

# THE *RISĀLAH FĪ TADBĪR SAFA'R AL-HAJJ* A Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca

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## Abstrak

*Sudah diketahui secara luas bahwa banyak ilmu pengetahuan yang sudah ditransformasikan oleh para ilmuwan Yunani melalui karya-karya dari para ahli tulis yang menerjemahkan beragam ilmu pengetahuan ke dalam Bahasa Arab, yang kemudian menerjemahkannya kembali ke dalam bahasa-bahasa yang lain. Salah satu karya penting dari ilmuwan Yunani adalah sebuah risalah tentang medis bagi orang-orang yang melakukan perjalanan haji ke Mekah yang diedit oleh Gerrit Bos. Penulis karya ini, seorang sarjana Kristen yang bernama Qusta' ibn Luqa, mengetahui kondisi Mekah dengan cukup baik sehingga dia bisa menulis sebuah buku pedoman yang begitu komplit mengenai pengobatan bagi seseorang yang ingin melakukan perjalanan haji ke Kota Suci. Karenanya, artikel ini bermaksud menjelaskan karya Qusta' ibn Luqa yang terkenal melalui edisi text yang ditulis oleh Gerrit Bos.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Qusta' Ibn Luqa, Gerrit Bos, manuskrip, haji*

## Abstract

*It is well known that a large amount of knowledge had been transformed by the Greek's scientist through the works of the scribes who translated various knowledge into Arabic who then retranslated them into other languages. One of the important works of the Greek scientist is a treatise on Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca that was edited by Gerrit Bos. The author of this work, a Christian scholar named Qusta' ibn Luqa, knows the condition of Mecca quite well that he could write such a complete guide on medicine for somebody who wanted to perform the pilgrimage to the holy city. Thus, this article aims at describing this prominent work of Qusta' ibn Luqa through the text edition written by Gerrit Bos.*

**Keywords:** *Qusta' Ibn Luqa, Gerrit Bos, manuscript, pilgrimage*

## Introduction

Thank to Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph who built *Dār al-Hikmah*, in which a large amount of Greek and Syrian books were then translated into Arabic. Many scholars with various backgrounds of knowledge and religion contributed to the development of science both in religious and non-religious subjects. Many works of Greek scholars were not only translated into Arabic but also widely quoted without mentioning the original sources for the sake of developing and transforming knowledge. At that time, scientific originality was not a merit; on the other hand, rediscovering old knowledge by consulting the works of ancient authorities and presenting the knowledge in an easily comprehensive way was considered more important.<sup>1</sup> The translation and quotation together with the writer's additional opinions, findings, or conclusion then showed the development of certain knowledge among the society. This great movement introduced Muslim society into a wide knowledge unknown before.

One of those scholars is Qusta' Ibn Luqa, a doctor, author, translator, and scientist, who wrote a treatise on the pilgrimage to Mecca. The treatise has been translated and edited by Gerrit Bos bearing the title Qusta' Ibn Luqa's Medical Regime for the pilgrims to Mecca—*The Risālah fī Tadbīr Safar al-Hajj*. This book is a revision of his dissertation completed in the year 1989 at the *Vrije Universiteit* in Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup> In this revised edition, published in 1992, Bos added a sub-chapter explaining the literary genre to which the *Risālah* belongs and the rest of the book is absolutely the same as that in his dissertation.

This article is aimed at giving a brief analysis on Gerrit Bos' work mentioned above by questioning whether this work can be considered as a critical text edition according to scientific standards or not. The analysis is done through evaluating the way he did the collation, methods he used in dealing with variant readings and the relevance of the literatures he used. Before analyzing, I should provide the biography of Qusta' ibn Luqa and his works, then discuss the manuscripts used by Gerrit Bos and his critical edition on Qusta's work and at last I draw a conclusion.

## The Biography of Qusta' Ibn Luqa

There is not enough information can be gained in uncovering the life of Qusta' ibn Luqa. All sources consulted provide little

information on him; regarding his date of birth and death, various knowledge he mastered, his works and some of his colleagues. Furthermore, none of the biographers gave information on his parents and their educational background. Qusta' was a married man and had children, since the reason for writing the treatise to Hasan bin Mahlad was his preference to accompany his children rather than to join the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, it is not known whether he studied various sciences through reading books by himself or under certain teachers. No information on whether he had any student or not.

Qusta' ibn Luqa' al-Ba'labakki<sup>4</sup> or Kusta b. Luka al-Ba'labakki<sup>5</sup> was born in 860 A.D. He was a Christian physician of Greek origin from Ba'albak in Syria. In his youth he traveled to Asia Minor or Byzantium Empire collecting Greek manuscripts. Those manuscripts then had been translated by him and also by others. He also revised earlier translations; on the other hand his translations were also revised or completed by other scholars such as al-Kindi and Thabit ibn Qurra. Qusta' had received a thorough education along with medicine; he was skilled in philosophy and various disciplines such as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and the theory of music. He knew Greek, Syrian and Arabic languages, as well as literary style. His medical knowledge was considered equal—if not superior—to that of Hunain ibn Ishāq. Qusta' spent the last years of his life in Armenia, for he was summoned by the prince Sanharib in around 865 A.D, where he composed some of his works for the patriarch Abu'l-Ghitrif and composed his reply to Abū 'Īsa ibn al-Munajjim on the prophetic mission of Muhammad. He died there in 912 and was buried like an important man of state.<sup>6</sup>

### **The Works of Qusta' ibn Luqa**

Qusta' ibn Luqa quoted many opinions of the Greek scholars such as Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, and indirectly cited the works of Galen, Paul of Aegina, and Oribasius.<sup>7</sup> These three later scholars wrote a large number of books; in which not the entire books were originally written by them. Galen who studied under several teachers was believed as had written all his books based on his own research but some of his works were resumes, copies, and contained quotations from his teachers. While Paul of Aegina also copies from Galen, Oribasius and Aetius. Oribasius himself quotes a large amount of

information from Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Paul of Aegina and many other Greek scholars.<sup>8</sup>

Qusta' had written a large number of books which were mostly in medicine. Though ibn an-Nadhim portrays him as a more excellent figure than Hunain ibn Ishāq for his excellence and genius as well as his superiority in the profession of medicine, Qusta' is considered as a neglected figure for only a few of his works have been printed and translated. Index islamicus enlists only a few book of Qusta's work which were discussed or translated into both English and France. Those are Qusta' ibn Luqa on sleeplessness,<sup>9</sup> Qusta' ibn Luqa on Numbness,<sup>10</sup> Qusta's ibn Luqa's Physical Ligatures and the Recognition of the Placebo Effect,<sup>11</sup> Qusta' ibn Luqa on the Use of celestial Globe<sup>12</sup> and Qusta' ibn Luqa's Medical Regime for the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Some of his works were also discussed in several journals and bulletins such as; Journal of the American and Oriental Society, Journal of Islamic Studies, Medical History, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Bulletin of the History of Medicine, Bulletin *Critique des Annales Islamologiques*, and *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Science*<sup>13</sup> and many else.

In his dissertation, Gerrit Bos, as quoted from Dictionary of Scientific Biography, mentions that according to his biographers, Qusta' had over sixty publications on his name and some seventeen translation works. Meanwhile, Brockelmann in *Geschichte der Arabischen Literature (GAL)*<sup>14</sup> listed only thirty of Qusta's works including a book entitled *Fī Tadbīr al-ʿAbdān fī as-Safar li Salāmah min al-Marād al-Hatar* and also a book entitled *Kitāb al-Aman min Ahtār al-ʿAsfar wa al-Azman*. In addition, Sezgin in his *Geschichte der Arabischen Schifftum (GAS)*<sup>15</sup> listed fifty-two books written by Qusta' including books entitled *Risālah fī Tadbīr al-Badān fī as-Safar*, *Risalah fī Tadbīr Safar al-Hajj* and *Kitāb Aman al-Ahtar*. On the other hand, there are only thirty books listed in the *Fihrist* and only a few book mentioned in the Index Islamicus. *Fihrist* does not list Qusta's work on *Risālah fī Tadbīr Badān fī as-Safar*.

While, Index Islamicus mentioned Gerrit bos edition on Qusta's risalah. *Risālah fī Tadbīr Safar al-Hajj*, According to Bos this treatise is the only known guide for the pilgrimage to Mecca. He also mentioned that through this treatise we know Qusta's expertise on theoretical knowledge and practical skill on medicine. He gained theoretical knowledge from the works of ancient physicians such as

Hippocrates and Galen, but above all with those of the Byzantine compiler Paul of Aegina, his major source. Moreover, he shows his practical skill through this well-organized treatise concisely covering 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 diseases as well as their treatment.<sup>16</sup>

Bos also stated in his dissertation<sup>17</sup> that this work is a treatise for Abū Muhammad al-Hasan bin Mahlad bin al-Jarrah—a secretary of Christian origin, who served the caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861 A.D.) and became vizier under al-Mu'tamid (870-892 A.D.) in 877.<sup>18</sup>

Qusta' wrote this treatise for his not being able to accompany al-Hasan bin Mahlad in performing Hajj in Mecca because of personal circumstances. Although Qusta' ibn Luqa' was a Christian, he would be allowed to enter Mecca as a physician and accompany his lord.

The treatise contains the necessary information for the preservation of Hasan's health during pilgrimage. Qusta' then gives a survey of the topics which such a treatise should contain. For this purpose Qusta' makes a distinction between the traveler's health guide in general and that of the Hajj in particular. A general traveler's health guide should deal with the following topics:<sup>19</sup>

1. Rest, food, drink and sleep
2. Fatigue and its cure
3. Diseases caused by the different winds and their cures
4. The Prophylaxis against vermin and the treatment of diseases caused by them

A traveler's health guide for the Hajj, however, should discuss four additional topics:

1. Water and its improvement
2. Means to quench one's thirst
3. Prophylaxis against the dranculus medinesis (Medina worm)
4. Prophylaxis against snakes and treatment of injuries caused by them

The aforementioned topics are then arranged in fourteen chapters. In addition, "the selection of the subjects is based on theoretical knowledge about the content of a traveler's health guide in general and on practical knowledge about 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.”<sup>21</sup>

### **The Critical Edition on the *Risālah fī Tadbīr Safar al-Hajj***

The critical edition on Qusta' ibn Luqa's *Risālah fī Tadbīr Safar al-Hajj* written by Gerrit Bos is the first critical edition ever written on it.<sup>21</sup> It is divided into three chapters: introduction, Arabic text and translation, and commentary. Besides, it enlists an index of terms both in Arabic and English, an index of names both in Arabic and English, a glossary of materia medica and bibliography and abbreviations.

In the introduction of this critical edition, Bos describes the biography of Qusta' ibn Luqa, his literary activity, manuscript of the *Risālah* literary genre to which the *Risala* belongs and survey and evaluation of the content of the *Risālah* itself. In the last sub-chapter, Bos presents an introduction to Qusta's work on the *Risālah*, brief explanation on every chapter in it and also from whom Qusta' got the information on certain diseases and the way to cure them.

In the second chapter, that is the Arabic text and translation, the Arabic text is put in the other side of the translation, so that the reader is able to read and understand the text through the translation and at the same time consults the Arabic version. Besides, the number of lines of each version, both the Arabic text and the English translation is the same and is given one particular number in every five-line of both Arabic text and English translation. The number of line is put in the right margin of the Arabic text and also in the left margin of the English translation; so that the reader will refer easily to each of the text version on the same work or not. As a result I found no body but Gerrit Bos who wrote it. In addition, Lena Ambjorn in her critical edition on Qusta' s other work on Numbness stated that there were only four books of Qusta' which had been edited; one of which is the *Risālah fī Tadbīr Safar al-Hajj* by Gerrit Bos.

Bos also provides the variety of readings found in the three manuscripts and the edited version of manuscript C; and puts them below the Arabic text as footnotes. He uses Arabic number in the footnotes, then presents the variety of the readings found on manuscript B, C and D compare to manuscript A which he chose to be the basis for the text edition.

The commentary, the third chapter, covers the footnotes on the translation section in the second chapter. There Bos provides detailed information related to the addressee of the book - Hasan bin Mahlad, the background of writing the book, and deeper explanation on theme and terms used by Qusta'. Bos also provides many comparative tables between what was stated on Qusta's *Risālah* and other scientist's works-in their original languages and their translation in English—in order to show the similarity or difference among them. Bos explains this additional information chapter by chapter. From these tables, Bos tries to prove that Qusta' successfully transformed his knowledge on Greek medicine to Islamic world.

The following pages contain indexes, glossary and bibliography and abbreviations. In the index of Arabic terms Bos presents all Arabic terms used in the *Risālah* and provides certain line of the Arabic text in which certain terms can be found. While in the index of English terms he presents English terms listed in the translation section and provides the page number and the footnote number in the brackets showing where the term mentioned. In addition, there are many Latin terms mentioned in this section such as *contraria contrariis*, *dracunculus medinensis* and *sex res non naturales*. None of these three terms is explained in any page where they are found. Nevertheless, in his commentary Bos gives a very detail explanation on the *dracunculus medinensis*, a short comment on *sex res non naturales*, but he gives no explanation on *contraria contrariis* except that it is a principle. While, in the index of names, both in Arabic and English, he presents names enlisted in the book together with the page number in which the name can be found.

The glossary of *materia medica* provides both English and Arabic terms of rare and semi-rare spices, herbs, and drugs. The terms are arranged in Arabic alphabetical order which then followed by their synonyms in English. In addition, it gives the information on where the English term can be found in the translation section and also in what line the Arabic term can be found in the Arabic text section. Bos does not explain any meaning of the term for he has already discussed it in the commentary.

The last part of the critical edition is the bibliography and abbreviations which presents all references used by Gerrit Bos in writing this work. The list of the bibliography is arranged alphabetically. From this bibliography, we can see that Bos used more

than one hundred books in finishing this work. Those books are not only written in English and Arabic but also in other languages such as Germany and Dutch. Some of the books are the translated version of the original books.

The earliest reference is a book published in 1821 which is entitled Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia and the latest is a book published in 1989 which is entitled A Greek English Lexicon. The listed books are mostly on medical terms and medical science as reported by the Greek scholars such as Galen, Oribasius, and Hippocrates. I considered the bibliography as listing the up-to date literatures, for it lists the supported book on analyzing the treatise both in explaining the term and providing information on certain medicine used at that time.

However, I do not find any book on Qusta's work that can be a supporting source for this edition left. But it seems that not all of the books mentioned in the previous pages are listed in the bibliography. I found a footnote on page 3 mentioning a catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the library of the India office written by O. Loth, but it is not listed in the bibliography. While the abbreviations found in this section are E.I which is the shorter form of The Encyclopaedia of Islam and also E.I. which is the shorter form of *Enzyklopaedie des Islam*.

### **The Manuscripts**

In GAL Brockelmann mentioned the existed manuscripts of the *Risālah* in The British Museum and also in Asaf. However, Bos did not refer his edition on GAL. Those manuscripts are also mentioned in GAS by Sezgin; both GAL and GAS mentioned the same code number for manuscript in the British Museum, but different code for manuscript in Asaf. Bos based his critical edition on the manuscripts mentioned in GAS though he could not reach a copy of those manuscripts. On the contrary, none of GAL and GAS mentioned the existence of the autograph on this work, so that I conclude that it lost. Bos then used these three manuscripts and one edited version of one of those three manuscripts.

Unfortunately, Bos did not give detail information on the scribes of those manuscripts; information on the scribes and their background of knowledge is really needed. If the scribes had a great knowledge on certain manuscript they write, there would not be as many mistake as those made by who did not have any knowledge on



it. As an-Nuwayri stated on Rosenthal<sup>22</sup> "in order to reduce clerical mistakes to a minimum, it was suggested that the copyist<sup>23</sup> should have some knowledge of the subject of the work which he was copying."

Information on the style of writing of each manuscript was also not available. Bos should have mentioned the writing style of each manuscript whether it was *naskhi*, *kuffi* or other kind of Arabic writing style, and whether the text was complete and easily read or there were some missing words. No information on the color of paper and ink used on those three manuscripts, not even information whether there was a colophon on each manuscript or not.

Rosenthal<sup>24</sup> stated that certain classes of manuscripts were more likely to represent a reliable text than others. Therefore, scholars searched for the most reliable manuscript of a work, in order to have it copied. The classes of manuscript are autograph written by the author of the work himself, then manuscript which was written by a pupil of the author upon his dictation and the last is manuscript written by a great scholar or had been in the possession of one or more great scholars was considered likely to contain an authoritative text.

None of the manuscripts stated on GAS is the autograph of the author, not even his pupil's writing which based on dictation. The existed manuscripts are copies probably from the original lost manuscript or a copy of it which is also lost. I came to this conclusion for the length between Qusta's death and the oldest existed manuscript are more than one hundred years. The following are the three manuscripts of the *Risālah* mentioned in GAS and were used by Bos as the basis of his edition.

1. MS. British Museum, Add. 7527 Rich, fols.171-186, bearing the title *Risālah ilā al-Hasan bin Mablad fī Tadbīr Safar al-Hajj*. It was copied in 1097/1686 by Muhammad Shafi al-Kirmanī. The text, unvocalised, but with diacritical points has been provided in some places with notes in Persian mostly explaining the *materia medica*. This manuscript is then indicated as manuscript A.
2. MS. Daiber collection no.46, fols. 169v-175v, bearing the title *Kitāb li 'Alī Muhammad al-Hasan bin Mablad fī mā 'amalahu fī Tadbīr Badanīhi fī safarīhi ilā al-Hajj*. It was copied in 12 Jumada Tsani 1302 by Muhammad bin Hasan bin 'Alī Naqī al-Hasani al-Hurasani. The text is completely unvocalised but has diacritical

points; from fol. 170v; it was written by a different hand and becomes hard to read. It is then indicated as manuscript B.

3. MS. India Office no.2821, fols 94-112, bearing the same title as MS. Daiber, is a part of *Kitāb Aman al-Ahtār* by Abū Qasīm 'Alī bin Mūsā bin Ja'far bin Tawus. Though neatly written, it abounds with scribal errors. It is indicated as manuscript C.

Beside the above mentioned MSS, Qusta's text has been edited as part of the *Kitāb Aman al-Ahtār* of Abū al-Qasīm 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Tawus in Najaf 1951; this edition is not only uncritical but also replete with printing errors.<sup>25</sup> This edited version is indicated as D.

The first two manuscripts bearing almost the same title, while the third manuscript and the edited version of *Kitāb Aman al-Ahtār* are quite different for the name of Hasan bin Mahlad is not mentioned nor the Hajj. Nevertheless, Bos has already stated that the third manuscript and the edited version of it are taken from the *Risālah* which are enclosed in *Kitāb Aman al-Ahtār* by Abū al-Qasīm 'Alī bin Mūsā bin Ja'far bin Tawus. It means that Bos has already compared those manuscripts and found their relationship. As Vrolijk stated that "The purpose of a scholar who prepares a catalogue of manuscripts in his collection is to establish the nature of the text that is contained within a manuscript and the identity of its author. Furthermore, he will try to compare his manuscript with manuscripts of the same text in order to establish their relationship."<sup>26</sup>

Among the aforementioned manuscripts, Bos chose the first manuscript for it has better version and shows the longer and more correct variants. Nevertheless, Bos should have mentioned his reason on choosing the first manuscript for it was written earlier than the other three manuscripts. In addition, it is assumed that the earliest copy bearing fewer mistakes than the later. West as in Vrolijk (1998: 106) stated that "When a scribe copies a manuscript before him, his apograph is sure to contain mistakes as compared to his exemplar. Every subsequent copyist working from the apograph will repeat the mistakes of his predecessor, set right, a few of his mistakes and add a few of his mistakes and add a few of his own."

Moreover, those manuscripts may not be copied from the original treatise but were copied from different versions that various different readings are found. Therefore, Bos should have discussed about the autograph and at least have mentioned whether the

autograph of the *Risālah* is available or not. Since both GAL and GAS did not mention the existence of the autograph and that Bos refers to those three manuscripts and an edited version of one of the manuscripts, I assume that the autograph is lost. Therefore it is impossible to establish the stemma.<sup>27</sup> Besides, the three manuscripts and one edited version of the third manuscript which have been used by Bos for the critical edition does not have *ijāzah* from the author which is a proof that the text was copied from the author or was dictated to the copyist.<sup>28</sup>

Furthermore, the existing variant reading may be a result of different background of knowledge of the copyist or the scribes, for the copyist or scribe who had the same knowledge on what he is writing may make fewer mistakes than those who did not have any knowledge on it. However, no scribe could avoid making a certain number of mistakes.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, he should have mentioned the information on the copyist background of knowledge in order to support which manuscripts to be used as the main basis of his critical edition.

Furthermore, Gerrit Bos quotes Sezgin remark on Qusta's work meaning that he has consulted Sezgin's *Geschichte der Arabischen Schifftum* (GAS) and based his critical edition on the manuscripts enlisted there; although he stated that he could not obtain a copy of the manuscripts listed on it.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, he seems not to have consulted Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litterature* (GAL), for he does not mention that the *Risālah* is also enlisted there under the title *Fī Tadbīr al-Abdan fī as-Safar li Salāmah min al-Maradl wa al-Hatar*. Although the title of the manuscripts mentioned in GAL and GAS are not exactly the same, I assume that they might refer to the same book for certain familiarity on the title itself.

## Conclusion

This is a great work of Qusta' ibn Luqa, not only is this *Risālah* the only treatise found on the health guide during pilgrimage, but also because the writer, Qusta' ibn Luqa, is as brilliant as Hunain ibn Ishaq a famous scientist and translator.

Gerrit Bos must have done an outstanding and serious research for his dissertation that he could bind the relation between Qusta's and the Greek Scholars' work. He successfully drew the familiarity between Qusta's work and those Greek scholars' work

through tracing the ancient works of those scholars. Moreover, his detail commentary shows his broad knowledge on this subject that he provides comparative text among the scientists beside Qusta'. This also shows his mastery in understanding Arabic and Greek texts, for he used a large number of book using Arabic and Greek as his reference without any help.

Bos based his critical edition on three manuscripts and one edited version of the last manuscript. Unfortunately he did not give adequate reason for choosing manuscript A as the basis of his edition. He did not even give clear description on the copyist background of knowledge which can help determining which manuscript to be chosen as the basis of the edition. He did not provide any information on the style of Arabic writing, the color of the paper, and ink used on each manuscript. Otherwise, he should at least have mentioned that the reason for choosing manuscript A as the basic manuscript is for it is the oldest manuscript that is considered as bearing fewer mistakes than the later.

However, this critical edition is really invaluable and gives great contribution to the study of medicine and the history of medicine of the Arabian society. It proved that there is a link between the Arabian and the Greek Medicine for Qusta' gain much information from Greek scholars who discussed medicine; then transformed it to the Muslim society. Moreover, it also provides invaluable information for the pilgrims to Mecca regarding their health during the Hajj.

In addition, this critical edition is completed with indexes, glossary, and bibliography which meet all the requirement of a standardized critical edition. The index of Arabic terms, the English terms, and index of names ease the reader finding certain terms and name mentioned in the previous pages for each of them is completed with information where the term can be found. While the glossary gives much contribution on the name of the rare and semi-rare spice, herbs, and drug. However, the bibliography does not enlist all reference book for I found a catalog used in completing this work that is not written in the bibliography.

## Endnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Lena Ambjorn, *Qusta' ibn Luqa on Numbness: A Book on Numbness, Its Kinds, Causes, and Treatment according to the Opinion of Galen, and Hippocrates. Almquist and Wiksell International*, (Stockholm, 2000), p. vi

<sup>2</sup> Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's Medical Regime for the Pilgrims to Mecca: The Risala fi Tadbir Safar al-Hajj*, (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1992). The quoted statement is taken from the foreword page.

<sup>3</sup> See Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's*, p. 85

<sup>4</sup> Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's*, p. 1

<sup>5</sup> D. Hill, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol V, (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1986), p. 529

<sup>6</sup> This paragraph mainly composed from Lena Ambjorn, *Qusta' ibn Luqa' on Numbness*, p. iv-v and *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Vol. ix, p. 244-245.

<sup>7</sup> See Lena Ambjorn, *Qusta' ibn Luqa on Numbness*, p. vi.

<sup>8</sup> See Arabic Medicine and its influence on the Middle Ages on chapter one on Greek Medicine in Its Relation to the Arabians.

<sup>9</sup> It covers edition of Arabic text and English translation written by O. Kahl. It was published in 1999.

<sup>10</sup> It covers an edition, translation and commentary written by Lena Ambjorn. Published in 2000.

<sup>11</sup> It is an edition and translation written in 1995 by J. Wilcox and J.M.Riddle.

<sup>12</sup> I found an article bearing the above title in journal *ISIS* Vol. 35 no.4 (autumn, 1944) p. 285-293. The article contains a brief description on Qusta's life and the translation of his work on celestial globe. It is written by W. H. Worrel.

<sup>13</sup> See index islamicus 1999, published in 2000, p. 68 and index Islamicus 2000, published in 2001, p. 78.

<sup>14</sup> See Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litterature*, Vol I., (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1996), p. 222-224.

<sup>15</sup> See Sezgin, *Geschichte der Arabischen Schifftum*, p. 270 – 274.

<sup>16</sup> See Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's*, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> See Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's* p. 85

<sup>18</sup> Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's*, p. 85. The date of reign of al-Mutawakkil and al-Mu'tamid was not originally listed. The information on their reign is taken from an article written by H. Kennedy in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* vol VII on pp. 777-778 for al-Mutawakkil 'ala Allāh and p. 765 for al-Mu'tamin 'ala Allāh

<sup>19</sup> See Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's*, p. 6

<sup>20</sup> Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's*, p. 6-7

<sup>21</sup> I have already tried to find on the internet through Google and Yahoo whether there is another critical edition.

<sup>22</sup> Frans Rosental, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, (Italy, 1947), p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> Copyist is the synonym of scribe

<sup>24</sup> Frans Rosental, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, p. 23

<sup>25</sup> Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's*, p. 4

<sup>26</sup> Arnoud Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of the 'Nuzhat alnufus wa-mudhik al'abus by 'alī ibn abi sudun al basbugawi*, (Leiden: CNSW publications, 1998), p. 59

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<sup>27</sup> As stated on his article entitled "Establishing the Stemma: fact or fiction?" Jan Just Witkam said that the stemma is the way back into history, the path along which the philologist tries to find his author or expressed more carefully to the 'archetype.' p. 88.

<sup>28</sup> I came to this conclusion because Gerrit Bos did not mention anything about the relationship or association between the manuscript and the author. Those four manuscripts are written a hundred years after the author's death. Moreover there is no information stating the source from which the scribe made a copy of the *Risālah*.

<sup>29</sup> See Frans Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, p. 22-23

<sup>30</sup> Gerrit Bos, *Qusta' Ibn Luqa's*, p. 3. It is stated that those manuscripts are preserved in Hyderabad, Aleppo and Mosul.

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