

A Lost *Maqāma* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī?

Bilal W. Orfali and Maurice A. Pomerantz
American University of Beirut—New York University

Abstract

This article provides the *editio princeps* of a previously unknown *maqāma* attributed to Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī (d. 398/1008). It begins with a review of the scholarship on the manuscripts of Hamaḍānī's *Maqāmāt* and discusses how the text of this lost *maqāma* was uniquely preserved in one manuscript, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury collection no. 63. This manuscript, copied in 603/1206, was well-known to European scholarship, having been in the possession of Everard Scheidius (1742-1794), Silvestre de Sacy (1775-1838), and Edward Eldridge Salisbury (1814-1901). The *maqāma*, preserved therein, describes a fraudulent doctor's sale of medicinal compounds allegedly composed of rare *materia medica*. The text of this *maqāma*, which the editors have entitled *al-Maqāma l-Ṭibbiyya*, is then provided in *facsimile*, a critical edition, and a fully-annotated English translation. A detailed analysis of the *maqāma* follows, in which the form, subject matter, language, and style of this *maqāma* are discussed in relation to the known corpus of Hamaḍānī's other *maqāmāt*. The article concludes with several hypotheses about the possible authenticity of this lost work.

Keywords

Maqāmāt, Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī, Manuscripts, Arabic literature, Medicine

Résumé

Cet article propose l'édition originale d'une *maqāma* jusqu'alors inconnue et attribuée à Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī (m. 398/1008). Il établit dans un premier temps un état de la recherche sur les manuscrits des *Maqāmāt* d'al-Hamaḍānī puis examine les raisons pour lesquelles le texte de cette *maqāma* ne se trouva préservé que dans un seul manuscrit [Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury collection no. 63]. Celui-ci, copié en 603/1206, était au demeurant bien connu des chercheurs européens, pour s'être trouvé entre les mains d'Everard Scheidius (1742-1794), Silvestre de Sacy (1775-1838) et Edward Eldridge Salisbury (1814-1901). La *maqāma* qui y est insérée narre la vente malhonnête par un médecin d'ingrédients médicinaux censés avoir été élaborés à partir de substances pharmacologiques rares. Nous faisons figurer en facsimilé le texte de cette *maqāma* que les auteurs de la présente contribution ont intitulée *al-Maqāma l-Ṭibbiyya*, ainsi qu'une édition critique et une traduction annotée en langue anglaise. Suit une analyse détaillée de ladite *maqāma*, qui en examine la forme, le sujet, la langue et le style, en relation avec le corpus des autres *maqāmāt* d'al-Hamaḍānī. En conclusion, nous avançons un certain nombre d'hypothèses sur la possible authenticité de cette œuvre perdue.

Mots-clés

Maqāmāt, Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī, manuscrits, littérature arabe, médecine

For Everett K. Rowson: scholar, colleague, mentor

I. Studies of the *Maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī

The *Maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī has been the subject of a large number of articles and monographs in the field of Arabic literature.¹ Given Hamaḍānī's role as the originator of the *maqāmāt*, a genre of Middle Eastern narrative fiction that has been influential within and outside of the Arabic language for more than one thousand years, his *maqāmāt* certainly merits this degree of scholarly attention. From the standpoint of literary history, the *Maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī is, without question, one of the most important works of Middle Eastern literature.

In spite of the recognized importance of Hamaḍānī's *Maqāmāt*, basic questions about the circumstances of the text's authorship, collection, and transmission remain to be answered. Indeed, it is still the regrettable common practice in studies of Hamaḍānī's *Maqāmāt* to refer to the seriously flawed "standard" editions of the late 19th century.

This practice not only compromises the results of modern scholars' investigations of Hamaḍānī's text, but also prevents them from appreciating the literary culture that created this work. How were the individual *maqāmāt* composed? How were they performed? How were they recorded, lost, found, collected, and transmitted?

We will not be able to answer all of these questions in this brief article. However we hope to demonstrate that there is still much important philological work to be done.

II. Manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī

In a 1991 article entitled "The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and Consideration of the Manuscripts", Donald S. Richards called attention to the problematic state of the tradition of the manuscripts of Hamaḍānī's *Maqāmāt*.² Comparing the contents of nine manuscripts collected from various European and Middle Eastern libraries, Richards demonstrated significant

¹ For a comprehensive bibliography, see the works cited in Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2002.

² D.S. Richards, "The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī: General Remarks and a Consideration of the Manuscripts", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 22 (1991), p. 89-99.

variation in the order of *maqāmāt*, leading him tentatively to divide these manuscripts into two main groups:

1. The “Ottoman period” group dating from the 9th/15th c., represented by six manuscripts, each putatively containing 50 *maqāmāt* all in the same order.³
2. The “earlier” group dating from the 6th/12th c. to the 8th/14th c., represented by three manuscripts, containing 19, 33, and 40 *maqāmāt*, in various orders differing from the Ottoman-period manuscripts.⁴

III. The Yale Manuscript

One early and extremely important manuscript of Hamaḍānī’s *Maqāmāt* that Richards did not consider is Yale University, Beinecke Library, Salisbury collection no. 63. In comparison to the available published editions, the Yale manuscript provides far better readings. It should be included in the preparation of any critical edition of Hamaḍānī’s text.

The Yale manuscript contains 38 folios and measures 25.5 × 11.5 cm with 26 lines on a page. It is written in a good *nashī* script in black and red ink and was copied in the year 603/1206. The name of the copyist is not provided in the text.⁵

The Yale manuscript has been known since the 18th century. Prior to its acquisition by Yale University Library in 1870, it was in the private collections of several distinguished Arabists. The first European owner of this manuscript was Everard Scheidius (1742-1794), Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Harderwijk in the Netherlands. Scheidius studied with Albert Schultens (1686-1750), who published a Latin translation of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) and whose influence may account for Scheidius’ interest in the *Maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī.⁶ It is likely that Scheidius acquired this manuscript of Hamaḍānī’s *Maqāmāt* with the aid of the Dutch legation at Constantinople.⁷

³ Richards, “The *Maqāmāt*”, p. 94 lists the following manuscripts from the Ottoman period: B.M. [British Library] Or. 5635 (16th c.); Cambridge 1096 (=Qq. 118) (964/1557); Fātiḥ 4098 (1116/1704); Āsir Efendi 912 (1130/1718); Copenhagen (or Havn.), 224.

⁴ Richards, “The *Maqāmāt*”, p. 94-5 includes the following manuscripts in the “earlier group”: Fātiḥ 4097 (520/1126); Aya Sofya 4283 (622/1225); Paris BN 3923 (7th/14th c.).

⁵ Leon Nemoy, “Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library”, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 40 (1956), p. 58.

⁶ D.S. Margoliouth and Ch. Pellat, “al-Ḥarīrī”, *EP*.

⁷ Personal communication, Dr. Arnoud Vrolijk, Curator of Oriental Manuscripts & Rare Books, Special Collections Department, Leiden University Library, July 19, 2011.

Everard Scheidius began the preparation of a published edition of the *Maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī based on this manuscript. Scheidius' notes identifying the fifty *maqāmāt* with roman numerals and variant readings from Paris ms 1591 are in the margins of the Yale manuscript.⁸ However Scheidius appears not to have progressed beyond the transcription of the initial seven *maqāmāt*. Scheidius' brother Jacobus published the first three *maqāmāt* and part of the fourth *maqāma* under the title *Consessus Hamadensis vulgo dicti Bedi. Al. Zamaan. e codice ms. Bibliothecae fratris sui*.⁹

The distinguished French Orientalist Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1775-1838) purchased this manuscript at an auction of Scheidius' estate. In the second edition of his *Chrestomathie Arabe* published in 1827, de Sacy included French translations of five of the *maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī.¹⁰ Although de Sacy followed the numbering of the Scheidius manuscript, and generally appears to have preferred its text, he supplied the titles of the *maqāmāt* found in Paris Arabe 1591.¹¹ In the notes following his translation, de Sacy stated that in order to prepare a complete edition of Hamaḍānī's *Maqāmāt* it would be necessary to procure further manuscripts.¹²

Edward Eldridge Salisbury (1814-1901), Professor of Arabic at Yale from 1841-1856, purchased the Scheidius manuscript from the private collection of Silvestre de Sacy.¹³ In 1870, Salisbury presented this manuscript to Yale University where the manuscript is currently housed in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript library.

Folios 1r-32v of the codex represent 50 numbered *maqāmāt*. Similar to many manuscripts of the *maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī, the individual *maqāmāt* are untitled.¹⁴ Of the fifty numbered *maqāmāt*, seven [nos. 37-43] are the so-called "amusing anecdotes" (*mulah*) of Hamaḍānī.¹⁵ One of the *maqāmāt*, no. 50, is in the form of a letter that is also described as a *mulḥa* in the Istanbul edition.¹⁶ Five of the *maqāmāt* [*Başrıyya*, *Fazāriyya*, *Balḥıyya*, *Kūfiyya*, and *Armaniyya*]

⁸ Paul de Jong, *Catalogus codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Regiae Scientiarum*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1862, p. 106.

⁹ Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, p. 93.

¹⁰ Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe, ou, Extraits de divers écrivains arabes, tant en prose qu'en vers, avec une traduction française et des notes, à l'usage des élèves de l'École royale et spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1827², III, p. 243-58.

¹¹ De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, III, p. 261.

¹² *Ibid.*, III, p. 262.

¹³ Nemoy, "Arabic Manuscripts in the Yale University Library", p. 6.

¹⁴ Richards, "The *Maqāmāt*", p. 97.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95; see Hämecen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 77-80.

¹⁶ Al-Hamaḍānī, *Maqāmāt Abī l-Faḍl Badī al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī*, Istanbul, Maṭba'at al-ğawā'ib, 1298 [1881], p. 98. Significantly, in the ms. Aya Sofya 4283 [ff. 59v-60r], the same letter is titled as *maqāma wa-risāla*.

are followed by a commentary that varies in both size and content.¹⁷ One *maqāma*, no. 48, is not attested in any other manuscript.

Folios 33r-36v, 38r-38v of the codex contain a series of prayers composed in artistic prose that vary in length. Folio 37r-37v appears to have been misplaced, as it contains unrelated information. The misplaced folio consists of three parts. The first part, which bears no heading, collects statements on the subject of *adab* by early scribes, *littérateurs* and philologists such as Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Kātib, al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad, al-Ġāḥiẓ and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. The second part is entitled *fi l-ḥaṭṭ wa-l-qalam wa-l-balāġa* (On handwriting, penmanship, and eloquence) and contains Greek and Arabic and anonymous maxims on the subject of writing. The third and last group of statements in this folio assembles Greek, Persian and Arabic maxims on *ḥilm* (forbearance) and ends with two lines by Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī followed by two lines of verse by Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān. This folio ends with two statements on penmanship, which seem to have been incorrectly placed there by the copyist.

IV. *Maqāma* 48: *al-Maqāma l-Ṭibbiyya*

Maqāma 48 of the Yale codex begins towards the middle of f. 30r. The *maqāma* starts with the usual *isnād*:

حَدَّثَنَا عَيْسَى بْنُ هِشَامٍ قَالَ: عَنَّ لِي الْأَجْتِيَازُ فِي بِلَادِ الْأَهْوَازِ، مَعَ رِفْقَةِ أَنْجَابٍ وَإِخْوَانٍ
وَأَصْحَابٍ، حَتَّى حَلَلْنَا الدَّوْنَقَ

ʿĪsā b. Hišām has related [the following] to us: He said: It occurred to me to travel through the lands of Ahwāz, with noble companions, brothers, and friends until we alighted in Dawnaq...

Arriving at the village of Dawnaq, ʿĪsā and his fellow-travelers encounter a man who is selling medicines. The man begins to address his audience eloquently, informing them of his great knowledge and skills as a healer. He then proceeds to read a series of medical prescriptions, detailing the rare substances in his medications and their various uses. Having thus impressed his audience, his son then takes his turn addressing the onlookers and urging them to pur-

¹⁷ De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, III, p. 262, notes the existence of glosses on the text of a small number of the *maqāmāt*, which he believed to have been authored by Hamadānī. While these glosses do not provide a comprehensive exegesis of the *maqāmāt* such as that authored by al-Šarīṣī on al-Ḥarīrī, they do attest to the existence of a commentary tradition on the works of Hamadānī; cf. Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 369.

chase his medicines. They respond by offering the man and his son the contents of their purses. Impressed with the man's talent, 'Īsā then approaches the man and asks him how he came up with this trick. The man replies with verses suggesting that these ruses are his profession and the manner in which he provides for his children.

Maqāma 48 begins on line 19 of folio 30r and it ends on line 14 of folio 30v. However as a result of a copyist's error, there appears to be a major lacuna in the text in the middle of folio 30r line 28 [following the word *Aflāṭūn*]. Fortunately, the missing section of the text appears within the text of *maqāma* 34, starting from the last two words of line 29 of folio 24v. This section of approximately 47 lines in length ends on line 11 of folio 25v.¹⁸ Once the text has been restored, the *maqāma* appears to be complete.

The subject matter of this *maqāma* is medicine. Therefore we have decided to title *maqāma* 48: *al-Maqāma l-Ṭibbiyya*.

¹⁸ This copyist's error has also affected the text of several other *maqāmāt*. However, using the standard edition, al-Hamaḍānī, *Maqāmāt Abī l-Faḍl Badī al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī*, ed. M. 'Abduh, Beirut, al-Maṭba'a l-kāṭūlikiyya, 1889, we have been able to reconstruct the state of the exemplar from which this manuscript was copied.

VI. Reproduction of *Maqāma* 48 in MS. Salisbury 63



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السليبة دلوا علينا وحكم الله اصحاب علال البرسام والفتاح
 رحم الله ابراً انقل اليقظة وطلع علينا اذنه وبعز المين نأخذ
 ما ينفعه من هذه لغة الجلس لا يرجع من النشاط الى الفتور
 ويترك الهم الى التروى لان لا سرفى في كل ايه والاعتماد
 على نعلم عنه عليه فالصبي هوشام ولقد جرت بنا الفاطمة وهزنا
 اوصافه صلوات القود عن المتقو دوا سقوج الوف
 كما في ذلك الطين والرحطه احرق صلوات له ابروخ وحيلة
 احده ما طوى وادبره في قلبه وخاطري فلما نقلت عن اليتام
 والنعوذ وصدره الطاووا لو نوروا ما نلت على الكلام
 وحلا الى ذلك ان جبينه بالهم وكله ايضا هتديت الى
هذه ابيله فاننا نقول
 ان هذه التي تراعى حشنة قوتي ومن جهاه رياشي
 انا يوم ابرط غفوني يوم في ضعه اجتنا
 حتى فام بعز عيالي ناد المعلقة ظلوا بلا شي
المعاقبة للماسحة والاربعون
 حدت على عيسى عشم قال اجتمعنا يوما جماعة كان فيهم زهد
 الفرج ابو جهم اليماني يمد من مع وجوه مضينة والاطلاق
 رصينة قد ناسبوا في الذي وكال ومثابوا في حزن الحضان
 نأخذ نأخذ اب اذ يال الذاكرة وتفتخ اولا الحاضرة
 وفي سطنا ثاب فيمن نزل الوجال الحقيق المسال لا
 يبين حروف ولا حروف حثاني وصف حتى انتهى على الكلام
 المصحح الغنى والحله وذلك المال فضله وانه في النحال
 وعناية الكال وكما تاهت من قده اوجدت عميدية
 ونقد ديوانه والطلق لسانه ونال له لعدت حريم عن تحي
 ندمت موهه ونصرت من طلبه بمجنونه وخذت عن الماني
 بالماني وشغلتم عن الفايح لذاني هل لذنا الانواع
 والاب وفعلة ذ ارب ومعل المان الاعارية سيجعة
 وودبعة منيرة وشفق ونوم الى اخر من وخنة الاول
 الاخر من هل تروى الى المال مع الغلاذول الى الماوا الجمال ون
 العلا ايامم والاشراج فليس الفايح الا لحد كحسين ولا القفا
 الا بالحق القنين اعاقبته شرف او علم شرف وا لدمه

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[المقامة الطَّيِّبَة]

حدَّثنا عيسى بن هشام قال: عَن لي الاجتيازُ في بلاد الأهواز، مع رفقة أنجاب وإخوان وأصحاب، حتى حللنا الدُّونق في بقعة فسيحة وفُرصة مريحة في حاجة نجيحة، فإذا نحن برجل قد ضُرب فسطاطه وبُسط بساطه ووضِع مِرباطه، وبين يديه قراطيس قد مُلئت مصفوفات، وبإزائها برائي قد أفعمت معجوناً¹⁹، والرجل قاعد على كرسيٍّ جريد وبين يديه خدُم وعبيد، وهو يقول: يا أهل الأهواز، أنا الحاذقُ المُصيب أنا المُطَّيبُ النَّجيب أنا المارستانيُّ العجيب، من رأيي فقد رأى رسطاليس الزَّمان وأفلاطون، أنا مترجمُ الأشكال وعارفُ بعللِ التَّساء والرجال والولدان والأطفال، مُصيبٌ فيما أعالجه غيرُ مخطئٍ، وقد حللتُ إقليدس والمجسطي، أنقُب على المزاجات والأخلاق وأدرك العللَ الباطنة بالاستنباط وأتصوَّرها كتنوُّر الحكيم بقراط، أغوصُ على الهمِّ فأزيله عن المَهموم²⁰ وأستخرج الغمَّ الغافِص من دار²¹ المغموم وأقلع الحمى الصَّالب والتَّافِص عن المَحموم، صناعتي استخراجُ كميَّة الشَّقِيقة والصُّداع وعلاجُ الأمراضِ المُسَقِمة والأوجاع أنقُب عليها بهذه السَّفوفات والأنواع وهذه المعجونات والمتاع، قال أرسطاطاليس الحكيم: ما من علة عاثمة إلا ولها شجرة قائمة، وقال جالينوس: ما من علة ثابتة إلا ولها شجرة نابته، وقال وليُّنا عليُّ بن أبي طالب عليه السلام: ما من علة خانقة إلا ولها شجرة مُوافقة، فانظروا

¹⁹ كذا في الأصل ولعله معجونات .

²⁰ في الأصل: الهموم .

²¹ في الأصل: بدار .

أيها الأجواد إلى هذه الصنائع الجياد قد غصبتها²² من الشوامخ والأطواد والتهاثم²³ والأنجاد والبراري والبلاد وأكثرت فيها من الحُداد . ثم أخذ طبَقًا منقوشًا كالديباج وملعقة من السائم والعاج، وتقدم إلى أول قرطاس منها وقال: يا سادة، وخشيزك خراساني وكمون كرماني²⁴ وعافر قرحاً زازياني²⁵، معجون بخل مجفف في الظل، يعمل في الإبراج القولنجية وفي السدد الباطنية، وفي المزاجات الفاسدة والرطوبات الجامدة، يطوي الكبد والطحال ويلين الأعضاء والأوصال . ثم تقدم إلى قرطاس آخر وقال: بل هذا أجل وأنفع، هذا إهليلج هندي وقرض راوندي وأنيسون مقدسي ورازبانج²⁶ برجميني²⁷ ومصطكي الآبي وكندر عماني ومرقشيشا ذهبي وعافر قرحاً مغربي وأزروود²⁸ وحجر اللازورد مدقوق منخول بخرقة حرير معجون بماء الورد مجفف في الشمس، يعمل في البول والتقطير ويمسح بالدم والزحير والباطنة والظاهرة من البواسير، والقرحة المحدثه في الأمعاء والسدة الكامنة في الأحشاء والمادة المنصبة في الأعضاء، ينفع في العصب من الضربان وفي القلب من الخفقان، نافع من ضربان الأصداغ وصداع الدماغ، ومن الغثيان الغالب والحُمى الصالب . ثم تقدم إلى قرطاس آخر وقال: بل هذا أجل وأنفع، غاريقون رومي وراوند صيني وأفيثمون

²² في الأصل: عصتها .

²³ في الأصل: البهاثم .

²⁴ في الأصل: كارماني .

²⁵ في الأصل: زازياني .

²⁶ في الأصل: رابانج .

²⁷ في الأصل: پرخسي .

²⁸ في الأصل: أزراود، ولعله أنزروت .

إقريطي وسنا مكي وعود عربي وإذخر حرمي وسعد قفصي، وتمرات سود وورق العود، ونخالة التّبك وأقراص السّكّ، وخيار شنبّر فلوس وعرق السّعد والسّوس، يعمل في زيادة الباه وتقييم اللّهاة ووجع الطّحال وضربان الأصداع، ولمن سال لعابه على مخدّته واشتكي مَعْصًا في معدّته وحكّا في شُفرتّه وتقطيرًا من مَبولته، لمن يأكل الطّعام فيقذفه ويشرب الشّراب فيضعفه، لمن كُثرت أسقامه ودامت آلامه وعاف طعامه²⁹، هذا للمُنفسدين المزاجات في أصحاب العلل والخراجات. ثمّ تقدّم إلى قرطاس آخر وقال: بل هذا أجلّ وأنفع، هذا كثر العقاقير المجمعّة، قَبجة نارسانيّة وحشيشة أرجانيّة، مدقوقة منخولة، معها حبّ الإيارج³⁰ وعرق البسپايح³¹، وحبّ الأملج وجراد البُحّيج، معه كمون برّي وسُمّاق مغربي، وإقليميا فضّي وشاه ذانج بصريّ، مخلوط بورق النّعمان وبزر الرّنجان، لمن غشّي بخارات المعدة عينيه وفتحت الأقرام جنبيه³²، لمن يأخذ ربوّة على فواده ويرى الأحلام المقطعة في رُقادهِ، وذلك من الأغذية الرديّة والبخارات السّوداويّة، هذا فعله في الأمراض والأدران كفعل الصّابون في القطن والكتّان. ثمّ قال لا ينظر لهذه البرانيّ الموضوعه وما فيها من الأدوية المجموعه والعقاقير المرفوعه إلّا رجلٌ أنهكته العلل المُسقمات والأمراض المُبرّجات، أين أصحابي، البواسير المُفتّحة والخنازير

²⁹ في الأصل: عاف طعامه.

³⁰ في الأصل: اليارج.

³¹ كذا في الأصل بالفارسيّة، وتعريبه البسپايح والسفايح.

³² في الأصل: جنبيه.

المُقرَّحة والأواكل المستورة³³ والخبائث المدورة. ثم سكتَ وقال لزعولوه: أنت وشأنك، فقام زُعولوه وقال: يا أصحابَ الهممِ العاليةِ والمكارمِ الساميةِ، ما لكم ينظُرُ بعضُكم إلى بعضٍ في هذه الأدويةِ الجامعةِ والمعجوناتِ النافعةِ، هل هي مُبهرجةٌ فتخلصُ أم غاليةٌ فترخصُ، دُلُّوا علينا رحمكم اللهُ مجنوناً كثيراً السُّقوطِ أو مؤسوساً كثيراً التخليطِ، دُلُّوا علينا رحمكم اللهُ أصحابَ العِللِ الرئيةِ السليةِ، دُلُّوا علينا رحمكم اللهُ أصحابَ عِللِ البرسامِ والشَّنَاجِ، رَحِمَ اللهُ امرءاً نقلَ إلينا قَدَمَهُ وخالَعَ علينا كَرَمَهُ، ولعنَ إبليسَ فأخذَ ما ينفعُهُ من هذه القراطيسِ، ولا يرجعُ من التَّشاطِ إلى الفُتورِ وينزلُ من الهمِّ إلى السُّرورِ، لأنَّ الأمرَ في ذلك إليه والاعتمادَ في قلعِ عِلتهِ عليه. قال عيسى بن هشام: فلقد حَيْرَنا أفاظُهُ وبَهَرَنا أوصافُهُ، وحلَّتِ العقودُ عن النُّقودِ، واستُخرجَ الورقُ بما في ذلك الطُّبِقِ ولاحِظتُهُ الحدقُ وحلَّتْ له الخرقُ، وجعلتُ أخذه بناظري وأديره في قلبي وخاطري، فلما ثقلَ عنه القيامُ والقعودُ وصدرَ عنه الطُّراقُ والوفودُ، وأمكِنِي الكلامُ وجلا لي المكانُ جِسْتُهُ بالسَّلامِ، وقلتُ كيف اهتديتَ إلى هذه الحيلةِ؟ فأنشأ يقول (من الخفيف):

إِنَّ هَذِي الَّتِي تَرَا [هَا] مَعَاشِي	منه قوتي ومن جداه رياشي
أَنَا يَوْمٌ أَبْسُطُ ³⁴ سَفُو	في ويومٌ في صنعة الحشاش
حَمَقِي قَائِمٌ بِقَوْتِ عِيَالِي	فإذا ما عقلتُ ظلوا بلاشي

³³ كذا في الأصل، ولعله المتورة أو المتورة.

³⁴ كذا الصدر في الأصل، ولا يستقيم به الوزن. وقد يكون:

أنا يومٌ أبسط فيه سفوفا تي ويومٌ في صنعة الحشاش

إلَّا أَنَّ التَّغْيِيلَةَ الثَّانِيَةَ مِنَ الصَّدْرِ تَصْبِحُ (مَفْتَعَلُنْ)، وَهُوَ مِنْ جَوَازَاتِ (مَسْتَعْلُنْ) لِأَنَّهُ لَا يَفِيعُ فِي الْخَفِيفِ.

V. Translation

‘Īsā b. Hišām has related [the following] to us:

He said:

It occurred to me to travel through the lands of Ahwāz, with noble companions, brothers, and friends until we alighted in Dawnaq,³⁵ a wide area and comforting and successful at meeting desires, in need of satisfying desire. When, all of a sudden, a man appeared before us, his tent having been staked, his carpet having been unfurled, and his bundle unloosed. In front of him were papers filled with charts, and to the side of them were clay pots brimming with medicinal pastes.³⁶ The man was seated on a chair made of palm branches and attendants and slaves arrayed before him.

And he was saying, “Oh you people of Ahwāz! I am the skillful man who always hits the mark, the noble practitioner of the medicinal art, the wondrous hospital man! For he who looks at me sees the Aristotle of the Age and the Plato. I am the interpreter of forms, the illnesses of men and women, children and babes. In what I treat, my aim is true, I do not err. I have solved Euclid and the *Almagest*. And I have delved into temperaments and mixed humors,³⁷ and have recognized internal illnesses through the art of deduction. I see them in the same way as did the doctor, Hippocrates. I plumb anxiety’s depth and remove it from the one who is anxious. I extract the vexing sorrow from the home [?] of the aggrieved one, and I uproot both the heat and the chills³⁸ from the one whose temperature runs high. My art is to deduce the quantity of the migraine and the headache³⁹ and the cure of the root of

³⁵ Dawnaq; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1977, II, p. 489, describes Dawnaq as a village in the vicinity of Nihāwand “possessing gardens” (*dār basāim*). Dr. Devin Stuart kindly suggested that the place name is Dawraq. Dawraq is a town in southwestern Ḥūzistān, see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, II, p. 483.

³⁶ *Ma‘gūnāt*; Efraim Lev and Zohar Amar, *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean according to the Cairo Geniza*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, p. 563-4, state that this is the “general name for medical cream, spread, paste or ointment”.

³⁷ *Al-mizāgāt wa-l-aḥlāq*; for *al-amziḡa*, see Ibn Sinā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, ed. I. al-Qašš and A. Zay‘ūr, Beirut, Mu‘assasat ‘Izz al-Dīn, 1987, III, p. 1249.

³⁸ *Al-ḥummā l-šalīb wa-l-nāfiḍ*; for *al-šalīb* see al-Ḥalil b. Aḥmad al-Farāhidī, *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*, ed. M. al-Maḥzūmī and I. al-Sāmarrā‘ī, Baghdad, Dār al-Rašid li-l-našr, 1985, IX, p. 128; Abū Manšūr al-Azharī, *Tahdīb al-luḡa*, ed. M. Mur‘ab, Beirut, Dār iḥyā’ al-turāṭ al-‘arabī, 2001, XII, p. 138; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘arab*, Beirut, Dār lisān al-‘arab, s.r. š.l.b; for the meaning of *al-nāfiḍ*, see al-Ḥalil b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-‘Ayn*, VII, p. 47; al-Azharī, *Tahdīb al-luḡa*, XII, p. 133; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘arab*, s.r. n.f.d; for a description of *al-ḥummā l-nāfiḍ*, see Ibn Sinā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, IV, p. 767.

³⁹ *Al-šaḡiqa wa-l-šudā’*; Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī fi l-ṭibb*, ed. H. Ṭa‘aymī, Beirut, Dār iḥyā’ al-turāṭ al-‘arabī, 2002, I, p. 44; Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *al-Taḡsīm wa-l-tašḡīr*, Aleppo, Ma‘had

the persistent maladies and pains. And I explore them thoroughly with these medicinal powders⁴⁰ and types, these pastes and other instruments. Aristotle the philosopher said, ‘There is no disfiguring illness for which a plant does not exist [as a cure]’. Galen said, ‘No known disease exists for which there is not a flowering plant [to cure it]’. Our revered one, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said, ‘There is no strangling illness, without some corresponding plant [that will relieve it]’. So behold—oh you magnanimous men—these excellent skills that I have wrested from the lofty heights and towering peaks, the highlands and the low, the barren lands and the settled. I amassed them through great effort!’

Then he took a plate that was engraved as if it were silk brocade, and a spoon made from silver and ivory, and he turned to the first sheet of paper, and said, ‘Oh good men: Ḥurāsānī Wormwood,⁴¹ Kirmānī cumin,⁴² pellitory⁴³ from Zāryān⁴⁴ mixed into a paste with vinegar dried in the shade. It is effective in purgatives for colic⁴⁵ and internal obstructions,⁴⁶ and in corrupt temperaments and in the moist solids. It covers the liver and spleen, and softens the limbs and joints. Then he proceeded to another sheet and said, ‘This one is

al-turāt al-‘ilmī l-‘arabī, 1992, p. 68-9; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, III, p. 861, describes *ṣaqīqa* as a ‘pain arising in one of the sides of the head’.

⁴⁰ *Safūfāt*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 556, describe *safūf* as ‘Solid medication, usually finely ground or powdered’.

⁴¹ *Waḥṣīzak*, *Artemisia judaica*; *ibid.*, p. 319-22; Ibn al-Bayṭār, ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi’ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-l-aḡdiyya*, Cairo, Būlāq, 1875 [Reprint: Baghdad, Maktabat al-muṭannā, 1964], IV, p. 188, provides the variant spelling as *waḥṣīzaq*; Dāwūd b. ‘Umar al-Anṭākī, *Tadkirat ūli l-albāb wa-l-ḡāmi’ li-l-‘aḡab al-‘uḡāb*, Beirut, al-Maktaba l-ṭāqāfiyya, n.d., p. 339.

⁴² *Kammūn kirmānī*, *Cuminum cyminum* (Apiaceae); *ibid.*, p. 159, mention Kirmanī cumin; Frederico Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*, Leiden, Brill, p. 461; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 562, mentions *kammūn kirmānī*.

⁴³ ‘*Āqir qarḥā*, *Anacyclus Pyrethrum*; *ibid.*, p. 464-5 provide the name ‘pellitory of Spain’ for this perennial herb [see below], however they do not mention a variety from Eastern Iran; Ibn al-Ġazzār, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, *Kitāb al-Ḥimād fi l-adwiya l-mufrada*, Frankfurt, Ma’had ta’rīḥ al-‘ulūm al-‘arabiyya wa-l-islāmiyya, 1985/1305, p. 147; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana fi l-ṭibb*, Karachi, Mu’assasat Hamdard, 1973, I, p. 261, states that ‘*āqir qarḥā* is *al-ṭarabūn* (taragon) and is found in the mountains of Bāmiyān.

⁴⁴ Zāryān; Yāqūt, *Mu’ḡam al-buldān*, III, p. 126, states that Zāryān is a village (*qarya*) at the distance of one parasang from Marw.

⁴⁵ *Al-iyāraḡ al-qawlanḡiyya*; for *iyāraḡ*, see Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 561 describe this compound as a medicinal cream, however see Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, III, p. 82, who describes *al-iyāraḡ li-l-qawlanḡ*; for colic (*qawlanḡ*), see Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, *Kitāb Ḡālinūs ilā Ḡalawqan fi l-tā’atī li-ṣīfa’ al-amrād*, Cairo, al-Ḥay’ a l-‘amma li-l-kitāb, 1982, p. 248; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Qawlanḡ*, Aleppo, Ma’had al-turāt al-‘ilmī l-‘arabī, 1983; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, III, p. 1468.

⁴⁶ *Al-sudad al-bāṭiniyya*; Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, *Kitāb Ḡālinūs ilā Ḡalawqan*, p. 248.

even more excellent and beneficial: Indian *myrobolan*,⁴⁷ Rawandī pill,⁴⁸ Jerusalem aniseed,⁴⁹ Burğumīnī [?] ⁵⁰ fennel,⁵¹ Lentisk⁵² from al-Ānī,⁵³ Frankincense from Oman,⁵⁴ Golden Pyrite,⁵⁵ Pellitory from North Africa,⁵⁶ *Lapis lazuli*⁵⁷ and *azrūd*⁵⁸ crushed and sifted through a silk cloth, made into a paste with rose water, and dried in the sun. It is effective in the treatment of urine and its

⁴⁷ *Ihlilağ*, *Terminalia* sp. (*Combretaceae*); Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ġtimād*, p. 6-7; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 218-21, mention the variety *ihlilağ hindi* [*Terminalia arjuana*]; Abū Manšūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya 'an ḥaqā'iq al-adwiya*, Tehran, Intiṣārāt-i bunyād-i farhang-i Irān, 1344 [1965], I, p. 20; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 377; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 482, mentions the Indian variety; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 62 and p. 335 (*halilağ*).

⁴⁸ *Qurṣ nāwandī*, *Rheum* sp. (*Polygonaceae*); al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, 257 describes *qurṣ al-rāwand* as a compound with rhubarb (*rāwand*) as its main ingredient; Rāwand is also city in the vicinity of Qāšān and Iṣfahān, see Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam al-buldān*, III, p. 19.

⁴⁹ *Anisūn*, *Pimpinella anisum* (*Apiaceae*); Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ġtimād*, p. 147; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 102-4.

⁵⁰ Burğumīn; a village in the vicinity of Balḥ; Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam al-buldān*, I, p. 374.

⁵¹ *Rāzayānağ*, *foeniculum vulgare*; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ġtimād*, p. 77; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 166-8; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 724; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 165.

⁵² *Maṣṣakā*, *Pistacia lentiscus*; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ġtimād*, p. 40-1; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 203-5; Abū Manšūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya 'an ḥaqā'iq al-adwiya*, II, 62; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 248; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 593; Ibn al-Bayṭār, 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, *Tafsīr Kitāb Diyāsqūridūs*, ed. I. Bin Mrad, Beirut, Dār al-ğarb al-islāmī, 1989, p. 127 and 288; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 299.

⁵³ Al-Ānī; Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam al-buldān*, I, p. 245, incorrectly supplies the name as al-Lānī; for the city of al-Ānī, see Canard et al., "Armīniya", *EL*².

⁵⁴ *Kundur*, *Olibanum*, *Bowellia carteri*; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ġtimād*, p. 46-7; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 168-71; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 324-5; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi'*, IV, p. 83; *id.*, *Tafsīr Kitāb Diyāsqūridūs*, p. 125.

⁵⁵ *Marqāšitā*, *Marcasite*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 470-1; Abū Manšūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya 'an ḥaqā'iq al-adwiya*, II, p. 67; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 339; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 604; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi'*, IV, p. 152.

⁵⁶ 'Aqir qarḥā, *Pyrethra*, *Anacyclus pyrethrum*; *ibid.*, p. 464-5; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 261; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 662.

⁵⁷ *Lāzḥvard*, $\text{NaAlSiO}_4 \cdot \text{CaSO}_4$; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ġtimād*, p. 70-1; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 195-6; Abū Manšūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya 'an ḥaqā'iq al-adwiya*, II, p. 94; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 578; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 277.

⁵⁸ *Azrūd*, Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi'*, I, p. 23 states that it is the same as *ḥandaqūqā*, see Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 31, state that *ḥandaqūqā* is a general name for a similar species of *Fabaceae* (= *Papilionaceae*) however note that local varieties differ; *anzarūt*, *Astragalus sarcocolla* (*Fabaceae*); Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ġtimād*, p. 24; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 278-9; Abū Manšūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya 'an ḥaqā'iq al-adwiya*, I, p. 50; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 70; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Tafsīr Kitāb Diyāsqūridūs*, p. 241; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 60.

flow,⁵⁹ mixing the blood and in painful urination,⁶⁰ apparent and concealed hemorrhoids,⁶¹ an ulcer that occurs in the intestines, and a hidden blockage in the bowels, and the build up of fluids in the limbs. It treats pulsations in the nerves and palpitations of the heart, it is effective against throbbing in the temples, and against headache, as well as overwhelming nausea⁶² and persistent fever”.

Then he proceeded to another sheet, “This one is even more excellent and beneficial: Byzantine (*rūmī*) agaric,⁶³ Chinese Rhubarb,⁶⁴ Cretan⁶⁵ dodder of thyme,⁶⁶ Meccan Cassia,⁶⁷ Arabian Aloe wood,⁶⁸ Lemon Grass from the Shrine [of Mecca],⁶⁹ Sedge⁷⁰ from Qufṣ,⁷¹ black dates,⁷² the leaves of Aloe

⁵⁹ *Al-bawl wa-l-taqṭir*; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, IV, p. 48; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb mā l-fāriq aw al-furūq aw kalām fi l-furūq bayna l-amrād*, ed. S. Kaṭāya, Aleppo, Maṭba‘at Ġāmi‘at Ḥalab, 1987, p. 15-6; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, III, p. 1575.

⁶⁰ *Al-zaḥīr*; Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, *Kitāb mā l-fāriq*, p. 12.

⁶¹ *Al-bāṭina wa-l-zaḥīra min al-bawāsir*; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, III, p. 1509, discusses the types of hemorrhoids using the terms *al-nāṭi‘a wa-l-ḡā‘ira* likely referring to the same phenomenon.

⁶² *Ḡaṭayān*; *ibid.*, III, p. 1309.

⁶³ *Ġāriqūn*, *Agaricus sp.* (*Agaricaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 89-91; Abū Maṣṣūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā‘iq al-adwiya*, I, p. 27; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 280-1; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 243; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ḥimād*, p. 8.

⁶⁴ *Rāwand šīnī*, *Rheum*; *ibid.*, p. 259-60 cite T-S AS. 179.283 for “Chinese Rhubarb”.

⁶⁵ *Iqrīṭī*; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, I, p. 236, provides the name of Crete as Aqrīṭīs; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mīṭar fi ḥabar al-aqṭār*, p. 51, states that on Crete there is “dodder of thyme (*aḫṭīmūn*), which has no equal or replacement”; see M. Canard and R. Mantran, “Iḳrīṭīsh”, *EF*².

⁶⁶ *Aḫṭīmūn*, *Cuscuta epithymum* (*Convolvulaceae*); Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ḥimād*, p. 95-6; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 161, cite T-S Ar. 30.65 for *aḫṭīmūn iqrīṭī*; Abū Maṣṣūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā‘iq al-adwiya*, I, p. 25; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 54; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 391-2; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 59.

⁶⁷ *Sanā makkī*, *Cassia* (*Senna*) *esp. Cassia acutifolia* (*Fabaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 129, cite T-S AS 155.277 for *sanā makkī*; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 238; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 201.

⁶⁸ ‘*Ud‘arabī*, *Aquilaria agallocha*; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ḥimād*, p. 43; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 97-8, do not mention this variety of aloe; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 665, notes that there variety that “comes from the Arab lands” (*bilād al-‘Arab*).

⁶⁹ *Idḥar*, *Andropogon schoenanthus*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 434-5, do not mention the *ḥaramī* variety; Abū Maṣṣūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā‘iq al-adwiya*, I, p. 34; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 39.

⁷⁰ *Su‘d*, *Cyperus longus*; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Ḥimād*, p. 72-3; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 284-5; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana*, I, p. 220; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fi l-ṭibb*, II, p. 628; Ibn al-Bayṭar, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi‘*, III, p. 15; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 188.

⁷¹ Al-Qufṣ; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, VII, p. 382, states that al-Qufṣ is a village between Baghdad and ‘Ukbarā.

⁷² *Tamarāt*, *Phoenix dactylifera* (*Arecaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 397-8; Abū Maṣṣūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā‘iq al-adwiya*, I, p. 105.

tree,⁷³ immortelle⁷⁴ from Nabk,⁷⁵ pills made from *Sukk*,⁷⁶ purging Cassia,⁷⁷ root of sedge⁷⁸ and liquorice.⁷⁹ It works to increase sexual potency and to lift the *uvula*,⁸⁰ [and is effective against] pains of the spleen and throbbing in the temples. And for the man whose saliva runs onto his pillow, and complains of a pain in his stomach, scratching in the corner of his eye, and urine dribbling from his bladder; for the one who eats food and then hurls it up, and the one who drinks wine and it wears him down; for the one whose illnesses have increased, whose pains have lasted, and who hates his food. This is for those of foul temperaments among those who are ill and those who suffer from abscesses”.⁸¹

Then he proceeded to another sheet. He said, “This one is more excellent and effective. This is the treasure of compound medicines! [Bile] from a partridge⁸² of Nāristān⁸³ and herb of Arraḡān,⁸⁴ pounded and strained, and with it, a *ḥabb al-iyāraḡ*,⁸⁵ root of polypody,⁸⁶ seed of *myrobalan*,⁸⁷ roasted

⁷³ *Waraq ‘ūd*, *Aquilaria agallocha*; *ibid.*, p. 97-8, do not mention the use of aloe wood leaves.

⁷⁴ *Nuḥāla*, *Paronychia Arabica*; *ibid.*, p. 555; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, II, p. 622.

⁷⁵ Al-Nabk; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, V, p. 258, describes al-Nabk as a village between Ḥimṣ and Damascus.

⁷⁶ *Sukk*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 568, describe *sukk* as a “confection, oriental aromatic remedy composed of date juice, gallnut, and Indian astringent drugs”; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi’*, III, p. 24; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 196.

⁷⁷ *Ḥiyār šanbar fulūs*, *Cassia Fistula*; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Iṭimād*, p. 10-1; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 130-2. al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Šaydana*, I, p. 173; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi’*, II, p. 83; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 148.

⁷⁸ *‘Irq su’ d* see above, note 66.

⁷⁹ *‘Irq sūs*, *Glycyrrhiza glabra* (*Fabaceae*); *ibid.*, p. 12-3; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 205, note the use of the liquorice root (*‘irq*).

⁸⁰ *Taqyīm al-lahāt*; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, III, p. 1110 describes the problem of the descent of the uvula (*suqūṭ al-lahāt*).

⁸¹ *Ḥurāḡāt*; Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq, *Kitāb Ḡālinūs ilā Ḡalawqan*, p. 446.

⁸² *Qabḡa*, *Perdix sp. or Alectoris sp.*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 551, mention the use of partridge bile in T-S Ar. 43.155.

⁸³ Nāristān; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, Leiden, Brill, 1873, p. 357, locates Nāristān 10 parasangs from Hamaḡān.

⁸⁴ Arraḡān; see Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, I, p. 142; al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mīṭār*, p. 25.

⁸⁵ *Ḥabb al-iyāraḡ*; see Lev and Amar, *Practical Material Medica*, p. 90, for the translation of *iyāraḡ* as purgative cream citing Cam. T-S. Ar. 41.72; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 115.

⁸⁶ *‘Irq bāspāyaḡ*, *Polypodium vulgare*; Ibn al-Ġazzār, *Kitāb al-Iṭimād*, p. 96-7; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 246-7, note that the root of polypody serves as a stimulant, a remedy for problems of the chest, an expectorant, and a purgative; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, II, p. 440; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi’*, I, p. 92; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 74.

⁸⁷ *Ḥabb al-amlāḡ*, *Terminalia emblica*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 218-21; Abū Maṣṣūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-adwiya*, I, p. 23; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Šaydana*, I, p. 65; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, I, p. 388; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi’*, I, p. 54; al-Anṭākī, *Tadkīrat ūli l-albāb*, p. 59.

locust,⁸⁸ and with it Nigella seeds,⁸⁹ and Moroccan [North African] Sumac,⁹⁰ silver cadmium,⁹¹ Baṣrī *Cannabis* seeds,⁹² mixed with the leaves of the anemone,⁹³ and the seeds of the lemon balm plant.⁹⁴ This medicine is good for one whose eyes have been veiled by the vapors of his stomach, and the pangs of hunger have torn his sides, and for the one whose heart is afflicted with a growth, and whose dreams are cut short in his bed, and this is a result of spoiled foods, and melancholic vapors. Its effect in diseases and tumors⁹⁵ is like the effect of soap on cotton and linen”.

Then he said, “No one should look into these clay pots and the multi-purpose medicines and sublime medicaments, save a man who has been tested by the treatment of grave illnesses and serious maladies. Where are “my friends”, the suppurating hemorrhoids, the scars of scrofula sores,⁹⁶ the concealed dental rots⁹⁷ and spheroidal malignancies?”

Then he fell silent.

He said to his boy, “Now it is your turn”.

The boy stood up and said, “Oh you men of noble intentions and sublime excellencies of character, why are you looking at one another concerning these multi-purpose medicaments and beneficial pastes? If they are too fancy for you, we will simplify them! And if they are too expensive then we will make them cheaper! Indicate the way to us—may God have mercy upon you—to the crazed man who suffers many epileptic fits⁹⁸ or one who has become delu-

⁸⁸ *Ġarād al-buḥtağ*, *Schistocerca gregaria*; for the medicinal use of the locust, see Abū Maṣṣūr al-Harawī, *al-Abniya‘an ḥaqa‘iq al-adwiya*, I, p. 134; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, II, p. 461.

⁸⁹ *Kammūn barrī*, *Nigella sativa*; Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 362-4.

⁹⁰ *Summāq*, *Rhus coriaria* (*Anacardiaceae*); *ibid.*, p. 490-1.

⁹¹ *Iqlīmiyā*, *Cadmia*; *ibid.*, p. 122.

⁹² *Šahdānāğ*, *Cannabis sativa*; al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Šaydana*, I, p. 387; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, II, p. 733; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi‘*, III, p. 50; al-Anṭākī, *Taḍkīrat ūlī l-albāb*, p. 208.

⁹³ *Waraq šaqā‘iq al-Nu‘mān*, *Anemone coronaria* (*Ranunculaceae*); Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 334-5.

⁹⁴ *Bizr al-turunğān*, *Melissa officinalis*; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Kitāb al-Ġāmi‘*, I, p. 137; al-Anṭākī, *Taḍkīrat ūlī l-albāb*, p. 92.

⁹⁵ *Aḍrān*; Ibn Maṣṣūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, XIII, p. 1368, states that according to doctors, *darān* [sing. of *adrān*] is a “small protuberance formed in the body”.

⁹⁶ *Al-ḥanāzīr al-muqarraḥa*; for a description of *scrofula* (*ḥanāzīr*), see al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, IV, p. 48; Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, IV, p. 1940.

⁹⁷ *Al-awākīl al-mastūra*; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, I, p. 408 and Ibn Sīnā, *al-Qānūn fī l-ṭibb*, III, p. 1080, refer to *al-awākīl* as a form of tooth and gum disease.

⁹⁸ *Mağnūn kaṭīr al-suqūf*; see Michael W. Dols, *Majnūn: The Madman in Medieval Islamic Society*, ed. by D. Immisch, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992, p. 59, on al-Rāzī’s attempts to differentiate between epilepsy, melancholia, and mental confusion.

sional and confounds his speech.⁹⁹ And show the way to those suffering from consumptive illnesses of the lungs¹⁰⁰—may God have mercy upon you! And show the way—may God have mercy upon you—to those suffering from inflammations of the head and paroxysms.¹⁰¹ Indeed, may God have mercy on the man who brings his foot to us and confers upon us his generosity—curses upon Iblīs!—and then takes what benefits him from these sheets of paper. He will not go from activity to lassitude. Rather, he will descend from anxiety into a state of happiness. For the power in this matter belongs to Him, and the trust in the uprooting of his illness should be in Him”.

‘Īsā b. Hišām said:

His words had confounded us, and his descriptions had amazed us. Thus the knots of purse-strings unloosed coins, and precious metal was extracted by what was on that plate. Eyes regarded him, and tattered rags were opened for him. And I began to take him into my vision and turn his image over in my heart and mind. So when the number of those standing and sitting near him had grown few, and the night visitors and emissaries had departed, speech with him became a possibility and a space for me finally appeared.

Then, I approached him saying “hello”, and asked, “How were you guided to this trick?”

He then recited, saying:

This which you see is how I earn my living,
from it is my nourishment and from its benefit comes my attire

One day I spread out my medicinal powders,
and another I ply the trade of a *ḥašīš* seller

My stupidity is for feeding of my offspring,
were I sane, they would remain with nothing

⁹⁹ *Muwaswas kaṭīr al-tahlīṭ*; Dols, *Majnūn*, p. 50, translates *al-waswās* as “melancholic delusion”; on p. 59, he translates *taḥlīṭ* as “serious confusion”.

¹⁰⁰ *Al-‘ilal al-rī‘iyya l-sillīyya*; for a description of the various symptoms of *sill*, see al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Ḥāwī*, II, p. 63, IV, p. 271 and V, p. 561.

¹⁰¹ *‘Ilal al-birsām wa-l-šanāğ*; al-Rāzī, *al-Taqsīm wa-l-tašğīr*, p. 206 (*birsām*); See Dols, *Majnūn*, p. 57-8 on the confusion between *birsām* (*phrenitis*) meaning “inflammation or illness”, referring to pleurisy (inflammation of the chest), and *sirsām* meaning “head inflammation”. The association with spasm or paroxysm (*šanāğ*) in this location suggests the second interpretation.

VI. Analysis of *al-Maqāma l-Ṭibbiyya*

In his book, *Maqama: A History of a Genre*, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila classifies the *maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī into six subgenres: picaresque and comic, beggar, philological and aesthetic, exhortatory, panegyric, and a group of *maqāmāt* that do not belong to any category.¹⁰² According to Anttila's schema, *Ṭibbiyya* is a picaresque *maqāma*. In it, the usual hero, Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī, relies upon his knowledge of medicine to trick his listeners into buying the cures that he is selling.¹⁰³

Wadād al-Qāḍī, in her article, "The *Maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān and the Art of Masquerade", describes various physical and conceptual "masks" that Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī employs to conceal his identity: an actual physical mask (*al-qinā' al-māddī l-ḥaqīqī*); a barrier (*al-qinā' al-ḥāḡiz*); the use of a circumstance or situation as a mask (*qinā' al-waḍ' aw al-ḥāl*); the name as a mask (*qinā' al-ism*); a geographical mask (*qinā' al-ḡuḡrāfiyā*); an ethnic mask (*qinā' al-iṭniyya*); a mask of origin (*qinā' al-nasab*); a mask of religion (*qinā' al-dīn*); mask(s) of time and place (*qinā' ay al-zamān wa-l-makān*); mask of eloquence (*al-qinā' al-bayānī*).¹⁰⁴ In this *maqāma*, Abū l-Faṭḥ adopts the mask of a healer who is selling rare and valuable medical compounds in order to earn his livelihood.

The structure of this *maqāma* conforms to the "rough pattern" of *maqāmāt* as described by Hämeen-Anttila: 1. *isnād* 2. general introduction—link 3. episode 4. recognition scene (*anagnorisis*) 5. *envoi* 6. finale.¹⁰⁵ The *maqāma* opens with the usual *isnād*, identifying the narrator as 'Īsā b. Hiṣām. The general introduction provides the *mise en scène*: 'Īsā and a group of travelers from al-Ahwāz arrive in the village of Dawnaq. Similar to many other of the introductions, the opening of this *maqāma* involves 'Īsā's travel to a new location.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 55.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 55 n. 37 for Hämeen-Anttila's definition of the picaresque as "emphasizing the trickster nature of the main character (hero or antihero), in contrast to criminality". For a broader understanding of the picaresque in relation to Hamaḍānī's *maqāmāt*, see James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative*, Beirut, American University of Beirut, 1983 and Mahmoud Tarchouna, *Les marginaux dans les récits picaresques arabes et espagnols*, [Tunis], Université de Tunis, 1982.

¹⁰⁴ Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī: taqniyyat al-qinā' wa-marāmihā l-fanniyya wa-l-fikriyya", in I. al-Sa'āfin (ed.), *Fī mibrāb al-mā'rifā: dirāsāt mubḍāt ilā Ḥsān 'Abbās*, Beirut, Dār al-ḡarb al-islāmī wa-Dār Ṣādir, 1997, p. 461-82.

¹⁰⁵ Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 45. See also James T. Monroe, *The Art of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative*, p. 20-4 and Abdelfattah Kilito, "Le Genre 'Séance': une introduction", *Studia Islamica*, 43 (1976), p. 25-51.

¹⁰⁶ Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 53, notes the importance of the theme of travel in Hamaḍānī.

The “link” of the *maqāma* occurs when suddenly the group comes upon the man who has just set up shop in order to sell his cures. Like *Siġistāniyya*, where ‘Īsā meets Abū l-Faṭḥ in the market, in the *Ṭibbiyya*, too, ‘Īsā encounters Abū l-Faṭḥ in a public place offering advice to his audience.

The *Ṭibbiyya* consists of two episodes: in the first episode, Abū l-Faṭḥ addresses the audience; in the second, his son speaks. Abū l-Faṭḥ’s speech begins with a passage in which he proclaims his mastery of medical knowledge. Abū l-Faṭḥ’s statements here in the *Ṭibbiyya* are reminiscent of several other passages in the *maqāmāt* in which he makes similar declarations about his own identity. These statements employ the first person pronoun *anā* followed by a compound predicate, often by turns, revealing and concealing his identity.¹⁰⁷ Enumerating both his theoretical knowledge and practical skills, Abū l-Faṭḥ attempts to convince his audience of his unique prowess. He then calls on authorities in philosophy, medicine, and religion (represented by Aristotle, Galen, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, respectively) in order to convince his audience that there exists a cure for every disease. The conclusion of Abū l-Faṭḥ’s introductory speech, encourages his audience to consider these “excellent products” (*al-ṣanā’i al-ġiyād*) that he has gathered from far and wide through his great efforts.¹⁰⁸

Abū l-Faṭḥ, then holding an ornate bowl and spoon, proceeds to read a series of medical prescriptions. The prescriptions allegedly describe the rare *materia medica* from which Abū l-Faṭḥ has composed the compounds that are arranged before him. Similar lists of *materia medica* were common in medical prescriptions, such as those found in the Cairo Geniza.¹⁰⁹ However, what is striking in this passage is the excessive use of the *nisba* adjective, which highlights both the rarity of the materials and the expertise and effort of their collector.¹¹⁰

Abū l-Faṭḥ’s prescriptions also list various ailments for which these medical compounds are cures. The language here also is similar to prescriptions found in the Cairo Geniza.¹¹¹ However, it is interesting to note the great variety of seemingly unrelated illnesses that Abū l-Faṭḥ alleges his compounds can cure.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, *Siġistāniyya*, *Aḍarbayġāniyya*, *Ḥamriyya*, *Maṭlabiyya*.

¹⁰⁸ One cannot but wonder whether when Abū al-Faṭḥ is encouraging his audience to admire the “excellent products” (*al-ṣanā’i al-ġiyād*), he intends the exotic *materia medica*, or rather, the “excellent skills” he displays in describing them.

¹⁰⁹ Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 42-52.

¹¹⁰ For similar pairings of objects and locations as a device for suggesting rarity, see for example, al-Ṭā’alibī, *Laṭā’if al-mā’arīf*, ed. I. Ibyārī and K. al-Ṣayrafī, Cairo, ‘Īsā l-Bābī l-Ḥalabī, p. 119; *id.*, *Ṭimār al-qulūb*, ed. I. Ṣāliḥ, Beirut, Dār al-bašā’ir, 1994, *passim*; *id.*, *Zād safar al-mulūk*, ed. R. Baalbaki and B. Orfali, Beirut, Orient-Institut, 2011, p. 40-1, and *Ṣaymariyya*.

¹¹¹ Lev and Amar, *Practical Materia Medica*, p. 52.

In the final section of his speech, Abū l-Fatḥ states that only an expert like himself tested by severe illnesses ought to examine the jars and the medical compounds within them. He then summons his audience to show him his “friends,” by which he intends a melange of wounds, sores, and infections.

The transition between episodes occurs when Abū l-Fatḥ pauses and then indicates to his son that it is his turn to speak. The phrase with which he prompts his son to speak, “now, it is your turn” (*anta wa-šā'nuka*), is found in the *Buḥārīyya*. Interestingly, the phrase in the *Buḥārīyya* is used in an almost identical context, that of Abū l-Fatḥ encouraging his son to step forward and speak persuasively in order to gain money from the audience.

The son's speech differs from that of his father in that he focuses mainly on the immediacy of the sale. He offers the onlookers discounts and deals, while encouraging the audience to lead other customers suffering from various ailments to purchase their cures. He concludes his speech with a seeming guarantee of the efficacy of these medicines.¹¹²

The “recognition scene” opens with 'Īsā reporting on behalf of the crowd the collective amazement and wonderment at Abū l-Fatḥ's words and descriptions. Abū l-Fatḥ's use of ornate language in the course of trickery is a common motif in the *maqāmāt*.¹¹³ Significantly, it is in the course of 'Īsā's witnessing the sale and purchase of these medicaments that he begins to question the scene unfolding before him. 'Īsā's recognition of Abū l-Fatḥ does not occur on the level of sight alone, but rather is effected through the act of internal contemplation, “And I began to take him into my vision and turn his image over in my heart and mind”. This motif of recognition through internal contemplation is also found in several of the *maqāmāt*.¹¹⁴ The scene continues with 'Īsā waiting for the audience to depart, in order to find a way to meet Abū l-Fatḥ alone. In many of the *maqāmāt*, 'Īsā's solo confrontation of Abū l-Fatḥ is also a common pattern, highlighting the actions that 'Īsā takes in order to confirm his suspicions about the identity of Abū l-Fatḥ.¹¹⁵ 'Īsā's question to Abū l-Fatḥ, “How were you guided to this trick (*ḥīla*)?” confirms to Abū l-Fatḥ, 'Īsā's knowledge of his identity. The motif of recognition through the discovery of a ruse (*ḥīla*) is present in several *maqāmāt*.¹¹⁶ And in one case, the *Iṣfahānīyya*, 'Īsā asks the exact same question.

¹¹² One cannot but observe how he appears to refer to God's agency, should the medicines fail, for whatever reason.

¹¹³ The motif is found in various forms in more than 20 *maqāmas*; see e.g., *Ġāḥizīyya*, *Šī'riyya*, *Qarīdīyya*, *Sigīstānīyya*, *Buḥārīyya*, *Ibniyya*.

¹¹⁴ See e.g., *Qarīdīyya*, *Irāqīyya*, *Iṣfahānīyya*, *Maṭlabīyya*.

¹¹⁵ See e.g., *Iṣfahānīyya*, *Ġurġānīyya*, *Makfūfīyya*, *Qirdīyya*, *Buḥārīyya*, *Maṭlabīyya*; cf. Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 50.

¹¹⁶ See e.g., *Sāsānīyya* and *Armaniyya*.

The *envoi* of the *Ṭibbiyya* provides the conclusion to the recognition scene as well as providing a fitting ending to the *maqāma*. In it, Abū l-Faṭḥ justifies his behavior by stating that he has a family for which he must provide. Elsewhere in the *maqāmāt*, he makes similar claims.¹¹⁷ His verse, “One day I spread out my medicinal powders, and another I ply the trade of a *ḥašīš* seller” indicates his capacity to change and adapt in the face of the inevitable hardships of time (*dahr*). And as such, it refers by metonymy to his persona throughout the *maqāmāt*.¹¹⁸

The language and style of the *Ṭibbiyya* shares much with other *maqāmāt* attributed to Hamaḍānī. For example, in the opening lines of the *Ṭibbiyya*, most of the lexical items, such as *iğtiyāz*, *bilād*, *riḥqa*, *aṅḡāb*, *iḥwān*, *aṣḥāb*, *ḥalalnā*, *buq'a*, *faṣiḥa*, *farḍa*, and *ḥāḡa*, appear elsewhere in the *maqāmāt*. The style of the *Ṭibbiyya*, especially the use of *saḡ'*, also reflects patterns found throughout *Hamadānī's maqāmāt*.¹¹⁹

The subject matter of the *Ṭibbiyya*, medicine, is on first impression, unexpected. The topic is otherwise absent from both his other *maqāmāt* and his letters, and there is no evidence from biographical sources that Hamaḍānī ever studied medicine.¹²⁰ Medicine was often an important topic in *adab* works of the tenth and eleventh centuries. On the one hand, there are certainly doctors who were also littérateurs, such as Abū l-Faraḡ b. Hindū (d. 410/1019 or 420/1029) and Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066). But there were also littérateurs who wrote works dealing with medicine, such as al-Şāḥib b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995) and Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ṭā'ālibī (d. 429/1038), who were not doctors.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ See e.g., *Azādiyya*, *Ġurġāniyya*, *Baṣriyya*, *Buḥāriyya*, *Şināziyya*.

¹¹⁸ See e.g., *Azādiyya*, *Ġurġāniyya*, *Buḥāriyya*, *Balḥiyya*, *Makfūfiyya*, *Qirdiyya*, *Şirāziyya*, *Nāġimiyya*, *Baġdādiyya*, *Hamadāniyya*, *Iblisiyya*, *Armaniyya*, *Aswadiyya*, *Sāriyya*; for the concept of *dahr* as it relates to the *maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī, see al-Qāḍī, “Maqāmāt Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī”, p. 480.

¹¹⁹ Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 52. For a detailed study of Hamaḍānī's distinctive use of *saḡ'*, see Maḥmūd al-Maṣ'ādī, *al-Iqā' fi-l-adab al-'arabī*, Tunis, Mu'assasat 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd Allāh li-l-naṣr wa-l-tawzī', 1986; Geert Jan van Gelder, “Rhyme in Maqāmāt or, Too Many Exceptions Do Not Prove a Rule”, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 44 (1999), p. 75-82; Tamás Iványi, “On Rhyming Endings and Symmetric Phrases in al-Hamadhani's *Maqamat*”, in J.R. Smart (ed.), *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature*, Richmond, Surrey, Curzon, 1996, p. 210-28.

¹²⁰ Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama*, p. 15-33; Everett Rowson, “Religion and Politics in the Career of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 107 (1987), p. 653-73; Wadād al-Qāḍī, “Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī and His Social and Political Vision”, in M. Mir (ed.), *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy*, Princeton, Darwin Press, 1993, p. 197-223.

¹²¹ Ibn 'Abbād, *Rasā'il al-Şāḥib b. 'Abbād*, ed. A. 'Azzām and Ş. Ḍayf, Cairo, Dār al-fikr al-'arabī, 1947, p. 228-30; al-Ṭā'ālibī, *Zād safar al-mulūk*, chapters 20-31.

Indeed there are other examples of medical *maqāmas* or *maqāma*-like writings in pre-modern Arabic literature. For example, Abdelfattah Kilito and Philip Kennedy have both explicitly compared Ibn Buṭlān's *Physicians' Dinner Party* to the *maqāmāt*.¹²² In the Mamlūk period, al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) wrote many *maqāmāt* in which medicine figures prominently.¹²³ In the middle of the nineteenth century, Nāṣif al-Yāziḡī (d. 1287/1871) includes a medical *maqāma* (*al-maqāma l-ṭibbiyya*) in his collection of *maqāmāt*, entitled *Maḡma' al-baḥrayn*. In this *maqāma*, a *ṣayḥ* provides medical advice in a *madrasa*.¹²⁴

VII. Authenticity

After examining the themes, language, style, and subject matter of the *Ṭibbiyya*, we now must confront the question of its authorship. Who wrote this *maqāma*? There are three possibilities.

First, we must consider the possibility that the anonymous scribe who copied the Yale manuscript in the year 603/1206 is the author of the *Ṭibbiyya*. However, this seems hard to believe, because, as has been noted above, it was this scribe who confused the folios of the manuscript he was copying, and thus, is not likely to have been its author.

The second possibility is that the scribe has copied this *maqāma* from an older manuscript written sometime between 398/1008 and 603/1206 and that this person is the author of the *Ṭibbiyya*. Indeed, this seems plausible, because none of the contents of the 603/1206 manuscript appear to be from a period after the lifetime of Hamaḍānī. If this is the case, we must concede that this author possessed a thorough and deep knowledge of the themes, language, and style of Hamaḍānī's *maqāmāt* in order to compose a work so well in tune with the rest of Hamaḍānī's *oeuvre*. Indeed, if the *Ṭibbiyya* is a later author's imitation of a Hamaḍānian *maqāma*, the author has chosen a very difficult subject matter and style, and appears to have carried out his plan flawlessly.

¹²² Ibn Buṭlān, *The Physicians' Dinner Party*, ed. F. Klein-Franke, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1985; Abdelfattah Kilito, *Les séances. Récits et codes culturels chez Hamadhānī et Harīrī*, Paris, Sindbad, p. 145; Philip F. Kennedy, "The *Maqāmāt* as a Nexus of Interests", in Julia Bray (ed.), *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, London, Routledge, 2006, p. 171-5.

¹²³ Al-Suyūṭī, *Šarḥ Maqāmāt Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, Beirut, Mu'assasat al-risāla, ed. S. al-Durūbī, 1989; eight of al-Suyūṭī's *maqāmāt* address medical topics: *Baḥriyya*, *Tuffāḥiyya*, *Durriyya*, *Ḍahabiyya*, *Rayāḥīn*, *Zumurrudiyya*, *Fustuqiyya*, *Miskiyya*.

¹²⁴ Nāṣif al-Yāziḡī, *Maḡma' al-baḥrayn*, Beirut, al-Maṭba'a l-adabiyya, 1885 [4th ed.], p. 224-31.

However, the fact that the *Ṭibbiyya* first appears in the manuscripts of Hamaḍānī's *maqāmāt* sometime in the eleventh or twelfth century provides no clear proof of its being a forgery. Given that more than one-fifth of the *maqāmāt* that belong to the fifty-two *maqāmāt* of Hamaḍānī in the modern published editions (and are analyzed as Hamaḍānī's own in modern scholarship) are not attested until around three centuries *after* the *Ṭibbiyya*, the work's authenticity should be taken more seriously. For as Richards noted, the *Miğzāliyya*, *Nāğimiyya*, *Ḥalaḥfiyya*, *Naysabūriyya*, *ʿIlmiyya*, *Ši'riyya*, *Mulūkiyya*, *Ṣufriyya*, *Sāriyya*, *Tamīmiyya*, *Ḥamriyya* do not appear in the manuscripts of Hamaḍānī's *maqāmāt* until the 16th century.¹²⁵

It is worth mentioning that one other *maqāma*, the *Maṭlabiyya*, is also first attested as *maqāma* number 49 in the Yale Salisbury manuscript. But unlike the *Ṭibbiyya* it is a part of the published editions. It is quite possible that the scribal error which divided the text of the *Ṭibbiyya* outlined above is the reason that it was not copied by later scribes, and thus did not become a part of Hamaḍānī's later corpus.

The third possibility is that Hamaḍānī himself is the author of this *maqāma* on medicine. However, to be able to determine this with any certainty, or to enquire about the nature of the corpus of Hamaḍānī's *maqāmāt* as a whole, there needs to be a more thorough investigation of the history of Hamaḍānī's *maqāmāt*.

¹²⁵ Richards, "The Maqāmāt", p. 95-6. We have examined more than thirty manuscripts of Hamaḍānī's *maqāmāt* including those examined by Richards, and have also come to the same tentative conclusion.