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The Leiden manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Musta'īnī* by Jan Just Witkam*

Contents: Introduction. Provenance of the Leiden manuscript. Physical description of the Leiden manuscript. Maintaining the order of the leaves. Aḥmad b. Qāsim's restoration of the Leiden manuscript. Concluding remarks.

Introduction

The Leiden copy of the tabular pharmacopoeia, the *Kitāb al-Musta'īnī* by Yūsuf b. Ishāq Ibn Baklārish al-Isrā'īlī (c. 500/1106), belongs to the oldest Oriental possessions of Leiden's University Library.¹ It is associated with Jacobus Golius (1596-1667), who acquired the manuscript while participating in a diplomatic mission in Morocco in 1622-1624, before his dazzling scholarly and academic career had even started. In 1629 the manuscript was incorporated in the Library, together with the other manuscripts which Golius had collected by that time, not only in North Africa, but also, and more so, in Aleppo and Constantinople.

The sudden influx of more than two hundred Oriental manuscript volumes² in the Library made the necessity of organizing these materials being felt. It was decided by the University librarian to create an Oriental manuscripts section and to put these new arrivals together, with a separate system of class-marks. These are the well-known Cod.Or. numbers of Leiden University Library, a system which is in use till the present day.³ That moment in 1629 can be considered as the foundation of the Oriental collection within the Leiden Library. Oriental manuscripts had already been available in Leiden, albeit in small numbers, but it was the sheer bulk of Golius' acquisitions which made this novel approach necessary. The Golius manuscripts were simply and roughly arranged according to their size and then numbered from Cod.Or. 1 onwards. The

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¹ The medical materials are given in a rough alphabetical order by their names, whereby for the sections in which the work is divided the following order is used: *alif, bā', ḡīm, dāl, hā', wāw, zāy, ḥā', ṭā', yā', kāf, lām, mīm, nūn, sīn, 'ayn, fā', qāf, rā', ṣād, tā', thā', khā', dhāl, ghayn, shīn*. This order is neither the Maghribī nor the Mashriqī order of *abjad*. The sequence of the lemma's within each letter (the first six simplicia given are: *amīr bārīs, aqāqiyā, aqḥawān, abhal, anḡara, anḡarān*; the last ones are *shaḥm al-rubb, shaḥm al-tha'lab, shaḥm al-ḥimār, shaḥm al-baṭṭ, shaḥm al-daḡāḡ, shuḥūm mukhtalifa*) does not follow this alphabetical order, nor does the order of the letters within each lemma.

² In fact the Golius collection now comprises 211 inventory numbers, several of which consist of more than one volume, and which all together contain many more texts.

³ At the time of writing (February 2006), the highest number was Cod.Or. 26.515.

binding of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* being of considerable size (30.5 cm high) became the fifteenth entry in the inventory in order of size, and the volume hence received the class-mark Or. 15, by which it has become known in scholarly literature ever since. The most important catalogues containing references to the manuscript are CCO No. 1339 (vol. 3, pp. 246-249), and Voorhoeve's *Handlist*, p. 243.⁴

Provenance of the Leiden manuscript

We are reasonably well informed about the Leiden manuscript's earlier provenance and history, in fact more than usually is the case. While in Morocco, Golius corresponded with an old acquaintance of his professor of Arabic in Leiden, Thomas Erpenius (1584-1624). This learned Muslim acquaintance of Erpenius was Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Andalusī (c. 1570-after 1640), an experienced traveler *in partibus infidelium*.⁵ Jacobus Golius and Aḥmad b. Qāsim corresponded, Golius being in Safi on the Atlantic coast as an engineer attached to the Dutch diplomatic mission, his correspondent being in Marrakech in an influential position in the Moroccan court.⁶ Hardly amazingly, books are indeed among

⁴ CCO III = P. de Jong & M.J. de Goeje, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, vol. 3. Leiden 1865; P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in The Netherlands*. The Hague² 1980.

⁵ See on him Gerard Wiegers, *A learned Muslim acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius: Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Andalusī and Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*. Leiden 1988; Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī (d. after 1640), *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā 'l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn* (*The supporter of religion against the infidels*). Historical study, critical edition and annotated translation by P.S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wiegers. Madrid 1997 (Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas, 21).

⁶ Aḥmad b. Qāsim's letters are now kept in manuscript Leiden Or. 1228, Nos. 32, 33, 34, 101, 114. Not so long ago, the former companion volume of manuscript Leiden Or. 1228 was discovered by Jan Schmidt. It is now known as manuscript Manchester, John Rylands Library, Persian No. 913. A film of that manuscript is in Leiden (A 2092). See on this Jan Schmidt, 'An ostrich egg for Golius. The Heyman papers preserved in the Leiden and Manchester University Libraries and early-modern contacts between the Netherlands and the Middle East', in his *The joys of philology. Studies in Ottoman literature, history and Orientalism (1500-1923)*. Volume 2. *Orientalists, travelers and merchants in the Ottoman Empire, political relations between Europe and the Porte*. Istanbul 2002, vol. 2, pp. 9-74, esp. pp. 19-20. The Manchester manuscript contains also other materials in the hand of Aḥmad b. Qāsim. And Aḥmad b. Qāsim was not averse of leaving more traces during his peregrinations. In their historical study on Aḥmad b. Qāsim's memoirs, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai and Wiegers (p. 31, note 83) mention several manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris which contain notes in Aḥmad's hand (Arabe 1181, 4119, 4213 and 4348). Aḥmad b. Qāsim's somewhat nostalgic note in MS Arabe 1181, f. 99b, deserves to be quoted here in full, if only to enable us to dismiss the phantasies of the three Dutch scholars about Aḥmad b. Qāsim's way of writing his own name:

كنت في مدينة برّش ورايت هذا الكتاب وعرفت انه كتب في بلادنا وهي بالمغرب اعدنا الله اليها بأمانه والسلام احمد بن قاسم
فقير الاندلسى عفا الله عنه

'I was in the town of Barrish (Paris) and I saw this book and I knew that it had been written in our land, which is in the Maghrib, may God return us to it safe and sound, *wal-Salām*. Aḥmad b. Qāsim, poor [servant of God], the Andalusian, may God forgive him.' The writer of these lines was in France between 1610 and 1613. The manuscript Paris Arabe 1181 (containing al-Ḡazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, dated 1 Ramaḍān 1007/1599 and copied by a certain Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm) was

the subjects of the correspondence and the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* is mentioned several times in their exchanges. Two of Aḥmad b. Qāsim's letters to Golius are particularly relevant to the earlier provenance of the Leiden manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* and deserve to be quoted in full.⁷

On 12 Rabīʿ II 1033 (Friday 2 February 1624) Aḥmad b. Qāsim wrote from Marrakech to Jacobus Golius:⁸

Alseñor jacob gul⁹

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسله الاكرمين وعلى من تبعهم الى يوم الدين
الكتاب الى صاحبنا المكرم النبيه الكايس الفقيه النصراني الافلمنك يعقوب جول وبعد فان كتابك العزيز بلغنا
وفرحنا به غاية وفهمنا خطابكم وما تضمنه اما ما ذكرت عن النسخة التي انسخناها من الكتاب المسمى
المستعيني فاني ابدلت جهدي في اتقانها كما سيظهر لك من تراجمها اذ ترجمت اكثر اسماء مفرداتها بالاعجمية
ليسهل عليك فهمها وفتشت نسخة اخرى زائدة على نسخة صاحبنا الطيب ومنهما صححنا نسختك وحملني على
ذلك مسلتان الاولى قول نبينا عليه السلام رحم الله من عمل صنعة بأتقانها والثانية ظننت انكم تدخلونها في
الغالب ولا ينبغي ان يصنع فيه الا ما هو صحيح واما ما ذكرت عن معرفة بلاد المؤلف اظنها بلاد الاندلس ولا
تحققت في اي زمان كان وربما يظهر ذلك من كتاب مروج الذهب لانه ذكر في اول كتاب الطيب انه هداه لفلان
بن فلان وفي تلك التاريخ يظهر في اي زمان كان المهدي له وفي غير هذا اليوم نكتب لك الجواب الى شيخك
العالم المدرس اربنيوش ان شا الله نسله ان يزيدك نعمة ويردك سالما الى بلادك وكتبتنا في مراكش حرسها الله
في الثان عشر من ربيع الثاني عام ثلاث وثلثين و الف سنة ومن الحساب العجمي في الثاني من شهر فبراير
اربع وعشرين وست مائة و الف سنة وكتب مملوك المقام العلى واسير ذنبه
احمد بن قاسم لطف الله به

To Mr. Jacob Gool.

Praise be to God, and blessing and peace be upon His most noble messengers and on those who follow them till the Day of Judgment.

This letter is to our honoured, intelligent, courteous, learned, Christian, Dutch friend, Jacob Gool.

then in the possession of Etienne Hubert (a mutual friend of Aḥmad b. Qāsim and Thomas Erpenius), as becomes clear from Hubert's owner's note on the 2nd fly-leaf at the end of the volume: 'De la Bibliothecque de E. Hubert Lecteur du Roy en langue Arabicque sil se perd il vous supplie luy rendre.' Hubert apparently acquired the manuscript, still almost brand new, when he himself was in Morocco, a few years earlier.

⁷ Golius' part of the correspondence is not known to have been preserved, not even in a draft version.

⁸ MS Manchester, John Rylands Library, Persian No. 913, f. 169 (No. 57).

⁹ This line in Spanish, on the reverse side of the paper.

Your kind letter has reached us and we rejoiced by it very much, and we have understood what you wrote and what was contained in the letter. About what you mentioned about the manuscript that we had copied from the book entitled *al-Mustaʿīnī*, I did my best to do this in a perfect way, as will be clear to you from the translations in it as I have translated most of the names of the simple medicines into Spanish (*bil-aʿṣamiyya*), which should facilitate your comprehension of it, and I have collated it with another copy, an additional one to the copy of our friend, the doctor. From these two we corrected your copy. I was brought to do this by two matters. The first is the word of our Prophet, peace be upon him: ‘God has mercy on whoever performs his craft to perfection.’¹⁰ The second is that I assumed that you wanted, mostly, to have these included, and that it is only appropriate to include something in it which is correct. As to what you mentioned on information about the land of origin of the author, I think this is Andalusia, but I was unable to ascertain from which period. This may become clear from the book ‘The Golden Meadows’, since it was mentioned in the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Ṭīb* that he presented it to so-and-so, and from that date it is clear in which period the person to whom it was presented lived.¹¹ On another day I will write for you the answer to your Sheikh, the learned professor Erpenius, God willing, and from Him we ask to enlarge your blessings and to bring you back safely to your country. Thus written in Marrakech, may God protect it, on twelve Rabī II of the year one thousand thirty-three, and in the Christian era on the second of February of the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-four. Thus written by the servant of the High Authority and the prisoner of his sins, Aḥmad b. Qāsim, may God treat him with kindness.

Preliminary remarks on the basis of this letter:

- *allatī ansakhnā* ‘that we had copied’, and which was therefore a manuscript which was apparently not copied by Aḥmad b. Qāsim himself. The owner of the first original was the medical doctor, whose name remains unmentioned in either letter.
- ‘translations in Spanish’: these were apparently made by Aḥmad b. Qāsim.

¹⁰ Quotation not found in the canonical collections.

¹¹ References to this particular manuscript of al-Masʿūdī’s *Murūǧ al-Dhahab* cannot be given. Golius had apparently wanted to acquire it, but the copy was stolen, as is clear from Aḥmad b. Qāsim’s letter to Golius of 29 February 1624. Therefore the identification by Wiegers (*A learned Muslim acquaintance*, p. 65, note 155) of the stolen copy of the *Murūǧ al-Dhahab* as mentioned in Aḥmad b. Qāsim’s letter of 29 February 1624, with manuscript Leiden Or. 127 seems impossible. His claim is silently corrected in the publication by van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai and Wiegers of 1997, p. 43, note 111. Manuscript Leiden Or. 127, a medieval manuscript which does indeed contain part (namely the second book) of the *Murūǧ al-Dhahab*, is in so far remarkable that it has, among several other similar notes, a birth note on its (recently added) title-page for a boy ‘Abd al-Malik born on a Tuesday 12 June or 17 or 15 Raǧab (year not clear, but after 988/1580, the date mentioned in a previously written birth note). May one draw the conclusion from the double calendar notation that this manuscript was once in the possession of Morisco’s such as Aḥmad b. Qāsim, or were Christian dates used more often than one would think? Aḥmad b. Qāsim in his first letter to Golius also refers to both calendars.

- ‘made correct your copy’: this was apparently done by Aḥmad b. Qāsim.
 - ‘I have collated it with another copy, an additional one to the copy of our friend, the doctor.’ This means that there was another, assumedly unrelated, manuscript copy of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* around and available.
 - ‘From these two we corrected your copy’: From this sentence, in which the grammatical dual is clearly visible, one may draw the conclusion that there are in fact at least three copies of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* involved: the copy belonging to the doctor, the other copy, and finally ‘your copy’ (= Golius’ copy).
 - ‘may become clear from the book “The Golden Meadows”’: but the copy of that manuscript, which may have contained valuable information on the provenance of manuscript Leiden Or. 15, was stolen (as is mentioned in Aḥmad b. Qāsim’s letter to Golius of 29 February 1624, quoted hereafter), and that information must now be considered as lost.
- ‘the beginning of the *Kitāb al-Ṭīb*’: the meaning of this passage is unclear.

On 10 Ğumādā I 1033 (Thursday 29 February 1624) Aḥmad b. Qāsim wrote again from Marrakech to Jacob Golius in Safī:¹²

Alseñor jacob gul flamenco en safi

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسله
 اما بعد حمد الله الواحد الاحد الفرد الصمد الذى لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد فانى قبلت كتابك وفرحت بما
 رايت من ضبط خطك ففهمت معناه ومرماه اما ما ذكرت من كتاب مرج الذهب انه لم يبلغ اليك وانه نهبه العرب
 من ايدى حامله فذلك عادتهم فى هذه البلاد وفى هذا الزمان الصعب وفرحت اذ جاء على عرضك الكتاب
 المستعينى فى صناعة الطب ما زلت نكتب لك فى شأنه شئى لان غالب ظنى ان النسخة التى بيد صاحبنا الطبيب
 ظهر لى انّ لها مكتوبة نحو الاربع مائة سنة وهو هذالك الكتاب المذكور عجيب مقبول عند المسلمين وكنت
 ذكرت لى ان عندك حروفا محفوظة لميل الشمس لو امكان ان تردها عربية او فى لسان الاشبانيول وتبعث لى
 نفرح بذلك والسلام وكتب فى مراکش المحروسة فى العاشر من شهر جمادى الاول من عام ثلاث وثلاثين والف
 سنة
 خديم المقام العلى
 احمد بن قاسم
 لطف الله به

To Mr. Jacob Gool, Dutchman in Safī.¹³

Praise be to God. Blessing and peace be to His messengers.

¹² MS Leiden, Or. 1228, No. 32.

¹³ This line in Spanish written on the reverse side.

After thanking God, the One, the Unique, the Eternal, Who is not born, and to Whom no one is born, and to Whom there is no equal.¹⁴ I have received your letter and I was glad to see how well you can write, and I have understood its content en meaning. What you wrote about the ‘Book of the Golden Meadows’, namely that it had not arrived with you and that the Arabs had taken it from its bearer, well this is their habit in this land and in this difficult time.¹⁵ It gives me pleasure to receive the news that it is your purpose to acquire *al-Kitāb al-Musta‘īnī* on the Art of Medicine. I am writing you once more about this because I think very much that the copy, which is with its owner, the doctor, was written about four hundred years ago. It is a marvelous book and it is very much appreciated by the Muslims. You mentioned that you had with you a text on astronomy.¹⁶ If it would be possible to translate this into Arabic or Spanish, and then send it to me, that would give us pleasure.

Greetings.

Thus done in Marrākuš, may God preserve it, on ten Ğumādā I of the year one-thousand and thirty-three.

The Servant of the High Authority,

Aḥmad b. Qāsim, may God be kind to him.¹⁷

Preliminary remarks on the basis of this letter:

- The present owner of *al-Kitāb al-Musta‘īnī* is, again, said to be a medical doctor.
- The book is said to be held in high esteem.
- The manuscript of the doctor is said to have the age of four hundred years.
- Nothing is said about an incomplete or damaged manuscript.

The first two details can be taken at face value, but not so Aḥmad b. Qāsim’s note on the antiquity of the manuscript. If this applies to manuscript Leiden Or. 15 (which is by no means sure) it can only apply to the old part of the manuscript, which is certainly medieval.

From the two letters of Aḥmad b. Qāsim together we can gather that Golius’ appetite for

¹⁴ *Qur’ān* 112.

¹⁵ It is probable that another (lacunous) copy, of the second volume only, of the *Murūġ al-Dhahab* in *maghribī* script later come into Golius’ possession anyhow and is now kept in Leiden: Or. 127. As already said: it is hardly possible that this volume was the same as the copy of the *Murūġ al-Dhahab* which was stolen in Morocco while being brought to Golius.

¹⁶ Wieggers, *A learned Muslim acquaintance*, p. 65, translates *ḥurūfan maḥfūzatan* as ‘mnemonic words’, a translation which he connects with work by Aḥmad b. Qāsim on *al-Risāla al-Zakūṭiyya* (*ibid.*, p. 66). Van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai and Wieggers further elaborate on this in their historical study of 1997 (pp. 44-45).

¹⁷ The letter has been fully translated by Wieggers, *A learned Muslim acquaintance*, p. 65. Wieger’s references to Aḥmad b. Qāsim’s letters in manuscript Leiden Or. 1228 are mixed-up, but his captions on pp. 80, 83-84 are correct. This letter was earlier edited by R.P.A. Dozy in *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*. vol. 1. Leiden, 1851 (CCO I), pp. 161-162, and later once more edited and translated (into Dutch) by M.Th. Houtsma, *Uit de Oostersche correspondentie van Th. Erpenius, Jac. Golius en Lev. Warner. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de beoefening der Oostersche letteren in Nederland*. Amsterdam 1887 (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Vol. 17, pt. 3), No. 5.

al-Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī was wetted by the first letter. To this he may have answered that he wished to acquire a copy of the work, and we may assume that his interest was primarily aroused by the four hundred years old manuscript which was mentioned in the second letter.

Physical description of the Leiden manuscript

When leafing through the Leiden manuscript it immediately strikes the reader that the physical constitution of the volume is diverse. From first observation it is evident that a medieval manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* had in course of time become very incomplete, and that this incomplete copy (still containing 101 folios of old paper) had been supplemented by 34 newly written paper leaves. Old and new leaves together more or less cater for the entire work, although only a full review of all existing witnesses of the text can confirm this. A clue for the dating of the repaired part of the text is the watermark in the new paper: an ornamented and crowned pot, with a crescent on top. Although Briquet and Heawood give many pots in watermarks dating from the latter part of the 16th and the early 17th centuries,¹⁸ none of these is similar to the watermark in manuscript Leiden Or. 15, nor is the identification of the watermark as given by Wiegiers correct.¹⁹ In Heawood,²⁰ as in Briquet, a large number of pots is given, several of which have peculiarities very similar to those in the watermark in manuscript Leiden Or. 15, but *none* is positively identifiable with it. It illustrates, once more, that the reference works on watermarks can only be used as rough guides, not as precision instruments. The world of papermaking is infinitely more complex than can be described in such books. Personally I only use them for the purpose of corroboration, or refutation, and always in order to have an additional argument.

Wiegiers has been the first to point out that the supplemented leaves in the Leiden manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* are in fact written by Aḥmad b. Qāsim himself. For this he convincingly adduces paleographical evidence, by a simple juxtaposition of Aḥmad b. Qāsim's letter in Or. 1228, No. 32, to any supplemented page in Or. 15.²¹ If we

¹⁸ C.M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600. A facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars.* Edited by Alan Stevenson. Amsterdam 1968.

¹⁹ G. Wiegiers, *A learned Muslim acquaintance*, p. 66, note 159, where there is a reference to Heawood No. 3563. Heawood's No. 3563, however, is not dated 1620, but 1600. Also the letters PR in Heawood 3563 are incongruous to what the watermark actually has: HL, as can be seen clearly in f. 135.

²⁰ Edward Heawood, *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries.* Hilversum 1950.

²¹ G. Wiegiers, *A learned Muslim acquaintance*, p. 66. Wiegiers' remark on Golius completing the manuscript is erroneous. A rather puzzling remark about Or. 15 was already given by R.P.A. Dozy in CCO, vol. 1, p. 162, note 1. It would imply that Or. 15 also contained copies of other books. Presently this is not the case, nor was it probably in Dozy's time, since the last printed catalogue of the Leiden Library (*Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecae publicae Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae*, Leiden 1716, p. 443, No. 809) mentions the text as the only one in the binding. In the description of Or. 15 (by P. de Jong and M.J. de Goeje, in CCO III, pp. 246-249, No. 1339), p. 249, note 1, this is further specified, namely that the supplementing leaves were probably made *Golii jussu*, at Golius' request. Dozy, nor de Jong nor de Goeje had realized

confront this with the words by Aḥmad b. Qāsim in his letter of 2 February 1624 (*ansakhnāhā*, ‘we had it copied’) then it is clear that this cannot apply to manuscript Leiden Or. 15, which Aḥmad b. Qāsim did copy, but to another manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*, which must have been copied by someone else. In the time immediately preceding Golius’ acquisition of his copy of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* there must have been at least three manuscripts of the text around.

It may also be assumed from this that the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* was not a very rare work. When Aḥmad b. Qāsim on 29 February 1624 writes to Golius that the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* ‘is a marvelous book and [...] very much appreciated by the Muslims,’ this implies a certain popularity and availability of the text. If Aḥmad b. Qāsim, in that same letter to Golius, mentions four centuries as the age of the manuscript, and if he is writing about the manuscript which is now manuscript Leiden Or. 15, this can only apply to the part of the text on old paper. Aḥmad b. Qāsim’s estimate is not meant as an accurate dating, but even if the four centuries are an exact indication of the manuscript’s age in 1624, the old part of the manuscript would date from around 1224.²² I am inclined not to exclude this as a possible estimate for the age of the old, original parts of the Leiden manuscript.

The division between the old part and the supplement on new paper is as follows:

New paper	Old paper
ff. 1-13	ff. 14-15
16	17
18	19
20-23	24-29
30	31-43
44	45-47
48	49-82
83	84-96
97	98-100
101	102-115
116	117-125
126	127
128-135	
Total: 34 ff.	Total: 101 ff.

The manuscript as a whole now counts 135 leaves, which are numbered in the 1970’s by a Leiden librarian, in pencil as 1-135 in the upper margin of each recto page. All references to the Leiden manuscript in this article go by this foliation. Roughly three

that Aḥmad b. Qāsim was in fact the copyist himself, but they all knew Golius’ handwriting too well to commit the error, which Wieggers ascribes to them.

²² This ‘four hundred years’ may be based on knowledge of part of the manuscript Leiden Or. 15, which is now lost. This may be a colophon or some owner’s note. We do not know. It is also possible that such information, to which Aḥmad b. Qāsim refers in his letter of 2 February 1624, was somehow preserved in the (stolen) copy of the *Murūǧ al-Dhahab*.

quarters have been preserved on old paper and one quarter was supplemented by Aḥmad b. Qāsim on new paper. The structure of the old paper occasionally shows a pair of parallel chain lines (e.g. f. 95) and it is evidently of much older date than the newly added supplementing leaves, early 13th-century having been mentioned already as a possibility. The old paper is of somewhat smaller size (26.7 x 19.2 cm and sometimes less because of wear and tear) than the new paper (29 x 19.5 cm). The volume is now bound in a European-style full-parchment binding, which may mean that the papers were only bound when Golius brought them back to Leiden. He did the same with other piles of paper which he collected, such as the Leiden manuscript Or. 14 and several others.

All old leaves, and a number of the new leaves, have been fixed on guards of paper, to the effect that no bifolium of the old part of the manuscript has been preserved. If there were still bifolia intact when Golius acquired the manuscript, these must have been cut into single folia for the purpose of the general restoration scheme which was applied to the manuscript. These guards of paper of about 1 cm wide have been made in such a way that they constitute quires and give the book as a whole a quired structure. A conspectus of the quires of manuscript Leiden Or. 15 is as follows: I (1-8), II (9-14), III (15-23), IV (24-31), V (32-39), VI (40-47), VII (48-55), VIII (56-63), IX (64-71), X (72-79), XI (80-87), XII (88-95), XIII (96-103), XIV (104-111), XV (112-119), XVI (120-127), XVII (128-135). There is an evident preference of Aḥmad b. Qāsim, who did the restoration work, to make quires of eight leaves. Bifolia in the newly supplied paper can be observed whenever possible: quires I and XVII entirely consist of the new paper and these therefore entirely consist of bifolia. The fact that these quires had to be fully replaced shows, again, that the most vulnerable parts of a book block are the beginning and the end.²³ All other quires are of mixed composition and only rarely do we see bifolia in the new paper in such mixed quires (ff. 10-13, 11-12 and 21-22 only).

Maintaining the order of the leaves

That several owners of the manuscript have tried to maintain the correct order of the leaves becomes clear by their numbering of the leaves or pages. Apart from the modern foliation the Leiden manuscript shows five older systems of foliation or pagination, only one of which was made on both the old and the new paper. This full foliation was probably made by Aḥmad b. Qāsim. He did not number the folios of the introductory part, since the correct order of the leaves there is secured by a system of catchwords. The double-page openings with the *jadāwil*, the first being ff. 12b-13a, are numbered by Aḥmad b. Qāsim from the first one onwards. These numbers (1-122) are almost continuously written in the upper right corner of each verso page, from f. 12b onwards. Sometimes one can see corrections in mistakenly written numbers. The purpose of this numbering was to count the double openings of text. Where a double opening has text which may be disregarded, this page has been struck and the opening is not numbered

²³ One might even wonder whether the classical Islamic horizontal storage of books may have been favourable to this type of damage, which would be less likely to occur, or be less detrimental, to books which are stored vertically.

(ff. 13b-14a). This system of numbering is therefore related to the restoration work on the Leiden manuscript.

The other numbering systems are older, since they can only be seen on the leaves of old paper. Their relative age could not be established, but between some there is maybe a relationship.

- A foliation with figures in Latin script on ff. 14a, 15a, 17a, 19a, at the bottom of each recto page, sometimes somewhat centered. It shows the numbers 3, 4, 6 and 8, respectively. Note that numbers 1, 2, 5 and 7 are missing, but for these the old paper was replaced by the new paper, meaning that the foliation was given when the old paper part of the manuscript was (more) complete.

- A pagination with figures in Latin script (2-11) at the bottom of the page in the part of ff. 25a-29b. There is no figure visible on f. 24a. Ff. 24 and 25 are apparently the leaves that were on top of the pile and have suffered most of wear and tear. The pagination has been given when these leaves were on top of the bundle of paper.

- A system of foliation in large *ghubārī* numerals, written with a thick pen in the upper margin of a recto page. The first of these that can be observed is on f. 28a, followed by a fragment of a numeral which is on f. 29a. Neither can be identified with certainty. The tens seem to be written in reverse order: 03 for 30 (f. 43a), 04 for 40 (f. 52a), 05 for 50 (f. 60a). To this series of *ghubārī* numerals belong the numbers within the range of ff. 42a-65a. After f. 65a this thick numbering suddenly stops. Not all of these *ghubārī* numerals are very legible, but remnants of most numerals can still be seen. Several lacunae in the numbering can be observed as well (if No. 40 is on f. 52a and No. 50 on f. 60a, two leaves must be lacking within that range). To find out whether or not this coincides with lacunae in the text is the editor's task.

- Another system of foliation in large *ghubārī* numerals, now written with a thinner pen in the upper margin of each recto page. Between ff. 59a and 63a there is an overlap of the two *ghubārī* foliation systems. The thinner one there is possibly meant to be a correction to the thicker one. The entire system of these thin *ghubārī* numerals can be observed on the old paper, from ff. 59a-127a. On f. 59a the thin *ghubārī* numbering has No. 48, whereas the thick *ghubārī* numbering there has No. 49. The thinly written large *ghubārī* numerals are continued till the last leaf of old paper (No. 117). This series too has lacunae. Its No. 50 is on f. 61a, whereas its No. 60 on f. 70a. This means that somewhere one old leaf is missing (or otherwise there is an instance of ancient miscounting). Later on, the leaf that should have carried No. 90 is missing. It should have been between ff. 99a and 100a, but these have Nos. 89 and 91, respectively. At the end of the section written on old paper, which is far more heavily damaged than the part in the middle of the book block, several leaves would be missing if the defective numbering is a decisive argument.

Aḥmad b. Qāsim's restoration of the Leiden manuscript

The tabular structure of *al-Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* makes it possible for the copyist to copy the work double-page by double-page. Both the Leiden and the Arcadian manuscripts have a lay-out of seven rows per page, the upper row being used in either manuscript for the titles of the columns, the six remaining rows for the explanatory text. By maintaining

the tabular lay-out of their copy according to the one in the exemplar copyists certainly have made their work easy. In this case, this may be somewhat misleading, however, since this open structure of *al-Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* also allows for all sorts of additions by owners and readers, which may affect the integrity of the text. That this has happened is clear from the numerous variants which can be observed between the Leiden and the Arcadian manuscript, but remarks about variant readings in the manuscripts I leave to the editors of the critical edition of *al-Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*. Another aspect of the vulnerable integrity of the text in tabular books such as the present one is that when one leaf is lost, the right and left sides of the opening are not a conceptual unit anymore.

Notes and additions by a great number²⁴ of readers can be observed on many of the pages on the old paper, some very much faded. Often they are introduced with the word *quf*, the equivalent of *nota* in Latin manuscripts. It is tempting to identify the thickly written note on *dawā al-khanāzir* (f. 57a) with the hand which also wrote the thick *ghubārī* numerals.

On f. 97a of the Leiden manuscript (a leaf of modern paper) one can observe that at the bottom of the page an extra or explanatory text was struck out. The text contains an old medical opinion against the use of copper eat and drink ware (ad نحاس). Aḥmad b. Qāsim, the copyist, may have struck it out because he was of the opinion that it was no part of the text. The Arcadian manuscript (pp. 196-197) has at the bottom of the page at the same lemma a similar addition, but of two lines only, with mention of Aristotle (as in the one but last line of the Leiden manuscript). It shows, again, the enormous variety of variant readings. The philological significance of these variants, notes and additions falls outside the scope of the present study, however.

A few more isolated details in the Leiden manuscript of *al-Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* may be observed here:

- The title in the Leiden manuscript (over the beginning of the text, on f. 1b) is given in a somewhat confused way, certainly as compared to the Arcadian manuscript, which has a regular title-page. Title and author are mentioned in a marginal addition written over the beginning of the introduction:

كتاب المستعيني في الادوية المفردة مما عني بجمعه وتاليفه يونس بن اسحاق بن بكلاش الاسرائيلي للمستعين بالله
تعلى ابي جعفر احمد بن المؤتمن بالله

Over the beginning is also written in bold script: كتاب المستعيني في المفردات الطبية.

This may be due to a damaged exemplar. Textually speaking, the Leiden replacement does not greatly differ from the Arcadian manuscript.

- There are a few of Aḥmad b. Qāsim's marginal conjectures on f. 1b: (اظنه يحق), but these are not confirmed by the Arcadian manuscript, which has *haqîq*, as is the reading in the body of the Leiden manuscript. The same goes for the conjecture in the last line of f. 1b of the Leiden manuscript, where the text in the body of the page is not so clear, whereas the copyist in the margin conjectures: اظنه مهيبا. The copyist has also written under the last line: سيبها, which reading is supported by the Arcadian manuscript, p. 5, line 6.

²⁴ I have desisted from specifying and counting them.

There is a marginal correction for الرجل in the body of f. 10a of the Leiden manuscript : قال في نسخة اخرى الزاج which refers to another manuscript (than the exemplar!). This remark may be understood in connection with the other manuscript mentioned by Aḥmad b. Qāsim in his letter to Golius of 2 February 1624. The marginal conjecture *al-zāğ* seems to be correct. The originally written *al-rağlağ* does not seem to make sense, nor does *al-zağāğ* in the Arcadian manuscript, p. 24, line 4 from below.

- The first double-page of the tabular text in the Leiden manuscript of *al-Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* (ff. 12b-13a) is in fact the beginning of the text, with the six lemma's *amīr bārīs*, *aqāqiyā*, *aqhawān*, *abhal*, *anğara*, *anğarān*. The Arcadian manuscript opens its tabular text (pp. 32-33) with the same six lemmas in the same order. This continues for a while, but then the two manuscripts first diverge and later reconverge again:

Arcadian, pp. 34-35 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 20b-21a

Arcadian, pp. 36-37 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 21b-22a

Arcadian, pp. 38-39 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 14b-15a

Arcadian, pp. 40-41 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 15b-16a

Arcadian, pp. 42-43 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 16b-17a

Arcadian, pp. 44-45 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 17b-18a

Arcadian, pp. 46-47 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 18b-19a

Arcadian, pp. 48-49 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 19b-20a

Arcadian, pp. 50-51 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 23b-24a

Arcadian, pp. 52-53 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 24b-25a

Arcadian, pp. 54-55 = Leiden Or. 15, ff. 25b-26a, and so on.

It is evident that the copyist of the modern part of Leiden Or. 15, Aḥmad b. Qāsim, had become confused, probably because the beginning of the old part of the manuscript, the text of which he had in mind to make complete, was still quite defective. He skipped therefore f. 14a which contains the old version of text (now struck), which he replaced by new text on f. 22a (see the corresponding text in the Arcadian manuscript, pp. 36-37). The newly made text on f. 23a was skipped as well as it was already available on f. 15a on old paper.

- All lemma's have been provided with Spanish translations in the margins. These may be identified with the translations mentioned by Aḥmad b. Qāsim in his letter to Golius of 2 February 1624.

- Not only did Aḥmad b. Qāsim number the openings, which was essential for maintaining order in what was then just a pile of loose leaves, not only did he translate the lemma's in order to help his young friend Golius about whose proficiency in Arabic he apparently had his doubts, but he also improved the legibility of some of the illegible and faded text by drawing it over, and he added text inside the rows and in the margins of many pages.

- On ff. 108, 109, 127, Aḥmad b. Qāsim has only partially repaired the old paper by fixing some modern paper to the upper side of the old paper, and he substituted the lost text on these strips in his own handwriting. This restoration lacks the neatness with which he usually worked, and one may, perhaps, assume that he was in haste, and experienced lack of time now that he had come near the end of his restorative work of the portion of old paper. The difference is striking. In the beginning of his reconstruction work on the

text he replaced entire pages when this was not necessary (compare ff. 14a, 22a), but now he may have had a deadline to keep. From f. 117 onwards the Leiden manuscript has, mostly at the top of the pages, considerable damage with loss of entire lines of text. Apparently this lost text could not be supplemented. Maybe Aḥmad b. Qāsim's two other manuscripts did not give him the text he needed to complete the copy for Golius. But, again, lack of time may also have been the actual reason why his ambitious restoration program of the manuscript was not entirely completed. Another consequence of lack of time may be seen in the last quire, which is entirely in the hand of Aḥmad b. Qāsim. His haste to get the copying done with is apparently so urgent that he forgot to use one top row (f. 132a) for the title of the page, a mistake he only could correct by leaving the bottom row empty. On f. 131a he had even forgotten to make this correction and filled in seven rows of text, but then he struck the text in bottom row out. These are not essential mistakes, but Aḥmad b. Qāsim, who by now was almost ready with what must have been an extensive editing job, in haste made them, and for lack of time failed to neatly replace the faulty leaves.

Concluding remarks

In addition to the numerous new details which can be gathered from a detailed inspection of the Leiden manuscript, the following conclusions may be drawn. The earlier held view that manuscript Leiden Or. 15 was a copy of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī* made by Aḥmad b. Qāsim at the request of Jacobus Golius, on the basis of a single manuscript, is not tenable anymore. A newly discovered letter by Aḥmad b. Qāsim in the Manchester library shows that at least two *exemplaria* are involved, one to be copied from, the other used for advanced collation work. Traces of either one can be discerned in the Leiden manuscript. Notwithstanding the new information, Aḥmad b. Qāsim's involvement in procuring a copy for Golius has not become clearer, but has, on the contrary, become more complex to understand than before. His was an exhaustive editorial task, for which time almost failed him. An analysis of the traces of several pagination systems in the Leiden manuscript shows that the old part, apart from being incomplete at beginning and end, seems to have lacunae in the text.

Finally, describing the Leiden manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*, here endeavored for the first time after Dozy's remarks in 1851 and the description of 1865 by de Jong & de Goeje, together with newly discovered material in Manchester, make the Leiden manuscript as one of a relatively large number of manuscripts fit to play its role in a critical edition of the *Kitāb al-Mustaʿīnī*. Such a project will, hopefully, receive an extra impulse now that the important manuscript of the Arcadian Library has been brought into the realm of science.

Leiden, February 13, 2006

الحمد لله والملائكة والصلوات والسلام على رسوله كما هي من علوم وتعميم اليوم الدين

الكتاب إلى ما حينا المعتمد التبيين الطائير العفيفه النصراني العالمك
يعقوب جُول وبعده جاز كتابك العربي بلغنا وجرحنا به غاية
ويعهنا خطابكم وما تضمنه اما ما ذكرت عن النسخة التي انسخناها
من الكتاب المسمى بالمستعجب وان ابدلت جده في انقائها كما سيظهر لك
من تراجمها اذ تم حمت احقر اسماء مقروءاتنا بلا عجمية ليستعمل عليها
وجتشت نسخة اخرى زائدة على نسخة صاحبنا للكهيب ومنها صحفنا
سختك وحملت على ذلك مشكلتان اللؤلؤ فاول نيلنا عليه السلام رحم الله من
عمل صنعة بانقائها والثانية كتمت انحر تدخلوننا في القالب ولا ينبغي ان
يصنع فيه الا ما هو صحيح واما ما ذكرت عن معرفة بلاد المؤلف اخطأنا بلاد اندلس
ولا تحفت في اي زمان كان وربما يضر ذلك من كتاب مروج الذهب لانه
ذكر في اول كتاب الهيب انه هلال بعلان برولان وفي تلك التاريخ يضر في
اي زمان كان المحدث له وفي غير هذا اليوم نكتب لك الجواب الى شيخك العالم
المرسل رتيفيوش ان شاء الله نسلك ان يري ذلك نعمة ويردك صالما الى بلادك
وكتبتنا في مراكش في مراكش في الثاني عشر من ربيع الثاني عام ثلاث وثلاثين
والسنة و من الحساب العجمي في الثاني من شهر فيسرا في ربيع و عشر برومست
والهسنة وكتب مملوك المقام العلمي واسير ذميه

الحمد لله
المستعجب

Letter from Ahmad b. Qāsim in Marrakech to Jacobus Golius in Safi, dated 12 Rabī II 1033 (Friday 2 February 1624). MS Manchester, John Rylands Library, Persian 913, f. 159.

32 Letter Day Sat I, 164

الحمد لله والصلوة والسلام على رسوله
أما بعد حمد الله الواحد كما حذر الفرد الصمد الزمان لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن
له كفواً أحد بل قبلة كتاب وفي حديث بما رأيت من ضحك
خطي وجفوت معناه ومرماه أما ما ذكرت من كتاب مترجم
الذهب إن لم يبلغ اليك وأنه نهبه العرب من أيدي حامله فذلك
عادتني في هذه البلاد وفي هذا الزمان الصعب وفي حديث أذ جاء
علي غير ضك الكتاب المستعجبني في صفاة الطب ما زلت نكتب لك
في شأنه تشبيهاً لأن غالب كنه أن النسخة التي بيد صاحبنا
الكبيب فظهر لي أن لها مكنوية في أول أربع مائة سنة وهو
هذا الكتاب المذكور عجيب مقبول عند المسلمين وكشفت
تذكرت لي أن عندك حروفاً مذكورة لميل الشمس لو أمكن
أن ترد بها عريضة أو في لسان الأشتانينول وتبعثه لي بغير ذلك
والسلام وكتب في من أختار المحرر سنة في العاشر من شهر جمادى
الأول من عام تلت وتلاثين والرب سنة
خديم المقام للعلم
أحمد بن قاسم
لحمه الله به

Letter from Aḥmad b. Qāsim in Marrakech to Jacobus Golius in Safi, dated 10 Ḡumādā I 1033 (Thursday 29 February 1624). MS Leiden University Library, Or. 1228 (32).



Opening page of the Leiden MS of the *Kitab al-Musta'ini*, showing the beginning of the author's introduction, written by Ḥmad b. Qāsim al-Andalusī. MS Leiden Or. 15, ff. 1b-2a.

جواهرها ولو كانت كادوية إنما تفعل بظبا بعضها وخواصها التي ينبغي على العفل وكان توجد
في الوهم لكل كادواء حار في الترجمة الأولى فيديل عند أول تان في تلك الترجمة من الحوائج وسلي
الخبثيات على هذه الترجمة فلما ثبت في الادوية هذه الدلائل اغنى فعلها خواصها جواهرها
لا يسميتها ففك تلطفها وأول في استعمالها الأبرار وذلك انهم جعلوا الكثير من ادوية عوضاً
من ادوية واحدة او زادت في الأوزان او نقصوا منها حتى يقوم مقامه ووجود الغاصبة التي في
لذ العفيم الواحد كما فعل بد فورس بالجأونها التي خاصتها النوع من الصرع العارض للصبيان
إذا علق عليهم يجعل بدلاً منه لسود يعرض خاصته فحشور التمثال الشمور وعظام سوق الفزان
فان هذه الثلاثة إذا اجتمعت وبعدها ما يفعل بالجأونها أدت عن خاصتها وكذا البلاء والرس
خاصتها اذ هاب الشبان وتصعبة الفهر فارجع ليدله اذا عدم وزنه خمس مرات بقرق و
وزنه درهمين ولسان وسدر وزنه نبطاً ايضاً فامة مقامه جعل هذا المثال فصلاً المتفهمون
الرا بالادوية حار وجدوا بدلاً للزواة الزهر بروم من بدله من ادوية واحدة بمثل وزنه
بالسوار من ادوية اخرى كان ذلك بلوغ المطلوب ونعاية المرغوب على ما ذكر في السّفمونيما
التي خاصتها اسعال المزة الصبرا وهي رديّة للمعرفة ويجعل البراسعاً اذا عمدت وزنها ليس
الشمر لانه يسهل الماء الضعيف والمزّة الصقرا بقوة وهو ردي للمعرفة ايضاً وكذلك فشا
الحمار يفعل في يامر فعل السّفمونيما ولكنه ليس يعلم بلطفه لأن يجعل بدل درهم سّفمونيما
وزنه درهمين من عصارة فشا الحمار اقل ذلك او يسد بدل درهم ثلاثة امثاله وما كان
من الادوية تفعل بظبا بعضها ففك جعل بدلها بالسواة ما كان في تلك الطبيعة نفسها وفي تلك
الترجمة بعينها من الحوائج او البرود او الكهوية او اليوسفة واختم ما يصب ذلك في ردي
ماداً او تصليب عضواً او تغيير منها الى احد الخبيثيات او جذب او خليل او نحوها **ومنها**
ادوية لنقص زيادة اللحم مثل ام الخنظل واصل اللقاع
ومنها ادوية تدمل وتقتم الجراحات مثل الخناس المحضون والمعسول والعصير وفشور
الزيمان اليابسة وخبث الرصاص والمرداسنج والرقاص الصغيف والاشمذ المحجّون واسعيدام
الرقاص والتنكار والفلكار الصغيف وفشور الخناس وفشور الحديد والتّين والنورة الصغيفة
فهذه كلها تدمل وتقتم لكنها تختلف في افعالها لان بعضها ما يفعل بدغ ومنها ما يفعل بلى
لدغ فيجب للخبثيات ايضاً الخبيثية هذا الموضوع متواراد البلاء الروا الذي يلغ يحتاج
لا يستعمل في بحر حساس البنة والروا الذي كالادغ معه يفصده به البحر الحساس ومنها
ادوية مفرحة لظاهر البدن مثل اصل السلق والنوم وحب الماء والخردل والتّريزنج
وزبيب الجبل وزهر الخمار وعافر فردا والخلس والحاصل الخبيث والشونيز والتاجسيميا
ومنها

والجواهر من الادوية...
في تلك الترجمة...
الخبثيات...
لا يسميتها...
من ادوية...
لذ العفيم...
إذا علق...
فان هذه...
خاصتها...
وزنه درهم...
الرا بالادوية...
بالسوار...
التي خاصتها...
الشمر لانه...
الحمار يفعل...
وزنه درهم...
من الادوية...
الترجمة بعينها...
ماداً او تصليب...
ادوية لنقص...
ومنها ادوية...
الزيمان...
فهذه كلها...
لدغ فيجب...
لا يستعمل...
ادوية مفرحة...
وزبيب الجبل...
ومنها

Marginal addition in the modern part of the Leiden MS of the *Kitab al-Musta'ini*. The marginal addition supplements text which initially had been overlooked by Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Andalusī. MS Leiden Or. 15, f. 10b.

مسحوق الاذخر قطر الزمان اذ الحنار اذ حله ...

... من المار ... في حبه ...

منا ونبها وحوأ صها ووجوء اشغها لها

فيها الاذخر ... القوة ...

... الكليل ...

... ما ...

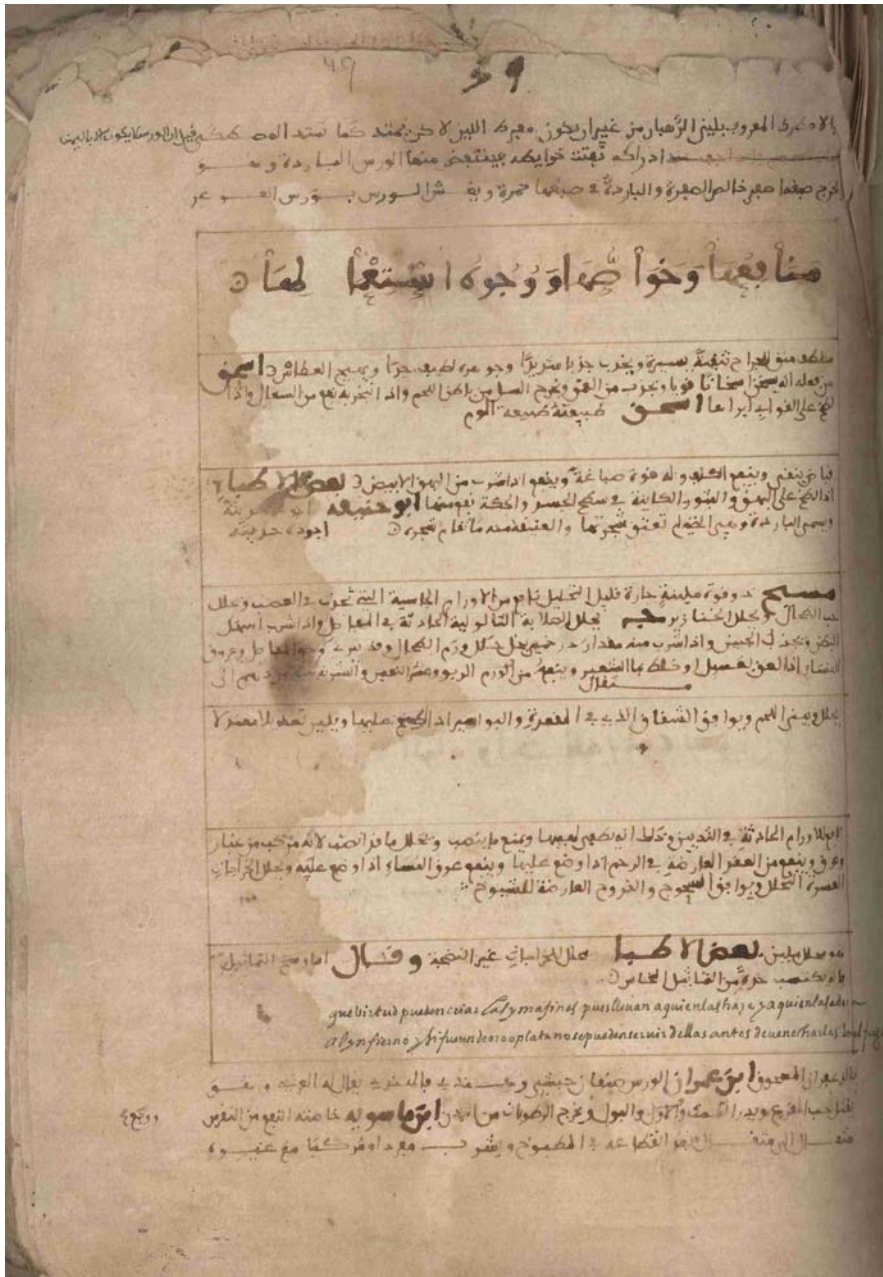
... المعدة ...

... الخبز ...

... القوة ...

... الحرق ...

The first leaf of old paper of the Leiden MS of the Kitab al-Musta'ini. The text on this recto page of the old part, being only half of a double page with information, could not be used by Ahmad b. Qasim al-Andalusí in his restoration program, and was therefore struck out. Later, he supplied the text in his own hand on f. 22a. MS Leiden Or. 15, f. 14a.



The long passage in Spanish, probably written by Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Andalusī. The passage reads: ‘que virtud pueden criar las ymages pues llevan a quien las haze y a quien las adora al ynfierno y si fueren de oro o plata no se pueden servir dellas antes deven echarlas en el fuego’. On the basis of this passage, R.P.A. Dozy (in a note loosely inserted in the MS) assumed that the author of this note is of the Jewish faith, apparently because of the abhorrence of idols. Over the text the older *ghubārī* foliation (No. 39) is written. MS Leiden Or. 15, f. 49a.

علا انه مما لم يصفه حرارة القربانية وطرا الغالب على مزاج قلبه حرارة عرضية مثلا اصحاب حمول الرق
ان يتحد جسم الرماغ وربما هلك الانسان في اقرب منه فيجب ان تضعه من استعماله من كان عن هذا السبيل
واما نشور الخشخاش فبانته اذا لم يخر وحل على الراس منه مقدار معتدل جلب نوما معتدلا واذا اكتفى منه جلب شيئا
هنا فعفا وخواصها ووجوه استعملها

وشرح القيمة
في صفة
الاصناف

117

مجمع يتجم اجزاء حاد ويجذب الرطوبة كغيره تابع من مروج العين والفرخ القبيصة
في سائر البزق وتلك الجواهر تدعى في حيا وبعضها لهم الزاوية واستعمل كثيرا في الاحوال ومعنى
وعواذواع منها خفاة معينة ومنها مخا سبية ومنها معرنية

في جميع جسم نوزب الدم من العضا ويتبع الحبل ويحلل الاورام الحارة والانتفاخ وينفع من المصفرة
سنة الاحليل وينفع من المنقرس وداء الثعلب كغيره اذا سحق وغلط في صل وصنع وقطر
على الصغرة اذا نزع جيب رطوبة بها كغيره اذا اتفق به الكلى وشرب منه قشر المصفرة

ناعم
للبرص

الثل

مجمع الخالص في الدرجة الثالثة مقبض جالح المصفرة خالص لكل بقعة راحة لما يرفع من
الفرخ الدموية والاورام ويرد المصفرة الجارية وينفع من استرخا اللثة والاكثرة والتهمة والبرص
والنوا صير والصفوة

اذا دن وخلقها وحقه الجبهة والصدغان نعة من المصفر ويزوق بزر الخشخاش الاسود دقا فاعلم
ويشرب يشرب اسهال البصق وسيلان الرطوبة المزمنة من الرحم وخارج البدن جعله الماء من الغالب
اذا اشتمعت

ينفع اصحاب البلغم والرطوبة المتولد في المصفرة ويضمض الضمغ به يستانه المصفرة وحلده واذا ندم
البلغم وينفع من الغواتج ويستحق الكليتين ويرط البلاء ويبيحه واذا ندمه في العود واصيد قليلا
بان ينفع الغلظا بشره

يدرا ليوال تابع من حرارة المصفرة مسخن للدمح العار في جميعها من حرة البرة الصغرى ويسحق العظم ويضعه
حرة الدم والتهامة ويجلب النوم ذلك اذا استعمل على نفا من المصفرة ولا يستعمل في اثره شي حتى ينضم واذا عمل
منه ضملا وحل على الجبين نفع من الصداع الصغراوية والدموية والاكثرة منه بولد كلمة في العسر واليقي
نوره القوة المصفرة وينفع بزره من اختلاله ويكفي شهوة الجماع

ومن الناس من يصيبه الخشخاش البري والصف الثاني يعوم بالزويو في يومه حتى يوشم انه الصاميتا وايضا
عصيا والمجموعات الناعمة من اوج البواسير ويجا الحديد فايضا اذا جعلته المرارة في حيا نرف
فان لم يند اربا ينسقى ورن تصب ضغال من المغنطه من صلاء حتى يخرج من البصق والا قسبل

The last available leaf of old paper of the Leiden MS of the *Kitab al-Musta'ini*. This page was damaged with loss of text. Ahmad b. Qasim hastily restored it with modern paper and supplied the missing text. See also the 117 in *ghubâr* numerals written in the upper outer margin. The number was written when this leaf was already considerably damaged. MS Leiden Or. 15, f. 127a.