

Tadbîr al-musâfir in Fuat Sezgin's GAS III, a Preliminary Study of Structure and Contents

Fuat Sezgin'in GAS III'ünde Tedbiru'l-Musafir, Yapısal ve İçeriksel Özelliklerine İlişkin Bir Ön Araştırma

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ABSTRACT

Regardless of the reason for undertaking a journey in the medieval Islamic world, travelling certainly had its health risks. Physicians were aware of this, and they wrote health guides for travellers (tadbîr al-musâfir) either incorporated into medical encyclopaedias or as separate works. This study aims to examine the structure and contents of the earliest examples for such guides up to ca. 430 A.H., based on the works listed in Fuat Sezgin's GAS III. These works include al-Ṭabarî's Firdaws al-ḥikma, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's Risāla, al-Rāzî's Kitāb al-Manşūrî, Ibn al-Jazzār's Zād al-musâfir, al-Majūsî's Kāmil al-şinā'a al-ṭibbiyya and Ibn Mandawayh's Risāla. The study shows the similarity and diversity of these works, the topics according to which they are organized, gives a general idea of its contents and how they fit into the plans of encyclopaedias, and it points out some further issues for study.

Keywords: Medieval Arabic/Islamic medicine, Travel regimens, 9–10th century

Öz

Ortaçağ İslam dünyasında yapılacak olan bir seyahat, nedeni ne olursa olsun, kendine has sağlık riskleri içermekteydi. Bu durumun farkında olan hekimler, tıp ansiklopedilerine eklenmiş olarak veya bağımsız metinler halinde seyahat için tadbîr al-musâfir adlı sağlık kılavuzları hazırlamışlardır. Bu çalışma, Fuat Sezgin'in GAS III'te sunduğu listeden hareketle, yaklaşık h. 430 yıllarına kadar hazırlanmış olan erken dönemli sağlık kılavuzlarının yapısal ve içeriksel özelliklerini ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Söz konusu kılavuzlar arasında Ṭabarî'nin Firdaws al-ḥikma, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā'nın Risāla, al-Rāzî'nin Kitāb al-Manşūrî, Ibn al-Jazzār'nın Zād al-musâfir, al-Majūsî'nin Kāmil al-şinā'a al-ṭibbiyya ve Ibn Mandawayh'nın Risāla isimli eserleri zikredilebilir. Yapılan çalışma, bu eserler arasındaki benzerlik ve çeşitliliği göstermektedir. Eserlerde yer alan başlıklar metinlerin içerikleri hakkında genel bir fikir sağlamakta, söz konusu başlıkların dönem ansiklopedilerinin içeriklerine ne şekilde uyum gösterdiğini ortaya koymakta ve ilerleyen yıllarda yapılacak çalışmalar için diğer muhtemel araştırma konularına işaret etmektedir.

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Introduction

In the medieval Islamic world, travelling was an essential part of life. Most people would immediately agree and think of famous Muslim travellers and the yearly pilgrimage. However, those familiar with the life and work of Professor Dr. Fuat Sezgin would also think of two series of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, namely *Islamic Geography* and *The Islamic World in Foreign Travel Accounts*, knowing that the issue of travelling is more complex than it would seem at first. In order to grasp this complexity, one can refer to Shawkat Toorawa's detailed taxonomy, enumerating 13 forms of travel, most of which is divided further (Toorawa, 2004, 66–67). As can be seen, there are numerous reasons for travelling, and scholarly attention was paid to studying some of its aspects and categories. However, all forms of travel have something in common: health risks. Therefore, this would be an excellent topic for physicians to write about; and indeed, it is, as it can be seen by the presence of the genre of health guides written for the traveller, namely *tadbîr al-musâfir*.

Looking at the literature, we can find some articles on such health guides of the medieval European and Islamic world (e.g. Sudhoff, 1910; Horden, 2004), and they are mentioned in Ullmann's *Islamic medicine* (2004, p. 90) and Pormann's and Savage-Smith's *Medieval Islamic medicine* (2007, p. 50) as well. However, to the best of my knowledge, the theme of travel medicine of the medieval Arabic-Islamic medical tradition as a whole has not yet been examined. A concise summary of this genre in Bos's edition of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's *Risāla fī tadbîr safar al-ḥajj* (1992, pp. 5–6) and Horden's relevant passages in his study referred to before might be the closest to this.

In this paper, instead of undertaking the delicate task of an in-depth analysis of the subject in its entirety, I aim to focus on giving a more detailed picture of its early examples – to be more precise, up to *ca.* 430 A.H., that is, based on Fuat Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Band III. The focal point of this study will be the structure and content of these early works.

Discussion and Conclusion

Turning to Fuat Sezgin's GAS III, we find that the keyword *tadbîr al-musâfir* appears in the volume's second title index (for works written in Arabic, arranged according to keywords), where he lists five works. These are the *Risāla ilā Abī al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Baḥr fī tadbîr al-musâfir* by Ibn Mandawayh; the *Risāla fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa fī al-safar*, *Risāla fī tadbîr al-badan fī al-safar*, and *Risāla fī tadbîr safar al-ḥajj* by Qusṭā b. Lūqā; and the *Zād al-musâfir wa-qūt al-ḥādir* by Ibn al-Jazzār (Sezgin, 1970, 483). It is important to note, however, that this list is not necessarily exhaustive if we want to survey all the texts written in Arabic which deal with travel regimens up to *ca.* 430 A.H. While it contains the works treating travel medicine separately, we can add some encyclopaedias to this listing which contain chapters dedicated to the topic. These are the *Firdaws al-ḥikma* by al-Ṭabarī (Sezgin, 1970, p. 239); the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb* by al-Rāzī (Sezgin, 1970, pp. 281–282), with the addendum that his *Ḥāwī* has some parts dedicated to health issues of travelling as well; and the *Kāmil al-ṣinā'a al-ṭibbiyya / Kitāb al-malakī* by al-Majūsī (Sezgin, 1970, pp. 321–322). In the following parts, I give a brief introduction to these authors and their works in chronological order before moving on to analysing the structure and contents of the relevant chapters and treatises.

Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī was born most probably in 165 A.H./781 A.D. or in the following years and died in 250/864 or shortly after. He served the governor of Ṭabaristān, Māzyār b. Qārīn, after whose execution in 225/840 he gained admission to the Abbasid court in Samarra and served the caliphs al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq, and al-Mutawakkil. He was Christian but converted to Islam in or after 235/850. Most of his works were written on various medical topics (on his life and works see EI² s.v. al-Ṭabarī (X/17–18); Ullmann, 1970, pp. 119–122; Sezgin, 1970, pp. 236–240; GAL S I, pp. 414–415). His most famous work, the *Firdaws al-ḥikma* ('Paradise of Wisdom') was completed in 235/850. It is available in one printed edition (al-Ṭabarī, 1928).

Qusṭā ibn Lūqā al-Ba'labakkī was born around 205/820. He was a Melkite Christian with a knowledge of Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. It is likely that he travelled to the Byzantine Empire when he was young. He was preparing new translations

of Greek scientific works and revising old ones in Baghdad under the caliph al-Musta‘în. Later he moved to Armenia, composing works for several patrons. Besides translating, he wrote numerous medical works (on his life and works see Qusṭā b. Lūqā, 1992, pp. 1–2; Ullmann, 1970, pp. 126–128; Sezgin, 1970, pp. 270–274). When Qusṭā was unable to accompany al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, a secretary of Christian origin, serving al-Mutawakkil, and a vizier under al-Mu‘tamid, on his pilgrimage, he decided to write a treatise for him, the *Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj*. The treatise is available in a critical edition with an English translation (Qusṭā b. Lūqā, 1992).

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā’ al-Rāzī was born around 250/865 in Rayy, and practiced medicine there and in Baghdad. His biographical accounts mention his merits as a physician, hospital director and teacher as well. Some of them give well-known anecdotes illustrating his knowledge besides the list of his works (on his life and works see Ullmann, 1970, pp. 128–136; Sezgin, 1970, pp. 274–294; GAL I/267–271; GAL S I, pp. 417–421). One of his most important works is the *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb* (‘The book dedicated to al-Manṣūr on medicine’), a systematic and complete work on medicine. It is available in an edition based on four manuscripts (al-Rāzī, 1987). Its first part is available with a French translation as well (de Konig, 1903).

Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid b. al-Jazzār was born in 898, in Qayrawān. He died in the same city in 369/979-980. His father and his paternal uncle were physicians. He was a student of the court physician of his native city, where he later started to practice medicine. According to his biographers, he did not pursue courtly positions, but dedicated himself to studying and practicing medicine. He wrote in the fields of various sciences, especially in medicine (on his life and works see Ullmann, 1970, pp. 147–149; Sezgin, 1970, pp. 304–307; GAL I, p. 274; GAL S I, p. 424). His *Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥādīr* (‘Provisions for the traveller and nourishment for the sedentary’) is a medical handbook on different diseases discussed *a capite ad calcem* in a concise form. The first three books were edited (Ibn al-Jazzār, 1986–1999), but this is not a critical edition. Proper critical editions with English translations are available of the 6th book (Ibn al-Jazzār, 2010), and the 7th book in two parts (Ibn al-Jazzār, 2011; Ibn al-Jazzār, 2015), the last one including the critical edition of a Hebrew translation as well.

Very little is known of ‘Alī b. al-‘Abbās al-Majūsī’s life. Based on his *nisbas*, he was born into an old Persian Zoroastrian family which originated in the town of Arrajān. He studied from Abū Māhir Mūsā b. Sayyār, and practiced medicine in Shīrāz. The exact dates of his birth and death are not known (on his life and works see EI³ s.v. ‘Alī b. al-‘Abbās al-Majūsī (2009-2, pp. 76–77); Ullmann, 1970, pp. 140–146; Sezgin, 1970, pp. 320–322; GAL I, p. 272; GAL S I, p. 423). He wrote his famous *Kāmil al-ṣinā‘a al-ṭibbiyya* before 366/977 and dedicated it to the Būyid emir and king, ‘Aḍud al-Dawla, which is the reason for the other well-known title of this work, *Kitāb al-malakī*. It was printed in Būlāq (al-Majūsī, 1877), and there is a facsimile as well (al-Majūsī, 1985). Parts of it are available in French and German translations (de Konig, 1903; Sezgin, 1996).

Ibn Mandawayh was born in Iṣfahān. He worked in the hospital of the Buyid emir ‘Aḍud al-Dawla (r. 338/949–372/983) in Bagdad. He wrote numerous medical works. He died in 410/1019 (on his life and works see Ullmann, 1970, p. 146; Sezgin, 1970, pp. 328–329; GAL S I, p. 423). His *Risāla ilā Abī al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Baḥr fī tadbīr al-musāfir* is listed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, but there are no surviving manuscript copies of it to the best of our knowledge.

Al-Ṭabarī’s *Firdaws al-ḥikma* has seven parts. While the 1st part is on the theoretical background of medicine, his travel regimen is in the 2nd part’s 5th treatise, where the first four chapters deal with the regimen for the seasons; chapter 5 is on the regimen for travellers and armies; there is another chapter on fattening, thinning, and appetizing things; and one more on things which are useful or harmful for the organs (for the “general plan of the book” see Browne, 1962, pp. 42–44). Chapter 5 is titled *Fī al-asfār wa-al-‘asākīr*, ‘On travels and armies’. Al-Ṭabarī starts immediately by naming his source, *qāla Jālīnūs*, ‘Galen said’, when he instructs those who travel during wintertime. They should use warming oils, rest in warm places where they use a ḥammām to bathe with hot water and eat warming food: bread soaked in wine or sugar syrup (al-Ṭabarī, 1928, p. 109). For travelling in summertime, his instructions touch upon more topics: covering the head,

sniffing cooling flowers, resting and bathing, use of oils, washing, eating, drinking, avoiding sexual intercourse, as well as vomiting due to the heat. Then al-Ṭabarī discusses the issue of thirst, advising to drink small gulps only, otherwise too much cold water may cause dropsy, especially if drunk with an empty stomach (al-Ṭabarī, 1928, pp. 109–110). After these parts come his instructions for armies, focusing on where and how to camp during wintertime and summertime, how to stay warm, what to drink, what to do when the air is thick and foggy, or the water is putrid, salty, muddy, has leeches in it, and so on (al-Ṭabarī, 1928, pp. 110–111). Besides this regimen, al-Ṭabarī shares some personal accounts on how people in Tabaristan's mountains stayed warm during the winter when it was snowing (the answer is garlic, kebab, and pure wine) (al-Ṭabarī, 1928, pp. 109–110) and how the people of Egypt cleansed the water of the Nile by putting pulverised peach and apricot kernels in it (al-Ṭabarī, 1928, p. 111).

Qusṭā b. Lūqā's *Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥajj*, a treatise written especially for those undertaking the pilgrimage, is quite interesting from the point of structure and contents. In the introduction, he lists the topics which a traveller's health guide should contain, differentiating between regular guides and those written for pilgrims (Qusṭā b. Lūqā, 1992, pp. 18–20). It is important to point out that other authors do not follow how he separated general and specific topics. While he listed the issue of waters and their purification, thirst, snakes and bites, and how to deal with the *dracunculus medinensis* (Guinea worm) and haemorrhoids as topics especially for pilgrim's guides, the physicians discussed in this study (as well as others, up to even the 15th century) all included these in their regular traveller's health guides, with the exception of the *dracunculus medinensis*. After the introduction, Qusṭā organises his treaties in 14 chapters and gives a general health guide for travellers, deals with fatigue, massage, winds, earache, diseases caused by changes of weather, dust, quality of waters, improving contaminated water, thirst, vermin, stings and bites, and the *dracunculus medinensis* in two chapters (for a detailed "survey and evaluation of the contents" see Qusṭā b. Lūqā, 1992, pp. 6–12).

Al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Manṣūrī fī al-ṭibb* is arranged into ten treatises, discussing the following topics: introduction to medicine, discussing the various organs; the humours of the body and the organs, physiognomy; the properties of food and medicaments; the preservation of health; cosmetics; the regimen of travellers; bonesetting, wounds and ulcers; poisons and pests; various diseases *a capite ad calcem*; and fevers. He devoted the 6th treatise completely to the regimen of travellers (*al-maqāla al-sādisa fī tadbīr al-musāfirīn*), dividing the treatise into 19 smaller topics. He examines the dangers of heat for travellers, discussing eating, drinking, resting, movement, hunger, thirst, what to wear, washing oneself, sleeping, avoiding intercourse, what to do against headache or fever, if the latter does not cease, directing the reader to the relevant chapter of the book (al-Rāzī, 1987, pp. 281–282). The second topic is on the caution against the *samūm*, a kind of hot, burning wind, detailing the measures the traveller can take to ensure it does no harm, and in case his efforts were fruitless, how to treat these harms (what to eat, how to drink, how to dress, what oils to sniff, which ones to use on his skin etc.) (al-Rāzī, 1987, p. 283). The following theme is how to prevent thirst by means of eating or drinking specific things and avoiding certain activities. Al-Rāzī gives useful lists and recipes on what to eat or put in one's mouth to prevent or quench thirst as well (al-Rāzī, 1987, pp. 284–286). In the following sections, all issues connected to travelling in cold weather are discussed: generally the issue of travelling in the cold, as well as alleviating symptoms caused by freezing, fainting due to a severe hunger in cold weather, and preserving the limbs (al-Rāzī, 1987, pp. 286–290). The next two chapters are on afflictions of the eye: snow-blindness and burning pain caused by cold and winds (al-Rāzī, 1987, pp. 290–291), which is followed by a short paragraph on fatigue and exhaustion (al-Rāzī, 1987, p. 292). The following part is on the preparation of the body for travelling, focusing on purging the body and getting accustomed to the circumstances of the travel ahead (al-Rāzī, 1987, pp. 292–293). The different waters are discussed as well. Al-Rāzī advises to mix water from the previous resting place with the new water each time, as well as mixing it with wine or vinegar. Then he details how to cleanse various waters (e.g. those with visible impurities, salty water etc.) (al-Rāzī, 1987, pp. 293–295). His next topic is the dwelling of armies, discussed according to season (summer and winter), focusing on where and how to camp, what to do in certain conditions, as well as how to repel vermin and the precautions to take if people or animals get sick in big numbers (al-Rāzī, 1987, p. 295). His last general topic is the regimen of those who travel on the sea (al-Rāzī, 1987, pp. 295–296), followed by a few specific cases, namely the prophylaxis against lice, paleness of the face due to sunshine and

wind, bruising of the heels or lower parts of the legs, scraped off skin due to riding or shoes and what to do if one falls off of his riding animal (al-Rāzī, 1987, pp. 296–300). As can be seen, his traveller's guide is more detailed than al-Ṭabarī's relevant chapter. While Qusṭā's treatise is rather extensive, compared to it, we can find some new topics in al-Rāzī's guide.

Although Ibn al-Jazzār's *Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥāḍir* is not a travel regimen, as the title might suggest, but a medical handbook, it nevertheless contains some chapters which are of importance to travellers. Examining only those parts which are available in the form of critical editions, we find at least seven such chapters. The 7th book's chapters 9–14 are on poisons, viper bites, stings by wasps, bees, scorpions, rabies due to bite of a rabid dog and different kinds of fatigue (Ibn al-Jazzār, 2015, pp. 25–41, 77–96). The same book's 29th chapter might be the most interesting, where the author discusses how to treat feet “affected by a wound caused by pressure of the shoes” and what to do “if someone stumbles” (Ibn al-Jazzār, 2015, p. 69, 132). Just as in the case of Qusṭā's treatise, these parts are readily available in an English translation as well, therefore I omit giving a more detailed review of these chapters (for the review of the contents and sources of chapters 9–14 see Ibn al-Jazzār, 2015, pp. 12–15). What is important to note is that these chapters are not aimed at travellers, they are merely on topics which are of importance to them, as noted before. In this sense, the parts of this handbook available in critical editions are different from the encyclopaedias discussed in this study, which contain actual regimens for travellers.

Al-Majūsī's *Kāmil al-ṣinā'a al-ṭibbiyya* is divided into two parts, the first is on theory, the second is on practice, both in ten treatises. The second part's 1st treatise is on the preservation of health. The 2nd part's 1st treatise begins with general chapters on preserving the health according to the seasons of the year, with various activities, in certain conditions, and in the different ages of life. The following chapters deal with specific questions. The 31st, last chapter is dedicated to the regimen of travellers on land and sea. The physician starts with stating the necessity of getting used to travelling and avoiding any harms that may befall the traveller. In order to do so, the first thing to do is to purge the body (bloodletting, laxative remedies) in accordance with the traveller's habits of purging. The other thing to do is mimic the assumed circumstances of his travel and gradually change his daily routine in accordance with these regarding exercise, eating and resting (al-Majūsī, 1877, p. 81). While al-Rāzī also writes on preparation, as it was mentioned before, al-Majūsī starts with this topic, which makes his arrangement seem more logical. Moving on to his next topic, we find something unique as well. Instead of starting with wintertime and summertime regimens, he discusses what to do when one wants to travel on foot: he is to wrap his legs and torso in order to strengthen them, use a walking stick and avoid marching when hungry or full (al-Majūsī, 1877, p. 81). It is only after this interlude that he moves on to the regimen for summertime travels, discussing when to travel, what might befall the traveller in case he travels during daytime or if he has a specific natural disposition, how to prevent the harms that the strong sunshine may cause, when, what and how to eat and drink and what to do in case of a headache (al-Majūsī, 1877, pp. 81–82). Then comes his regimen for wintertime travel mostly in the same way, with obvious differences due to the opposing season: how to stay warm, preserve the limbs and sight, how to travel in areas with a lot of snow and ice and so on. He closes this part with detailed instructions on how to deal with frozen fingers in case they are swollen, became greenish or black or if they have fallen off (al-Majūsī, 1877, pp. 82–83). Al-Majūsī closes this chapter with the regimen of those travelling on the sea, advising on how to deal with nausea and vomiting and how to get rid of lice (al-Majūsī, 1877, pp. 83–84).

Since we have no known surviving manuscript copies of Ibn Mandawayh's treatise, the only thing we can do is to make some conclusions based on the title of the work, *Risāla ilā Abī al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Baḥr fī tadbīr al-musāfir*. What can be said for sure is that this work is solely on travel regimens, making it similar to Qusṭā's work in this sense, albeit this one is more likely to be a general traveller's guide and not one aimed at pilgrims; and that it was made either on the request of or dedicated to a certain Abī al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Baḥr. It is worth noting that a lot of his works are dedicated to patrons or colleagues as it is attested in the titles, and many of these are regimens (cf. the list of his works in Sezgin, 1970, pp. 328–328).

As can be seen, travel regimens of the medieval Arabic-Islamic medical tradition show a diverse picture already in the 9–10th centuries. They appear either as parts of encyclopaedias or as works dedicated solely to this topic.

In the first case, travel regimens are considered to be part of the more practical side of the craft, and indeed the physicians are more sparing with regards to theoretical discussions and have a more pragmatic approach. These regimens are placed in the parts on hygiene and dietetics, as it is noted in the secondary literature referred to in the introduction. Regimens according to age groups and seasons are generally present in encyclopaedias, and while al-Ṭabarī only adds one more for travellers, it is a whole autonomous treatise in al-Rāzī's work, and we have seen that al-Majūsī is quite generous with regimens and includes a travel regimen at the end. The topics included in these works already indicate some 'trends', so to say, which can be confirmed by looking at regimens of the following centuries. Al-Ṭabarī seems to be the only one omitting the regimen of those travelling on sea. He and al-Rāzī are the ones to include instructions and advice for armies; we generally cannot find these next to travel regimens in later works either. While it is obvious that these regimens rely on the previous medical traditions, unique topics and cures do appear in the works discussed here.

As for the monographs, Qusṭā's treatise is a unique work as it is dedicated especially to the needs of pilgrims. While we can not say much about Ibn Mandawayh's work, it shows us that Qusṭā's is not a single exception and travel regimens were composed as works on their own right as well. The reason behind Qusṭā's differentiation between a regular guide and one meant for pilgrims and the unanimous practice of all other physicians ignoring this distinction is still a topic to be studied.

Besides such preliminary inquiries on structure and contents of the early works, broadening the scope and a study of the history and development of borrowed and unique ideas included in these guides is also a necessity in order to contribute further to a more comprehensive analysis of the subject of travel regimens.

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