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**MS M 1751 JUDAEO-ARABIC
MEDICAL MISCELLANY OF THE MATENADARAN
COLLECTION**

Keywords: *Judaeo-Arabic, Judaeo-Occitan, Arabic, Early Modern medical manuscripts, phlebotomy, medico-botanical glossary, Ibn al-Akfānī, Ibn al-Masīhī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-ʿAyn Zarbi.*

Unlike the Arabic Script Collection of the Matenadaran, which has been a subject of some studies and projects, no attempt has been made to study the Early Modern Judaeo-Arabic (Arabic written in Hebrew characters) corpus, which comprises only two medical manuscripts.¹ The Matenadaran MS M1751, an eighteen century Ottoman medical miscellany in Judaeo-Arabic and Hebrew, written in honor of the teacher, the physician Rabbi Reuven Roza by Eliezer Roza, in 1726, contains texts of four medical treatises and a multilingual glossary of medico-botanical terms in Judaeo-Occitan² and

¹ The second manuscript MS M1752 of the corpus is the first chapter of Ibn al-Jazzār's famous medical compendium "Zād al-musāfir wa-qūt al-ḥāḍir" ("Provisions for the Traveller and Nourishment for the Sedentary").

² Judaeo-Occitan, also known as Judaeo-Provençal or Chuadite is a Romance language spoken by Provençal Jews and written by Jews in either the Hebrew or Roman script. According to G. Jochnowitz (in: Hary, B. and Benor, S. B. (eds.) "*Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*" De Gruyter: Berlin, 2018.) it has been spoken in only four towns in Southern France: Avignon, Cavallian, Caprentras, and l'Isle-sur-Sorgue. The literature produced in Judaeo-Occitan has been categorized into two groups: the earlier sources before the expulsion in 1395. The language of this period is known as Old Occitan. The later sources date back to the period of confinement in the Comtat. These texts are in Modern Occitan. Numerous women's prayer books, poems, and plays are preserved in medieval Judeao-Occitan. During the Middle Ages the region of Southern France and its language had a central importance for medieval science owing to the medical schools of Toulouse and Montpellier. Apart from this, the presence of Jewish doctors and scholars in the region had played a significant role. This is the main reason as to why many Old Occitan medico-botanical terminology is documented in Latin or Hebrew Script. The best examples of this is perhaps "*The medical synonym list from Medieval*

Judaeo-Arabic. Although the volume has been copied during early modern times, the originals from which they were produced date back to approximately between tenth to fourteenth centuries. All four tracts are written in Judaeo-Arabic, only with occasional parts in Hebrew, by authors working in Baghdad, Egypt and Persia: *Nihāyat al-qaṣd fī ṣināʿat al-faṣd* (“The end of search in the art of phlebotomy”) fols. 4a-7b, 12a-12b; by Ibn al-Akfānī (1348AD), *Kitab al-iqtidāb ʿal-ṭarīq al-masʿalah wa-l-jawāb fī ʿl-ṭibb* (“A concise question and answer book on medicine”) fols. 7b-11b, 14a-15a; by Abū Naṣr Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Khayr ibn ʿIsā ibn al-Masīḥī (1223/24AD), *Al Qānūn fī ʿl-ṭibb* (“The Canon of Medicine”) fols. 17a-56b; by Abū Alī ibn Sīnā (1037AD), and *Al Kafī fī ʿl-ṭibb* (“The Comprehensive Book on Medicine”) fols. 57a-72b; by Ibn al-ʿAyn Zarbi (1146AD).

First in order is the treatise “*Nihāyat al-qaṣd fī ṣināʿat al-faṣd*” (NQSF) of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sāʿid Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ansārī, mostly known as al-Akfānī, who was considered to have been a distinguished physician and encyclopaedist. He was born in the city of Sinjār (present-day Northern Iraq) and died from plague in 1348 in Cairo, where he spent much of his life. Al-Akfānī penned a number of books and treatises. We encounter his name in some of the works (al Wāfī bi ʿl-wafayāt, Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr, *Alḥān as-sawājiʿ bayn al-bādī wa-l-murājiʿ*) of Turkic author and historian al-Ṣafadī. All other biographical notes are based, directly or indirectly on al-Ṣafadī’s account.³ NQSF is mostly unknown to academic scholarship, besides some useful information recorded in manuscript catalogues and bibliographies. NQSF is a medical treatise on phlebotomy⁴ (bloodletting or *faṣd* in Arabic), as well as a compilation with regard to its questions and answers. The general structure of the text, is rather simple, being made up of two chapters. The first chapter is dedicated to the details and generalities of this art

Provence: The book twenty-nine of the Sefer-ha-Shimmush by Shem Tov Isaac de Tortosa” by G. Bos, M. Hussein, G. Mensching, F. Savelsberg: Brill: Leiden, 2011.

³ For more information on biography see in Jan J. Witkam, “*De Egyptische arts Ibn al-Akfānī (gest. 749/1348) en zijn indeling van de wetenschappen: editie van het Kitāb irṣād al-qāṣid ilā asnā al-maqāṣid met een inleiding over het leven en werk van de auteur*”, Leiden: Ter Lugt Pers, 1989.

⁴ The procedures like phlebotomy, cupping, and cauterization were part of standard medical therapies of Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek medicine. These practices were depicted to be conducted by barbers, cuppers and other experts usually not belonging to the professional sphere of medicine. These topics can be found in almost all general medieval medical encyclopedias, and even occasionally in monographs. The most known medieval monograph of phlebotomy belongs to Ibn al-Tilmīḍ (1165AD) followed by another eighteenth century Turkish treatise by Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd.

(صناعة *ṣināʿa*) called phlebotomy. It comprises twenty sections. The second chapter discusses the details of phlebotomy concerning each individual vein, of its characteristics and benefits. The work ends with a section where the author provides his readership with some keys to be guided to the intended information with ease. Throughout the text we come across several references to Galen (129–216 AD) and Hippocrates (460–370 BC). This is no surprise as they were among the pioneers who practiced phlebotomy for the treatment of various diseases.

Very little is known about the author of second medical text of MS M1751 - Abū Naṣr Saʿīd ibn Abī l-Khayr ibn ʿĪsā ibn al-Masīhī was only known to be the physician of Abbasid caliph al-Nasir (1225AD), as someone prominent in the art of medicine, who excelled in it and was notable for it. He composed his book “*Kitab al-iqtidāb ʿal-ṭarīq al-masʿalah wa-l-jawāb fī ʿl-ṭibb*”, in the form of seven medical treatises, and as the title prompts us, with question-and-answer format—primarily for medical students. Al-Masīhī also wrote a second and similar work, *Intikhāb al-iqtidāb* (abridge version of *al-Iqtidāb*). The text of MS 1751 is the abridged version of “*Kitab al-iqtidāb ʿal-ṭarīq al-masʿalah wa-l-jawāb fī ʿl-ṭibb*”. It contains only 65 questions instead of around 150 found in the original complete book. The treatise ends with a note that it has been written with the help of king Wahab (1792 AD).⁵

Next in order is the text on “*Al Qānūn fī ʿl-ṭibb*” by Ibn Sīnā, known in the Latin West also as Avicenna. Among four scientists whose works are studied for this paper he is the most prominent. He was born in Bukhara (present-day Uzbekistan) and worked in Hamadan (present-day Iran) until his death.⁶ The work is divided into five books⁷ which collectively systematizes all the medical knowledge, natural philosophy and sciences in general of his age. They deal with the causes and difficulties of the most common illnesses,

⁵ Most likely the king helped financially. It was a common practice for kings to have personal scribes and pay for copying the manuscripts they needed.

⁶ For more information on biography see in **William E. Gohlman**, “*The Life of Ibn Sina: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*”, State University of New York Press, 1974.

⁷ The first book is *al-Umūr al-Kullīya fī ʿilm al-ṭibb* (General medical principles) which is on the basic principles of medicine. The second is *al-ʿAdwiya al-mufrada* (Materia Medica) - a list of around 800 individual drugs of vegetable and mineral origin. The third is *al-Amrād al-juzʿiyya* (Special pathology) - a book on individual organs affected by different diseases. *Al-Amrād allatī lā takhtaṣṣ bi ʿudw bi ʿaynihi* (Diseases involving more than one member) is the forth book, which discusses the medical states that affect the entire body, such as fevers and poisons. The fifth and the last book of the Canon is *al-Adwiya al-murakkaba wa al-aqrābādhīn* (Formulary) - a list of 650 medicinal compounds as well as their uses and effects.

the treatment of diseases, and pharmacology. The text has been studied both in original Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic and in Hebrew version.⁸ Many commentaries on various parts of the Canon were written by Jewish authors. It is no surprise as “The Canon of Medicine” gained tremendous fame, particularly among medieval Jews. The structure of the text suggests (as the introductory part of the text is missing) that MS M1751 contains the third book of the Canon.

The forth medical treatise “Al Kafi fī ‘l-Ṭibb” belongs to Ibn al-’Ayn Zarbi - a physician, philosopher and a famous astronomer of his time, born in Ayn Zarba. Only a limited number of available sources testify that he spent several years of his life in Baghdad from where he moved to Egypt. As one of the doctors of the Fatimid caliphate he achieved fame. ‘Ayn Zarbi authored many books on medicine, logic and other related sciences. Al Kafi fī ‘l-Ṭibb is his magnum opus, where he describes physical and mental illnesses including mental confusion, amnesia, restlessness, epilepsy and lethargy.⁹

The last and the fifth part of MS M1751 is a multilingual medico-botanical glossary in Judaeo-Occitan and Judaeo-Arabic (fols. 73a-86a). Medical glossaries on terms are a sub-category of medieval writings composed and mostly designated by their alphabetical order. Their main difference from vocabularies and pharmaceutical handbooks is that besides conveying pure medical information they also serve as a philological instrument for clarifying the word meanings. This tradition has been developed primarily in Arabic medical writings: the chief purpose was to solve the problems caused by the blending of Greek, Syriac, Indian, and Ibero-Romance plant and drug

⁸ The Taylor-Schechter Cairo Genizah collection is a source of more than 32 fragments of Ibn Sīnā’s Canon, including commentaries on it, in Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic and Hebrew (T-S Ar.40.146, T-S AS 144.291, T-S K21.42, T-S Ar.11.19, T-S Ar.39.95, T-S Ar.39.282, T-S Ar.39.461, T-S Ar.39.465, T-S Ar.40.74, T-S Ar.40.114, T-S Ar.40.146, T-S Ar.40.168, T-S Ar.42.29, T-S Ar.42.154, T-S Ar.42.167, T-S Ar.42.175, T-S Ar.42.182, T-S Ar.42.199, T-S Ar.44.99, T-S Ar.44.130, T-S AS 166.149, T-S AS 183.163, T-S AS 187.242, T-S AS 202.306, T-S AS 202.360, T-S NS 90.75, T-S NS 172.87, T-S NS 181.54, T-S NS 222.63, T-S NS 327.22, T-S NS 327.55).

⁹ The Arabic version of the manuscript is available in the British Library Catalogue (MS 5931); apart from this, the work has been referred in “A shelflist of Islamic Medical Manuscripts at the National Library of Medicine”, Bethesda, Maryland, 1996, pp. 38-39. **A. Ali**, “*Islamic Dynasties of the Arab East: State and Civilization during the later Medieval Time*”, New Delhi, 1996, p.20. **M. Ullmann**, “*Die Medizin Im Islam*”, Leiden: Brill, 1970, p. 161. **G. H. Rassool**, “*Evil eye, Jin Possession, and Mental Health Issues: An Islamic Perspective*”, Routledge, New York, 2019.

names.¹⁰ Consequently, almost all pharmaceutical handbooks contained a section or chapter of synonym lists. During 11 and 12th centuries the language shift (from Arabic to Hebrew and Romance languages among) led Jewish doctors to the need for compiling glossaries, synonym lists with technical-medical expressions in alphabetical arrangement. This was the reason as to why the use of Romance languages was a common phenomenon in Hebrew glossaries of this type. They were mostly composed in Southern France and on the Iberian Peninsula. Spanish, French and Italian were the most frequently used languages for this field of Jewish studies. The work on the synonym list identified in MS M1751 employed Occitan, the language of Southern France.

The further investigation of this paper will focus on linguistic varieties occurred in the four texts of MS M1751 medical volume from Ottoman era. Although comprehensive linguistic studies on different types of Judaeo-Arabic texts have been carried out by Joshua Blau,¹¹ Benjmain Hary,¹² Geoffrey Khan,¹³ Esther-Miriam Wagner¹⁴ and other scholars, the language employed for late medical texts, has not been studied so far. However, the preliminary linguistic examination of the Judaeo-Arabic medical register reveals that the 18th century medical register retains many conservative orthographical, syntactical and morphological features as well as show how obviously the medical register differs from utilitarian prose. Additionally, it was somewhat surprising to see the similarities existing in 14th century Arabic and 18th century Judaeo-Arabic texts, except for the occasional cases when some verbal stem changes were found. This shows firstly, how little the medical texts were

¹⁰ See more in **G. Bos**, “The medical synonym list from Medieval Provence: The book twenty-nine of the *Sefer-ha-Shimmush* by Shem Tov Isaac de Tortosa”, **G. Jochnowitz**, **A. Strich**, “Handbook of Jewish languages” (2017), pp. 520-552.

¹¹ **Blau J.**, “*Diqduq ha-‘aravit-hayehudit šel yeme ha-benayim*”. Second enlarged edition. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1980, “*The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*”. Second edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, “*Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*”. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988.

¹² **Hary B.**, “*Multiglossia in Judaeo-Arabic*”, Leiden: Brill, 1992, “*Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judaeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt*”, Leiden: Brill, 2009.

¹³ **Khan G.**, “A Study of the Judaeo-Arabic of Late Genizah Documents and its Comparison with Classical Judaeo-Arabic”. In: *Sefunot* 20, pp. 223–234, 1991, “Notes on the Grammar of a Late Egyptian Judaeo-Arabic Text”. In: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 15, pp. 220–239, 1992, “A Judaeo-Arabic Commercial Letter from the Early Nineteenth Century Egypt”. In: *Ginzei Qedem* 2, pp. 37–59, 2006, “Judaeo-Arabic”. In: *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, pp. 526–536. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

¹⁴ **Wagner E. M.**, “Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah”, Leiden: Brill, 2010.

adapted to Early Modern audiences, in comparison to the translations of the sacred texts (Hary 2009)¹⁵ šarḥ (pl. šurūḥ) for instance and secondly, the education level of the intended audience of the medical works.

ԱՆԻ ԱՎԵՏԻՍՅԱՆ

ՄԱՏԵՆԱԴԱՐԱՆԻ ԱՐԱԲԱՏԱՌ-ՁԵՌԱԳՐԵՐԻ ՀԱՎԱՔԱԾՈՒԻ ՀՄՐ. 1751 ԵՐԲԱՅԱՏԱՌ-ԱՐԱԲԵՐԵՆ ԲԺՇԿԱՐԱՆՆԵՐԻ ԺՈՂՈՎԱԾՈՒ

Բանալի բառեր՝ եբրայատառ արաբերեն, եբրայատառ պրովանսալ, արաբերեն, վաղ արդի բժշկարաններ, արյունառություն, բժշկաբուսաբանական բառարան, Իբն ալ-Աքֆանի, Իբն ալ-Մասիհի, Իբն Սինա, Իբն ալ-Այն Զարբի:

Մատենադարանի արաբատառ ձեռագրերի հավաքածուի հմր. 1751 ձեռագիրը, տասնութերորդ դարի եբրայատառ-արաբերեն Օսմանյան բժշկարան է, որը գրվել է ի պատիվ ուսուցիչ, բժիշկ Ռաբբի Ռեուվեն Ռոզայի՝ էլիեզեր Ռոզայի ձեռքով, 1726 թ. : Ձեռագիրը բաղկացած է չորս բժշկական աշխատություններից և բազմալեզու՝ եբրայատառ պրովանսալ, եբրայատառ արաբերեն բժշկաբուսաբանական տերմինների բացատրական բառարանից: Չնայած ձեռագիրը ընդօրինակվել է վաղ արդի շրջանում, բնօրինակները թվագրվում են մոտավորապես 10-14-րդ դարերով: Բոլոր չորս աշխատությունները գրված են եբրայատառ-արաբերենով, միայն հազվադեպ հանդիպող եբրայերեն հատվածներով, Բաղդադում, Եգիպտոսում ինչպես նաև Պարսկաստանում աշխատող բժիշկների կողմից: Տվյալ ձեռագրի լեզվական վերլուծությունները վկայում են այն մասին, որ 18-րդ դարի եբրայատառ արաբերեն բժշկական բնագրերը պահպանել են դասական արաբերենին բնորոշ բազմաթիվ ավանդական ուղղագրական, շարահյուսական և ձևաբանական առանձնահատկություններ: Մյուս կողմից այս ուսումնասիրությունները ցույց են տալիս, թե որքան ակնհայտ են եբրայատառ արաբերենով շարադրված բժշկական աշխատությունները տարբերվում այդ ժամանակաշրջանի վավերագրական արձակից և այլ ժանրերից: Բավականին ուշագրավ է նկատել նաև այն, որ 14-րդ դարի արաբերեն բնօրինակ և 18-րդ դարի եբրայատառ-արաբերեն ընդօրինակված տեքստերում առկա են բազմաթիվ նմանություններ, բացառությամբ բայական համակարգի, որտեղ նկատվում են որոշ քերականական փոփո-

¹⁵ Hary B., *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judaeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt*, Leiden: Brill, 2009.

խոսվումներ: Սա առաջին հերթին մեզ հուշում է այն մասին, թե որքան քիչ են բժշկական տեքստերը հարմարեցվել վաղ արդի լսարանին, ի տարբերություն, օրինակ, սուրբ տեքստերի թարգմանությունների, և երկրորդ՝ թե կրթության ինչպիսի մակարդակի էր տիրապետում այդ լսարանը որի համար նախատեսված էին այս բժշկարանները:

АНИ АВЕТИСЯН

РУКОПИСЬ М 1751 АРАБСКОЙ КОЛЛЕКЦИИ МАТЕНАДАРАНА

Ключевые слова: Иудео-арабский, еврейско-провансальский, арабский, медицинские рукописи раннего Нового времени, кровопускание, медико-ботанический глоссарий, Ибн аль-Акфани, Ибн аль-Масихи, Ибн Сина, Ибн аль-Айн Зарби.

Рукопись арабографического фонда Матенадарана № 1751 – османский медицинский сборник восемнадцатого века на иудео-арабском и иврите, написанный Элизером Розой в честь учителя, врача и раввина Реувена Розы в 1726 году. Сборник содержит четыре медицинских трактата и глоссарий медицинских терминов на иудео-окситанском языке. Хотя кодекс был скопирован в раннее Новое время, его протографы датируются примерно X-XIV веками. Все четыре трактата написаны на иудео-арабском языке с некоторыми частями на иврите; они составлены авторами, работавшими в Багдаде, Египте и Персии. Филологический анализ выявляет много консервативных орфографических, синтаксических и морфологических особенностей, сохраненных медицинским языком XVIII века, а также вполне ожидаемые сильные отличия медицинского языка от документальной прозы. Довольно удивительно видеть почти полное сходство между арабскими текстами XIV века и иудео-арабскими текстами XVIII века, за исключением редких случаев, когда обнаруживаются некоторые изменения в системе породы глагола. Это показывает, во-первых, насколько мало медицинские тексты были адаптированы для читателей раннего Нового времени по сравнению с переводами священных текстов, и, во-вторых, каков был уровень образования аудитории медицинских трактатов.