IBN AL-JAZZĀR
ON SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL DYSFUNCTION
and the mystery of ‘Ubayd ibn ‘Alī ibn Jurāja
ibn Hillauf solved

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Introduction

The subject of impotence and its treatment by means of different kinds of aphrodisiacs was a very popular one in medieval Arabic medical literature. It was a central theme in monographs on bēk (coitus), such as those composed by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (9th cent.), al-Kindī (9th cent.), Qustā ibn Luqā (9th cent.), al-Rāzī (865–925), and Maimonides (1135–1204). Al-Ṭabarī (9th cent.) and pseudo-Ṭhābit ibn Qurra discuss the subject in their medical compendia. Ibn Sinā (980–1037) covers its different aspects extensively in his medical encyclopedia K. al-Qānūn fi al-ṭibb, as does al-Majūsī (10th cent.) in his Kāmil al-sinā’ā al-ṭibbiyya.

1 This term can mean the sexual act by itself but also the venereal passion; cf. E.W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, I, 1–8, London 1863–1893, part 1, p. 278.
5 K. al-bēk; this treatise is still in manuscript; cf. Manfred Ullmann, Die Medizin im Islam (Handbuch der Orientalistik 1, Ergänzungsband VI, 1), Leiden/Cologne 1970, p. 194.
or K. al-Malaki. All these works deal with impotence from a strictly medical point of view. This also holds good for all the other aspects of coitus treated in these works, and even for descriptions of different coital positions. For instance, in a chapter entitled “On the [Coital] Positions (ashkāl)" to be Recommended and to be Disapproved of and their Effects," al-Rāzi declares:

When a woman mounts a man (ṣuʿūd ʿl-marʾati ʿalā ʿl-rajuḥ), he sometimes gets ulcers (qurah) in his bladder and penis, and also scrotal hernia (udra), for if the sperm is not dispersed during sexual intercourse it also causes scrotal hernia and corruption of the temperament of the bodies predisposed to that. To have sexual intercourse in a standing position (al-jīmā ʿmin qyām) is harmful for the hips, and when lying on one’s side (waʿl-alā ʾl-janbī) is bad for someone who is weak in that area. Besides, it is difficult for him to emit the sperm. When one has sexual intercourse in a sitting position (waʿl-ladhī ʿmin quʿūdin) it is difficult to emit the sperm, it causes pain in the hips and loins and sometimes a tumor (waram) in the penis and groins. The best position [to have sexual intercourse] is when the woman is lying down on a flat mattress and the man gets on top of her (ʿulāw ʿl-rajuḥ ʿalāyāhā) whereby her hips and pelvis are raised as far as possible.

Central to his discussion is the health of the body. A coital position is good when it is beneficial for the body, and bad when it is harmful.

The aphrodisiacs recommended in order to strengthen sexual vigour are usually different kinds of drugs and food-stuffs which contain the properties of flatulence, heat and nourishment. For these three properties were thought to be necessary for the production of sperm, for an

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11. This term is not defined in this sense in the dictionaries; the closest meaning referred to is that of "amorous gesture or behaviour"; cf. Lane, op. cit., note 1 above, part 4, p. 1587 s.v. shikāh. G. W. Freytag, Lexicon Arabico-Latinum 1–IV, Halis Saxonum 1830–1837, part 2, p. 443 s.v. shakīh.

12. MS Leiden Or. 585, fol. 18r; I thank Dr. J.J. Witkam for providing me with a copy of this MS. Qustā Ibn Luqā (Kitāb fi-al-bāb, ed. Haydar, op. cit., note 4 above, p. 22) also notes that the unguent is the most unsuitable position for her Ausübungen is die, wenn der Mensch aufrecht steht. Dabei werden die Organe erweitert und geschädigt; Ibn Sina (op. cit., note 9 above, bk. 3, Maqāla 1, Fāna 20, p. 535) remarks that there are positions which are bad, such as when a woman gets on top of a man. This may cause scrotal hernia (udra), inflation (intifāk), ulcers in the penis and bladder (qurah ʿl-ṭibbi waʿl-mathānṣ̄ari).
erection and for increasing sexual potency. Different kinds of oil with which to rub the penis and testicles are also recommended.

Sometimes, however, one finds an awareness of the importance of other factors as, for instance, psychological ones, for the stimulation of sexual desire. Al-Kindî remarks how the eyes, the ears and the other senses can arouse sexual lust: the eyes by seeing a beautiful woman; the ears by hearing compassionate words in a pleasant manner of speaking; the hands when they feel the body of a pretty woman. But the best means of stimulating lust are, according to him, joy of the heart, happiness, and leisure (râba). Al-Ṭabarî also mentions joy and happiness as a remedy for impotence caused by (too much) thinking or anxiety. Qusîû ibn ʿUqaiû advises against sexual intercourse in cases of grief and worry, since the natural heat sinks to the lowest point of the body, becoming cold. But it was most of all Maimonides who stressed the importance of psychological factors for the act of sexual intercourse, when remarking:

And it is known that this activity is not purely a natural function; that is, erection is not similar to nutritional or growth activities in which emotions play no part. Rather it is an emotional process controlled by the psyche. As a result, various emotions can be greatly detrimental or beneficial [for coitus]: i.e., sorrow, anxiety and mourning, or the repulsiveness of the woman with whom one intends to have sexual intercourse, are among the things that markedly weaken coitus. The conversive emotions incite one thereto and produce a powerful stimulation.

The importance of psychological factors for coitus was already recognized by ancient Greek authors. Rufus of Ephesus (2nd cent.) remarks that someone suffering from impotence because his soul was preoccupied with something else, should slowly direct his soul towards coitus. But it was above all Polemon (ca. 95–145 A.D.) who stressed in a monograph on


13 Al-Kindî, _op. cit._, note 3 above, p. 22, ll. 2–5.

14 Al-Ṭabarî, _op. cit._, note 7 above, p. 287, ll. 2–3.


18 Ibid., pp. 40, 217.


coitus entitled _K. al-bâh we-anwā’ihī_. The importance of the senses and psyche for arousing sexual lust. It is quite possible that this treatise, which survives only in an unedited Arabic translation, was an important source for later authors stressing the same element.

Other Arabic works treating this subject are not strictly medical, but erotic or pornographic, as may be noted by the many lascivious verses and anecdotes. All these erotic texts emphasize the value of perfumes, scents and cosmetics in increasing the pleasure obtainable through sex, and the very title of one of them, _The Perfumed Garden_, indicates the importance of this aspect of sensual delight.

The theory underlying the frequent discussion of impotence in medieval Arabic literature is that retention of sperm is harmful for one’s health. In the introduction of the Hebrew translation to Maimonides’ treatise _Fi al-jîmā_, composed for the Sultan ‘Umár ibn Nūr al-Dīn, a nephew of Salādīn, it is noted that the Sultan requested him to compose this treatise since he wanted to increase his sexual potency so that he could sleep with his large number of concubines. It would be a mistake to assume that the use of aphrodisiacs has entirely disappeared in our century. Dr Tacquin, who travelled widely in Morocco between 1910 and 1915, reports that premature impotence was very common amongst the native population, a result, he presumes, of the excesses to which polygamy leads. Consequently, he says, immoderate use was made of all the known aphrodisiacs. The German government was active at that time in importing Yohimbine, a well-known aphrodisiac in African and West Indian medicine, into Morocco, where it was widely used.

Ibn al-Jazzâr on Sexuality

Abû ʿJa’far ʿAbîd b. ʿAbî Khâlid ibn al-Jazzâr, born in Qayrawân, hailed from a family of physicians. He studied with the famous Jewish


20 Ibid., pp. 40, 217.

21 Cf. Ullmann, _op. cit._, note 5 above, p. 193.

22 Ibid.


under the title *Viaticum peregrinantis*, Ibn al-Jazzār's *Zād* became one of the most influential medical handbooks in medieval Europe. Being accepted into the so-called *Articella* or *Ars medicinæ*, a well-devised compendium of medical textbooks, it was widely used in medical schools (Salerno, Montpellier), and in universities (Bologna, Paris, Oxford). 28

The subject of impotence and its treatment is discussed in the first chapter of the sixth book, entitled: "On the diseases occurring in the genitals." 29 This chapter is of major importance for the history of sexuality because it was one of the main sources for Latin medieval tracts treating the same subject. Moreover, it adds a lengthy quotation from Polemon's monograph on coitus, showing the importance of the senses and psyche for arousing sexual lust. The major sources consulted by Ibn al-Jazzār for the composition of this chapter are: 1. Galen's *De usu partium*. Ibn al-Jazzār's description of the anatomy and physiology of the sexual organs is based on this work, which was one of the major sources for Arabic treatises on reproduction. 30 2. Galen's *De semine*. This work treats the origin of the sperm, its mode of operation and the part which both partners have in conception. It was translated in the school of Hunayn ibn Ishaq, 31 and was probably consulted by Ibn al-Jazzār in this version.

In the introduction to the first chapter Ibn al-Jazzār gives the following explanation for the creation of sexual power and lust in animals:

> When the Creator, to Whom belong glory and greatness, wanted to ensure the survival of the species of animals, He

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29 I have prepared a critical edition of this book with translation and commentary, which will be published by Brill—Leiden in the series "Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science." This article is an adapted version of the relevant section of the introduction to this edition.

30 See Ursula Weisser, *Zeugung, Vereinigung und pränatale Entwicklung in der Medizin des arabischen Mittelalters*, Erlangen 1983, p. 41. Ibn al-Jazzār's familiarity with the *De usu partium* also appears from his Risāla fi al-niṣān wa-l-ilāhihī, this treatise contains a description of the three or four ventricles of the brain which is very similar to that of Galen in his *De usu partium*, I have prepared an edition and translation of this treatise based on MS Lisbon V292a (fol. 58r-58s) and two Hebrew translations, which will be published by the Royal Asiatic Society.

created procreative organs for all of them, which he provided with an innate power, characteristic to them and creating delight. [By this] He evoked in the soul which has these organs at its disposal the love and ardent desire to use them. He endowed the act of sexual intercourse with an unfailing and never absent sense of great pleasure, so that the species of animals would survive, and mankind would not hate sexual intercourse. For this would be the end of procreation.

His source for this declaration is Galen, who remarks in his *De usu partium*: “To all animals Nature has given instruments for conception, and to the instruments themselves she has given a remarkable faculty to produce pleasure, and to the soul that is to make use of them a marvelous, inexpressible longing to do so, which rouses and stings the animal so that it provides for the continuance of the race...” This statement by Galen is possibly an adaptation of Aristotle's remarks that sexual activity is natural and necessary for the reproduction of animals and the survival of the species, and that pleasure is caused by necessary things which are important for the body. The comparison with Galen also shows that Ibn al-Jazair, being a very pious Muslim, as the biographical sources inform us, does not speak about “Nature”, but about “the Creator”. The term “Nature” was preserved, however, in a second Arabic medical compendium containing a similar introductory statement, namely, of Majusi’s *Kamil al-sina’a al-tibbiyya*. Besides these works this kind of explanation of sexual pleasure is preserved in different Arabic literary tradition, that of the *Problematum Physica*. These introductory statements by Ibn al-Jazair and Majusi are unique in Arabic medical literature. Other Arab physicians do not start their discussion of coitus with this kind of introduction but rather with an exposition of the anatomy of the penis, which they describe as *ma’qad al-asbab*. This term then returns in Latin tracts as *causa nervorum*. Ibn al-Jazair’s *Zad al-musafir* and al-Majusi’s *Kamil al-sina’a* were translated into Latin as early as the 11th century by Constantine the African, thus becoming the major source for Latin medieval tracts on reproduction, which always refer to the causal connection between pleasure and procreation.

Ibn al-Jazair closes his introduction by remarking that the sexual members, the spermaduct and the womb have been formed in the best possible way, and with utmost perfection. This statement is also derived from Galen’s *De usu partium*, which seeks to show that the structure of the human body fits its functions in an ideal way and that Nature has formed and arranged all the members of the body with utmost perfection.

Ibn al-Jazair starts his discussion of impotence with an explanation of the nature of an erection and remarks:

Ibn al-Jazair refers to two different elements which may cause an erection, the first common to humans and animals, namely, the natural desire (someone desires sexual intercourse) and the second unique to humans, namely, imagination. The imagination which revives former sexual pleasures imprinted in the memory plays an important role in Western Latin tracts on coitus. The idea of flatulence filling the penis and causing
an erection is formulated by Galen in his De usu partium and De locis affectis, where he speaks of the air (αεροπορία) or vaporeous air (έρικος αέρος) which inflates and stiffens the penis. Besides flatulence Ibn al-Jazār also speaks of the animal pneuma (al-rūḥ al-hayawānīyya) which fills the hollow nerve and thereby causes an erection. The animal pneuma, which originates in the heart, reaches the organs through the arteries and there maintains the animal faculties. This concept was developed in ancient medicine and dominated throughout the Middle Ages. Besides the animal pneuma, two other kinds of pneuma were distinguished, namely, the psychical, maintaining the psychical faculties, and the natural, supporting the function of the natural faculties.

The ambivalent use of the terms flatulence and animal pneuma, which also occurs in Ibn Sīnā, found its way, by means of the translations, into Latin medical literature. The anatomical description of the penis, as noted above, usually introduces Arabic treatises on coitus.

On the origin of erection, sperm and lust Ibn al-Jazār remarks: “The power of erection reaches the penis from the heart, for the heart sends the animal pneuma everywhere in the body. The sperm reaches [the penis] from the brain, while lust comes from the liver.” The idea that the sperm originates from the brain (encephalogenesis) is one of the three theories which the ancient Greek philosophers developed about its origin.

Among Arab physicians it is also expounded by al-Kindī and al-Tabarī. It is likewise attested in the newly published text ascribed to Maimonides on regimen in sexual intercourse, entitled Ḥanqahāt ḥabīrī‘ut ba-daṣṣāq. According to the second theory the sperm originates from all parts of the body (pangenesis). This theory is stated in the pseudo Maimonidean treatise Ma‘āmar ‘al ra‘ṣa‘ ha-ḥayyīm ha-ma-nīṣiyya. The third theory holds that the sperm is nothing but a residue, which led to the medieval concept of sperm being nothing else than blood (haematogenesis), since both were residual products derived from food. It is attested in pseudo-Thabit ibn Qurra’s K. al-dhakhira. Ibn al-Jazār’s notion that lust originates from the liver is widespread in Arabic medical literature and is attested in al-Tabarī, al-Kindī and Ibn Sīnā.

Ibn al-Jazār introduces his discussion of the function of the testicles by declaring that they emit a power to the whole body which causes males to be masculine and females to be feminine. Implicit in this statement is the idea, already stated by Galen and current throughout the Middle Ages, that women also had testicles, though smaller in size and less perfect than those of men, namely, the ovaries. Vesalius still describes these as testes muliebres.

Ibn al-Jazār now remarks on their function that they are the source of heat and strength for the rest of the body, and that therefore someone who is castrated cannot grow a beard; his body is hairless, while his veins are like those of a woman; he does not desire sexual intercourse, nor does his soul. This statement is very similar to a passage in Galen’s De seminie, as the following comparison will show:

Ibn al-Jazār


Much heat moves from the testicles to all of the body, therefore someone who is castrated cannot grow a beard; his body is hairless, while his veins are like those of a woman. He does not desire sexual intercourse, nor does his soul.

Galen

καὶ διηρύθητα πολλὴν ἐπάρθουσι τῷ σώματι σῶματι, δὲ ἣν ὁ στήριξις αὐτῶν ἄραγι μὲν, οὐ τὰ γένεα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα γίνονται σῶμα, μικρὰς δ’, ὡς εἰρήνη, τὰς,

A similar idea is implied in a passage in the Arabic pseudo-Aristotelian

**Problematum Physica** stating that the hair of the head and eyelashes,
present at birth and originating from natural heat, is reduced by much
sexual intercourse. But the hair of the beard and of the rest of
the body, absent at birth and originating from the accidental heat of the
body, increases by much sexual intercourse. Ibn al-Jazzār's familiarity
with the Problematum Physica appears clearly from the following explicit
quotations: "Aristotle the philosopher said that well-haired human beings
and thickly feathered birds have much sexual intercourse. This is because
much hair and many feathers only originate from excessive warmth and
from much moisture."  

Referring to Galen, Ibn al-Jazzār remarks that the testicles, which
provide the body with warmth and strength and greatly transform the
sperm which collects in them, rank among the principal members. In
his De semine Galen stresses the active role of the testicles in the
formation of the sperm; while criticizing Aristotle, for whom sperm was
nothing else but a residual product and the testicles mere receptacles.
Galen, however, ascribed a specific function to them. Although the raw
material of the sperm was provided by the blood, this blood underwent
a transformation, shown above all by a progressive whitening, in the coils
formed by the seminiferous veins and arteries, thus turning into semen on

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61 De semine I, 15 (De Lacy, op. cit., note 31 above, p. 124; Kähn, op. cit., note 43
above, vol. 4, p. 572).
63 Ed. and trans. Filmus, op. cit., note 36 above, V, 19. For similar statements by
Haydar, op. cit., note 4 above, p. 57.
64 This text does not feature in the collection of the Arabic Problematum Physica,
24 (p. 219): "Why are hairy men and thick-feathered birds lustful? Is it because they
are naturally hot and moist, and both these qualities are necessary to the
sperm?"
66 De semine I, 12-16 (De Lacy, op. cit., note 31 above, pp. 106-40; Kähn, op. cit.,
note 43 above, vol. 4, pp. 555-58); cf. Jacquot-Thomasset, op. cit., note 13 above,
p. 54.
68 De usu partium XIV, 10; ed. Helmreich, op. cit., note 32 above, vol. 2, p. 316,
of Physiology and Medicine, Basel 1968, pp. 224-30; Jacquot-Thomasset, op. cit.,
note 13 above, p. 54; Weisser, op. cit., note 30 above, p. 112: "Auch die Beteiligung
der Testes bei der Sämenbildung legt er besonderen Gewicht ... im Rahmen seiner
kritik an Aristoteles."
71 See Ullmann, op. cit., note 45 above, pp. 57-58; Weisser, op. cit., note 30 above,
pp. 72-74.
have little desire for sexual intercourse because of the cold, while he will have much sperm because of the moisture.

Galen describes the different temperaments of the testicles and their symptoms in his *De arte medica.*72 Quṣṭa ibn Lūqā describes many other symptoms, besides those mentioned by Ibn al-Jazzār. In case of warmth and dryness, for instance: early puberty, thick sperm, thick pubic hair, many children, mostly boys; in case of cold and dryness: late puberty, thin pubic hair, few children, mostly girls; and in case of cold and moisture: very late puberty (above the age of twenty), thin pubic hair, few children, mostly girls; thin, watery sperm.73

In accordance with his previous statements that flatulence is necessary for an erection and warmth and moisture for proper sexual vigour, Ibn al-Jazzār remarks that those foodstuffs or remedies which contain these three properties, namely: flatulence, warmth and moisture, are the best for the production of sperm and the increase of sexual vigour.74 In case a certain kind of foodstuff misses one or more of those properties, one should combine it with another kind which does have the missing properties. Exactly the same recommendation is made by Hunayn in the fragments of his monograph on coitus preserved by al-Rāzi.75

The last part of the chapter is devoted to aphrodisiacs. Different kinds of food, various ingredients, simple and compound remedies which increase the sperm, strengthen one's potency and increase one's lust are recommended. Most of the means mentioned feature in all the treatments dealing with impotence, from the ancient Greek physicians to the Arab medical authors referred to above. We shall therefore only give some typical examples. Recommended, for instance, are chickpeas76 which contain all three necessary properties mentioned before, since they are warm, moist and flatulent. It is therefore not necessary to mix them with something else. Beans are very good for producing sperm, but lack the property of warmth. So one should add to them warm ingredients, like long pepper (*Piper longum* L.), ginger, and galangal (the root of *Alpinia officinarum* Hance). Much sperm is produced by different kinds of fresh meat and by brains, yolk of eggs, figs, pine nuts and peppercorns. Citing Dioscurides, Ibn al-Jazzār states: “Dioscurides said that if someone holds this root (of satyrium) in his hand, it will stimulate his lust for coitus, and if he drinks it with wine it will excite him [even] more.”77

If someone suffers from impotence because his temperament is hot and dry, he should not take hot products, since they do not engender sperm but dry it and dissolve the flatulence.

Next to the aphrodisiacs other means are recommended, namely, different kinds of enemas, and rubbing the penis and testicles with different kinds of oil, such as oil of gillyflower, nard or costus.

The chapter closes with a remark similar to those of al-Kindi and al-Tabari, testifying to the author's awareness of the influence of psychological factors on sexual lust: "We have found other means as well which, when applied together with the remedies and regimen mentioned by us above, strengthen the sexual lust and increase [sexual] activity, such as to relieve the heart of anxiety and to be always joyful." Ibn al-Jazzār confirms this statement by quoting Polemon:

This conforms with the statement of Polemon, author of the *Fīrūs,* for he said that there are various incentives which excite sexual lust, each of these both seeking to arouse it and, [once it is aroused], serving to increase it. These include affectionate words, showing passion, kissing the cheeks, fondling with the hand,78 licking with the tongue, joy over the sight of the beloved, expressing one's devotion to the beloved and refraining from dwelling on grievances [against her]. These means and the like increase [sexual] activity and lust.

Polemon is the author of a work on physiognomy which only survives in Arabic and Latin translations.79 The citation by Ibn al-Jazzār does not feature in these translations, but is most probably part of his monograph on coitus referred to above. In Arabic sources Polemon was sometimes mistaken for the physician Philomenos (2nd cent. A.D.), since both authors were indicated with the same name “Ilimūn.” No wonder then

74 Cf. al-Kindi, *op. cit.,* note 3 above, IV (p. 20), II. 12–13; Pseudo Thabīt, *op. cit.,* note 8 above, p. 182, l. 9.
76 Chickpeas are already recommended by Rufus of Ephese (Ch. Darenberg and É. Ruelle, *Oeuvres de Rufus d’Éphèse,* texte collationné sur les manuscrits, traduit pour la première fois en français, avec une introduction, Paris 1879, p. 322) and Galen (*De alimentorum facultatibus* I, 22; ed. G. Heimreich (CMG V4, 2). Leipzig and Berlin 1923, pp. 248–49); it also features in the Arabic treatises on coitus mentioned above.
77 Cf. M. Weilmann (ed.): *Pedani Dioscuridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica Libri Quinque,* 5 books in 3 vols., repr. in 1 vol., Berlin 1858, bk. 3, ch. 128.
that Constantine the African translated this name as "Filumenus" in his Liber de coitu.80

‘Ubaid ibn ‘Ali ibn Jurāja ibn Hillauf

Finally, and I hope readers will forgive me for keeping them in suspense so long, I propose to solve the mystery of the author behind this name, who presumably composed a treatise on impotence and its treatment that survives only in a Hebrew translation edited by Muntner from MS Paris 1120.81 Steinischer supposes that the author is an Arab from the Maghreb,82 while Muntner suggests that he is a Jewish scholar from Aragon, of Persian origin, who lived shortly before Ibn Sinā, since he does not quote him in the treatise on impotence.83 During my preparation of a critical edition of the sixth treatise of Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfīr, I compared it with other works composed by Arab and Jewish physicians on the same subject. When comparing it with ‘Ubaid ibn ‘Ali’s treatise I was struck by the similarity between them, a similarity so close that I became convinced that ‘Ubaid ibn ‘Ali’s treatise is nothing but a Hebrew translation of Ibn al-Jazzār’s text with some additions, omissions, and sometimes different versions. For proof I compared ‘Ubaid ibn ‘Ali’s text with MS Berlin 239, containing Moses ibn Tibbon’s Hebrew translation of the relevant section from the Zād al-musāfīr.84 A comparative table of two sections may convince the reader as well:

Zād al-musāfīr (MS Berlin 252, fol. 10r/7r)


82 Steinischer, ibid.
83 Muntner, op. cit., note 52 above, p. 80.
84 I thank Dr. Benjamin Richler of the Institute for Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts of the Jewish National and University Library for providing me with a copy of this MS.

MS Paris 1120 (ed. Muntner, 1)

Omar, ki hu sam (l) husāw tā‘īd (l) po‘al hu-tī‘ī meyīyād ba-segūllah mi-bīli she-yīqna ba-pe‘ūlīt ha-tī‘īyqot li-shē‘ar ha-cuvarīm. we-zīh she-yīyīh, we-zīrēh ha-adām ba-mishgāl o yudāmīn damīyūn she-yīt’ōrer elaw ruwa. weryed be-pi‘ṭom el ha amah, ba‘-oreqim ha-deveqīm bāh min ha-lew, we-yīkkanes ha-ruwa ha-ku ba‘-azābbim ha-halulīm asher ba-amah.

Zēdat ha-derkham (MS Berlin 239, fol. 81r)

Omar ki husam ba-amah po‘al tī‘ī meyīyād u-segūllah mi-bīli she-tīqnuhu be‘-atīd ba-pe‘ūlīt ha-tī‘īyqot asher li-shē‘ar ha-cuvarīm. we-zīh she-hu be-sha‘āh she-zīrēh ha-adām ba-mishgāl o yedāmīnu damīyūn kīt’ōrer elaw ruwa we-yered pi‘ṭom el ha amah o-va‘-oreqim ha-deveqīm bāh min ha-lew we-yīkknes ha-ruwa ha-ku ba‘-azābbim ha-halulīm ba-amah.

Zād al-musāfīr (MS Berlin 252, fol. 108r; D = Dresden 209, fol. 217v)

Pa-mīn dhākīkā (D) šīfātī janārinšīn ałla-faḥa (D) Ibn Masa‘wah yasādī fī ‘l-bāḥī wa-yun‘īzī, al-shābūtā darhāmān bima‘ in hārīn ‘alā ‘l-riqī wa-qābla al-naumī fī ‘l-ṣāliqī

MS Paris 1120 (ed. Muntner, 9)

U-mi-zeh to‘ar meryāḥat, mi-hibbūr Ben Mazawal (l) Ben Haqīm Ben al-Ḥamayn: yosif ba-mishgāl wa-yaggēsh. Ha-leqīhah mimīnīn shnī drakhm be-mayīnīn hārmīn bi-hiyot zam o-va-laylād qadim ha-shēnāh

Zēdat ha-derkham (MS Berlin 239, fol. 82r)

U-mi-zeh to‘ar meryāḥat mi-hibbūr Ben Mazawāl yosif ba-mishgāl wa-yaggēsh ha-leqīhah mimīnīn shnī drakhm be-mayīnīn hārmīn bi-hiyot zam o-va-laylād qadim ha-shēnāh

The close similarity between MS Paris 1120 and MS Berlin 239, except for some minor variations and copyists’ errors, seems to indicate that the author of the Hebrew translation of MS Paris is Moses ibn Tibbon as well. But final proof can only be obtained by a comparison with the versions of the two other translators mentioned above.

85 See Steinischer, op. cit., note 27 above.
About the additions, omissions and different versions of MS Paris in comparison with the Zād al-musāfir, the following can be remarked:

1. MS Paris lacks the introduction to the first chapter of Bk. 6 of the Zād al-musāfir.

2. Paragraphs 1–5, 11: MS Paris is identical to the Zād al-musāfir.

3. Paragraphs 6–10, 12–14, 19: MS Paris has additional material and sometimes versions which are different from the Zād al-musāfir.


The omission of the introduction in MS Paris probably goes back to a copyist’s error. The additions and different versions of MS Paris, which always consist of recipes for aphrodisiacs, may go back to an original Arabic version of the Zād al-musāfir which is different from those I have seen. But it is also possible that one or more copyists of MS Paris are responsible for them.

Now that we have established the basic identity of both texts it is clear that the name Ibn Jurāja is nothing but a corruption of Ibn al-Jazzār. Other corruptions in MS Paris, as edited by Muntner, are:

1. Other names: ben Mazawal (Par. 9) for Ibn Masawaw and Aplaton (Par. 19) for Hīmīn. 2. Different words in the text: bē-emcet for ba-emcēt (Par. 1), nīr’et for nīret (Par. 1), yishalleh for yishlah (Par. 1). 3. Material medica (sometimes also wrongly interpreted by Muntner): al-ban for al-bahman (Par. 7), zar’ qarawīya is not a corruption of karwīn, as Muntner (n. 120) surmises, but of Arabic karawīya.

I would like to conclude this discussion by observing that the Hebrew translations of Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir merit a critical edition based on all the available MSS and on the Arabic original.

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86 My conclusions only hold good for the following MSS of the Zād which I have been able to check: Ms Dresden 209, Copenhagen 109, Oxford, Bodl. Hunt 303, Berlin 253, and Teheran, Malik 4486. I did not see İzmir, Millî 50/470/26698, Algiers 1746, Cairo VII, 37, tāh, maj. 37m, Rabat 1718, and Hadravait. The bibliographers mention two more MSS of the Zād al-musāfir, namely, Dublin, Chester Beatty 5224, fols. 506–88a, and Washington, Army Medical Library 92/1, fols. 1–73. Their information, however, is incorrect. These MSS do not contain Ibn al-Jazzār’s Zād al-musāfir as the bibliographers suggest, but his Tiḥā al-fuqrārī wa-al-musāfir. The bibliographers were most probably misled by the introduction to the Tiḥā al-fuqrārī in which Ibn al-Jazzār first of all refers to the reason of the composition of the Zād al-musāfir, its merits and deficiencies, and only then proceeds to a discussion of the necessity of the composition of a new work, namely, the Tiḥā al-fuqrārī. See Arthur J. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts, vols. I–VII, Oxford – London 1955–1964; VIII (Indices) by Ursula Lyons, 1966, vol. 7, p. 71; F.E. Sommer (and Dorothy M. Schollman), A Catalogue of Incunabula and MSS in the Army Medical Library, New York 1950, p. 329; Brockelmann, op. cit., note 25 above, 1, 238; Ullmann, op. cit., note 5 above, p. 147; Sezgin, op. cit., note 25 above, p. 305.