

*By* M. ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN

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SH. MUHAMMAD ASHRAF KASHMIRI BAZAR - LAHORE

# A BRIEF SURVEY

OF

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE AND CULTURE

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## ITRODUCTION

MODERN research has established the fact that the human race built up its civilization some six thousand years ago on the banks of the Shatt al-'Arab and the Nile; whence it spread gradually through various channels all over the world. Knowledge gathered from patient observations, experience and accidental discoveries was disseminated through Khaldia, Babel, Egypt, India and Phoenicia and ultimately reaching Ionia and Greece, found there a most congenial atmosphere to develop and systematize for six or seven centuries before the birth of Jesus Christ.

Greek enterprise in colonization brought the fruits of Hellenic research within the reach of various communities bordering on the Levant. But decentralization imperceptibly led to deterioration and decay and Greece lost her initiation in the cultivation of Arts, Science and Literature. Alexandria and Syracuse upheld, however, for a time the traditions

of Greece, but succumbed eventually to the iron discipline of Rome, which, while it ensured order and administration, failed to encourage originality and scientific investigation.

On the downfall of Rome by the Barbarians chaos and intellectual stagnation once more held sway over the civilized world. The masterpieces of Greek science and culture lay buried in tottering libraries or museums and might possibly have disappeared altogether from the face of the earth but for the miracle of Arab rise to power and its subsequent patronage of learning.

Islam not only bound the nomadic tribes of Arabia in a common bond of brotherhood, it gave them a book, the Qur'ān which taught them how to lead a life of purity and righteousness. The beauty of its language and the grandeur of its inculcations inspired the desert people to share the blessings of their faith and Sharī'at with the rest of mankind.

We are not concerned here with the territorial conquests of the early votaries of

Islam. These will be referred to in a cursory manner merely to trace the transmission of Muslim culture and learning to distant countries and nations.

After the subjugation of practically the whole of Arabia during the lifetime of the Prophet, and the conquest of Syria, Iraq, Persia and Egypt in the days of the four Orthodox Khalifas, the Umayyad regime (of about eighty-nine years from 661 to 750) brought the whole of North Africa (with extensions into the Iberian Peninsula), Central Asia right up to the borders of China proper, modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Sind and parts of the Punjab under Muslim sway. Most of these acquisitions occurred during the time of 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walid, under the generalship of Maslamah, Mūsa ibn Nusayr, Muhammad bin Qasim al-Thagafi and Qutaybah ibn Muslim. Had the Umayyads refrained from petty tribal jealousies and, above all, followed in the footsteps of the Orthodox Khalifas as did 'Umar II, they would probably have made further conquests and

certainly continued much longer in power. As it was, they made bitter enemies amongst both the Arabs and the Persians and were finally crushed by Abū al-'Abbās al-Saffāh, the champion of the Abbasid cause, in 750, and practically the entire Islamic world (with the exception of Andalusia) passed under the sovereignty of Banī 'Abbās.

The third Khalifa 'Uthman had already put together the various Surahs revealed to the Prophet and ensured the unalterability of the text and pronunciation of the Qur'an. The basic principles of Arabic grammar were framed by the great exponent of Islamic learning, 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. During the Umayyad regime Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf introduced at Başrah the use of dots to discriminate between letters of different sounds but similar form and of diacritical marks to serve as vowels. Arabic thus systematized and endowed with natural flexibility was ready to assimilate the ideas and expressions of the most fully developed languages of the time, Greek, Sasanid and Sanskrit.

As pointed out by al-Tha'alibī (d. 1038) in Latā'if al-Ma'ārīf, the real opener of the Abbasid regime was Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr (754-775), the mid-comer was 'Abdullah al-Mā'mūn (813-833) and the 'closer' was al-Wathiq (842-847), though the dynasty continued till the thirty-seventh and last representative, al-Musta'sim, who perished in the sack of Baghdad by Hulagu in 1258. It is not so much for its conquests and military glory that the Abbasid Khilafat is famous, as for its achievements in peaceful pursuits such as commerce, arts, science and architecture, though the struggle with Byzantium continued intermittently and, on one occasion at least. brought the victorious Abbasid armies to the very gates of Constantinople, humiliating Empress Irene (782)<sup>1</sup> and later enforcing a tax on the person of her successor Nicephorus I  $(806).^{2}$ 

Tabari, Yol. III. p. 504.
Ibid., pp. 696, 709-10.

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## CULTIVATION OF MEDICINE, MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY IN THE ABBASID REGIME

It was al-Mansur who built Baghdad near the site of old Ctesiphon on the plan submitted by the Persian philosopher Nawbakht and the astronomer Masha'allah, a convert to Islam from Judaism. Within fifty years of its planning it rose to be the most important city in the world, rivalling Constantinople itself in the grandeur of its royal mansions, number of public buildings, extent of population and volume of trade and commerce. The glowing accounts of its wealth and splendour preserved for us in the pages of al-Aghānī by Abū al-Farāj 'Alī ibn al-Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Quraishī al-Isbahānī (897-967) and of al-Fihrist by Ibn abī Ya'qūb al-Nadīm al-Warrag (d. 995) surpass the feeble attempts of

the compilers of *Alif Laylah* to portray the brilliance of the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Al-Manşūr's illness led to the invitation of the famous Nestorian physician Jurjīs ibn Bakhtī Yashū' of the medical academy of Jundi Shāpūr to the Abbasid court,<sup>1</sup> an event fraught with most far-reaching effects on the future development of the science and art of medicine. The treatment was successful and the Bakhtī Yashū' family flourished for generations in Baghdād as court physicians,<sup>2</sup> awakening a keen interest in their royal masters to promote the study of the masterpieces of Hippocrates (436 B.C.) and Galen (200 A.D.).

The advent of an Indian mathematician and astronomer to the court of al-Manşūr in 773 with a copy of *Siddhanta* (*Sindhind*, a Sanskrit treatise on astronomy) induced that early patron of learning to get the work translated into Arabic. Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī performed the task with the help of competent assistants, and within a few years Iraq gave birth to a number of astronomers

1. Fihrist, p. 296. 2. Qiffi, pp. 134-35.

who not only mastered all the available knowledge of astronomy but made original contributions to it from time to time, right down to the end of the fourteenth century. Desort life under crystal-clear skies had impressed on the Arab mind from time immemorial the majesty of the heavens, shining with countless stars whose configuration they came to know by heart and whose diurnal rotation they utilised to serve as their timepiece. Some of the most eloquent passages in the Qur'an refer to the grandeur of the stellar world, the regularity of solar and lunar movements among the constellations, the repetition of the phases of the moon and the dazzling brilliance of the restless planets. No wonder that the Arabs and later converts to Islam from other nationalities took so enthusiastically to astronomy and left on it their permanent mark. We shall have occasion to deal with this matter in detail subsequently.

The same Indian mathematician introduced to the Arabs Hindi numerals, their efficient notation and the inestimable impor-

tance of Zero (Arabic Sifr). They adopted the methods of Hindi arithmetic unhesitatingly and popularized them all over the world so much that Western Europe until quite recently tacitly believed the Arabs themselves to be the originators of these numerals and their notation.

Among the treasures won from Byzantine cities were Greek manuscripts on geometry, astronomy, medicine and philosophy. Even as early as at the close of the eighth century A.D. we find Abū Yabyā ibn at-Batrig translating for al-Mansur the major works of Galen and Hippocrates. Several other works like the Elements of Euclid and the Almagest (Arabic al-Majisti) of Ptolemy are stated by Ya'qubi' to have been translated into Arabic at about this time, but evidently they had to be revised by abler translators under the patronage of Harun al-Rashid and his son al-Mā'mūn. For lack of adequate knowledge of Greek these early versions had to be rendered first into Syriac by Syrian scholars and retranslated from that language into Arabic. 1. Buldan; Vol. I, pp. 150-51.

Syrian Christians, therefore, played an important part in this intellectual drama. Yūhannā ibn Masāwayh (d. 837), a pupil of Jibrīl ibn Bakhtī Yashū' and teacher of Hunayn ibn Ishāq, for instance, translated a number of Greek manuscripts into Arabic.

Iranian astronomy was also assimilated by the Arabs at the time of Harun, the translations being done by al-Fadl ibn Nawbakht (d. 815) who was his chief librarian. But Persia seems to have exerted more influence on Arab literature and fine arts than on science and philosophy. Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>1</sup> (d. 757), a Zoroastrian convert to Islam, translated Kalilah wa Dimnah from Pehlawi (being itself a translation from original Sanskrit). He also wrote a book on ethics and behaviour (Tahdhib al-Akhlag) based on Indo-Persian sources. From Arabic, Kalilah wa Dimnah was, in course of time, translated into practically all the languages of the civilized world and exerted a deep influence on the literature and imagination of a number of modern nations, as witness for

1. Fihrist, p. 118.

example La Fontaine's acknowledging it as a source of his famous Fables. The original Sanskrit work in its complete form is stated to be lost.

After Hārūn al-Rashīd's death when al-Mā'mūnsucceeded to the Abbasid throne (having defeated his elder brother al-Amin with the support of Tāhir ibn al-Husayn of Khurāsān and his Persian mercenaries) herebuilt Baghdad and founded his unique Dar al-Hikmah where a galaxy of expert translators and original investigators enriched the Arabic language with the choicest products of Hellenic Science and Philosophy. Foremost among his staff of translators was the Nestorian Hunaynibn Ishāq (809-73), mainly occupied with the translation of Greek works on medicine and philosophy. The scale of remuneration paid to translators in this age of literary supremacy may be gauged from the fact that Hunayn and his collaborators when they were in the service of Ibn Shākir received a salary of about £ 250 per mensem, and when Hunayn was appointed Superinten-2

dent of al-Mā'mūn's Literary Academy he received in gold the weight of the books he transalted.<sup>1</sup> Al-Mutawakkil also extended his patronage to Hunayn and made him his private physician and personal friend.

Al-Mā'mūn's zeal for scientific researchresulted in the measurement of degree of terrestrial latitude from astronomical observations conducted on the plain of Sinjār north of the Euphrates and again in the neighbourhood of Palmyra. Dr. George Sarton and Philip al-Khouri Hitti state that the length came out as  $56\frac{1}{2}$  miles, which is really too small. From data supplied in al-Khāzini's Mīzān-al-Hikmah I obtain this length as roughly equal to 69 miles (assuming the dhirā' to be equal to 1,627 feet nearly), from the footnote to the Arabic text and translation of al-Biruni's Kitab al-Tafhim by R. Ramsay Wright (Luzac, 1934, p. 120), which is extremely close to the actual figure. I am not aware of any later Muslim attempts after al-Mā'mūn's time to repeat the geodetic survey and am inclined to conclude

1 Ibn abi Usaybi'ah, Vol. I, p. 187.

that al-Khāzinī's figures based evidently on al-Bīrūnī's calculations are derived ultimately from al-Mā'mūn's measurements but with a correct estimation of the length of the dhirā'. The matter, however, requires further and more careful investigation.

In al-Mutawakkil's time (847-861) the Sābian mathematician Thābit ibn Qurrah (ca. 836-901) and his disciples translated the principal Greek works on geometry and astronomy including the classical treatises of Apollonius of Perga (b. ca. 262 B.C.) and Archimedes (d. 212 B.C.). Latterly Thabit won the personal friendship of al-Mu' tadid who ruled from 892-902. After Thabit his sons Ibrahim and Sinan. his grandsons Thabit and Ibrahim and greatgrandsons, Abū al-Fārāj (on the authority of Ibn abi Usaybi'ah and Qifti) continued the work of translation and compilation, enriching mathematics and astronomy with their original discoveries and observations. Sinān was the first to embrace Islam and died in 943. His son Ibrahim was born in 908 or 909 and died at the early age of 37 or 33; but left an

immortal name in the annals of mathematics through his quadrature of the parabola, the simplest ever made before the introduction of the integral calculus.<sup>1</sup>

In the foremost rank of mathematicians of all times stands Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (ca. 780-850). He composed the oldest work on arithmetic and algebra, now unfortunately lost in the original Arabic. They were the principal source of mathematical knowledge for centuries to come both in the East and the West. The work on arithmetic first introduced the Hindu numerals to Europe, as the very name algorism signifies, and the work on algebra (Hisāb al-Jabr wal-Muqābalah) not only gave the name to this important branch of mathematics in the European world, but contained in addition to the usual analytical solutions of linear and quadratic equations (without, of course, the conception of imaginary quantities) graphical solutions of typical quadratic equations. It was revised by Abū Kāmil

1. G. Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science (Baltimore), Vol. I, p. 624.

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Shuja' ibn Aslam in the first half of the tenth century. Al-Khwārizmī's Zij (consisting of astronomical tables) was also very popular and remained standard until revised by Maslamah al-Majirītī (of Madrid) in the second half of the tenth century. These tables included value of trigonometrical sine and tangentfunctionsalso, as was the fashion among early writers before trigonometry became a definite subject by itself. He prepared also a map of the earth in collaboration with a number of scientists of al-Mā'mūn's time for his book Sūrat al-Ard.

The greatest of Sābian astronomers and one of the most original investigators in Islam, Abū 'Abdullāh Muhammad ibn Jābiral-Battānī (between 877 and 918) was a Muslim scientist well known to the Latin world as Albategnius. On comparing his own observations with those of Ptolemy he discovered the motion of the sun'sapogee and the variation of the inclination of the Ecliptic. He arrived at a more correct value for procession of the Equinoxes (54.5" per annum) and initiated the use of sines in trigonometrical calculations. It was from a perusal

of his dissertation on the apparent motion of the fixed stars that Hevilius discovered the secular variation of the moon.

Before him Abū al-'Abbās Muhammad ibn Kathir al-Farghani (Latin Alfraganus, ca. 840) adorned the Dar al-Hikmah of al-Ma'mun and took part in the measurements of the degree of terrestrial latitude. His book Harakāt al-Samāwiyah wa Jawāmi' 'Ilm al-Nujūm, in which he follows Ptolemy but substitutes more accurate figures based on local observations, enjoyed (in its Latin version known as the Scientia Stellarum) great popularity among European scientists of the Middle Ages. Most of Dante's astronomical data were derived from this book. Al-Farghani built also a nilometer in Fustāt for al-Mutawakkil.<sup>1</sup> Abū Ma'shar (Latin Albumasar), though better known to Europe as an astrologer, was the first to explain the tides as influenced by the moon (a fact unfortunately ignored by Kepler as savouring of astrology).

1. Ibn abi Usaybi'ah, Vol. I, p. 207.

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The Arabs were keen students of medicine. Hārūn al-Rashīd was the first Khalīfah to endow a public hospital in Baghdād. The tradition was continued by his successors. Al-Muqtadir appointed Sinān ibn Thābit ibn Qurrah to conduct a regular examination of medical practitioners in Baghdād in 931 and over 800 candidates were thus awarded certificates to practise in their profession. Sinān further instituted travelling hospitals and inspected prisons, administering appropriate treatment to ailing prisoners.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this activity, no less than 34 hospitals were founded in the Muslim world in the course of a few years.

1. Ibn abi Usaybi'ah, Vol. I, p. 122.

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## PATRONAGE AT THE EASTERN PROVINCIAL COURTS

WHEN the power of the Abbasid Khalifahs weakened in the provinces and distant governors began to wield more or less unrestricted authority, scientific inquiry continued unabated under the patronage of local rulers. It was thus that the short-lived Tūlūnid dynasty (868-905) acquired credit for the founding of a *bimāristān* in Cairo (in 873) during the rule of Ibn Tūlūn. This Tūlūnid hospital continued to function till the fifteenth century.

One of the most renowned physicians of the entire world, Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Rāzī (Latin Rhazes) was born in 850 at Rayy near modern Teheran. He received his early training as a pupil of 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabbān al-Tabarī (a Jewish convert to Islam), author of *Firdaus al-Hikmah*, and himself a great investigator not only in medicine but in

a number of other sciences. Al-Rāzī's book, al-Hawi (Latin Continens) was an encyclopaedia of medicine with many extracts from Greek and Hindu authors as well as his own personal observations. While at the court of Mansur ibn Ishāq, the Sāmānid ruler of Fars and Transoxiana, he wrote his Kitāb al-Mansūrī (Liber Almansoris), a smaller compilation in ten volumes based largely on Greek medicine. He has contributed largely to Muslim knowledge of gnyaecology, obstetrics and ophthalmology; but the most outstanding work to his credit is his tract on smallpox and measles (al-Judari wal-Hasbah),<sup>1</sup> available in English through William A. Greenhill's translation (London, 1848). It is stated to be one of the most accurate works on these two diseases even from the point of view of modern research. Liber Almansoris was published in several editions, one as late as 1890 in Milan.

Al-Rāzī left his mark on surgery also. He was the inventor of the *Seton*. His interest in physics is evident from his investigations on the

<sup>1.</sup> Hitti, Footnote, History of the Arabs, London, p. 366.

determination of specific gravity by means of the hydrostatic balance, called by him  $Miz\bar{a}n$ al-Tabi'i; and his book  $Kit\bar{a}b$   $al-Asr\bar{a}r$  displays his keenness on chemistry as well, through his descriptionofchemical processes and apparatus. He went over to Baghdād to take up his duties as chief physician and to select a suitable site for a  $bim\bar{a}rist\bar{a}n$  which he did by hanging up raw meat in various localities and chose the spot where it showed least signs of putrefaction.<sup>1</sup> The Fihrist credits Rāzī with the authorship of 113 major and 28 minor works.

Here mention must be made of 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī's (d. 994) Kitāb al-Maliki. He was known to Latin Europe as Haly Abbas and his book as Liber Regius, written for the Buwayh Sultān 'Adud al-Dawlah and less voluminous than al-Rāzī's al-Hāwī. It remained a standard textbook for a number of years until it was superseded by Ibn Sīnā's worldfamous Al-Qānūn fī al-Tibb. 'Ali ibn al-'Abbās was the first to discuss in a rudimentary man-

1. Ibn abi Usaybi'ah, Vol. I, pp. 309-10.

ner the structure and function of the capillaries and to give the right explanation of child-birth, not as was erroneously supposed for ages, as a voluntary effort on the part of the child itself, but as the timely reaction of the muscles of the womb at parturition. Even more illustrious than al-Razi's name in the history of medicine is that of 'Alī ibn al-Husayn ibn Sīnā (Latin Avicenna, 980-1037). His all-round knowledge representing all that could be discerned at the time raises him to a position second only to that of Aristotle. For generations to come his word was law. The reverence he enjoyed was due not so much to the absolute correctness of the views he put forward, as it was for his grasp of the subjects he handled and the clarity of his exposition. The title Shaykh al-Ra'is bestowed on him by his disciples was well merited on account of these rare natural gifts and qualifications.

Young Ibn Sinā visited Bukhārā to wait on the Sāmānid ruler Nūh the second, and having access to the well-equipped royal libraries, engrossed himself in the systematic study of

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all that was available. His  $Q\bar{a}n\bar{u}n$  in its Latin translation passed through 15 editions in the last 30 years of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Its pharmacopoeia contained 760 drugs. Ibn Sinā was the first to detect the contagiousness of phthisis and the spreading of diseases by water. His Kitāb al-Shifā' (Latin Sanatio), a philosophical encyclopaedia was also very popular. It contained much original matter on the theory of music, which in the hands of al-Fārābī led subsequently to far-reaching practical results. Ibn Sīnā was opposed to the then current belief in the transmutation of metals as he considered their differences to be innate and far from superficial. It is a great pleasure to note that the portraits of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā still adorn the great hall of the Faculty of Medicine in the University of Paris.

Ophthalmology was a specially favourite subject of Arab physicians. 'Alī ibn 'Isā's *Tadhkirat al-Kahhālīn* treats of 132 diseases of the eye and is one of the earliest Arab treatises on the subject. In the time of al-

1. Hitti, loc cit , y. 368.

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Hākim of Egypt, 'Ammār ibn 'Alī al-Mawsilī wrote al-Muntakhab fī 'Ilāj al-'Ayn. Much valuable work was done on the diseases of the eye and their treatment in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also, as may be judged from the masterly expositions of Ibn al-Nāqid of Cairo (died in 1188) in his Kitāb al-Mujarrabāt, of Khalifah Ibn al-Mahāsin of Halab in his al-Kāfi fī al-Kuhl (1256) and of Salāh al-Din ibn Yūsuf of Hamāh (1296) in his Nūr al-Uyūn wal-Jāmi' al-Funūn, which was unsuperseded (it is said) even in the nineteenth century.

The interest roused in astronomy by the school of al-Mā'mūn was carried on to later courts usurping the power of the Abbasid Khalifahs. The Buwayh Sultān Sharaf al-Dawlah built an observatory in his place at Baghdād in 982, where 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sūfī, Aḥmad al-Sāghānī and the celebrated Abū al-Wafā' were engaged on active observational work. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sūfī was one of the three greatest practical astronomers of Islam (the two others being Ibn Yūnus and Ulugh

Beg, who will be referred to later). Al-Sūfi's illustrated treatise, *Kitāb al-Kawākib al-Thābit al-Muşawwar* (available in original Arabic, as well as in a French translation by Schjellerup) contains a catalogue of starsbased on his own observations, giving their magnitudes and co-ordinates. It is the first star atlas to take cognizance of the nebula in Andromeda and is of great importance even at present, as it has revealed the changes undergone by a number of prominent stars in their magnitudes in the course of ten centuries (for example, theta Eridani), and may throw some light on their proper motions also.

Ahmad al-Sāghānī probably made the astrolabes and other instruments used by himself and other astronomers working in Sharaf al-Dawlah's observatory. Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ismā'īl ibn al-'Abbās al-Būzjānī (940-998) did valuable astronomical work inBaghdād but this is eclipsed by his researches in pure mathematics. Apart from discussing and solving a number of interesting problems in

pure geometry he contributed considerably to the development of trigonometry, both plane and spherical. He gave a new method of constructing sine tables, the value of sine 30'being correct to the 8th place of decimals (Sarton).<sup>1</sup> A number of European mathematicians have discussed isolated problemshandled by Abū al-Wafā', as for example Delambre in *Histoire de l'astronomie an Moyen Age* and H. Suter in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, but no extensive text of his has as yet been published.<sup>2</sup>

Among other Muslim mathematicians of this period (a really large number) may be mentioned Abū al-Isfahānī, Rustam al-Kūhī and Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-jalīl al-Sijazī. Al-Isfahānī commented on the first five books of Apollonius of Perga's *Conic Sections* and gave a better Arabic edition of the complete work—books 1-7. We may here note in passing that the first four books were translated by Hilāl al-Himsī and the last three by Thābit ibn Qurrah about a century earlier.

Introduction to the History of Science, Vol, I, p. 667.
Ibid. p. 667.

Books 5 to 7 are lost completely in the original Greek, and it was from this Arabic translation alone that Abraham Ecchellensis, Professor of Arabic and Syriac in Rome and Paris, and G.A. Borelli published a Latin version of the work in Florence in 1661.1 Rustam al-Kūhī solved some of the problems of Archimedes and Apollonius that led to equations of a higher degree than the second and discussed the conditions of their solvability-the investigations being among the most brilliant in Muslim geometry.<sup>2</sup> Al-Sijazī made a special study of intersections of conic sections and circles, and replaced the old Kinematical method of trisection of an angle by a purely geometric solution (intersection of a circle by an equilateral hyperbola).

At the court of another Buwayh Sultān Rukn al-Dawlah (932-976) at Kayy, Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin al-Khurāsānī re-determined the inclination of the Ecliptic and solved an old problem from the time of Archimedes that had

- 1. Sarton, loc. cit., p. 664.
- 2. Ibid , p. 665.

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baffled al -Māhānī (died sometime about 874 to 884), viz, the division of a sphere by a plane, in a given ratio (in later times known a Māhānī's problem), by solving a cubic equation.

Astronomy was such a favourite recreation with the early Muslims that even private persons with independent means (like the three sons of Mūsā ibn Shakir at Baghdād) installed observatories at their homes. There were astronomers in Shīrāz, Samargand, Nishāpūr engaged on celestial observations. In yet another independent Sultanate of the Abbasid Khilāfat (that of Ghaznah) we have to record the appearance of an illustrious exponent of the mathematical and physical sciences, Abū Rayhān Muhammad Ibn Ahmadal-Birūni (973-1048), a contemporary of Ibn Sinā and a distinguished member of the University founded by Sultan Mahmud at Ghaznah and patronised later by his son and successor Mus'ūd. Al-Birūni wrote his al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdi for this same Sultan. It is a treatise on Astronomy and surveys the entire field explored at the time by the Greeks, Persians and Hindus. He 3

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was a great admirer of the Hindū notation of numerals (including the zero, Arabic al-sifr) and introduced it along with their newlydiscovered system of decimals to the scientific world. His Athar al-Baqiyah fi Qurun al-Khāliah, edited by Edward Sachau contains all the details (technical and historical) of all the systems then known and in vogue among various nations for the computation of chronology. Sachau's enthusiasm for the author and Muslim savants in general, leads him to remark that "the fourth century A.H. is the turning point in the history of Islam, and the establishment of the orthodox faith about 500 A.H. sealed the fate of independent research for ever. But for al-Ash'arī and al-Ghazzālī the Arabs might have been a nations of Galileos, Keplers and Newtons".1

Al-Birūni wrote bothin Arabicand Persian. Hepossibly knew some Hebrew and Syriac, but seems to have been ignorant of Greek. While in India, he studied Sanskritand had thus direct

1. The Chronology of Ancient Nations (Introduction), London, 1879.

access to Hindu mathematics and astronomy. Hewasakeenobserver of Nature and his description of various natural phenomena like the Zodiacal Light (as pointed out by me in Hyderabad Academy Studies No. 2), his correct explanation that the rise of water in springs is due to hydrostatic pressure and his suggestion that the Indus Valley was once an arm of the sea, reveal his remarkable powers of accurate observation and investigation. All this is clearly borne out by his answer to self-imposed questions in his Kitāb al-Tafhīm li-awālī'l Sina'at al-Tanjim. His determination of the specific gravities of various metals, precious stones and minerals as a means of ascertaining their purity and published in al-Khazīni's Mizān al-Hikmah presents him in the light of an ardent experimentalist. The values deduced from his tables are remarkably accurate, if we bear in mind the imperfections of the apparatus at his disposal.

With the gradual dismemberment of the Abbasid Khilāfat new dynasties rose to power in different parts of the Islamic world, that

brought down the general level of Muslim supremacy in arms over non-Muslim countries but continued almost unabated the traditions of scientific inquiry and literary output established at Baghdād in its golden prime. Some reference has been made to the scientific activities of the reigns of the Tūlūnids, the Sāmānids (874-999), the Buwayhids (945-1055) and the Ghaznawids (962-1186).

# $\mathbf{III}$

### ENCOURAGEMENT BY THE FATIMIDS

The Buwayhids were ousted by the Saljūqs who continued in power till 1194. These in their turn were overpowered by the Khwarizm Shāhīs, who flourished for a while until their empire was destroyed by Chengis in 1220. Some of the Fatimids (909-1171) and the Hamdānids (944-1003) were also great patrons of learning. The court of the Fātimid al-Hākim in spite of his mental aberrations was destined to become famous through the discoveries and researches of Ibn Yūnus and Ibn al-Haytham. Abu al-Hasan 'Alī ibn abī Sa'īd ibn Ahmad ibn Yūnus(date of birth unknown, died in Qāhirah in 1009) commenced his astronomical observations at about 990 by the order of al-'Azīz at his well-equipped observatory at Cairo. They were completed in 1007 and published under the name of al-Zij al-Kabir al-Hākimi in honour
of al-Hākim. The Zij records observations of eclipses and conjunctions old andnew, improved values of the inclination of the Ecliptic (estimated at 23° 35'), of the longitude of the Sun's apogee ( $86^{\circ}$  10'), of the solar parallax (reduced from 3' to 2'), of the procession of the Equinoxes (50'' a year), and makes no reference to the erroneous conception of the trepidation of the Ecliptic (first introduced by Thābit ibn Qurrah and blindly followed by a number of later astronomers even Copernicus, until finally discarded by Tycho Brahe).<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Yūnus' work on trigonometry was less important than Abū al-Fidā's, but as an observer and recorder of astronomical phenomena he was undoubtedly the greatest in Islam.

Abū 'Alī al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham (Latin, Alhazen) was born in Basrah sometime about 965 and died in Cairo in 1039 or so. He was the greatest Muslim physicist and one of the greatest investigators of optics of all times. He was also an astronomer,

1. Sarton, loc. cit., Vol., I. p. 716.

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mathematician and physician writingcommentaries of Aristotle and Galen. But his masterpiece was Kitab al-Manazir, a treatise on optics, which had a great influence on the training of later scientists of Western Europe (like Roger Bacon and Kepler, etc.). Ibn Haytham's writings reveal his fine development of the experimental faculty. His tables of corresponding angles of incidence and refraction of lightpassing from one medium to another show how closely he had approached discovering the law of constancy of ratio of sines, later attributed to Snell. He accounted correctly for twilight as due to atmospheric refraction, estimating the sun's depression to be 19° below the horizon, at the commencement of the phenomenon in the mornings or at its termination in the evenings.<sup>1</sup> (The figure generally accepted nowadays is18".) He deduced the height of the homogeneous atmosphere on this basis to be somewhere. near 55 miles, not at all a bad approximation. He understood the laws of formation of images in spherical and parabolic mirrors, the

1. Sarton. loc. cit., p. 721.

causes of spherical aberration and of magnification produced by lenses. Hegavea much sounder theory of vision than the Greeks, though regarding the lens system of the eye itself to be the sentitive part. (It may be pointed out even at this stage that Ibn Rushd was the first scientist to discover the retina to be the real seat of sensitiveness to light.) Ibn Haytham was able to solve a number of advanced questions also in geometrical optics (for example, the shape of an aplantic surface for reflection), by his good command of mathematics.

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# IV

# WORK IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE

#### HISTORIOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY, ETC.

When the Saljugs began to dominate over the Abbasid Khalifah (on the downfall of Buwayhids) a fresh impetus was given to the pursuit of astronomical studies. Jalal al-Din Malik Shāh summoned at his new observatory at Rayy Abū al-Fath 'Omar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī (born ca. 1038 at Nishāpūr, d. 1123-24) to reform the Persian calendar. Khayyām was one of the foremost mathematicians of the Middle Ages (in addition to being a poet of undying fame through his quatrains). His algebra gives an admirable classifications of equation of the second and third degrees. Both analytical and geometrical solutions were explained for the second degree and attempted and partially solved for the third degree. He noted 13

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different types of cubic equations and arranged them in the order of their complexity depending on the number of terms involved.<sup>1</sup> (The modern method of classification of equations based on the term of the highest degree in the unknown quantity was introduced only in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.) Imaginary roots were, of course, not considered, negative roots too were ignored.

Ulugh Beg's (d. 1449) interpretation of Khayyām's calendar puts in fifteen intercalary days in 62 years with an error of one day in about 3,770 years. Modern interpretation introduces eight intercalary days in 33 years and leads to an error of one day in about 5,000 years.<sup>2</sup> We may add that the Gregorian correction in vogue at present in all civilized countries leads to an error of one day in 3,330 days.

Khayyām worked on the determination of specific gravities also.

At the court of Sultan Sanjar flourished 'Abd al-Rahman al-Manşur al-Khāzinī (about

1. Sarton, loc. cit., p. 760.

2. Ibid., p. 760.

1115-21) a Greek ( $R\bar{u}m\bar{i}$ ) slave whom his master 'Alī al-Khāzin provided with a good all-round scientific education. His fame rests chiefly on his comprehensive work on the balance,  $M\bar{i}z\bar{a}n$ *al-Hikmah*, published recently with notes, etc., by the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif of Hyderabad.

Turning now to other mental disciplines of the Arabs, historiography, economics, geography, chemistry, botany, philosophy, etc., it is obvious that only their barest outlines can be sketched here. The Arabs had a natural liking for history and took endless pains to collect historical data and test their accuracy by certain standards that worked all right when applied to their own sources. Most of earlier works were practically statements of events in their chronological sequence but expressed in an elegant style and above all with fair and often impartial criticism. Abū al-Hasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (956) was the first to revolutionize the art of writing history. The modern method of dealing with different dynasties or countries or peoples with critical examination of the matter handled may be traced to the same writer.

In the front rank of Muslim histories are reckoned Ibn Ishāq's (died about 767) Biography of the Prophet that has reached us only through a revision by Ibn Hishām (died 834),<sup>1</sup> Mūsā ibn 'Uqbah's (d. 758) Kitāb al-Maghāzī, also al-Wāqidī's (died 823) work on the same subject and Ibn Sa'd's (d. 845) Siyar, 'Abd al-Hakam's (d. 870) Futuh al-Misr wa Akhbaruha and Ahmad ibn Yahyā al-Baladhuri's (d. 893) Futuh al-Buldan describe Muslim conquests. The latter's Ansab al-Ashraf deals with the lineages and pedigrees of persons of distinction. Amongst other writers of history may be mentioned Ibn Muqaffa' (d. 757) who translated from Persian into Arabic a history of the Kings of Persia (hence the name Siyar-i-Muluk al-'Ajam, Ibn al-Qutaybah (Muhammad ibn Muslim al-Dināwarī (d. 889) author of Kitāb al-Ma'ārif, Ibn Dā'ūd al-Dināwarī (d. 895) author of Akhbār al-Tiwal, Hāmzah al-Isfahānī (d. ca-961) and Ibn Wādih al-Yā'qūbī (author of Kitāb al Buldan) and Miskawayh (died 1030) author

1. Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 520.

of a universal history ( $Taj\bar{a}rib\ al$ -Umam) from the earliest times down to about 980.

The greatest historian of his century was Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jariral-Tabari(838-923) whose monumental work Akhbar-i-Rasul wal-Mul $\bar{u}k$  is a mine of detailed and accurate information. Al-Tabarī travelled in Īrān, 'Irāg, Syria and Egypt to gather material for his book from original sources, and according to the geographer Yāqūt,' wrote40 pages daily for 40 years. Later writers have made free use of this authoritative work. 'Izz al-Din ibn al-Athir's (1160-1234) al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh is an abridged edition of al-Tabari's older work continued from where it stopped down to 1231. A more original work by Ibn al-Athir is Usd al-Ghābah, a collection of some 7,500 biographies of the Companions of the Prophet. We may mention here Sibt ibn al-Jawzi's (1186-1257) universal history from creation to 1256, called Mir'at al-Zaman fi Tarikh al-Ayyam.

Reference has already been made to the improved system adopted by al Mas'ūdī in

I. Yaqut, Vol. VI, p. 424.

writing history. He travelled far and wide in practically every Islamic country in Asia from Baghdad and even went to Zanzibar, settling down finally (in the last decade of his life) in Egypt and Syria, compiling a work of 30 volumes. Only an abridged edition of it entitled Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawāhir, brought down to 947 A.D. has survived. It is not confined to purely chronological facts but gives interesting geographical information as well, besides discussing, wherever appropriate, subjects of non-Muslim history and incipient notions(in vogue at the time) on evolution, viz., successive gradation between inanimate mineral matter, plants, animal and man, in al-Tanbih wal-Ishraf.

Even after the fall of Baghdād there is no scarcity of historians in Islam. They flourished in the petty states that rose on the ruins of the Abbasid Khilāfat. Among this category we find Abū al-Fidā' (1272-1331), author of Mukhtaşar Tārīkh al-Bashar (an epitome of Ibn al-Athīr's al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh continued up to his own times), himself of princely rank (a

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lineal descendant of a brother of Salāh al-Dīn) and Governor of Hamāh; al-Dhahabī (1274-1348) author of Duwal al-Islām; Abū al-Mahāsin ibn Taghrī Birdī (1411-69), attached to the court of Mamlūk Sultānsandauthorofal-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Misr wal-Qāhirah and Jalāl al-Din Suyūtī (1445-1505) author of 560 works on theology, history and philology of which we may mention Husn al-Muhādarah fī Akhbār Misr wal-Qāhira, al-Muzhir fī 'Ulūm al-Lughah and al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān.'

Arab writers excelled equally well in compiling biographies of notable persons. Ibn al-'Asākir's (d. 1777) al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr, comprising 80 volumes, is devoted to the lives of great men of Damascus. Yāqūt ibn 'Abdullāh al-Hamawī (1179-1229) wrote Mu'jamal-Udabā', a charming biography of literati. 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qiftī (172-1248), author of Akhbār al-Ulamā' bi Akhbār al-Hukamā', though a Wazīr to Ayyubid rulers, found time to compile biographies of physicians and philosophers; Muwaffaq

1. Hitti, los. cif, p. 668.

al-Din Abū al-'Abbās Ahmad ibn abīUsaybi'ah (1203-70), himself a physician ofCairo, botanized with the Spanish scientist Ibn al-Baytār and compiled a most comprehensive biography of some 400 notable physicians and surgeons (Greek and Arab) in his celebrated work 'Uyūn al-Anba' fī Tabaqāt al-Atibba', an inexhaustible source of information concerning the lives of Arab scientists in general, as the majority of them were not onlyphysicians but astronomers, mathematicians and philosophers as well.

We close this sketchy list with the name of Shams al-Dīn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khallikān (born in Irbil in 1211, died at Damascus in 1281, Qādī of Syria and author of a most delightful dictionary of national biograghy, *Wafayāt al-A'yān wa Anba' Abnā' al-Zamān*, dealing with the lives of 868 prominent Musalmans—a marvel of accuracy and elegance.

Search for knowledge, desire for Haj and interest, intrade and innate propensity to see the world and explore its marvels led the Arabs to contribute immensely to geographical science.

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They travelled by land and sea to distant China, for example, Ibn Wahb in 870. We read of a Muslim embassy to the Court of the Chinese Emperor Tai-Tsung in 628 (three years before the Nestorian missionaries) by sea to Canton in a trading vessel from Yanbū', the port of Madinah, and building a mosque there for the Arab traders. An unknown author has written (in 851) an account of a certain merchant Sulayman who roamed about the Far East. It is from this account that the civilized world first came to know of the topography and physical features of the East Indies. The practice of thumb-impression as a means of identification in China was made known by Sulayman to the Arabs. The first authentic account about Russia was published by Ahmad ibn Fadlan ibn Hammad who was deputed by Khalīfah al-Muqtadir in 921 to the court of the King of Bulgarians on the River Volga.<sup>1</sup> Abū Zaid al-Balkhī set the example of writing systematic account of countries under the Muslim sway when he was at the court of a

1. Sarton, loc. cit., p. 636.

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Sāmānid prince. This work is lost, but al-Istakhrī's (flourished in 950) elaborate *Masālik wal Mamālık* that has come down to us with coloured maps of countries and other details is said to be based on it.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Mas'ūdi's history is rich in geographical details also. He is the first to mention windmills in Sijistān and writes about Muslim traders actively engaged in business in Bohemia. Ibn Hawqal (943-77) revised later al-Istakhrī's book after travelling as far as Spain to gain first-hand knowledge. Al-Muqaddasī (or Maqdisī) who visited all the Islamic countries except Spain, Sijistān and India during an itinerary of twenty years, wrote (in 985 or 986) an account of his experiences in his delightful book Ahsan al-Taqsīm fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalīm.

It is appropriate to speak in this connection of Ibn Khurdādhbih's (d. 912) first publiccation (near about 846) of the useful series of road books, which he had issued as the Director of the Post and Intelligence Department in

1. Hitti, loc. cit., p. 385.

al-Jibāl. Ibn Wadīh al-Ya'qūbī's Kitāb al-Buldan which appeared in 891 or 892 contained in addition to ordinary geographical matter useful information on economical and other topies. Oudāmah, a Christian by birth, and appointed Revenue Accountant in Baghdad after 928, became a convert to Islam and discussed in his book Al-Kharāj the various provinces of the Abbasid Khilafat, its system of taxation and postal service. Al-Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Hamadanī (who died in prison in San'ā 945) deserves special mention on account of his books Al-Iklil and Jazīrat al-'Arab, which contain valuable information on pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabia. The Rasā'ili-Ikhwan al-Safa', a series of papers issued by a secret society in Persia about 970 A.D., among other interesting matters boldly surmises largescale climatic changes to be taking place on the earth in course of ages, fertile lands passing into deserts, the sea encroaching on land and the land rising out of sea. 41. 4 4

By far the most comprehensive writer of geography during the closing years of the

Abbasid period was Yāqūt (whose Mu'jam al-Udabā' was referred to in biographies). He was a Greek boy nurchased by a merchant of Hamāh and given liberal education. For a number of years he accompanied his master as his commercial clerk and wes later enfranchised. He then took to copying and selling manuscripts and travelled extensively in the pursuit of this profession, collecting valuable material for his encyclopædic geographical dictionary, Mu'jam al-Buldan, commenced at Mawsil in 1224 and completed at Halab in 1228, where he died. It is a veritable storehouse of geographical knowledge of the time containing useful information on ethnography and natural science as well.

We have to speak of Abū al-Fidā' also in the list of prominent geographers. Though engaged in wars ever since he was 12 years old his zeal for science and powers of observation enabled him to incorporate in his work on history important geographical matter, like the latitude and longitude of a number of cities, deduced mostly from his own observations. It

may be remarked in passing that longitudes were reckoned in those days (following Pliny) from the Canary Islands.

Ahmad al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) who held important posts under the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt was author of Subh al-A'sha and gives useful geographical information in that work.

The Arabs made free use of the magnetic compass and the stars to help them navigate their ships on the high seas. They may not have been the first to observe the directive properties of the compass needle but they certainly anticipated the Chinese in its use in navigation. Ahmad ibn Mājid of Najd, who is generally credited with having piloted Vasco da Gama's ship from Africa to India in 1497, wrote a book called *Al-Fawā'id fi Uşūl al-Bahr wal-Qawā'id* which has been edited by G. Ferrand in Paris in 1921-23.<sup>1</sup> It may be noted here that Ahmad ibn Mājid styled himself as the fourth Sea-lion (for skill in navigation), the other three being

1. Hitti, loc. cil., p. 689.

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Muhammad ibn Shādhān, Sahl ibn Abān and Laith ibn Kahlān, that probably flourished in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> In all probability, the Arabs initiated also the use of charts to steer their ships into the sea-ports they frequented, long before the Venetians and Genoese prepared their portalani. For trade reasons they must have kept these secrets for a long time.

1. Sarton, loc. cit., Vol. II. p. 221.

# V

# "BELLES-LETTERS," RELIGIOUS LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

In this brief sketch it is impossible to do more than just mention a few outstanding works on Arabic literature (sacred and secular). Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī who flourished at Basrah and died there probably in 688 or 689, Hijrī year, aged 85, is generally considered to be the discoverer of Arabic grammar (Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 663). Khalil ibn Ahmad (born in 'Oman ca. 717, died in Basrah in 791 or 792) is generally regarded as the founder of Arabic prosody. He certainly systematized its grammar and wrote unfinished lexicon called Kitab al-'Ayn His Persian pupil, Sībawayh (d. ca. 793) composed the first basic text-book on Arabic grammar called al-Kitab. Later, Jamāl al-Din Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar ibn al-Hājib (1175-1249) wrote in addition to his al-Kafyah and al-Shawyah (concise

works on Arabic grammar) Kitāb al-Maqsad al-Jalīl fī 'Ilm al-Khalīl, on the subject of Prosody.<sup>1</sup>

More famous than either of the above two names is that of Abū al-Qāsim Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī (1075-1144) called Jār-Allāh for having lived in Mecca for a long time. His grammar Kitab al-Mufassal and lexicon Kitab Mugaddimat al-Adab (Arabic-Persian) are still considered standard works:<sup>2</sup> Mention may also be made of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Anbāri's history of Arabic literature and philology entitled Kitab al-Nuzhat al-Atibba' fi Tabaqat al-Udaba.' He was a lecturer at the famous Nizāmiyah of Baghdād. So was Shaykh Abū al-Farj ibn al-Jawzī, an encyclopaedic writer on many branches of learning, including al-Muntazam. Poetry kept up its hold on the Arab mind in all countries and climes. Many poets preferred the Jahiliyah style but Persian influence somewhat modified this tendency. It is no exaggeration to say

> 1. Sarton, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 700. 2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 271.

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that almost every educated Arab (both in the East and the West) indulged in versification. Among poets of later times may be mentioned al-Mutanabbī (915-65), laureate at the court of Sayf al-Dawlah Hamadani, whose ornate and flowery style made him one of the most popular and widely-quoted Arab poets of all times. Among notable prose writers (whose list will require a lifetime to prepare) a few prominent ones have already been noticed (e.g., the authors of al-Aghani and al-Fihrist, etc.) while discussing works on history, biography and geography. For excellence of style (though somewhat effected) Badī al-Zamānal-Hamadhāni (969-1008), and, after him, al-Hariri (1054-1122), author of the famous Maqāmāt, are generally considered unrivalled. No account of Arab literature will be considered satisfactory without a reference to the tales of Alif Laylah wa Laylah that centre round the court of Harun al-RashidatBaghdad and of the Mamlūk Sultans at Cairo. They are supposed to have been told by different authors at different times and to be based on

works of Persian origin.

To attempt a discussion of religious literature published in Arabic will take us far away from our prescribed course even if we considered ourselves competent for the task. Even a cursory acquaintance with thestandardworks on Hadith and Figh and a knowledge of the great pains taken to collect and verify the former and systematize the latter will show how solidly and judiciously the Muslim Shari'at is built. It is really marvellous how the early Muslim scholars of Tradition (Muhaddithin) and theological jurists performed their selfimposed duties unmoved by opposition and undaunted by authority. No wonder that Muhammad ibn Ismā'îl al-Bukhārī (810-70), Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj (d. 875), Abū Dā'ūd (d. 888), al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 892), Ibn Mājah (d. 886) and al-Nasa'ī, the authors of the six canonical works on Hadith, are still held in great veneration; and that about 30 million Muslims are technical adherents of the school of Mālik ibn Anas (715-95); 118 million adherents of al-Nu'mān ibn Thābit, Abū Hanīfah (d.

767); 73 millions of Muhammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī (d. 820) and 3 millions of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855).<sup>1</sup>

There were a number of Muslim philosophers both in the East and in the West. They did not fell the necessity of propounding new hypotheses of forming novel schools of thought. All the great philosophers of Islam were sincere Muslims. Whenever they thought there was some apparent lack of harmony between the teachings of revealed religion and discoveries of science they tried to reconcile the two as both were regarded as correct. This process came to be known as scholasticism in the best sense of the word. Foremost among such Eastern Muslim philosophers were al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā' and al-Ghazzālī. We shall mention a few facts about the lives and works of each of them.

Abū Yūsuf Yā'qūb ibnIshāq al-Kindīwasof

<sup>1.</sup> We gratefully acknowledge that these figures and the majority of dates given in this memoir are taken from P. K. Hitti's *History of the Arabs* (London, 1937).

Turk born in Transoxiana, near about 870, and flourished at the court of Sayf al-Dawlah al-Hamadani. He died at Baghdad in 950. Besides being a first-rate philosopher he was an expert in both the theory and practice of music. His commentaries on Aristotle, Plato and other Greek philosophers reveal his belief in the reconcilability of Aristotelianism with Platonism through the medium of Sūfism, Among his books are Risālah Fusūs al-Hikam, Risalah fi Ara' Ahl al-Madinah al-Fadilah and Siyāsat al-Madaniyah, the last two being based on the ideas of Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Politics. His work on music, Kitab al-Mūsiqī al-Kabīr presents him in the light of a great practical authority on this subject. He played exquisite music on the lute (Arabic al- $\bar{u}d$ ) and could move the entire court of Sayf al-Dawlah to roaring laughter or to tears according to the character of the tunes he played.

Ibn Sinā's work as a physician has already been dealt with in connection with the development of Arab medicine. His philosophy is

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mutations. He was probably the most comprehensive and clear-headed scientist of Islam and certainly one of the most famous of all nationalities, places and times.

Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī, born in 1058 at Tus where he died in 1111, was one of the noblest men of all times and the greatest theologian of Islam. He fixed the ultimate form of the Ash'arīya system founded by Abū al-Hasan 'Alī al-Ash'arī (d. 935-6) of Baghdād (viz., tacit belief in religious dogmas outside the reach of worldly comprehension). Al-Ghazzālī's mental struggles to reconcile the tenets of Islam with the teachings of prevailing philosophy and science are recorded in his own words. He was at one time a professor at the Nizāmiyah at Baghdād, then turned a sceptic for a while, wandering about for twelve years in search of truth and mental peace, and finally found solace in Sūfism. His masterpiece, Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din and other similar works were widely read by Muslims, Jews and Christians, and contributed to the spread of scholasticism in Asia and Europe, as may be

# VI

## EARLY ARAB NOTIONS OF CHEMISTRY, BIOLOGY AND ALLIED SCIENCES

Chemistry is generally supposed to be an accidental product of alchemy, but it would be a fairer appreciation of human intellect to say that early misconception of chemical phenomena by adventurous man tempted him, after his acquaintance with the glamour of gold and precious stones, to dabble in alchemy, just as his early attempts to understand the movements of the heavenly bodies misguided him to believe in astrology. Centuries of bitter experience and disappointments directed him into the right tracks, and the results of prolonged observations and experiments ultimately led him to build up the modern sciences of astronomy and chemistry. Before the advent of the Arabs on the intellectual scene, man knew the main properties of the metals he employed and the preparation of their simpler 5

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practical applications of chemistry like "refinement of metals, preparation of steel, dyeing of cloth and leather, varnishes to water-proof cloth and protect iron, use of manganese dioxide to colour glass and of iron-pyrites for writing in gold and distillation of vinegart, concentrate acetic acid."<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of complete publication of Jābir's works much confusion prevails in discriminating between the writings of Jābir and Geber's Latin Treatises of the twelfth and later centuries. If the Jābir-Geber mystery is solved many other important discoveries in chemistry like the preparation of mineral acids (sulphuric, nitric, hydro-chloric and aqua-regia) may ultimately be placed to Jābir's credit. It is quite possible that Geber is only a Latin form of Jābir. It may be noted that Jābir ibn Aflāh, a Spanish Arab astronomer (died ca. 1145), is also called Geber in medieval works on astronomy.

In the ninth century 'Utarid ibn Muham-

1. Sarton, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 532.

knowledge of human anatomy.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Nazzām (d. ca. 845), a leader of the Mu'tazilite school, that believed in the creation of the Qur'an, propounded a theory of evolution, according to which Adam and all his descendants though created by God at one and the same time were in a state of Kumun and appeared in succession at their appointed times in accordance with a preordained plan.<sup>2</sup> His pupil 'Uthman 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz (d. 868-69) of Basrah wrote a book on animals called Kitāb al-Hayawān, but its treatment savoured more of theology and folklore than strict biology. Nevertheless it refers to the struggle of animals for existence and their adaptation to environment.3 Al-Jawāliqī who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century and 'Abd. al-Mu'min who flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century in Egypt, also wrote books on horses. The greatest 'Zoologist' among the Arabs was al-Damīrī (1405) of

Sarton, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 534.
*Ibid.*, p. 550.
*Ibid.*, p. 597.

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Al-Bīrūnī's correct explanation of rise of water in springs and his suggestion concerning the origin of the Indus Valley have already been referred to. He was also the first to observe a fixed number of petals in flowers 3, 4, 5, 6 or 18, never 7 or 9.<sup>1</sup> Al-Dīnawarī also wrote a book on plants. Ibn Sīnā's view on the formation of mountains are interesting. His treatise on minerals was the main source of knowledge on this subject for generations.<sup>2</sup>

Sarton, loc. cil., p. 708.
Ibid., pp. 710-11.

sailing vessel.

Al-Khāzini's (Abū al-Fath'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mansur, astronomer at the court of Saljuq Sultan Sanjar ibn Malik Shah) Mizan al-Hikmah (The Balance of Wisdom) is a masterly dissertation of mechanics as far as it was developed up to that time, viz., 1121 or 1122 A.D. It deals with the theory of the balance from an application of the Theorem of Moments and discusses the buoyancy of liquids (and of air also). It gives a table of weights in water of a number of metals and minerals weighing 100 mithqals inair (leading to remarkably good values of specific gravities), along with a correct explanation of the weights of material bodies as caused by a universal pull towards the centre of the universe (meaning thereby the earth's centre), and seemingly concentrated at a definite point in each body (its centre of gravity); and remarks in a general way on the weight of the atmosphere.

It is full of important experimental details and shrewdly recognises the effects of surface

The earliest reference to a clock is found in al-Jāhiz's *Kitāb al-Hayawān* in the second half of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1146 and 1169 Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn Rustam al-Khurāsānī al-Sā'ātī constructed the clock placed on the Bāb al-Jayrūn of Damascus (hence Bāb al-Sā'ah, by which name it was often called). Muhammad ibn 'Ali remained in charge of the clock till his death in 1184 or 1185. It was seen and mentioned by Ibn Jubayr, Qazwini, Ibn Buttutah and others. Muhammad ibn 'Ali's son, Fakhr al-Dîn Ridwan (ibn al-Sā'ātī) repaired and improved this clock and in 1203 wrote a book explaining its use and construction. Ridwan was born in Damascus and entered the service of the Ayyūbid princes al-Fā'iz Ibrāhīm and Mu'azzam 'Isā, sons of al-'Ādil Sayf al-Din, ruler of Egypt and Syria from 1198 to 1218.

[It may be remarked here that al-'Ādil and his sons were great patrons of learning. Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-

1. Sarton, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 632.

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wrote shortly before 1300 a treatise called *al-Furusiyah wal-Manāsib al-Harbiyah*, which describes the purification of nitre (possibly as an ingredient for manufacture of gunpowder) and contains pyrotechnic recipes. The earliest reference to the use of gunpowder is in al-'Umarī (d. 1348).<sup>1</sup> Egyptian physicians called it *Talj al-Sinī* (Chinese snow), probably only its constituent nitre being meant.<sup>2</sup>

1. Hitti, Icc. cit., p. 665 2. Sarton, Icc. cit., Vol. II, p. 1036.

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be better imagined than described.<sup>1</sup> A sober estimate would have us believe that only one book out of every thousand listed in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* escaped destruction. The fall of Baghdād was not only a death-blow to Muslim culture, it was (in its ultimate effects) an immense set-back to word civilization in general. Sa'di's (1184-1283) lament over this terrible calamity in a poem of about 25 verses will for ever keep its memory alive in the hearts of students of Persian literature.

Had it not been for the heroic resistance or the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt (Baybars and Qalaʿūn) culminating in their complete victory at 'Ayn Jālūt in 1260 and at Hims in 1280, the whole Muslim world would have been trampled under the feet of the Tartar savages. (The Mamlūks later expelled the Crusaders also from ever city they had formerly captured.)<sup>2</sup> The culture and religion of Islam, however, eventually triumphed over the brute forces of the Tartars, and we find a new centre of cultural and scientific activity growing at

1. Fakhri, p. 454.

2. Ibn al-Ibri, p. 500.

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collection of Arabic works on the standard Greek geometers and astronomers in his Kitab al-Mutawassitat bain al-Hindasah wal-Hai'a. His fame as a great mathematician rests primarily on his work on trigonometry. But his achievements in other branches of mathematics are also highly commendable. His discussions of Euclid's axioms and postulates are masterly and laid the foundations of non-Euclidean geometry. His treatise referring to Menelaus' Theorem, entitled Shak al-Qatta' (known to Medieval Latin Europe under the name Figura cata) is divided into five books of which books third and fourth deal with plane and spherical trigonometry respectively, the earlier books dealing with transversals, etc. He did much original work in these subjects and deduced some elegant theorems on roulettes also.<sup>1</sup>

At the Marāghah observatory a number of efficientand newely-designed instruments were used for making observations on stars, etc., by Naşīr al-Dīn and his staff, hence the excellence

1. Sarton, los. cit., Vol. II, Part II, pp. 1001-7.

dispersion of light for their correct interpretation.

Qutb al-Din travelled extensively in the countries of Eastern Islam, and on entering the service of the Ilkhān of Persia, Ahmad, was sent by him on an embassy to Sayf al-Din Qala'ūn, Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt, to inform him of his (Ahmad's) having embraced Islam and to conclude a treaty of peace.<sup>1</sup>

Kamāl al-Din Fārisi (died ca. 1320) was a famous pupil of Qutb and under his inspiration wrote *Tanqīh al-Manā zir* (a commentary on Ibn al-Haytham's classical work on optics, *Kitāb al-Manāzir*)which has recently been published with notes, by the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderabad.

Muslim Mongol interest in astronomy manifested itself again in the institution of an observatory at Samarqand under the patronage of Ulugh Beg (1393-1440), a grandson of Tamerlane who published a catalogue of stars comparing his own observations of their magnitudes, etc., with those of Ptolemy and

1. Sarton, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 1017.

# IX

# ARAB ENTERPRISE IN IFRIQYIYAH, SIQILLIYAH AND ANDALUSIA, ETC.

Arab conquest of North Africa began after 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi' built al-Qayrawān in 670, at the site of old Carthage. Harun al-Rashid appointed Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab governor of Tunis in 800, and he ruled the country as an independent Amīr till 811, with Qayrawān as capital. It served as a base of operation against the Byzantine colonies round the Mediterranean, and Sicily was conquered in 902.1 The Aghlabid dynasty lasted till 909 and by that time converted the Latin-speaking Christians of North Africa into Arabic-speaking Muslims by the usual methods of concessions and amelioration. Muslim rule in Sicily, with Balarm (Palermo) as capital was at its height during the reign of Abū al-Futūh Yūsuf ibn 'Abd Allāh (989-98) and lasted for 189 years (after Ibrāhīm's death in 902) until 1091,

- 1. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. VIII.

map of the world, both made of silver.<sup>1</sup>

We shall discuss later the importance of this Norman patronage of Arab learning to European civilization. Another great name will now be introduced that has made distant Morocco famous in the annals of mathematics and astronomy. Abū 'Alī al-Hasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Marrākushī (died 1262) died most of his work in Morocco. His book, Jāmi'al-Mahādi wal-Ghavat, is a very comprehensive work on astronomy (practical as well as theoretical), with description of instruments and chapters on trigonometry containing tables not only of sines (for ever half degree of angle) but of versed sines (Arabic Sahm, singular), arc sines and arcco tangents. He makes free use of graphical methods also in the solution of problems. There is a catalogue of 240 stars for the year 622 A.H. (1225-26). Latitudes and longitudes of 135 places are also given, of which he himself observed 34. He gives the value of the Precession of the Equinoxes as 54" perannum.<sup>2</sup> In

1. Hitti, loc. cit., p. 609.

2. Sarton, loc. cit., Vol. II, Part II, pp. 621-22.
Anas, encouraged the fine arts also with the same zeal. He welcomed to his court Ziryab, one of the greatest singers and musicians of his time, when he fled from Baghdad afraid of the jealously of his teacher Ishāg ibn 'Alī al-Mawsilī. Cordova under Zirvāb's lead became a second Baghdad in setting the fashion to the civilizedworld with refinements indress, coiffure and general society life. From the court, music and song spread into the whole country with Muwashshah and Zajal. It was thus that Spain and south-western France become 'music-minded' under Arab influence, for all times. After Ziryāb, Abū al-Qāsim 'Abbās ibn Firnās (d. 888) introduced oriental music and displayed much scientific activity also. He is said to have made the first successful attempt at soaring flight (i.e., flight without the aid of artificial power), putting on a suit of feathers and wings; but after flying a long distance hurt himself in alighting, for want of a steadying tail. This account must not be taken as a 'flight of fancy' on the part of storytellers. Modern interest in gliding and gliders

left his country in a state of peace and prosperity. He had the co-operation of the Jews from the beginning. Spain was the only country at the time where they found a real home, after prolonged persecutions from the Christian rulers of Europe. They held the highest offices in state administration. Hasday ben Sharpūt was not only the royal physician but wazīr also. During 'Abd al-Rahmān's time trade and agriculture developed so remarkably -thanks to his building up a powerful merchant navy and construction of canals-that the royal revenue amounted to 6,245,000 dinars annually.<sup>1</sup> Qurtubah with its beautiful gardens, orchards and palaces (al-Zahrā' among others), its magnificent mosques, and well-stocked libraries had a population of half a million inhabitants. Every mosque had its school and education was so liberal that, in the words of Dozy, practically every man could read and write. The University of Cordova attracted men from all parts of the world. Some of the

1. Hitti, *loc. cit.*, p. 525 : Ibn 'Idhārī, Vol. II ; Iba Khaldūn. Vol. IV.

according to al-Maqqarī, the women of Andalusia at this time were so well-read that eloguence was a second instinct in them.<sup>1</sup>

When the Banū 'Abbād rose to power in Seville (1023-91) al-Mu'tamīd, who was himself a great poet, chose a friendless wanderer al-'Ammār for his wazīr and a poor country-girl al-I'timād for his favourite queen, primarily on account of their proficiency in the art of poetry.

Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin, Hūdid King of Saragossa from 1081 to 1085, was another great patron of learning. He was himself a good mathematician and wrote a treatise on that subject entitled *Istikmal*, which was pronounced by Judah ibn 'Aqnīn (in the second half of the twelfth century) to be of such a high standard that it should be studied along with Euclid, the Almagest and "the Middle Books". Unfortunately no copy of this royal book is now extent.<sup>2</sup>

Coming down from scholars of princely origin to democratic circles, we propose to begin

1. Maqqari, Vol. II, pp. 536-639.

2. Sarton, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 759.

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eleventh century, accomplished this task, translating the technical terms from Arabic into Hebrew.

One of the most prolific of Muslim writers and the greatest scholar of Muslim Spain was 'Alī ibn Hazm (994-1064). He passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, serving as wazīr at the courts of the unfortunate representatives of the Umayyad family near its downfall, 'Abd al-Rahman V, al-Mustazhir and Hisham III al-Mu'tadd. He retired thence to a life of scholarly seclusion and is credited with having written 400 volumes on history and theology, logic, poetry, etc.<sup>1</sup> His Tawg al-Hamamah is an anthology of love-poems composed probably in his younger days; but his best known work, very catholic and unique up to that, time, al-Fasl fi al-Milal wal-Ahwa' wa'l-Nihal deals with comparative religion.

On the downfall of Qurtubah, a number of provincial cities (seats of petty kingdoms) like Seville, Toledo and Granada rose into power and became university towns, where scholars

1. Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 22.

In historiography we can briefly mention only a few names, for want of space. Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar ibn al-Qūtīyah, who was born at Cordova and died there in 977, is the author of *Tārīkh Iftitah al-Andalus*, extending from the beginning of Arab conquest to the earlier part of 'Abd al-Rahmān III's reign. Abū Marwān Hayyān ibn Khalaf of Cordova (987-1076) wrote 50 books, one of which *al-Matīn* alone comprised 60 volumes. His *al-Muqtabis fī Tārīkh al-Andalus* has survived.

On the Muwāhhid period in Spain and Morocco 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākusī's history (written in 1224) is considered most valuable. The name of the Hispano-Arab Sūfī Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Alī Muhayy al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (al-Shaikh al-Akbar), born in Murcia in 1165, and author of *al-Futūhāt al-Makkī*yah and Fūsūs al-Hikam, etc., is still held in great respect. He died at Damascus in 1240.

Among the foremost biographers of Muslim Spain was Abū al-Walīd 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Faradī (born in Cordova in

'Aiam wal Barbar, a monumental work on Muslim history of Arabia, Persia, and Northern Africa. Its Mugaddamah is a masterpiece of historical criticism on the effect of environment on national development, etc., and an introduction to the philosophy of history. Ibn Khaldun was of Spanish-Arab extraction, born in Tunis, and held responsible posts at Fas and later at Granada. Hereturned subsequently to Africa and settling near Tilimsan began work on his history. On his way to Cairo. after some years, he was appointed Qādī by Barqūq (Mamlūk Sultān al-Zāhir). When al-Zāhir's successor al-Nāsir led a campaign against Tamerlane, Ibn Khaldun accompanied him.

The Muslims of Spain made good contribution to our knowledge of geography also. Al-Idrīsī whose work has already been described was of Hispano-Arab origin. Abū 'Ubayd 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Bākrī, who died at the close of the eleventh century, flourished at Cordova. His *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* written in the form of an itinerary is the

that of al-Māmūn; Abū 'Ubaydah Muslim al-Balinsī has clearly expressed this notion in his writings in the first half of the tenth century, and it is from accounts of such travels and such statements that Columbus drew his inspiration to discover America. The prevailing belief all over Christian Europe in those days was that the earth was flat.

Spain has produced a number of eminent Arab astronomers, among whom we may mention Abū al-Qāsim Maslamah al-Majrītī (1007) of Cordova who revised and edited al-Khwārizmi's Zij; Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīmibn Yahyā al-Zarqālī (1028-87) of Toledo, known to the Latin world as Arzachel, whose astronomical *Tables of Toledo* were very widely known and used, and whose determination of theObliquity of the Ecliptic is correct to within one minute of arc, and the length of the Mediterranean Sea  $42^{\circ}$ , much nearer the truth that Ptolemy's exaggerated  $62^{\circ}$ ; Jābir ibn Aflāh (died ca. 1140) of Ishbīliah (Seville), Latin name, Geber, who made important advances in spherical trigono-

In botany we have  $Ab\bar{u}$  al-'Abbās al-Nabatī of Seville (b. 1165 or 1171, d.ca. 1239) who made extensive explorations in Spain, along the coast of North Africa, Arabia and the Red Sea, early in the first half of the twelfth century. These he describes in his *Kitāb al-Rihlah*, and gives a list of new plants that he discovered on the shores of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup>

The Cordovan physician Abū Ja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghāfiqī (died 1165) collected a large number of plants from Spain and Africa and made a first attempt at their classification giving their names in the Arabic, Latin and Berber languages. His work on simples, *al-Adwiyah al-Mufradah*, was largely consulted and made use of by later workers in the same field.

'Abdullāh ibn Ahmad ibn al-Baytār of Malaga (died in 1248 at Damascus), a disciple of Abū al-'Abbās al-Nabātī, is considered to be the greatest botanist and pharmacist of all the Muslims in the East and West. He roamed about Spain and in North Africa in search of

1. Sarton, loc, cit., Vol. II, p. 65.

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al-Khatib (d. 1374) discussed the matter at some length in his *Muqni*<sup> $\cdot$ </sup> at al-Sā<sup> $\cdot$ </sup> il an Marad al-Ha<sup> $\cdot$ </sup> il, and strongly recommended segregation while the Christians stood helpless.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to religious scruples both Muslim physicians and their early Christian colleagues had at first a dislike for vivisection and mutilation of corpses. Their knowledge of anatomy was necessarily poor, hence their aversion to surgery. What little the Muslims knew was from the operations performed on dead bodies of apes. Their greatest surgeon was Abū al-Jarrah Khalaf ibn 'Abbas al-Zahrawi (died 1013), court physician to al-Hakam II. All that was known at the time in this art is embodied in his concise book al-Tasrif li man 'Ajaza'an al-Ta'ālif, like the crushing of stone in the bladder, blood-letting, cauterization, etc., and included a chapter on surgical instruments also. The surgical portion of this work was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremonaprince of Latin translators from Arabic. Various editions of the work were published

1. Hitti, loc. cit., p. 576.

'Abd al-Mu'min, as Wazīr and private physician. He was a friend of Ibn Rushd and at his request wrote *al-Taysīr fi Mudāwah w'al-Tadbīr*, a work of great merit.

Out of a long list of Hispano-Arabic philosophers we can mention only a few. Ibn Jabīrūl (Sulayman ibn Yahyā, Ben Gabirol, born 1021) long known as the Jewish Plato, though not an Arab, wrote in Arabic his famous Yanbu' al-Hayāt, rendered into Latin as Fons Vitae, a work which had much influence on the scholasticism of the Middle Ages (Franciscan Friars are believed to have based some of their ideas on its teachings). Ibn Maymūn, a Jew (born in Cordova in 1135), author of al-Fasul fi al-Tibb and Dalālat al-Ha'irin; Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Bājjah (Latin, Avempace, died 1138), author of Tadbir al-Mutawahhid, Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Tufayl (died in Morocco in 1185), Wazīr and court physician to the al-Muwahhid rule of Spain and Africa, Abu Ya'qūb Yūsuf and author of the intellectual romance Hayy ibn Yaqzān; and Abu al-Walīd

and vision. He is credited also with the discovery of Sunspots.<sup>1</sup> For a casual observer to witness the phenomenon with the unaided eye, presumably at sunrise or sunset, it must have been an unusually large spot, and knowledge of the years of Ibn Rushd's observation may lead to interesting relationship between Sunspotactivity and some 'allied meteorological phenomena. Ibn Rushd's *Kulliyāt fī al-Tibb* (Latin, Colliget) deals with medicine and allied subjects.

1. J. W. Draper, Intellectual Development of Europe, 2 Volumes (revised edition).

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ment in all fields of human activity. From the beginning of the eighth to the end of the fourteenth century the Arabs were eager to acquire knowledge and to share it with all others who would care to go to them for it. Their scientists and philosophers marched into foreign countries almost simultaneously with their generals and preachers. Even when they degenerated politically they continued to be the torchbearers of learning for generations. It was thus the wild Daylamites, Saljūqs, Tartars and Berbers, once they came into contact with the civilization of Islam, settled down to peaceful pursuits and assimilation of Arab Culture. The greatest calamity that the Muslim world suffered was from the Tartar hordes under Changiz Khan and Hulagū and yet these aggressors (like the fanatical Crusaders) were stopped by the Mamlūk Sultāns of Egypt who were recruited primarily from as rough and uncivilized a stock as the Tartars themselves.

Egypt and Syria will for ever proclaim the glory of Salāh al-Dīn (b. in Takrit, 1138, d. March 1193), Rukn al-Dīn Baybars (1260-77)

Gerard of Cremona, Adelard of Bath, Robert of Chester, Michael Scot, Stephenof Saragossa, William of Lunis, Philip of Tripoli and a host of others, made Arab lore available to Latinknowing people through their laborious translations. Some books were translated into Hebrew also and from Latin or Hebrew into the vernacular languages of Europe.

The study of medicine in Europe began at Salerno where Constantine, the African, who was lucky in having an Arab for his teacher, organised the first medical school. Montpellier and Paris soon followed suit. Arabic, being the chief medium of scientific thought practically all over the world, was taught systematically in several European Universities and schools, especially at Toledo, Narbonne, Naples. Bologna and Paris.

According to some authorities scientific agriculture spread over France and her neighbouring countries from Arab Spain and over Italy from Arab Sicily. The system of irrigation introduced by the Muslim rulers of Spain and their love of horticulture soon made the <sup>8</sup>

that is preserved, is said to be that of 'Ubayd-Allāh al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (died 837), entitled *Gharīb al-Hadīth*, dated Dhu'al-Qa'dah 252 A.H. (corresponding to 13th November or 12th December, 866).<sup>1</sup>

For generation after the recovery of their provinces from the Arab Spanish Christians, both monarchs and their subjects continued to study Arabic and conduct most of their intellectual work in that language. A very remarkable example of this propensity is on record. On the Murābit dinar was impressed on the obverse side Amīr al-Muslimīn and on the reverse side Imān with the name of the Banī 'Abbāsiah Khalīfah. In imitation of this, Alfonso the eighth of Leon and Castile (1168-1214) adopted on the corresponding sides of his own dinar in Arab characters the analogous words Amīr al-Qatulaqīn and Imām al-Bai'ah al-Masīhīyah.<sup>2</sup>

Many technical terms in medicine, astro-

<sup>1.</sup> Hitti, loc cit., p. 347. 2. Ibid., p. 542

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