

GERRIT BOS' EDITION OF
QUSTA IBN LUQA'S *AR-RISALA* WITHIN THE CONTEXT
OF THE WESTERN SCHOLARSHIP

Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas tentang edisi kritik Gerrit Bos atas karya Qusta Ibn Luqa's Risala ila al-hasan b. Mahlad fi-tadbir safar al-hajj. Salah satu karya Gerrit Bos yang berkaitan dengan manuskrip Arab klasik yang diterbitkan oleh E.J.Brill pada tahun 1992. Sebagaimana tertera dalam judul manuskrip tersebut, karya ini membahas tentang pengetahuan yang berkaitan dengan masalah-masalah yang dihadapi oleh para jemaah haji pada abad pertengahan. Risalah ini merupakan suatu bimbingan kesehatan yang bagus, simpel dan ringkas yang ditujukan untuk para jemaah haji, yang kurang pengetahuan akan medis. Risalah ini mengandung informasi dasar mengenai aturan atau tatacara terbaik untuk menjaga kesehatan seseorang dan juga membahas berbagai kemungkinan penyakit yang akan dihadapi oleh para jama'ah disertai dengan cara perawatan dan pengobatannya.

Artikel ini juga membahas tentang tradisi keilmuan Barat dalam mengedit dan menganotasi manuskrip-manuskrip Arab klasik. Disamping itu, artikel ini juga mencoba menjelaskan bagaimana Gerrit Bos mengedit dan menganotasi text Arab klasik yang disesuaikan dengan keilmuan Barat modern sehingga dia mampu menghasilkan sebuah edisi kritik yang reliable. Untuk keperluan itu, saya merujuk beberapa sumber yang relevan dalam menulis artikel ini, seperti Rosenthal's Technique, Witkam's Establishing Stemma, V'rolijk's Bringing a Laugh, GAL, GAS, EI², dan beberapa Jurnal.

Tradisi mengedit dan menganotasi manuskrip-manuskrip Arab Klasik telah menjadi fokus kajian para sarjana Barat selama beberapa abad. Karya-karya Gerrit Bos (sejak 1992), Hans Daiber (sejak 1976), Frank Griffel (sejak 2000), Recha Allgaier, Martina Hussein, and Jessica Kley (in progress) adalah contoh konkrit yang membuktikan bahwa tradisi ini masih berlanjut sampai sekarang. Edisi kritik karya Gerrit Bos menjadi contoh nyata dari kompetensi sarjana-sarjana Barat dalam megedit, menterjemahkan dan menganotasi manuskrip-manuskrip Arab klasik secara scientific.

Kata Kunci: *Gerrit Bos, Qusta Ibn Luqa's risala, Arabic manuscript*

Introduction

Qusta Ibn Luqa's *Risala ila al_hasan b. Mahlad fi-tadbir safar al-hajj*, is a unique text, not only because it is the only known health guide for the pilgrim to Mecca, but also because it is an eloquent testimony of the author's profound theoretical knowledge and practical skills. This theoretical knowledge is apparent from his familiarity with the works of ancient physicians such as Hippocrates and Galen, but above all with those of the Byzantine compiler, Paul of Aegina, his major sources. His practical skills are obvious from the composition of this treatise, which is a successful attempt to compose a concise, well-organized health guide for those pilgrims to Mecca lacking the physician's medical knowledge. The treatise contains basic information about the best regimen to preserve one's health and about potential major disease as well as their treatment.¹

So far none of Qusta's medical works has been the object of systematic scientific research which tried to establish the measure of originality and dependence on earlier sources. Thus the following remark by Sezgin² is still relevant: *"Über seine zahlreichen, uns erhaltenen medizinischen Schriften liegt uns bis jetzt keine Untersuchung vor. Die modernen Medizinhistoriker nehmen entweder keine Stellung zu seiner medizinischen Leistungen oder wiederholen das Lob arabischer Quellen."*

This essay tries to answer a question of how Bos edited, translated, and annotated the manuscript so that he could produce a reliable critical edition. Second question to deal with here is whether this critical edition is scientific text edition or not. To answer these both questions, it is very important to understand the principles of his collations as well as edition. It is because one will know how the text edition is edited. As a result, one will understand its weaknesses and strengths. It is also important to know how the editor deals with the manuscripts, especially their main basis of the text edition. An attention will also be paid to the Western tradition of editing, translating and annotating the classical Arabic manuscript.

Apart from introduction, this essays consists of six parts: (a) tradition of Western Scholarship in editing and annotating Classical Arabic manuscripts, (b) Qusta Ibn Luqa's life and works, (c) survey and evaluation of the contents of the *Risala*, (d) the text edition, (e) the manuscript, (f) collation and editorial principle. The last passages of this essay will end up with conclusive and summarizing statements.

Western Scholarship Tradition in Editing and Annotating Classical Arabic Manuscripts

Edition and Annotation of classical Arabic manuscripts have become concern of Western scholars for more than two hundred years. Up to the present, this scientific enterprise is still being undertaken by several scholars affiliated into several Western universities in Europe and Northern America. Several doctoral theses in several universities in Europe are obvious evidence of this ongoing tradition. Leiden University alone, whose library houses one of the richest oriental collections (of Arabic Mss.) in the world,³ becomes homes for several PhD fellows dealing with edition and annotation of Arabic manuscripts.⁴

To what extent did Western scholars concern on classical Arabic manuscripts? To answer this question, I attempt to account for several Western scholars and their works dealing with critical edition of classical Arabic manuscripts.

1. Gerrit Bos's Biography and His Works

One of the Western scholars who concerns on classical Arabic manuscripts is Gerrit Bos, a professor and chairholder in Jewish studies at the Martin Buber Institute fur Judaistik, University of Cologne, Germany. His teaching subjects cover Rabbinic Literature, Jewish history, Medieval Jewish and Islamic Thought, Philosophy and Medicine; Medieval, Modern Hebrew Literature and Aramaic, Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic.

To know his erudition of the classical Arabic manuscripts, it is better to discuss his educational background. In 1973-1974, he studied Classical Languages in Rijksuniversiteit, Utrecht, where he was occupied with the study of Theology until 1975. Furthermore, he got BA degree in Semitic Language and Literature in University of Amsterdam from 1976 until 1982. In the meantime, he also studied Yiddish under the supervision of Dr Leib Fuks. In 1995, he obtained his MA degree from post-graduate program on Hebrew and Arabic Language and Literature, Free University of Amsterdam, where he submitted his thesis discussing *Al-Farabi's Al-Mabut ha-Nefesh (On the Essence of the Soul)*. During this time, he studied Talmud in Center for Conservative Judaism to dr.T. Friedman in 1983. Furthermore, he received his Ph.D. diploma from the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam in 1989. His dissertation is entitled "The Treatise of Qusta ibn Luqa on the Regimen during the Pilgrimage to Mecca" and supervised by Prof. Dr. H. Daiber.

Before obtaining his professorship in Jewish studies at the Martin Buber Institute fur Judaistik, University of Cologne, Germany in

1997, he had several professional experiences, i.e. as a cataloguer of Hebraica, Judaica and Arabica for Antiquariaat Spinoza in Amsterdam (1976-1988), a Trainee Research Assistant in Department of Semitic Languages, Free University Amsterdam (1988-1989), a researcher in the same department (1990-1992), a research fellow in The Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, University College London (1992-1995), a Tutor of Jewish Studies in Leo Baeck College, London (1993-1996), a lecturer in Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, University College, London (1996-1997). In 2004, he became a visiting Professor in British Academy.⁵

Moreover, since 1988, he had obtained more than ten grants and awards from several institutions. He received Lady Davis Graduate Fellowship (1988-1989), Wellcome Research Fellowship (1992-1996), and Wellcome University Award (1996). He was also awarded several research grants from Deutsche Forschungs Gemeinschaft (1999 - 2008), Maurico Amado Foundation, University of California, Los Angeles, (2001), and The Institute for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts, Brigham Young University (2002).⁶

His research interests cover medieval Jewish and Islamic science, especially medicine. In 2005, he undertook three research projects: Maimonides' medical writings; medico-botanical synonyme literature in Hebrew manuscripts (with Guido Mensching); and Jacob ben Makhir's Hebrew translation of Averroes' *De animalibus*. His most recent publications are *Maimonides on Asthma, vol.2* and *Maimonides on Poison*, both of which are in collaboration with Michael McVaugh (2008).

The edition of Qusta ibn Luqa's *Risala* is one of his works dealing with classical Arabic manuscripts. It forms an enlarged and revised version of his dissertation completed in the year 1989 at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, under the supervision of Prof. Dr. H. Daiber, and the reference of two prominent Dutch philologists, i.e. Prof. Dr. R. Kruk and Prof. Dr. W. Raven. It was about three years after his defense (that took place on 8th of december 1989), his dissertation was published by E.J. Brill.

Besides this critical edition, Bos composes a number of works. Most of his works deal with the classical Arabic manuscripts which he then edited, criticized, and annotated. In doing so, he studied some manuscripts for each of his critical edition as variant readings so that what he produced was the comparison of some manuscripts. Rosenthal remarks that 'variant readings may result from changes which the author of a work himself made in one or the other copy of his work during his lifetime. The existence of such "author's variant readings" has of late

been recognized by classical philologists in Greek and Latin literature'.⁷ Moreover, A. Vrolijk states that variant readings are differences in spelling between the two or more autographs.⁸ So, it is not easy to edit, to criticize and to annotate the classical manuscripts. It is impossible to do so without having any skill, especially the understanding on the classical philology and language. In this regard, from his educational background and his professional experiences, it is clear to deduce that Gerrit Bos has mastered several languages, such as Arabic, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. His proficiency of classical languages reveals his authority in editing classical Arabic manuscripts.

These are several of his works housed in Leiden University library. Most of these works deal with medicine and classical Arabic manuscripts. The method and approach he used for writing his works are mostly similar with what he applied in the critical edition of *Qusta Ibn Luqa's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca*.

Two years after the publication of his first work in E.J. Brill, he followed it with publishing another work entitled *Aristotle's 'De Anima' :translated into Hebrew by Zerayah Ben Isaac Ben Shealtiel Hen. A critical edition with an introduction and index* In 1994. It contains the Hebrew translation of Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle, written between 1189 and 1337.⁹ Furthermore in 1995, he published a great work, i.e. *Ibn Al-azjar on Forgetfulness and its Treatment, critical edition of the Arabic text and the Hebrew translations with commentary and translation into English*, published by The Royal Asiatic Society, London. The subject of the present work, *forgetfulness and its treatment*, is a very popular work in ancient medical and philosophical literature, that is, before the invention of the printing press.¹⁰

Furthermore, in 1997, Gerrit Bos wrote *Ibn Al-Jazjar on Sexual Diseases and Their Treatment. A critical edition of Zad al Musafir wa -qut al-hadir. Provisions for the traveler and Nourishment for the Sedentary. book 6. the original Arabic text with an English translation, introduction and commentary*, published by Kegan Paul, London. It contains many valuable quotations from the works of famous physicians and philosophers, such as Hippocrates, Aristotle, Rufus, Galen Paul of Aegina, and Polemon.¹¹ In 2000, he published two works, i.e. *Ibn al-Jazjar of Fevers: a critical edition of Zad al-Musafir wa-qut al-hadir*, and *Al-Kindi on Astrometeorology: a critical edition of Iggeret ba-lahuyyot u-va-matar (Letter on Moistures and Rain)*, and *Iggeret ba-Isshim ha-Elyonim (On the Causes of the [Forces] Ascribed to the Heavenly Bodies, Indicating Rain)*, together with the Latin translations and with translation into English, in collaboration with Dr Charles Burnett. Both of these works were also published by Kegan Paul, London.

From 2002 until 2008, he published six works of critical edition, five of which were published in Brigham Young University press, Provo. They were *Moses Maimonides on Asthma: a parallel Arabic – English text* (2002), *Maimonides, Medical Aphorism, treatises 1-5* (2004), *Maimonides, Medical Aphorism, treatises 6-9* (2007), *Maimonides on Asthma, vol.2*, and *Maimonides on Poison* in collaboration with Michael McVaugh (2008). Furthermore, in 2006 he wrote *Hebrew Medical Astrology: David Ben Yom Tov, Kelal Qatan*, in collaboration with Charles Burnett and Tzvi Langermann.¹²

In addition, there are several of his works in collaboration with other authors which will be forthcoming, i.e. *Maimonides on Medical Aphorism. Treatises 10-25 (3 vols)*, *Maimonides on Hemorrhoids*, *Maimonides on Coitu*, *Maimonides on the Regimen Health*, *Maimonides on the Elucidation of Some Symptoms and the Response to them*, and *Galen on Problematic Movements*. All of them are critical editions. He also had written more than thirty articles in several journals. For instances, "A recovered Fragment on the Signs of Death from Abu Yusuf al-Kindi's 'Medical Summaries'", in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch islamischen Wissenschaften*, VI/1990: 189-194 and *The miswak, an aspect of dental care in Islam*", in: *Medical History*, 37,1/1993: 68-79.

From the explanation above, it is clear to demonstrate that Gerrit Bos is a prolific writer who devotes his academic skill for introducing, editing and annotating classical Arabic manuscripts.

It was not only Gerrit Bos who concerned on the classical Arabic manuscripts, but some other Western scholars also do the same as Bos did, such as H. Daiber (Bos' promotor), Frank Griffel (Daiber's PhD student), Recha Allgaier, Martina Hussein, and Jessica Kley (Bos' PhD students). This shows us how Western scholars maintain the tradition of editing, translating, and annotating classical Arabic manuscripts for generations. Indeed, to obtain their Ph.D diplomas., many Western scholars devoted their study with editing and annotating classical Arabic manuscripts.

2. Hans Daiber's Biography and His Works

Hans Daiber is a professor in Johann Wolfgang Goethe - Universität, Frankfurt am Main, Germany and a director of Seminar Orientalis (since 1995). He also became a general editor of a series of publication of Islamic Philosophy and Theology, most of which deal with the edition of classical Arabic Mss. In addition, he is also a leader of The Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus project supported by KNAW 'the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences' and the Union Academique Internationale. The works undertaken within these projects

were published by a celebrated academic publisher in Leiden, E.J. Brill BV.

Hans Daiber also became a general editor as well as a supervisor of three editions of George Barhebraeus' work (13th century) entitled "Butyrum sapientiae"¹³ (Cream of Wisdom) containing nearly all the themes of the Aristotelean *oeuvre*, starting with the Organon and ending up with the politics,¹⁴ which are then edited, translated and annotated by three authors. Due to the length and the width of the theme covered in Barhebraeus' work, each author wrote one theme of Aristotelian *oeuvre*. N. Peter Joosse discusses *A Syriac Encyclopaedia of Aristotelian Philosophy (Books of Ethics, Economy, and Politics)*,¹⁵ Hidemi Takahashi deals with *Aristotelian meteorology in syriac (Books of Mineralogy and Meteorology)*,¹⁶ and John W. Watt focuses on *Aristotelian Rhetoric in Syriac (Book of Rhetoric)*.¹⁷ All of these books were under the editorship of Hans Daiber.

Daiber received his Ph.D from Fakultät für Orientalistik und Altertumswissenschaft in Universität Heidelberg, Germany in 1973. The title of his dissertation is *Das Theologisch-Philosophische System des Mu'ammad Ibn 'Abbad As-Sulami*, which was then published in Beirut in 1975.¹⁸

Daiber's occupation with edition of Arabic Mss. is clearly reflected by a number of his works, one of which forms a critical edition, i.e. *The Islamic Concept of belief in the 4th/ 10th Century. Abu l-Lait as-Samarqandi's Commentary on Abu Hanifa (died 150/767)*. Several research articles published in several Journals¹⁹ also reflect his erudition of the edition of Arabic Mss.

Hans Daiber was also often invited to present papers in a number of international conferences, seminars, congresses and symposiums, in which he discusses a number of topics derived from his edition of classical Arabic Mss. In The Third International Symposium on the History of Arab Science conducted in Kuwait on December 10-14, 1983, he presented, for instance, "*Abū l-Faradj Ibn at-Tayyib on Plants: an inquiry into his sources*".²⁰

3. Frank Griffel's Biography and His Works

Frank Griffel is a professor of Islamic Studies in Department of Religious Studies in Yale University, New Haven, USA. He received his MA degree in the Free University, Berlin, Germany in 1995 and received his Ph.D diploma from the same university in 1999 with his dissertation "*Apostasie und Toleranz im Islam. Die Entwicklung zu al-Gazalis Urteil gegen die Philosophie und die Reaktionen der Philosophen*"²¹ (published by Brill, Leiden in 2000) under the supervision of Prof. Dr. H. Daiber.

As Hans Daiber, Griffel also wrote many books dealing with the edition of Arabic Mss. One of them is *Über Rechtgläubigkeit und religiöse Toleranz. Eine Übersetzung der Schrift Das Kriterium der Unterscheidung zwischen Islam und Gottlosigkeit*. This work is a critical edition of *Faysal at-tafriga bayna l-Islam wa-z-zandaqa*,²² published by Spur Verlag, Zurich in 1998. Moreover, he, in collaboration with several authors, also translated two works respectively by Harald Motzki and Emil Habibi: *Whither hadith-studies? A critical examination of G. H. A. Juynboll's 'Nafi' the mawla of Ibn 'Umar, and his position in Muslim, adith-literature*, and *Der Peptimist oder Von den seltsamen Vorfällen um das Verschwinden Saids des Glücklosen* (the Arab novel '*al-Mutasha'il*') published by Spur Verlag, Zurich in 1998.

In addition, he published 26 articles and reviewed 15 books, some of which deal with al-Ghazali and other Islamic philosophers: "*Al-Ghazali*"²³ and *Ghazali and the Poetics of Imagination*.²⁴

He received several honors and awards from several institutions. Between 1995-1998, he was awarded a Dissertation Grant for Promising Young Scholars of the Land Berlin. Between 2003-2004, he was also granted a Morse Fellowship in the Humanities and Mellon Fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. Furthermore, in 2005, he received a Griswold Award for Research Abroad and in 2007, he was awarded a Carnegie Scholar.

As internationally well-reputed scholar, he is also often invited to be a keynote speaker in several conferences and workshops, in which he presented papers dealing with the edition of the Arabic Mss.: "*Ms. London, British Library, Or. 3126: A Textbook of Philosophical Metaphysics by al-Ghazali*"²⁵ and "*Die Arten der Gottesbeweise bei al-Gazali und Hs. or. 3126 in London*."²⁶

4. Bos' Promovendis and their works

Recha Allgaier, Martina Hussein, and Jessica Kley are three alumnus of Jewish studies at the Martin Buber Institute für Judaistik, University of Cologne, Germany who have succeeded following the footstep of their supervisor, Gerrit Bos. As their supervisor, their Ph.D theses are also respectively concerned with a critical edition of classical Arabic manuscripts: *Judah Ben Jacob's Treatise on the Regimen of Health; The Pharmacological Handbook composed by Ibn al-Jazzar of Kairouan, the Teacher of Isaac Israeli, in Arabic and Hebrew translation*, and *The medical works on fevers composed by the fourteenth century physician Abraham Caslari of Narbonne and Beziers*.²⁷

Because of the quality of their competence in featuring medical and botanical terms in Hebrew, Arabic and Laaz, they were appointed

co-researchers in a research project led by Gerrit Bos. This project, which was set up in collaboration with Professor Guido Mensching of the Free University of Berlin, aims at editing and translating hitherto unpublished middle Hebrew medical-botanical texts which contain a large number of Old Occitan terms in Hebrew scripts, with a systematic analysis of the terms.²⁸

Qusta Ibn Luqa's Life and Works

1. Qusta Ibn Luqa's Life

Qusta Ibn Luqa al-Ba'albaki (around 205/820-300/912 A.D.) is a prolific Syrian Christian translator and scholar of medicine and the exact sciences²⁹. He is a doctor from Baalbek (Heliopolis).³⁰ His skills in these fields resulted in an invitation to Baghdad, where he served the Caliph al-Musta'in (r.248-52/862-6) and joined the company of such colleagues as Abu Yusuf al-Kindi (around 185-252/ 801-866)³¹, Hunayn Ibn Ishaq (192-260/806-873)³² and Thabit Ibn Qurra (213-288/ 826-901)³³. Between 860 and 870³⁴ he moved to Armenia at the behest of the prince Sanharib (Sennachorib), and remained active there to the end of his life³⁵, composing several works for different patrons. Fluent in Arabic, Greek and Syriac, he produced numerous Arabic translations of Greek texts in various fields, and also wrote original works on topics in medicine, mathematics, philosophy, logic, music, astronomy, and weights and measures. These works, some of considerable importance, are for the most part short essays and make Qusta a typical figure of the more mature translation period, when translators were also writing brief works of their own on specific topics, more so than ambitious compendia and monographs³⁶.

It is most likely that as a young man Qusta undertook a journey to the Byzantine empire and returned to Syria with a collection of Greek books which he later either translated himself or which were translated by others³⁷.

These few scarce facts³⁸ derived from Arabic biographical literature are all that is known about Qusta's life.

Later on he was induced by a certain Sanharib to migrate to Armenia and establish himself there. He then engaged in the production of original scientific works for a certain Abu l-ghtrif Al-Batriq, a learned, distinguished and generous man, and for others, such as Isma'il Ibn Bulbul and Abu l-Hasan 'Abdallah Ibn Yahya, who doubtless were patrons of scientific activity. When Qusta died, he was honored by a monumental tomb such as only kings and the founders of religious orders were wont to receive³⁹. He died in Armenia in A.D. 912.

2. Qusta Ibn Luqa's Works

Though skilled in a variety of sciences⁴⁰, Qusta was a prolific author, especially in the field of medicine⁴¹. His biographers list over sixty publications to his name, and some seventeen translations besides. Ibn an-Nadim⁴² states that Qusta deserves to be ranked higher than Hunayn Ibn Ishaq because of his superior medical knowledge. Some of his medical works⁴³ have been edited in the last decennia.

It was, of course, usual for Arabic scholars to be well versed in a wide range of subjects, and Qusta was no exception. He used to have been skilled in medicine, philosophy, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and music – all these subjects are included in the lists of his works given by the biographers. Ibn al-Nadim (Fihrist, 410-411), having first stated specifically that he has excluded translations, lists over 30 of Qusta's original works, and Ibn Abi Usayba adds a further 30 works to this list. Medical works, which preponderate, include the following treatises: on gout; infectious diseases, insomnia, knowledge of fevers, types of crises in illness, the pulse, paralyzes types, causes and treatment; the four of "humours"; and phlebotomy. Non-medical works include several treatises on philosophy and logic; on astronomy, on the celestial sphere; two commentaries on Euclide's elements, a treatise on algebra, a commentary on the book of Diaphantos on algebra; on the stellyard; on weights and measures; and on burning mirrors. Some of Qusta's translations are extant, for examples, those of Diaphantos, Theodostos, Autolykos, Hypsikles, Aristarchos, and Hero.⁴⁴

His original works, many listed in the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadim, dealt with contemporary science, medicine, astronomy and philosophy. A Latin translation of his work 'On the Difference between the Spirit and the Soul' (De Differentia Spiritus et Animae) was one of the few works not attributed to Aristotle that was included in a list of 'books to be 'read,' or lectured on, by the Masters of the Faculty of Arts, at Paris in 1254,' as part of their study of Natural Philosophy⁴⁵. This translation was made by Joannes Hispalensis.⁴⁶

Of him Ibn al-Nadim says: "He is an excellent translator; he knew well Greek, Syriac and Arabic; he translated texts and corrected many translations. Many are his medical writings."⁴⁷ Qusta was with Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, the author who best served Greek Culture in the Arab civilization.⁴⁸

Qusta's *Risala* belongs to the literary genre of health guides for the traveller. The theme of the preservation of one's health during a journey appears for the first time in a systematic discourse by Diocles of

Carystus (fl. Circa 360 B.C.). This short discussion, however, survived only in a citation by Oribasius. Oribasius in his turn was faithfully copied by Paul of Aegina. According to Ibn an-Nadim, Rufus of Ephesus was the author of a *kitab fi tadbir al musafir, maqala*. This text, which is lost, is cited by Ibn al-Mubarak. Several Arab authors treated this theme as well; some treated it, just like their Byzantine predecessors, as part of their medical encyclopedias; see at-Tabari, ar-Razi, Pseudo Thabit Ibn Qurra, and Ibn Sina. Others, as Qusta, devoted a monograph to the subject; cf. Ibn al-Jazzar, Ibn Mandawayh, and Ibn al-Hatib⁴⁹.

There are some other works written or translated or by Qusta Ibn Luqa which I found in University Library of Leiden:

1. *Kitab fi al-bah wa-ma yuhtagu ilaihi min tadbir al-badan fi 'stimalibi*
2. *Kitab fi l-bah*, translated into Germany *Das Buch uber die Geschlechtlichkeit*
3. *On numbness : a book On numbness, its kinds, causes and treatment according to the opinion of Galen and Hippocrates / Quṣṭā ibn Luqā ; ed., translation and commentary by Lena Ambjörn*
4. *al-Filāḥa al-Yūnāniyya*
5. *Une correspondance Islamo-Chrétienne entre Ibn al-Munagǧim Hunayn ibn Ishāq et Quṣṭā ibn Luqā*
6. *Gāwāb sitt 'asār mas'ila li-Abi Rayḥān ; aǧwibat masa'il sa'ala 'anha Abu Raiḥān wa-rasa'il u_kera*
7. *Fī al-nafs / Aristoteles ; [targāmahu Hunayn ibn Ishāq] : [wayalihu:] al- Ara' al-ṭabi'yya, al-mansub ila Plutarchus / [targāmahu Quṣṭā ibn Luqā] : al-Ḥaṣ wa-al-maḥsū*
8. *Abhandlung über die Ansteckung / von Quṣṭā ibn Luqā ; hrsg., übers. und komment. von Hartmut Fäbndrich*
9. *Les arithmétiques*
10. *Books IV to VII of Diophantus' Arithmetica in the Arabic translation attributed to Quṣṭā ibn Luqā*

While I did not find any information in Brockelmen's GAL, I found other works of Ibn Luqa in Sezgin's GAS Vol. III. The following list includes 10 out of 54 his works indeed:⁵⁰

1. *fi l-Adwiya al-mushila wa-l-ilag bi-l-ishal*
2. *fi t-Taharruz min az-zukam wa-n-naḥalat allati ta'ridu fi s-sita*
3. *fi l-I'da'*
4. *fi Yllat tul al-umr wa qasrihi*
5. *fi d-Daras*
6. *fi Diker islah al-adwiya al-mushila wa nafy dururiha wa miqdar as-sarba minha wa-durub isti'maliba*
7. *fi Sifat al-badar wa anwa'ihī wa-asbabihī wa-ilagihī 'ala ra'y Galinus wa Buqrat*
8. *maqala fi l-Waba'*
9. *fi Hijz as-sibha fi s-safar*
10. *fi Tadbir al-badan fi s-safar*

Survey and Evaluation of the Contents of the Risala

The significance of the present edition rests on two considerations. Firstly, Qusta Ibn Luqa's manuscripts seem to be the

only known extant health guide specifically for the pilgrims to Mecca. The concerns with 'the regiment of health' was part of the legacy of Greek medical theory, reinforced with the ritualistic hygiene of the Qur'an and the Hadith traditions. As Bos points out, the treatment of the subject was, however, largely incorporated into medical encyclopedias. (Subsequently *regiment sanitatis* also become popular in the Latin Middle Ages). Since few monographs in Arabic were devoted to the subject on its own and addressed to the lay reader, Qusta ibn Luqa's manuscript seems to be unique.⁵¹

Secondly, in drawing attention to the extent of Qusta ibn Luqa's acquaintance with the medical works of Greek and Byzantine physicians, Bos emphasizes how Qusta successfully transforms theoretical knowledge acquired from such sources to practical advice specifically for the traveller to Mecca. At the same time he persuasively argues that Qusta relies largely on Paul of Aegina. Bos' evidence derives from certain features as well as the content of Qusta's treatise (esp. chaps. 5,6, 8-12, 14): for example, the composition and the structure of specific structures; the terminology employed by Qusta; the choice of particular remedies and prescriptions; the similarity in the account of certain conditions (e.g. earache) and descriptions (e.g. poisons, 'muddy and salty' water). In the detail commentary (85-159) Bos gives parallel translations of passages on the same themes in Qusta together with those from Paul of Aegina, Alexander of Tralles, Oribasius, Aetius and others, while contrasting Qusta's account with Arabic sources. On the description of 'spontaneous generation' (chapter 13)⁵² Bos also suggests that Qusta may have derived his information directly from Aristotle's zoological works, rather than Arabic sources.

John Livingstone remarks that *Qusta Ibn Luqa's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca* is 'one of many expressions of cultural liberalism in the classical period of Islam, when a Christian could compose a medical digest for Muslims setting out on the pilgrimage.'⁵³

In editing this small treatise of 500 lines, Gerrit Bos has brought to scholarly attention a work of one of the most important scientists and translators in the classical period of Islamic thought. Qusta Ibn Luqa stands with Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, al-Kindi, Thabit Ibn Qurra, Fazzm, and al-Barmi as thinkers and practitioners who together launched the scientific and philosophical enterprise in Islamic civilization; if for no reason than this, Bos' contribution is to be welcomed. It is also to be applauded for both his precision in editing and translating the text and the detailed, meticulous and exhaustive textual analysis of his commentary.⁵⁴

Addressing al-Hasan b.Mahlad Qusta states that, because of personal circumstances, he is unable to accompany him on his pilgrimage to Mecca. For this reason Qusta decided to compose a treatise containing the necessary information for the preservation of Hasan's health during his pilgrimage. Qusta then gives a survey of the topics which such a treatise should contain. For this purpose Qusta makes a distinction between a traveller's health guide in general and that of the *hajj* in particular.⁵⁵

Notwithstanding the treatise being of Qusta's minor works, the edition of *The Medical Regime for Pilgrimage*, which Bos classifies as belonging to the literary genre of health guides for travellers, begun by Diocles of Carystus, 360 B.C., enriches the field of medical history by adding to the larger picture of transmission and assimilation. By close textual comparison, the editor demonstrates conclusively that the primary source from which Qusta's treatise ultimately derives was Oribasius, who was copied by Paul Aegina. The Arabic source that came this knowledge to Qusta, who knew Greek, was Rufus of Ephesus.⁵⁶ In the commentary, to show the parallelism, Bos juxtaposes critical passages of Paul's Greek text and the Arabic of Qusta, beneath each of which are provided English translation. Often the Greek text of Oribasius with its English translation juxtaposed to passages and translations of Paul and Qusta in order to establish the line of transmission and parallelism. The critical edition of the Arabic text and English translation are printed side-by-side on facing pages, with every fifth line numbered for easy reference.

A brief introduction which attempts to frame Qusta's place as physician, scientist and translator may be somewhat too brief to do justice to his role in the development of Islamic thought. More adequately treated here are the interrelationships of the three manuscripts Bos uses for his critical edition, and the paragraph descriptions of each fourteen chapters composing the treatise. According to Qusta, his manual for travellers to Mecca cover eight essential medical subjects⁵⁷:

Rest, food, drink, sleep.

Fatigue and its cure.

Diseases caused by the different winds and their cures.

The prophylaxis against vermin and the treatment of diseases caused by them.

Water and its improvement.

Means to quench one's thirst.

Prophylaxis against the *dracunculus medinensis*.

Prophylaxis against snakes and treatment of injuries caused by them.

The Text Edition

Qusta's selection of subjects is based partly on theoretical knowledge about the contents of a traveller's health guide in general, and, partly on practical knowledge, about the specific diseases and dangers awaiting the pilgrim to Mecca in particular. The combination and application of these two kinds of knowledge have resulted in a lucid and systematic exposition of the subject matter in this treatise.⁵⁸

The thrust of Bos's argument, substantiated in the opinion of Andrew J. Newman, is that Qusta Ibn Luqa was familiar with Hippocrates and Galen and derived significant portions of his material, especially the discussion of the parasite *dranculus medinensis* (the guinea worm), from the Byzantine Paul of Aegina, with whom Rhazes (d.925) and other Arab physicians were conversant. If the translation of Greek into Arabic, especially from the ninth century, allowed Islamic medical writers direct access to Galenic medicine, Ibn Luqa's treatise exemplifies a less direct method of transfer.⁵⁹

Ibn Luqa suggests the traveller needs a general knowledge of a regimen for "resting, eating, drinking, sleeping and sexual intercourse", of types of fatigue and their cures, and of vermin and their bites. The pilgrim to Mecca in particular needs knowledge of the water and improvement of contaminated water, of "expedients" to quench thirst, of "prophylaxis against...dracunculus medinensis and haemorrhoids", and of snakes and snake bites.⁶⁰

Russel states that Gerrit Bos has produced an excellent edition of this treatise with the timely objective to provide for a critical evaluation of Qusta's achievements in the field of medicine⁶¹. However, in his historical analysis, there are a number of problems. Bos disturbingly lumps al-Tabari, al-Razy, al-Majusi, Ibn Sina repeatedly as 'Arab' or 'Arab authors'.⁶² He overlooks the fact that, although their works were written in Arabic, they all came from the Persian geographical and cultural milieu with its formative significance for their intellectual development.⁶³

In a brief introduction (1-6) Bos touches on Qusta's biography and on the genre of the medical regime, lists the extant manuscripts of the text and summarizes its contents (7-12). This is followed by the Arabic text and English translation in parallel format (13-85); a lengthy commentary (86-158); indexes of terms and names in both Arabic and

English; a useful glossary of *materia medica*; and a bibliography (159-170).

Qusta's treatise, *Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca*, consists of eight topics in fourteen chapters. It is based on his distinction between the general regimen for a traveller and one specifically for the *hajj* pilgrim to Mecca. The former deals with the fatigue and rest including massage, the kinds of food and drink, the amount of sleep, sexual intercourse, diseases which effect the eyes, ears, and chest due to local conditions such as dust or winds and vermin. The latter concentrates on such special topics as the problem of foul or bad water, how to quench the thirst when water is limited or unavailable, how to deal with snake bites, how to prevent or treat indigenous parasites –in particular, the 'Madina worm' or *Dracunculus medinensis* (*al-'irq al-madant*), which is discussed in the context of spontaneous generation due to putrefaction.

Throughout the treatise Qusta also provides appropriate simple and compound remedies. His systematic organization of the material and rational approach to the subject are impressive.

The Manuscript

According to Gerrit Bos, this edition is based on three manuscripts, one in British Museum, one in Daiber, and one in Indie Office. Even though all three manuscripts deal with the same topic and written by the same author, but each title of these manuscripts is a little different each others. Moreover, Sezgin in GAS mentions three more manuscripts⁶⁴, i.e. Haydarabad, Asaf., *tibb* 201; Aleppo, al-Jarrah (see Sbath, *Fihris* I, 59, no.471); and Meshed, *Rida* II, 315, Mosul (see D. Celebi, p.122, no.23). Unfortunately, Bos noted that he could not obtain a copy of these manuscripts.

Manuscript of British Museum (Add. 7527 Rich, fols.171-186), bearing the title: *Risala ila al-Hasan b. Mahlad fi tadbir safar al-hajj*⁶⁵. For its description see Cat. P. 204⁶⁶; it was copied in 1097/1686 by Muhammad Shafi' al-Kirmanî. The text, unvocalised, but with dicritical points, has been provided in some places with notes in Persian, mostly explaining the *materia medica*. The text, which serves as the basis of the text edition, is indicated by the sign A.

Manuscript of Daiber collection no.46, fols. 169v-175v, bearing the title: *Kitab li-Abi Muhammad al-Hasan b. Mahlad fi ma'amaluhu fi tadbir badanîhi fi safarîhi ila al-hajj*⁶⁷. This manuscript has been described by Daiber; it was copied 12 Jumada II 1302 by Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. alî Naqî al-Hasanî al-Hurasanî. The text is completely unvocalised, but has diacritical points; from fol. 170v it was written by a different hand

and becomes hard to read. In this text edition it is indicated by the sign B.

Manuscript of India Office no. 2821, fols. 94-112. Qusta's text, bearing the same title as Manuscript Daiber⁶⁸, is part of the *Kitab aman al-ahbar* by Abu al-Qasim Alib. Musa b. Ja'far b. Tawus. Though neatly written, as stated by Loth in his description of the Manuscript, it abounds with scribal errors (see critical apparatus). In this text edition it is indicated with the sign C.

Besides these three manuscripts, He also used Qusta's text which has been edited as part of the *Kitab aman al-ahbar*⁶⁹ of Abu al-Qasim 'Ali b. Musa b. Ja'far b. Tawus in Najaf 1951. He stated that this edition is not only uncritical, but also replete with printing errors (see critical apparatus). In this text edition it is indicated with the sign D.

This manuscript consists of fourteen chapters. Chapter one deal with an exposition of the best times to travel and to the regimen of the traveller in regard to food, drink, rest, sleep, and cohabitation. The chapter offers a fine example of how Qusta succeeded in translating his theoretical knowledge, based on ancient sources, into practical advice for the traveller. Chapter two relates to the different kinds of fatigue which may befall the traveller during a journey and possible cures. Chapter three is an extensive discussion of the different kinds of massage and their application. Chapter four deals with the detrimental effect on the constitution caused by extremely cold (notherly) winds and extremely warm (southerly) winds, which cause several diseases. Chapter five discusses the kinds of earache. Chapter six concerns on the diseases caused by changes of weather, namely, rheum, defluction and cough, and the treatment thereof. Chapter seven relates to the effect of dust on the human eye.

Furthermore, in chapter eight Qusta suggests the criteria for determining the quality of different waters. Chapter nine concentrates on different means to improve the quality of contaminated water. Chapter ten Qusta gives a description of various causes of thirst, and then proceeds to recommend different means of quenching one's thirst during the absence of water. Chapter eleven discusses the prophylaxis agains vermin in general. Chapter twelve concerns on a description of the treatments of stings or bites caused by vermin. Chapter thirteen deals with the 'spontaneous generation' of the *dranculus medinensis* and the different means preventing its birth. And the last chapter discusses the treatment of the *dranculus medinensis* after it has made its appearance.

Collation and Editorial Principle

Gerrit Bos has produced an excellent edition, translation and detailed commentary on the treatise of Qusta Ibn Luqa on medical problems and precautions to be taken by Muslim pilgrims to Mecca. Bos has supplied an introduction, including a brief discussion of the author and the genre of the “*health guides for the traveller*”, and Arabic and English indices of terms and names and glossary of *materia medica*.

The editor states that Manuscript A (British Museum) as the basis for the present text edition was chosen for the following reasons⁷⁰:

It contains a better version; see, for instance, footnotes 20,32,46,59, 112, 124 on the Arabic text of the manuscript.

At times it shows the longer, more correct variant; see, for instance, the footnotes 57, 89, 418 on the Arabic text of the manuscript.

The ascription of the *Risala fi tadbir safar al-hajj* to Qusta is supported by the following indications consisting of terminological and ideological counterparts⁷¹:

Both Qusta’s *Risala* and his *Maqala fi tul al-‘umr wa qisarihi* mention the following elements as causing the diseases: *al-ta’ab al-kaṭir* and *al-haraka al-mufrita*.

Both Qusta’s *Risala* and his *Kitab fi al- i’da* refer to the following possible causes of disease: *al-hawa al-muhit* and *al-I’da’*.

Both Qusta’s *Risala* and his *Kitab fi al-bah* make similar statements concerning the permissibility of sexual intercourse during the journey.

Both Qusta’s *Risala* and his *Kitab fi al-balgam* mention a similar treatment for the extraction of the *dracunculus medinensis*.

Bos has worked out of this treatise every bit of possible information. An index of terms in Arabic, followed by another in English, and these by a glossary of *materia medica* with an index where these terms are found in the text, present in combination for the scholar a small treasure of a select medical dictionary for rare and semi-rare spices, herbs and drugs: secaful, sagapenum, haematite, marcasite, lycium, homed poppy, Armenian bole, stribrite, Indian tutti, hyssop, storax, oxymel, galbanum...practicality is secondary to theory.⁷²

There can be problems with doctoral dissertations that go to publication without thorough revision.⁷³ Bos’s published work could have far better served the scholarly public with the edition of a more substantial introductory chapter interpreting the place of author and text in, first, Islamic science and medicine. And second, in the Latin medical tradition. In addition, several relatively minor points of omission should be noted. In his bibliography, Bost list G. Gabrieli’s 1910 Italian translation and edition of Qusta’s important treatise, on the different between the soul and the spirit, which had a profound influence in the

history of Western psycho-physiology, its twelfth-century Latin translation being printed twice, the last time as late as 1878; but he overlooks a far more recent English translation and commentary of this treatise in Scripta Mediterranea II (1981). On page 20, lines 28-29, there is a textual omission in the translation of several words "*qala maa qala al-awail*" leading the reader to miss the point that the ensuing prescriptions are based not simply on the author's knowledge but on a long medical tradition deriving from Greek sources.⁷⁴

Moreover, In foot notes 29-32 on page 5 it is unclear what sources are being cited in reference to at-Tabari and ar-Razi, though a little detective work in earlier footnotes and bibliography makes it more or less evident that notes 29 and 30 refer, respectively, to M.Z. Siddiqi's edition of Tabari's *Firdaws al-Hikma* and the Hyderabad edition of Razi's *Kitab al-Hawi fi at-Tibb*; while notes 31 and 32 must refer, respectively, to G. Sobhy's Cairo edition of Pseudo-Thabit ibn Qurra's *Kitab al-Dakhirafi 'ilm at-tibb* and the Beirut reprint of Ibn Sina's *Kitab al-Qdnun fi at-tibb*. Finally, there are a few typographical errors, such as "journey" for "journey" in line 5. However, this being noted, Gerrit Bos's critical edition with translation and commentary of this treatise is a contribution anyone seriously engaged in Qusta ibn Luqa or the *materia medica* of Islamic civilization will want to read.⁷⁵

Rosenthal says that every manuscript should begin with the *basmalah*.⁷⁶ In this text edition, the editor writes the manuscript by writing *basmalah* in the beginning and it is translated into English as well.

Furthermore, Rosenthal remarks that variant readings may result from changes which the author of a work himself made in one or the other copy of his work during his lifetime. The existence of such "author's variant readings" has of late been recognized by classical philologists in Greek and Latin literature.⁷⁷ Moreover, A. Vrolijk says that variants are differences in spelling between the two autographs.⁷⁸ In this text edition, the editors treat some variant readings by some footnotes in each pages. The editor states that this critical edition is based on three manuscripts and one edition. These four witnesses to Qusta's *Risala* belong to two different families:

1. MS A
2. MSS B,C, and edition D

The critical apparatus showing many examples of MS A preserving a version different from MSS B,C, and the edition D, substantiates this supposition.

According to the editor, the reading of the British Museum Manuscript is preferable to the other manuscripts. In this case, the

variant text has been put in the footnote, within the signs, which indicate the manuscripts from which it is taken in order that the reader may be free to form his judgement. He uses a letter A for the British Museum Manuscript, a letter B for the Daiber manuscript, a letter C for the India Office manuscript, and a letter D for the edition, so that the reader may form an idea of the different manuscripts.

Dealing with footnote, Rosenthal in his book states that the modern footnote has assumed an important part in the presentation of the results of scholarly research. A footnote can be as long as it is necessary, and its place.⁷⁹ Almost on every page of this edition, there are some footnotes. These footnotes support the fact that the editors have a great competency in understanding the classical Arabic text. Apart from these complete footnotes, the editor also give more complete commentary describing each footnote in the separate part of this book (from page 84-157). In this commentary part, we can find any information more complete for every sentence discussed in this book.

The editor provides a list of sigla and abbreviations in the beginning of the text edition. There are fourteen abbreviations on this list. These abbreviations are related to the source they used in this text edition. They, for instance, enlist A for MS British Museum, Add. 7527/2 Rich, B for MS Daiber collection no.46, C for MS India Office no. 2821, and etc.

The editor also gives a list of bibliography which is up to date and abbreviations in the end of this text edition. These are written in alphabetical order from A to Z. Dealing with bibliographical sources, Rosenthal says:

“The modern method of referring to some work by the number of volume and page is based upon the assumption that identical copies of that work are available to everybody who wishes to consult it, wherever he may be.”⁸⁰

In the end of this critical edition, the editor gives some texts and studies dealing with Islamic philosophy, theology and science written by various authors.

Conclusion

In this text edition, Gerrit Bos provides an excellent critical text edition, to which he also adds comprehensive information regarding the biography of Qusta Ibn Luqa and his literary activity as well as the manuscript and the text edition. Bos not only dealt with critical evaluation of this unique medical text, but also discussed it within the broader Graecio-Byzantine context, explaining direct evidence of Paul of

Aegina's influence on the text. In sum, Bos' edition can be said to have contributed to our understanding of the sources of the formative period of Islamic medicine.

In the light of the afore mentioned argument, it is worthy to note that this edition is a scientific, in a sense that Bos has based in his edition on three manuscripts and one edition in reference to modern scientific standard as stated in Rosenthal's *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, and Vrolijk's *Bringing a laugh to a scowling face*. He can also be said to have succeeded to edit the various manuscripts of the same text in the scientific way so that the reader could understand and get many benefits thereof.

An analysis of the works of Gerrit Bos's promotor, Hans Daiber, and the former's PhD students: Recha Allgaier, Martina Hussein, and Jessica Kley, as well as Hans Daiber's promovendus, Frank Griffel, discussed above, reflects the ongoing tradition of editing, translating and annotating classical Arabic manuscripts, showing the increasing interest of Western scholarship in this academic enterprise for generations.

The study of Bos' edition of several Arabic Mss. within the context of the Western scholarship mentioned above also epitomises the continuation of this tradition up to the present. □

Endnotes:

¹ Bos, 1992,1

² Sezgin, *GAS*, III, 270

³As we know that a number of the classical manuscripts containing valuable knowledge from the ancient period are still available up to now. Most of them are preserved in some libraries of Western Universities. One of them is the main library of Leiden University. Van Oostroom stated that there were more 30.000 manuscripts preserved in this library, but only less than a half manuscripts had been edited by scholars. There were still about 17.000 manuscripts which had not been studied or edited. (A.H. van Oostroom's lecture on Text and Transmission on March 6th, 2008, Leiden University).

⁴ To mention several examples of Professors affiliated to Leiden University, who supervised their Ph.D. students dealing with Islamic classical manuscripts: Prof. Dr. J.J.. Witkam supervised two Ph.D. fellows; Prof. Dr. P. S. van Koningsveld supervised more than four Ph.D. fellows;

⁵ <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/juda/mitarbeiter/bos.htm> [Accessed on Spetember 12th, 2008]

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Rosenthal, 1947, 12

⁸ Vrolijk, 113

⁹ See Bos, 1994

¹⁰ See Bos, 1995.

¹¹ See Bos, 1997.

¹² It was published in American Philosophical Society, Monograph Series, Philadelphia.

¹³ <http://web.uni-frankfurt.de/fb09/Orientalistik/Daiber.html> [Accessed on October 18th 2008]

¹⁴ Joosse, 2004, 1

¹⁵ It consists of 289 pp, published by Brill, Leiden in 2004.

¹⁶ It consists of 724 pp, published by Brill, Leiden in 2004.

¹⁷ It consists of 484 pp, published by Brill, Leiden in 2005.

¹⁸ Daiber, 1975, xi

¹⁹ To mention some, *an Arabic Manuscript Library: some important discoveries. in Manuscripts of the Middle East 2*, published in Leiden in 1988, and *the Creed ('Aqida) of the Hanbalite Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisi. A newly discovered text*, In *Studia Arabica et Islamica*, published in Beirut in 1981.

²⁰ <http://web.uni-frankfurt.de/fb09/Orientalistik/Daiber.html> [Accessed on October 18th 2008]

²¹ Translated into English as follows: *Apostasy and Tolerance in Islam. The development that led to al-Ghazali's condemnation of philosophy and the reactions from the side of the philosophers.*

²² <http://www.yale.edu/religiousstudies/facultypages/cvfg.html> [Accessed on October 16th , 2008].

²³ It was published in *The Islamic World*, published by Routledge, London

²⁴ It was a book review of Ibrahim Moosa's work in *Journal of The American Academy of Religion*, 74, 2006.

²⁵ It was presented at the International Conference of the American Oriental Society in San Diego (California), held on March 12-15 , 2004

²⁶ It was presented at the 29th Deutsche Orientalistentag, "Barrieren - Passagen." in Halle ,Germany, held on September 20-24, 2004.

²⁷ Personal communication with Prof. Gerrit Bos and Recha Allgaier [email, October 17th 2008]

²⁸ <http://uk-online.uni-koeln.de/cgi-bin/show.pl/fp> [Accessed on October 21th 2008].

²⁹ Mersami and Starkley, 1998, 306.

³⁰ Bos, 1992, 1

³¹ Al-kindī, Abu Yusuf Ya'kub b. Ishak is "the philosopher of the Arabs" whose distinguished genealogy is obligingly given by the bio-bibliographers, was born before the end of the 2nd /8th century and died in about in the middle of the 3rd /9th century. (perhaps approximately 185-252/801-866). He is an eminent universal scholar and philosopher. He lived in a period of intellectual ferment in the sphere of the sciences as well as in that of kalam: the period of the translations and of the controversies concerning Mu'tazilism. See Jolivet and Rashed, "*Al-kindī, Abu Yusuf Ya'kub b. Ishak*", EI², V,122.

³² Hunayn ibn Ishak is the most important mediator of ancient Greek science to the arabs. It was mainly due to his reliable and clearly written translations of Hippocrates and Galen that the Arab Physicians of the middle Ages became worthy successors of the Greek. He was born in al-Hira, where his father was a pharmacist. He also is the most productive translator. He translated into both Syriac and Arabic, often

working in collaboration with others. see Strohmaier, "Ḥunayn ibn Ishak", EI², III & X, 578, 453.

³³ Thabit ibn Qurra is an outstanding mathematician and scientist. His maternal language is Syriac, he knew Greek very well and wrote his scientific work in Arabic. He wrote original works in all the practical sciences of his age. He is a talented translator. See Rashed and Morelon, "Thabit ibn Qurra", EI², X, 428-429

³⁴ Bos, 1992, 2

³⁵ Mersami, and Starkley, 307

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Bos, 1992, 2

³⁸ For further readings on Qusta's biographical data, see E.Ruth Harvey, "Qusta Ibn Luqa Al-Ba'labakki," in: Dictionary of Scientific Biography 11, New York 1974, pp.244-246; h.Daiber, *Aetius Arabus, Die Vorsokratiker in arabischer Überlieferung*, Wiesbaden 1980, p. 3 ff.; M.Pelster, *Die Abhandlung des Qusta Ibn Luqa über die Länge und Kürze des Lebens und die Physiognomie der Langlebigen*, Mainz 1985, pp.15-19; J.Wilcox, *The Transmission and Influence of Qusta Ibn Luqa's "On the Difference between spirit and Soul"* (Diss.), New York 1985; J.Wilcox, "Our Continuing Discovery of the Greek Science of the Arabs: The Example of Qusta Ibn Luqa," in: *Annals of Scholarship* 4/3 (1987), pp.57-54.

³⁹ Worrell, 1994, 285-293.

⁴⁰ For a detailed survey of what is known about Qusta's works see: G.Gabrieli, "Nota bibliographica su Qusta Ibn Luqa," in: *Rendiconti della Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, 1912, XXI, 341-382

⁴¹ See M.Ullmann, 126-128, 190, 244; Sezgin, GAS, III, 270-274.

⁴² Ibn Nadhim, *Kitab al-Fihrist*, 1970, I and II, 295, 694.

⁴³ For a further reading on Qusta's medical works See Pelster, *Abhandlung: G.Haydar, Kitab fi al-bah wa ma yuhitaju ilayhi min tadbir al-badan fi isti malibi* (Das Buch über die Kohabitation und die für ihre Ausübung notwendigen körperlichen Voraussetzungen), Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1973; N.A. Barhoum, *Das Buch über die Geschlechtlichkeit* (Kitab fi al-bah), Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1974; H.Fahndrich, *Abhandlung über die Ansteckung*, Stuttgart 1987.

⁴⁴ For a list of his works, both originals and translations see Sezgin, GAS, III, 270-274, V, 285-286, and indexes. See also Hill "Kusta B Luqa Al-Ba'labakki", EI², 1986, V, 529

⁴⁵ J. A Burns, 1907, 758.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ see Ibn al-Nadim, 234.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Bos, 1992, 5-6

⁵⁰ See Sezgin, GAS, III, 270-273

⁵¹ See Bos, 1

⁵² *Ibid.*, 73-79.

⁵³ Livingstone, 1995, 146-147

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 146

⁵⁵ Bos, 1992, 6

⁵⁶ Livingstone, 146

⁵⁷ Bos, 1992, 6

⁵⁸ Bos, 1992, 6-7

⁵⁹ Newman, 1993, 357-358.

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- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
⁶¹ Russel, 1997, 245-247
⁶² Bos, 1992, .8,11,12,85,88,98,111, 136.
⁶³ Russel, 247
⁶⁴ See foot note in Bos, 1992,3
⁶⁵ See Sezgin, *GAJ*, III, 271
⁶⁶ Bos, 1992, 3
⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 4
⁷¹ *Ibid*, 4-5
⁷² Livingstone, 146
⁷³ This critical edition is an enlarged and revised version of Bos' dissertation completed in the year 1989 at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam.
⁷⁴ Livingstone, 146
⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 147
⁷⁶ Rosenthal, 1947, 12
⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 30
⁷⁸ Bos, 1992, 4
⁷⁹ Rosenthal, 39
⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 37

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