touati and on the edition by 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Muṣallāḥī published in the *Silsila buḥūth wa-taḥqīqāt mukhtāra min majallat al-ḥikma* (vol 30). The introduction to this edition also attests the existence of other manuscripts of *al-Ghurar al-sāfir*, one in the Zahirīyya Library of Damascus and another in the Jordan University Library. See Muhammad Ibn Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *al-Ghurar al-sāfir fīmā yaḥtāju 'ilāhi al-Musāfir*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Muṣallāḥī (*Silsila buḥūth wa-taḥqīqāt mukhtāra min majalla al-ḥikma*, 30), 5.

<sup>217</sup> Al-Zarkashī, al-Muṣallāḥī (ed.), *al-Ghurar al-sāfir fīmā yaḥtāju 'ilāhi al-Musāfir*, 8.

<sup>218</sup> Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, 241-242.

<sup>219</sup> Al-Zarkashī, al-Muṣallāḥī (ed.), *al-Ghurar al-sāfir fīmā yaḥtāju 'ilāhi al-Musāfir*, 28.

<sup>220</sup> Al-Zarkashī, al-Muṣallāḥī (ed.), *al-Ghurar al-sāfir fīmā yaḥtāju 'ilāhi al-Musāfir*, 29.

noon and of leaving without the consent of the persons to which the traveller must obey (such as his father, etc.), and the suggestion of not leaving when a bad omen appears.<sup>221</sup> All the points presented in this chapter are supported by quotations from the Qur'an or the Sunna.

Finally, the third chapter (*fī al-ādāb al-muta'alliqa bil-safar*) suggests prayers and invocations that the traveller should say or do while leaving and during his travel (e.g., ask God's help against the discomfort and sadness that travelling bears etc.).<sup>222</sup> This chapter includes also section of "*tadbīr al-musāfir*" on the dietary and hygienic rules that the traveller must follow in order to maintain his physical integrity, and gives practical advice related to food and water consumption, travelling in cold and hot lands, quenching thirst and so forth.<sup>223</sup>

As a monography, *al-Ghurar al-sāfir* represents a significant example of a work entirely dedicated to the manners of travelling. Although we can not consider it as representative of a stage in the evolution of the normative literature for travellers, the fact that *al-Ghurar al-sāfir* is an independent selection of hadiths and not part of a bigger collection might be indicative of the importance given to the codification of behavioural and hygienic rules for travellers.

Overall, the examples illustrated above demonstrate that the *adab al-musāfir* is a subject that for many centuries occupied an important place within the hadiths collection. Each *adab al-musāfir* might present some differences depending on the structural organization of the hadiths collection to which it belongs and, as in the case of *al-Ghurar al-sāfir*, could also become the subject of an entire monography. In general, as they all draw their material from the Qur'an and the Sunna, these *adab al-musāfir* re-elaborate and organize in different ways more or less the same themes. Ultimately, these collections of hadiths and qur'anic quotations related to travelling have the common goal of providing the whole community of believers with a protocol to maintain their moral integrity outside the familiar sedentary lifestyle.

The common inclusion of dietary and sanitary advice in this kind of works entails that the care for the body is considered part of the believer's decorum. As the hygienic protocols that figure in these works of *adab al-musāfir* are based on the Qur'an and the Sunna and are authored by religious scholars, they fit into the genre of "prophetic medicine" (*ṭibb nabawī*). The examples of *tadbīr al-musāfir* discussed below, instead, are the result of the development of Greek medicine in Islamic context operated by physicians and, as such, they have exclusively medical focus.

### 3.3 Health guides for travellers: the *tadbīr al-musāfir*

As the *adab al-musāfir* could be part of multi-thematic hadith collections or subject of special monographies, writings on the medical provision for travellers figure both as part of larger medical works and as independent treatises. Major physicians such as al-Rāzī (250/854-323/935) and Ibn Sīnā (370/980-428/1037) treated the topic as part of their medical encyclopaedias.<sup>224</sup>

<sup>221</sup> Al-Zarkashī, al-Muṣallāhī (ed.), *al-Ghurar al-sāfir fīmā yaḥtāju 'ilāhi al-Musāfir*, 31-32.

<sup>222</sup> Al-Zarkashī, al-Muṣallāhī (ed.), *al-Ghurar al-sāfir fīmā yaḥtāju 'ilāhi al-Musāfir*, 51.

<sup>223</sup> Touati, Cochrane (trad), *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, pp. 245-246. The edition of *al-Ghurar al-sāfir* in my possess does not include this section. Various of the remedies suggested by al-Zarkashī figure also in *al-Isfār*, such as the addition of vinegar to water for improving its quality, or the consumption of *kharnūb*, *habb al-ās*, *bazarqaṭūn* and onions.

<sup>224</sup> Gerrit Bos, *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca: The Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj*. (Leiden, Brill: 1992), 5. Medical treatises on the "provision for travellers" are not proper to the Islamic tradition only. For instance, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a attributes to the Greek physician Rufus of Ephesus (fl. ca. AD 100) a work translated as *Maqāla fī tadbīr al-musāfir*. See Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. by Nizār Ridā (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayā, 1965), 57 and Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), III, 66

The 10<sup>th</sup> century physician Ibn al-Jazzār (d. ca. 395/1004)<sup>225</sup> also discusses diseases and treatments for travellers in his medical work *Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir* (“Provisions for the Traveller and the Nourishment for the Sedentary”). Although the *Zād al-musāfir* has been translated in Latin as *Viaticum Peregrinorum*, the book is actually a systematic medical work dealing with diseases affecting both travellers and sedentary people.<sup>226</sup> The theory underlying the *Zād al-musāfir* is mostly drew from the Galenic medical system, but the treatise also contains many valuable quotations from the works of other famous physicians and philosophers, such as Hippocrates, Aristotle and Rufus. As argued by Bos, who recently authored an edition of the seventh book of the treatise, a particular focus on the therapy of the diseases rather than on symptology and physiology seems to be among the main characteristics of the *Zād al-musāfir*.<sup>227</sup> In fact, Ibn al-Jazzār dedicates each chapter of the book to the treatment of a particular disease. For instance, a chapter deals with the treatment for scorpions’ sting, another one with that for vipers’ bite, another one with the treatment of fatigue and so on.<sup>228</sup>

Some physicians instead devoted a monography to the provision for travellers. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, for instance, the 4th/10th century Persian physician Ibn Mandawayh al-Iṣfahānī authored a *Risāla fī tadbīr al-musāfir*, but unfortunately, it has not come to us.<sup>229</sup> A more famous extant medical monography that has been subject of scholarly research in the last few decades is the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān fī safar al-ḥajj* (or *Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj*)<sup>230</sup> by the famous Christian scholar and physician Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (ca. 205/820-300/912).<sup>231</sup>

Despite being six centuries earlier than *al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār*, the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān fī safar al-ḥajj* presents several characteristics in common with Ibn al-Amshāṭī’s treatise. In fact, also Qusṭā ibn Lūqā addresses his *risāla* to a prominent member of the ruling class, namely al-Ḥasan ibn

<sup>225</sup> Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Khālid ibn al-Jazzār was a most famous physician from Qayrawān and pupil of the Jewish physician and philosopher Ishāq ibn Sulaymān al-Isrā‘īlī (ca. 243/855–343/955). As a philanthropist, ibn al-Jazzār showed great attention for the poors, for whom he composed a *Kitāb Ṭibb al-fuḳarā’* (“Medicine for the poor”) that unfortunately went lost like most of his works. He also authored historical and philosophical works, but his only extant works are the *Risāla fī ibdāl al-adwiya* (on succedanea) and the *Zād al-musāfir*. The latter was introduced into Spain by his pupil ‘Umar ibn Ḥafṣ ibn Barīq and became extremely popular in the West. See: H.R. Idris, “Ibn al-Djazzār”, in *EII*.

<sup>226</sup> Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a mentions this two-volume medical encyclopedia as *Kitāb fī ‘ilāj al-amrād* (“On the treatment of diseases”) or *Zād al-musāfir*, and comments that it was one of the greatest accomplishments of Ibn al-Jazzār. See Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, ‘*Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*’, 480-481. For the translation of the *Zād al-musāfir* as *Viaticum Peregrinorum* see: Sezgin, *GAS*, III, 305. The *Zād al-musāfir* became an extremely influential medical handbook in the West: its translations in in Greek and Latin were largely popular in medical schools and universities. See: Gerrit Bos, *Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir, Provisions for the Traveller and Nourishment for the Sedentary, Book 7 (7–30)*, (Leiden, Brill, 2015), ix.

<sup>227</sup> Bos, *Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir*, 1. Only a small part of the *Zād al-musāfir* has been published in critical edition and translated. The edition and translation used for the present study covers only Book 7.

<sup>228</sup> Bos, *Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir*, v-vii.

<sup>229</sup> Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, ‘*Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*’, 460. The treatise is also mentioned by Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 1:852; and Sezgin, *GAS* III, 329.

<sup>230</sup> The title *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān fī safar al-ḥajj* is the one mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a in the ‘*Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*’, 330. Sezgin provides a few more titles, *Risāla fī tadbīr al-badan fī al-safar* or *Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj* and mentions another treatise entitled *Risāla fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa fī al-safar*. See: Sezgin. *GAS*, III, 271). The *Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj* has been edited, translated and commented by Gerrit Bos. See: Gerrit Bos, *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā’s Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca: The Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj* (Leiden, Brill: 1992).

<sup>231</sup> Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba‘labakkī was a medieval scientist and translator of Christian origin. He was fluent in Greek, Syriac and Arabic and became particularly famous for his excellent translations into Arabic of Greek medical books. His biographers attest that he was skilled in many different subjects, including philosophy, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a lists a great number of works written by Qusṭā, most of which in the field of medicine, and some treatises on philology, logic, mathematics and astronomy. See: D. Hill, “Qusṭā b. Lūqā” in *EI2*, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, ‘*Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*’, 329-330.



Makhlad ibn al-Jarrāḥ (d. 269/882), secretary and vizir of the Abbasid administration.<sup>232</sup> Being unable to accompany al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad in his pilgrimage, with the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān*, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā intends to provide his patron with a well-organized health guide containing all the information necessary to preserve his health during the journey through places “where there is no doctor nor any required drug”.<sup>233</sup> Like Ibn al-Amshāṭī, also Qusṭā ibn Lūqā successfully elaborates the theoretical knowledge drawn from a complex and large medical tradition into a concise treatise for those lacking the physician’s medical knowledge.<sup>234</sup>

Besides this essential characteristic, the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* shares with *al-Isfār* a relevant amount of topics, although with a different organization. The fourth chapter of the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān*, for example, deals with the detrimental effects of extremely cold and extremely cold winds, treated by Ibn al-Amshāṭī in two different chapters. Two chapters of the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* deal with the quality of water (chapter eight) and the ways of improving it (chapter nine), a topic to which Ibn al-Amshāṭī devotes a single chapter (the seventh) of his treatise. Some topics that Qusṭā ibn Lūqā treats systematically in a single chapter (such as, for instance, the best times to travel), figure as advice in various occasions in *al-Isfār*, but not as independent matters.

Overall, the general structure of the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* follows a different pattern from that of *al-Isfār*. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Ibn al-Amshāṭī organizes the contents of main chapters dedicating each of them to a specific environmental condition that can affect the traveller’s health: in each chapter, he explains how that condition can affect the traveller and finally he indicates the treatment suitable for the damages caused by that specific condition. The *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* present instead a different organization that does not seem to have such a consistent criterion. Besides the chapters dedicated to the treatment of diseases caused by vermin and by the *dracunculus medinensis*, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā builds his chapters starting from a certain kind of diseases, then explaining its possible causes and indicating the remedies that can be applied. Moreover, the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* does not contain a separate pharmacological section like the one that figures at the end of *al-Isfār* ‘*an ḥukm al-asfār*’, but gives instructions related to the preparation and application of remedies within the chapters.

The *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* discusses also topics that do not figure in *al-Isfār* ‘*an ḥukm al-asfār*’. For instance, the prophylaxis and treatment of the diseases caused by vermin and by the *dracunculus medinensis* (‘*irq madanī*’),<sup>235</sup> that occupies four chapters of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā’s treatise, is completely omitted by Ibn al-Amshāṭī. Moreover, at the beginning of the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* Qusṭā makes a distinction between general medical guides for travellers and guides that specifically address pilgrims to Mecca, as the latter should discuss some additional topics. The regimen of resting, eating and drinking, the cure for the different types of fatigue and for the diseases caused by different winds, and the prophylaxis against vermin are topics that he indicates as proper of any health guide

<sup>232</sup> Bos, *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā’s Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca*, 16-17. Al-Ḥasan ibn Makhlad ibn al-Jarrāḥ was a secretary of Christian origin, converted to Islam, who served the caliph al-Mutawakkil and became vizier under al-Mu’tamid, for the first time in 263/877, then in 264-5/878-9. Later on he was dismissed from the government and sent initially to Egypt (where he was welcomed by Ibn Ṭūlūn) and then to Antioch, where he died in 269/882. See D. Sourdel, “Ibn Makhlad”, in *EI2*.

<sup>233</sup> Bos, *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā’s Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca*, 16-17.

<sup>234</sup> Bos, *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā’s Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca*, 1.

<sup>235</sup> The *dracunculus medinensis* (or Guinea worm), also called *medina worm* or *dragon worm* (member of the phylum Nematoda), is a parasite of humans and it is found in tropical regions of Asia and Africa and South America. It causes a painful infection called *Guinea worm disease*, *dracunculiasis* or *dracontiasis*. See “Guinea worm” and “Guinea worm disease” in Encyclopædia Britannica online (accessed 27/02/2020): <https://www.britannica.com/animal/guinea-worm>; <https://www.britannica.com/science/guinea-worm-disease>.

for travellers. Medical guides addressing the pilgrims to Mecca should treat four additional topics (*fa-ammā safar al-ḥajj [...] qad takhassuhu arba 'a ma'ān ākhar*), namely the knowledge of different waters and their improvement, the ways of quenching thirst, and the prophylaxis and treatments against the *dracunculus medinensis* and the snakes.<sup>236</sup> While we find some of these issues among the topics treated in *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* (such as, for instance, the ways of improving water) in no instance does Ibn al-Amshāṭī make such a distinction between types of health guides.

Finally, a very important characteristic that differentiates *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* from Ibn al-Amshāṭī's treatise is the fact that, in some instances, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā indicates his sources. For example, in the second chapter of the treatise, where he discusses the four different types of fatigue, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā explicitly refers to Galen (*wa-anwā' al-i'ya' allatī dhakaraha jālīnūs arba 'a*, "and the kinds of fatigue mentioned by Galen are four").<sup>237</sup>

For ease reference, the following table summarises the comparison between these two examples of *tadbīr al-musāfir*. Given the different structural organization of the two works, precise indications will be given regarding the space each treatise dedicates to shared topics.

	<i>Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj</i>	<i>al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-Asfār</i>
Purification of the body before travelling	Mentions (chapter 1)	Chapter 1
Best time for travelling	Chapter 1	Mentions (chapter 2 and 4)
Diseases caused by changes of weather	Chapter 6	Mentions (Introduction)
Different kind of fatigue and massages	Chapter 3	No
Quench thirst and hanger	Chapter 10	Chapter 1
Damages caused by extremely hot/cold weather and remedies	No	Chapter 2 and 4
Damages caused by extremely hot winds and remedies	Chapter 4	Chapter 3
Protection of limbs and skin	No	Chapters 5 and 6
Earache and eyes diseases	Chap 5 and 7	No
Water quality and ways to improve it	Chapters 8 and 9	Chapter 7
Travelling by the sea	No	Chapter 8

<sup>236</sup> Bos, *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca*, 18-19.

<sup>237</sup> Bos, *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca*, 26-27. As Bos pointed out, Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā does not quote Galen exactly, despite indicating him as his source. In fact, the fourth kind of fatigue mentioned by Qusṭā, namely the *mu'lim*, does not correspond to Galen's fourth kind, which is "similar to a fatigue but not really a fatigue [...] it only causes leanness and dryness". See Bos, *Qusṭā Ibn Lūqā's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca*, 90-91.

Prophylaxis against vermin and <i>dracunculus medinensis</i>	Chapters 11 and 13	No
Treatment of injuries cause by vermin, snakes and <i>dracunculus medinensis</i>	Chapters 12 and 14	No
Pharmacopoeia (separate)	No	Chapter 9 and 10 ( <i>khatima</i> )
Mentions sources	Yes	No

### 3.4 Concluding remarks on normative travel literature

On the base of the works examined in this chapter, it is possible to draw some conclusions regarding the nature and scope of the literary genre to which they belong. First, as the examples show, normative writings for travellers encompass several different branches of knowledge, such as Medicine, Jurisprudence and Religion. Secondly, the effort that prominent scholars put in collecting, elaborating and organizing material into works that tackled various aspects of travelling indicates the urgency of providing people with a moral, hygienic or medical guide that could help them through the difficulties that travelling implied. The fact that some of these scholars decided to collect useful information in short, practical handbooks that travellers could carry with them represents a significant attempt to create an intellectual connection with those members of the community that were temporarily living in the liminal space of a journey.

Despite this general common scope, however, the tradition of the normative travel literature is twofold. On the one hand, works of *adab al-musāfir* address the whole community of believers and provide them with a code of conduct based on the example of the Prophet in order to preserve their moral integrity in the unfavourable conditions of a journey. Although some of these guides do include indications related to body care, their authorship and sources determine their ascription to the tradition of Prophetic medicine rather than to the Greek-based medical tradition to which health guide for travellers belong. On the other hand, works of *tadbīr al-musāfir* deal exclusively with the therapy of diseases that might appear during a journey, and do not have any ethical or religious implications. The theory on which these treatises are based is rooted in the Galenic medical tradition and its developments in Islamic contexts. Some of these treatises, like the *Kitāb fī tadbīr al-abdān* of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā and *al-Isfār ‘an ḥukm al-asfār*, represent handy, practical guides in which contents are adapted for a special audience (generally an illustrious patient) unfamiliar with medical knowledge.

Finally, if these normative writings represented helpful guides for medieval travellers, for contemporary scholars they can be a useful element that enlightens the social, moral and medical implications of travelling in the pre-modern Islamic world. In other words, if these writings were to reach travellers and accompany them from the first step out of their threshold to their return, by analysing this literary production we can follow those steps and get an interesting insight into the behavioural and hygienic norms of travellers.

## CONCLUSIONS

When in 850/1447 the *kātib* Muḥammad al-Juhanī al-Bārizī embarked upon his journey to Mecca, he must have known that, besides the great, honourable act that the pilgrimage represented, a similar enterprise would also implicate hardships and dangers, not least for his physical health. The lack of medical assistance and the passage through unfavourable environments must have appeared as threatening obstacles to the accomplishment of the pilgrimage. Therefore, he must have needed the help of a trusted physician, one whose authority as a scholar was acknowledged among the other '*ulamā*', and whose abilities as a practitioner were known among the members of the Mamluk court, where Ibn al-Amshāṭī enjoyed the prestigious position of *rā'is al-aṭibbā*'. With a medical booklet such as *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*, al-Bārizī must have felt at least partially reassured, as the manual represented a sort of small substitute of the physician's personal assistance. With *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār*, Ibn al-Amshāṭī created in fact a handy, well organized manual in which al-Bārizī could easily find the medical information he might have needed during the journey.

The manual was realized *ad hoc* by a professional physician for another member of the '*ulamā*' class that was not familiar with medical science, and therefore it had to present its contents with a high degree of practicality, in order to fulfil the needs of a non-professional audience. In this sense, *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* represents a very different work from what was considered to be Ibn al-Amshāṭī's greatest contribution as a scholar, i.e. his two-volume commentary of Ibn al-Nafīs's *al-Mūjaz fī al-Ṭibb*, supposedly meant to circulate among medical students or professional physicians. In fact, unlike the *Sharḥ al-Mūjaz*, *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* was not conceived as an educational tool, but as a work meant to serve a practical purpose. As such, *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* shows that knowledge transmission and communication among the '*ulamā*' could happen in various form and with different literary genres.<sup>238</sup>

*Al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-asfār* is a unique piece of medical literature in which the knowledge of two main scientific tradition, medicine and pharmacology, are combined in an efficient and original structure. Notwithstanding its uniqueness and originality, *al-Isfār* can be included within the tradition of medical treatises written for courtly patrons, and more specifically in the one of the "provisions for travellers" or *tadbīr al-musāfir*. Therefore, *al-Isfār* is not only a valuable example of the process of knowledge synthesis and re-elaboration that reached its apogee during the Mamluk era, but it also represents the continuation of a centuries-old textual tradition, whose earliest examples date back to the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE.

If for a 15<sup>th</sup> century traveller it was a practical *vademecum* for the prevention and therapy of diseases he might contract during a journey, for the modern scholar *al-Isfār* can be a small guide that enlightens some aspects of the vast land of Mamluk literature.

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<sup>238</sup> Bauer has made important remarks regarding the use of various literary genres as a means of communication between the '*ulamā*'. See Bauer, "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches", 109.

## APPENDIX

### *Al-Isfār 'an hukm al-asfār: codicological considerations and notes on the editing method*

As mentioned in the introduction to the essay, the following edition has been based exclusively on the manuscript of *al-Isfār 'an hukm al-asfār* preserved in the National Library of Cairo (the Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Watha'iq al Miṣriyya) within the convolute catalogued as *Majāmi'* 210. This makes necessary to dwell on the codicological features of the manuscript of *al-Isfār*, which have been used as guidelines for editing the main text.

#### *Front page, illumination and ink*

The *recto* of the first page (*ṣaḥr al-kitāb*) where usually the title and the author of the book are indicated,<sup>239</sup> has been left blank. The title of the book is indicated within the opening section of the text (folio 2, recto, line 5).

The manuscript does not display any trace of illumination, with the exception of a one or three-dot text dividers at the beginning and at the end of the book, separating the segments of the rhymed prose (folio 1 verso; 2 recto and 16 verso). This kind of decoration, however, have the function of organizing the text rather than a decorative purpose.<sup>240</sup> Black carbon based ink is by far the most used ink in the manuscript. Red ink (with different degrees of saturation) is used for rubrication (i.e. distinguishing the beginning of a section, a header and the like),<sup>241</sup> overlining<sup>242</sup> and for the text dividers mentioned above.

#### *Mise-en-page, script and orthography*

The layout of the text panel is consistent all over the manuscript, with the text organically distributed on 17 lines, except for f. 16 *verso* that displays a triangular-shape closure of the text and an extra number of lines. The margins of the written area are not marked but the text remains mostly contained in the determined rectangular frame. Traces of indentation on f.1 *recto* indicate the use of a *miṣṭara* (a ruling board).<sup>243</sup>

The script is even and clear: the dimension of the letters is generally kept below the 5mm (7mm for red letters).<sup>244</sup> Although the *naskh* of the manuscript does not display calligraphic or decorative intents, it does indeed show concern for clarity and neatness. This attention for clarity emerges, for instance, when the scribe distinguishes some letters (such as 'ain or *ghayn*) by writing the miniature version of the letter above or below the word (f. 5*verso*, line 15).<sup>245</sup> Moreover, when a word is illegible by mistake or because of too much ink on the top of the pen (cacography), the scribe

<sup>239</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 37.

<sup>240</sup> Deroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 240-241. The circular text divider is often regarded as being a letter *hā'* standing for an abbreviation of the verb *intahā*. See: Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 270.

<sup>241</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 227.

<sup>242</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 173. Overlining recurs pretty often in the manuscript and stand to indicate points where the attention of the reader should focus. In the manuscript of *al-Isfār* this kind of *notabilia* are mostly sketched as a two-denticles curved line (e.g. folio 3, verso, line 11) called *tawqīf*, that represents the logograph of the word قف (*qif*). See: Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 2.

<sup>243</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 203.

<sup>244</sup> Letters are measured on the base of their upper stroke.

<sup>245</sup> Deroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 221.

often provides a clearer version of the same word, whether between the lines of the text (in a miniature version) or in the margin (introduced by a letter *bā'*, for *bayyān*, “elucidation”: see f. 3*verso*).<sup>246</sup>

The use of diacritical dots is not systematic and, in some instances, they are omitted. Somewhere their position is inverted: for instance, letter *sīn* can appear with three dots below.<sup>247</sup>

The orthography of the *hamza* is also not consistent, as it is reported only sporadically and mostly omitted at the end of the words, so that the word *mā'* (ماء), for instance, is usually written as *mā* (ما).

Every page of the manuscript contains a catchword (*istikhrāj*) on the *verso* side (on the left edge of the bottom margin), indicating the first word of the next page. The function of these catchwords is to indicate the order of leaves.<sup>248</sup> The correspondence between the catchword and the first word of the following page indicates that the order of leaves is well preserved and that no page is missing: therefore, they are important for verifying the text integrity.

### *Corrections and marginal comments*

As mentioned above, the manuscript of *al-Isfār* has been corrected in some parts by a different hand other than the copyist of the main text.<sup>249</sup> In some cases, words or text segments are crossed over, and the corrected version is reported either in the body of the text (if the interline is large enough) or in the margins, often introduced by the formula *ṣaḥḥa* (صح).<sup>250</sup> In other cases, the missing text is added by a reference marks (or *signes de renvoi*, in Arabic '*alamāt al-takhrīj*') such as the '*aṭfa*, a small curved line written between two words of the main text indicating where the text of the marginal note should be added.<sup>251</sup>

Although the quantity of these marginal corrections and insertions in the manuscript of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-Asfār* is not abundant, for the purpose of the critical edition they can be very helpful. In fact, the corrections and additions entail that, once completed, the extant manuscript preserved in Cairo was collated with another manuscript considered more correct. Given the unavailability, at the present state, of other attested manuscripts of *al-Isfār 'an ḥukm al-Asfār* besides the one of the Dār al-Kutub, and therefore the impossibility of comparing the latter with other versions of the same text, the marginal additions and emendations represent a primitive critical apparatus that allows us to see better version of *al-Isfār*.<sup>252</sup> For this reason, the present edition has largely benefitted from the marginal additions and corrections, which have been treated as if they were another manuscript (i.e. the edition indicates when a word or sentence is reported by the author of the corrections).

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<sup>246</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 40.

<sup>247</sup> Regarding the inversion of diacritical dots, see: Deroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 221.

<sup>248</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 50-51.

<sup>249</sup> See for instance folio 2 *verso*, 4 *verso*, 5 *verso* etc. These corrections, besides being written with different script, are generally written obliquely or upside down in order not to be confused with the body of the text. See: Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 114-115.

<sup>250</sup> Like on f. 2 *verso*. See: Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 170.

<sup>251</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 250-251.

<sup>252</sup> Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 266.

### Abbreviations and Symbols

- (...) omitted word/letter supplied by the editor
- [[...]] correction in marginal note
- \.../ addition reported in a marginal note
- <...> blank in the MS
- فعل** (bold) for text overlined in red by the copyist
- فعل* (italics) for unclear reading (only in the present edition)

§ i بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وسلم  
الحمد لله الذي أمر بالأسفار للتفكير والاعتبار وأداء فرائض الحج والاعتماد وجعل في الطب من الأسرار  
ما يحفظ الصحة ويبرئ من لأضرار وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد عبده ورسوله الشافي من المضار <...>  
وعلى آله وأصحابه الأخيار ما طرد الليل النهار وأضاء فجر وأنار.

§ ii **وبعد** فلما عزم على سير الأبرار واحترم لزيارة البيت المجار وجوار تلك المشاعر الكبار بالذل والانكسار  
رجاء كرم الغفار يمحو الذنوب والأوزار خلاصة الأعصار وإمام أهل الأمصار عين أعيان ساكني  
الأقطار من إذا ذكر جوده استغني عن السحاب الهمار وإذا تأمل علمه استصغر في جنبه البحر الزخار  
وإذا تحدث عن المجد والسودة علم إنه القطب الذي عليه المدار المقر الأشرف الكريم العالي الإمامي  
العالمي العلّامي الكمالي أبو المعالي محمد الجهنّي البارزي الشافعي ناظر دواوين الإنشاء الشريفة بالديار  
المصرية وسائر الممالك الإسلامية رجع الله بعد بلوغ الأوطار سالما من الأفات والأخطار على جمل  
الأوصاف وأجل الأخطار. وكان من القواعد الكبار جلب المصالح ودر المفاصد والمضار وكان من أهمها  
حفظ الصحة والإختيار والتزود بما لعله ينفع لذي البراري والفقار حيث لا صاحب ولا جار ولا عقاير  
ولا عقار رأيت أن أجمع لحضرته السماء وحومته العلياء كتابا أرشد فيه إلى ذلك سالكا فيه أجمل المسالك  
فجأ بحمد الله خاويا لأسرار كتب هذا الفن الكبار مغنيا عن حمل تلك الأسفار في مفارق الأسفار جامعا  
لانتشار ما تفرق منها على سبيل الاختصار فلذلك سميت الإسفار عن حكم الأسفار والله تعالى المسئول  
وهو الكريم الغفار أن يتحفه بالقبول فلا يبتغي له عثار ويسعفه بالكمال فلا يحتاج إلى اعتذار ويجعله سببا  
لنجاه من النار الفوز بمرافعة الأبرار.

§ iii **ورتبته** على مقدمة وثمانية فصول وخاتمه: **المقدمة** [[في حوال المسافرين]] في بيان الحاجة إلى. **الفصل**  
**الأول** فيما ينبغي للمسافر فعله. **الفصل الثاني** في أمر المسافرين في الحر. **الفصل الثالث** فيما يتعلق من ذلك  
بالرياح الملتهبة **الفصل الرابع** في شأن السفر في الشتاء. **الفصل الخامس** في حفظ الأطراف. **الفصل**  
**السادس** في حفظ اللون. **الفصل السابع** في أمور المياة. **الفصل الثامن** في [[معرفت ما يضره وينفعه]] في  
البحر. **الخاتمة** فيما ينبغي للمسافر أن يصحبه وفيها فصلان: الأول في الأدوية المفردة، الثاني في المركبة  
وبهما تتم جمع فصول الكتاب عشرة.

§ iv **المقدمة** في بيان الحاجة إلى وضع هذا الكتاب: المسافرين يخرج عن أمور معتادة له دفعة واحدة، والخروج  
عن المعتاد دفعة واحدة يجلب أمراضا خطيرة، مع أن التعب والنصب يزيدان في ذلك لأنهما يسخران البدن  
وينوبان الأخلط الرديئة وتنتقل من موضع إلى آخر فأما إن تنصب إلى بعض الأعضاء الرئيسية أو  
غيرها فيحدث وربما بحسب كيفية الخلط وكميته، وأما إن يخالط الأخلط الجيدة فيفسدها ويحدث منها



أمراض صعبة، فلذلك وجب على المسافر أن يعرف ما يضره وينفعه ليحرص على مداواة نفسه لأن لا يصيبه شيء من ذلك.

#### § 1.a الفصل الأول

ينبغي لمن أراد السفر أن يستفرغ الأخلط الرديئة من بدنه /بالإسهال و الفصد بعد\ مراعاة للأصول العشرة وهي: الإمتلاء فإن الإستفراغ مع الخلو ينهك القوة. **الثاني** القوة القوية لأن الإستفراغ مع ضعفها يحلل الروح. **الثالث** المزاج الحار الرطب فإن المزاج الحار اليابس والبارد القليل الدم يمنع لأن كل واحد منهما يكون معه الرطوبات الفادية قليلة والاستفراغ يوجب إفراط قلها. **الرابع** الأعراض المناسبة فإن كان مستعدا للدرن او قروح للأمعاء او تقدم الاستفراغ قوي منع منه. **الخامس** السحنة فالسمن والقضافة المفرطان مانعان. **السادس** السن فإن سن الشيخوخة والطفولة مانعان لضعف القوة فيها، **السابع** الوقت الشديد الحر او البرد مانع. **الثامن البلد** وهو كالوقت. **التاسع** قلة عادة الاستفراغ تمنع، **العاشر** الصناعة إذا كانت كثيرة الاستفراغ كخدمه الحمام مانعة. والعمدة في صواب الحلم بالفصد خمسة: عظم النبض ووفور القوة واكتناز العضل وسن الشباب وحمرة اللون. ثم بعد تنقية البدن من الاخلط برياض أكثر من العادة: فإن كان ممن يريد السفر ماشيا ولم يكن له عادة بالمشي فليبر(و)ض نفسه بالمشي قبل ذلك ويعودها قليلا قليلا ويزيد في مقداره على التدريج كل يوم حتى تألف ذلك ويهون على الطبيعة حمله، وإن كان عازما على السفر راكبا فيرتاض قبله بالحركات وركوب ما سيعاني ركوبه في السفر.

#### § 1.b فإن كان يظن أن سيصيبه سهر او جوع او عطش في سفره فيعتاد ذلك قليلا قليلا ويزيد في مقداره على

التدريج فيكون(ن) صبوراً عليه ولا يثقل على الطبيعة حمله ويستصحب معه ما يهون عليه ذلك. **أما** ما يسهل الصبر عن الطعام فالأطعمة المتخذة من الأكباد المشوية لأن الأكباد بطيئة الهضم وغذوها اذا انهضم كبير مخمود ليس سريع الانحدار، واذا اتخذ منها كعب مع لزوجات وشحوم قوية كشحوم البقر مذابة ولوز ودهنه فإذا تناول منها (مرة) واحدة صبر على الجوع زمنا طويلا لأن الدهن والشحم إذا أضيف إلى الكبود زاد في بطؤها، إذ الشحوم مولدة للبلغم ملطخة للمعدة ولهذا يؤمر من به الشهوة الكلية بالأغذية الدسمة مثل الأدهان والشحوم والآلية. وقيل إنه من شرب رطلا من دهن البنفسج أذيب فيه قليل من الشمع حتى صار قَيْرُوطِيًا، بفتح القاف وإسكان التحية وضم الراء المهملة ثم واو وطاء مهملة، لم يشتهي الطعام عشرة أيام.

#### § 1.c **و أما** ما يمنع من الشرب الكثير فأما أن يكون مما يتناول أو مما يمنع المسافر من تناوله. **أما الاول** فينبغي

أن يتناول الأغذية الرطبة المبردة كسويق الشعير بالماء البارد والسكر وبقلة الحمقاء بالخل والبطيخ الهندي والقرع والماش وما شاكل ذلك وكذلك ما اتخذ بالحصر والخل والدوغ لفظ فارسي بضم المهملة وأخره معجمة، وهو اللبن المخيض. وإن الحر شديد فليشرب قبل مسيره لعاب بزر قطونا وبزر(ر) البقلة الحمقاء مع شيء من ماء الرمان المز ودهن حب القرع، ويمسك في الفم من حب السفرجل او من الحب المسكن للعطش وهذا **صفته: لب** حب القرع ولب حب القثاء وبزر البقلة الحمقاء من كل واحد خمسة

دراهم، نشاء وكثيراء وطباشير من كل واحد درهمين، يدق الجميع ناعما ويعجن بلعاب بزر قطنونا ويعمل حبا كبيرا مفرطا ويمسك في الفم: فان لم يوجد فليمسك في فـ(م)يه قطعه أسرب او درهما/طبء فان ذلك يسكن العطش ويقلل الحاجة الى شرب الماء. **وأما الثاني** الذي يمنع المسافرين من تناوله فالأغذية المعطشة مثل السمك المالح والطري والمملحات والجبن العتيق والباقلاء المطبوخ والأشياء الحريفة والحلوة. وإذا شرب الماء بالخل كان قليل منه كافيا في تسكين العطش حيث لا يوجد ماء كثير.

## § 2.a الفصل الثاني

/في السفر في الحر: السفر في الحر مضر يحدث أمراض ردة ويؤدي إلى ضعف القوة لأن الحرارة محلة للرطوبات وإذا اتحلت ضعفت الحرارة الغريزية اذ هي مركبها فتضعف القوة لأن الروح المتولد عن الحار الغريزي مركبها وحينئذ ضعفت الحركة واشتد العطش فاستدعت الطبيعة شرب الماء للترطيب والتبريد وتشديد ما يتحلل من الرطوبات، و يكثر شرب الماء إن وجد اليه سبيل وذلك سبب لأمراض كثيرة، وإن لم يوجد الماء وكوبد العطش أدى إلى ضرر بين وأيضاً ربما أضرت الشمس بالدماع، فأورث صداعاً وحمى بوسطة اليبس لأفراط التحليل، لاسيما في المزاج الحار اليابس والأبدان العسيفة ومن لم يعتد الحركة في الحر. فإن لم يكن بد من السفر فيه فينبغي أن لا يسير في النهار، فإن اضطر لذلك فيجب أن يحرص على ستر رأسه ووجهه وصدره بالعمامة او القنسوة والمناديل والجباب لئلا يصيبه حر الشمس، وأن يقلل استنشاق الهواء الحار.

§ 2.b **وإذا كان** المسافر فيه حار المزاج يابسة تناول قبل مسيره شيئا من سويق الشعير و شراب الفواكه لأن صاحب هذا المزاج يتوفر الخلط الصفراوي فيه غالبا، فينبغي أن يشغل معدته بالغذاء لئلا ينصب إليه المواد فيضره، وأيضاً التحليل يكثر فيه لأن الحرارة الغريزية تحلل من داخل والغريبة من خارج، والحركة العنيفة الكثيرة التي تلازم المسافر تعين على فرط التحليل و تضعيف القوة/لما مرت، فحينئذ تأمره باستعمال سويق الشعير لأنه غذاء بارد مرطب وشراب الفواكه فإنه مبرد دافع للصفراء، وينبغي إذا تناوله أن يمكث إلى ان ينحدر عن معدته لأنه إذا أخذ في السير عقيب تناوله تخضعض في معدته وعلا وطفا إلى فم المعدة ولم يستقر في اسفلها فلم يتم هضمه. ويجب أن يصحبه في سفره دهن الورد والبنفسج ليستعمل منها ساعة بعد ساعة على صدغيه بالماء البارد مع اليسير من الخل، لأن دهن الورد بارد لطيف نافع من الصداع، وأما دهن البنفسج فهو بارد رطب مرطب للدماغ نافع أيضا من الصداع الكاين من الحرارة واليبس.

## § 3.a الفصل الثالث

/عما يتعلق من الرياح الملهبة ومن خاف السموم وهي ريح ملتهبة حارة جدا تبيس الأبدان وتقشها وإن وصلت إلى داخل اصرت ضررا بيئا، فلينبغي لمن سافر فيها أن يستر وجهه وأنفه ويصبر على قلة الاستنشاق والتنفس لأن استنشاق السموم يؤدي إلى الهلاك او إلى أمراض صعبة. وإن يطعم البصل المنقوع في الدوغ وإن كان البصل حارا، ففيه شيء من الرطوبة، والدوغ إذا شرب معه كسر سورته الحارة ودفع ضرر السموم، وإن يستنشق دهن الورد او دهن حب القرع وأنه يدفع ضرر السموم لأن

السموم يورث الحرارة واليبس و دهن حب القرع بارد رطب نافع من حرارة الدماغ و يبسه إذا سعط به، و ينفع أيضا أصحاب السرسام والماليخوليا إن وضع على رؤسهم مع شيء من الخل. ومن أصابه شيء من السموم سكب على أطرافه ماء بارد أو غسل وجهه وجعل غذاؤه من البقول الباردة كالاسفاناخ وبقلة الحمقاء والقرع والخس وما شاكل ذلك، ويضع على رأسه الأدهان الباردة والعصارات الباردة مثل عصارة حي العالم ونحوه، واللبن من أجود الأغذية له إن لم يكن به حمى: فإن كان به حمى ليست من الحميات العفينة فليستعمل الدوغ وليجتنب الجماع.

§ 3.b ويجب أن لا يشرب ريه من الماء لأن القلب يكون حينئذ شديد الجذب للماء البارد لتوفر الحرارة فيه، فإذا كان المشروب قدر الري أو أكثر لم يكن من المعدة وغيرها من الأعضاء ممانعة عن ذلك إذ الري قد حصل لها فحينئذ ينفذ الماء إلى القلب ويطفئ الحرارة الغريزية، وأما إذا كان المشروب أقل من الري، فإن ما يسكت المعدة ينازع جاذبة القلب فلا يصل إليه شيء من الماء إلا بعد فراغها منه بل يكتفي المضمضة. وإن لم يكن بد من الشرب شرب جرعة بعد أخرى فإذا سكن ما به من عطش شرب. وينبغي أن يبتدئ بشرب دهن ورد وماء ممزوجين، ثم يشرب الماء ويجعل مجلسه منخفضا باردا ويغسل رجليه بالماء البارد ويغتدي بغذاء سريع الانهضام مثل أطراف الجداء والقرع المعمول بماء الحصرم والخل ونحو ذلك.

#### § 4.a الفصل الرابع

/شأن السفر في الشتاء\ السفر في الشتاء والمواضع الباردة عظيم الخطر لأن البرد يطفئ الحرارة الغريزية ويميتها ويحدث الكزاز والتسنيج ويجمد البدن: فإن لم يبلغ ذلك فربما أوقع في الجوع المسمى بوليموس، بضم الباء الموحدة وكسر اللام والسكان التحتانية وضم الميم واخره سين مهملة، وهذا نوع من الجوع يسمى جوع البقر وهو جوع الأعضاء مع شبع المعدة، فتكون الأعضاء طالبة للغذاء والمعدة عاتقة له، وسببه سوء مزاج بارد لأن البرد الشديد ربما كان سببا لسوء مزاج بارد يعرض لفم المعدة، والبرد الشديد ربما أصاب المسافرين فيه سقوط الأطراف، لاسيما إذا كان المسافر راكبا وأطرافه متدلية. والنظر إلى الجمد والتلج يضعف البصر وبالجملة السفر في البرد الشديد والمواضع الباردة صعب خطر، فإن كان لازما فينبغي للمسافر فيه أن يكون مسيره بالنهار وراحته بالليل، فإن المسير في النهار يهون نكايه البرد لحصول حرارة الشمس فيه.

§ 4.b وأما (أ) لليل فإنه يشتد فيه البرد جدا فالأولي للمسافر أن يستريح فيه ويأوي إلى كن نفيه البرد وينبغي أيضا أن يدهن بدهن البان والزنبق والزيت أو دهن الغار ونحو ذلك، فإنه يمنع من وصول البرد إلى الأعضاء وداخل البدن لسد الدهن المسام، وأن يحفظ الفم والأنف حتى لا يدخلهما هواء بارد لاسيما عند هبوب الهواء البارد، وأن يعتني بحفظ الأطراف فإن البرد إذا استولى عليها حلت فيها آفة عظيمة وسنذكر حفظها إن شاء الله تعالى، وأن لا يقصد التدفئ إذا نزل في الحال بل يندرج في ذلك لتوقى الخروج من الضد إلى الضد دفعة واحدة لأنه ينهك الأبدان ويضعف القوة، ولا يستعجل بالاصطلاء أيضا بل تركه أولى، فإن قرأت النار ثم تركها، والخروج عنها إلى البرد من توارد الحرارة والبرودة على البدن في زمن يسير

وذلك مما يضره، فإن كان لا يمكنه الصبر عن الإصطلاء تدرج في ذلك، فإن كان عازما على السفر في الحال وكان الهواء باردا فالواجب تركه لأنه يخرج من حر قوي إلى برد مفرط وذلك مما يوجب ضارا لا يخفى.

§ 4.c وأما إذا أوهنه البرد فينبغي أن يبادر إلى التدفئ والتمرخ بالأدهان الحارة المسخنة مثل دهن السوسن والزئبق والخروج والبابونج ونحو ذلك. وينبغي إذا نزل أن يختار منزلا دافئا كالأودية والأغوار، مستورا عن الريح، منحرفا عن ممر السيول، وأن يجعل الدواب بقرب الفسطاط ليسخن بكثرة النفس، وأن يكثر من الحركة فإنها تنعش الحرارة الغريزية وتقويها وتدفع مضرة البرد، وأن ينزع اثوابه كلها إن أمكن وإلا فما كان عنها يلاقي البرد أولا ثم يلبس غيرها فإنه أسرع في التدفئ وهو ظاهر. وينبغي أن يكون غذاؤه حارا بالقوة والفعل كثير(ا) التوابل الحارة كالثوم والجوز والخردل والحلتيت والبصل والفلفل والدارصيني والدارفلل والزنجبيل ونحو ذلك وأن لا يركب خاليا من الغذاء لأن الحرارة يغور في بدنه فرارا من الضد فإن سافر وليس في أحشائه شيء بالغ التحليل في إضعاف القوة وحينئذ نأمره بتناول غذاء حسن له وأن يصبر إلى أن يستقر في أسفل معدته وينحدر عنها لما مرَّ.

#### § 5.a الفصل الخامس

في حفظ الأطراف عن تطرق الفساد إليها من البرد وعلاجها إذا حصل فيها يجب أن يدلك المسافر في البرد أطرافه حتى يسخن ثم يطليها بالأدهان الحارة العطرة مثل دهن البان والسوسن وإلا فبالزيت وخصوصا إذا خلط معه العاقر قرحا والفلفل والحلتيت ودهن اليسمين أيضا والثوم يلطخ به الأطراف والقطران نافع جدا وكل ذلك مما يمنع تطرق الفساد إليها. وينبغي أن يجعل بين أصابعه شعر المعز المرعزي عليها وبز الأرنب أو غيره، ثم تلف الرجل بالكاغد بالمعجمة المفتوحة والదال المهملة وهو الورق الفارسي معرب، ثم يلبس عليها الجوارب وهي اللفاف ثم الخف، وإن يحترز أن ينال البصر ضعف من النظر إلى الثلج والجمد، لأن شدة بياضهما يفرق النور الباصر ويقلله، ويمنع من ذلك تعليق الخرق السود على العين والعمامة السود أو لبس الثياب السود إن أمكن، وكذلك الخضر والكحلية يقوم مقام السود، فإن هذه الألوان تمنع أن يفرق النور الباصر ويجمعه والأسود أقواها.

§ 5.b وإذا أخذ الفساد يتطرق إلى الأطراف من شدة البرد فعلامته أن صاحبه لا يحس الوجع والبرد فيها ثم لا يخلوا أما أن يكون البرد ألمات الحر الغريزي الذي في العضو وحقق ما كان يتحلل منه أو لم يصل الأمر إلى ذلك بل أضربه. أما الأول فإن الحرارة والبخار والدم يتوجه إلى داخل العضو بشدة البرد وسدة المسام وإذا استقرت هناك أحرقت العضو وعفنت هي وأحدثت قروحا فتعالج بعلاج القروح وهو إن كانت القرحة نقية حممت فقط، وإن كانت عفنة عولجت بالأدوية الحارة الأكالة، فإن لم تنجع فلا بد من الكي إن أمكن، وكل قرحة لم يتأكل من وسطها شيئا كفيافي مداواتها إن تجمع شفتاها وتغصب، وأما اللتي لا تكون كذلك فإن كان الذاهب منها جلدا عولجت بالأدوية الخاتمة كالعفص وقشر الرمان، أولحما عولجت بالمنبت وهو كلما يجفف بلا لدع مثل شقائق النعمان ومرهم لباسليقون.

§ 5.c **وأما** القروح الباطنية فيخلط بمجففاتها أدوية منفذة كالعسل وأدوية مخصوصة بالمحل وإذا أريدَ الإندمال جعل مع قبضها لزوجة مثل الطين المختوم، ولأنصاب القرحة بما حار في زمن الإبتدائي ولا في زمن التبريد، وإن كان الثاني فلا يخلو أما أن يكون العضو وارما أو لا، فإن لم يكن فعلاجه بالدلك الجيد ثم يمرخ بالأدهان الحارة كالزيت ونحوه، وإن كان وارما فطريق العلاج فيه أن يوضع العضو في ماء السلجم أو ماء طبخ فيه التين والكرنب أو الرياحين الحارة أو الشبث والبابونج وما شاكل ذلك مفردة أو مجموعة.

§ 5.d **وقال** بعض المجربين إنه غمس العضو في ماء بارد فوجد لذلك منفعة وكان الأذى يندفع عنه، ويؤكد ذلك الفاكهة الجامدة: إذا وضعت في الماء البارد يخرج الجمد عنها ويزهو ويحسن طعمها. وإذا أخذ الطرف يكمد فطريق علاجه أن يشرط عمقا ويوضع في الماء الحار حتى يرقأ الدم، لئلا يجمد شي من الدم في فوهات الشرط فينجس، ثم يطلى بالطين الأرمني منقوعا في الخل وماء الورد ويشد يوما وليلة، ثم يزال عنه ويعاد الطلي، والقطران نافع أولاً وأخراً. فإن جاوز الأمر السواد والخضرة وإزداد العضو عفونه فيبادر الى ما يسقط ما تعفن منه حتى لا يعفن الصحيح المجاور له، فإن يطبخ أطراف الكرنب والسلق ثم يتخذ منه خبيصاً بالسمن ويوضع على العضو حتى يسقط منه ما يعفن والضمد بورق الخطمي والخبازي و عنب الثعلب مدقوقة مخلوطة بذهن البنفسج و /هي\ حارة في كل يوم مرتين أو ثلاث، فإنه يسقط المتعفن، فإذا سقط يعالج بعلاج القروح.

#### § 6.a **الفصل السادس**

في حفظ اللون المسافرين قد يعرض له في سفره تغير لون وجهه ويديه ورجليه، وذلك أما لحر مجفف أو برد مكثف، والإغتسال بالمياه القابضة أيضا يغير اللون. فمن أولع بحفظ لونه فليطل وجهه بالشيء اللزجة والتي فيها غنوية كلعاب بزر قطونا وبزر البقلة الحمقاء والكثيراء و الصمغ المحلولان في الماء ومثلا بياض البيض وكعك السميد المنقوع في الماء، فإن هذه يحفظ اللون.

§ 6.b **وأما** إذا حصل للوجه أو اليدين أو الرجلين تشقق من برد أو ريح أو شمس فيطلي بالقيروطي، وصفته: صندلان وورد من كل واحد أربع دراهم، إكليل المكل خمسة دراهم، زعفران درهمان، كافور نصف درهم، شمع عشر دراهم، دهن ورد إن كان في الشتاء فنصف رطل وإن كان في الصيف فأربع أواق، ويخلط الجميع جيدا، فإن لم يكن فبالأدهان و الشحوم.

#### § 7.a **الفصل السابع**

/في أمور المياة\: إختلاف المياة يوقع المسافرين في أمراض أكثر من إختلاف الأغذية لأن إحتياج الطبيعة إليه أكثر والصبر عنه أقل من الصبر عن الغداء وإذا كان كذلك وجب أن أذكر في هذا الفصل بعض أحكام المياة لمسيس الحاجة اليه **فأقول** الماء لا يعدو ولكن ينزرف الغداء. وأفضل المياة مياه العيون الجارية على الأراضي الطينية المنحدرة من مواضع عالية الغمرة المكشوفة التي بعد منبعاها وخف وزنها ويكون مجراها نحو الشرق الصيفي أو الشمال، وماء المطر فاضل لطيف القوام لاسيما الذي من سحب

راغد، إلا إنه يعفن سريعا فإذا أعلي بعد عن التعفن. ومياه الآبار والقنى رذئة، وكذا المتوجه الى المغرب والجنوب الاسيما عند هبوب الجنوبية، والراكمة ثقيلة على المعدة، والأجمية وهي ما بين الأشجار الكثيرة الملتفة تولد لبلغم، والمسار على المعاون رديء إلا الحديدي، فإنه يقوي الأحشاء، والنوشادري يطلق والشبي يجلس، والماء المالح يسهل أو لا ثم يقفل، والماء الحار يفسد الهضم ويؤدي المواظبة عليه إلى حمى الدق. والمسخن إن كان فاترا اورث الغثيان، أو أسخن منه غسل المعدة على الريق، وشديدا السخونة تحلل القولنج. والجمد والتلج يضران بالعصب، لكن الأولي إن يبرد بهما من خارج لأن تبريده بهما من داخل يوجب مخالطة أجزائهما بالماء، ولا شك أن تلك الأجزاء ثقيلة كالراكد: وبالجمله فالماء البارد المعتدل المقدار أوفق المياه للأصحاء.

§ 7.b وأما ما يدفع ضرر إختلاف المياه ويقلل نكايتهما فالتصعيد أو التقطير لأن إختلاف المياه إنمّا يكون لسبب ما يخالطها من الأجزاء الغربية وأما الماء فهو بسيط في نفسه، حينئذ كلما يزيل ذلك المخالط فهو يصلح الماء. وذلك المخالط أكثر ما يكون من أجزاء أرضية، لأن ما يكون من الهواء والنار يحتل ويفارق الماء للطافته، والتصعيد والتقطير يفعل ذلك؛ والمياه الكثيفة أيضا يصلحها الطبخ لأن سبب كثافة الماء أما إشتداد كثفته البرد <...> أو مخالطة أجزاء أرضية صغار لا تقوى تلك الأجزاء على أن تفوق إتصال الماء، وكل يزول بالطبخ لأن الطبخ يكسر سورة البرد لا محالة ويخلل أجزاء الماء خلخلة يسهل بها انفصال تلك الأجزاء.

§ 7.c والماء المالح يشرب ممزوجا بالخل والسكنجيين يلقي فيه الخرنوب وحب الأس فإن شرب الماء المالح يسهل أو لا ثم يقفل، وإدمانه يحرق الدم و يسخن البدن ويجففه، فشربه بالخل يكسر الحرارة الحاصلة منه والسكنجيين بارد يطفي الصفراء ويسكن الدم ويلطفه إن لم يكن مفرط الحلاوة، و الخرنوب فيه قوة قابضة فيها حلاوة تمنع من إسهاله، ويكسر ملوحته بحلاوتها، وحب الأس بارد يابس ينفع من إستطلاق البطن. والشبي يشرب معه كلما يلين الطبيعة كلعاب بزر قطون ونحوه، والنوشادري تشرب معه القوابض.

§ 7.d والمياه الراكد في البطائح والآجام إذا كانت متعفنة لم يستعمل عليها الأغذية الحارة لأنها ترققها وتسرع في نفوذها إلى الأعضاء، وهي رذئة في نفسها فتكون أقبل للعفونة؛ لكن يجب أن يستعمل عليها <...> القوابض من الفواكه الباردة والبقول مثل السفرجل والتفاح القامض والريباس ونحو ذلك، فإنها تحفظها عن العفونة وتتلافى الضرر الذي يحصل للمعدة من الإسترخاء بقبضها وعفوصتها وبردها.

§ 7.e وينبغي للمسافر أن يتصحب من ماء بلده ليمزجه كل ماء ورد عليه إن أمكن، وإلا فيمزجه بالماء الذي يليه ثم يأخذ من الماء الذي يليه ويمزجه بالذي يليه، يفعل هكذا حتى يبلغ مقصده، ويحمل معه من طين بلده ويخلط بكل ماء ورد عليه ويخضضه ويتركه حتى يصفو ثم يشرب منه لأن مباءة بلد الإنسان قد ألفها وطبعه أقبل لها لأنه نشأ عليها ورطوبة بدنه أشبه بها. وينبغي /أن يشرب/ من وراء شيء يحجب ما اتولد من الماء كالدود والعلق ونحوه وأن يتصحب من الربوب الحامضة ليمزجه بالمياه المختلفة، كرب الحصرم والرمان المز ونحوه.

## § 8.a الفصل الثامن

/ في احوال المسا (فر) في البحر\ .الراكب في البحر يتخيل أن دماغه وبدنه يدوران و أن الاشياء تدور عليه فلا يملك أن يثبت وسبب ذلك إن الأخلاط الرقيقة تهيج على حركة السفينة وتتحرك حركة غير طبيعية، وتقابلها الروح بحركة طبيعية مضادة لتلك الحركة ويتدافعها، فيحصل حركة دورية. وقد يعرض له قيء وغثيان، أما لإنصاب بعض الأخلاط إلى المعدة أو لتحرك الخلط المستكن فيها: وحينئذ لا يقطع القيء إلا إذا أفرط وخيف منه. فمن أراد أن لا يعرض له قيء فليتناول من الفواكه القابضة مثل السفرجل والرمان المز والتفاح المز، او شراب الحصرم او شراب الرمان المز المنع او شراب التفاح المز او التمر الهندي: هذه مفردة او مجموعة، فإنها تشد المعدة وتقوها وتمنع أيضا من إنصاب الفضول إليها.

## § 8.b وليسرب أيضا من بزر الكرفس لأنه يسكن الغثيان بخاصيته فيه كما قيل. ولا يمنع أن يكون تقوية الحارة

اليابسة إذ هي مذرة مفتحة مدفع الخلط إلى جبهة أخرى ومحللة، وكذلك الأفسنتين، وأن يفتدي بالحموضات المقوية لفم المعدة والمانعة من ارتفاع البخار إلى الرأس مثل العدس بالحصرم والخل ونحوه، وإن يشم الصندل والطين الأرمني منقوعين في الماء ورد والخل وأن يمسح أنفه من داخل بالأسفياح فإنه يمنع من الغثيان والقيء بخاصيته فيه.

والله تعالى أعلم الهادي إلى الصواب، ومنه المبدأ وإليه المعاد، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم.

## § 9.1 وأما الخاتمة ففيما يحسن للمسافر نقله وفيها فصلان.

## الفصل الأول

فيما ينبغي أن يصحبه معه من الأدوية المفردة، وهي أما حارة كالفلل والدار فلفل والدار صيني والزنجبيل والهال والجوز بو(ب)ـ والحلتيت والعافر قرحا والرازيانج واليانسون والكرأوباء وعود السوس والبرساء وشان وهي كزبرة البئر وبزر المرو وبزر الرشاد وبزر الكرفس والبصل و الثوم والقطران والزيت والشيرج و دهن البنفسج والسنا والمصطكى والشبث والبابونج واكليل الملك والسذاب والجندبادستر والسقمونيا والتربد والفارقون والنانخواه والعناب والسبستان ولسان الثور والخيار شنبر والعسل النحل والزبيب والتين والخرنوب والفسق والصبير والمقل الازرق.

## § 9.2 وأما باردة مثل بزر قطونا وبزر الخطمي وبزر الخبازي وبزر الحماض وبزر الخس وبزر البقلة الحمقاء

وبزر القثاء وبزر الريحان وبزر القرع وبزر البطيخ العبيدي وعيدان الخطمي وبزر الملوخية وبزر الهندباء وبزر الكشو\ودهن البنفسج\ والإجاص والقراصيا والأمير باريس وحب السفرجل والتمر الهندي والهليلج الكابلي والأصفر والأسود الهندي والبليج والأمليج وحب الآس والأفيون والخل.

## § 10 الفصل الثاني

فيما يصحب معه من الأشربة والربوب والمعاجين والحبوب والشيافات والأقراص والسفوفات والأكحال وشیافات العين والأدهان والمراهم والذرورات والسنون.

§ 10.1.1 **أما الأشربة:** فالمفرد منها، الذي هو في غاية البساطة، الماء القراح هو أنفع شرابا المجمومين للطاقته وسرعة نفوذه وخفته على الطبع، لأن جميع الأشربة سواء فيها غذائية يحتاج أن يعمل فيها الطبيعة، فيثقل ورودها عليها عند شدة اشتعالها لمقاومة المرض فلا ينتفع بها كانتفاعها بالماء.

§ 10.1.2 وقد يحتاج الماء في بعض الأحوال إلى ما ينفذه إلى أقاص البدن، ويبلغه غاية التبريد كالخل، وإلى ما يزيد في ترطيبه ويوصله إلى متون الأعضاء كالسكر، أو إليها جميعا، ويسمي سکنجبینا.

**والسکنجبین** الساج شراب جامع النفع في الحميات الحارة لتسكين الحرارة، ومنعه العفونة، وتنقيسه الخلط، وتفتيحه السدد وتختلف نسبة إجرائه بعضها إلى بعض بنسبة اختلاف الخل والسكر وبحسب حرارة الحمى ومادتها واحتمال طبيعة الشارب له، فالمتخذ من خل صاقد الحموضة و السكر شديد البياض مثليه الرقيق جدا عند الطبخ، وعند الشرب يصلح في الحميات التي في غاية الحدة والحرارة لمن يحتمل الحموضة ولا يكرهها، والمتخذ من الخل/النقي الخمرى، والسكر الأحمر ثلاثة أمثاله الغليظ، قواما للحميات المركبة من الصفراء والبلغم وقد يقلل الخل من ذلك أيضا إلى نسبة الخمس، فما دونها. وينبغي أن يغسل السكر أولا غسلة خفيفة، ثم يلقي في القدر ويصب عليه الخل، ويوضع على الجمر الهادية حتى يذوب السكر، ثم يصب عليه الماء مثلية، أو أقل أو أكثر بحسب الحاجة، ويغلي ويؤخذ رغوته ويدفع.

§ 10.1.3 **والسکنجبین** العسلي لا يصلح للحميات الحارة ويصلح للمركبة منها، والتي مادتها باردة، ونسبة الخل إلى العسل على حسب الأخلط في غلظها وتزوجتها وشدة عفونتها، فإن الخل مبرد والعسل مسخن ملطف.

§ 10.1.4 **وأیضا** يصحب معه من شراب الرمان المنعنع، فإنه لتسكين القيء الصفراوي والغثيان، وصفته: تؤخذ الرمان المز وتخلط معه من السكر وهو على النار ما لا يبطل مزوزته بالكلية، ويصب عليه ماء النعناع مقدار ما لا يحدث في مرارة، ويلقى فيه عند الطبخ من قشر الفستق البراني مقدار قليل، ومن ورق الأترج أو قشره ما تظهر رايحته فيه، ويطبخ حتى يصير له قوام الأشربة ويرفع ويترك قشر الفستق فيه ويمصها القليل.

§ 10.1.5 **وأیضا شراب** الحصرم وصنعتة كالرمان، **وشراب الورد** والبنفسج واللينوفر ولسان الثور، وقنون إتخاذها

أن يطبخ بالماء حتى يأخذ الماء قوتها وطمعها ولونها، ثم يصفى ذلك الماء ويلقى عليه من السكر أو يصب على السكر منه ما يغذبه قليلا وقوته بعد باقية، ويقوم بنار لينة حتى لا يفور، فإن فار مسح عن القدر بعد سكونه بخرقة مبلوبة حتى لا يحترق ويختلط به في الفورة الثانية، فيغسله ويؤخذ له قوام الاشربة ويرفع.

§ 10.1.6 **وشراب الصندل** لحرارة القلب: يؤخذ من الصندل المقاصيري ويبرد منه ثلاثون درهما بالمبرد، وينقع في

نصف رطل خل يوما وليلة، ويطبخ من الغد في ثلاثة أرتال ماء حتى يرجع إلى رطل، ويصفي ويضاف إليه نصف رطل من ماء الرمان المز ونصف رطل من ماء التمر الهندي وثلاثة أرتال سكر الطبرزد، ويقوم على النار وينزل حتى يبرد، ثم يلقي عليه طباشير وصندل مسحوق درهمان، وكافور نصف درهم، زعفران درهمان ثم يرفع.



10.2.1 § **وأما ما يحتاج** اليه من الربوب فرب التفاح المز والسفرجل والحصرم والرمون والأمير باريس، وكل واحد منها مفردا أقوى في بابه، لكنها إذا ركبت مع السكر صارت ألطف. وقنون صنعتها أن يعتصر مائة الفواكه ويوضع في قدر برام على نار لينة حتى يبقى النصف أو الثلث وإن شئت أضفت إليه من السكر الطبرزد قدر الحاجة.

10.3.1 § **وأما المعاجين** التي تشد الحاجة إلى حملها فخمسة: **الأول** معجون الأتريفل، ولفظة الأتريفل معربة من اللغة الهندية يقع على الهليلج الكابلي والبليج والأملج، ثلاثتها مقوية للأعضاء العصبية دابغة لآلات الغذاء، جمعت وركبت لمشاركتها في المنفعة ومعونة لبعضها بعضاً، وجعلت متساوية الوزن لتساوي قواها ومنافعها، وقد يضاف إليها الهليلج الأصفر والأسود بمثل أوزان الأدوية لقربها منها في المنفعة والمزاج والتقوية، فيصير أكمل وأقوى فعلاً، ولتت بعد سحقها بالسمن أو دهن اللوز لكسر شدة يبوستها، لأنَّ اليبوسة ضارة للقوة الهاضمة إذا جاوزت حد التقوية لآلات الغذاء وكذلك إدمان الأتريفل يورث الهزال، والسمن أولى للدهان بليتها لموافقته لمزاج الانسان: هذا إن استعمل في الوقت، فأما إذا أريد إخاره فدهن اللوز أولى لأنَّ السمن يتغير رايحته سريعاً. ثم يجمع الأدوية كلها بالعسل لأنَّ العسل فيه **خواص** وأفعال شريفة، وحفظ لما يخلط به من الأشياء عن التغير والفساد، وتركابه لما ورد في الكتاب والسنة من مدحه مع إنَّه لذيذ في الذوق حبيب للطبع ومن **خواصه** بعد التغذية واللذابة وإزالة كراهة الأدوية بشاعتها الجلاء للفضلات الغليظة وتنقيتها، ومن **خواصه** أيضاً إنَّه يمزج بأجزاء ما يركب معه ويستخرج قواها ويخلط بعضها ببعض ويخمرها حتى يحصل لها مزاج ويكسبها قوى لم يكن حاصلة قيل ذلك، ويصدر عنها خواص أفعال شريفة ليست في الأدوية المفردة، فلذلك اختير لجمعها وعجنها العسل. والعسل نيئاً أحر وأحد وأقرب للدوائية، ومطبوخاً منزوع الرغوة أكثر حده. وينبغي أن يجعل العسل ضعف للأدوية حيث يراد تمام فعل الأدوية وكمالها، وقد يجعل ثلاثة اضعافها ليصير أحر وأطف وأقل بشاعة، ثم يرفع.

10.3.2 § **الثاني** معجون الخيار شنبر للقولنج الحار والعلل الصفراوية والبلغمية من الأحشاء: يوخذ من البنفسج الإصفهاني والتريد من كل واحد أربعون ومن الملح الهندي سبعة دراهم ونصف، ومن بزر الرازيانج والانيسون والمصطكى من كل واحد خمسة دراهم، ومن رب السوس أربعة عشر درهماً، ومن السقمونيا خمسة عشر درهماً ومن فلوس الخيار شنبر مائة درهم، يوزن هذه الأدوية متحولة ويجمع مع لب الخيار شنبر مائة درهم فانيد ومائة درهم عسل، وتجمع الأدوية بها والشربة من خمسة دراهم إلى عشرة.

10.3.3 § **الثالث** ترياق الأربع، نافع من سموم الحيوانات القاتلة بلدغها لاسيماً العقرب، ومن العلل البلغمية، وصفته: جنطيانا [[درهمين]] وحب الغار ومرمكي وزراوند طويل من كل واحد جزء ويدق الأدوية ويعجن بعسل منزوع الرغوة والشرب مثقال.

10.3.4 § **الرابع** معجون النانخوة لتفتيت الحصاة وتنقية آلات البول: يدق النانخوة ناعماً ويعجن بعسل منزوع الرغوة ويرفع والشرب مثقال.

10.3.5 § **الخامس** معجون لنضج السعال البلغمي: يوخذ بزر الكتين يقلي قليلاً خفيفاً لينقص رطوبته الفضالية ويكتب غرويه وسخونه أزيد، ثم يدق ويعجن بعسل منزوع الرغوة.

- § 10.4.1 **وأما ما يحتاج** إليه من الحبوب المسهلة فحب لتتقية البدن من الأخلاط المختلفة، تريد مثقال هليلج أصفر، نصف درهم افتيمون دائق ونصف، غاريقون نصف درهم، شحم حنظل دائق، زنجبيل دائق /مصطقي دائق، مقل أزرق دانقان، كثيراء طسوح و (...) أحمر دانق\ تدق الأدوية وينقع الكثيراء ويعجن به الأدوية ويحبب وهو شربة واحدة.
- § 10.4.2 **وحب** يسهل السوداء والبلغم، يريد: مثقال إيارج فيقرا درهم اصطوخودوس دانقان، غاريقون نصف درهم، سقمونيا دائق ونصف، زنجبيل وورد أحمر من كل دائق، مقل أزرق دانقان، يدق الأدوية وينقع المقل في الماء ويعجن به الأدوية ويحبب.
- § 10.4.3 **وحب** يطيب النكهة يوخذ في الفم غدوة وعشية ويبلغ مادته مسك وقرنفل وقرفة وجوزبو(ي)ا وسعد وسنبل وقشر الأترج بالسوية يدوق ويجمع بررب المشمش ويتخذ حبًا كالحمص.
- § 10.4.4 **وحب** الملوك لمن يعاف المسهل وسعياء: تربد درهم، غارقون ثلثي درهم، أصفر دائق ونصف، هليلج أسود دائق ونصف، افتيمون نصف درهم، مصطكى ربع درهم، باذرنبوية سدس درهم، أنطاكي سدس درهم، زعفران سدس درهم، طباشير (و)ورد أحمر سدس درهم تدق الأدوية ويعجن بجلاب.
- § 10.5.1 **وأما ما يحتاج** إلى حمله من الأشياف: فإن كانت ليس البطن والقولنج وتنقية الأمعاء وما يليها، فينبغي أن يكون مستطيله في طول الأصبع أو أزيد ليقع في المعاء المستقيم ويصل أثرها إلى قولون. **وأما** إذا إتخذ يوجع الورك والنسا فتعجل مدورة ليطول مقامها في موضع قريب من العلة.
- § 10.5.2 **أما** اللينة منها المستعملة في الحميات فأقواها **أشياف البنفسج**، وصفته: بنفسج وسكر أحمر ورجبين وهو ماء اللبن المنعقد من كل واحد خمسة دراهم، سقمونيا وتربد وبورق من كل واحد ثلاثة دراهم، ملح هندي درهمان، يجمع الأدوية ويعمل أشيافا.
- § 10.5.3 **وأما الشيافات** الحارة المحتاج إليها في القولنج البارد وتسخين الظهر وإسهال البلغم فأشرفها الصابون الذي من الزيت إذا خرط منه شيافه وأحمل بها أو جمعت مع الفانيذ أو العسل على النار ويزر عليها الملح المسحوق والبورق والتربد والزنجبيل وشحم الحنظل والسقمونيا ونحوها من الأدوية المسهلة أو المحللة للرياح مثل الشونيز والكمون والجندبستر، ويجمع هذه مع الصموغ الحارة كالجاشير والسكينج.
- § 10.6.1 **وأما ما تشد الحاجة** إليه من الأقراص فتلاثة. **والأول** قرص الكافور للحميات الحارة والخفقان مع الحرارة: طباشير وورد وصندل أبيض وبزر الخيار وبزر الهندباء والخل والبقلة الحمقاء أجزاء سوية، يجمع مسحوقة ويخلط بكل مثقال من الجميع من معيرة إلى نصف قيراط من الكافور بمقدار الحاجة، ويعجن بماء التفاح ويقرص أقراصًا رقائقًا ويجفف في الظل والشربة منه مثقال.
- § 10.6.2 **الثاني** قرص العود للقيء والهيضة مع البرودة: كندر ثلاثة دراهم، ورد ستة دراهم، عود قرنفل سكر سنبل طيب الأكل طباشير من كل واحد درهم، مصطكى ثلاثة دراهم، سويق حب الرمان درهمان، يدق الأدوية ويجمع ويقرص.
- § 10.6.3 **الثالث** قرص الورد لتقوية المعدة: ورد أحمر عشرة دراهم، رب سوس درهمان، سنبل طيب درهم، مصطكى درهم، يدق الأدوية ويقرص أقراصًا رقائقًا.

- § 10.7.1 **وأما ما يضطر** إليه من السفوفات فتلاثة: **الأول** سفوف المقلباتا للسحم والحرارة والمغص: بزر قاطونا وبزر المرو وبزر الخشخاش الأبيض وبزر الحماض وبزر *التدفع* وحب الآس والصمغ العربي والطين الأرمني أجزاء سواء، يقلّي البذور سوي برب الحماض لأنّه ليس من البذور اللعابية، فتقلّي ليصير لعبها غروية وتجف الرطوبة ويدق الأدوية ما سوي البزر قاطونا لحدّة ما في باطنه وسوي لبزر المرو لأن المقصود منه ظاهره و لعبه الغليظ، يستف بمعونة رب السفرجل او رب الآس إذا كان هناك سعال.
- § 10.7.2 **الثاني** سفوف البذور لحرقة البول و صفته: /لب\ بطيخ مقشر ثلاثون درهما، /لب\ الخيار المقشر والقرع وبزر البقلة الحمقاء والخشخاش من كل واحد عشرة دراهم، نشاء وكثيراء ورب السوس من كل ثلاثة دراهم، بزر البنج درهمان، سكر مثل الكل يسوي ثلاثة دراهم، غدوة ومثله عشية بشراب البنفسج او شراب الجلاب.
- § 10.7.3 **الثالث** سفوف ينفع من السلس بلا حرقة ولا عطش مخالِب: بلوط خمسون درهما، كندر ثلاثون درهما، كزبرة يابسة وطين أرمني وصمغ عربي من كل واحد عشرة دراهم، والشربة منه ثلاثة دراهم غدوة وعشية مثله.
- § 10.8.1 **وأما ما تمس الحاجة** إليه من الأكحال والشيافات للعين **فشياف** أحمر ينفع من بقايا الرمد وغلظ الأجفان والحرَب الخفيف و صفته: شادنج مغسول خمسة دراهم، نحاس محرق ثلاثة دراهم، بُسْد ولؤلؤ وكهرباء وإشترنج من كل واحد درهمين، صمغ عربي وكثيراء من كل واحد خمسة دراهم، دم الأخوين وزعفران من كل نصف درهم يدق وينخل ويعجن بماء الورد والحصرم.
- § 10.8.2 **ويرو** وينفع من حرارة العين والسلاق والدمعة وصنعتة: يوخد التوتياء فتسحق ناعماً وتربي بماء الحصرم الذي قد اعتصر منه، وجعل في الشمس أياماً ثم يصفى وتربي به، ثم يترك ليجفف ويسحق ناعماً ويكتحل به.
- § 10.8.3 **وأما ما يحفظ** صحة العين وينشف الدمعة والقروح فالإثمد وهو المعروف بالكحل الأسود وأيضاً كحل الزعفران، ينفع من الظلمة والحكة، وصنعتة: زعفران وسنبِل الطيب من كل واحد درهمان، دارفلل درهم، فلفل أبيض دائق ونصف، نوشادر نصف درهم، عفص ثلاثة دراهم، كافور نصف دائق؛ يدق وينخل بخرقة حرير، ثم ينعم و يكتحل به.
- § 10.9.1 **وأما ما يحتاج** إليه من حمل الأدهان **فدهن البنفسج** والورد والخشخاش والخس والقرع ودهن السوس والياسمين ودهن البلسان والخروع والبابونج والحناء والآس والسفرجل. وأما كيفية عملها: فقد تتركب الأدهان مع الأدوية بواسطة الماء والنار **أما بأن** يطبخ الأدوية التي تريد تسمية ذلك الدهن بها من بنفسج وورد وغيره في الماء حتى يأخذ الماء قواها، ثم يصفى ذلك الماء ويمزج بإي دهن أردت من زيت وغيره، ثم يغلي حتى يذهب الماء و يبقى قوة ذلك الدواء في الدهن. فإن كان الدواء الذي طبخ في الماء ورداً، فهذا دهن ورد؛ او كان بنفسجا فهو دهن بنفسج، إلى غير ذلك. **وأما بأن** يقلّي الأدوية وهي عفصة طرية في الدهن ويشمس حتى يكتسب الدهن قواها.

§ 10.9.2 وقد تتركب الأدهان مع قوى الأدوية بواسطة الهواء بأن يجمع الرياحين الرطبة واللبوب الدهنية في خرايط صفيقة يستوثق من رأسها ثم، يترك حتى يذبل ثم تبدل ويتخذ غيرها غصة طرية ويكرر ذلك حتى يأخذ اللبوب قوى الأدوية ورائحتها، ثم تعصر اللبوب عند الحاجة وتؤخذ دهنها، وهذا ضعيف جدا بالقياس إلى الصنفين المتقدمين، وقد استأثروا هذا الطريق في الأدهان الباردة الرطبة مثل البنفسج واللينوفر احترازا عن إستيلاء حرارة النار والشمس عليها وإفناء رطوبتها التي هي المطلوب منها، وحذار ان تزيح سريعا وتصير دارة.

§ 10.10.1 **وأما ما تدعوا** الضرورة إليه من المراهم والذرورات فمرهم الإثبات اللحم والإكام: يوخذ أوقية مرداسنج مسحوق مثل الكحل ويصب ثلاثة أواق زيت ويطبخ ويحرك حتى ينحل، ثم يوخد كنذر وأنزروت ودم الأخوين وقثاء وزفت يابس من كل واحد درهمان، فيلقي عليه مسحوقة ويطبخ حتى يغلوا /ويرفع/ آخر وهو مرهم الباسليقون يثبت اللحم ويصلح المواضع العصبية والجراحات التي الحرارة فيها، وصنعتة: زفت وراتينج وشمع من كل واحد عشرون مثقالا، قثاء أربع دراهم، يجمع بزيت ويذاب به بقدر الحاجة ويرفع.

§ 10.10.2 **وأما الذرورات** فذرور ملحم: كنذر، انزروت مرمكي ودم الأخوين أجزاء سوية وهو المعروف بالأربعة الأدوية، وذرور مجفف مرداسنج وورق السوسن وقشور البليج وعفص: جزء من كل واحد، دقشرالرمان نصف جزء، يدق ناعما ويرفع.

**وأما ما يقطع الدم** فالزاج القبرصي او الشب المحرق.

§ 10.11.1 **وأما ما يحتاج** إليه من السنونات فسنون يجلو الأسنان: زبد البحر محرق ورماد الصدف ورماد أصل القصب الفارسي، وزراوند مدحرج أجزاء سوية. وسنون يشد اللثة والأسنان: قرن أيل محرق، ملح اندراني محرق، هليلج أصفر، ورد: من كل واحد جزء جلنار نصف جزء.

§ 10.12 وهذا ما أردنا عمله قد كمل، نسأل الله تعالى أن يجعله من صالح العمل منقذا من الأوصاب والعلل، مبرئا من كل أمر جلل.

والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم، غفر الله لكاتبه ولصاحبه ولمصنفيه ولمن قرأ لهم ودعا بالمغفرة، ولجميع المسلمين أجمعين.

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 أحمد به الذي امر بالاسفار **للتفكر والاعتبار** **وإذا** فوالضالح  
 والاعتبار **وجعل في الطب من الاسرار** ما يحفظ الصحة ويهين من  
 الاضرار **وصل الله على سيدنا محمد** ورسوله النبي من المزار  
 وعلى اهل واهله **والاخييار** ما طرد الليل النهار **واذا**  
 فخر وانار **وبعد** فلما عزم على سير الارار **واحتزم** لزيارة البيت  
 المحجور **وجوار تلك المشاعر الكبار** بالذل والاكسار **رجا** كرم  
 الغفار **تجوذب** والاوزار **خلاصة** الاعصار **واما** هل  
 الامصار **عين** اعيان ساكني الافطار **من** اذا ذكر جوده استغنى  
 عن السب **الهمار** **واذا** تأمل عليه استصغر في جنبه البحر الزخار  
**واذا** اخذت عن المجد والسوده علم انه القطب الذي عليه المدار **المقد**  
**الاسترق** الكونم العالي الامامي العالمى العلامى الكمالى ابو المعال محمد  
 الجهنى البارزى الشافى ناظر دواوين الانس الشريفة بالدار  
 المصرية وسائر الممالك الاسلامية **رجعه** الله بعد بلوغ الاوطار  
 سالما من الافات والاضطار **على** اجل الاوصاف واجل الاضطرار  
 وكان من القواعد الكبار **جلب** المصالح ودر المفاسد والمضار  
 وكان من اهل حفظ الصحة والاخييار **والتمود** بما لعله ينفع

لذي



الذي البراري والقفار **هـ** حيف لاصاحب ولا جاره **هـ** ولا عفا في ولا عفا **هـ**  
 رايت اذا اجمع لحضرة الشما **هـ** وحوسه العليا **هـ** كتابا ارشد فيه الى ذلك **هـ** سالكا  
 فيه اجمال المسالك **هـ** في الحمد لله حاويا لاسرار **هـ** كتب هذا الفن الكبار **هـ**  
 مغنيا عن حمل تلك الاسفار **هـ** في مفارقت الاسفار **هـ** جاسعا لانتشار ما توفى  
 منها على سبيل الاختصار **هـ** فلذلك سميت الاسفار **هـ** عن حكم الاسفار **هـ**  
 واسمها يقال الميسر **هـ** وهو اكثر من العفا **هـ** ان يتخفف بالقبول فلا يستغنى  
 له عفا **هـ** ويسقط بالكمال فلا يحتاج الى اعتداله **هـ** ويجعله سببا للنهي  
 من التارة **هـ** والفوز بمراعاة الابرار **هـ** **وربته** على مقدمة وثمانية فصول  
 وخاتمة **المقدمة** في بيان الحاجة الى **الفصل الاول**  
 فيمن ينبغي للمسافر فعله **الفصل الثاني** في امور السفر في البحر **الفصل الثالث**  
 فيما يتعلق من ذلك بالرياح المكنهية **الفصل الرابع** في شأن السفر في الشتاء  
**الفصل الخامس** في حفظ الاطراف **الفصل السادس** في حفظ اللون  
**الفصل السابع** في امور المياه **الفصل الثامن** في معرفة ما يضر وينفع  
 في البحر **الخاتمة** فيمن ينبغي للمسافر ان يصحبه وفيها فصلان **الاول** في الادوية  
 المفردة **الثاني** في المركبة **وبها** تتم جمع فصول الكتاب **عشرة المقدمة**  
 في بيان الحاجة الى وضع هذا الكتاب **المسافر** يخرج عن امور معنادة له  
 دفعة واحدة **والخروج** عن المعنادة دفعة واحدة **يجلب** امراضا خطيرة

وضع هذا الكتاب

احوال المسافر

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