

**Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's Medical Work, *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*
(Commentary on volume 1 of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb*) and
its Sources¹**

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(received: June 2013, accepted: November 2013)

Abstract

Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī wrote several huge works not only on mathematical sciences and philosophy, but also on medicine: a commentary on volume 1 of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* entitled *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* in nine volumes. This is not surprising because Quṭb al-Dīn came from a family of physicians and he received medical education in his youth by reading Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*. This enormous commentary ought to give us comprehensive information about books on medicine and its allied disciplines available to Quṭb al-Dīn. In this article, I will elucidate how he utilized these books when composing such a huge work. Particularly, I will focus on how Quṭb al-Dīn used Ibn Rushd's medical work in his *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*, and rethink the importance of Ibn Rushd in the East.

Keywords: *Kitāb al-Kullīyyāt*; Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī; *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb*; Ibn Rushd; *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*

1. This article is a revised version of my paper "Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī's *Al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* (Commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb*, Book1)" presented at "Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī Workshop" held on June 11-12, 2012, McGill University, Canada. I would particularly like to thank Professor Jamil Ragep (McGill), who gave me an opportunity to present this paper. I am deeply grateful to Dr Reza Pourjavady (Berlin), who encouraged me to research this topic and gave me precious insights on Quṭb al-Dīn, and also very grateful to Amir Gamini (Tehran), who patiently supported me to finalize the article. Rosalind Batten (Manchester) provided very precious comments on the early draft. This article is based upon work supported by the Canada Foundation for Innovation, the Quebec Government and McGill University under Grants Nos. 12587 (PL Prof Robert Wisnovsky) and 203634 (PL Prof. Jamil Ragep). Any opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Canada Foundation for Innovation, the Quebec Government or McGill University.

Introduction

Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī amazes us with the fact that he wrote several huge works on mathematical sciences and philosophy.¹ Moreover, we also realize that he wrote a voluminous book on medicine: a commentary on volume 1 of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* entitled *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* in nine volumes, dedicated to Sa'd al-Dīn al-Sāwajī (Savage-smith, p. 258), a vizier to the eighth Mongol Ilkhan, Uljāytū (r. 703-716AH/1304-1317AD). This is not surprising because Quṭb al-Dīn came from a family of physicians² and he received medical education in his youth by reading Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn*,³ one of the most famous and comprehensive handbooks on medical knowledge in Arabic, which consists of the following five volumes:

Vol. 1: on general principles of medicine (al-Kullīyāt);

Vol. 2: on simple drugs;

Vol. 3: on diseases of each part of the body;

Vol. 4: on diseases affecting the whole body;

Vol. 5: on compound drugs

In the post-Avicennian period, many medical students, including Quṭb al-Dīn,⁴ used the *Qānūn* as a medical textbook.⁵ According to the

1. Walbridge, John, *The Science of Mystic Lights: Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the Illuminationist Tradition in Islamic Philosophy*, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1992, Appendix C has a list of Quṭb al-Dīn's works especially on his works on mathematical sciences; Ragep, Jamil, "Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Mas'ūd ibn al-Muṣliḥ al-Shīrāzī", in Noretta Koertge ed., *New Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Detroit, Charles Scribner's Sons/Thomson Gale, 2008, vol. 6, pp. 187-188 gives us updated information.

2. On his family, see Walbridge, *The Science of Mystic Lights*, pp. 7-9.

3. Edition: Institute of History of Medicine and Medical Research, *Al-Qanun Fil-Tibb of Ibn Sina: a Critical Edition*, New Dehli: Vikas Publishing House, 5 vols., 1982-1996; English translation: Department of Islamic Studies (Jamia Hamdard), *Al-Qanun Fil-Tibb of Ibn Sina: English Translation of the Critical Arabic Text*, New Dehli: Jamia Hamdard, 1993-, vol. 1, 2 and 5 (incomplete; the Kullīyāt is translated in volume 1); in this article, I will use this New Delhi edition (of which volume 1 contains the Kullīyāt), instead of the Bulaq edition. Iskandar, A.Z., *A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library*, London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1967, pp. 26-29 has an overview of the contents of the *Qānūn*.

4. See the introduction of the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*. This introduction is published in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *Durrat al-Tāj li-Ghurrat al-Dubāj*, ed. by Muhammad Mishkat, pp. kha-zayn; Iskandar, *A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, pp. 43-47, gives us a summary of it.

5. See Endress, G., "Reading Avicenna in the Madrasa: Intellectual Genealogies and Chains of Transmission of Philosophy and the Sciences in the Islamic East", in J. E. Montgomery ed.,

introduction of the *Al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*, since the *Kullīyāt* (vol. 1) was the most difficult text for him, he started collecting its commentaries and other related books to understand it. Afterwards, he composed the *Al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* as the result of his research.

Due to the popularity of the *Qānūn*, several scholars wrote commentaries on it (Iskandar, pp. 33-51, Savage-Smith, pp. 242-268). The *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* is one of the most voluminous, despite being only on the *Kullīyāt*. Because of the massive amount of its folios, it has not been analyzed sufficiently, except for its short introduction (Iskandar, pp. 43-47) and a study on part of the text.¹ But this enormous commentary ought to give us comprehensive information about books on medicine and its allied disciplines available to Quṭb al-Dīn. In this article, I will elucidate how he utilized these books when composing such a huge work.

Particularly, I will focus on how Quṭb al-Dīn used Ibn Rushd's medical work in the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*. Recent scholarship agrees that in Quṭb al-Dīn's days, Ibn Rushd was never mentioned by scholars who were active in and around the Iranian region, namely in the East, while he was very influential in the West.² Quṭb al-Dīn's quotations of Ibn Rushd's medical work urge us to rethink the importance of Ibn Rushd in the East.

Manuscripts of *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*

There exist quite a few manuscripts of the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* (Iskandar, p. 43, n. 2; Savage-Smith, pp. 258-263; Şeşen, pp. 69-71). I list some of them as follows:³

Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy. From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank, Leuven; Paris; Dudley, Peeters, pp. 371-423, on 383-392.

1. I.e. Chipman, Leigh N., "Is *Medicine* an 'Ilm? A Preliminary Note on Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* (MS Sehīd 'Alī Pesa 2047)", in Y. Tzvi Langerman ed., *Avicenna and His Legacy: a Golden Age of Science and Philosophy*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 289-300.

2. For example, see Ferjani, Mohamed-Chérif, "Le devenir de l'oeuvre d'Ibn Rushd dans le monde arabe", in André Bazzana, Nicole Bériou and Pierre Guichard eds., *Averroès et l'averroïsme, XIIIe-XVe siècle: un itinéraire historique du Haut Atlas à Paris et à Padoue: actes du colloque international organisé à Lyon, les 4 et 5 octobre 1999 dans le cadre du temps du Maroc*, Lyon, Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2005, pp. 239-248, on 242-243.

3. In the list, the manuscripts I examined are marked by an asterisk. For describing the Iranian manuscripts, I used the online database "Agha Bozorg (<http://www.aghabozorg.ir/>)".

- Istanbul, Sehid ‘Ali Pasa MSS 2047-2050 (copied in 717AH), these manuscripts contain the whole volumes of it (Şeşen, p. 69);

- Istanbul, Ayasofya MSS 3649-3656* (copied on 1st Sha‘ban 735AH according to the colophon¹) (Idem, p. 70). Although Şeşen says that they have its nine volumes, they lack vol. 8. Adam Gacek identifies their owner from their flyleaf, Burhān al-Dīn al-‘Ibrī (d. 743AH/1343), a pupil of Quṭb al-Dīn²;

- Tehran, Majlis shura MS 6304 (copied in 749AH)*, Vol. 2;

- Tehran, Majlis shura MS 3904 (copied in 889AH)*, Vols. 1-3, and vol. 9;

- Tehran, Majlis shura MS 5288 (copied in 10CAH)*, Vol. 3;

- Tehran, Majlis shura MS 4723 (copied in 1090AH)*, Vols. 1-4; it has a different introduction, which indicates that this is a manuscript of an early version of *al-Tuḥfa*;

- Tehran, Majlis shura MS 6035 (copied in 1273AH), A partial manuscript;

- Tehran, Majlis shura II MS 2256 (copied in 9 or 10CAH), A partial manuscript;

- Tehran, Majlis shura II MS 1177 (copied in 727AH), A partial manuscript;

- Qom, Mar‘ashi MS 9106 (copied in 892AH), A partial manuscript;

- Qom, Mar‘ashi MS 4456 (copied in 10CAH), A partial manuscript;

- Oxford, Bodleian MS Huntington 263 (copied in 707AH): Vol. 1.

The Bodleian MS is especially important, since it has a note written by Quṭb al-Dīn himself (Savage-smith, pp. 259-260), which gives the information that he completed it in Tabriz during the middle of the month Rabī‘ al-Thānī of the year 707AH/1307. This description makes clear that it took him 24 years to complete the work, since in the introduction of the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa‘dīya* he gives the starting date of its writing 682AH/1283. Furthermore, the fact that there is another report

1. Adam Gacek (McGill) kindly informed me this date.

2. On this owner, see Gacek, Adam, “The Osler Codex of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi’s Commentary on Avicenna’s *al-Isharat wa-al-tanbihat*”, *Journal of Islamic Manuscript* 1 (2010), pp. 3-17, on pp. 12-14.

on his completion of it in 710AH (Walbridge, p. 186), as well as the fact that Majlis shura MS 4732 has another (or a short) version of its introduction, lead us to consider the possibility that Quṭb al-Dīn revised it several times during this long period, as he did to *al-Tuḥfa al-Shāhīya*;¹ to prove the existence of his revisions, however, we need to examine several manuscripts more thoroughly.

Described in the list, most of its manuscripts have only a part of the nine volumes. Among the manuscripts that I have examined, Ayasofya MSS 3649-3656 (lacking vol. 8) give the most complete text of the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*.² Next, I would like to analyze the structure of its contents, using these Ayasofya MSS.

Contents of *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*

In *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*, Quṭb al-Dīn comments on each sentence of the Kullīyāt very carefully, often mentioning different readings of it in other manuscripts. Sometimes he comments on a few words by using dozens of folios. The huge amount of the comments shows his intensive effort at understanding the Avicennian text. The introduction of the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* gives the detailed process of how he studied it. To comprehend its contents, as he wrote, he first obtained the commentaries of Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 606AH/1210),³ Al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī (d. 618AH/1221; Iskandar, pp. 33-34), Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī (d. 646AH/1248), 'Abd al-Hādī Rafī' al-Dīn al-Jīlī (d. 641AH/1244), and Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Nakhjawānī (d. before 651AH/1253; Idem, pp. 34-35). However, he realized that these commentaries only repeated the words of the Kullīyāt and so did not satisfy his need. He then traveled to several regions to communicate with medical scholars and improve his knowledge, but "what was unknown to me [i.e. Quṭb al-Dīn] of this book [i.e. the Kullīyāt] remained more than what was known [to me]" (Idem, pp. 44-45 contains the Arabic text). So he continued to collect commentaries, and in 681AH/1282 he obtained the commentaries of Ibn Nafīs (d.

1. See Morrison, Robert, "Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's Hypotheses for Celestial Motions", *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 13 (2005), pp. 21-140, on pp. 33-35.

2. Ayasofya MS 5649 is vol. 1, MS 5650 is vol. 2, MS 5651 is vol. 3, MS 5652 is vol. 4, MS 5653 is vol. 5, MS 5654 is vol. 6, MS 5655 is vol. 7, and MS 5656 is the last volume, i.e. vol. 9.

3. Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī is famous by his theological works; see Endress, "Reading Avicenna in the Madrasa", pp. 397-410. On this commentary, see Savage-smith, pp. 245-248.

687AH/1288), Ya‘qūb bin Ishāq al-Sāmīrī (d. 681AH/1282), and Ibn Quff (d. 685AH/1286), through the help of the fifth Mamluk sultan, Mansūr Qalawūn (r. 678-689AH/1279-1290). He also had the commentaries of Ibn Jumai‘ (d. 594AH/1198), Ibn Tilmīdh (d. 560AH/1165) and ‘Abd al-Latīf Baghdādī (d. 629AH/1231; Idem, pp. 44-45). By reading them, he understood the Kullīyāt, and in 682AH/1283 he began to compose his commentary, namely the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa‘dīya*.

This report suggests that among these commentaries, those of Ibn Nafīs, al-Sāmīrī and Ibn Quff’s were very important for his study of the Kullīyāt, for he started writing his commentary just after receiving them. Indeed, Quṭb al-Dīn quoted in his book most frequently these three, and above all Ibn Quff’s.

Of the three commentators, Ibn Nafīs, a medical scholar in Cairo, is well known by his commentary on the anatomy in the *Qānūn* (Pormann and Savage smith, pp. 46-48). The second, al-Sāmīrī, was a medical scholar in Damascus (Hamarneh, p. 68), and the third, Ibn Quff, was a Melkite Christian in Syria, who studied medicine with several scholars including Ibn Nafīs and al-Sāmīrī. Noteworthy is that Ibn Quff is known to have written a massive commentary on the Kullīyāt in six volumes; however, as far as we know, there exists only one partial manuscript of it, namely Damascus, Zāhirīya MS 7802, which contains a fifth of his commentary (Idem, pp. 110-115). The above mentioned characteristics of Quṭb al-Dīn’s reliance on the three commentaries indicate that when composing his commentary, he depended on the most detailed and updated commentary by his contemporary Ibn Quff, and he supplemented it with the commentaries by Ibn Quff’s teachers, that is, Ibn Nafīs’s and al-Sāmīrī’s.

We can also detect Quṭb al-Dīn’s heavy dependence on Ibn Quff’s commentary in cases when he appends a separate treatise. For example, in his comment on the sentence “the diseases of temperament are well known, which are sixteen [in number]” (the Kullīyāt, part2, lesson1, chapter2; ed. p. 132; tr. p. 120f), he summarizes (vol. 3, f. 111b) what Ibn Sīnā says in the *Qānūn* vol. 3 and vol. 4, and he writes as follows:

Know that al-Masīhī [i.e. Ibn al-Quff] said: “here I decided to add a treatise on fever to this book”. ... At the beginning of this book [i.e. the *Al-Tuḥfa al-Sa‘dīya*], I [i.e. Quṭb al-Dīn] stated that

I would include all that the commentators presented in their commentaries, so I will add a treatise on fever here.

Then he starts a treatise in fifteen chapters, 30 folios (ff. 114b-146a). Here he gives his views quoting many passages not only from Ibn Quff's commentary, but also from works by other scholars such as Hippocrates, Galen, Isaac Israeli¹ (Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Sulaimān al-Isrā'īlī, f. 137b and f. 142a), and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī² (f. 137b). Next, in vol. 5, ff. 90b-116b, he appends a treatise on signs in fourteen chapters, 25 folios, before commenting on the chapter of signs and symptoms (the Kullīyāt, lesson 3); at the beginning of it, again, he states that he follows Ibn Quff's commentary, and he composes this treatise mostly in his own words, except for a few quotations. In vol. 7, ff. 188a-229b, he gives a treatise on symptoms in three chapters (ff. 188a-194b), a treatise on crises in five chapters (ff. 194b-213a) as well as its supplemental treatise in three chapters (ff. 213a-225b), and a treatise on the aim of medicine in three chapters (ff. 225b-229a); when starting each of them, he also notes that he adopts Ibn Quff's way.

Although we are unable to examine Ibn Quff's extra treatises themselves due to the lack of manuscript evidence, Quṭb al-Dīn's frequent remarks suggest that he borrows the table of contents from Ibn Quff's work to compose his additional treatises. However, he offers in them his analyses with quotations from works of several scholars including Ibn Quff, so they can be fairly regarded as his original works.

We notice that the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* contains a good amount of astronomical subjects. For example, in the comment of the Kullīyāt, part 2, lesson 2, clause 1, chapter 3: "characteristics of seasons" (ed. pp. 141-144; tr. pp. 132-136), he (vol. 4, ff. 5a-38b) explains astronomical phenomena concerning seasons with a few quotations from the commentaries of Ibn Quff and Ibn Nafīs as well as from the *Almagest*. Notable is that in f. 18b (fig. 1), he uses the same diagram which we can find in his *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī al-dirayāt al-aflāk* (fig. 2: Berlin,

1. Isaac Israeli (d. ca. 932) was a court physician of the Fatimide dynasty. On his life and his philosophical works, see Altman, A. and Stern, S.M., *Isaac Israeli, a Neoplatonic Philosopher of the Early Tenth Century*, London, Oxford University Press, 1958.

2. Al-Majūsī (fl. 983)'s *Kitāb Kāmil al-Ṣinā' al-Ṭibbīya* is one of the most comprehensive medical encyclopedia in Arabic. On his life and works, see Burnett, Charles and Jacquart, Danielle eds., *Constantine the African and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Magūsī, the Pantegni and Related Texts*, Leiden, New York, Brill, 1994.

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I MS 674, f. 10b) and in *al-Tuhfa al-Shāhīya* (fig. 3: Istanbul, Turhan V Sultan MS 220, f. 7a).

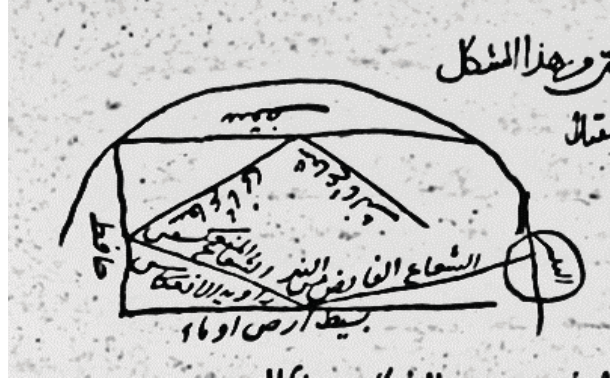


Fig. 1

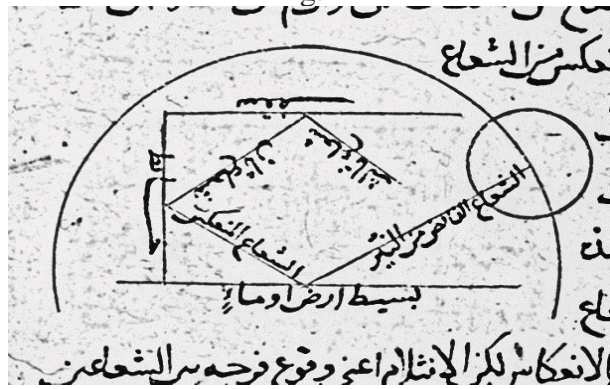


Fig. 2

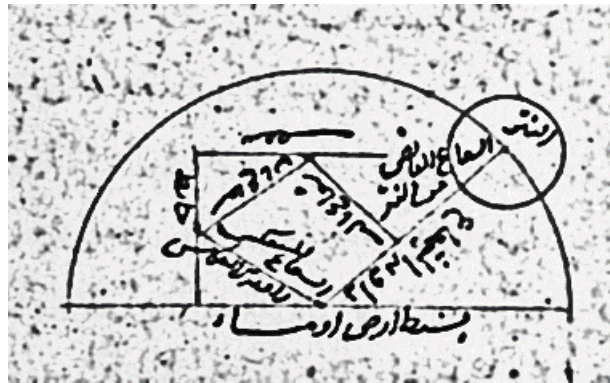


Fig. 3

These examples show that Quṭb al-Dīn does not intend to compose the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'diyya* only to explain difficult words of the *Kullīyāt*; he writes quite a few of his thoughts, and to justify them he quotes works of medical scholars as well as those of other scholars in various fields. The works and scholars that he mentions to or quotes include the following:

al-Bīrūnī's *al-Āthār al-Bāqiya*¹ (vol. 1, f. 210b); al-Kindī's *On Degrees (Tahrīr al-Daraja)*² (vol. 4, 175b); Aristotle's works; Galen's works; Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*; Ibn Abī Sādiq's commentary on *Questions of Medicine (Masā'il fī al-Ṭibb)* of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (vol. 5, f. 95b); Ibn Muṭrān's *Physicians' Garden (Bustān al-AṬibbā')*³ (vol. 5, f. 88b; vol. 6, 160b); Ibn Sīnā's *Shifā*, and his *Ishārāt*; Isaac Israeli's *On Fevers (Fī al-Ḥummīyyāt)* (vol. 3, f. 137a); Najm al-Dīn 'Alī Dabīrān-i al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī⁴ (d. 675AH/1277) (vol. 2, f. 195a; vol. 4, 175b); Pseudo-Thābit ibn Qurra's *Kitāb al-Dhakhīra*⁵ (vol. 6, f. 47a); Quṣṭā ibn Lūqā⁶ (vol. 5, f. 88b). In addition to the above scholars, we find that he quotes Ibn Rushd's *Kitāb al-Kullīyāt fī al-Ṭibb* several times.

1. Edition: Sachau, Eduard, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Alberuni*, Leipzig, Deutsche Morgenl. Gesellschaft, 1923.

2. That is, *Fī Ma'rifat al-Adwiya al-Murakkaba*. Edition: Gauthier, Léon, *Antécédents gréco-arabes de la psychophysique*, Beyrouth, Imprimerie Catholique, 1938. On this work and its Latin translation, see Travaglia, Pinella, *Magic, Causality, and Intentionality, the Doctrine of Rays in al-Kindi*, Firenze, SISMEL, 1999, pp. 135-136; Adamson, Peter, *Al-Kindī*, Oxford; New York, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 160-166 gives us an important insight about this work. I will discuss Quṭb al-Dīn's quotation later.

3. On this work, see Ullmann, Manfred, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden, Brill, 1970, pp. 165-166.

4. Quṭb al-Dīn learned philosophy from al-Qazwīnī; see Pourjavady, Reza and Schmidtke, Sabine, "Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d.710/1311) as a Teacher: an Analysis of his *Ijāzāt*", *Journal Asiatique* 297 (2009), pp. 15-55, on p. 16.

5. On this work, see Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, pp. 136-137; Richter-Bernburg L., "Pseudo-Tābit, Pseudo-Razi, Yuhanna b. Sarābiyūn", *Der Islam* 60 (1983), pp. 48-77.

6. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 3, pp. 270-274 gives a list of his medical works.

Quṭb al-Dīn and Ibn Rushd

Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), the commentator of Aristotle, wrote several medical works.¹ Most of them are epitomes of Galen's works, but he also wrote some original works on medicine. One of them is *Kitāb al-Kulliyāt fī al-Ṭibb* (*Book on General Principles on Medicine*)². The *General Principles* is a summary of medical theories, consisting of the following seven chapters:³

Chapter 1: on anatomy of the parts of the body;

Chapter 2: on health;

Chapter 3: on diseases;

Chapter 4: on signs;

Chapter 5: on simple drugs;

Chapter 6: on preservation of health;

Chapter 7: on removing diseases.

In this work, Ibn Rushd quotes Abū Bakr al-Rāzī's *Al-Mansūrī* repeatedly, and he uses works of Greek scholars such as Galen, Aristotle, and Hippocrates;⁴ however he seldom mentions the *Qānūn*. Like Ibn Rushd's other works, the *General Principles* was translated into Hebrew and Latin, and became popular in the West; in general, this work is thought not to have had a significant impact in the East. Thus, it is crucial that Quṭb al-Dīn, one of the central scholarly figures in the East, quoted or mentioned the *General Principles*.

For example, the additional treatise on fever (in vol. 3) has three quotations from the *General Principles*. In chapter 1: "on a general statement on fever", Quṭb al-Dīn (f. 116a) gives a review about fever, and he quotes Ibn Rushd's definition of fever in over a half folio with the remark "Ibn Rushd said in his *General Principles*"; in fact, this long quotation is found exactly in the same wording in the *General Principles*, chapter 3 (ed. p. 96; tr. p. 119). Then he criticizes Ibn Rushd's definition in seven points in three folios. Most of his arguments

1. On Ibn Rushd as a medical scholar, see Anawati, G.C., and Ghalioungui, P., *Medical Manuscripts of Averroes at El-Escorial*, Cairo, A.R.E., al-Ahram Center for Scientific Translations, 1986.

2. Edition: Shayban, S, and al-Talibi, U., *Al-Kulliyat fī al-Ṭibb li-Ibn Rushd*, al-Qahira, al-Majlis al-Alba lil-Thaqāfah, 1989.

3. Vázquez de Benito and Álvarez Morales, *El libro de las generalidades de la medicina*, pp. 13-19 gives us a summary of its contents.

4. On the citations in the *General Principles* see the index of the Cairo edition.

concern the ambiguity of Ibn Rushd's terminology such as "natural fever (*al-harāra al-ṭabī'īya*)".

In chapter 4: "on putrid fever" (f. 125a), Quṭb al-Dīn first defines putrid fever, and he says, "Among the modern scholars, Ibn Rushd has the opinion about this [fever], as he says in his book entitled *General Principles*", and he quotes Ibn Rushd's definition of this fever in over half a folio; this is also found word by word in the *General Principles*, chapter 4: "on putrid fever" (ed. p. 185; tr. p. 213). After his quotation, he criticizes this definition in two points.¹

In chapter 9: "on hectic fever" (f. 137a), Quṭb al-Dīn quotes Ibn Rushd's definition of hectic fever in half a folio with the remark "Ibn Rushd said in his book entitled *General Principles*"; this definition is a literal quotation from the *General Principles*, chapter 5: "on hectic fever" (ed. p. 187; tr. p. 215). Next he quotes the definitions of hectic fever given by other scholars including Ibn Quff, and he confirms the similarity between Ibn Rushd's definition and that of the others.

Besides these three examples, the *Al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* mentions Ibn Rushd at least in two places. In vol. 4, f. 175a, where Quṭb al-Dīn explains relative strength of compound drugs, he quotes al-Kindī's theory on it with the remark "al-Kindī said in his *On Degrees (Tahrīr al-Daraja)*", and then mentions Ibn Rushd's explanation of it without giving the title of the book he refers to. Finally, he quotes Ibn al-Quff's evaluation, that is, "the theory of Ibn Rushd is more exact than that of al-Kindī", and continues to cite Ibn Quff's comment in two folios. As Langermann elucidates, Ibn Rushd severely criticized al-Kindī's theory of compound drugs in the *General Principles*²; what is remarkable is that this theory of al-Kindī attracted a lot of attention from Andalusian scholars such as Ibn Rushd, while it was never mentioned in medical works in the East including the *Qānūn*. As for these two quotations by Quṭb al-Dīn, we notice that they cannot be located in either the *On Degrees* or the *General Principles*, so they are most likely paraphrases of Ibn Rushd's texts, not literal quotations. Given that al-Kindī's theory was not known in the East, and that Quṭb al-Dīn quoted them with Ibn

1. A detailed analysis of the contents of his criticism on Ibn Rushd is beyond the scope of this paper. This will be one of my future topics about the *al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya*.

2. See Langermann, Y. Tzvi, "Another Andalusian Revolt? Ibn Rushd's Critique of al-Kindī's Pharmacological Computus" in Jan P. Hogendijk and A.I. Sabra, eds., *The Enterprise of Science in Islam*, MIT, Cambridge USA and London, 2003, pp. 351-372.

Quff's comment, it is clear that Ibn Quff's commentary stimulated Quṭb al-Dīn's interest in al-Kindī's theory of compound drugs as well as Ibn Rushd's; furthermore, he possibly quoted them from Ibn Quff's commentary.

The last example of Quṭb al-Dīn's reference to Ibn Rushd is in vol. 5, f. 60a, where he explains the cause of pain. Here he quotes the following evaluation of Ibn al-Quff:

[Ibn al-Quff said:] Know that when I considered the whole of these opinions about the cause of pain, only what Imām Abū Walīd ibn Rushd considered about it was correct for me, that is, it [i.e. the pain] is a bad temperament suffered from its essence.

Indeed, Ibn Rushd explains the cause of pain in the *General Principles* (ed. p. 131; tr. 93), but we do not find the same wording in it; since Ibn al-Quff does not give us the title of the book to which he refers, this quoted text of Ibn Rushd is likely a paraphrase by Ibn Quff.

The last two examples show that Quṭb al-Dīn discovered Ibn Rushd in Ibn Quff's commentary; supposedly he also quotes all the passages of Ibn Rushd's *General Principles* from Ibn Quff's commentary, not from the *General Principles* itself.¹ As I already mentioned, however, when he notes the title "*General Principles*" with a quotation, it is a literal quotation; when he mentions Ibn Rushd's opinion without the title of the referred book, together with Ibn al-Quff's comment, the text is most likely from Ibn al-Quff. This fact suggests that he consciously distinguishes the quotation of the *General Principles* itself from that of Ibn Quff's commentary, so he more than likely refers to the *General Principles* itself. Several quotations from the *General Principles* in the *Al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* illustrate that when Quṭb al-Dīn read Ibn Quff's commentary, he was most impressed by Ibn Rushd's work and he probably obtained the *General Principles*. That is to say, Ibn Rushd was not an unknown figure in the East even in the time of Quṭb al-Dīn.

Conclusions

The above analysis of the *Al-Tuḥfa al-Sa'dīya* makes it clear that in this commentary Quṭb al-Dīn gave quite a few of his opinions with the aid of quotations of, and references to, various works including Ibn Rushd's

1. This point was evoked by Professor Robert Wisnovsky (McGill). I am grateful for his precious comment.

General Principles. Thus his rich medical library was definitely essential when composing his commentary. What we must recall here is that a number of his books was collected by using his connection with Qalawūn, a chief political figure in his day. This indicates that he could obtain his valuable collection of books thanks to his political importance and he discovered important scholars unknown in his region such as Ibn Rushd. As a result, he expanded the scholarly boundaries around him, and the next generation could take a new step in medicine and its allied disciplines.

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چکیده مقاله‌های انگلیسی

اثر قطب‌الدین شیرازی در پزشکی، التحفة السعدیه

تارو میمورا

دانشگاه منچستر

قطب‌الدین شیرازی علاوه بر آثار مشروحو که هیئت و فلسفه نوشته است اثر مشروحو نیز در پزشکی دارد: ابتحفة السعدیه که شرحی بر مقاله اول قانون ابن سینا است و در نه مجلد نوشته شده است. این مطلب چندان دور از انتظار نیست زیرا قطب‌الدین از خانواده‌ای که سابقه طبابت داشته‌اند برآمده است و در سال‌های جوانی عمر خود قانون را مطالعه کرده بود. این شرح مطول اطلاعات جامعی در باره آثار مختلف پزشکی دیگری که قطب‌الدین از آنها استفاده می‌کرده است به ما می‌دهد. در این مقاله، من برآنم تا چگونگی استفاده از آثار دیگر را در تدوین این کتاب بزرگ روشن کنم. به‌ویژه بر موضوع استفاده قطب‌الدین از اثر پزشکی ابن رشد در التحفة السعدیه و اهمیت ابن رشد نزد دانشمندان سرزمین‌های شرقی خلافت اسلامی تأکید خواهم کرد.

کلیدواژه‌ها: کتاب الکلیات؛ قطب‌الدین شیرازی؛ القانون فی الطب؛ ابن رشد؛ التحفة السعدیه