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THE ARABIC RECEPTION OF PAGAN GREEK POETRY AND POETS IN THE ‘ABBĀSID PERIOD

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Diener sind wir freilich, aber Diener
unsterblicher Geister, denen wir den
sterblichen Mund leihen: was
Wunder, daß unsere Herren stärker
sind als wir?

Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,
Was ist Übersetzen?

INTRODUCTION

In the poetry collection *Abwāb ilā al-Bayt al-Ḍayyiq* (1990) by Buland al-Ḥaydarī (1926-1996) – a Kurd born Iraqi poet, who lived in exile from 1963 until his death – there is a poem entitled *al-Madīna allatī ahlakahā al-ṣamt* (*The city which the silence destroyed*), in which the myth of the fall of Troy is alluded to, in order to describe metaphorically the state of devastation in Baḡdād under Ṣaddām Ḥusayn's rule: «Troy, that forgotten female prisoner / Between the corpse and the nail. / Troy – the Greeks never besieged her; / The Persians never seduced her. / She has never been lured away by any storm or fire. / [...] Troy died because of a wound inside us, because of a wound inside her, / Because of a blind silence that tied her children's tongues. / Troy, the silence killed her. / We have nothing inside her; she has nothing inside us save death, / Nothing but the corpse and the nail».¹

Al-Ḥaydarī's poem is only a tiny example of the many forms of modern and contemporary Arabic reception of ancient Greek poetry, including Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's translations of some of Sophocles' tragedies, Sulaymān al-Bustānī's version of the *Iliad* in verse, and the reuse of elements of classical theatre by the Arab playwright Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, to mention only the most famous instances.

But if we look back to the time when readers from the Islamic world were first consciously and actively confronted with Greek culture, we observe that the reception of poetry was not nearly as far-reaching as it was in the *Nahḍa* period. In the first centuries of the 'Abbāsīd era, in the context of the so-called translation movement, pagan Greek poetry was indeed relegated to the margins of Arabic-speaking intellectuals' interests. This is primarily evidenced by the dearth of translations of Greek works in verse or sections of them.

Yet, reception does not only pass through the channel of passive translation – which nevertheless remains an important conduit, as well as the most concrete and evident proof of the transmission of a work and its content from one language to another –, but it also takes place through forms of active adaptation of texts and ideas. However, even looking at the phenomenon from this perspective, we can only rely on a few scattered testimonies attesting to direct or indirect knowledge of elements of Greek poetic heritage.

¹ al-Ḥaydarī 1990, 45-49 (Ar.); English transl. in Snir 2013, 213-215.

It follows that the reconstruction of the Arabic reception of pagan Greek poetry in the ‘Abbāsīd era is a challenging task, made difficult by the limited scope and fragmentary character of the sources at our disposal. Such an inquiry is made even more delicate by the very nature of its object of study. According to a famous remark by Robert Frost, poetry is what gets lost in translation. Indeed, any translator of a work in verse requires not only a philological knowledge of the source language, as Wilamowitz advocated in his essay *Was ist Übersetzen?* – which formed the introduction to his 1891 German edition and translation of Euripides’ *Hippolytus* –, but also an artistic quality that enables him to grasp and interpret the extra-textual element. To do so, the translator is often forced to depart from the source text, and to become a poet himself, even though he thereby “betrays” the original. It is inevitable that any attempt at translation that renounces this ambition may appear disappointing and inferior to the source text. Every translation of poetry, therefore, brings with it an unresolvable dilemma. Although these considerations have limited bearing on a historical investigation such as the one we propose to make here, the problem of poetry’s untranslatability cannot be overlooked, since some Arabic-speaking learned men, who were spectators of the translation movement, show a similar awareness to contemporary scholars about this matter. A 9th-century translator, Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl, declares himself dissatisfied with his own version of certain Greek verses because the alteration of their form through translation blots out their special splendour and corrupts their content. The Baṣrian polymath al-Ġāḥiḏ argues that Arabic poetry cannot and should not be translated because the removal of its rhythmic and metrical structure in translation compromises its beauty and artistic quality, and also affects its content. The words of these two authors are incredibly similar to those written by Dante a few centuries later in the *Convivio* (I, VII, 14-15), where he states that the translation of verse implies the breaking of the musaic bond between form and content that determines its sweetness and harmony, which is why in his time Homer’s poetry had not been translated into Latin or any other language and the Hebrew-into-Greek and Greek-into-Latin versions of the *Psalms* were unsatisfactory.² Finally, in his *Kitāb al-ḥarāġ wa-ṣinā‘at al-kitāba* (*The Book of the Land-Tax and the Craft of Writing*) the 10th cent. litterateur Qudāma ibn Ġa‘far writes that according to some Greek poets, when poetry is rendered from their language into Arabic, it becomes representation (*ṣūra*) of poetry, only its content survives and the master in doing so is a mean man.³ The testimony – of which I have not found a parallel in the Greek sources and which could be a free reworking of Qudāma himself – seems to restore a fragment of an intellectual debate that was common to Greek-speaking, perhaps Byzantine, scholars as well as Arabic-speaking ones. One might wonder whether this intellectual debate influenced the lack of attention paid to poetry by translators and their patrons. The importance of these sources is mainly of a theoretical nature, because they offer an important document for the history of translation theory, but they do not constitute sufficient evidence to explain the phenomenon of Arabic reception of pagan Greek poetry. The perplexities shown by these men of letters cannot have determined – at least not exclusively – an entire phenomenon, and should rather be read and compared with other concurrent factors, such as the scarce

² The parallel with Dante was underscored by Cassarino 1998, 86 and by Serra 2002, 256. The above Arabic sources are examined in Chapter 1.

³ al-Zubaydī 1981, 440.1-2. This passage was noted by ‘Abbās 1993, 26.

practical usefulness of poetry, the difficulties in understanding and translating poetic language, and the cultural background one needs to appreciate the content of the poetic heritage of any linguistic tradition. After all, Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl translated verses from Greek anyway, even though he was not satisfied with the final outcome, and Dante's authority did not prevent Leontius Pilatus from rendering the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in Latin prose first for Boccaccio and then for Petrarch! Moreover, the phenomenon of reception, as mentioned above, does not only pass through the filter of translation. The untranslatability of poetry, then, if taken individually, is a false problem, and the question of the transmission of Greek poetry into Arabic is decidedly more complex.

The study presented here aims at reconsidering the phenomenon starting from a survey and analysis of the texts, that is, from the inventory and textual examination of the references to pagan Greek poetry and of the fragments attributed to Greek poets that are preserved in Arabic translation, and from the scrutiny of the documentary evidence useful for this investigation. The partial and fragmentary transmission of Greek poetry into Arabic throughout the 'Abbāsīd period took place essentially indirectly, through two main channels, which will be the focus of our investigation. The first is made of the poetic quotations that are included in works of philosophy, science and medicine translated into Arabic, among which we have chosen to deal with the *Corpus Aristotelicum*. The second channel of transmission is doxo-gnomological literature, which, by its nature, offers mostly spurious sayings attributed to Greek poets and is characterised by a stratified, intricate, and multilingual textual tradition, so that the Greek origin of some fragments is doubtful and the influence of other traditions, such as Syriac and Persian, can be assumed.

The data that will emerge from the analysis of such a large corpus of texts will guide us in interpreting and placing the phenomenon within the broader framework of the Arabic reception of Greek heritage.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

When transliterating Syriac terms, we followed the conventions of European scholarship and the East Syriac tradition of pronunciation for vocalisation. For the transliteration of Arabic words and syntagms, we mostly applied the rules of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (DIN 31635 standard). For the transliteration of proper nouns, we have limited the insertion of vowels as much as possible, except where necessary for pronunciation purposes.

For most Arabic authors we have provided the date of death according to the conventional system, i.e. Muslim *hiğrī* followed by the *mīlādī* equivalent, separated by a slash.

The passages of the Greek authors quoted are expressed according to the abbreviations of the *LSJ*, except for cases more extensive references were needed for the sake of clarity.

To indicate the works of the Greek commentators of Aristotle published in the volumes of the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* (CAG) we have used the following system: CAG, Roman numeral in some cases followed by Arabic numeral to indicate the volume, page and line number separated by a dot, name of the editor.

Similarly, the works of Galen published in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (CMG) are indicated as follows: CMG, Roman numeral followed by Arabic numeral(s) to indicate the volume, page and line numbers separated by a dot, name of the editor. In some instances, reference has also been made to the Kühn edition (*Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*).

We have adopted abbreviations for the most frequently cited sources in the textual analyses of Chapters 2 and 3, that are explained in the tables placed at the beginning of each chapter.

The most common abbreviations used throughout the text are listed below:

(in) mg.	in margine	mid.	middle
ad loc.	ad locum	MS/MSS	manuscript(s)
app.	apparatus	n. / nn.	notes
ca.	circa	no. /nos.	number(s)
cent. / cents.	century / centuries	om.	omittit
ch.	chapter	p. / pp.	page(s)
coni.	coniecit	par. /parr.	paragraph(s)
corr.	correxit, corrected	r.	regnavit
d.	died	ref. /refs.	reference(s)
ed.	edited, edition	rev.	revised, review
fl.	floruit	s.l.	supra lineam
fol./fols.	folio(s)	tempt.	temptavit
fr. /F/frs.	Fragment(s)	transl. /transls.	translated, translation(s)
l./ll.	line(s)	v./vv.	verse(s)
lit.	literal(ly)		

Where not specified, translations of Greek, Arabic and Syriac texts are mine.

PAGAN GREEK POETRY IN THE ‘ABBĀSID PERIOD TRANSLATION ACTIVITY

1.1 *Status quaestionis*

The history of the Arabic reception of pagan Greek poetry is mostly made up – to put it in Le Goff's words – of silences and *vides*, and the fragmentation and scattering of its *pleins* make it difficult to reconstruct a complete and unitary picture.¹ The primary objective of this study is to collect and present the relevant fragments to recreate what is left of this picture.

In the season of intense translation activity from Greek – as well as from Syriac, Middle Persian and possibly other languages – into Arabic that falls under the all-encompassing name of ‘Abbāsid translation movement statesmen and intellectuals cultivated a keen interest in secular forms of knowledge, which were imported and studied from Arabic versions of works on astronomy, astrology, medicine and pharmacology, philosophy, mathematics, mechanics, optics, occult sciences, music theory, natural sciences and agriculture.² Some branches of the Greek heritage were more neglected than others, and among them was poetry.

For the 9th-10th cents., the heyday of the translation movement, full and direct versions of the Greek poetic heritage – in the strict sense and in the definition of poetry employed here – are not preserved, nor attested in the canonical bibliographic sources for this kind of investigation (e. g., Ibn al-Nadīm's *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, Ibn Ğulġul's *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-l-ḥukamā'*, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's *Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* and Ibn al-Qiftī's *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'*). Similarly, considerations explicitly addressed to Greek poetry and poets are quite rare in Arabic authors who wrote at the time of the translation movement and in the ‘Abbāsid period overall.

The elements of Greek poetry that have been rendered into Arabic are mostly fragments consisting of a handful of verses each, or isolated single verses, transmitted indirectly. Completing the picture are a few partial testimonies from which we can infer – sometimes

¹ In the introductory essay to the collective work *La Nouvelle Histoire*, edited by Jacques Le Goff for *Les encyclopédies du Savoir moderne* in 1978, Le Goff himself identifies, among the tasks of the new way of making history, also the need to interpret historical documentation differently and furthermore argues that: «[...] il faut cerner, expliquer les lacunes, les silences de l'histoire et asseoir l'histoire aussi bien sur ces vides que sur les pleins qui ont survécu» (quoted from the new edition, Le Goff 2006, 63).

² On the ‘Abbāsid translation movement, see the classic study *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (Gutas 1998); but also the summary in Daiber 2012, 21-63, the very important observations in Rashed 2006 and an overall critical review of the classical narrative in Saliba 2007, 1-72.

purely hypothetically – what Arabic-speaking intellectuals knew about Greek poetry, and which qualities and characteristics they associated with it and with Greek poets.

Before tackling the question in depth, a preliminary remark about the object of our investigation is needed. Indeed, we cannot enquire as to which elements of Greek poetry have been transmitted in Arabic or Greek poetry, and how, without having first defined what we mean by Greek poetry. Although the answer might seem obvious from an empirical standpoint, appealing to our experience as students and readers, it is far from simple. It confronts us with questions of a formalistic-conceptual as well as literary-historical nature, including defining what a poetic text is in itself – deluding ourselves that there can be a univocal definition –, settling on how poetic genres should be segmented and questioning the legitimacy of the traditional classifications of genres as well as the canon of poets we take for granted.³ However, neither the discussion nor the resolution of these questions pertains to our research, as our only purpose here is to circumscribe a field of inquiry. Therefore, we will stick to a completely conventional categorization, and to do so we will take our cue from a very famous passage in Aristotle's *Poetics*.

In *Po.* 1447b 16-20 Aristotle points out that meter is not a sufficient criterion for the definition of poetry and criticizes whoever calls those who wrote about medicine and science in verse poets, «but except for meter there is nothing in common between Homer and Empedocles. So, it would be fair to call the former a poet, the latter a nature philosopher rather than a poet». Without examining the implications of this statement and the areas of Greek poetry that remain uncovered by the theorisation developed in the *Poetics*,⁴ our selection follows Aristotle's paradigm. That meter cannot be a sufficient criterion for the purposes of our analysis is evident simply by the fact that Greek meter is lost in translation and the Arabic renderings of the poetic fragments that concern us are all in prose. Accordingly, based on Aristotle's words, we can exclude from our field of investigation all scientific, medical and philosophical production in verse, sometimes collectively referred to as didactic poetry.⁵ Given their content and the insignificance of the metrical form in the outcome of the translation, these kinds of texts do not pose the same type of problem as those limited to our investigation.

Of course, fragments of the so-called poet-philosophers, namely Parmenides, Empedocles, and Xenophanes – whose poems, by the time of the 'Abbāsid translation movement, had probably already been lost –, do survive in Arabic, either because they are quoted by other Greek authors whose works were translated into Arabic (especially Aristotle, but also others such as Ps. Plutarch in his *Placita philosophorum*) or because their doctrines and the sayings attributed to them are reported in Arabic doxo-gnomological sources. The gnomological tradition has also transmitted an anonymous version of the *Golden Verses* by Pythagoras – perhaps dating back to the second half of the 9th cent., and, as Daiber assumes, translated

³ The debate, which borders on the theory of literature, is very rich and still lively, so I refer to the issues touched by Rossi 1971. The non-univocity of these categories already emerges in the discussions of Alexandrian philologists, such as the case mentioned by Bruno Gentili of the dispute between Callimachus and Aristarchus on Bacchylides' *Kassandra*, a paean according to the former and a dithyramb in the latter's opinion. See Gentili 2006, 65 and 66 n. 43 for further fundamental studies (most of which, however, focus on lyric poetry).

⁴ Some observations on this subject can be read in Halliwell 1986, 253-285.

⁵ See the entry *Didactic Poetry* by Reinhold F. Gleis in Brill's New Pauly (2006).

together with Iamblicus' commentary –, preserved in Miskawayh's *al-Ḥikma al-ḥālida*, in the *Muntaḥab šiwān al-ḥikma* and in al-Anṣārī's compilation *Ādāb al-falāsifa*, which includes materials from the homonymous work by Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq.⁶ Allegedly the *Phenomena* by Aratus of Soli was translated into Arabic – perhaps in the lemmata of an *ad hoc* commentary –⁷ in the first decades of the 9th cent. for Ṭāhir ibn Ḥusayn (d. 207/822-823), general of al-Ma'mūn and governor of Ḥurāsān, as stated in Agapius' *Kitāb al-ʿunwān* (*The Book of the Title*).⁸ Of this version, now lost, traces remain in the *Kitāb fī taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind min maqūla maqbūla fī l-ʿaql aw marḍūla* (*Book of the Verification of What is Said About India*) by the eclectic scientist al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 440/1048). The latter reports two passages by Aratus' *Phenomena* (a literal translation of vv. 1-10 and a paraphrase of vv. 96-134), both accompanied by words quoted from an anonymous (Greek) commentator of Aratus' writing.⁹ In addition to these, mention should be made of the Arabic version (perhaps produced from Middle Persian) of the *Pentateuch* by Dorotheus of Sidon (1st cent. AD), an astrological poem in hexameters, lost in Greek,¹⁰ and Andromachus' poem, a theriac recipe in elegiac couplets transmitted through the Arabic version of Galen's *De theriaca ad Pisonem*.¹¹

However, we have not examined the Arabic reception of these authors and works. Among the poems that fall into the didactic genre, I have decided to exceptionally include in my analysis Hesiod's *Works and Days* – sometimes presented as an epic poem –, because, despite its final part being prevalently didactic, it still remains a sapiential poem with a preceptive structure, and some of its verses can be considered examples of gnomic poetry. For the rest, we have dealt with works belonging to the canonical genres of pagan Greek poetry, especially the epic, lyric (choral and monodic), elegy, iamb and theatre. Due to the typology and dating

⁶ In addition to the version of the *Golden Verses* transmitted by these sources, which is frequently quoted in Arabic literature, there is a translation of a lemmatic commentary attributed to Iamblicus (published by Hans Daiber in 1995) – a quotation from the latter is also contained in al-Anṣārī's *Ādāb al-falāsifa* – and an Arabic summary by Ibn al-Ṭayyib of a commentary ascribed to Proclus (edited by Neil Linley in 1984). On the Arabic tradition of these texts see Rosenthal 1941a and 1941b; Daiber 1994, 4985; Baffioni 1994a; Wakelnig 2014, 37-39.

⁷ Ullmann 1972, 278.

⁸ See the interpretation given by Honigmann 1950, who convincingly argues that the Arabic *Arṭs* is not a transliteration for Eratosthenes – as interpreted by Vasiliev and Pirone – but stands for Aratus. The passage from the *Kitāb al-ʿunwān* (which we will return to in a moment) can be read in: Vasiliev 1910, 677.1-6 = Cheikho 1912, 60.21-61.4; translated into Italian in Pirone 2013, 106.

⁹ al-Bīrūnī 1958, 74.9-75.10 (Ar.) = Sachau 1910, I 97-98 (En.), al-Bīrūnī 1958, 322.5-323.17 (Ar.) = Sachau 1910, I 383-385 (En.). See Rosenthal 1941a, 104 n. 1 (I was not able to consult the MS mentioned by Rosenthal). Both citations have been examined by Kraemer 1956a, 270-279, who focused on the commentary on the first passage since it contains a quotation from Homer. See also Mavroudi 2020, 459. Aratus is quoted twice in the Arabic version of Ps. Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, I 6, 6 (= Daiber 1980, 110.22-26, where he is alluded to as «the poet») and II 19, 3 (= Daiber 1980, 154.12-15).

¹⁰ The Arabic text has been edited by David Pingree in 1976. See Kraemer 1957, 511-516; Cottrell, Ross 2019.

¹¹ The authenticity of this Galenic treatise is debated. In the Greek tradition the poem covers paragraphs 6-7, whereas in the Arabic version it is moved to the end. The text has been edited by L. Richter-Bernburg in his 1969 doctoral dissertation. The same recipe in verses is preserved in the Greek text of Galen's *De antidotis* (I, 6), but its Arabic translation, to this day, has not been recovered (See Ḥunayn's *Risāla ilā ʿAlī ibn Yahyā fī dīkr mā turǧīma min kutub Ḡālīnūs bi-ʿilmihī wa-baʿḍ ma lam yutarǧam*: Lamoreaux 2016, 91 para. 86 [Ar.], 90 [Engl.]). See also Boudon-Millot 2010; Leigh 2016, 5-7; Boudon-Millot 2017.

of the sources from which this part of Greek literature was transmitted into Arabic, we have mostly encountered fragments of poetry from the archaic and classical periods.

Even Christian Greek poetry – although the distinction between pagan and Christian is sometimes blurred and dictated primarily by methodological requirements –¹² has remained outside the scope of our examination in light of a number of considerations. As is well known, the translation movement of the ‘Abbāsid era had a distinctly secular vocation, which is not to say that translations into Arabic did not also include works written by Christian authors or consulted by Christian readers, but what was generally translated were non-religious writings. Among the Arabic versions produced in this context, I have found no traces of transmission of Christian poetry, with the exception of a few fragments of the carmina of Gregory of Nazianzus. However, the translation activity carried out mainly in Baġdād and in a few other cultural centres of the caliphate was not an isolated phenomenon, but rather one of several multilingual translation endeavours whose relations and interactions have not yet been closely examined. For instance, in the monasteries of the Eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamian area (Palestine and Sinai, Antioch, Syria, Iraq, Egypt), translations were made from Greek, but also from Syriac, Coptic, Latin and Hebrew, into Arabic of patristic and other works, which have been partly preserved, only minimally edited and even less studied, in a centuries-old tradition dating back at least to the very same cents. of the ‘Abbāsid translation movement.¹³ This branch of the discipline still remains largely unexplored.

That pagan Greek poetry so defined has had a marginal position within the translation movement is a well-known fact, having been only partially studied in some of its significant aspects, such as the reinterpretation of Greek theatre through the Arabic version of Aristotle’s *Poetics* and the Arabic Homer, but it has never been the focus of a specific and systematic investigation. Three salient features of the phenomenon are usually identified, namely the dearth of testimonies, a general lack of interest and profound misinterpretations of the sources containing fragments of and/or dealing with Greek poetry. These are indeed

¹² See for instance Agosti 2009.

¹³ See Treiger 2015 and the introduction to the recent study by Roggema and Treiger 2020, *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translation* (pp. 1-14). The latter aims to be a benchmark and a starting point for new research (see the fundamental *Bibliographical Guide to Arabic Patristic Translations and Related Texts* at the end of the volume). If we had extended our investigation to Greek Christian poetry we would have had to deal with Arabic versions of parts of the *Bible* in verse (e.g., the *Psalms* and the *Song of Songs* to name the most famous), as well as the *Akathistos* to Mary (see Treiger 2015, 193 n. 23 and Peters 1940) and others, but the survey would have been only partial since several texts remain unpublished. Further research in this area could reveal interesting material for the purposes of our research, since Christian authors also refer to the classical heritage and in particular to pagan poetry. For instance, Gregory of Nazianzus includes various references in the orations 4, 5, 39 and 43, which were discussed in a commentary focused on their mythological content (including episodes of the Epic Cycle), written in the 6th century by ps. Nonnos. Parts of the scholia to oration 4 are preserved in Syriac (edited by Sebastian Brock in 1971) and some scholia in Armenian and Georgian translation (see Coulie 1998 and Mavroudi 2020, 467-468 for an overview) and it is not excluded that some parts were also translated into Arabic together with Gregory’s orations (Jacques Grand’Henry has been working incessantly on their Arabic tradition since the 1980s). Another extremely interesting work that should be studied in parallel with the gnomological sources that shall be discussed in Chapter 3 is the *Kitāb al-rawḍa (The Garden)* by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī (d. after 1052), a prolific translator and theologian from Antioch. This writing has been recognized as a translation of the sacro-profane florilegium *Loci communes* by Ps. Maximus Confessor. The Arabic texts remains largely unedited. See Treiger 2011, 100-103.

inescapable aspects, but without verification based on textual evidence one runs the risk of unduly absolutizing them.¹⁴ In fact, those scholars who have inquired into the characteristics and reasons for this marginality have relied on a partial sample of data, whereas the only modern study that devotes wide-ranging considerations to this phenomenon, the *Malāmiḥ yūnāniyya fi al-adab al-‘arabi* (first edition 1977, second edition 1993) by Iḥsān ‘Abbās, has received almost no response in the West, substantiating a well-founded fear expressed by Joseph van Ess 40 years ago.¹⁵

My research therefore aims to fill this gap in the scholarly tradition by offering a comprehensive study of the Arabic reception of Greek poetry in the context of the translation movement and the tradition it set off. The primary objective is to collect as much data as possible to reconstruct a sufficiently reliable picture in order to re-examine the question as a whole. To do so, we will investigate the two main forms of transmission of Greek poetry into Arabic. The first is references to poets and poetic compositions¹⁶ and the quotations of verses contained mostly in scientific, medical and philosophical treatises preserved in Arabic translation. This point will be explored further in Chapter 2. Since surveying all the fragments that fall into this category would require an effort that exceeds the limits of our research,¹⁷ I have focused on the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, which has undoubted advantages in terms of breadth and number of references relative to the text they are part of compared to any other group of Greek works that have reached the Arabic speaking world. An additional advantage over the other major Greek body of work that has been rendered into Arabic – i.e., Galen’s *oeuvre* – is the variety of translations. In fact, almost all extant Arabic versions of Galen’s treatises come from the circle of Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq and are therefore very homogeneous in terms of translation style. Moreover, Ḥunayn, as we shall see later, had an exceptional knowledge of Greek culture and also shows a rare interest in certain aspects of Greek poetic heritage. Thus, restricting our investigation to the works translated under his leadership

¹⁴ In particular, the question of lack of interest is posed in excessively radical and generalized terms. See, for example, the assessment (which requires verification) made by Peter Brown in his fundamental work *The World of Late Antiquity*: «Christian clergyman eventually passed Aristotle, Plato and Galen on to the Arabs; but in the medieval Near East, Christian and Muslim alike chose to remain ignorant of Homer, of Thucydides, of Sophocles. It was the end of a millennium of literary culture» (Brown 1971, 186; italics mine), already quoted in Watt 1993, 47 n. 9.

¹⁵ Van Ess 1980, 144. The other major linchpin in the history of studies on the Arabic reception of Greek poetry is Jörg Kraemer’s 1956 article *Arabische Homerverse*, which had a wide following but which is focused on the reception of a single author.

¹⁶ The survey does not include references to poetry as an art, considerations on the status of poets in general or discussions of poetic genres as they do not pertain to our main question, namely which elements of – and how – pagan Greek poetry was transmitted in Arabic.

¹⁷ Although we have endeavored to provide an overall picture of this phenomenon, our survey of Greek references is incomplete and inevitably selective. In addition to the Arabic translations of the Galenic corpus – into which we will make some forays in this first chapter – and other medical, scientific and philosophical treatises containing fragments of Greek poetry, further references and quotations, some spurious, can be found, for instance, in: the Arabic Ps. Platonic treatise *Kitāb al-Nawāmīs* (a reference is also quoted in Ibn Abi Uṣaybi‘a’s *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, online edition Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 7.2.2); al-Fārābī’s *Ġawāmi‘ Kitāb al-Nawāmīs li-Aflāṭīn*; the *oeuvre* of Ḡābir ibn Ḥayyān (see Kraemer 1956a, 279); the Latin-into-Arabic *Historiae adversus paganos* by Orosius (see ‘Abbās 1993, 99-102); the Arabic *Life of Secundus the Silent Philosopher*, and others.

would allow us to assess what he and his collaborators knew about Greek poetry, but would not warrant extending our considerations to the phenomenon of reception as a whole. On the contrary, the Arabic versions of Aristotle's treatises available to us are very heterogeneous. They were produced over a period of time that spans the entire translation movement, from the decades between the 8th and 9th cent. to the late 10th cent., by different translators with varying degrees of command of the Greek language and familiarity with the more specific aspects of Greek culture.

The second transmission channel of pagan Greek poetry is gnomological literature. As we shall discuss in Chapter 3, the Arabic collections of wise sayings and anecdotes adapt and integrate materials of different provenance, partly taken from Greek sources. As in the case of the first transmission channel, the poetic fragments of this type of sources have been surveyed here as exhaustively as possible. Most of these are spurious sayings (with very few exceptions of authentic verses) and anecdotal reports on the personalities of the main Greek poets, yet they help contribute to the image of intellectuals of the Islamic world associated with the names of Greek poets, albeit in the form of popular philosophy.

Since our entire investigation is based on an indirect and fragmentary process of textual transmission, we shall use "fragment"¹⁸ as a blanket term, even when referring to Arabic versions of verses from Greek poems that have come down to us directly and in their entirety – one example being Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* –, in order to emphasize the modes and outcomes of the transmission of Greek poetry into Arabic.

Alongside these "textual" channels, we can also imagine a third form of transmission, which is the oral circulation of ideas, narratives, reports on authors and even textual fragments through exchanges and contacts between intellectuals. Although we are aware of the pitfalls of the so-called theory of the *voie diffuse* – «useless at best (minimalist position) and misleading at worst (maximalist position)» –,¹⁹ for some of the testimonies investigated especially in this chapter (Ḥunayn's knowledge of Homer's verses and perhaps the tale reported by al-Iskāfi), it is reasonable to postulate an at least partially oral tradition.

Though our main focus is on the Arabic reception of pagan Greek poetry, such an investigation cannot be separated and isolated from other linguistic traditions that exerted a more or less marked influence on Arabic literature. Therefore, we shall refer in some cases to the mediation of Middle Persian in the transmission of some texts of Greek origin – an Iranian influence in some fragments reported in Appendix 2 cannot be ruled out – and especially to the role of «accidental intermediaries»²⁰ played by the Syriac versions of some Greek works

¹⁸ Laurent Gourmelen says the following about the fragment (Gourmelen 2007, 111): «Lorsqu'une œuvre littéraire ancienne est perdue dans son intégralité, il est d'usage de nommer «fragment» tout texte postérieur permettant d'en prendre connaissance, d'une manière ou d'une autre. Il peut s'agir de simples allusions, de résumés, de paraphrases, de discours rapportés au style indirect ou au style direct. En dépit de leur apparente hétérogénéité, ces différents types d'énoncé illustrent les diverses modalités que peut revêtir dans l'Antiquité le phénomène de la citation. De fait, tout fragment peut, *a priori*, être considéré comme une citation, même si le statut précis de cette dernière semble parfois incertain et délicat à définir», echoing the useful observations by Darbo-Peschanski 2004a, 13-19 and Darbo-Peschanski 2004b, 291-293.

¹⁹ See the discussion in Gutas 1994, 4944-4949 (the quotation is taken from p. 4948), with a reconstruction of the history of studies and further bibliography.

²⁰ Takahashi 2015, 66.

that have also been translated into Arabic. In fact, many of the versions examined in Chapter 2 were based on Syriac *Vorlagen* – in most cases lost – or by Syriac-speaking Christian translators in whose versions we may observe the interference of the mother tongue with the language of translation. Similarly, some of the fragments analysed in Chapter 3 are also attested in parallel Syriac sources even though no interaction between the two textual traditions can be proven. Finally, the examination of both Syriac and Arabic reception of some Greek works – including the very meagre forms of reception of pagan poetry – allows us to gauge the continuity of some tendencies in the selection and transmission of texts, as well as the weight that some reading practices (especially scholastic ones as we shall see) had in determining their survival in multiple linguistic traditions.²¹

In his influential study *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Franz Rosenthal devotes a section to the elements of classical literature and art of which traces remain in Arabic sources, translating some passages of extreme interest, such as the narration of the conquest of Troy in al-Iskāfi's *Kitāb lutf al-tadbīr* to which we shall return at the end of this chapter. Rosenthal rightly observes that «the little that was known of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, the tragedians, Aristophanes, etc., was known indirectly, for instance, through the works of Aristotle and Galen and gnomic literature»,²² a statement that is fully confirmed by the results of this investigation. He then points out that narrative *topoi*, legendary motifs, and forms of popular wisdom survived in Arabic. He also addresses some highly problematic aspects of the tradition, namely the possibility that Greek literature may have exerted a tacit influence on indigenous Arabic production, even leading to formal innovations such as the creation of new literary genres. Assuming such a perspective of enquiry means opening up complex, sometimes indemonstrable and potentially unresolvable questions, as well as treading on a slippery slope where it is perhaps unsafe to venture even for those with long-time experience in the study of ancient literary traditions (and not only of Greek and Arabic literatures). Indeed, the risk of relying on an unjustified diffusionism with Greek-centric drifts is always around the corner. Rosenthal refers to a line of research that had resonance especially in the 1940s and 1950s with von Grunebaum's studies and that today seems almost completely abandoned.²³ If we confine ourselves to poetry, von Grunebaum assumed, on the basis of scholars who had preceded him, that some themes and forms of Arabic poetry depended on Greek patterns, such as erotic and descriptive Arabic poetry. One of the privileged fields of application of this approach was the search for Greek influences in the composition of the *One Thousand and One Nights*, not only in the adaptation of some motifs, but also in the

²¹ Much has been written on the continuity and relations between Syriac and Arabic translation activity. Clear and concise presentations can be found in Diaber 1986, Gutas 1998, 20-22, Diaber 2012, 44-49 and Takahashi 2015. See also Conrad 1999. As Takahashi states: «the Syriac reception of Greek philosophy and other sciences facilitated, and in many ways determined the course of, the reception of the same sciences in Arabic» (Takahashi 2015, 67). See also Takahashi 2015, 81-82 on the neglected genres of poetry, oratory and classical historiography in both Syriac and Arabic reception of the Greek lore. For the traces of a transmission of Greek historiography in Arabic see also Di Branco 2009, 15-36.

²² Rosenthal 1975a, 255 (English edition; the German original was published in 1965).

²³ A similar perspective has been taken recently (2006) by Miklós Maróth in the introduction to his edition of the *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*, where (p. 10) he argues for a Greek component in the formative stage of *adab* literature. His position has been strongly criticised in Gutas 2009, 67 and n. 44.

structural affinities between the Greek novel and the Arabic love romance as potential clues that the latter was indebted to the former.²⁴ In particular, as far as poetry is concerned, some scholars have identified similarities between some narrative cores of the Homeric poems and the *Arabian Nights*, suggesting a full-fledged dependence.²⁵ The most emblematic case is represented by the similarities between the episode of al-Sindibād and a giant one-eyed cannibal (whom the sailor manages to blind with a burning log) in his third voyage and the myth of Polyphemus in Homer's *Odyssey*, now interpreted as an indication of independent derivation from common folkloric materials that were widespread in the ancient Near East.²⁶

Thus, due in part to the effective marginality of Greek poetry in the context of the translation movement, and in part to the loss of a number of sources that is typical of any centuries-long process of textual transmission, the testimonies on which we can rely for our investigation are few, scattered and fragmentary, and in many respects disappointing for the purposes of historical reconstruction. This has made the search for the factors that might account for the phenomenon particularly difficult, and led scholars to formulate interpretative theories based on little data and many inferences *e silentio*, which, although logically well-argued and even convincing in themselves, are sometimes found repeated in secondary literature with little awareness of the fragility of the foundations on which they rest.

For example, considerable emphasis has been placed repeatedly on a passage from the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* by al-Ġāḥiẓ (d. 255/869), which does not explicitly pertain to the object of our investigation, but which scholars usually resort to in their interpretation thereof. In it al-Ġāḥiẓ states that «only the Arabs and the people who speak Arabic have a correct understanding of poetry. Poems do not lend themselves to translation and ought not to be translated. When they are translated, their poetic structure is rent; the metre is no longer correct; poetic beauty disappears and nothing worthy of admiration remains in the poems».²⁷ The author lays out a theorisation of the untranslatability of poetry for all intents and purposes, limited however to the Arabic poetic heritage without any mention of the Greek one. I am therefore not entirely convinced that we are entitled to extend al-Ġāḥiẓ's considerations to the opposite case, and thus to ours.²⁸ In the section from which this passage is taken, in fact, the intellectual discusses the limits of translation and translators as well as what is good and useful to translate and what is not. Only when he speaks of what is translatable or has been translated does he refer to versions from other languages (Greek

²⁴ Rosenthal 1975a, 255. See the studies by von Grunebaum 1942 and 1953, 294-319; the matter is summarised in the entry *Greek Literature* in *The Arabian Nights. An Encyclopaedia* (Marzolph, van Leeuwen 2004, II 575-576, with further bibliography).

²⁵ See in particular Chauvin 1899. However Galland in a letter of 1701 already states that two episodes of the *One Thousand and One Nights* – the character of Queen Lāb who turns her lovers into birds in the tale of Ġulnār and the giant cannibal in the Third Voyage of al-Sindibād – seem to be taken from Homer – specifically from the figures of Circe and Polyphemus. See the extract of the letter quoted in Montgomery 1999, 444.

²⁶ See the inspiring contribution of Montgomery 1999, who concludes: «Indeed I find the arguments for the Greek influence on the *Nights* in general to be flimsy and contrived» (p. 466). See also the entry *Homer* in *The Arabian Nights. An Encyclopaedia* (Marzolph, van Leeuwen 2004, II 591-592) and Mavroudi 2020, 460-461, 464-465.

²⁷ Hārūn 1938-1958, I, 74.14-75.2 (Ar.); Rosenthal 1975a, 18 (Engl.).

²⁸ Kilito 2003, 207, but these lines are frequently quoted as supporting the theory of poetic autarchy (see *Infra*).

above all, but also Persian and Indian) into Arabic, while when he theorises untranslatability he refers exclusively to the rendering of Arabic into other languages.²⁹ In addition to poetry, al-Ġāḥiẓ in fact dwells at length on the dangers of attempting to render the Qurʾān and the *aḥādīṭ* into other languages, echoing a debate that was particularly alive at the time, especially in muʿtazilī circles.³⁰ In light of this, his words on the untranslatability of poetry seem to be understood as a corollary to this major theme, all the more so since al-Ġāḥiẓ insists on the inseparability of poetic form and meaning, equivalent to the essential bond between *lafẓ* and *maʿnā*, on which the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾān is grounded in stylistic terms. Moreover, behind this passage we can recognize the traditional distinction between *al-ʿulūm al-ʿarabiyya*, which includes the Qurʾān, the *aḥādīṭ* and poetry, and *al-ʿulūm al-ʿaġamiyya*, the foreign disciplines imported through translation. In fact, al-Ġāḥiẓ is concerned with pointing out the superior excellence of Arabic poetry, which makes it untranslatable, but says nothing about the Greek, which he probably does not consider in the same way superior, and thus potentially translatable.

But even leaving aside the fact that al-Ġāḥiẓ never mentions Greek poetry, and admitting that he was implicitly formulating a universal discourse that could be extended to other languages, the passage is still the opinion of *one* intellectual – who, moreover, never tried his hand at translation and who, on the contrary, expressed negative judgments on translation in general –, a single voice within a much more articulated and long-lasting phenomenon. It cannot therefore be considered sufficient evidence to explain its causes.

Another account, often read together with that of al-Ġāḥiẓ,³¹ and more eloquent for the purposes of our research appears in the entry on Homer in the florilegium entitled *Muntaḥab šiwān al-ḥikma*, dating from the late 12th to the early 13th cent. The compiler informs us that Stephan (that is Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl) translated some of Homer’s verses and adds: «It is known that poems lose most of their special splendour in translation and that the ideas expressed in them become largely corrupted when the artistic form of the poetry is altered. But nevertheless, I have reported below some verses for their eloquence, according to what has been described before about every specific meaning and the profound wisdom».³² These lines offer a similar testimony to that of al-Ġāḥiẓ, but they also show that the awareness that poems are untranslatable does not constitute a concrete impediment to the translation itself. At most, it serves to justify the unsatisfactory outcome of its rendering into Arabic.

Beyond the speculations on these passages, scholars have attempted to explain the phenomenon by resorting to various interpretative propositions, some more convincing than others. The limited scope of the sources at our disposal makes it difficult to find definitive answers whose validity can be demonstrated beyond the plausibility of the arguments that support them. But even leaving this aside, the complexity of a phenomenon such as the

²⁹ For the whole passage: Hārūn 1938-1958, I 78-79; commented and partially translated into Italian in Cassarino 1998, 84-97.

³⁰ See Zadeh 2012, 214-250; see also Cassarino 1998, 95. On this passage see also Vagelpohl 2010a, 260-262.

³¹ The two accounts are associated in Rosenthal 1975a, 18 (in the paragraph entitled *Poems are untranslatable*); ʿAbbās 1993, 26 (who also reports the testimony by Qudāma ibn Ġaʿfar that we have mentioned in the *Introduction*); Cassarino 1998, 85-87, Etman 2008, 145.

³² Dunlop 1979, 68.1373-1375 (Ar.). Partial English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 18 (modified). I have examined the passage in detail in Chapter 3.

translation movement, which involves not only the socio-cultural but also the political and economic spheres, does not lend itself to univocal explanations, and indeed can only be better understood on the basis of an overall assessment of the many factors that may have contributed to its realization. The same applies to the aspect we are concerned with.

Among the possible explanations that can be put forward, the most solid seem to be those grounded in historical-practical reasons. It is indisputable that the first and most important principle for selecting works to be translated into Arabic was essentially pragmatic. In fact, translations responded to a practical need, which was to make texts accessible and thus enable the introduction of new forms of knowledge to be applied in daily life and in intellectual debate, as well as tools that would contribute to scientific progress.³³ From the 9th cent. on, the job of translator became highly professional and extremely well paid. Translations from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, therefore, not only met precise study needs but were also specifically commissioned. The choice of the works to be rendered into Arabic was dictated by the patrons – who sometimes, as we can see from Ḥunayn's *Risāla*, also established the target language and the translation style –, none of whom was apparently moved by curiosity for Greek poetry. The only intellectual who seems to have had any inclination towards this is indeed Ḥunayn, who certainly had no use for written translations of the texts he intended to read for himself. As far as we know, then, although the sources tell us nothing in this regard, Greek poetry was never read and translated with the precise aim of acquiring new stylistic models or literary topoi to be adopted in the composition of poetry in Arabic. In these terms, the practical applications of poetry appear to be limited, and thus its translation would have involved an economic effort unsupported by a stringent concrete purpose. In some cases, the poem has just no use outside the context for which it was intended. The constant, sometimes allusive and satirical, references of the Old Comedy to the political events of 5th and 4th cent. BC Athens make it particularly difficult to understand for a non-Athenian audience.³⁴ Not surprisingly, interest in this kind of work soon waned even among the Greeks, so that the comedies of Aristophanes that were usually inserted in the Byzantine school curriculum were *Plutus*, *The Clouds* and *The Frogs*, that is, his least political plays.³⁵ The interests of the patrons were instead directed more towards those ideas and forms of knowledge that were easily assimilated in the Islamic context, and in fact this is the criterion that guided the selection of the gnomological material in which sayings attributed to Greek poets are included, as we shall see in Chapter 3.³⁶

If we then look at what actually remains of the Arabic version, we cannot underestimate the influence of educational institutions and practices in the selection of materials for translation.³⁷ This becomes even more visible when we consider the two main channels of transmission of the Greek poetry fragments mentioned earlier. Without dwelling in detail on the complex and varied process of transmission of the Greek heritage into Arabic, we can say

³³ Gutas 1998, 107-120; Rudolph 2004, 12-14. See also Khoury 1987, 165 (who takes up the introduction of al-Bustānī's 1904 translation of the *Iliad*).

³⁴ See Overwien 2009, 110.

³⁵ See Markopoulos 2008, 788 (entry *Education* in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*).

³⁶ Daiber 2012, 44.

³⁷ On these aspects, the Greek education system and on book circulation between the 7th and 9th cents. (with a reassessment of the iconoclastic period) see the insightful paper by Mavroudi 2014.

that in translated works we find reflected, though not coinciding completely, the study trends of Late Antiquity, which we know mainly, though not exclusively, through the school curricula of Athens and Alexandria. But of the several late antique higher education curricula, namely philosophy, medicine, rhetoric and law, only the first two are truly absorbed in the Graeco-Arabic translations, albeit with some gaps, such as the great absence of Plato in Arabic. These include the *Corpus Aristotelicum* with part of its commentary tradition, the Neoplatonists, treatises on mathematics and astronomy – which completed the philosophical curriculum –, and the *Corpus Galenicum*, together with other writings on medicine and pharmacology. The interests of readers of Greek-Arabic translations were oriented towards these disciplines, while the rhetorical curriculum, whose syllabus included the study of poetry and poetic theory, has practically left no trace in Arabic.³⁸ If we look at the second channel of transmission of Greek poetry identified above, we find that even some aspects of the late antique and Byzantine primary education systems partially survived in Arabic. The first example that comes to mind is a passage from the biography of Ḥunayn, according to which the translator was able to recite Homer by heart after a long period spent learning Greek. This is exactly what Greek-speaking elementary school students did in Ḥunayn's time. Moreover, collections of wise and witty sayings, which greatly appealed to Arabic-speaking readers as evidenced by their popularity in the Eastern tradition, were used in school contexts from the earliest years of teaching. Significantly, some of the sayings passed on in Arabic translation are attested in the sections on γνώμη (maxim) of the main extant Greek manuals of *Progymnasmata*, sets of written compositions that, at least since the 1st cent. AD, constituted the core of the training of those students who had completed the *Grammaticus* school.³⁹ Even more emblematic is the fact that one of the largest and most homogeneous collections of Greek sayings preserved in Arabic translation is a selection of the *Menandri Sententiae*, i.e., the second most read text in ancient primary school after Homer's verses.⁴⁰

A second order of reasons that have been formulated to explain the phenomenon concerns the cultural sphere. We shall leave aside for the moment, the specific issue of theatre, that will be mentioned in the next section.

The positions of those who maintain that one of the main obstacles to translation was the mythical content of a certain part of Greek poetry, first and foremost epic and drama, are not so far-fetched.⁴¹ In fact, the fruition of many of the works pertaining to these genres requires a basic cultural armamentarium in order to be able to follow the plot and subplots. Mythological tales could have aroused some interest in curious readers fascinated by fantasy

³⁸ On these issues see: Westerink 1964; Rosenthal 1975a, 9-11; Würsch 1991, 6-7; Hadot 1998; Roueché 1999; D'Ancona 2005, 40-41; Aydin 2016, 41-50; Rudolph 2017, 48-64; Overwien 2019, 9-22. As noted by Rosenthal 1975a, 10, the works in verse on scientific or philosophical subjects that were translated into Arabic and mentioned above (Pythagoras' *Golden Verses*, Aratus' *Phenomena*, etc.) were read alongside prose writings related to the same discipline.

³⁹ See the entries *Progymnasmata* by Lucia Calboli Montefusco and *Grammaticus* by Johannes Christes in Brill's *New Pauly* (2006).

⁴⁰ For an overview see the chapter *Menander in schools* in Nervegna 2013, 201-251.

⁴¹ Etman 2008, 145-146; Etman 2011, 71-73. However, the tones in which Etman presents the mythological component as essential and constitutive of the Greek poetic tradition seem overly emphatic at the expense of other poetic genres and forms that do not have a mythological content.

and adventure stories, but certainly not in the artistically elaborated and diluted form of poetic narration. However, not all Greek poetry is mythological in content, and therefore such an explanation can be only partial. I am not sure that mythological material as such could constitute an impediment to translation or to any other form of reception because it was too distant from the Arabic poetic experience, all the more so if we consider that one of the oldest cores of the *One Thousand and One Nights* (the story of Sindibād) presents traits that can be closely compared with an episode from the *Odyssey*. Certainly, some strands of Greek mythology may appear awkward and ridiculous, but there is nothing to prevent softened and adapted forms of reception. In this spirit, and according to the principle of selection of the bees mentioned by Basil of Caesarea in his *Address to Young Men on the Right Use of Greek Literature* (IV 9), the pagan tradition (and poetry) was recovered by Christian authors.⁴²

Polytheism, another potential obstacle identified by some scholars and linked in a double thread with the question of mythology, is a problem to a certain extent.⁴³ In fact, if one looks closely at the treatment of this aspect in the Greek-(Syriac-)Arabic translations, one realises that the censorship and monotheisation of the texts is never systematic and in the versions one sometimes finds the plural and feminine forms for deities, as well as the transliteration of the names of the gods, as in the Greek *Vorlagen*. Chapter 2 offers an extensive case study in this regard. Moreover, if mythology were stripped of its religious significance, then the problem of polytheism would be downscaled.

An objective obstacle to translation, however, is the peculiar difficulty of poetic language.⁴⁴ This is not only documented in Ḥunayn's famous note grappling with the metaphorical allusiveness and neologisms of Aristophanes' *usus scribendi*, which we will discuss in the next section, but can also be seen in the harshness of Sappho's Aeolian dialect or in the specificity of Homeric language, evidence of which is offered by some of the fragments examined in Chapter 2.

Finally, some scholars have pointed to an alleged Arab poetic autarchy as a strong deterrent to the translation of foreign poetry, finding an explicit stance in the words of the above-mentioned passage in which al-Ġāḥiẓ theorises its untranslatability. In Arabic-Islamic culture and society, poetry occupies a position of absolute pre-eminence in multiple respects. In particular, the poetic heritage dating to the time of the *ǧāhiliyya* has been assigned a profound identity value. Pre-Islamic poetry was conceived as the first form of expression of the Arab community – since its context of composition and fruition par excellence were the poetic competitions organised in annual fairs attended by all the Arab tribes –, and therefore, as a repository of knowledge and values shared by that community beyond tribal particularities. It thus becomes an instrument of social cohesion and an ideal in which to search for a sense of belonging to a community. Used in moments of intertribal aggregation, the poetry of the *ǧāhiliyya* era was composed in a supratribal variety of Arabic,⁴⁵ which

⁴² See also remarks by Mavroudi 2020, 459.

⁴³ Etman 2008, 146; Mutfić 2018, 23, but also Bustānī 1904, 64-66; Khoury 1987, 165-166 (who echoes al-Bustānī).

⁴⁴ Already pointed out in Khoury 1987, 166 (who takes up the introduction of al-Bustānī's 1904 translation of the *Iliad*); but also Overwien 2009, 110.

⁴⁵ There is no agreement among scholars about what exactly this supratribal variety of Arabic was, and what the language varieties spoken in the pre-Islamic Arabia were and how they were distributed. Broadly speaking, two main lines of interpretation can be recognised. On the one hand, there are the proponents of the poetic

ultimately coincides with the language of the Qurʾān, that is the word of God. Consequently, together with the Qurʾān, it has become a linguistic canon to be followed in order to preserve and recover the pure Arabic language, and a stylistic and literary model that finds legitimacy in the dogma of the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾān (*iʿǧāz*), affirming its aesthetic excellence and inimitable eloquence.⁴⁶ Poetic heritage thus becomes the very expression of Arabness, not only linguistically but also culturally and ethnically.

This hypothesis has its charm as well as its own internal coherence, but accepting it fully implies imputing to Arab intellectuals extreme pride and an obtuse prejudice that do not fit in well with the spirit that animated the centuries-long translation movement. It should therefore be weighed with extreme caution together with the other possible concurrent causes, because, as Pormann rightly observes, the phenomenon cannot be reduced to «some innate philistinism».⁴⁷ However, the hypothesis of poetic autarchy should not be completely discarded – rather, it should be toned down – because a sense of contentment with the indigenous poetic tradition also implicitly emerges from certain 10th-cent. classifications of sciences such as that which serves as the ordering principle of the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm, probably completed in 377/987-988, or that presented in the *Mafātiḥ al-ʿulūm* (*Keys to the Sciences*) by al-Ḥwārazmī, an encyclopaedia composed shortly after 977. In both works, a distinction is in fact made between the *al-ʿulūm al-ʿaǧamiyya*, the foreign sciences, that is, the rational, ancient sciences acquired mostly through translations from Middle Persian or Greek, and the *al-ʿulūm al-ʿarabiyya*, the properly Arabic sciences, which are identified with the religious sciences and all disciplines auxiliary to the exegesis of the sacred text. Needless to say, poetry falls into the second group, in line with al-Ġāḥiẓ’s statement.⁴⁸

As can be seen from this overview, attempting to explain such an elusive and complex phenomenon requires extreme caution in assessing the concurrent causes that may have led to it, and above all it must be done by examining as much evidence as possible, which is the objective we have set ourselves in this investigation. But in any case, finding a definitive answer to the question of causes is a chimera.

koine theory, who argue that already in pre-Islamic times there was a situation of diglossia between the forms of everyday expression, articulated in tribal dialects, and a more artistically elaborate and universally understandable language, defined *poetico-Qurʾānic koine*. These are opposed by those who argue - following the traditional position of Arabic grammarians - that the pre-Islamic tribes spoke an essentially homogeneous language, apart from some minor local variations, and that this spoken and shared variety was the one with which poetry and the Qurʾān were also composed. The issue is well known and debated, for which see the overviews offered in the entries *Pre-Islamic Arabic* (by M. El-Sharkawy) and *Poetic koine* (by K. Versteegh) in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistic*; see also Mascitelli 2006, 49-75.

⁴⁶ On the thesis of poetic autarchy see: al-Bustānī 1904, 65; Khoury 1987, 166; ʿAbbās 1993, 25-29; Kilito 2003, 206-208; Forte 2007, 149-154; a point implicitly touched upon by Mutfić 2018, 24. For an introduction on the key concepts of *iʿǧāz* and *poetico-Qurʾānic koine* see entries by Vasalou and Versteegh in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistic* (2011 online edition). See also Cantarino 1975, 9-19.

⁴⁷ Pormann, Savage-Smith 2007, 29; Pormann 2007, 28.

⁴⁸ See Endress 1987, 400; Biesterfeldt 2002, 44-447. I have already dealt with these two works in Zarantonello 2020a, 132-133 (with further bibliography). For an overview of the various models of cataloguing adopted by intellectuals of Islamic world – alternative to the ethnic-cultural bipartition displayed in Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Ḥwārazmī – see the contributions by Endress and Biesterfeldt just mentioned, and the 2006 volume *Organizing Knowledge* edited by Endress.

However, the specific difficulties of translating poetry, or the peripheral interest of the Islamic world's men of learning in this type of text, are made evident by the dearth of Arabic versions of works in verse that have come down to us. More evidence of this will emerge from our analysis, especially when looking at the lack of success of most poetic references translated into Arabic in the later tradition. In Chapter 2 I did not restrict my examination to how the poetic fragments transmitted via Aristotle's *oeuvre* were rendered in translation, but also attempted to ascertain whether any had a later reception in Arabic – mainly philosophical – literature. I have programmatically confined my analysis to the 9th-10th cents. and excluded Avicenna and Averroes – among others – due to the sheer volume of their exegetical works on the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, which require separate and targeted investigations. My perusal of 9th-10th cents. Arabic sources revealed that only a remarkably limited number of poetic references survive in other works that are based on the Arabic version of the Aristotelian writings from which they are taken. Moreover, as we shall reiterate, most of these indirectly transmitted references have an accessory role, both in Aristotle's writings and in other philosophical, medical or scientific treatises translated into Arabic. Therefore, since they mostly serve as examples, they could well have been omitted at the time of translation – as it sometimes happened –, least of all by composing an original work or even a commentary. In relation to this aspect, al-Fārābī (d. 339/950-951) writes some extremely significant words in the introduction of his *Kitāb al-qiyās al-ṣaġīr* (*Short Book on the Syllogism*), also known as *al-Muḥtaṣar al-ṣaġīr fī Kayfiyyat al-qiyās* and *al-Muḥtaṣar al-ṣaġīr 'alā ṭarīqat al-mutakallimīn*, which provide a sort of theoretical justification for the phenomenon. Indeed, al-Fārābī shows an acute awareness of the linguistic-cultural particularism of the examples – not only from poetry, references to which are not included in the *Prior Analytics* (in Arabic the *Kitāb al-qiyās*), but also from history, geography and Greek culture in general – compared to the universality of Aristotle's doctrine. And he explains that in following Aristotle's discussion of the rules of syllogism he shall «strive to express these matters, as much as possible, by means of words familiar to people who use the Arabic language» and «use for the explanation of these matters examples familiar to the people of our day. For Aristotle, when laid down these matters in his books, expressed them by means of words customary among the people of his language and used examples that were familiar to and current among the people of his days. But since the explanations of the people of this [i.e., our] language are not customary to the people of that land [i.e., Greece], and the examples of the people of this time, which are familiar among them, are different from the examples familiar to those [people], the points which Aristotle intended to clarify by means of these examples have become unclear to and not understood by the people of our time. [...] Rather, to follow him is to explain what is in his book to the people of any language by means of their accustomed words. Likewise in regard to examples, to adopt his precedent is not to limit ourselves only to what he brought forward, but to follow in his footsteps in this regard is to explain the canons found in his books to the people of every art and of every science and to the scholars in every age by means of examples which are familiar to them. For this reason, we have thought fit to discard

certain examples which he gave that do not lie within the experience customary to scholars of our time, and [instead] use [examples] familiar to them». ⁴⁹

The words of al-Fārābī offer a limpid theoretical vindication of a common phenomenon in the *falsafa*, and specifically in Aristotle's commentators. In Arabic commentaries on Aristotle and in writings that explicitly take up his doctrines, there is a widespread tendency – such as in al-Fārābī, in the Aristotelians of Baḡdād and in Avicenna, in more or less accentuated forms depending on the context and the sensitivity of the individual author – to omit poetic references, with rare exceptions that usually concern comments on the value of Homer, the Greek poet par excellence, and of his poetry. This phenomenon finds its extreme realisation in the frequent, but not systematic, solution adopted by Averroes in his middle and long commentaries, i.e. replacing Greek poetic references with equivalents drawn from Arabic literature, poetry and culture.

1.2 The problem of Greek theatre and the Arabic reception of Aristotle's *Poetics*

Perhaps the first tangible example that comes to mind when thinking of the Arabic reception of Greek poetry is Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yūnus' version of the *Poetics* and, to an even greater extent, Averroes' laborious exegesis thereof. Indeed, the case of the *Poetics* shows us all the limitations of the Arabic rendering of Greek poetry, on which I shall dwell further, yet it also displays the specific problems posed by the reception of theatre, not only as a literary genre but also as a cultural phenomenon.

An examination of this translation and of the Arabic tradition that depends on it poses enormous interpretative challenges, due to the precariousness of the Greek text – which over the centuries has been the subject of numerous ecdotal interventions, producing significantly different editions –, the poor legibility of the *codex unicus* that transmits the Arabic version, the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346 (which is interrupted at 1462b 5 due to the fall of a folio), ⁵⁰ but, above all, because of the translation's considerable deviations from the original sense of the Greek text, resulting from the unfamiliarity of Abū Bišr Mattā (and perhaps of the Syriac translator who produced the text on which he relied) with the cultural context and literary heritage to which Aristotle implicitly refers. The latter aspect conditions all subsequent re-readings of this writing by Arabic-speaking philosophers. The fact that this version is one of the least accomplished amongst those produced at the time of the 'Abbāsīd translation movement is undeniable, but its evaluation in the scholarly tradition has long been weighed down by an excessively negative prejudice, not free of preconceptions that today we would brand as orientalist. This position is clearly expressed in the famous reproach formulated by Renan in his 1852 monograph *Averroès et l'Averroïsme* («S'imaginant, par exemple, que la tragédie n'est autre chose que l'art de louer, et la comédie l'art de blâmer, il prétend trouver des tragédies et des comédies dans les panégyriques et les satires des

⁴⁹ al-'Aḡam 1985-1986, II 68.15-70.3 = Dānišpažūh 1987-1989, I 153.17-154.22 (Ar.); Rescher 1963, 49-50 (Engl.). I have already drawn attention to this passage in Zarantonello 2020b, 105-107.

⁵⁰ For a preliminary overview see Hugonnard-Roche 2003. Further bibliography is given below.

Arabes, et même dans le Coran!») ⁵¹ – made popular by Borges’ reuse in his fictional story *La busca de Averroes* –, as well as in Gabrieli’s harsh words defining the Arabic reception of the *Poetics* as «la storia di un errore» and «un indigeribile grottesco pasticcio». ⁵² Although the prejudice cannot be said to have been completely eradicated – it is still latent in the attitude of those who show astonishment at the “closure” of Arabic intellectuals in the face of the extraordinary richness of Greek theatre –, ⁵³ the second half of the 20th century has witnessed the prevalence of a new perspective that, rather than focusing on the points of rupture of the Arabic tradition with respect to the original meaning of the Aristotelian text, has concentrated on the reconstruction of the evolution of Aristotelian doctrines in the multilingual transmission, on the identification of forms of continuity and the examination of attempts at adaptation. Not to mention the usefulness of the version as an indirect testimony for the reconstruction of the Greek text.

However, since the question of the Arabic reception of the *Poetics* is only relevant to our research to a certain extent, we shall not deal with it specifically. For the *Poetics* is still Aristotle’s theoretical-philosophical reinterpretation of a literary genre, which in addition to being, of course, an exposition of the philosopher’s doctrine, also reflects certain developments in the conception and fruition of the genre. How, for instance, could an Arabic-speaking reader be expected to grasp the visual component of theatre, namely the spectacle and the staging, if Aristotle hardly mentions it in his work? The latter’s perspective has been defined by some as text-centred, for although he lists ὄψις («vision», «spectacle») among the six qualitative parts of tragedy, he excludes it from the discussion with the following remark: «spectacle is emotionally potent but falls quite outside the art and is not integral to poetry: tragedy’s capacity is independent of performance and actors, and, besides, the costumier’s art has more scope than the poet’s for rendering effects of spectacle» (*Po.* 1450b 16-21). ⁵⁴ Moreover, already at the time of Aristotle, tragedies and comedies began to be read and not only enjoyed in the theatre, a practice that would become dominant over the centuries. ⁵⁵

At the same time, the definitions of Greek poetic genres developed by philosophers and intellectuals based on the Arabic version of Aristotle’s treatise tell us almost nothing useful about what elements of Greek poetry have been translated into Arabic.

⁵¹ Renan 1852, 36.

⁵² Gabrieli 1929, 233, 235.

⁵³ See for instance the manner in which the subject is dealt with in Kilito 2003, followed by Forte 2007.

⁵⁴ Halliwell’s English translation in Halliwell, Fyfe, Innes, Roberts 1995, 53, 55. On the textcentric view of the *Poetics* see Lanza 1987, 33-35; Marinelli 2018, 191-246. On the Arabic reception see Serra 2002, 15-16, who wrote: «La traduzione di τραγωδία e κωμωδία che suscitava lo stupore di Renan, è affatto lontana dal mondo dello spettacolo, ma anche in questo, bisogna riconoscerlo, essa è genuinamente aristotelica». On the other hand, Arabs also knew forms of mimetic representation, although not perfectly comparable to Greek theatre: see Moreh 1992 and 2010 (entry *Theatre and drama, medieval* in *The Routledge encyclopedia of Arabic literature*). See also the similarities between the *Birds* by Aristophanes and the shadow play *The Love-Stricken One and the Lost One Who Inspires Passion* by Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310) highlighted and studied by Marvin Carlson, who has speculated on a presumed influence of Aristophanes’ comedy mediated by contemporary Byzantine culture. See Carlson 2013 and Pormann 2014, 4-5.

⁵⁵ See Serra 2002, 4.

In any case, the Arabic reception of the *Poetics* has already been investigated from manifold perspectives.⁵⁶ Philological-textual studies have resulted in the production of four editions (Margoliouth 1887, Tkatsch 1928 – which remains the reference critical edition –, Badawī 1953, ‘Ayyād 1967), as well as a fifth edition announced by Dimitri Gutas and anticipated by a *Graeco-Arabic critical apparatus and commentary* accompanying Leonardo Tarán’s 2012 critical edition of the Greek text, as part of a larger project coordinated by Gutas himself and aimed at studying the entire Syriac, Arabic, Latin, and Hebrew reception of the *Poetics*. Moreover, scholars have dealt with the transmission of the Greek text of this treatise into Syriac and Arabic, examined the only surviving fragment of the anonymous Syriac version (which some argue can be attributed to Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn), analysed the characteristics of the preserved Syriac-Arabic translation by Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yūnus, and the reinterpretation of key concepts of the *Poetics* both in this version and in the tradition that followed (not only the well-known association of τραγωδία and *madīh*, panegyric, and of κωμωδία and *hiġā’*, satire, but also the new meaning that terms such as μίμησις, ὄψις and φαντασία have assumed in Arabic), as well as the characteristics of the alleged revision of Abū Bišr Mattā’s text by Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī, which may have been the text consulted by Avicenna.⁵⁷ A great deal of attention was paid to the «context theory» as defined by Hardison, i.e. to the place of the *Poetics* (and *Rhetoric*) in the extended canon of the *Organon* – already attested in the writings of Alexandrian commentators of the 5th and 6th cents. and transposed in the Arabic speaking world –, to the logic-oriented reading of this writing by the *falāsifa* and to the formulation of the doctrine of the poetic syllogism.⁵⁸ Finally, some scholars explored the application of Aristotelian doctrines to Arabic literary theory.⁵⁹

In light of these considerations, we have programmatically excluded the *Poetics* from our analysis in Chapter 2, not least because, as we shall argue, the implicit and explicit references to works and authors of poetry are so frequent in this treatise that a survey such as the one we have carried out here would have made it particularly difficult to circumscribe and isolate the passages to be examined, and would have entailed a sort of interlinear commentary on the text, a task that falls to the scholar dealing with the Arabic version of Aristotle’s *Poetics* and not to us.

What I will do here though is to draw attention to a few significant testimonies – almost all of them gathered from the work of Ḥunayn and his circle – that constitute a dossier of documents complementary to the studies on the Arabic tradition of the *Poetics*, illustrating the widespread difficulties of translators when dealing with the theatrical genres of tragedy, comedy and satirical drama in their constituent characters. These testimonies should be read together with the quotations and the punctual references to tragedies and comedies in the Arabic versions of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* analysed in Chapter 2, and constitute only a

⁵⁶ The bibliography given below is in no way exhaustive but focuses only on the most significant studies to frame the theme in its main facets.

⁵⁷ See Heinrichs 1969, 105-123; Schrier 1997; Serra 2002; Berti 2007; Rigolio 2013; Vagelpohl 2015. See detailed study of the sources and examination of critical editions of the Arabic text in Tarán, Gutas 2012, 77-128.

⁵⁸ See Walzer 1962 (= 1934); Heinrichs 1969, 123-162; Hardison 1970; Dahiyat 1974; Black 1990; Lameer 1993; Kemal 2000; Schoeler 1983, 2005 and 2013.

⁵⁹ Especially in al-Qarṭānī’s *Minhāġ al-bulaġā’ wa-sirāġ al-udabā’*: Heinrichs 1969; Schoeler 1975. See also Cantarino 1975, 63-79; Harb 2020, 75-134.

selection made from texts other than the *Poetics*, which are independent of Aristotle's theorisation.

The most explicit evidence in this regard is contained in one of the translations produced within the circle of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, namely the Arabic version of the *De nominibus medicis*, a Galenic treatise lost in Greek. The extant Arabic translation by Ḥubaiš, nephew of Ḥunayn, based on the Syriac version authored by the latter, covers only the first of the five books of this treatise.⁶⁰ Since Ḥunayn would usually accompany his translations with explanatory notes – glosses on difficult words, justifications for translation choices, remarks on certain medical concepts, comments aimed at familiarising new readers with the cultural context underlying the words of Galen (or of other Greek authors) –, when a Syriac version of his was rendered into Arabic by one of his collaborators, these notes were included in the translation as an integral part of the body of the translated text.⁶¹ This is the case with our comment, inserted by Ḥunayn in his Syriac version and then translated by Ḥubaiš into Arabic.

In the first book of the *De nominibus medicis*, Galen insists on the fact that the definition of medical terms must follow not only the principle of lexical precision, but above all that of semantic clarity, favouring the use of nouns whose meaning can be reconstructed etymologically and preferably already attested in everyday language. The physician must explain any shifts in meaning when such terms take on a different technical connotation from the common one used by non-specialist speakers. Therefore, Galen argues, in the choice of medical terms one should take as a model the language of the ancients who were not specialists in medicine and did not employ a technical vocabulary proper to another discipline. He then cites the example of Aristophanes, poet and author of comedies (*al-šā'ir min aṣḥāb al-qūmūdiyyā*) who strove to ensure that the audience that attended the theatre to watch his plays understood the words he used exactly as he meant them. Indeed, «when he stood once in front of the audience, wanted his audience to absorb his poetry well, and asked a group of Athenians to forgive him for a fault they thought he had in his words that might cause them to think badly of him. So he claimed that for four months now he had a chronic illness, an illness that is called ἠπιάλος (*lit.* shivering), and fever. Then he said about the illness which is called ἠπιάλος that it was cold, and that he got a fever as a result of it [...] I want to quote his words for you so that you can hear them from him, and so the content of what I have narrated will become clear to you». ⁶² In the following, Galen quotes Aristophanes' words – probably a fragment from the parabasis of the lost first version of the *Thesmophorazuses* –, ⁶³

⁶⁰ See Ḥunayn's *Risāla*: Lamoreaux 2016, 117 para. 124.1-5 (Ar.), 116 (Engl.).

⁶¹ See general remarks on Ḥunayn's translation technique in Vagelpohl 2011 and Overwien 2012.

⁶² The entire passage can be read in Meyerhof, Schacht 1931, 17.17-29 (Ar.), 31-32 (German); English translation by Renana Schneller in Austin, Olson 2004, lxxxi-lxxxii, with slight modifications

⁶³ In fact, Galen mentions Aristophanes as if he were speaking in the first person in front of the spectators and the parabasis formed the angle of personal expression by the author, who entrusted the coryphaeus (or to another character) with his personal reflections, often on strongly relevant issues. Although we cannot dwell too long on the question of this very important fragment, we would like to briefly point out that the identification of the context of its origin was made possible by a scholiast in v. 1038 of the *Wasps* (τοῖς ἠπιάλοις ἐπιχειρήσαι πέρυσιν καὶ τοῖς πυρετοῖσιν), where it is stated that «ἠπιάλος is the shiver that precedes the fever (πυρετός): Aristophanes in the *Thesmophorazuses*». Since in the version of the play that has come down to us we do not read anything related to this, we can reasonably assume that Galen had consulted a different text than ours, as suggested by Karl Deichgräber in his important 1956 study *Parabasenverse aus Thesmophorazusen II des Aristophanes bei*

which however have been omitted in the (Syriac and) Arabic version and replaced by Ḥunayn's note:

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq says: In the following passage Galen quotes Aristophanes. However, the Greek manuscript, from which I translated this work into Syriac, contains such a large number of mistakes and errors that it would have been impossible for me to understand the meaning of the text had I not been so familiar with and accustomed to Galen's Greek speech and acquainted with most of his ideas from his other works. *But I am not familiar with the language of Aristophanes, nor am I accustomed to it.* Hence, it was not easy for me to understand the quotation, and I have, therefore, omitted it.

I had an additional reason for omitting it. *After I had read it, I found no more in it than what Galen already said elsewhere. Hence, I thought that I should not occupy myself with it any further, but rather proceed to more useful matters.*⁶⁴

Then Galen carries on commenting on the above passage and quotes another by Aristophanes, similarly omitted by Ḥunayn. admitting that: «I am not able to restore (*talḥiṣ*)⁶⁵ the words that he reported here as well, for the aforementioned reason».⁶⁶

The importance of the testimony of Ḥunayn's commentary was first highlighted by Franz Rosenthal, who offered a German translation in his *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam* and then by Dimitri Gutas in his *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*.⁶⁷ What makes the passage so significant is that one of the most accomplished and successful translators of the 9th cent. – whose mastery can still be appreciated today in the quality of his translations, and who, according to sources, even knew Homer's poetry – admits that he was unable to translate poetic references first and foremost because of linguistic difficulties. Aristophanes' language is made up of neologisms, metaphors, parodies and puns, which make it hard even for Greek speakers to understand, as demonstrated by the wealth of scholia accompanying his comedies.⁶⁸ The language also becomes an obstacle to understanding the literary-cultural references it carries, which, Ḥunayn notes by way of justification, neither expand nor contribute to the sense of Galen's discourse, assuming a perspective implicitly identical to that of al-Fārābī in the aforementioned passage from the *Kitāb al-qiyās al-ṣaḡīr*.

Another translational annotation by Ḥunayn offers telltale evidence, to which adequate attention has not been drawn, since the text from which it is taken still remains unpublished. This is Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics* Book 3, translated into Arabic by

Galen. Aristophanes' illness (the chronic illness that lasted for four months, prevented him from speaking and for which some Athenians might have accused him of being in the wrong) is probably a metaphorical description of the political pathologies the city suffered from, for which see the convincing analysis by Canfora 2018, 166-179.

⁶⁴ Meyerhof, Schacht 1931, 17.30-18.4 (Ar.), 32 (German); English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 19 (italics are mine).

⁶⁵ For the peculiar meaning of this term in Ḥunayn's *usus scribendi* see Lamoreaux 2016, 133-137 (Appendix 1).

⁶⁶ Meyerhof, Schacht 1931, 18.11 (Ar.), 32 (German); English translation is mine.

⁶⁷ Gutas 1998, 140-141.

⁶⁸ See also Pormann 2014, 4.

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq himself.⁶⁹ In its first pages Galen attacks certain commentators who preceded him, pointing out the shortcomings of their exegetical methods and their errors in interpreting Hippocrates' text. According to Galen, the exegesis of the Empiricists, who combined the Hippocratic theory of the four humours with that of the four elements – i.e. they took into account the effects of the environment on bodily health and disease – should be approved.⁷⁰ In doing so, they approached the text of Hippocrates *καθάπερ ἐν δράματι φυλάττοντες ἑνιοὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπόκρισιν τοῦ περικειμένου προσώπου* «like some [actors] that in a play stick to their own part of the mask they wear», that is of the character they play, an expression with which Galen underlines their fidelity to the Hippocratic text's meaning.⁷¹ At this point Ḥunayn inserts a commentary note, published separately in 2011 by Vagelpohl, who is in charge of the edition of the Arabic version. Accordingly, we cannot verify how Ḥunayn rendered the Greek text, in particular the technical words *δρᾶμα*, *ὑπόκρισις* and *πρόσωπον*. Since the manuscript at that point is partially illegible and Vagelpohl's Arabic text is provisional, the meaning of Ḥunayn's comment is not perfectly clear, but we can still understand the essence of it. The note reads: «Ḥunayn said: The Greeks had poems containing tales (*aqāsīs*) of the ancients which they reported on the authority of numerous people among whom reports (*aqāwīl*) circulated. When they wanted to urge people to adhere to the custom of the ancients (*yaḥuttū l-nās 'alā l-sunna bi-l-qudamā'*) in avoiding indolence and despicable conduct and aspiring to bravery and courage or to turn them (?) from evil to self-abandonment (?), then people assembled who recounted (*yu'addidu*) those among whom the reports (?), (*aqāwīl*) circulated in those poems. Not everyone of them is the image of that man who wanted to declaim (*yubaššira*) the poem containing his story, but each of them creates the impression that his recitation of the story (*taḥāruḡ al-qawl*) is the recitation of the story by the former (...?) so that he tells it (*yadkuraḥū*) and it is as if he himself is the former. This is the meaning Galen indicates in this passage».⁷² The translator therefore feels the need to interpret the text paraphrastically, as the simple translation is not enough to render the underlying cultural context.⁷³ It is certainly striking that even though the description of the functioning of the theatre is quite vague and imprecise, Ḥunayn rightly observes that the *δρᾶμα* is a form of poetry – a fact that cannot be inferred from this specific context, but is part of his prior knowledge – and that it takes place in a popular gathering of sorts. On the other hand, the dimensions of staging, representation and performance (*ὑπόκρισις* and *πρόσωπον*) are completely lost. This is also evident from the use of verbs and nouns of speaking, which make us suspect rather that Ḥunayn imagined a poet-singer declaiming his verses in front of an audience, as in the intertribal *mağālis* of pre-Islamic times, in which poetry was composed and enjoyed orally, a practice that continued in the Islamic era through the recitation of poems in public and private gatherings. Finally, see in the words *yaḥuttū l-nās 'alā l-sunna bi-*

⁶⁹ As stated in his *Risāla*: Lamoreaux 2016, 101 para. 101.6 (Ar.), 100 (Engl.).

⁷⁰ CMG V 10, 2, 1, 16.12-23 Wenkebach (= Kühn 17a, 505.17-506.11).

⁷¹ CMG V 10, 2, 1, 17.2-3 Wenkebach (= Kühn 17a, 506.13-14). On this passage see Manetti, Roselli 1994, 1593 and Grimaudo 2021, 258.

⁷² Vagelpohl 2011, 278 (no. 10, Arabic text and English translation, slightly modified; the question marks are by Vagelpohl).

⁷³ All the more so because the theatrical metaphor returns shortly thereafter in CMG V 10, 2, 1, 17.9-11 Wenkebach (= Kühn 17a, 507.5-7).

l-qudamā, and in the whole sentence which they are part of, some allusion to the idea of μίμησις – with an emphasis on the ethical-didactic purpose, not unlike Arist. *Po.* 1448a 1-5 – would be unsubstantiated, since the expression is too general, and μίμησις is more frequently rendered with the words of the roots *š-b-h* and *h-k-y* (the latter usually in the III form), at least in the Arabic version of Abū Bišr Mattā and in the exegetical tradition developed from his text.⁷⁴ In the fragment of Ḥunayn one can therefore already see *in nuce* two aspects that arise in the Arabic reading of the *Poetics* that will be undertaken from the 10th cent. onwards, namely the complete elimination of the visual component of the staging and the ethical colouring in the reinterpretation of the theatrical genre.

Another symptomatic case comes from Book Δ (= Four) of the Arabic version of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which is preserved in the translation by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn. In describing the magnificent man (μεγαλοπρεπής), at 1123a 22-24, Aristotle blames those who bestow a lot of money in trivial matters inappropriately, such as those who offer their companions dinner on the scale of a wedding banquet (ἐραμιστάς γαμικῶς ἐστιῶν) and those who, when staging a comedy, introduce the chorus in the parodos dressed in purple, as the Megarians do (κωμῳδοὺς χορηγῶν ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ πορφύραν εἰσφέρων, ὥσπερ οἱ Μεγαροῖ). Ishāq translates the second part of the example thus: «and he gives to the singers (*wa-yahaba li-l-muǧannīn* for κωμῳδοὺς χορηγῶν) when they pass by him, and he hangs purple curtains upon the outside doors (*‘ala l-abwāb al-hāriǧa* for ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ) as the arrogant and proud do».⁷⁵ The total unrelatedness of the Arabic rendering to the sense of the Greek is mainly due to the misunderstanding of the key terms containing very precise cultural references – κωμῳδοὺς, χορηγῶν, παρόδῳ and οἱ Μεγαροῖ – with a consequent forced interpretation of the rest of the sentence. The term οἱ Μεγαροῖ is understood as a substantivised adjective and may have been misread as οἱ μεγάροι, a form attested in a Greek papyrus of the Byzantine period (PMasp III 67353,11)⁷⁶ derived from the verb μεγάριω meaning «to regard as too great» hence «to grudge». The technical aspect of the verb χορηγέω, «to defray the cost of bringing out a chorus at the public festivals», is not taken into account and another of its meanings («to supply») is selected. Likewise, the technical term of the tragedy πάροδος, the first entrance of the chorus on stage, is trivialised and translated into its basic meaning of entrance, hence «outside doors». Finally, κωμῳδός,

⁷⁴ From the Arabic version of Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Epidemics* Book 6 – by Ḥunayn (see his *Risāla*: Lamoreaux 2016, 103 para. 101.16 [Ar.], 102 [Engl.]) – comes another note of interest for our research. It was edited with an English translation by Uwe Vagelpohl in his 2011 article collecting Ḥunayn's notes in his versions of Books 1, 2, 3, 6 of the *Epidemics*, but the Arabic version of Book 6 of the *Epidemics* is still unpublished and the Greek original of this part of the Galenic work is lost, so it is impossible to reconstruct the context. Anyway, the note reads: «Ḥunayn said: Then, Galen related dicta by Homer, Platon and others of the ancients in which he indicates that the [grammatical] congruence between them is inappropriate. In Arabic, there are no suitable equivalents for it. I have therefore not translated them into Arabic; they have no useful purpose in Arabic, because they are incomprehensible, let alone pleasant or useful». See Vagelpohl 2011, 285-286 (Ar. and Engl.). A German translation of the Arabic text – including the context from which the note is taken – had been prepared by Franz Pfaff and published in CMG V 10, 2, 2, 388-389 Wenkebach, Pfaff. However, the difficulty here lies in the grammatical issue addressed by Galen and not simply in the examples themselves, so much so that Ḥunayn is forced to omit not only the poetic quotation, but also that of Plato and others.

⁷⁵ Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 255.13-257.1 (Ar.) following the corrections in Ullmann 2012, 161. Dunlop's Engl. translation in Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 254, 256.

⁷⁶ See the entry μέγαρος in Trapp's *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* (2001-2017).

meaning «comic actor» and specifically «singer in the comic chorus», in Arabic simply becomes *al-muġann*. This latter adaptation is not unusual, and it is possible to identify further examples, some of which have already been pointed out by scholars. The most striking parallel is the definition of tragedy (and comedy) attributed to Ḥunayn and transmitted in two Syriac lexicons, one written by ʾIšōʿ Bar ʿAlī (second half of the 9th cent.) – also known as ʾIṣā ibn ʿAlī, one of the members of Ḥunayn’s circle – and another authored by Ḥasan Bar Bahlul (mid. 10th cent.). Both scholars supposedly relied on a lost lexicon by Ḥunayn,⁷⁷ and bear the same definition of tragedy that only Bar Bahlul explicitly ascribes to the former. The entry on *tra(ʿ)godyā* reads: «about this one should know that there are two kinds of music among the Greeks. One is called *tra(ʿ)godyā* and the other *qomodēseh*. By *tra(ʿ)godyā*, they admonish and reproach those who set out to sin and err out of fervid passion [*hemmtā*] and by *qomodēseh* those who sin out of lust. Galen uses both of these in his medical writings. When you encounter them, understand them [i.e., in this way]». ⁷⁸ Schrier, who first drew attention to this passage, has rightly observed that behind the two Syriac transliterations, *tra(ʿ)godyā* and *qomodēseh*, there seem to be the Greek terms τραγωδία and κωμωδῆσαι. Since the definition contains a reference to Galen, but no Galenic text that has come down to us bears the infinitive κωμωδῆσαι (let alone a similar definition of tragedy and comedy), he assumed that Ḥunayn here was referring to a lost work by Galen. Gutas, who re-examined the passage, believes that the definition comes from some Greek paraenetic text – as confirmed by the emphasis on the moralistic aspects – and that the reference to Galen was added by Ḥunayn himself, an expert translator of his works, to guide his lexicon’s readers – presumably other translators – in the interpretation of medical treatises, where references to tragedy and comedy are not rare.⁷⁹

Ḥunayn not only seems to be unfamiliar with the Aristotelian notion of tragedy as outlined in the *Poetics*, but also interprets tragedy and comedy as forms of «music» (*zmarā*, but also «song», «singing», since the first form of musical composition is vocal), similarly to what we have seen for the term κωμωδοῖς in the passage from the Arabic *Nicomachean Ethics* by Ishāq. The association between tragedy and singing is supported by the diachronic development of the Greek language and by the fact that the term τραγωδία (and the later forms τραγῳδῖον and τραγούδι) had taken on the meaning of «song» in the Byzantine Greek spoken at the time of Ḥunayn.⁸⁰ The latter also uses the root *ġ-n-y* to cover the terms τραγωδεῖν, τραγωδός, τραγωδία and τραγικά δράματα in translating Artemidorus’ *Oneirocriticon*.⁸¹ The same solution is also attested in other sources, such as in the Arabic version of Ps. Plutarch’s *Placita philosophorum*

⁷⁷ For Bar ʿAlī see Butts 2011. For his sources see Butts 2009 (in particular p. 60 for his dependance on Ḥunayn). For Bar Bahlul see van Rompay 2011, who reports: «In composing it, Bar Bahlul heavily relied on two works by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 873) — a work on homographs and a no longer extant lexicon proper (*puššāq šmāhe*) — as well as on a no longer extant lexicon by Ḥenanishoʿ bas Seroshway (ca. 900)».

⁷⁸ Hoffmann 1874, 163 no. 4319 (Syr. of Bar ʿAlī); Duval 1888-1901, I 819.2-10 (Syr. of Bar Bahlul). See also the transliterated Syriac text in Schrier 1995, 344. English translation by A.M. Butts in Tarán, Gutas 2012, 90. See also English translation in Schrier 1995, 344.

⁷⁹ See Schrier 1995 and Tarán, Gutas 2012, 90-91.

⁸⁰ Serra 2002, 9; Tarán, Gutas 2012, 90 n. 28.

⁸¹ Fahd 1964, 117.12-118.2 (Ar.); Serra 2002, 9. On this translation and the main studies thereof see Mavroudi 2002, 135-142.

where Qusṭā ibn Lūqā renders τραγωδοποιός with *ṣāhib al-aġānī* «composer of songs»,⁸² as well as in the *Risāla fī Qawānīn ṣināʿat al-ṣuʿarāʾ* in which al-Fārābī defines tragedy (*al-trāġūdiyyā*) as a kind of poetry and states that «musicians (*al-mūsīqāriyyūn*) used to sing (*yuġannūna*) tragedy before kings, and whenever a king died, they would insert in the tragedy certain additional melodies lamenting the dead king».⁸³ Something very similar is reported by Avicenna in the *Poetics* of his *Kitāb al-Šifāʾ*, where he presents tragedy as a praise that is sung.⁸⁴

In the association between tragedy and singing we can observe a form of adaptation, indicating that the translators were not familiar with Athenian theatre and did not know what tragedy and comedy consisted of, but on the other hand, this reflects the new meaning of the term in the later stages of the Greek language, as well as the gradual abandonment of theatrical performance and the definitive confinement of classical theatre to the reading of the written scripts in the Byzantine world.⁸⁵

1.3 The current state of research: the Syriac and Arabic Homer

As already mentioned, and as we shall see more thoroughly in the course of our discussion, Homer is by far the most attested Greek poet in Arabic sources, and, consequently, also the most studied by those who have attempted to investigate the Arabic reception of Greek poetry. No scholar that I know of has, in fact, ever published a specific study on the pre-modern Arabic reception of any other Greek poet – always understood according to the criteria defined in the first paragraph.

This primacy is also reflected in Syriac literature, Homer being the only poet for whom at least a partial translation is attested. However, what of Homer’s poetry has been translated into Syriac still remains a mystery, since the evidence on which we rely is obscure and the translation to which our source refers has not yet been found. In both of his chronographies – the *Ktōbō d-maktbōnut zabnē*, known as *Chronicon Syriacum*, written in Syriac, and the *Muḥtaṣar taʾriḥ al-duwal* (*The Abridged Chronicle of the Dynasties*), composed in Arabic –,⁸⁶

⁸² Daiber 1980, 114.23 (I 7, 2; Ar.). See Serra 2002, 8.

⁸³ Arberry 1937/1939, 269.15-18 (Ar.); 275 (Engl.). See Serra 2002, 9-10.

⁸⁴ Badawī 1966, 34.1-2 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 73 (Engl.). See Serra 2002, 10-11. But the root *ġ-n-y* is sometimes used to translate other technical terms from Greek music and poetry – e.g. *APo.* 78b 31 ἀλλητριδες is rendered with *al-ġināʾ wa-l-ālātuhū* in Abū Bišr Mattā’s version from the Syriac (Badawī 1948-1952, vol. 2 372), *Top.* 104a 18 ἀλλητρικήν and 104a 19 ἀλλητρικός are both rendered with *al-ġināʾ* in Abū Umṭān al-Dimašqī’s version (Badawī 1948-1952, vol. 2 503), *EN* 1164a 15 τῷ κιθαρῳδῷ is rendered with *al-muġannī* in Uṣṭāt’s version (Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 481.16; echoed in Miskawayh’s *Tahdīb al-aḥlāq wa-taḥḥūr al-aʿrāq*; Zurayk 1966, 143 [Ar.]; Zurayk 1968, 130 [Engl.]), *Oeconom.* 1343a 6 λύρα καὶ ἀλοῖς is rendered with *al-zamr wa-ālāt al-ġināʾ* in the abridgment by Abū l-Faraġ ibn al-Ṭayyib (Maʿlūf 1921, 381.3) – instead of adopting more precise solutions such as the forms of the root *z-m-r* (for «playing a wind instrument») and the root *ʿ-w-d* (for «playing a string instrument»), suggesting some difficulty in understanding their meaning. See also the passage from letter 48 of Timothy I analysed by Gutas in Tarán, Gutas 2012, 87-88.

⁸⁵ Serra 2002, 4; Roueché 2008.

⁸⁶ This world history in Arabic was composed by Barhebraeus in the last years of his life and has long been labelled as an abridgment of his earlier *Chronicon Syriacum*. Though the two writings share many contents, the *Muḥtaṣar taʾriḥ al-duwal* also includes additions taken from Arabic sources. It must be noted that the passage

the Jacobite prelate and polymath Barhebraeus (d. 685/1286) attests to a Greek-into-Syriac version of Homer's two books on the capture of Ilion by the Maronite astrologer and translator Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785).⁸⁷

Scholars have interpreted the source in a wide variety of ways, sometimes addressing the issue only *en passant* and without evaluating Barhebraeus' words critically. For instance, according to William Wright and Sebastian Brock, Theophilus translated both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*,⁸⁸ an assumption that has been discarded by Lawrence Conrad, who has observed that the *Odyssey* does not deal with the fall of Troy and that the Syriac authors apparently were not very familiar with the *Odyssey* in general, since, unlike the *Iliad*, it is never quoted and referred to in writings originally composed in Syriac.⁸⁹ The scholar takes up the issue in a 2005 article, in which he speaks generically of «Syriac translations of the Greek poems of the Epic Cycle» and argues that Theophilus' texts were reused later by the author of the *Anonymous Chronicle up to the year 1234*.⁹⁰ Following in the footsteps of Conrad, Andy Hilkens has ventured the hypothesis that Barhebraeus here refers to a Syriac version of the *Iliou Persis*, a lost two-book poem of the *Epic Cycle* dealing with the fall of Troy.⁹¹ This reconstruction has been severely criticised by Lea Niccolai in 2019 with arguments that seem convincing, which we shall return to shortly. She calls for a more cautious approach and considers the possibility that the Syriac translation concerned two books of the *Iliad* more likely.⁹² More balanced positions had already been taken by Anton Baumstark in 1922 who argued that it was impossible to determine whether the version of Theophilus covered the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* or two books of a mythology textbook,⁹³ followed by Jörg Kraemer who added a third possibility,⁹⁴ namely that the two books were actually the first two books of the *Iliad*, among the most read in Greek primary schools.⁹⁵ A more general reference to «those who translated Homer» also appears in the *Book of Rhetoric* by Antony of Tagrit (9th cent.).⁹⁶ Be as it may, Syriac intellectuals show a greater familiarity with the name of Homer and with his poetry – in particular with the *Iliad* – than that shown by Arabic writers, although, for both traditions, our perspective is conditioned by the limited number of sources at our disposal.⁹⁷ In Syriac as

revolving around the origins of Greek philosophy does not occur in the corresponding section of the Syriac chronicle. For an overview see: Conrad 1994; Takahashi 2005, 271-277; 301-313.

⁸⁷ *Chronicon Syriacum*: Bedjan 126.26-127.4 (Syr.); Budge, I 116 (Engl.). *Muhtaṣar ta'rīḥ al-duwal*: Ṣāliḥānī 1890, 41.2-5 and 220.3-4 (Ar.).

⁸⁸ Wright 1984, 164; Brock 1984, 29.

⁸⁹ Conrad 1999, 93-94; question examined in greater depth by Hilkens 2013, 287.

⁹⁰ Conrad 2005, 388.

⁹¹ Hilkens 2013, 288.

⁹² Niccolai 2019, 50.

⁹³ Baumstark 1922, 341.

⁹⁴ Kraemer 1956a, 261. Robert Hoyland, in his study and translation of the extant fragments of Theophilus' chronicle, speaks generically of a translation of the *Iliad* without dwelling on the matter (Hoyland 2011, 7). Lambertson 1989, 238 n. 15 speculates that Theophilus' translation might have concerned a work comparable to the *Ilias Latina*, a Latin epitome in 1070 hexameters. See Mavroudi 2020, 457-458 for al-Bustānī's (unverifiable) account of this translation.

⁹⁵ Criore 1994, 4; Mavroudi 2014, 324-325, 330.

⁹⁶ Sewan d-Bet Qermez 2000, 89; see Hilkens 2013, 288.

⁹⁷ Hilkens 2013, 286-287, where further testimonies are enumerated (see also p. 311 n. 147). See also Arzhanov 2019a, 83-84.

well as in Arabic literature, many fragments of the Homeric poems are preserved through quotations and indirect references contained in Greek works that have been translated into Syriac (and Arabic) – but, to my knowledge, a comprehensive survey and analysis have not yet been carried out –, and, in Syriac gnomological literature, Homer appears as one of the Greek sages credited with wise sayings. Moreover, some Syriac authors show to have had a deep knowledge of the *Iliad*, considering the quantity and quality of references and quotations in three Syriac sources, although their direct dependence on the text of the poem (in Greek or in Syriac translation) is debated. These sources are the epitome of Aristotle's *Analytica Priora* by Athanasius of Balad (634-688), the *Commentary on the Old Testament* by Išo'dad of Merv (ca. 850) and most importantly the fifth book of Antony of Tagrit's *Rhetoric*, later consulted by Jacob Bar Šakko (d. 1241) in his *Dialogues*.⁹⁸ As Watt points out, Syriac-speaking Christian communities of Syria and Mesopotamia, subject to centuries of Roman domination and Greek influence, adopted the Greek system of secondary education (the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, a well-rounded training in grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music theory, with greater prominence given to the first two disciplines) that remained essentially bilingual probably until the early 8th cent.⁹⁹ The Greek imprint in the schooling system – especially in the teaching of grammar and rhetoric – was preserved even after this bilingual phase, as can be indirectly reconstructed from the sources.¹⁰⁰ The evidence offered by the authors mentioned above, in particular Antony of Tagrit, seems to reflect an ongoing practice of learning Greek grammar and language from the study of Homer's verses. As Watt remarks, «it is not unreasonable to deduce, from the evidence in Antony's *Rhetoric* of the study of Homer and other pagan and Christian poetry and oratory, that the core of the grammarian's teaching, the reading and explanation of 'classical' literature, also became in some form part of Syriac education. We may conclude with some confidence that poetry, grammar, and rhetoric, i.e., the literary side of the *enkyklios paideia*, was fostered in certain circles among the Syrians, at least to the time of Antony of Tagrit, and its basic structure still survived in the time of Bar Shakko»¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ Precise references are given by Hilkens 2013, 286, nn. 9-10. For the unique case of Antony of Tagrit see Raguse 1968; Körbert 1971; Watt 1993, 58-60; Watt 1986b, XIX-XX. Book Five of Antony of Tagrit's *Rhetoric* has been edited and translated into English in Watt 1986a and 1986b. In addition to the references listed so far mention should be made of a peculiar testimony: in his 1875 *Liber thesauri de arte poetica Syrorum nec non de eorum poetarum vitis et carminibus* (p. 40) the Lebanese Maronite priest and scholar Gabriel Cardahi cites a Syriac translation in dodecasyllables of *Il. B 204* (οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω – on the fortune of this verse we shall return several times in Chapters 2 and 3) but since he does not state his source, some perplexity remains about its reliability. See Wright 1984, 164; Kraemer 1956a, 261; Mavroudi 2020, 458.

⁹⁹ Watt 1993, *passim*, in particular 47-50; see p. 50 n. 22: «In the eighth century, Homer was translated into Syriac – a significant pointer, perhaps, to the decline of the knowledge of the Greek language among Syrians». See also Conrad 1999 for the enduring interest in the pagan classical heritage manifested especially by the Monophysite scholars from North Syria and Edessa (the communities for which we have the largest number of testimonies).

¹⁰⁰ Watt 1993, 51-64.

¹⁰¹ Watt 1993, 63-64. See also the emblematic case mentioned *infra* Chapter 2, p. 70 n. 25 (Barhebraeus' adaptation in his Syriac version of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Išārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*) and treated in greater detail in Zarantonello 2020b, 92-94.

Finally, in a 2013 article Andy Hilkens isolated and analysed references to the Trojan War in historiographic sources, transmitted from 9 West-Syrian chronicles composed between the 6th and the 13th cents. These references have different contents and purposes, which can be ascribed to 3 macro-categories: the simple dating of the Trojan War, the mention of the fall as a chronological reference, and more articulated reports that describe even only briefly and partially the events. For most of them we can recognize or hypothesize a direct or mediated derivation from a Greek historiographical source, such as Eusebius' *Chronicon* and John Malalas' *Chronicle*. Among the testimonies examined by Hilkens the most significant is that attested in the *Anonymous Chronicle up to the year 1234*, which contains a long excursus on the events of the Trojan War, in particular its antecedents (Helen's origin and abduction by Paris, the Greeks' arrival in Troy) and the facts that took place in the last days of the war, from Hector's death to the fall of the city.¹⁰² The relevance of this document lies not only in its length (12 pages in Chabot's edition), but especially in the attention it has received from scholars. In a 2005 article, Lawrence Conrad argued that this passage was actually a summary of Theophilus' translation of the Greek poems of the Epic Cycle, which the translator had supplemented with other sources.¹⁰³ His thesis was followed by Andy Hilkens who observed that most of the episodes narrated in the *Anonymous Chronicle* are those that were supposed to be the focus of the lost two-book poem known as *Iliou Persis*. Since Barhebraeus reports that Theophilus translated a work in two books on the destruction of Troy, Hilkens concluded that the work alluded to here was indeed the *Iliou Persis* and that the anonymous chronicler consulted materials derived from this translation, although it is not clear in what form.¹⁰⁴ This hypothesis was refuted by Lea Niccolai in 2019 with arguments based both on textual aspects (especially related to the *Anonymous Chronicle* account's style and content) and on questions of textual tradition, since, as the scholar rightly states, it is unlikely that a lost poem like the *Iliou Persis* – which we can reconstruct through very few fragments and especially thanks to the testimonies by Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* and Photius' summary of the *Chrestomathy* by Poclus (apparently a grammarian of the 2nd cent.) – had reached the hands of Theophilus in the 8th cent. The *Anonymous Chronicle* incorporates some prose elaborated materials derived from the Trojan Cycle, but not a Syriac translation of an epic poem.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, as already said, the question concerning Theophilus' version still remains open and even the source used by the anonymous chronicler cannot be identified.

In Arabic sources, by and large, there is no such familiarity with Homer's poems or the events of the Trojan Cycle, and the references, as we shall see, are generally more vague and of a different nature. The only exception is the Christian Arabic universal history entitled *Kitāb al-ta'riḥ* (*The Book of History*), commonly known as *Kitāb al-'unwān* (*The Book of the Title*), by Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanṭīn al-Manbiḡī, the Arabic name of Agapius of Hierapolis (d. after

¹⁰² Chabot 1920, 66.8-78.24 (Syr.); Chabot 1937, 50-59 (Latin trans.). See Hilkens 2013, 302.206 for an overview of its contents.

¹⁰³ Conrad 2005, 388, partially correcting an older hypothesis (Conrad 1999, 92-93 and n. 29) that the story was «a prose paraphrase ultimately but loosely derived from the *Iliad*». Already Baumstark 1922, 341 had assumed a connection between the testimony of Barhebraeus on Theophilus and the passage of the *Anonymous Chronicle*.

¹⁰⁴ Hilkens 2013, 288 and 301-311.

¹⁰⁵ Niccolai 2019, 38-50.

942),¹⁰⁶ among whose sources is also one used by Michael the Syrian, given the many commonalities between the two chronicles.

Homer is mentioned six times in the first part of this chronography (which deals with the events from the Creation to the advent of Christ and the death of Herod, and is full of references to Greek mythology),¹⁰⁷ almost always within a chronological reference that is synchronised with the history of Israel.

Among these, the most significant passage offers a brief summary of the events of the Trojan War and runs as follows: «In year 8 of the rule of Samson, Alexander Paris, son of Priam, king of Ilion, took up offerings and went to bring them to the god Apollo, in the land of Hellas, at the age of 33 years, because he claimed that he had predicted to his father that he would have a son. When he went and approached the king of Sparta who was called Menelaus, he saw Helen there, whose beauty and grace charmed him, and he desired her. Since her husband was detained where he went to aid and he was far away from him, he abducted the young woman and took her to Troy, in the land of Phrygia, near his father, without having presented offerings. When Menelaus arrived and learnt what had happened, he sent messengers and called twenty kings to aid with their ships, 2250 ships in number. They went by sea and fought Priam and his son who had abducted the beautiful Helen. They took hold of her and the entire land that had warred with them for ten years until year 18 of the reign of Samson. At that time the city of Ilion, described in the book and poetry of Homer, was destroyed».¹⁰⁸ As already observed by Vasiliev and Hilken, this passage of the *Kitāb al-ʿunwān* is very close in content and structure to a similar account given in the *Chronography (Maktbōnut [or: Maktab] Zabnē)* of Michael the Syrian (d. 1199), a world chronicle from the Creation to 1195.¹⁰⁹ Both the Arabic text of Agapius and the Syriac text of Michael follow – albeit with significant differences – John Malalas’ description of the Trojan War in Book Five of his *Chronicle*. According to

¹⁰⁶ See Swanson 2010a. In addition to these 6 references to Homer Agapius also relates the story concerning the invention of the Greek alphabet, to the composition of which the poet Simonides also contributed and which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3. Moreover he reports that Anacreon and Simonides, inventors of lutes and centres, achieved fame in the time of Pythagoras (Vasiliev 1915, 75.1-2 (Ar.); an Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 158; see also the Syriac universal history by Michael the Syrian, who instead mentions Simonides and Pindar, leaving out Anacreon: Chabot 1899-1910, IV 66a.11-12 [Syr.], I 105 [French]). Finally, Solon is mentioned as a legislator in the second part of the work, in which Agapius recalls that Emperor Hadrian built a *bayt bāslūs* (the library? maybe a transliteration for the adjective βασιλικός) in the city of Athens, where he gathered some intellectuals and gave them the [laws] of Solon and Draco (*ḥamala ilayhim smrsrmūn wa-drāqūn*); see Vasiliev 1911, 52.2-3 (Ar.); an Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 253. The interpretation of the passage and in particular of the last sentence is based on a comparison with the *Chronography* by George Synkellos: Ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίσις ἀξιόσασιν ἐκ τῶν Δράκοντος καὶ Σόλωνος νόμους ἐπισυνέταξε (Mosshammer 1984, 426.19-20 [Gr.]; Adler, Tuffin 2002, 503 [Engl.]).

¹⁰⁷ The second part picks up from the birth of Christ and the beginnings of the Roman Empire, reaching the reign of Emperor Leo IV (r. 775-70). The *Kitāb al-taʿrīḥ* presumably extended to the days of Agapius, but the second part of the work is transmitted from a likely incomplete *codex unicus*; see Swanson 2010a, 242.

¹⁰⁸ Vasiliev 1915, 15.1-10 (Ar.); Hilken 2013, 298 (Engl., slightly modified). An Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 119.

¹⁰⁹ For an overview see Teule 2011 and Weltecke 2011. In 2009, Chabot’s edition accompanied by his translation was reprinted by George Kiraz in a 4-volume series entitled *Texts and translations of the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, while in 2014 Matti Moosa published an English translation of the whole writing. I have not been able to consult either of these two works.

Hilkens, Agapius and Michael relied independently on a lost Syriac chronicle – maybe the 6th-cent. work by Andronicus – that in turn collected material derived from Malalas' history.¹¹⁰ The most significant difference between the three texts concerns the mention of Homer at the end of the report in the *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, instead of which John Malalas and Michael the Syrian bear the name of Diktys (of Crete) as their source. Hilkens interprets this discrepancy as a modification made by Agapius himself – which, according to him, would reveal a certain familiarity with the content of the *Iliad* –,¹¹¹ but what led him to change the name of the source remains to be seen.

Let us review the other four mentions of Homer.

The first occurrence, in order of appearance, of Homer's name in the *Kitāb al-ʿunwān* does not offer a chronological reference but contains an interesting testimony about a Christian author's position on Greek mythology. After stating that in the first year of the reign of ʿUtnāʿil (Othniel, the first of the Biblical judges) Cecrops' reign over the city of Athens also began, Agapius adds: «In the book of Homer's poems it is written that Cecrops and those who came after him – who shared his religious creed and his beliefs – are those who had spread these perverse things and despicable stories rooted among the Greeks. These things are written in Homer's poem». ¹¹² No parallel is found in Greek chronographies, while Cecrops is never mentioned by Homer.¹¹³

A further reference can be read in the description of the events that took place at the time of the reign of Šamgar, one of the judges of Israel, which runs as follows: «in this time the *al-bi'lumsīna*, who are mentioned in the books of Homer's poems, reigned». ¹¹⁴ The term *al-bi'lumsīna* might be a transliteration of Πέλοπος (genitive of Πέλοψ) to denote the descendants of the mythical king Pelops, who however are commonly referred to as Πελοπίδαί. The latter term might be the basis of the form *al-bi'lumsīna*. If so, the passage would have some analogy with the words that one reads in George Synkellos' *Chronography*: οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοπίδαί Ἀργείων καὶ αὐτοὶ βασιλεῖς ἀναγορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν.¹¹⁵

Two other references then concern Homer's biography. According to Agapius, Homer lived (*kāna Awmīrus šāʿir al-Rūm*) around the 30th year of David's reign,¹¹⁶ and attained fame along with Hesiod (*ʿurifa Aysīds wa-Awmīrus šuʿarāʿ al-Rūm*) in the time of Solomon,¹¹⁷ probably after the 11th year of his reign, which is the last chronological datum given before this reference. The latter passage finds a precise correspondence in Michael the Syrian's *Chronography*, who reports that some claim that Homer and Hesiod lived during the 10th year of Salomon's

¹¹⁰ See the discussion in Hilkens 2013, 296-301.

¹¹¹ Hilkens 2013, 299.

¹¹² Vasiliev 1909, 686.10-687.1 (Ar.). An Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 111.

¹¹³ In the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad*, the people of Athens are presented as the people of Erechtheus (Cecrops' father), «whom Athene, daughter of Zeus, [...] settled him in Athens, in her own rich shrine, and there the youths of the Athenians, as the years roll on in their courses, seek to win his favor with sacrifices of bulls and rams» (*Il. B* 547-551; English translation in Murray 1924, 101, 103). However, these instances do not offer a cogent parallel to the Agapius passage.

¹¹⁴ Vasiliev 1909, 691.2-3 (Ar.). Vasiliev speculates that *bi'lumsīna* is a transliteration of βασιλεῖς on the basis of the parallel with George Synkellos' *Chronography*. An Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 115.

¹¹⁵ Mosshammer 1984, 183.9-10 (Gr.); Adler, Tuffin 2002, 226 (Engl.).

¹¹⁶ Vasiliev 1915, 26.5 (Ar.). An Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 126.

¹¹⁷ Vasiliev 1915, 28.7 (Ar.). An Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 127.

reign.¹¹⁸ George Synkellos, on the other hand, reports that various proposals for dating Homer had been put forward by the ancients, among whom are also those who say that he lived, along with Hesiod, at the time of David's reign.¹¹⁹

The last mention of Homer is inserted in a puzzling passage, probably derived from secondhand reports or a misinterpretation in consulting the source. After listing the reigns of Israel of Šallum and Menahem, Agapius mentions Porphyry, whom he presents as a commentator on Aristotle and as a Christian, one of the deacons of a church in Tyre, who decided to abandon Christianity, and deny Christ and the Gospel after being attacked by other deacons. At this point we read: «Porphyry claims that Homer the philosopher, author of the book of the poems of the Greeks in that time, described their wars».¹²⁰

Leaving aside the fairly isolated case of Agapius, Arabic sources offer us some striking testimonies on Homer, some of which Jörg Kraemer first drew attention to systematically in his 1956 article *Arabische Homerverse*, expanded in 1957 with his further study entitled *Zu den arabischen Homerversen*. He not only dealt closely with the Arabic version of some of the *Menandri Sententiae* ascribed to Homer in the Arabic doxo-gnomological sources – this research was continued in a 1961 study by his student Manfred Ullmann –, but he also singled out some significant features of the Arabic reception of the figure of Homer and his authentic verses. Kraemer's survey has had a major impact on scholars who have dealt with the Arabic Homer in the context of the 'Abbāsid translation movement,¹²¹ and have focused mainly on some anecdotal aspects of the brief biographies provided by Arabic doxognomological sources (which we shall discuss in Chapter 3) and on some passages of exceptional documentary value that we shall see in detail at the end of this chapter.¹²² Nevertheless some facets of the Arabic Homer still remain little investigated, such as his partial overlap with the figure of Aesop¹²³ and the potential influence of the neo-Platonic and then Byzantine allegorical reinterpretation of Homeric poetry in some aspects of this poet's Arabic reception.¹²⁴

It is indisputable that Homer has a position of absolute pre-eminence in Arabic literature, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. Quantitatively speaking in the sense that he is by far the most quoted and attested Greek poet. This, however, is mirrored in Greek sources. Suffice it to say that of the 282 poetic references in the *Corpus Aristotelicum* analysed in

¹¹⁸ Chabot 1899-1910, IV 36a.37-39 (Syr.), I 62 (French).

¹¹⁹ Mosshammer 1984, 206.9 (Gr.); Adler, Tuffin 2002, 257 (Engl.). See also Mosshammer 1984, 211.10-19 (Gr.); Adler, Tuffin 2002, 263 (Engl.).

¹²⁰ For the whole passage see Vasiliev 1915, 45.6-9 (Ar.). An Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 139.

¹²¹ Another chapter – still to be explored – is the modern reception of the Arabic Homer, sanctioned by Sulaymān al-Bustānī's pioneering 1904 translation of the *Iliad* followed by other Arabic renderings published throughout the 1900s until Aḥmad 'Etmān's important 2004 translation and his studies on the subject. See (including bibliographies) Kraemer 1963; Pormann 2007; Pormann 2009; Etman 2011, 76-79; El-Nowieemy 2013.

¹²² See Tritton 1964; Etman 2011, 70-76; Gutas 2011; Graziosi 2015, 28-36 (the section on the Arabic Homer contains some historiographical inaccuracies); Muftić 2018; see an important overview in Mavroudi 2020, where the scholar proposes new research perspectives.

¹²³ Closely studied only by 'Abbās 1993, 65-70. We shall deal with this aspect in Chapter 3.

¹²⁴ Element highlighted by Mavroudi 2020, 455-457, 459-461, and here in Chapter 3. Lamberton 1989, 237 sees in the primacy accorded to Homer by the Arabic speaking authors «an aura that was the product of the transformation of Homer brought to completion by the Neoplatonists».

Chapter 2 of this study, 91 contain either a mention of Homer and/or of the *Iliad* or of the *Odyssey* or a quotation of Homer's verses.¹²⁵ Thus, almost a third of the references examined involve him or his poetry. Homer is among the most quoted poets, if not the most quoted, even within the other large corpus of texts translated into Arabic, namely Galen's writings – but for this corpus only an empirical estimate can be made, since an examination focused on Galenic treatises like the one carried out here in Chapter 2 is lacking. Of course, additional instances come from other Greek sources known to the Arabs, which, however, we cannot exhaustively review here. Qualitatively, the primacy of Homer can be easily understood by comparing the main Arabic accounts concerning him, as will become clear at the end of this study.¹²⁶ In general terms, we can already point him out here as the only Greek poet to whom Arabic-speaking authors almost always confer the title *al-šā'ir*, even when it cannot be deduced from the context, and that many sources present him as the earliest, and sometimes unique, principal representative of Greek poetry. He is the only Greek poet mentioned by al-Fārābī in his *al-Ši'r* (once,¹²⁷ while in the *Risāla fī Qawānīn šinā'at al-šu'arā'* none of the poets are mentioned) and his name recurs several times in Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Šifā'*'s section on the *Poetics* (again, he is the only Greek poet referred to explicitly, with the exception of one mention of Aeschylus and one of Sophocles).¹²⁸ Another illustrative example comes from Chapter Three of the *Kitāb al-Amad 'alā l-abad* by al-Āmirī (d. 381/992). After outlining the origins of the sciences in Syria, Babylon and Egypt in Chapter Two, al-Āmirī describes how they were transferred and developed in Greece, especially thanks to the Five Sages (Empedocles – being a close disciple of Luqmān –, Pythagoras – who studied in Egypt with Solomon son of David –, Socrates – who derived his wisdom from Pythagoras –, Plato, and Aristotle). These are the only ones among the Greeks who have deserved this title, because they alone have cultivated all the sciences up to the highest levels of metaphysical investigation. By contrast, says al-Āmirī, «none of the Greeks who came after them were called Sages. Rather, to every one of them was ascribed an art or a way of life—for example, Hippocrates the Physician, Homer the Poet, Archimedes the Geometer, Diogenes the Cynic, and Democritus the Physicist».¹²⁹

After all, Homer's exceptional status is frequently reiterated in the Greek sources that have reached the Arabic speaking world, as well as both his historical and literary priority over any

¹²⁵ The references to Homer contained in the Aristotelian writings analysed in Chapter 2 correspond to: *Int.* ref. 1; *APo.* refs. 1, 2; *Top.* ref. 2; *SE* refs. 3, 4, 5, 6; *Rh.* refs. 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 17, 18, 19 (where in Greek the quotation is anonymous and in Arabic it is introduced by an added *Awmīrus*), 21, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 46, 64, 65, 76, 101, 105, 106, 108, 122, 124, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 143, 149, 153, 156; *Phys.* ref. 3; *Mete.* ref. 1; *HA* refs. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17; *PA* ref. 1; *GA* ref. 4; *de An.* refs. 1, 3; *Metaph.* refs. 7, 8, 9, 10, 14; *EN* refs. 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 27, 33, 40, 41, 44, 45, 55.

¹²⁶ The evidence is manifold, and we shall go over it in detail in the course of the discussion (see, in particular, the passages from the *Muntaḥab šiwān al-ḥikma* examined in Chapter 3, sections 3.2.4.b.2 and 3.2.4.b.7.o.a-c).

¹²⁷ Dānišpažūh 1987-1989, I 501.7 (Ar.); van Gelder, Hammond 2008, 16 (Engl.).

¹²⁸ Homer is mentioned at: Badawī 1966, 33.8 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 72 (Engl.); Badawī 1966, 35.18 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 76 (Engl.); Badawī 1966, 38.15,16 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 79 (Engl.); Badawī 1966, 39.6 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 80 (Engl.); Badawī 1966, 53.9 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 99 (Engl.); Badawī 1966, 62.6 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 108 (Engl.); Badawī 1966, 68.12 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 116 (Engl.); Badawī 1966, 69.16 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 117 (Engl.). Aeschylus and Sophocles are mentioned at Badawī 1966, 40.4-8 (Ar.); Dahiyat 1974, 81 (Engl.).

¹²⁹ Rowson 1988, 74.7-9 (Ar.), 75 (Engl.).

other representative of Greek poetry, making him the poet par excellence. We shall discuss an interesting case in Chapter 2, regarding *Int.* ref. 1. However, we can start focusing already here on an instructive example offered by two writings on logic produced in the 10th cent., on which Greek influence – specifically of the Alexandrian commentators of the 6th cent. – is clearly visible. These are the *Ağrāđ Aristūťālīs al-mantiqiyya* (*The Aims of Aristotelian Logic*) by the Jacobite scholar ʿĪsā ibn Zurʿa (d. 398/1008) and the *al-Alfāz al-mustaʿmala fi l-mantiq* (*Linguistic Expressions Used in Logic*) by al-Fārābī. The *Ağrāđ Aristūťālīs al-mantiqiyya* is an epitome of Aristotelian Logic limited to Porphyry's *Isag.* and Aristotle's *Int.*, *APr.*, *APo.*, in which each work is presented according to the Alexandrian commentator's traditional arrangement in 8 κεφάλαια, introductory headings on subject matter, usefulness, title, authorship, place in the curriculum, division, dialectical method, and place within the classification of philosophy.¹³⁰ In his discussion of the usefulness (*fi l-manfaʿa*) of the subject matter covered in *APr.* Ibn Zurʿa writes:¹³¹

[...] Some deny the usefulness of demonstration and the syllogism in general, saying that it is pointless to study it because we see that most men are perfectly able to grasp what they are looking for without having learned the syllogism. Such as, for example, a person who prescribes beneficial medications or a plowman who uses his judgment excellently to cultivate or a sailor who arranges reasoning well to steer ships. But we argue that seeking something as it comes about does not have the same meaning as seeking it according to the method of art. For even if the right man happens sometimes to be right, it is possible that he may be wrong on other occasions. As for knowledge according to art, it always achieves the appropriate purpose without error or mistake.

Another circle claimed that even assuming that one needs the syllogism, the natural dispositions are sufficient to use it, and that a man with his intellect achieves the understanding of what he needs. In fact, Plato and Homer achieved understanding of what they set out to understand, at the utmost degree of what was necessary [to understand], despite not being experts in the art of logic.

The solution to the dilemma proceeds thus: it is evident that what this circle claimed – maintaining that Plato did not know the subject of logic and the rules of demonstration thoroughly – is wrong. Indeed, Plato had reached the highest degree of knowledge of this art and Aristotle drew the rules of logic from what he had said. We should know that the arts are what has been drawn from pure natures from which what originates in them is derived without the art.

Thus, Aristotle, starting from Plato's rules in demonstration, set up the demonstrative art and, similarly, starting from Homer's rules, established the poetic art.

Al-Fārābī writes a similar consideration in the last part of his *al-Alfāz al-mustaʿmala fi l-mantiq*, where he outlines a kind of introduction to logic articulated according to the usual

¹³⁰ See also the general introduction in Endress 2017a, 473.

¹³¹ Ğihāmī, al-ʿAğam 1994, 98.11-99.5 (Ar.); the translation is mine.

division into 8 headings.¹³² One of these is dedicated to the man who founded and consolidated the art of logic (*al-munši' li-hādīhi l-šinā'a wa-l-muṭabbī li-hā*), namely Aristotle, where we read:¹³³

Of the things that are included in the art of logic, the following two were established before the time of Aristotle: 1) What was practiced was practiced not with the aid of [the rules of] logic, but thorough skill and the competence that arises from long application to the performance of the art (since it so happened that people applied themselves without possessing the rules governing such practice), like the competence of Protagoras in sophistical argumentation, of Thrasymachus in rhetoric, and of Homer in poetry. Orations and poems were established by themselves, not on the basis of rules which one can use to produce similar orations and poems. 2) What was written was partial and scanty, like the various kinds of meters in the case of poetry, proverbial expressions in the case of rhetoric, and similar things in dialectic. [...]

In both passages, Homer is referred to as the greatest exponent of Greek poetry and a master of the practical use of the rules of poetry even before they were codified in the theorisation of poetic art, a merit that instead belongs to Aristotle. In Ibn Zur'a's text, the reference to Homer is introduced as a parallel instance taken from poetry to Plato's role in the formation of the apodictic science, since the latter also excelled in the application of the principles proper to this art before they were formalised by Aristotle, who did rely on Plato's model. A similar conception is alluded to in the first lines of the testimony of al-Fārābī, who, however, does not quote Plato, but mentions Protagoras and Thrasymachus as exponents of the sophistical and rhetorical arts – two other branches of logic, along with poetics, according to the expanded canon of the Alexandrian scholastic tradition –, who are the equivalent of Homer for poetics.

This barely sketched history of the evolution of logic from an early stage dominated by practice to a later stage of theorising science has its roots in the 6th-7th-cent. Alexandrian school of philosophy, which produced some interesting accounts parallel to those of Ibn Zur'a and al-Fārābī, though we cannot speak of direct dependence. These are a passage from Olympiodorus' *Prolegomena* to the *Categories*, and one taken from Elias' *Commentary on the Prior Analytics*.¹³⁴

After addressing the question of the status of logic – whether it is a tool or a part of philosophy –, Olympiodorus writes in his *Prolegomena* that both Aristotle and Plato are worthy of admiration, the former because he isolated and discovered the rules of logic divorced from practice, the latter because he applied demonstration without rules and without a theoretical method. This does not make Plato inferior to Aristotle, but indeed superior, «for the former, when he applied demonstration, did not need the demonstrative

¹³² See the general introduction on this writing by Rudolph 2017, 553-554.

¹³³ Mahdi 1968, 110.5-14 (para. 63; Ar.); Gutas 1983, 258 (Engl.).

¹³⁴ On the parallel between Olympiodorus' *Prolegomena* and the *al-Alfāz al-musta'mala fi l-mantiq* by al-Fārābī attention had already been drawn by Gutas 1983, 257-259.

method of Aristotle (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποδεικνύς ἐκεῖνος τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους ἀποδεικτικῆς μεθόδου ἐδεήθη), but on the contrary Aristotle needed the demonstration of Plato (ἀλλὰ τὸ ὑναντίον Ἀριστοτέλης τῆς Πλάτωνος ἀποδείξεως). So, therefore, also Homer and Demosthenes did not need neither the *Poetics* of Aristotle nor the art of Hermogenes, but on the contrary the latter needed the former to find the methods from their writings». ¹³⁵ Likewise the pupil of Olympiodorus Elias writes in his *Commentary on the Prior Analytics*: «The men of the past knew well what a demonstration is and they did not even fall into fallacious reasoning in applying demonstrations. For the great natures, acting above the laws, themselves become laws for posterity (αἱ γὰρ μεγάλαί φύσεις ὑπὲρ κανόνας ἐνεργοῦσαι αὐταὶ κανόνες γίνονται τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις). ¹³⁶ In fact they had no need of it, says Themistius. Plato, when he applied demonstration, did not need Aristotle's science of syllogism, so as not to neglect the properties of the figures of syllogism, but Aristotle needed Plato's dialogues to gather from those the properties of the figures of syllogism. So Homer did not need Aristotle's *Poetics*, nor Demosthenes the *Art of Rhetoric* of Hermogenes, but on the contrary Aristotle needed Homer in the *Poetics* and Hermogenes Demosthenes in the *Art of Rhetoric*». ¹³⁷ The passage is repeated almost verbatim in the *Commentary on the Prior Analytics* by another alleged disciple of Olympiodorus, David the Invincible, which is lost in Greek but preserved in an Armenian version (perhaps dating back to the decades between the second half of the 6th cent. and the first half of the 7th). ¹³⁸ Although the texts are all obviously related to one another, there is insufficient evidence to prove the dependence of either of the two Arabic passages on Olympiodorus or Elias, either because the two authors may have freely adapted the Greek source to their own text or because they may have relied on a lost testimony (perhaps a commentary by Olympiodorus on the *Prior Analytics* or another *Prolegomena*). In fact, al-Fārābī introduces additional elements (mentions of Protagoras and Thrasymachus) that he probably deduces from his source, while Ibn Zur'a shows some similarities especially with Elias' text, but does not match exactly.

Let us close by recalling one of the most explicit definitions of Homeric excellence in Arabic, which is well known to scholars. ¹³⁹ It is offered by the *Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric* by Ibn Rušd (d. 595/1198), where Homer is presented as a divine man (*rağul ilāhī*) and first teacher of all the Greeks (*al-mu'allim al-awwal li-ğamī' al-yūnāniyyīn*). ¹⁴⁰ Since attempting to identify a precise Greek parallel among the sources the commentator might have consulted

¹³⁵ Olymp. *Proll.*: CAG XII 1, 17.37-18.10, Busse (the translation of lines 18.5-10 is mine; see also the English text of Gertz 2018, 215). The passage has been translated into English also in Gutas 1983, 258.

¹³⁶ This sentence might be echoed in Ibn Zur'a passage reported above «the arts are what has been drawn from pure natures (*al-ṭabā'i' al-zakiyya*) from which what originates in them is derived without the art».

¹³⁷ Elias in *APr.*: Westerink 1961, 136.23-32 (the translation is mine).

¹³⁸ See English translation of the passage mentioning Homer in Topchyan 2010, 57. See also pp. 4-5 for the dating of the Armenian version and pp. 9-17 for a discussion on the authorship question of the Greek text. Scholars are inclined to believe that David the Invincible of the Armenian tradition is the same David of the Greek tradition, the 6th cent. author of a *Prolegomena philosophiae*, of a *Commentary* on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and apparently of a *Commentary* on the *Categories*. However, the identification cannot be conclusively established. See Ouzounian 1994; Barnes 2009; Calzolari 2009; Wildberg 2018.

¹³⁹ 'Abbās 1993, 48; Etman 2011, 75.

¹⁴⁰ Aouad 2002, II 53-53.

may prove futile and fruitless,¹⁴¹ we shall simply note that the definition's second term – *al-mu'allim al-awwal li-ḡamī' al-yūnāniyyīn* – immediately stands out because it establishes an implicit comparison with Aristotle, who earned the title of *al-mu'allim al-awwal* among the *falāsifa*.¹⁴²

Apparently, the examples mentioned above do not tell us anything concrete about the Arabic reception of Greek poetry as a whole and of Homer's verses specifically, yet they constitute relevant evidence to assess how the figure of Homer was perceived by an erudite Arabic speaking reader.

In the following section, we shall analyse separately the three perhaps most significant testimonies on the Arabic reception of Homer, on which scholars have rightly focused their attention.

1.4 Some case studies

1.4.a Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's knowledge of Homer

A celebrated passage concerning the Arabic reception of Homer is taken from the biography of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, a Christian physician and translator originally from al-Ḥīra. The episode is narrated by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a in his *Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* and is also reported in the entry on Ḥunayn of Ibn al-Qifṭī's *Ta'rīḥ al-ḥukamā'*. Early in his medical studies conducted in Baḡdād Ḥunayn suffered heavy humiliation from his teacher Yūḥannā ibn Māsawayh (d. 857), who drove him away claiming that a son of merchants could not

¹⁴¹ We might advance the hypothesis that the expression *raḡul ilāhī* echoes the words of Aristotle in *Po.* 1459a 30, where Homer is said to be divine (θεσπέσιος), but in fact the sense of this adjective is lost in the Arabic version by Abū Biṣr Mattā ibn Yūnus consulted by Averroes for his short and middle commentary on the *Poetics*, the former drafted around 1157 and thus already completed when the *Middle Commentary* on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was completed (in 1175), while the latter presumably dates from 1176 (for a chronology of Averroes' works see the section entitled *Works of Ibn Rushd* in the *Bibliography* of Ben Ahmed, Pasnau 2021). For the problems of the Arabic rendering of the term θεσπέσιος in the version by Abū Biṣr Mattā see Tkatsch 1928, 274.11-12 and n. 23 and Kraemer 1956a, 286 n. 4 (who provides a brief comparison of the reconstruction hypotheses of the three editors of the Arabic *Poetics*, Margoliouth, Tkatsch and Badawī). However, Aristotle was not the only one to “deify” Homer; see, for example, some wax tablets catalogued in Cribiore 1996, 46 and 220, 222 (= nos. 200 and 209), bearing the maxim «Not a man, but a god was Homer». See also, though not strictly related to our passage, Chapter 3 here and the discussion under section 3.2.5.3 (no. 1) concerning some Arabic sources that list Homer among the prophets of the Ṣābī'ans of Ḥarrān. Finally, Ibn al-Qifṭī, in his *Ta'rīḥ al-ḥukamā'*, mentions Homer together with Orpheus, Hesiod and Empedocles as the Greek poets who spoke of divine things: Lippert 1903, 203.9-10. Homer's divine status is then further substantiated by the reuse of his verses in magic and divination in the Byzantine era, see Mavroudi 2020, 451-452. Even the connotation of Homer as the first teacher has its antecedents in Greek literature, first of all the passage of Plato's *Republic* – another treatise commented on by Averroes – in which it is said of Homer that ἔοικε μὲν γὰρ τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων τούτων τῶν τραγικῶν πρῶτος διδάσκαλός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι (*R.* 595B-C).

¹⁴² The expression referred to Aristotle is found in a plethora of attestations that it would make no sense to enumerate here, but we would just like to point out that the section dealing with Aristotle in the gnomological compilation known as the *Philosophical Quartet* (on which we will say more in Chapter 3) opens with these very words; see Gutas 1975, 158.1.

become a doctor. Two years later, between ca. 824 and 825 (the reconstruction is hypothetical and based on a relative chronology),¹⁴³ Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s informant, Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Dāya, claims to have met Ḥunayn by chance in Baǧdād, at the home of an intellectual of Greek descent from his mother’s side, known as Ishāq ibn al-Ḥaṣī («son of the eunuch»), who had been raised in the Byzantine manner, «with the result that he spoke perfect Greek and was able to read works written in that language».¹⁴⁴ Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm admits that at first he could not identify Ḥunayn from his appearance because he had «such a head of hair that it partially covered his face», until he recognized his voice as he was «reciting some Greek poetry by Homer, the greatest of all the Greek poets».¹⁴⁵ Summoned by Yūsuf ibn Ibrāhīm, the man admits to being Ḥunayn and to having promised himself to learn Greek to perfection before completing his medical studies in order to prove his old master Ibn Māsawayh wrong. After this episode there is no trace of Ḥunayn for another three or four years, after which he settled permanently in Baǧdād where he embarked on a career as a translator and physician at the court of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs.

What we can infer from this testimony is that Ḥunayn devoted five or six years of his youth to learning Greek, during which time he also came into contact with Greek-speaking intellectuals of Byzantine culture (such as Ishāq ibn al-Ḥaṣī). We can assume that during this period he did not remain in Baǧdād but travelled to places that could offer him the best possible training for studying the language. Scholars tend to believe that during these years Ḥunayn attended one or more study centres in the lands under the Byzantine empire (perhaps in Byzantium itself) or in those territories that, even after having fallen under Arab rule at the time of the conquests, had still retained some Greek influence. According to Ibn Ğuġul’s *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’ wa-l-ḥukamā’*, and as stated also by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, Ḥunayn studied Greek in Alexandria.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, the reference to Homer offers important evidence in this regard. Although it is not possible to trace precisely in which cities and in which circles

¹⁴³ The date has been reconstructed on the basis of a later chronological reference provided by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, who reports that three or four years after this episode, Ḥunayn was in the company of Ğibrīl ibn Buḥtīshū‘ shortly before the latter’s death in 213/828 (as reported in the *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, online edition Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 8.3.20). See also Cottrell 2020d, 339.

¹⁴⁴ *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, online edition Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 8.29.2.

¹⁴⁵ *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, online edition Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 8.29.3. The passage is repeated in Ibn al-Qifṭī’s *Ta’rīḥ al-ḥukamā’*: Lippert 1903, 174.15-16.

¹⁴⁶ For Ibn Ğuġul see: Sayyid 1955, 69.7. *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, online edition Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 8.29.9. By the 9th cent. Alexandria had lost its role as an outstanding cultural center of Hellenistic and Roman periods, and we lack sufficient information to determine whether tradition of philosophical and medical studies that might have attracted Ḥunayn to the city had continued after the 6th and 7th cents. We may note, however, that, Ḥunayn, in the letter containing a catalogue of his Galenic translations (*Risāla ilā ‘Alī ibn Yahyā fi dīkr mā turġīma min kutub Ğālīnūs bi-‘ilmihī wa-ba‘d ma lam yutarġam*), writes that after a long search he found a Greek copy of Galen’s *De demonstratione* in Alexandria; see Lamoreaux 2016, 116 (Engli.)-117 (Ar.; para. 126.3). Before Ḥunayn, Sergius of Rēš‘ainā (d. 536) had studied philosophy and medicine in Alexandria. This translator appears frequently in Ḥunayn’s biographies, as a kind of illustrious predecessor (see for instance *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, online edition Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 8.29.3). Ḥunayn himself, in his *Risāla*, claims to have used some of his translations of the Galenic treatises from Greek to Syriac as models for his own, and criticises the unsatisfactory quality of some of Sergius’ translations dating from the period before his training in Alexandria (see Lamoreaux 2016, 20-27, 34-39 [paras. 13, 16, 22]; see also Brock 1991, 151-152).

Ḥunayn perfected his knowledge of the language, if we follow Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s Arabic text to the letter, it turns out that Ḥunayn learned Greek according to the ancient custom, still alive in the Byzantine era and in the 9th cent., of studying grammar by practicing with transcription exercises and learning Homer’s verses by rote.¹⁴⁷ It is legitimate to ask how we should interpret this testimony and whether Ḥunayn really knew Homer’s poetry by heart. This is the question posed by Gotthard Strohmaier in an important contribution published in 1980 and entitled *Homer in Bagdad*,¹⁴⁸ in which he looked for further traces attesting to a direct knowledge of Homer in some of Ḥunayn’s Arabic translations of Galen’s works or that were carried out by his collaborators from his Syriac versions. Admittedly, none of the cases identified by Strohmaier can be said to be definitive proof that Ḥunayn knew the Homeric poems directly. Some of his notes or additions reveal a particular care in rendering cultural references (including those to Homer) as appropriately as possible and a certain familiarity with mythological material, but in many cases his comments could be based on marginalia in the Greek MSS used for translation and consultation of indirect sources, even of the manualistic-encyclopedic type.¹⁴⁹

Strohmaier does not question the soundness of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s account, and indeed there are no compelling reasons to do so; however, two questions can be raised that are bound to remain open. First, it can be observed that the entire biography of Ḥunayn presents idealised traits bordering on the legendary, including the description of his formation. It is narrated that even before moving to Baġdād to learn medicine Ḥunayn lived in Baṣra to study Arabic with the 8th-cent. philologist al-Ḥalīl ibn Aḥmad,¹⁵⁰ i.e., with the father of Arabic grammar, who, however, had died well before Ḥunayn was born. Learning Greek by means of Homer’s poetry could constitute a parallel with this narrative motif, aimed together at legitimising the perfect mastery that Ḥunayn had in the three languages involved in his translations – including Syriac, of which he was a native speaker.¹⁵¹ Even allowing for this

¹⁴⁷ See Browning 1975, 16; Mavroudi 2014, 324-330; Mavroudi 2020, 446, 462-463.

¹⁴⁸ In this study, Strohmaier also dwells on the detail of Ḥunayn’s voluminous hair to which both Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a and Ibn al-Qiftī allude and advances the hypothesis that Ḥunayn had adopted the fashion of the *σχολαστικοί*, the Byzantine scholars, who were wont to wear long curly hair, as we read in *schol. ad Pers. Sat. I, 29: cirratis, capillatis pueris. Cirrati sunt scholiastici vel catamiti, cirri enim dicuntur capelli et illi crines habebant in honorem Veneris quos statuto tempore praemetebant* (Strohmaier 1980, 196, who refers to Hošek 1978, 87). We might add that a similar hair style had also been adopted by some Ṣābi‘ans of Ḥarrān according to the report of their meeting with the caliph al-Ma‘mūn (r. 813-833) by the Christian Abū Yūsuf Īṣu‘ al-Qaṭī‘ī in Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Kitāb al-Fihrist* («who had long hair with side bangs (*wa-ša’ruhum ṭawīla bi-wuḥūrāt*)»), Flügel 1871-1872, I 320.8-9 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 362.8 [Ar.]; Dodge 1970, 751 [Engl.]). The connection with the Byzantine *σχολαστικοί* is actually quite loose and the reference to Ḥunayn’s hair, about which sources say only that it descended to cover the face, may simply indicate the fact that, in order to conceal his identity, Ḥunayn had stopped wearing his hair as he was wont to do, perhaps following the prescription that required Christians residing on the caliphate’s territories to cut their hair leaving only the forehead shaven (see Fattal 1958, 96-97).

¹⁴⁹ See the examples proposed by Strohmaier 1980. Even if we broaden the spectrum of inquiry, there is no evidence – other than that mentioned here – that distinctly attests that Ḥunayn was familiar with the Homer’s verses and other Greek poets.

¹⁵⁰ See the online edition Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 8.29.1.

¹⁵¹ See Rashed 2006, 172: «symbolically, such mastery of Greek is most certainly a corollary of al Khalil’s earlier tutoring in Arabic».

hypothesis, the document still offers eloquent evidence of the exceptional status accorded to Homer as the representative not only of Greek poetry but of all Greekness in a linguistic sense.

Another doubt arises when one reads this text in parallel with the testimony of the *Muntaḥab ṣiwān al-ḥikma* on the alleged translation of some of Homer's verses by Iṣṭifān ibn Basīl. Since the latter was a close collaborator of Ḥunayn and had likely executed this translation likely under his supervision, how is it possible that Ḥunayn – if he really was aware, however partially, of the form and content of the Homeric poems – did not realise that those verses (which are excerpts of the *Menandri Sententiae*) were not Homer's? Or perhaps the verses that Ḥunayn had recited by heart and learned in his travels believing them to be Homeric were actually Menander's monostichs, the second most commonly read work in school?¹⁵² Manfred Ullmann, who edited the collection and studied the passage, rules out the possibility that Iṣṭifān was responsible for the misattribution, since in Ibn Hindū's *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya* – a witness to this Arabic version of the *Menandri Sententiae* independent of the tradition descending from the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (which is unanimous in attributing the monostichs to Homer) – this collection is reported as an anonymous specimen of Greek poetry with no connection to Homer.¹⁵³ However, the hypothesis could be overturned and it could be assumed that the anonymity of the version is an innovation of Ibn Hindū's branch of the tradition.

1.4.b The narrative of Pisistratus' collection of Homer's verses in Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's *Ġawāb* to Ibn al-Munaḡḡim's *al-Burhān*

Another exceptional piece of evidence concerning Homer is offered by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's reply to a letter that Ibn al-Munaḡḡim had sent him, and also in parallel to Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq, whose reply letter is transmitted together with that of Qusṭā and Ibn al-Munaḡḡim. Scholars have identified the latter with several members of the Banū al-Munaḡḡim,¹⁵⁴ since the two main MSS that preserve this correspondence (derived from the same antigraph)¹⁵⁵ in the colophon bear names that cannot be uniquely identified with one particular member of the family, and the bibliographical sources disagree on the attribution of the letter. Without delving into the details of the matter, we keep to Marwan Rashed's convincing reconstruction: around 250/860 Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Munaḡḡim (d. 275/888) wrote a letter entitled *al-Burhān*, «the Demonstration», and sent it to a group of Christian friends, including Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq and Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, who resided in Baḡdād at the time. These three letters

¹⁵² See above n. 40.

¹⁵³ Ullmann 1961, 10-11 n. 5.

¹⁵⁴ See the extremely useful genealogical tree in Berggren 2019.

¹⁵⁵ The most important witness is the MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale, Or. 664, the only MS used in both editions (the 1981 edition by S.K. Samir accompanied by a French translation by P. Nwyia contained in vol. 40 of the *Patrologia Orientalis* and the 2003 edition by S.K. Samir accompanied by an Italian translation by I. Zilio-Grandi). The work is also transmitted by the MS Zahleh, Collection Ma'lūf 1355, part of a private library and inaccessible; for information on the colophon of this MS I relied on Roggema 2007, 764. In Samir, Zilio-Grandi 2003, 35 n. 6 the existence of a third MS preserved in Damascus is reported, but it has never been examined for text reconstruction.

have been edited by Samir K. Samir in 1981, who republished ‘Alī ibn al-Munağğim’s and Qusṭā’s letters in 2003. After 275/890, ‘Alī ibn al-Munağğim’s son, Abū ‘Īsā Aḥmad, wrote a new letter going back to the arguments of his father’s *al-Burhān* and sent it to Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, who drafted a second reply during his stay in Armenia, where he probably around 300/912 or even later.¹⁵⁶ Abū ‘Īsā Aḥmad ibn al-Munağğim’s letter has been lost – but it is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, and repeated in Ibn al-Qiftī’s *Ta’rīḥ al-ḥukamā’* –,¹⁵⁷ while a fragment of Qusṭā’s reply survives in the MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 8613.¹⁵⁸

‘Alī ibn al-Munağğim had conceived his own letter as a demonstration of Muḥammad’s prophethood, the premises of which are based primarily on the miracle of the inimitability of the Qur’ān (*i’ğāz*). In response, Qusṭā shows that the letter he received is not an absolute or geometric demonstration (*burhān muṭlaq, burhān handasī*)¹⁵⁹ as his interlocutor would like, dismantling one by one the proofs adduced in support of ‘Alī ibn al-Munağğim’s argument.

The passage we are interested in is one of the most striking arguments of Qusṭā’s refutation because it directly addresses the question of the inimitability of the Qur’ān. After rejecting ‘Alī ibn al-Munağğim’s fourth and final premise – according to which, since only God holds the knowledge of the mystery (*‘ilm al-ğayb*), and Muḥammad despite being one of His creatures is called *‘ālim al-ğayb wa-l-šahādat*, «knower of the mystery and the testimony» (*Qur.* 59:22), then he is a prophet – Qusṭā finds in the same Islamic tradition evidence against the inimitability of the Qur’ān.¹⁶⁰ He recalls that the Qur’ān was revealed at different times, in separate, random parts, and only occasionally put into writing. And it continued to circulate in these varied and disjointed forms until caliph ‘Uṭmān (r. 644-656) decided to collect it in a definitive, complete, and somewhat canonical redaction. In order for a verse to be included in his selection, at least two witnesses, who could testify to knowing it, had to be produced. It follows, as Qusṭā says, that if indeed the Qur’ān was inimitable, then no witnesses would be needed to distinguish what was authentic from counterfeits.¹⁶¹ Then he makes a comparison with the Greek tradition:¹⁶²

320 It is narrated that one of the kings of the Greeks, called Pisistratus, wanted to collect Homer’s poetry. 321 He then ordered a town crier to proclaim that anyone who brought a verse of Homer’s poetry would receive an unlimited amount of money.¹⁶³

322 Greeks from all provinces came to him with this poetry. He accepted every verse of Homer, or similar, from whoever brought it to him, 323 and gave him the

¹⁵⁶ The sources do not specify the date of his moving to Armenia nor of his death; see the classical study Gabrieli 1912. Swanson 2010b, 148 speculates that Qusṭā was still alive in 920 versus the conventional date of 300/912.

¹⁵⁷ *Kitāb al-Fihrist*: Flügel 1871-1872, I 295.10-11 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 293.4-5 (Ar.); Dodge 1970, 695 (Eng.). *Ta’rīḥ al-ḥukamā’*: Lippert 1903, 263.13-14.

¹⁵⁸ See Rashed 2008, 277-289. See also Roggema 2007, 764-766.

¹⁵⁹ Samir, Zilio-Grandi 2003, 106.10-11 (para. 3; Ar.).

¹⁶⁰ Samir, Zilio-Grandi 2003, 172.7-9 (para. 262; Ar.); 184.3-4 (paras. 308-309; Ar.).

¹⁶¹ Samir, Zilio-Grandi 2003, 184.4-186.6 (paras. 309-319; Ar.).

¹⁶² Samir, Zilio-Grandi 2003, 186.8-188.14 (paras. 320-333; Ar.). Paragraph numbers of the Samir and Zilio-Grandi’s edition are reported for convenience

¹⁶³ See proposed emendation by Rashed 2008, 292.

sum of money he had fixed. For, if he had refused someone, he would have prevented by that refusal that others would come to him.

324 In his time there were some who composed poetry, and excelled at it. 325 Among them were those who counterfeited one or two verses among many or completed something they had not kept in full, so as to receive more money.

326 When the king had gathered all that he could gather of that poetry, he summoned the language experts. 327 And once they were there, they selected the poetry for him and put it in order. 328 No uncertainty or doubt caught them as to what contained forgeries; on the contrary, they all knew what was true and what was counterfeit.

329 It happened that among the forged verses were found excellent verses, and other verses whose first hemistich was by Homer, while the second hemistich had been completed by an author other than Homer. 330 So the king ordered these verses to be fixed in his poem anyway, for they were excellent and well made, but that a mark should make them recognizable, so that those who investigated Homer's poetry might know that they were not part of his authentic poetry, about which there was no uncertainty. 332 For no one could equal his poetry, which needed no witnesses. 333 And if anything entered into it that was not a part of it, it was recognisable by itself.

As already noted by Samir and Zilio-Grandi and shown precisely by Rashed the passage presents not a simple assonance, but an almost literal coincidence with one of the commentaries on Dionysius Thrax's *Τέχνη γραμματική*. The passage we are interested in belongs to a group of scholia (on paras. 1-11 and paras. 19-20 of the *Τέχνη*), in some MSS attributed to a certain Melampus and in others to a certain Diomedes, which supposedly «represent independent copies of an original which, as an excerpt of an earlier source, already shows the lacuna of §§12-18».¹⁶⁴ This original is usually referred to as Melampus/Diomedes. The most punctual correspondences are between paras. 320-327 of the text of Qusṭā in the Samir and Zilio-Grandi's edition and ll. 29.21-30.1 of Hilgard's *Grammatici Graeci* (vol. 1.3), more precisely – as wisely observed by Rashed – with the Greek text transmitted in the MS Venice, Mar. gr. 489.¹⁶⁵ In paras. 328-333, Qusṭā partly introduces personal considerations and partly possibly paraphrases the source in describing the practice of obelisation of verses deemed spurious. The commentary of Melampus/Diomedes, on the other hand, goes on to add elements absent in Qusṭā: the 72 grammarians summoned by Pisistratus are asked to compare the editions that each had prepared on the basis of the collected verses (details that echo the narrative of the Septuagint translation in the *Letter of Aristeas*);¹⁶⁶ the editions of Aristarchus and Zenodotus (Alexandrian philologists who lived between the 4th and 3rd cents. BC, long after Pisistratus) are considered the best, especially that of Aristarchus; obeloi

¹⁶⁴ See the entry *Melampus* ([2] *Byzantine grammarian*) by Gregor Damschen in Brill's New Pauly (2006).

¹⁶⁵ See the textual analysis in Rashed 2008, 291-292.

¹⁶⁶ See Canfora 1996, 28-31, where he offers an Italian translation of the entire passage and points out the parallel with the so-called Anonymous of Craemer.

were placed on the spurious verses that had been accepted for their quality and were now familiar to the public.¹⁶⁷

The dependence of Qusṭā's text on the first part of this passage in the Greek commentary cannot be fully verified essentially for two reasons. Rashed also dwells on the first reason, i.e., we do not know whether these commentaries on Dionysius Thrax's grammar did actually circulate in the circles frequented by Qusṭā. Certainly, Dionysius Thrax's manual was still used for the teaching of technical grammar in the 9th cent. and an adapted Syriac version ascribed to Joseph Hūzāyā (d. before 580)¹⁶⁸ as well as an Armenian version¹⁶⁹ are preserved, but we do not know if and what circulation it had in the Baḡdād in which Qusṭā lived and if it was read together with commentaries such as that of Melampus/Diomedes. A second reason is chronology. Unfortunately, we know nothing of the grammarian known as Melampus/Diomedes except that he lived after George Choïroboskos. However, this only provides a relative reference, all the more so because the precise period in which Choïroboskos lived is unknown. It was long assumed that he was to be placed in the 6th cent. (as Hoerschelmann did), but scholars today tend to believe that he lived in the first half of the 9th cent.¹⁷⁰ Consequently, Melampus/Diomedes might have been contemporary with, or even posterior to, Qusṭā. It is therefore possible that the latter did not actually consult the text that has come down to us, but its source, which has been lost. A trace thereof remains even in the Alexandrian commentators, as well as in another commentary on the *Τέχνη γραμματική* by the grammarian Stephanus.¹⁷¹ Olympiodorus in his *Prolegomena* alludes to it by briefly mentioning Pisistratus, the tyrant of the Athenians, as a lover of Homeric poems, when he argues that one of the causes of false attributions was the ambition (*φιλοτιμία*) of the kings who strove to collect writings like these in exchange for money.¹⁷² More details are captured in David's *Commentary* on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. The context is the same, but the passage we are interested in is presented as an example of base covetousness (*αἰσχροκέρδεια*), the fourth reason for producing forgeries added by David – the third in order of appearance. The text reads: «as when someone wishing to secure a means of support composes a work and writes on it the name of an ancient, which is also said to have happened in the time of Pisistratus. For it is told that Pisistratus wished to collect Homer's verses which were transmitted in a scattered manner and decreed a fee for those who brought him Homeric verses. As a result, most forged verses for the turpentine love of gain and brought them to him as if they were Homer's, obtaining gain in return».¹⁷³ Similarly in Ps. Elias/Ps. David's *Commentary* on Porphyry's *Isagoge* the same story is given as an example of *αἰσχροκέρδεια* in the following way: «Thus, it is said that Pisistratus, when he was king of the Athenians, loved Homeric verses and

¹⁶⁷ Greek text in Hilgard 1901, vol. 1.3 30.1-17.

¹⁶⁸ The Syriac text is edited by Merx 1889, 50-72. Among the recent studies on the reception of this writing in Syriac see Contini 1998; Farina 2008; Hugonnard-Roche 2013, 70-74.

¹⁶⁹ Probably dating back to the 6th cent.; see Weitenberg 2001, 309-312. The text has been edited by Adontz in 1970.

¹⁷⁰ Hoerschelmann 1874, 75; see the entry *Georgios: Γεώργιος* by Lilie, Ludwig, Zielke, Pratsch 2013 in the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online*.

¹⁷¹ Greek text in Hilgard 1901, vol. 1.3 179.13-19. English translation in Rashed 2008, 290.

¹⁷² Olymp. *Proll.*: CAG XII 1, 13.15-16, Busse. See also English translation in Gertz 2018, 209.

¹⁷³ Greek text in CAG XVIII 2, 82.6-12, Busse.

gave a gold coin to every person who brought him a Homeric verse. So the greedy ones, put themselves at the table, composed their own verses, brought them to Pisistratus and obtained the compensation. So they contaminated the Homeric poems. Once arrived, posterity obelised the spurious verses recognising that those were not worthy of Homer's doctrine ».¹⁷⁴ The latter passage undoubtedly offers the most interesting parallels with Qusṭā's text, but not enough correspondence to be considered its original source.

The comparison between Homer's poem and the Qur'ān is repeated a second time in this same letter in similar terms to those of the previous passage. Here, however, Qusṭā suggests that the Qur'ān is even inferior to other masterpieces of human culture – including Homer's poetry – since it does not contain useful teachings on a given art or branch of knowledge. The passage runs as follows: «Given that Homer has a special ability in composing poetry, and that no one now can bring anything comparable to Homer's poetry, according to you he is a prophet. Especially since he included in it contents of truly sublime value, and arts among the most excellent. To such an extent that he mentioned therein wonderful contents of medicine, which reached Galen, who collected them and composed a work entitled *The Book of Galen on the Medicine of Homer*. And he mentioned most wondrous things of the art of dialectics. They were referred to by one of the dialecticians named Bilānus, who claimed to have collected them in a work entitled *Book of Homer's Dialectic*. What he expresses – in terms of rare utterances, science of language, strength of poetic discourse, writing of epistles and speeches – has such value that no Greek denies his excellence».¹⁷⁵ Only the first of the two bibliographical references given in the passage has been identified. It is the *Kitāb fi-l-ṭibb 'alā ra'y Awwmirus* (*On Medicine according to the Views of Homer*) mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a in his *Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* among the works of Galen that Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq reputed to be spurious.¹⁷⁶ The second title, on the other hand, poses some problems, and to date it has not been possible to identify parallel references in other Arabic sources or a $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma$ associated with Homer in Greek sources. Moreover, no proposed identification of the name *Bilānus* (Palladius or Apollonius [of Tyana]) can be said to be definitive.¹⁷⁷ Finally, it is worth noting that this latter comparison between Homer's work and the Qur'ān is taken up by Qusṭā in the second letter he wrote, in response to that of Abū 'Īsā Aḥmad ibn al-Munaḡḡim. In fact, in the fragment transmitted in the MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 8613 there is a similar remark that reads: «if what is not produced by other people is a miracle, the poetry of Homer the philosopher (*Awwmirus al-faylasūf*) must then be a miracle, because none of the Greeks has produced anything similar».¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Greek text in Westerink 1967, 50.11-17.

¹⁷⁵ Samir, Zilio-Grandi 2003, 224.2-226.3 (paras. 463-470; Ar.).

¹⁷⁶ Online edition Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 5.1.38 no. 139. See Samir, Nwiya 1981, 667 n. 83; Samir, Zilio-Grandi 2003, 225 n. 1.

¹⁷⁷ See Samir, Nwiya 1981, 666 n. 499, 667 n. 84; Samir, Zilio-Grandi 2003, 224 n. 15, 225 n. 2. I was unable to find a better explanation than those advanced here.

¹⁷⁸ Rashed 2008, 282 (Ar.), 283 (Engl.).

1.4.c The description of the capture of Troy in al-Iskāfi's *Kitāb lutf al-tadbīr fī siyāsāt al-mulūk*

The last testimony we shall deal with does not contain an explicit mention of Homer, but it does bear a narrative related to the content of the Homeric poems that is so unique to merit a separate discussion here. This is a brief account on the conquest of the city of Troy by means of the expedient of the wooden horse reported in the *Lutf al-tadbīr (fī siyāsāt al-mulūk)* (*The Good Management [in the Governments of Kings]*) by Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Iskāfi (d. 420/1029), known as al-Ḥaṭīb al-Iskāfi or Ḥaṭīb al-Qal'a l-Faḥriyya, a philologist who lived between Isfahān and al-Rayy, close to the buyid vizir al-Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād (d. 385/995).¹⁷⁹

The *Lutf al-tadbīr* is a *speculum principis* consisting of 33 chapters in which the author provides precepts on good government and on how rulers should behave in times of peace and war, through the narration of stories from pre-Islamic times (e.g., the death of the king of the Banū Kinda Ḥuḡr in an intertribal conflict and the subsequent death of his son Imru' l-Qays at the behest of the king of the Rūm, namely Justinian) and Islamic times (especially, anecdotes involving caliphs, but also their generals and vizirs), as well as episodes from Persian history (in particular, the exploits of Darius, Shapur II and Khosrow Parviz), from Greco-Roman history (numerous sections devoted to Alexander the Great, anecdotes about Constantine) and from Byzantine history (the relationships and clashes between Byzantine emperors and their Persian and Arab enemies). It also includes rarer reports of myths and legends, as in our case.

Chapter Four entitled *Fī lutf al-tadbīr fī fath al-bilād* (On good management in the conquest of countries) ends with the narration of the expedition to Africa (*Ifriqiyya*)¹⁸⁰ by one of the kings of the ancient Greeks (*malik min mulūk al-rūm al-yūnāniyyīn*) and the long siege of the city over there. After a brief introduction, the author describes the two main characters: «Among the companions of the king of the Greeks was a man named Achilles, unequalled in valour. Angry with the king over a matter, he withdrew from the war. Among the inhabitants of the African city there was a man named Hector, extremely valiant: he killed whichever warrior of the Greeks had faced him in the field». The king of the Greeks then devised a stratagem at the expense and without the knowledge of Achilles urging one of his companions (*aḥ la-hū*) to ride the former's horse, to face Hector and kill him. So the man (not named but evidently Patroclus) wears the weapons of Achilles and «a special emblem by which he was known» (perhaps the bronze armour forged by Hephaestus, on which many verses of the 16th book of the *Iliad* persist), but he is killed in the duel with Hector. This arouses Achilles' anger, who goes out into the field to challenge Hector and kills him. Up to here the storyline is quite faithful to the traditional version of the story, but then the idea of the wooden horse is

¹⁷⁹ On the few biographical data of this little-known author see Weipert 2021a; see also Chraïbi 2009, 91 and n. 6.

¹⁸⁰ The Arabic *Ifriqiyya* might be a reinterpretation of a corrupted transliteration for Φρυγία, Phrygia, where according to a certain part of the tradition (John Malalas, *Chronographia* 5, 1.3-4, followed by Agapius and Michael the Syrian in the passages reported above) Troy is located. See already Rosenthal 1961, 12b n. 7. A full translation of the passage can be read in Rosenthal 1961, 12a-b and Rosenthal 1975a, 256-258.

attributed to Achilles himself (and not to Odysseus): «Achilles proposed to the king: “After the killing of my companion, the only thing that will give me satisfaction is the annihilation of those people: grant me the authority to develop a plan”; the king granted it to him. He therefore ordered artisans to build a reproduction of a great hollow horse, then to inlay it with gold and set in it precious stones of every kind, and to make the belly large enough to accommodate a hundred men. It was fitted with a cart to be hauled and a hidden door by which the men could enter. So, Achilles said to the king, “Send it to the inhabitants of the city with a message that will reassure them and for which you do not have to give a justification. Then withdraw and let them think you are returning to your homeland. Leave with the ships into the open sea until you are hidden from their sight, and at nightfall, return with a host of your most valiant companions as quickly as possible to startle the people at dawn. Leave this horse here, for I hope to enter it with a hundred men from among your trusted men”». And so it was done. The inhabitants of the African city were awestruck by the gift and tried to get it into the city, «but since the gates were too narrow for it to pass, they widened them so that the horse could enter on the cart. They placed themselves around it and started drinking wine, without noticing any sign of the door, until night fell and the wine quickly took effect. When dawn came and the crowd composed of drunk people who felt safe dispersed, the king of the Greeks sailed in their direction on fast ships carrying the best of his soldiers. When he reached them at dawn, the gates of the city were torn down. Achilles and his companions emerged from the belly of the horse and attacked them, striking them with their swords. They prevented them from guarding the gates, so the king of the Greeks penetrated the city and destroyed it».¹⁸¹ Thus the tale ended.

The *Lutfal-tadbīr* provides exceptional documentary evidence of the transmission in Arabic of not just Homeric poetry, but of some of the events of the Trojan Cycle, that were epitomised, reworked and retold in prose writings and poems of various kinds throughout Greco-Roman Antiquity up to the Byzantine era.¹⁸²

Albeit in an extremely succinct manner, the author narrates the beginning of the war, that is barely mentioned, and then the key episodes in the last days of the tenth year of the war, which is the subject of the *Iliad*, followed by the construction of the wooden horse (material from the lost *Little Iliad*) and the taking of the city (described in the lost *Iliou Persis*), two episodes that we read about via other sources, of which the most complete is part of the second book of the *Aeneid*. Admittedly, this account has some obvious deviations from the common narrative (Agamemnon suggests that Patroclus impersonate Achilles; Achilles devises the stratagem of the horse; Achilles is among the soldiers hiding inside the wooden horse) and only the names of Achilles and Hector are mentioned,¹⁸³ but it turns out to be, all in all, correct and quite detailed.

¹⁸¹ ‘Abd al-Bāqī 1979, 27.1-28.11 (Ar.). Translation is mine. A full English translation of the episode is available in Rosenthal 1961, 12. Chraïbi 2001 published the Arabic text with a French translation apparently without being aware of Rosenthal’s 1961 article.

¹⁸² See the concise reconstruction in Niccolai 2019, 42-44.

¹⁸³ Achilles is transliterated in the distorted form *Arslāw* (see also Mavroudi 2020, 461) instead of the more usual forms *Ahls* (see Chapter 2, *Rh.* ref. 6), *Ahīlūs* (see Chapter 2, SE refs. 2, 6; *APo.* ref. 3; *Rh.* refs. 1, 69, 74), *Ahlūs* (see Chapter 2, *Rh.* ref. 69) – all variants that may be due to the negligence of copyists – and *Ašlūs* (see Chapter

Where could it have originated from? Rosenthal, who has the merit of having first noticed the text in two MSS of Istanbul and proposed an English translation, admits that its immediate source is not known and speculates that the story may have been transmitted orally for a certain period of time – which would explain the divergences in the plot – and then transferred to an *adab* work, a hypothetical direct or indirect source of al-Iskāfi.¹⁸⁴ The question is far from clear, since the account in the *Lutfal-tadbīr* is certainly not a literal translation from a traceable Greek or Syriac source, but a text transmitted by one or more intermediaries, which perhaps circulated orally, and that might have been paraphrased or abbreviated at some stage of the tradition resulting in simplifications and alterations in the plot. Al-Iskāfi himself may have drawn this story from an author who had already collected anecdotes of military tactics before him for similar reasons.

Although the identification of the proximate source must be dispensed with, we can still make some observations about its remote origin. It does not present the amount of detail nor a structure relatable to the Greek and Syriac historiographical sources partly mentioned above and investigated in Hilken's 2013 study nor any analogy with the account of Agapius, the Arabic-speaking author who shows most familiarity with the events of the Trojan War. The account of al-Iskāfi is not even comparable in scope and richness of references (mention of secondary episodes and characters, as well as of Greek deities, narrative and descriptive details) to the extended passage in the *Anonymous Chronicle up to the year 1234*, the only Syriac source that describes the siege and capture of Troy in detail. It is therefore difficult to think that al-Iskāfi used – albeit indirectly – the same source consulted by this and other Western Syriac chroniclers. On the other hand, al-Iskāfi, not being a historiographer, mentions the Trojan War with a markedly different perspective and purpose than those sources. He is more interested in narrating the ploy – devised by Achilles in order to take revenge for the consequences of a stratagem ordered without his knowledge and to his detriment –, by which the outcome of the war is decided, than in the war itself and not at all concerned with the chronological placement of events. Rather, we might think that underlying al-Iskāfi's testimony is a Byzantine tactical manual that reached Arabic. Seemingly, Byzantine, Persian and also, indirectly, Hindi military theory treatises were translated into Arabic already before the end of the 10th cent., and a partial Arabic translation of chapters 3-31 of Aelian's *On Tactical Arrays of the Greeks* (περὶ στρατηγικῶν τάξεων ἑλληνικῶν) – perhaps dating to the 9th or 10th cent. – is transmitted within a work on military tactics from the mid. 14th cent., although further research needs to be carried out in this area.¹⁸⁵ In any case, among the works that have come down to us and that I have been able to consult, I did not find any brief reports on the taking of Troy introduced as examples, that can be compared to al-Iskāfi's narrative.

Another – for now only hypothetical – assumption that can be made, to be verified by the collection of further evidence, is that the remote origin of the story is school material. In fact,

2, *Top.* ref. 1; SE ref. 2). Hector is transliterated as *Aqṭr*, as attested elsewhere (see Chapter 2, *de An.* ref. 1; EN refs. 10, 11, 12, 27; but see also *Rh.* refs. 29, 69, 74 bearing the form *Aqṭūr*).

¹⁸⁴ Rosenthal 1961, 11b, where he ventures that behind it there may have been «a collection of Greek stories, known in the Near East and translated into Syriac and into Arabic», which included tale of Ibycus and the cranes reported in *al-Tawḥīdī's Kitāb al-imtā' wa-l-mu'ānasa*, which we will discuss in Chapter 3. The hypothesis cannot be confirmed by the data available to us.

¹⁸⁵ Cahen 1986, 181a; Schellenberg 2017; see also Gutas 1998, 195.

one of the primary school writing exercises of Late Antiquity consisted of «paraphrases, compositions on a given subject, summaries of Homeric episodes or of whole books, and dialogues», an example of which is a fragment of a Byzantine parchment notebook, dating to the 5th-6th cents., containing some considerations on the Trojan War and a list of causes that led to the clash, studied by Criatore.¹⁸⁶ Similar schoolwork material was included among the preparatory exercises in the study of rhetoric that was part of the *Progymnasmata*. One of the standard forms of such sets of written compositions – introduced as the second type of exercise in the manuals of Hermogenes, Aphthonius and Nicolaus, and as the third in the classification of Theon –¹⁸⁷ is the διήγημα, «narrative». As observed by Webb, the διήγημα, being one of the first activities at this stage of schooling, represented a sort of bridge between elementary education, which consisted primarily in writing exercises and the application of grammatical rules, and secondary education, which encompassed exercises of composition, an essential requirement for a rhetorician’s training.¹⁸⁸ According to the definition given by Hermogenes (*Progymn.* 2.1-8, 11-14), one of the most complete that has come down to us, the narrative is «an exposition of something that has happened or as if it happened. [...] A narrative (*diégêma*) differs from a narration (*diêgêsis*) as a piece of poetry (*poiêma*) differs from a poetical work (*poiêsis*). A *poiêma* and a *diêgêma* are concerned with one thing, a *poiêsis* and a *diêgêsis* with many; for example, the *Iliad* is a *poiêsis* and the *Odyssey* is a *poiêsis*, while the “Making of the Shield” (*Iliad* 18) and “Descent into the Underworld” (*Odyssey* 11) and “Killing the Suitors” (*Odyssey* 22) are *poiêmata*. [...] They want there to be four species of narrative: one is mythical; one fictitious, which they also call dramatic, like those of the tragedians; one is historical; and one is political or private».¹⁸⁹ Thus one of the types of narrative was the retelling of a mythological episode, as in our case.¹⁹⁰ By and large, we can suppose that the account reported by al-Iskâfi, even if ultimately derived from scholastic materials of the Byzantine era, had been extrapolated and included in a collection of popular anecdotes (such as those concerning Alexander the Great), or tactical plans taken from history (episodes of military clashes between Byzantine emperors and Persian kings), but to arrive at

¹⁸⁶ See Criatore 1996, 51. The text is classified as no. 406 at p. 281.

¹⁸⁷ See Gibson 2008, 9.

¹⁸⁸ Webb 2001, 298.

¹⁸⁹ English translation in Kennedy 2003, 75.

¹⁹⁰ It is true that if one looks at the *Progymnasmata* by Libanius (see English translation in Gibson 2008) the model exercises of διηγήματα are generally shorter than the account of the conquest of Troy by al-Iskâfi, but in none of the manuals on the *Progymnasmata* that have come down to us a limit is expressly set on the extent of the narrative. Recently, Arzhanov (= Arzhanov 2019a, 172-178) has examined the Syriac reception of the *Progymnasmata* and has placed emphasis on a significant piece of evidence consisting of one of the MSS (labelled as D) that preserves the gnomological collection he edited under the title *Sayings of the Greek Philosophers*. In the arrangement of the materials contained in this codex, Arzhanov (pp. 177-178) recognised the pattern of the *Progymnasmata*; specifically, it is made up of a first part consisting of the *Kalila wa-Dimna* (corresponding to the narrative), followed by some of Aesop’s fables (corresponding to other types of exercises, i.e., the μῦθος), a third section of questions and answers (outlining exercises of refutation and confirmation, ἀνασκευὴ καὶ κατασκευή), a collection of Sentences of the Pythagoreans (an example of γνώμη, another key component of the *Progymnasmata*) and a final collection of *Sayings of the Greek Philosophers* (namely the subject of Arzhanov’s edition, corresponding to the χρεία). On this topic see also Arzhanov 2019b.

concrete results one would need to further investigate this work as a whole, and also assess the interaction of other linguistic-cultural traditions in the writing of the *Luṭf al-tadbīr*.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹ That the layering of sources and free rewriting of the text by the author(s) may have affected the original content of the account, making it even more difficult to figure out its provenance, is reflected in the fact that another report on the Trojan War, further abbreviated and reworked, is found in a popular compilation of related content and purpose of the 13th cent. entitled *Raqāʿiq al-ḥilal fī daqāʿiq al-ḥiyal*. The first part of this version coincides with that of *al-Iskāfī*, while the second part is profoundly different and much more concise. In the *Raqāʿiq al-ḥilal*, when Achilles withdraws from the war, the king decides to spread the rumour that Hector had captured Achilles' fraternal companion, evidently in order to convince him to take up arms again (and herein lies the ruse). In fact, Achilles returns to the field, faces Hector and takes him prisoner, and it is then the king of the Greeks who condemns him to death. The story ends with the march of the Greeks to conquer the city of Africa without any mention of the wooden horse. Muftić 2018, 37-38, has drawn attention to this text, providing an English translation of the same from the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 3548. The Arabic text was edited in 1988 by René Rizqallah Khawam under the title *al-Siyāsa wa-l-ḥīla ʿinda l-ʿarab raqāʿiq al-ḥilal fī daqāʿiq al-ḥiyal*, which I was unable to consult. However, Muftić seems to be unaware of either the existence of this edition or of the parallel passage in *al-Iskāfī*'s *Luṭf al-tadbīr*.

THE RENDERING OF POETIC REFERENCES IN GREEK-ARABIC VERSIONS OF THE *CORPUS ARISTOTELICUM*

2.1 Preliminary remarks

This chapter consists of a linguistic and content analysis of the references to Greek poetry transmitted in Arabic through the reception of Aristotle's writings.

Since, as far as I know, a complete listing of all the poetic references contained in the Aristotelian corpus has not yet been compiled, the examination presented here is based mostly on my own scrutiny of the Greek text. Two notable exceptions are represented by a couple of studies published in 1994: *El Homero de Aristóteles* by Manuel Sanz Morales, focused exclusively on Homeric poetry, and *Die Äußerungen des Aristoteles über Dichter und Dichtung außerhalb der Poetik* by Despina Moraitou.¹ Both scholars, however, set themselves different objectives from those of the present research, directing their investigations to the exploration of questions of a theoretical (Moraitou) and historical-philological (Sanz Morales) nature. Therefore, their survey of the poetic references contained in the *Corpus Aristotelicum* has been condensed into tables of concordances placed in the appendix of their studies, without being extensively examined, in the case of Moraitou, or only selectively discussed, in the case of Sanz Morales. In any case, their monographies constituted an excellent instrument of verification and comparison for the present research. Moreover, the passages considered here are not only confined to nominal citations from Greek poets (as Moraitou does in her cataloguing), but also include quotations from memory, implicit references and allusions, in most of which Aristotle takes his sources for granted relying on the prior knowledge of his listeners or readers.² The selection of references was conducted on the basis of the principles set forth in the previous chapter on what we mean here by poetry. Therefore, the numerous references to Empedocles, Parmenides, Xenophanes, and others remain outside the cataloguing. In addition, the selection criteria are inevitably conditioned by the specific angle of my research, oriented more to the transmission of these references in Arabic than to their Greek tradition. This is the reason why I excluded from my analysis a) the writings of the corpus of which a full translation into Arabic is not extant nor attested (e.g. the *Politics* or the *Constitution of the Athenians*), b) single references that are missing in the Arabic version as a result of lacunae occurred in the textual transmission. Since almost all Arabic versions of Aristotle's works

¹ See also the lists supplied in Howes' article *Homeric Quotations in Plato and Aristotle* and in 1935 study by Hinman entitled *Literary Quotation and Allusion in the Rhetoric, Poetics and Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, whose limits, however, have been highlighted by Sanz Morales 1994, 55-56.

² See Sanz Morales 1994, 59-62.

survive in *codices unici*, the latter phenomenon is not uncommon. The most conspicuous lacunae that result in the loss of one or more poetic references in Arabic translation are noted in the introductory paragraphs to each individual treatise examined. The references contained in the *Parva naturalia*,³ *Problemata physica*⁴ and in the first book of the *Oeconomica*⁵ have not been discussed since the paraphrastic nature of their Arabic versions – being adaptations rather than translations – does not include some of the examples of the Greek original, including poetic references. And the same goes for the Arabic reception of the initial part of Pseudo-Aristotle's *Problemata mechanica*. Explicit evidence of a translation from Greek of the latter writing is not found in Ibn al-Nadīm nor in any other Arabic source,⁶ but in Book Five of his *Kitāb mizān al-ḥikma* (*The Balance of Wisdom*) al-Ḥāzinī (d. 550/1155) inserts some extracts from the *Mechanics* (*nutaf mina l-ḥiyal*), introduced by the expression *qāla Aristūṭālīs*. The text appears to be an abridged translation of the introduction and of the first problem of the *Problemata mechanica*. Among the lines of the Greek text that do not appear in the Arabic there is also the literal quotation from the poet Antiphon at 847a 19-21 (55 F 4 Snell). Since nothing is known about al-Ḥāzinī's source and the nature of the text from which he extracted (as stated in the title: *nutaf*) the passage, it is not possible to determine whether the translator already left out the quotation or whether the omission is imputable to al-Ḥāzinī.⁷

Finally, I have not included an examination of the references contained in the *de Mundo* (as many as 11: 1, 391a 10-11; 1, 391a 20-22; 6, 397b 24-27; 6, 400a 10-13; 6, 400a 16-18; 6, 400b 23-25; 6, 400b 33-401a 6; 7, 401a 16-27; 7, 401a 27-b 6) because the current state of research on its transmission in Syriac and Arabic does not allow for adequate considerations on such a limited sample of texts as this handful of poetic references. The *de Mundo* is extant in the Syriac version of Sergius of Reš'ainā (d. 536), published by Paul de Lagarde in 1858, and in three different Arabic versions, whose translators are unknown. All three Arabic versions were edited by Brafman in his 1985 doctoral dissertation, who, not being a Syriacist, did not however

³ The first critical edition of the Arabic version has been submitted by Rotraud Hansberger in her doctoral dissertation, which still remains unpublished. The omitted references correspond to 443b 30-31 (*De sensu et sensibilibus*) and 464b 1-4 (*De divinatione per somnum*). I thank Hansberger for having kindly provided this information. For an overview see Hansberger 2010 and Hansberger 2014.

⁴ The Arabic *Problemata physica* ascribed to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq has been edited together with the Hebrew version made by Moše ibn Ṭibbon by Filius in 1999. The paraphrase consists of 17 *maqālāt* covering the first 15 books of Aristotle's *Problemata*. See also Filius 2003; Filius 2006. The poetic references correspond to 873a 25-26; 879a 27-29; 890b 9-10; 892a 29-30; 894b 34-35; 896a 24.

⁵ The Arabic abridgment, entitled *Tāmīr maqālāt Aristūṭālīs fī tadbīr al-manzil* (*Fruits of Aristotle's treatise on household management*), is attributed to Abū l-Faraḡ ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) and has been edited by Ma'lūf (a German translation by Z. Shunnar can be found in Victor 1983, 69-73). Of the two nominal quotations from Hesiod (1343a 20-21; 1344a 15-16) the first is vaguely paraphrased, while the second has left no traces. In both cases the mention of Hesiod is omitted. See Ma'lūf 1921, 381.10 (for 1343a 20-21) and 382.14-17 (corresponding roughly to 1344a 8-18). For an overview see Swain 2013b, 68.

⁶ Peters 1968, 61; cf. Abattouy 2001, 101-103.

⁷ See Abattouy 2001, where a critical edition with an English translation of the passage is given. According to the scholar «this version seems to be the work of al-Isfizārī (11th/12th c.), al-Ḥāzinī's immediate predecessor, who may have been responsible for the structuring of the *Nutaf* in the form of an epitome, or at least for its insertion among materials relevant to the practical description of the 'balance of wisdom» (p. 96). For the omission of the poetry quotation, cf. his comment at p. 116.

delve into the question of the relations between Syriac and Arabic traditions, and therefore was not able to establish in a convincing and well-founded way the relations between the three versions. As for the Arabic versions, the first is openly a translation from the Syriac as stated in the colophon, the second an abbreviated paraphrase whose relations with the Syriac version and with the other two Arabic versions have yet to be analysed in detail, while for the third version Stern concluded, on the basis of linguistic evidence, it is derived from the Syriac. In addition, most recent linguistic investigations have shown that the Arabic texts are somewhat dependent on the Syriac version of Sergius, but there are also cases where the Arabic translations follow the reading transmitted by the Greek tradition as opposed to the reading of the Syriac version.⁸ Evidently, an analysis of the poetic references of the *de Mundo* can only be carried out after a systematic re-examination of Brafman's text, and, specifically, after the publication of the new edition with English translation and commentary of the Syriac and Arabic versions of the *de Mundo* announced by McCollum.⁹

In addition to the authentically Aristotelian writings and pseudepigraphs, I have also considered the most important texts that complement the *Aristoteles arabus*, i.e., those works whose attribution to Aristotle is a peculiar feature of the Arabic reception, such as the *De lapidibus*, the *Theology of Aristotle* and the *Kalām fī maḥḍ al-ḥayr*.¹⁰ For the so-called *Epistolary novel* (including one of the translations of the *De mundo* with the title *Risālat Aristūṭālīs ilā l-Iskandar fī ṣifat tartīb al-ʿālam al-maʿrūfa bi-l-ḍahabīyya*) and the *Sirr al-asrār* see Chapter 3 and its Appendix (No. 2). The *Poetics* has been discussed in the previous chapter. What remains are the poetic reference transmitted in the following treatises: *De interpretatione*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, *Sophistical Refutations*, *Rhetoric*, *Physics*, *De caelo*, *Meteorologica*, *De anima*, *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, *De generatione animalium*, *Metaphysics*, *Ethica Nicomachea*, *De vitiis et virtutibus*, *Divisiones*.

The distribution of references among these sources is not uniform. Naturally, most of the passages examined come from the Arabic version of the *Rhetoric*, due to the very themes that are addressed within the work. Of the total 282 references analysed below 162 are extracted from the *Rhetoric*, corresponding to more than 57% of the total. Therefore, more than half of the survey focuses on the text of the *Rhetoric*. The second most relevant testimony for the purposes of our research is the Arabic version of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which contains 55 references – a little more than 19% of the total –, while the Arabic *Historia animalium* bears 18 and the Arabic text of the *Metaphysics* 14. The other writings contain less than 10 references each, with the *De interpretatione*, *De vitiis et virtutibus* and *Divisiones* having only 1 each.

⁸ The main studies on the Syriac and Arabic *De mundo* are: Brafman 1985, 33-77 (where previous bibliography is listed); McCollum 2010; McCollum 2011; Takahashi 2014. Adam McCollum has already conducted seminal studies on the Syriac tradition, namely his PhD dissertation del 2009 entitled *The Syriac De mundo. Translation, Commentary, and Analysis of Translation Technique*, which, however, I have not been able to consult, and *A Greek and Syriac Index to Sergius of Reshaina's Version of the De Mundo* appeared in 2009.

⁹ Clearly such work, even if only applied to the textual passages of the poetic references, exceeds the scope of my research and goes beyond my area of expertise.

¹⁰ Among these, the *Nuʿūt* (or: *Naʿt*) *al-ḥayawān* should also be mentioned, for which, however, a critical edition and in-depth, up-to-date studies are still lacking. The best source of information remains Hans Mayrhofer's doctoral dissertation entitled *Kritische Einleitung zu einem arabischen Tierbuch* (München, 1911).

The examination of each group of references taken from the same writing is preceded by a brief introduction to the preserved Arabic version(s) and to indirect tradition if it is decisive or useful in the reconstruction of the text. More detailed information can be obtained from the works cited in footnotes and in the reference works, i.e., Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, *Dictionnaire des Philosophes Antiques* (DPhA) vol. 1 and supplementum.

Essential support for conducting the contrastive analysis of Greek texts and their Arabic versions was provided by lexicographic tools such as Endress' and Gutas' *A Greek and Arabic Lexicon* (GALex), Ullmann's *Wörterbuch zu den Griechisch-Arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts* (WGAÜ), and Ullmann's *Die Nikomachische Ethik des Aristoteles in arabischer Übersetzung. Teil 1: Wortschatz* and the database GlossGA (accessible at: <http://telota.bbaw.de/glossga/>).

Another reference work frequently referred to in the footnotes and abbreviated in BNP is the online version of Brill's New Pauly, available at: <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly>. Similarly, the abbreviation FGrHist refers to Brill's new edition of the Jacoby Online, available at: <https://brill.com/view/db/bnjo>.

Asterisks mark the references whose poetic content is in doubt.

Ellipses in square brackets ([...]) indicate the omission of a portion of text in the quotation of two or more passages that is not pertinent to the analysis of the poetic references.

For the works of Aristotle I have taken as reference the critical editions reported in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, but the exact bibliographical reference is given in the introduction of each paragraph on a treatise whose references to poetry have been examined. For the respective Arabic versions, I have drawn on the most recent critical editions, when available and reliable. An essential tool for consulting the texts has also been the online database *A Digital Corpus for Graeco-Arabic Studies*, available at: <https://www.graeco-arabic-studies.org/texts.html>. Each Arabic passage examined and reported below is introduced by an abbreviation (see list of abbreviations below) followed by page number and lines. Where necessary, I have provided brief critical apparatuses, either because the variant readings are discussed in the commentary, or because the Arabic text I provide differs from that of the critical edition. My textual conjectures are discussed in the commentary and not reported in the text, since my analysis makes no ecdothical claims.

The names of Greek authors and the titles of their works are abbreviated according to Liddell-Scott standards.

The list of abbreviations below contains the *sigla* of the above-mentioned Arabic versions and editions of fragments.

List of abbreviations (primary sources)

Editions of Arabic versions of Greek texts

Alex. Aphr. de An. mant.	Gätje	Gätje, Helmut (ed.) 1971. "Die Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über das Sehen (mit Glossaren)". In H. Gätje (ed.), <i>Studien zur Überlieferung der aristotelischen Psychologie im Islam</i> . Heidelberg: C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 140-172.
Arist. Badawī	'Arab	Badawī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān (ed.) 1947. <i>Aristū 'inda l-'Arab</i> . Cairo: Maktabat al-nahḍa al-miṣriyya.
CMG Suppl. Or. V 1, Vagelpohl		Vagelpohl, Uwe (ed. and trans.) 2014. <i>Galenī in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum I commentariorum I-III versio arabica</i> . CMG Suppl. Or. V 1. Berlin: De Gruyter.
CMG Suppl. Or. V 2, Vagelpohl		Vagelpohl, Uwe (ed. and trans.) 2016. <i>Galenī in Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum II commentariorum I-VI versio arabica</i> . Adiuvante S. Swain. CMG Suppl. Or. V 2,1-2. Berlin: De Gruyter.
EN Fidora	Akasoy-	Akasoy, Anna A. and Fidora, Alexander (eds.) 2005. <i>The Arabic Version of the Nicomachean Ethics</i> . With an Introd. and Annotated Trans. by D.M. Dunlop, Leiden/Boston: Brill.
EN Ullmann		Ullmann, Manfred 2012. <i>Die Nikomachische Ethik des Aristoteles in arabischer Übersetzung</i> . Teil. 2. <i>Überlieferung-Textkritik-Grammatik</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
VV Rost, DA Rost	Kellermann	Kellermann Rost, Mechthild (ed. and trans.) 1965. <i>Ein pseudoaristotelischer Traktat über die Tugend. Edition und Übersetzung der arabischen Fassungen des Abū Qurra und des Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib</i> . Phil. Diss., Erlangen.
Eucl. Besthorn-Heiberg	El.	Besthorn, Rasmus O. and Heiberg, Johan L. (eds.) 1893-1932. <i>Codex Leidensis 399,1. Euclidis Elementa ex interpretatione al-Hadschdschadschii cum commentariis al-Narizii</i> . 3 vols., Hauniae: Libraria Gyldendaliana.
GA Drossaart Lulofs	Brugman-	Brugman, Jan and Drossaart Lulofs, Hendrik J. (eds.) 1971. Aristotle. <i>Generation of animals. The Arabic translation commonly ascribed to Yahyā ibn al-Biṭrīq. Edition with introduction and glossary</i> . Leiden: Brill.
HA Filius		Filius, Lourus S. (ed.) 2019. Aristoteles. <i>The Arabic Version of Aristotle's Historia Animalium. Book I-X of the Kitāb Al-Hayawān. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Selected Glossary</i> . Leiden/Boston: Brill.
Hippocr. Acut. Lyons	Diaet.	Lyons, Malcolm C. (ed. and trans.) 1966. <i>Kitāb Tadbīr al-amrāḍ al-ḥādḍa li-Buqrāṭ (Hippocrates: Regimen in acute diseases). Edition and translation, with introduction, notes and glossary</i> . Cambridge: Published for the Cambridge Middle East Centre by Heffer.

Hippocr. Superf. Mattock	Mattock, John N. (ed. and trans.) 1968. <i>Kitāb Buqrāt fī Ḥabl ‘alā ḥabl [sic] (Hippocrates: On superfoetation). Edition and translation with introduction, notes and glossary.</i> Cambridge: Published for the Cambridge Middle East Centre by Heffer.
MA Badawī	Badawī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (ed.) 1948-1952. <i>Mantiq Aristū.</i> 3 vols. Cairo: Maṭba‘at dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya. Repr. Kuwait: Wakālat al-Maṭbū‘āt/Bayrūt: Dar al-qalam, 1980.
MA Ğabr	Ğabr, Farīd 1999. <i>al-Naṣṣ al-kāmil li-mantiq Aristū.</i> Rev. by Ğ. Ğihāmī, R. al-‘Ağam. Bayrūt: Dār al-Fikr al-Lunānī.
Metaph. Bouyges	Bouyges, Maurice (ed.) 1938-1952. Averroès. <i>Tafsīr mā ba‘d al-Ṭabī‘at.</i> 4 vols. Beyrouth: Impr. catholique.
Mete. Schoonheim	Schoonheim, Pieter L. (ed.) 2000. <i>Aristotle’s Meteorology in the Arabico-Latin Tradition. A Critical Edition of the Texts, with Introduction and Indexes.</i> Leiden/Boston: Brill.
Nafs Badawī	Badawī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (ed.) 1954. Aristūṭālīs. <i>Fī l-nafs.</i> Cairo: Maktabat al-nahḍa l-miṣriyya.
Onirocr. Fahd	Fahd, Toufic (ed.) 1964. Artémidore d’Éphèse. <i>Le livre des songes traduit du grec en arabe par Ḥunayn b. Iṣḥāq. Édition critique avec introduction.</i> Damas: Institut français de Damas.
PA Kruk	Kruk, Remke (ed.) 1979. <i>The Arabic version of Aristotle’s Parts of Animals. Book XI-XIV of the Kitāb al-Ḥayawān. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Selected Glossary.</i> Amsterdam/Oxford: Brill.
Rh. Lyons	Lyons, Malcolm C. (ed.) 1982. <i>Aristotle’s Ars Rhetorica. The Arabic Version. A new edition, with commentary and glossary.</i> 2 vols. Cambridge: Pembroke Arabic Texts.
Samā’ Badawī	Badawī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (ed.) 1961. Aristūṭālīs. <i>Fī l-samā’ wa-l-ātār al-‘ulwiyya.</i> Cairo: Maktabat al-nahḍa l-miṣriyya.
Ṭabī‘a Badawī	Badawī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (ed.) 1384-1385/1964-1965. Aristūṭālīs. <i>Al-Ṭabī‘a.</i> 2 vols. Cairo: al-Dār al-Qaumiyya li-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Naṣr.
Them. Lyons	Lyons, Malcolm C. (ed.) 1973. <i>An Arabic translation of Themistius’ Commentary on Aristoteles’ De anima.</i> Oxford: Cassirer.

Editions of Fragments

Baiter-Sauppe	Baiter, Johann G. and Sauppius, Hermann (eds.) 1850. <i>Oratores Attici. Recensuerunt adnotaverunt scholia, fragmenta, indicem, nominum addiderunt.</i> Turici: Impensis S. Hoehrii.
Bernabé	Bernabé, Alberto (ed.) 1987-2007. <i>Poetarum epicorum Graecorum / Poetae epici Graeci (PEG). Testimonia et Fragmenta.</i> Stutgardiae et Lipsiae / Monachii et Lipsiae / Berolini et Novi Eboraci: Teubner, 1987-2007.

Diels-Kranz	Diels, Hermann and Kranz, Walther (eds. and trans.) 1934-1937. <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, Griechisch und Deutsch. Fünfte Auflage herausgegeben von W. Kranz.</i> 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann.
Kannicht	Kannicht, Richard (ed.) 2004. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (TrGF). Vol. V: Euripides.</i> Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Kassel-Austin	Kassel, Rudolf and Austin, Colin (eds.) 1983-2001. <i>Poetae comici Graeci (PCG).</i> 8 vols. Berolini et Novi Eboraci: de Gruyter.
Kinkel	Kinkel, Gottfried (ed.) 1877. <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (EGrF).</i> Lipsiae: B.G. Teubner.
Kock	Kock, Theodor (ed.) 1880-1888. <i>Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta.</i> Lipsiae: B.G. Teubner.
Lobel-Page	Lobel, Edgar and Page, Denys L. (eds.) 1955. <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta.</i> Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Merkelbach-West	Merkelbach, Reinhold and West, Martin L. (eds.) 1967. <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica.</i> Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano.
Nauck	Nauck, August (ed.) 1889. <i>Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta (TGrF).</i> Editio secunda. Lipsiae: B.G. Teubner.
Page (FGE)	Page, Denys L. (ed.) 1981. <i>Further Greek Epigrams. Epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek anthology and other sources, not included in Hellenistic epigrams or the Garland of Philip. Revised and prepared for publication by R.D. Dawe and J. Diggle.</i> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Page (PMG)	Page, Denys L. (ed.) 1962. <i>Poetae melici graeci Alcmanis, Stesichori, Ibyci, Anacreontis, Simonidis, Corinnae, poetarum minorum reliquias, carmina popularia et convivialia quaeque adespota feruntur.</i> Clarendon press, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Pernigotti	Pernigotti, Carlo (ed.) 2008. <i>Menandri Sententiae.</i> Firenze: Olschki.
Radt	Radt, Stefan (ed.) 1985. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (TrGF). Vol. III: Aeschylus.</i> Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Radt, Stefan (ed.) 1999. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (TrGF). Vol. IV: Sophocles. Editio correctior et addendis aucta.</i> Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Snell	Snell, Bruno (ed.) 1964. <i>Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta (TGrF) recensuit A. Nauck Supplementum continens Nova fragmenta euripidea et adespota apud scriptores veteres reperta adiecit B. Snell.</i> Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
West	West, Martin L. (ed.) 1989-1992. <i>Iambi et elegi graeci (IEG) ante Alexandrum cantati edidit.</i> 2 vols. Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano.

2.2 Method

The study of poetry references hereby proposed is articulated in three sections, namely 1) *context*, 2) *reference form and structure*, 3) *notes on the Arabic version*, which make up the commentary following the texts of the Greek original and of the Arabic version, that are reported here for each poetic reference. When not redundant or superfluous, the commentary includes a paraphrase or English translation of both the Greek (in *context*) and the Arabic (in *notes on the Arabic version*) to clarify similarities and differences between them.

In delimiting the portion of text to be examined, I have tried to isolate the poetic reference from Aristotle's words as much as possible, except in those cases where a) Aristotle comments on or alludes to the reference in his argument, b) the outcome in the Arabic translation is explained by analysing a larger portion of the text.

While a few introductory lines are sufficient for sections 1) and 3) of the commentary as they offer a simple descriptive analysis, I shall explain here in more detail the ordering principles of the taxonomy proposed for section 2).

Section 1) – *context* – consists of a summary presentation of the Aristotelian passage in which the reference is inserted as well as a brief description of the content and source of the poetic reference itself. The function of this first section is to bring out the conceptual and syntactic relations that the reference establishes with the quotation context.

Section 3) – *notes on the Arabic version* – examines the morphological, syntactic and lexical peculiarities of the Arabic text compared with the Greek original. Particular emphasis will inevitably be placed on the cases where the translator misunderstood, altered or omitted parts of or entire references, in order to identify elements of discontinuity.

In section 2) – *reference form and structure* – each reference is given a typology-based definition. This classification, considered in parallel with the analysis of the Arabic version, might help to recognise some recurrent phenomena in the rendering of poetic references and to single out correspondences between formal characteristics of the reference as such and the outcome in the Arabic translation, with the caveat that any claim to generalization should be abandoned.

Our typology-based classification is inspired, *mutatis mutandis*, by the study conducted by Gennaro D'Ippolito on references to Greek poetry in the *corpus* of Basil of Caesarea, which appeared in 1983 in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Messina* (3-6 dicembre 1979), and focused on the life and works of Basil of Caesarea and his legacy in Sicily. The same classification has been employed, in a simplified form, in the aforementioned *El Homero de Aristóteles* by Sanz Morales.¹¹ Obviously, many of the assumptions and objectives of D'Ippolito's examination do not coincide with those of the current research and, consequently, some of the parameters he identified will be excluded from the arrangement adopted here since they are irrelevant to our purposes. In addition, our perspective is somewhat deeper than D'Ippolito's, in the sense that it covers a time span of 18 centuries –

¹¹ Sanz Morales 1994, 16-18. In the field of Graeco-Arabica, we mention the study conducted by Carmela Baffioni in 1994 entitled *Frammenti e testimonianze di autori antichi nelle Epistole degli Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* (= Baffioni 1994b), of great interest, among other things, for its methodological transparency and attention to the typological classification of the references examined (for which see especially the introductory pp. 1-43).

from the beginnings of Greek literature, with the conventional date of the mid. 8th cent. BCE, to the Baǧdād Aristotelians of the 10th cent. AD –, and it addresses the complex dynamics of a multilingual tradition. Therefore, it is necessary to refrain from focusing on certain aspects of the intertextual relationship between poetic reference and context that have been rightly included by D'Ippolito in his study. For example, D'Ippolito pays great attention to the genesis of the reference and assesses on a case-by-case basis whether the author relied on anthologies or cited first-hand, and, in the latter case, whether he was quoting by heart or consulting the poem from which the reference was taken. Evidently, distinguishing between mediated or direct quotation does not affect the outcome of the Arabic translation. Therefore, I follow the same subdivision and nomenclature conceived by D'Ippolito with appropriate adaptations.

The first fundamental distinction is between generic and specific reference.

A generic reference is not applicable to a single work or a single poet, but it rather echoes elements recurring in several works or aspects common to a particular poetic genre. It is divided into two types, content and expressive reference. A generic content reference recalls a mythological story, a motif or a narrative theme attested in more than one poetry sources. Good example are mentions of character of the Epic cycle. A generic expressive reference is a stylistic allusion to the tones and modes of poetry. It can be represented by the employment of a word or an expression with a poetic nuance, as well as by the reference to a formal trait of a poetic genre (such as the allusion to *ὀνομαστικὴ κωμωδεῖν* as a widespread practice in Ancient Comedy).

The specific reference instead involves a single author and/or a single work and is realised in three forms: mention, testimonium, quotation.

A mention is the explicit indication of the author's name and/or the title of one of his works, without additional information.

A testimonium provides details and/or judgments on the author and his work, usually accompanied by an explicit mention. Some of the short comments with which Aristotle introduces the quotations may be regarded as testimonies since they contain assessments on poetry references, concise accounts of the story (*fabula*) of the source work and other sorts of contextualization. Homer's epithets and formulae fall in this category as they cannot be counted as literal quotations of a single verse of Homer's poems.¹²

A quotation is the formal and punctual reference to a poetry work's passage, viz. to one or more verses. The quotation, in turn, can be analysed from various points of view. D'Ippolito sets the following parameters: genesis; microcontext, functionality with respect to the topic of the target work as such; macrocontext; text; language; function in the specific context in which the quotation is inserted. As already partly mentioned, some of these criteria are superfluous for our survey since they have no direct impact on the Arabic outcome, while our main aim is to evaluate the poetic references' translation methods and strategies. Therefore, the following shall not be taken into account: genesis of a quotation (mediated or direct); functionality with respect to the treated theme in the target text (essential or accidental); language – it must be said that Aristotle quotes only Greek sources and no account will be taken of dialectal variations in poetic references –; function (logical, psychological, aesthetic, playful, sociological, erudite).

¹² Sanz Morales 1994, 17 introduces the label «testimonio específico inconcreto» for this latter references.

Depending on the microcontext, a quotation may be hidden or explicit. A hidden quotation is reported without any marking element (D'Ippolito further arranges hidden quotations in reminiscences, hidden imitations and allusions). On the other hand, an explicit quotation is signalled in some way. Aristotle frequently resorts to the *verbum dicendi* third person singular medium-passive (e.g. λέγεται, εἴρηται), by which the quotation is presented as extraneous to his words. In cases like this the quotation is labelled as anonymous. Instead, we have an author's quotation if the *verbum dicendi* (in active diathesis) bears a subject, which is commonly the proper noun of the author. Author's quotations are also those quotations ascribed to «the poet» by definition, who most frequently, but not exclusively, is Homer.

According to their relationship with the macrocontext, quotations can be either isolated, namely one single quotation, or serial, i.e. several quotations placed in a sequence.

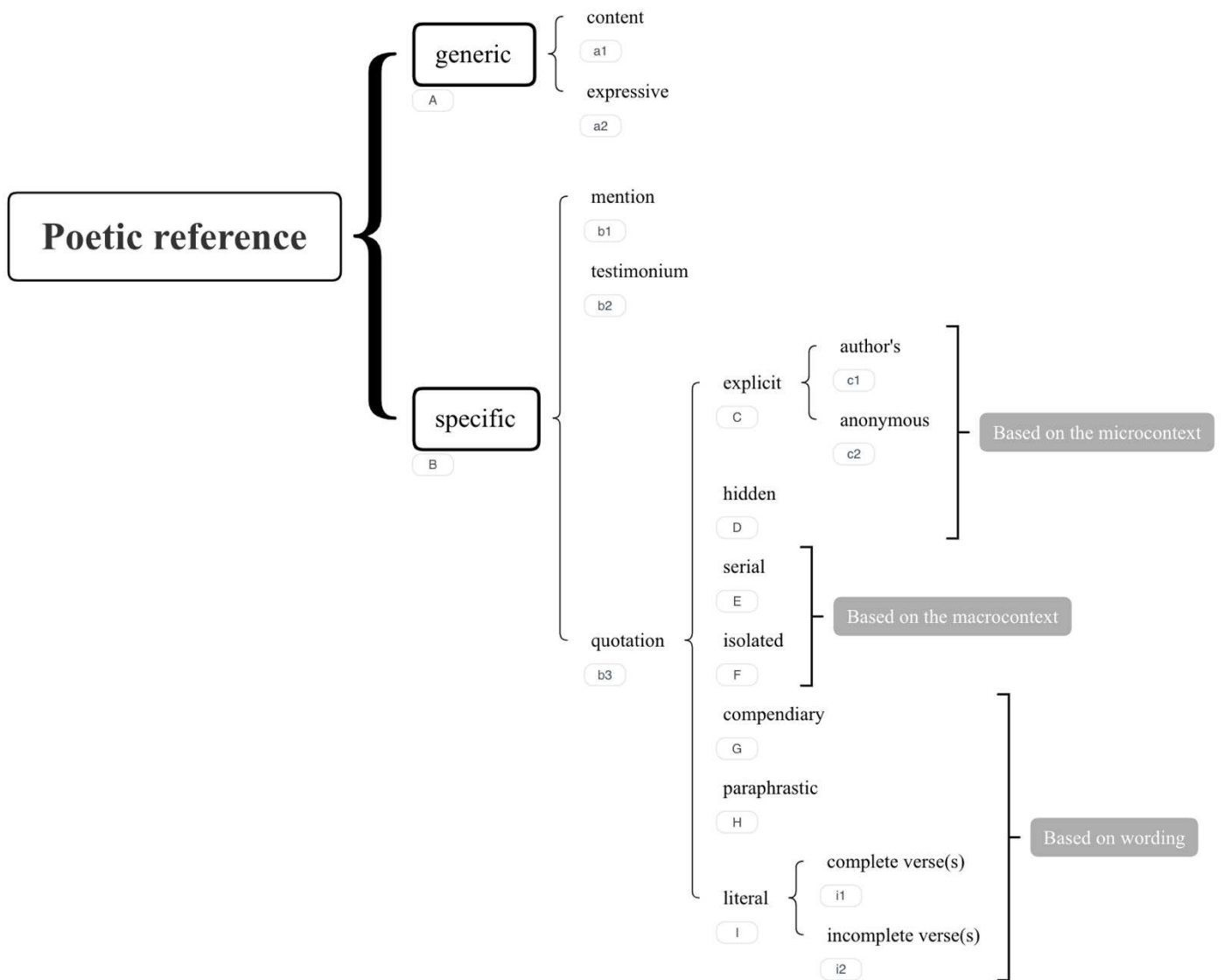
According to their wording quotations are divided into compendiary, paraphrastic and literal. Compendiary quotations condense a text passage while remaining faithful to the form. D'Ippolito defines them as partial summaries of a work's plot (*syuzhet*). Paraphrastic quotations usually render some verses in prose, yet follow the syntactic structure and the original lexicon; normally the metric scheme is broken. Finally, literal quotations coincide with the wording of the original. For the sake of completeness, cases in which the literal quotation is altered, meaning that the text as attested by Aristotle slightly deviates from the original, will be pointed out. This phenomenon is explained either as a shortcoming due to the mnemonic practice of quoting or as a variant reading recorded in the textual tradition of Aristotle's writings, but we will not go into the matter here.¹³

Depending on the length, there can be monoverbal quotations, complete or incomplete monostichs, complete or incomplete polystichs (distichs, tristichs, tetrastichs and so on).

The typology-based classification is displayed in the table on the following page.

The analysis of some of the references then concludes with a fourth section entitled *further comments on the Arabic tradition*, where other Arabic sources in which I have found the citation of the reference are reported. Given the breadth of the corpus of works that draw directly or indirectly on Arabic versions of Aristotle's treatises or that consist of commentaries on them, I have restricted the scope of my investigation to the Arabic-language philosophical tradition prior to Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037). In any case, my survey has an illustrative character and makes no claim to be exhaustive.

¹³ On this aspect see Sanz Morales 56-58, 71-164, but a systematic study is still lacking.



The taxonomy and abbreviations presented here have been used in the summary table in Appendix 1, p. 351.

2.3 Analysis of poetic references

2.3.1 The *Organon*

Paragraphs 2.3.1.1-5 are concerned with the treatises of the *Organon* containing poetic references. By *Organon* we mean here the expanded canon of Aristotelian Logic, that, in addition to the six books of logic proper, also included *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*, as well as Porphyry's *Isagoge*, read before the other eight writings. This canon was already established in the Late antique Alexandrian tradition – even though its origin remains a mystery – and has been accepted in Arabic Aristotelianism.¹⁴ All these works are preserved at least in one Arabic translation and in general their survival is closely linked to the philological and exegetical work of the Aristotelians of Baġdād between the 10th and the first half of the 11th cent., of which tangible evidence remains in the highly researched *codex* of the early 11th cent., MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346.¹⁵ As can be read from the colophons placed at the end of each version, the six books of the *Organon* (from the *Categoriae* to the *Sophistici Elenchi*) are direct copies of the autograph of the Nestorian scholar al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār, known as Ibn al-Ḥammār (d. after 407/1017), who in turn had prepared his own edition relying on exemplars that belonged to his teacher, the Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (d. 363/974), and to Ibn Zur'a, direct pupil of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī. The versions of the *Isagoge*, *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* were subsequently added. The *Rhetoric* was copied by Ibn al-Samḥ (d. 418/1027), another member of the Aristotelian circle of Baġdād, while the *Poetics* was inserted by an anonymous scribe from an unknown *Vorlage*. For the *Isagoge* the colophon simply mentions a collation with a copy of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, hence it has been speculated that it was copied from Ibn Suwār's edition.¹⁶

Furthermore, the core texts are equipped with an apparatus of interlinear glosses and comments on the margins, testifying the teaching tradition of Aristotelian philosophy among the logicians of Baġdād and making it a full-fledged school edition of Aristotle's *Organon*.¹⁷

¹⁴ On this aspect, see two classical studies: Walzer 1962 (= 1934), who was the first to collect textual evidence showing that this canonization is not an invention of the Arabic tradition – as tended to be thought until then – but that its antecedents can be found in the Greek commentators of Aristotle, and Moraux 1951, *passim*, in particular 145-150, 179-183, who not only investigates the readings of the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* given by the 5th and 6th cents. Alexandrian commentators, but proposes to look for the origin of this reclassification of the two Aristotelian writings in a logical key in some theories already circulating in the 1st cent. AD. On the Arabic reception of the expanded *Organon* see another study that has become a classic, Black 1990 (in the first two chapters the question of the Greek origin of the expanded canon is re-examined and the main contributions in this regard are discussed); see also Lameer 1993.

¹⁵ The most important studies on the *Organon of Baġdād* and the Parisian MS are: Georr 1948, 183-200; Walzer 1962 (= 1953); Hugonnard-Roche 1992; Hugonnard-Roche 1993; Hugonnard-Roche 2001; Endress 2016, 185-188. An updated bibliography can be found in Endress, Hasper 2020, 61.

¹⁶ For this theory see Georr 1948, 13, followed by Hugonnard-Roche 1992, 142; Hugonnard-Roche 2018, 110. Endress holds that the Arabic version of the *Isagoge* may have been transcribed by Ibn al-Samḥ, see Endress, 2016, 185.

¹⁷ Some collective studies on the notes have been carried out by Walzer 1962 (= 1953) and Hugonnard-Roche 1993. See also Hugonnard-Roche 1991.

Another important witness for the Arabic *Organon* is the MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmet III 3362. The codex contains the *Isagoge*, *Categoriae*, *De interpretatione*, *Analytica priora* and *Analytica posteriora*, all copied by the same hand and transmitted in the same versions attested in the Paris MS (the *Categoriae* and *De interpretatione* in Ishāq's version, the *Analytica priora* translated by Tādārī and revised by Ḥunayn, the *Analytica posteriora* translated by Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yunūs from a Syriac version of Ishāq). According to Hugonnard-Roche's reconstruction the Istanbul MS would reflect an earlier edition than that of Ibn Suwār, i.e., Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn's project of editing Aristotle's *Organon*, of which Ishāq was translator of some parts and *maître d'oeuvre* of the whole corpus.¹⁸ For the remaining texts, *Topica*, *Sophistici Elenchi*, *Rhetorica* and *Poetica*, the Paris MS is the only witness found to date.

For reasons partly anticipated in the previous chapter, the *Poetics* has been excluded from the present examination. References to poetry are, of course, very frequent in this work, and therefore applying to it the kind of analysis that has been conducted for the other Aristotelian writings would have resulted in a sort of linear commentary on the Arabic version of the treatise and inevitably overlapped with work already published and being published by other scholars.

Of the remaining parts in the *Organon*, poetic references have been traced in *De interpretatione*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, *Sophistical Refutations* and *Rhetoric*. All the Arabic versions of the 5 writings have been edited by Badawī, who, however, relied exclusively on the Parisian MS even for the *De interpretatione* and *Posterior Analytics*. The Arabic versions of the *De interpretatione*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations* have been re-edited by Farīd Ğabr (= Jabre) 1999 (published posthumously thanks to Gérard Jéhamy and Rafīq al-Aḡam), who employed both MSS, but whose work is not considered fully satisfactory, being sometimes conditioned by the interpretative liberties of his predecessor Badawī in establishing his edition.¹⁹ For the *Rhetoric*, we can base ourselves on an accurate critical edition by Lyons, which will be discussed below.

2.3.1.1 *De interpretatione* (Int.)

The Arabic version by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 298/910 or 911) is the only one referred to in the *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm along with the Syriac version by Ishāq's father Ḥunayn, which, presumably, was used by his son as the starting point for his own translation.²⁰ Ishāq's version is preserved in the codices MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346 and MS Istanbul,

¹⁸ As indicated by Lameer 1994, 3 n.3, Türker in 1963 had already drawn attention to the MS, but the first in-depth study was by Henri Hugonnard-Roche from which the data reported here are derived: see Hugonnard-Roche 1997, 397-400, 405-407.

¹⁹ See the remarks recently made on this point and the shortcomings of Badawī's ecdotic method by Endress, Hasper 2020, 62.

²⁰ Flügel 1871-1872, I 249.1 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 162.4 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 12, Dodge 1970, 599 (Engl.). Ḥunayn's version has not come down to us, but three Syriac translations are extant, namely an anonymous version quoted in the lemmata of Prōbā's commentary on the *Int.*, a second version ascribed to Prōbā and a third version by George, Bishop of the Arabs (d. 724). See Hugonnard-Roche 1989a, 514.

Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmet III 3362, and was edited first by Pollak in 1919 and by Badawī in 1948 (repr. 1980) – both relying exclusively on the Parisian copy – and in 1999 by Ğabr, who consulted both testimonies. The Parisian MS is equipped with interlinear and marginal notes, some being glosses to single terms, others brief comments, partly anonymous and partly ascribed to Abū Biṣr Mattā, Yaḥya ibn ‘Adī and Ibn Suwār.²¹

Aristotle’s *Int.* is cited in the edition by Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, *Aristotelis categoriae et liber de interpretatione*, Oxford 1949 (repr. 1966). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to the chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker’s edition. The Arabic text is based on Ğabr’s edition compared with Badawī’s. Since in the mg. of both editions one can find the correspondences with Bekker’s numeration, I have inserted here only the page numbers of the Arabic editions.

1.²²

11, 21a 25-28

ὥσπερ “Ὀμηρός ἐστὶ τι, οἷον ποιητής· ἄρ’ οὖν καὶ ἔστιν, ἢ οὐ; κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς γὰρ κατηγορεῖται τὸ ἔστιν τοῦ ‘Ὀμήρου· ὅτι γὰρ ποιητής ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ οὐ καθ’ αὐτό, κατηγορεῖται κατὰ τοῦ ‘Ὀμήρου τὸ ἔστιν

MA Ğabr 143-144 = MA Badawī I 121

ومثال ذلك قولنا: «أوميروس موجود شيئًا ما»، كأنك قلت: شاعرًا. فهل هو موجود أو لا؟ فإنّ قولنا «موجود» إنّما حملناه على أوميروس بطريق العرض. وذلك أنا إنّما قلنا إنّ «موجود شاعرًا» ولم يحمل «موجودًا» على أوميروس بذاته.

Badawī نحمل Ğabr] يحمل 2

CONTEXT:

The example occurs at the end of chapter 11, where Aristotle again takes up the matter of the unity of a statement – already discussed in chapters 5 and 8 –²³ and shows the false inferences that are produced by the combination of single statements into complex ones and the division of complex statements into single ones. In particular, his analysis shows when it is illegitimate to infer that two predicates, that it is true to refer to the same subject separately, can be referred to it also jointly, and that a complex predication can be divided into single statements, without losing its truth content. To avoid absurdities (ἄτοπα; cf. 20b 37) in the construction of statements, logico-linguistic rules for the correct conjunction of subjects and predicates are formulated. Aristotle holds that the inference of complex statements into single ones by division is never true whenever the initial complex statement contains an opposition

²¹ Hugonard-Roche 1989a, 514-515. Ishāq’s version is also reported in the lemmata of al-Fārābī’s *Sharḥ li-kitāb Aristūṭālis fi l-‘ibāra*, see Zimmermann 1981, lxviii-lxx.

²² I have already analysed this reference in Zarantonello 2020b, 80-94, of which I offer here a slightly reworked and more concise version.

²³ Arist., *Int.* 17a 13-24; 18a 18-27. See the analysis by Whitaker 1996, 74-77; 95-108.

that implies contradiction. Therefore, predicating of a man that he is a “white man” is as true as asserting that he is “white” and that he is “man”, the two predicates not being contradictory. Conversely, the joint statement “this man is a dead man” cannot be split into two single statements since “man” implies “living” in its definition. But also in cases where no contradiction is involved, inferring simple statements from complex statements is not always true. An example of false inference is thus: if Homer is said to be something, like in the statement “Homer is a poet” (ὥσπερ Ὀμηρός ἐστὶ τι, οἶον ποιητής), we are articulating a complex statement that does not imply any contradiction. But if we infer by division that “Homer is” we fall into error, because Homer is dead: the verb “is” is said accidentally of Homer (κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς γὰρ κατηγορεῖται τὸ ἔστιν τοῦ Ὀμήρου), as copula, and not absolutely, with the existential meaning which it has in the binary predication.²⁴ Aristotle further explores the false inference based on division at the end of the chapter, by remarking that it is false to say that something that is not *is*, just because it is thought (21a 32-33: τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν, ὅτι δοξαστόν, οὐκ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν ὄν τι· δόξα γὰρ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention of Homer, who is connoted as a poet. The mention is included in an example introduced by ὥσπερ...οἶον, translated into Arabic with *wa-miṭāl dālika...ka-anna*.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic version correctly renders the syntactic-grammatical structure of the original Greek, with the only exception of using conjugated forms of the verb *qāla* to introduce the first sentence of the example and then the individual analysis of its single segments. The *verbum dicendi* probably serves to make Aristotle’s discourse less dense and elliptical.

From a lexical point of view, it is worth mentioning the use of *mawǧūd* to render the copula ἔστιν, a peculiar element of Ishāq’s language.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:²⁵

Al-Fārābī devoted a great deal of attention to the passage containing the example on Homer, which in fact is echoed in more than one writing in his corpus. First of all, in his *Šarḥ al-Fārābī li-Aristūṭālis fi l-ʿIbāra* the discussion of the different meanings of being and the use of the term *mawǧūd* found in Ishāq’s Arabic version is conducted by repeatedly examining the

²⁴ The passage has been the object of several analyses, see for instance Kahn 1966, Celluprica 1987 and Chiesa 2012.

²⁵ See also Zarantonello 2000b, 85-94, where I explored the reception of this reference in the section on *al-ʿIbāra* of the *Kitāb al-šifāʿ* and in the *al-Išārāt wa-l-tanbihāt* by Ibn Sīnā as well as in Ibn Rušd’s *Talḥīs kitāb al-ʿibāra*, which I have not included here due to the chronological limitations I have imposed on myself for this research. However, the adaptation of the example in Ibn Sīnā’s *al-Išārāt wa-l-tanbihāt* and the tradition that depends on it is very interesting. In fact, Ibn Sīnā has this very passage from the *Int.* in mind – as well as chapters 4 and 20 of the *SE* – when discussing the example «Imru’ l-Qays was a poet» (*kāna Imru’ l-Qays šāʿiran*), where evidently Homer is replaced by his Arab counterpart. By contrast, when Barhebraeus translates this passage in his Syriac version of the *al-Išārāt wa-l-tanbihāt* he restores the reference to Homer, replacing all occurrences of Imru’ l-Qays with *Amiros*, a clear sign that, still in the 13th cent., the Syriac-speaking readership was more familiar with the Greek poet than with the prince of Arab poets. This aspect had already been noted by Teule 2005, 179.

example concerning Homer.²⁶ Even when discussing lines *Int.* 21a 32-33, connected to the passage we are interested in but where Homer is not mentioned, it is al-Fārābī himself who introduces the example on Homer as follows: «*Is (found) imagined* can be used to signify two meanings. Either, ‘is found’ is used as a connective hyparctic verb. In this case, we mean to say, as it were, ‘Homer is [*huwa*] imagined’ but use the phrase ‘Homer is found [*yūjad*] imagined’. Or, we mean to say ‘his existence is only in our imagination’. In neither case is it true to say of him that he ‘is found’ without qualification. It is false both when ‘is found’ is used as a hyparctic verb and when it is used to express that his picture exists in the imagination».²⁷ Indeed, the passage involving Homer provides an important starting point for addressing the question of the various senses of being and the Arabic terms by which these senses can be expressed. The issue, one of the central and most innovative aspects of al-Fārābī’s logic and ontology, is related to the question of the absence in Arabic of an exact equivalent of the Greek τὸ εἶναι and the ambiguity of *al-mawǧūd*, the corresponding Arabic term employed by Ishāq in his translations.²⁸ The *locus classicus* of al-Fārābī’s inquiry into these topics is chapters 80-103 of the *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*. After discussing the origin of the term *al-mawǧūd* and distinguishing its common use (in the sense of «to be found») and the technical use proper to philosophy (in the sense of «to be»), al-Fārābī observes that the Arabic language lacks a verb performing the copulative function – besides the existential one – that ἔστιν has in Greek and other words have in Persian, Syriac and Sogdian. Typically, Arabic syntax does not require a tenseless copula, namely a verb in the present tense that joins the subject to the predicate, except for some ambiguous contexts in which the predicate might be taken as an attribute of the subject. In those cases, the correlation between subject and predicate is not expressed through a hyparctic verb, but through the personal pronoun *huwa* (third person singular masculine) or *hīya* (third person singular feminine). To cover the polysemy of the Greek τὸ εἶναι, Arabic translators and philosophers adopted *al-mawǧūd*, expanding its original semantic area and making it a central term in the philosophical vocabulary.²⁹ In chapter 101 al-Fārābī inspects the use of *al-mawǧūd* as copula and explains that its function is merely logico-syntactical without any semantical connotation: the copula is the linguistic link between two elements of the sentences, but does not tell anything about them.³⁰ Here the mention of Homer comes up again: «*Al-mawǧūd* is used in another way beyond those already mentioned, viz. as conjunction (copula) of the predicate with the subject in affirmative propositions. This expression and its meaning connect the predicate to the subject, and it follows the affirmation of something about something else. The result is this kind of combination of the existing beings (*mawǧūdāt*) with each other, so that *al-mawǧūd* indicates the affirmation and *ǧayr al-mawǧūd* indicates the negation. If, for instance, we say ‘Zayd is just’, this does not mean the essence of either of them, per se or accidentally, nor that the essence of one or both of them, that is outside the self, is what is described by being just. Since this combination in the answer

²⁶ Kutsch, Marrow 1960, 160.11-161.8 = Dānišpažūh 1987-1989, II 178.21-180.1 (Ar.); Zimmermann 1981, 155 (Eng.).

²⁷ Zimmermann 1981, 157 (italics of Zimmermann’s translation). Arabic text in Kutsch, Marrow 1960, 162.17-21 = Dānišpažūh 1987-1989, II 181.19-23.

²⁸ See Shehadi, 1982, 13-16 (for the root *w-ǧ-d*); but also 31-41; Martini Bonadeo 2012.

²⁹ More detailed analysis in: Zimmermann 1981, cxxx-cxxxiii; Shehadi 1982, 46-51; 63-66; Martini Bonadeo 2012 (cf. 315 n. 37 for further bibliography).

³⁰ Shehadi 1982, 51.

is also what does not have an essence outside the self, it is true to say ‘Homer is a poet’. It is true because what *al-mawǧūd* means here is different from the meanings of *al-mawǧūd* that have been previously defined. On the contrary, it is an expression in which a subject of a predicate or a predicate of a subject is implied – in a word two things so combined». ³¹ For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that in the fifth section of his *Fuṣūl taṣṭamil ‘alā ǧamī‘ mā yuḍtarr ilā ma‘rifatihī man arāda l-šurū‘ fi šinā‘at al-manṭiq* (*al-Fuṣūl al-ḥamsa*) al-Fārābī describes simple and complex expressions and distinguishes the existential from non-existential meaning of the verb. The discussion closely follows *Int.* 11 and the parallel expositions in his *Šarḥ fi l-Tbāra* and *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, but, unlike the above passages, all the examples given here revolve around Zayd. ³²

In the section on *Int.* of his *Aǧrād Aristūṭālīs al-manṭiqiyya*, Ibn Zur‘a mentions the same example about Homer in the same context, i.e. discussing compound predicates that contain a potential contradiction, such as the phrase *Awmīrus yūǧadu šā‘ran*. For if we say of Homer that «he is» (*al-wuǧūd*), taken alone, we are saying something false. ³³

2.3.1.2 Posterior Analytics (APo.)

The MS tradition (MSS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346 and Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Ahmet III 3362) preserves the Arabic version by Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yunūs (d. 328/940), based on the Syriac version by Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, both mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*. ³⁴

Aristotle’s *APo.* is cited in the edition by William D. Ross, *Aristotelis analytica priora et posteriora*, Oxford 1964 (repr. 1968). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker’s edition. The Arabic text is based on Ğabr’s edition compared with Badawī’s. Since in the mg. of both edition one finds the correspondences with Bekker’s numeration I have inserted here only the page numbers of the Arabic editions.

³¹ Arabic text in Mahdi 1969, 125.12-126.2. The last lines have been translated and commented on in Zimmermann 1981, xxxv.

³² Dunlop 1955, 271.23-272.11 (Ar.), 279-280 (Eng.) = al-‘Aǧam 1985-1986, I 70.11-71.3 = Dānišpažūh 1987-1989, I 24.23-25.14.

³³ Ğihāmī, al-‘Aǧam 1994, 66.20 (Ar.).

³⁴ Flügel 1871-1872, I 249.11-12 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 163.2-3 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 17, Dodge 1970, 600 (Eng.). Before Iṣḥāq, Ḥunayn had already translated into Syriac a portion of the text, but Ibn al-Nadīm does not specify whether Iṣḥāq’s version completed or replaced his father’s work. See Walzer 1962 (= 1953), 98; Peters 1968, 18; Hugonnard-Roche 1989b, 521. Athanasius of Balad is credited with a Syriac version of the *Posterior Analytics*, which is now lost, although from our sources it seems that the tradition of studies of logic in Syriac stopped at *APr.* A 7 (on this vexed question a very large bibliography has been produced starting from Meyerhof 1930; see also Strohmaier 1987; Gutas 1999; Hugonnard-Roche 2004, 10-13; Vagelpohl 2010b, 140-143). Finally, the marginalia of the Parisian copy mention twice the translation of a certain Marāyā, but we cannot tell whether it was in Syriac or in Arabic. See Walzer 1962 (= 1953), 99; Hugonnard-Roche 1989b, 521; Hugonnard-Roche 2004, 13.

1.

B 7, 92b 31-32

εἴη γὰρ ἂν ὄνομα θέσθαι ὁποιοῦν λόγῳ, ὥστε ὄρους ἂν διαλεγόμεθα πάντες καὶ ἡ Ἰλιάς ὀρισμὸς ἂν εἴη.

MA Ġabr 571 = MA Badawī II 444

إذ كان قد يُوضع اسم لأيّ كلمة كانت، فيؤخذ إذن بأجمعها إمّا نلفظ ونتكلّم بالحدود، ويكون ايلياس حدًّا.

Badawī ابا جابريا Ġabr | [إما] conī. Badawī ابا جابريا Ġabr | [بأجمعها] 1

CONTEXT:

This passage falls into the so-called aporetic chapters of the *Posterior Analytics* (B 3-7), where Aristotle discusses what a definition is and how it differs from a demonstration.

In the lines preceding the passage that concerns us, Aristotle had come to the conclusion that a definition does not tell what something really is. Even though it shows what something is, it does not explain why it is – namely it does not justify the attribution of a *definiens* to a *definiendum* –, but it is only by knowing the cause of something that we truly know its essence. At this point, the philosopher takes into account the hypothesis that the definition is a discourse that means the same thing as a name. But even this claim is rejected as absurd in several respects, including the fact that it is possible to assign a name to any discourse (εἴη γὰρ ἂν ὄνομα θέσθαι ὁποιοῦν λόγῳ) which would then constitute a definition of it. Consequently, we would all speak by formulating definitions (ὥστε ὄρους ἂν διαλεγόμεθα πάντες) and the *Iliad* would also be a definition (καὶ ἡ Ἰλιάς ὀρισμὸς ἂν εἴη), that is, its 24 books would constitute a speech that could be taken as a definition of the name *Iliad*. The same example is given in the *locus parallelus Metaph. Z 4, 1030a 8-9 = ref. 8 (pp. 282-283)*.³⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE

Mention of the *Iliad* without further specification.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is correct.

2.

B 10, 93b 35-37

λόγος δ' εἰς ἐστὶ διχῶς, ὁ μὲν συνδέσμων, ὡσπερ ἡ Ἰλιάς, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἐν καθ' ἑνὸς δηλοῦν μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός.

³⁵ The passage is quite complex and cannot be examined exhaustively. I refer to the investigation of Mignucci 2007, 262-266, in particular 265-266, and Angioni 2014, 75-100. Very useful is then the commentary ascribed to John Philoponus: Phlp. In *APo.*: CAG XIII 3 359.25-363.19, Wallies. English translation in Goldin 2009, 47-51.

MA Ġabr 578 = MA Badawī II 449

والقول يُقال إنّه واحد على ضربين: أحدهما بالرباط، بمنزلة ايلياس، والآخر بأن يدل بشيء واحد على شيء واحد، لا بطريق العرض.

CONTEXT:

The second mention of the *Iliad* occurs at the beginning of chapter B 10, focused on the enumeration and analysis of the different types of definition. As is well-known, the chapter opens with the examination of a particular type of definition, i.e. formulations that merely express the meaning of a name or of another name-like account (93b 29-31), which is usually labeled 'nominal definition'. If we compare these lines with the discussion of definition in chapters B 7-9, where the latter is understood as a discourse that expresses the «what is» of something, it results that a nominal definition is such only in a broad sense. However, its role within Aristotle's classification is much debated, as it does not appear in the summary of the various types of definitions that we read at the end of chapter B 10 (94a 11-13). The complexity of the passage – especially if read in the light of the arguments of B 7-9 – has opened up to various attempts at interpretation, even very distant from each other, but since this would exceed the purpose of our investigation, they cannot be examined here in detail.³⁶ It is sufficient to note that in these lines Aristotle implicitly argues that every definition is a unitary discourse and clarifies that a discourse is one in two ways, either by conjunction as in the case of the *Iliad* or in an essential way. The latter expression refers to the natural unity of proper definitions, entailing a one-to-one relationship between the *definiens* and the *definiendum*. This means that a definition is one account that is predicated in respect to one thing, not accidentally but *per se*.³⁷ The first type of unity mentioned by Aristotle, instead, is given arbitrarily by conjunction, which means that the parts of the account constituting the definition are tied together and it does not express essential relations of the *definiens* with respect to the *definiendum*. The mention of the *Iliad* echoes the example at *Apo.* B 7, 92b 31-32 = ref. 1 (p. 72), in which it was assumed that the entire poem could be taken as defining the name *Iliad*. The unity of the *Iliad* is evidently given by the union by conjunction of its parts, its verses and its books.³⁸ The same question is taken up, with explicit reference to the example of the *Iliad*, in *Metaph. Z* 4, 1030b 8-10 = ref. 9 (pp. 282-283) and H 6, 1045a 12-14 = ref. 10 (pp. 282-283).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention of the *Iliad* without further specifications.

³⁶ See, among others, Barnes 1994, 222-223; Demoss, Devereux 1988, 133-154; Mignucci 2007, 274-276; and the important monography (where the "three-stage view" theory is formulated) by Charles 2000, ch. 2, in particular 40-43; their bibliographies provide further readings.

³⁷ Mignucci 2007, 276 offers also another explanation: «Alternativamente si potrebbe pensare che la distinzione di unità riguarda le parti del *definiens* tra di loro. Nel caso delle definizioni reali tali parti, essendo parti dell'essenza, hanno fra loro una relazione non accidentale, anche nel senso che è una relazione naturale, determinata dalle cose stesse; invece nel caso delle definizioni nominali la relazione fra le parti potrebbe essere accidentale, se non altro nel senso che potrebbe essere artificiale».

³⁸ Cf. Phlp. In *Apo.*: CAG XIII 3, 373.48sq., Wallies. English translation in Goldin 2009, 63sq.

3.

B 13, 97b 15-25

οἷον λέγω, εἰ τί ἐστι μεγαλοψυχία ζητοῖμεν, σκεπτέον ἐπί τινων μεγαλοψύχων, οὓς ἴσμεν, τί ἔχουσιν ἐν πάντες ἢ τοιοῦτοι. οἷον εἰ Ἀλκιβιάδης μεγαλόψυχος ἢ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ ὁ Αἴας, τί ἐν ἅπαντες; τὸ μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι ὑβριζόμενοι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπολέμησεν, ὁ δ' ἐμήνισεν, ὁ δ' ἀπέκτεινεν ἑαυτόν. πάλιν ἐφ' ἑτέρων, οἷον Λυσάνδρου ἢ Σωκράτους. εἰ δὴ τὸ ἀδιάφοροι εἶναι εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ ἀτυχοῦντες, ταῦτα δύο λαβῶν σκοπῶ τί τὸ αὐτὸ ἔχουσιν ἢ τε ἀπάθεια ἢ περὶ τὰς τύχας καὶ ἢ μὴ ὑπομονὴ ἀτιμαζομένων. εἰ δὲ μηδέν, δύο εἶδη ἂν εἶη τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας.

MA Ġabr 601-602 = MA Badawī II 470

1 وأعني بهذا ما أنا واصفه: وهو أنه إن كان طلبنا ما هو كِبير النفس فقد يجب أن نتأمل وننظر في الأنواع التي هي كبيرة الأنفس التي نحن عارفون بها: ما المعنى الواحد الموجود لكلها من طريق ما هي بهذه الصفة. مثال ذلك إن كان ألقبييادس كبير النفس أو أخيلوس أو أليس، أن يبحث ما الأمر الموجود الذي هو واحد لجمعهم، فهم أنهم لم يحتملوا الضيم إذ كان واحد منهم حارب والآخر حقد، والآخر قتل نفسه. 5 ثم يبين هذا من الرأس في قدم آخر - مثال ذلك في لوساندروس أو في سقراط، فنجد معناه أنهم لم يتغيروا عندما ينجح بحثهم أو يُكَلِّدِي. فإذا أخذت هذين المعنيين فأثبت ما الذي يوجد واحداً بعينه لغير قبول التأثير من الاتفاق ولفقد الصبر على الامتهان. فإن لم يوجد ولا واحد، فيكون لكبير النفس نوعان قائمان.

أي: نوعان^{sup.l.} Gloss 7 Badawī قوم Ġabr [قدم 5 Badawī آيس Ġabr [أليس 3

معنيان لاسم مشترك

CONTEXT:

The reference to Alcibiades, Achilles and Ajax is part of a long example, reported here in full, aimed at illustrating how to correctly construct a definition, for instance that of magnanimity. Aristotle invites us to consider sets of individuals grouped on the basis of their belonging to the same species, within a superset that constitutes the common genus and represents the universal concept of which we intend to give a definition. The definition emerges from the intersection of the sets, that is, from the comparison and identification of elements that unite the individuals of each set-species and that are shared by all the sets. As Aristotle says: «I mean, e.g., that if we were seeking what magnanimity is, we should inquire, in the case of some magnanimous men we know, what one feature they have in common as such. E.g. if Alcibiades and Achilles and Ajax are magnanimous, what one feature do they all

have in common? Intolerance or insult—one made war, one waxed wroth, one killed himself. Next, take come others, e.g. Lisander and Socrates. If their common feature is being indifferent to good and bad fortune, I take these two items and inquire what indifference to fortune and not brooking dishonour have in common. If they have nothing in common, then there will be two forms of magnanimity»³⁹.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference, where two figures of the Trojan cycle – Achilles and Ajax, who have a central role in the *Iliad* and in various tragedies – are mentioned, along with the historical figure of Alcibiades. Further on, Socrates and Lisander are mentioned.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation adheres to the Greek. The adverb οἷον is rendered with *mitāl dālika*. One may observe the initial expansion of οἷον λέγω with *wa-a'nū bi-hādā mā anā wāṣifuhū* and the hendiadys *nata'ammala wa-nanzura* for the semantics of σκεπτέον (while the function of the verbal adjective is covered by *yağibu an*). Another expansion consists in the paraphrase *an yubḥata mā l-amru l-mawğūdu lladī huwa wāḥidun li-ğamī'ihim* for the interrogative τί ἐν ἄπαντες. The participle ὑβρίζόμενοι is translated with an abstract noun *al-ḍaym* «injustice».

2.3.1.3 Topics (*Top.*)

The only extant Arabic version is preserved in the MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346, fol. 241v-327r, and is authored by Abū Umṭān al-Dimašqī, for the first 7 books, and by Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Nāqid (d. circa 940), for the 8th and last book. As reported in one of the notes of our MS Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh relied on the Syriac version by Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn.⁴⁰ Besides this, the marginalia of the codex parisinus mention some Syriac versions, namely that of Iṣḥāq, another one made by Athanasius of Balad (d. 686/687) and further references where the name of the Syriac translator is not given.⁴¹ Ibn al-Nadīm also records an Arabic version by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī based on the Syriac of Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn – and mentioned once in the apparatus of notes of the Paris MS –⁴² and an old translation,⁴³ which according to the scholars might be the Arabic version that the patriarch Timotheus I (d. 823) tells he translated with the help of Abū Nūḥ al-Anbārī in his letter no. 43.⁴⁴

Aristotle's *Top.* is cited in the edition by William D. Ross, *Aristotelis topica et sophisticen elenchi*, Oxford 1958 (repr. 1970 (1st edn. corr.)). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker's edition. The Arabic text is based on Ğabr's edition compared with Badawī's. Since in the mg. of both

³⁹ See Barnes 1994, 67, 248-249; Mignucci 2007, 292-293. Magnanimity is described in EN Δ 7-9, EE Γ 5.

⁴⁰ Georr 1948, 197; Elamrani-Jamal 1989, 525.

⁴¹ Hugonnard-Roche 1989c, 524; Hugonnard-Roche 1991, 200.

⁴² Hugonnard-Roche 1991, 200-201; MA Badawī III, 755 n. 4.

⁴³ Flügel 1871-1872, I 249.15-17 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 163.8-10 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 20, Dodge 1970, 600 (Engl.).

⁴⁴ Hugonnard-Roche 1989c, 524; Heimgartner 2012, 65.26-34 (Syr.); Brock 1999, 235-236 (Engl.).

edition one finds the correspondences with Bekker's numeration I have inserted here only the page numbers of the Arabic editions.

1.

Γ 2, 117b 12-17, 19-25

καὶ τὸ τῷ βελτίονι αὐτοῦ ὁμοιότερον, καθάπερ τὸν Αἴαντα τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς φασὶ βελτίω τινὲς εἶναι, διότι ὁμοιότερος τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ. (ἔνστασις τούτου ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθές· οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει μὴ ἢ βέλτιστος ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ταύτη ὁμοιότερον εἶναι τὸν Αἴαντα, τοῦ ἐτέρου ὄντος μὲν ἀγαθοῦ μὴ ὁμοίου δέ.) [...] πάλιν ἐπὶ δυοῖν, εἰ τὸ μὲν τῷ βελτίονι τὸ δὲ τῷ χείρονι ὁμοιότερον, εἴη ἂν βέλτιον τὸ τῷ βελτίονι ὁμοιότερον. (ἔχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔνστασιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει τὸ μὲν τῷ βελτίονι ἡρέμα ὁμοιον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῷ χείρονι σφόδρα, οἶον εἰ ὁ μὲν Αἴας τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ἡρέμα, ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς τῷ Νέστορι σφόδρα. [...])

MA Ġabr 709 = MA Badawī II 561

والأشبه منهما أيضًا بالأفضل آثر، بمنزلة ما يقول قوم إنّ آس أفضل من أدسوس، لأنّه أشبه بأشلوس. 1
وقد يعاند هذا القول بأن يُقال إنّّه ليس بحق. وذلك أنّه ليس يمنع مانع من ألا يكون آس يشبه بأشلوس ن
جهة ما أشلوس أفضل، ويكون أودسس خيرًا وليس شبيها بأشلوس. [...] وأيضًا إذا كان أحد أمرين أشبه
بالأفضل، والآخر أشبه بالأخس: فإنّ الأشبه بالأفضل أفضل. وقد يعاند هذا القول أيضًا، وذلك أنّه ليس
5 يمنع مانع من أن يكون أحدهما يشبه الأفضل شبيها يسيرًا، والآخر يشبه الأخس شبيها كثيرًا — مثال ذلك
أن يكون آس يشبه أشلوس شبيها يسيرًا، وأدسوس يشبه نسطر شبيها كثيرًا. [...]

MS^{sup.1} Ġabr أشبه MS Badawī gloss اسم رجل MS Ġabr Badawī نسطر 6

MS^{sup.1}

CONTEXT:

This passage is part of the presentation of the *topos* of the resemblance to the best, according to which what is closer (τὸ ἐγγύτερον) and more similar (τὸ ὁμοιότερον) to the good is better and preferable (117b 10-11)⁴⁵. Starting from 117b 12 Aristotle points out that between two things the one that is more similar to a third thing which is better than both is better than the other and reports the ἔνδοξον (φασὶ...τινὲς) that Ajax is better than Odysseus because he is more similar to Achilles – who is better than both – than Odysseus is. To this common opinion Aristotle raises an objection: the greater similarity between Ajax and Achilles could be based on aspects other than those that make Achilles a better man, while Odysseus – even if he does not resemble Achilles – is nevertheless a noble man (ἀγαθός). The same heroes are mentioned shortly afterwards in an objection to the principle that between one thing that is more like

⁴⁵ See Gigon 1968, 233-256 for an overview on this section of the *Topics* (Γ I-III), focused on the ethical meanings of the terms αἰρετώτερον and βέλτιον. The scholar lists the *topoi* which serve as evaluation strategies and selection criteria of what is the best and most preferable among a number of things.

what is better and another that is more like what is worse, what is more like what is better is preferable. The objection runs as follows: if the similarity of Ajax to the best – Achilles – is slight, while the similarity of Odysseus to the worst (where τῷ χείρονι is to be understood in a relative-comparative sense to Achilles and not absolutely) – for example Nestor – is strong, one cannot tell that Ajax is better than Odysseus. Achilles will always be the best, but Nestor, followed by Odysseus, might be better than Ajax⁴⁶.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference to four mythological characters from the Trojan cycle.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic version follows the Greek. One may observe the interlinear gloss «name of man» referred to the transliteration of Nestor, without any indication of the mythological context. The adverb καθάπερ is translated with the expression *bi-manzila (mā)*, while οἷον as *mitālu dālīka an*, with the loss of the hypothetical value expressed by εἰ, which, according to the text printed by Ğabr and Badawī, is not translated into Arabic. One could propose to correct *an* into *in*, the hypothetical conjunction that translates the Greek εἰ. For instance, the phrase *mitālu dālīka in* (followed by the verb *kāna*) is also employed for the Greek οἷον εἰ in *APo. B 13, 97b 17*, in Abū Bišr Mattā's translation.

2.

Θ 1, 157a 14-17

Εἰς δὲ σαφήνειαν παραδείγματα καὶ παραβολὰς οἰστέον, παραδείγματα δὲ οἰκεία καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἴσμεν, οἷα Ὅμηρος, μὴ οἷα Χοιρίλος· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σαφέστερον εἴη τὸ προτεινόμενον.

MA Ğabr 857 = MA Badawī III 733-734

وَأَمَّا فِي بَابِ إِضْحَاحِ الْقَوْلِ وَتَلْخِيصِهِ فَقَدْ يَجِبُ أَنْ يُؤْتَى بِمِثَالَاتٍ وَأَلْغَازٍ، وَأَنْ تَكُونَ الْمِثَالَاتُ خَاصَّةً، وَمَا نَسْتَفِيدُ بِهِ عِلْمًا بِمَنْزِلَةِ مَا هُوَ مِنْهَا سَائِرٌ فِي شِعْرِ أَوْمِيروسَ دُونَ شِعْرِ خَوْرِيْلِسَ: وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ مَا يُوفَى بِهِ عَلَى هَذِهِ الْجِهَةِ يَكُونُ أَشَدَّ وَضُوحًا.

CONTEXT:

Here Aristotle explains in a concise way the use of examples and comparisons in the *προτάσεις*⁴⁷ “other than those which are necessary” (*προτάσεις...παρὰ τὰς ἀναγκαίαις*, 155b 19), in order to clarify the argument. This is one of the four functions that unnecessary *προτάσεις* can assume in dialectical debate, according to the classification introduced in Θ 1, 155b 20-24.⁴⁸ In the same chapter we learn that unnecessary *προτάσεις*, labelled by Slomkowski ‘auxiliary’, are propositions that constitute the premisses of a prosyllogism, that is a

⁴⁶ See also Zadro 1974, 398-399.

⁴⁷ On the polysemy of *πρότασις*: Slomkowski 1997, 14 n. 31.

⁴⁸ Complete discussion in Slomkowski 1997, 32-36.

preparatory syllogism from which the necessary προτάσεις of a 'main syllogism' are obtained. The 'main syllogism' is established by the questioner as a tool to prove his or her thesis.⁴⁹

The positive example of Homer, which clarifies the discourse through common examples taken from well-known facts, is contrasted with the negative example of Choerilus., whose identification is not certain. According to the most credited hypothesis the author referred to here is Choerilus of Samos, a 5th cent. BCE poet who dedicated a large part of his production to the Persian Wars, while other scholars tend to identify him with an Athenian tragedian who lived between the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th cent. and composed around 160 plays.⁵⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium, i.e. a specific reference to two authors, Homer and Choerilus, with evaluation of an aspect of their style, that is the use of examples and comparisons.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Both comparative clauses are expanded as follows: «for instance, what of those (examples) can be found in Homer's poetry, but not in Choerilus' poetry»⁵¹. The addition of *šī'r*, «poetry» or «poem», significantly shows a certain familiarity, albeit vague, with the identity of the two figures. Only the first *oīa* is rendered with *bi-manzila (mā)*, while the second is omitted, the syntactic structure of Arabic text making it unnecessary. At the semantic level the rendering of παραβολάς with *alġāz*, which properly means «enigmas, riddles», stands out. The lexical choice is unusual, since the root *l-ġ-z* is found for the Greek ἀνιγμα (e.g. unidentified translator: Artem. *Onirocr.* 122.24 = *Onirocr.* Fahd 223.11 and 126.17 = *Onirocr.* Fahd 229.12; Ishāq: Arist. *Phys.* 218b 24 = *Ṭabī'a* Badawī 414.6; Ishāq: Them. *In de An.*: CAG V 3, 23.33, Heinze = Them. Lyons 9.8 and *In de An.*: CAG V 3, 73.5, Heinze = Them. Lyons 120.13) or derivatives of μύθος (e.g. unidentified translator: Artem. *Onirocr.* 175.18 = *Onirocr.* Fahd 315.13), while παραβολή is commonly translated with a noun of the root *m-t-l* (e.g., Ibrāhīm's Arabic based on Ishāq's Syriac: Arist. *Top.* 156b 25 = MA Ğabr 856 and 164a 15 = MA Ğabr 890; but also anonymous: Arist. *Rh.* 1393a 30 = *Rh.* Lyons 134.8 and 1393b 4 = *Rh.* Lyons 134.16; Uṣṭāt: Arist. *Metaph.* 1036b 24 = *Metaph.* Bouyges 927.8 (T.39 d)). The root *m-t-l* is also used for παράδειγμα, as in this case, where, in fact, the first term of the hendiadys (παραδείγματα και παραβολάς) is rendered with *matālāt*. As a consequence, the translator needed to find a synonym for παραβολή, but ended up employing a term with an almost antithetical to «example». Since it seems unlikely that the translator read a form of ἀνιγμα instead of παραβολή, the Arabic outcome can be explained through the Syriac *Vorlage* on which Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh relied. Ishāq, the author Syriac version, needed two synonyms to render the terms of the hendiadys and we may venture that for παραβολή he resorted to an ambiguous term such as *pelētā*

⁴⁹ Slomkowski 1997, 24-32.

⁵⁰ See the entry *Choerilus* by Fantuzzi, Plessner in BNP 2006.

⁵¹ The Arabic version seems to confirm the reading of the Greek text proposed by most of the interpreters, i.e. that here Aristotle refers to the use of examples and illustrations by Homer and Choerilus, and not, as interpreted by Smith, that whoever draws examples from Homer is clear because his poems were familiar to any educated Athenian citizen, while the examples taken from Choerilus would be more obscure because his verses were not known by heart like the Homer's. See Smith 1997, 115-116.

(ܩܘܠܘܒܐ), which means both «comparison, allegory» (it corresponds to παραβολή also in the sense of «parable») and «enigma, riddle».

2.3.1.4 *Sophistical Refutations* (SE)

Within Ibn Suwār's edition preserved in the so-called *Organon of Bagdād* (MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346) the SE is the only work not to be extant in a single version but in three. Aristotle's text is divided into sections, for each of which the three versions are reported one after the other. In the mg. of the *codex unicus* there are traces of other Syriac and Arabic translations, in many cases anonymous. Although the paratext of the Paris MS and the *Kitāb al-fihrist* provide us with plenty of information on the Syriac and Arabic translations of the SE, the data we obtain are sometimes contradictory or unclear and the identification of the three translators is far from obvious.⁵² As we learn from the notes accompanying the text of the Paris MS the first version is authored by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, the second by Ibn Zur'a, while the third is an old version (*naql qadīm*)⁵³ attributed to al-Nā'ima, viz. Ibn al-Nā'ima l-Ḥimṣī⁵⁴. Both Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's and Ibn Zur'a's translations are derived from an earlier Syriac version by Athanasius of Balad, but Ibn Zur'a's text is actually a revision of his teacher's version (the two are in fact very similar to each other) which he would have compared with the Syriac version of Theophilus of Edessa, some fragments of which are preserved in Arabic translation in the glosses to Ibn Zur'a's version in the MS.⁵⁵ The ascription of the first version to Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī has been challenged by Haddad in 1952, but his claim has been disproved in a recent publication by Endress and Hasper since it is not validated either by linguistic features or by evidence of the sources.⁵⁶ As for the *naql qadīm* the authorship of Ibn al-Nā'ima has been questioned in the aforementioned study by Endress and Hasper on the basis of the comparison of the translation of some key terms that occur both in the old version of SE and in the only known work of Ibn al-Nā'ima, namely the adaptation of *Enneads* IV-VI that goes by the name of *Theology of Aristotle*.⁵⁷ The discrepancies that emerged from the contrastive analysis led to the conclusion that the old version cannot be attributed to Ibn al-Nā'ima, probably being a 9th cent. Syriac-Arabic translation.⁵⁸

Aristotle's SE is cited in the edition by William D. Ross, *Aristotelis topica et sophistici elenchi*, Oxford 1958 (repr. 1970 (1st edn. corr.)). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text

⁵² Sources have been examined in detail recently in Endress, Hasper 2020, 64-74. cf. Flügel 1871-1872, I 249.26-27 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 164.8-9 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 23, Dodge 1970, 601 (Engl.).

⁵³ The label *naql qadīm* is variously attested both in the mg. of the MS Paris, BnF, ar. 2346 and in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (see *infra* the extant Arabic version of the *Rhetoric*). See Gutas 1983, 252-253; Lameer 1994, 5; Hugonnard-Roche 1997, 395.

⁵⁴ Georr 1948, 198.

⁵⁵ Hugonnard-Roche 1991, 198-200; Endress, Hasper 2020, 70-74.

⁵⁶ Endress, Hasper 2020, 69. I could not consult Haddad's unpublished dissertation (*Trois version inédites des Réfutations Sophistiques d'Aristote: études et vocabulaire*, thèse complémentaire, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne 1952).

⁵⁷ Endress, Hasper 2020, 64-66.

⁵⁸ Endress, Hasper 2020, 66-68.

correspond to the chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker's edition. The Arabic text is based on Ġabr's edition compared with Badawī's. Since in the mg. of both edition one finds the correspondences with Bekker's numeration I have inserted here only the page numbers of the Arabic editions.

1., 2.

4, 166a36-38

οἶον “ἐγὼ σ’ ἔθηκα δοῦλον ὄντ’ ἐλεύθερον” καὶ τὸ “πεντήκοντ’ ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν λίπε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς”.

MA Ġabr 930, 934 = MA Badawī III 796, 801 (Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī)

مثال ذلك لِمَ أنا لك جُعِلت عبداً وأنت حرّ. وأَنَّ من رجال خمسين مائةً قتل الممدوح أخيلوس.

Gloss to جعلت: صرت | Gloss to الممدوح: الماجد

MA Ġabr 932, 936 = MA Badawī III 799, 803 (‘Isā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur‘a)

مثال ذلك أنا جاعل لك عبداً وأنت حرّ. وأمّا من الخمسين الرجل فقتل المحمود أخيلوس مائةً.

Gloss to نقل ثاوفيلا: والذي بقي من الخمسين رجلا أخيلوس الخير: الخمسين

MA Ġabr 934, 938 = MA Badawī III 801, 805 (*naql qadīm*)

وتقول: أنا صيرت الأحرار عبداً. ونقول إنّ الماجد أشلوس قتل من خمسين رجلاً مائةً.

Gloss to أشلوس (see *infra*)

CONTEXT:

Chapter 4 revolves around the six fallacies depending on linguistic expression, among which are the paralogisms of combination and division (διαίρεσις). The two examples reported here appears to be a general and conclusive remark on the change of meaning produced within the same sentence when read either by division or by combination of its elements.⁵⁹ The first reference, ἐγὼ σ’ ἔθηκα δοῦλον ὄντ’ ἐλεύθερον, plays on the ambiguity of reading δοῦλον as a predicative referred to ἔθηκα and ἐλεύθερον as a predicative referred to ὄντα or *vice versa*, resulting in two possibilities: «I made you a slave while being free» and «I made you free while being slave». The author of this fragment is unknown, but scholars have suggested that it might be a verse from a lost Greek comedy based on the *locus parallelus* found in Terence's *Andria* v. 37 «feci ex servo ut esses libertus mihi».⁶⁰ The second example πενήκοντ’ ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν λίπε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς bears a similar ambiguity derived from different divisions of the text, namely «divine Achilles left behind one hundred of the fifty men» – where πενήκοντα is partitive genitive together with ἀνδρῶν and ἑκατὸν is direct object – and «divine Achilles left behind fifty of the one hundred men» – where ἑκατὸν is partitive genitive together with ἀνδρῶν

⁵⁹ Schiaparelli 2003, 125; Hasper 2009, 119.

⁶⁰ Dorion 1995, 227; Fait 2007, 114.

and πεντήκοντα is direct object.⁶¹ Since this anonymous hexameter mentions Achilles, some scholars maintained that it might derive from a poem of the Trojan cycle,⁶² but neither Galen, who inserts the quotation in his *De captionibus penes dictionem* I, 8, nor Quintilian, who adapts it into Latin as «Quinquaginta ubi erant centum inde occidit Achilles» in *Inst.* VII, 9,8 provide any useful information in this respect.⁶³ Schiaparelli concluded that «it might well be an exemplum fictum either invented by Aristotle himself or present in the tradition for rhetorical and teaching purposes».⁶⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two hidden serial (correlation with καί) quotations, introduced by the adverb οἶον.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The adverb οἶον is rendered with *mitāl dālīka* by Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī and Ibn Zur‘a, while the translator of the old version replaces it with the expression *wa-taqūlu*. The latter also adds *wanaqūlu* to introduce the second quotation, instead of the simple correlation *wa-* used by the other two translators. The intrusion of *lima* in Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī’s version cannot be explained from (a misunderstanding of) the Greek and is deleted from Ibn Zur‘a’s review of his teacher’s text. Beside this, the first Arabic translation is ambiguous. If we follow Badawī’s and Ğabr’s vocalisation – based on the gloss *širtu* («I became») – we have the passive *ġu‘iltu* and the whole phrase reads: «I was made slave for you». However, the verb could also be read as an active *ġa‘altu*, especially since it is followed by *li-*, meaning «I assigned you a slave»,⁶⁵ being in this way closer to the Greek ἔθηκα. Presumably Ibn Zur‘a was aware of the double meaning if Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī’s text and tried to improve it in his revision by using the active participle *ġā’il* accompanied by *la-ku ‘abdan*. Both authors translate the structure ὄντ’ ἐλεύθερον as a coordinate sentence *wa-anta ḥurrun*. The old version simplifies the Greek syntax, eliminates the direct reference «you» and turns the singulars into plurals («I made free men slaves»).

As for the second example, all three versions are very similar, but Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī is the translator who most carefully follows the *ordo verborum* of Greek, even reproducing its ambiguity, since the two numerals are juxtaposed and can be read either as a whole or separated (again Ğabr’s vocalization disambiguates the text), and the subject postponed at the end of the sentence. The adjective δῖος is rendered with three different synonyms (*al-mamdūh* by Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī, *al-maḥmūd* by Ibn Zur‘a, and *al-māġid* in the old version) and always placed before the subject Ašīlūs/Aḥīlūs, imitating the Greek structure – while the

⁶¹ Schiaparelli 2003, 126-128 discusses a third interpretation for both examples, namely «I made you a slave that is free» and «divine Achilles left one hundred and fifty of the man», that is, the meaning they take in their combined form, as distinct from the two alternative readings that arise from division. See a different analysis in Hasper 2009, 120 and 121 n. 19. By and large, the ambiguity of the two examples has led to various explanations in scholarly literature, which I will not review here. I have adhered to the most widespread interpretation and to that which emerges from the gloss of the Arabic ‘old version’.

⁶² Dorion 1995, 227.

⁶³ See the in-depth commentary on this passage given by Dorion 1995, 228.

⁶⁴ Schiaparelli 2003, 125 n. 29.

⁶⁵ We may speculate that the gloss *širtu* is a corruption for *šayyartu* «I made», which is employed in the old version and is a synonym of the active *ġa‘altu*, but this cannot be proven.

Arabic attributive commonly follows the noun. In all three texts, then, the verb *λείπω*, generically «to leave», is interpreted with *qatala*, «to kill», as Quintilian already did (*occidit*), the outcome being «the praiseworthy (*or: glorious in the old version*) Achilles killed one hundred of the fifty men».

These passages bear two glosses. The first corresponds to *al-ḥamsīna* in Ibn Zur‘a’s version and is an Arabic rendering of the Syriac version by Theophilus of Edessa, which reads: «that the noble Achilles left of fifty men». In the old version Ašilūs is glossed as follows: «If you say by division that the glorious Achilles killed [a part] of fifty men and also killed one hundred men, the fact that you join this and say that the glorious Achilles killed of fifty men one hundred – so if you compose them – implies something impossible. Likewise, if I say “you are a slave” in the sense of yoked slave, then you are morally free because it is not possible for me to say that you are a free slave».⁶⁶

3., 4.

4, 166b 3-8

οἶον καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον ἔνιοι διορθοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας ὡς ἄτοπον εἰρηκότα “τὸ μὲν ου καταπύθεται ὄμβρω”. λύουσι γὰρ αὐτὸ τῇ προσωδίᾳ, λέγοντες τὸ “ου” ὀξύτερον. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅτι οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἶπεν “δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὐχος ἀρέσθαι”. ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ ἐνετέλλετο δίδοναι.

MA Ğabr 934 = MA Badawī III 801 (Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī)

مثال ذلك أنّ أفرادًا قد يقومون لأوميروش لدى الذين يؤيخونه على أنّه قد قال شناعة أنّها لا تقتل بالمطر فيحلّونه بالتعجيم بأن يقولوا لا بالتثقيل؛ وفي رؤيا أغاممن أن ليس زاوس نفسه قال: إنّنا نعطيّه أن يأخذ المجد، لكنّه إنّما أمر الرؤيا أن تعطي.

1 om. Badawī قد [قد قال 1 2 Gloss to المدح: المجد: الحمد]

MA Ğabr 936-937 = MA Badawī III 803-804 (‘Īsā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur‘a)

مثال ذلك أنّ قومًا يسدّدون أوميروس عند اللاتمين له كأنّه قد قال منكرًا عند قوله: «ليس يعفن بالمطر»، ويحلّون ذلك بالتعجيم بأن يجعلوا لفظة «ليس» مثقلّة جدًّا. وكذلك ما في رؤيا أغاممن من أن ليس زاوس هو الذي قال إنّنا نمنحه الحمد ليحصل له، بل إنّما أنّه أوعز إلى الرؤيا بإعطائه ذلك.

3 Gloss to الحمد: المجد: الحمد | بل إنّما | MS^{sup.l.} Ğabr | MS Badawī

⁶⁶ MA Ğabr 938 n. 17 = MA Badawī III 805 n. 3.

MA Ġabr 938-939 = MA Badawī III 806 (*naql qadīm*)

مثل قول من أعاب أوميروس وخطاه في قوله إنّ كذا وكذا ليس شائئاً للمطر، فأجاب عنه أقوام فقالوا
بوضع علامة في التعجيم على لفظة «ليس» فينقلها فتصير على جهة الاستفهام فيصحّ معناها. ويقولون في
منام أغاممنن: ليس زوس القائل يعطيه الفخر، لكنّه أمر لصاحب الرؤيا أن يعطيه الفخر.

3 Gloss to زوس (see *infra*)

CONTEXT:

The two references to Homer appear in the treatment of another of the linguistic elements that produce apparent refutations, that is the accent (*προσῳδίαι*). Aristotle emphasises the importance of writing down accents especially in dialectical discourses and in poetry to disambiguate two words with different meaning and different pronunciation, but that share the same spelling. The importance of this indication lies in the fact that the ancients, as well as the contemporaries of Aristotle, were not used to mark accents in written texts (166b 1-3).⁶⁷ The first quotation comes from *Il.* Ψ 328. In this passage Nestor addresses a series of advice to his son Antilochus before the latter competes in the horse race on the occasion of the funeral games in honour of Patroclus and with this verse describes a dry trunk, that the rain does not rot, placed by Achilles as the finish line of the competition. The interpretation of Homer's text is based on the accent of οὐ: οὐ̄ with circumflex accent (genitive of the relative pronoun) makes little sense in this context – the verse would be: «part of which decays in the rain» –, so it is necessary to correct it into the negative οὐ – «it does not decay in the rain»⁶⁸. The second verse undergoes a similar correction. Since the indicative pres. first person plur. δίδομεν – «but we grant him to secure the fulfilment of his prayer» – does not produce a satisfactory text, it was proposed to correct it into διδόμεν, infinitive with imperative value – «grant him to secure the fulfilment of his prayer»⁶⁹. As the commentators have pointed out, the verse quoted here is found in *Il.* Φ 297, where Poseidon declares that he and Athena intended to give their support to Achilles. However, according to the words of Aristotle, the context in which this verse is inserted is the dream of Agamemnon, and more precisely the end of the discourse in *Il.* B 7-15 with which Zeus orders the baneful dream to deceive Agamemnon, by making him believe that by that time the gods were unfavourable to the Trojans and the city of Troy was ready to fall. With the infinitive-imperative replacing the indicative pres. first person plur. the whole responsibility of the action is attributed to the dream, being not shared by Zeus. Both examples recur also in chapter 25 of the *Poetics* (*Po.* 1461a 21-23), where these corrections are explicitly ascribed to Hippias of Thasos.⁷⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit author's serial (but not contiguous) literal quotations, incomplete monostichs. The sequentiality is broken by short contextualization testimonia that separate

⁶⁷ Dorion 1995, 229; Fait 2007, 114-115.

⁶⁸ Forster 1955, 23.

⁶⁹ Forster 1955, 23.

⁷⁰ Dorion 1995, 229-230; Fait 2007, 115.

the references from each other. The two quotations are part of a broad example introduced by οἶον.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Similarly to the previous case, οἶον is translated with *mitāl dālīka* by Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī and Ibn Zur‘a, while the old version bears *mitla qawl* «like the saying».

Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī’s version does not depart from the Greek except in the rendering of ὡς ἄτοπον εἰρηκότα...τὸ “ου” ὀξύτερον, where the greatest difficulties are encountered. Ὡς εἰρηκότα meaning «as if he said» is simplified with *‘alā annahū qāla*. The ου of the quotation τὸ μὲν ου καταπύθεται ὄμβρω is taken as a negative (*annahā lā tuqtalu bi-l-maṭari*), without grasping the underlying grammatical issue. The verb *tuqtalu* might be an interpretation *ad sensum* of the uncommon verb καταπύθεται, but it can be easily explained as a copyist’s trivialization error from the rarer *ya‘fanu*. The phrase λύουσι γὰρ αὐτὸ τῆ προσωδία is translated with «for they solve it by putting diacritical marks (*bi-l-ta‘ǧīm*)», whereas λέγοντες τὸ “ου” ὀξύτερον is rendered with *bi-an yaqūlū lā bi-l-tatqīli, tatqīl* meaning in a grammatical context «to make heavy a word», «by uttering hemzeh with its true, or proper, sound, [...] and by making a single consonant double; and by making a quiescent consonant movent: often occurring in these senses in lexicons and grammars».⁷¹

Ibn Zur‘a reviews Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī’s version by using in some instances different synonyms but preserving its overall structure. In this case ὡς is accurately expressed through *ka-annahū*, and καταπύθεται is rendered with *ya‘fanu*. The translation of λύουσι γὰρ αὐτὸ τῆ προσωδία is almost identical to that of his master (the pronoun *-hu* is replaced by *dālīka*) and similarly the Arabic *bi-an yaǧ‘alū lafzata laysa mutaqqalatan ǧiddan* for λέγοντες τὸ “ου” ὀξύτερον is very close to what we have seen above. In the rendering of δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι the infinitive ἀρέσθαι is expressed as a final clause «we grant praise so that it occurs to him», where *la-hū* covers οἶ, which was omitted in the previous translation.

Finally, the old version deviates more extensively from the original than the other two. The initial clause τὸν Ὅμηρον ἔνιοι διορθοῦνται πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχοντας is simplified: «those who rebuke Homer and accuse him to be wrong». The quotation τὸ μὲν ου καταπύθεται ὄμβρω is mistranslated: «So-and-so is not an enemy of the rain» and the rest of the text runs as follows: «some answered to this, and proposed to place a sign, by putting a diacritical mark, on the expression *laysa*. This changes it[s sense], which assumes the function of an interrogative and its meaning becomes correct. In Agamemnon’s dream it is not Zeus who says to grant the glory but orders to the author of the dream (= the dreamer?) to grant the glory». The translation of the last example in the old version is explained through the following gloss: «regarding the dream, this means that Zeus ordered to grant this and that, i.e., did he order this? Or does it mean that Zeus ordered this, that is, he imposed, and this is expressed by an interrogative. And as for what comes before *al-ta‘ǧīm* (the insertion of diacritical marks) it is as if you were to say *lā ya‘batu* and *lā yaǧbatu* because this distinguishes between the two words by the dot while the first case by the form».⁷²

⁷¹ Lane 1863-1893, II 344.

⁷² MA Ġabr 938 n. 19 = MA Badawī III 806 n.1.

5.

10, 171a 9-11

ὁ δὲ ὅτι ἡ Ὀμήρου ποιήσις σχήμα διὰ τοῦ “κύκλος” ἐν τῷ συλλογισμῷ.

MA Ğabr 1002 = MA Badawī III 870 (Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī)

وأما التي بـ«شعر أوميروس الشكل الذي بالدائرة» ففي القياس.

Gloss to فبالقياس: ففي القياس

MA Ğabr 1003 = MA Badawī III 872 (‘Īsā ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Zur‘a)

وأما القول بأن «شعر أوميروس له شكل الدائرة» فإن ذلك يكون في القياس

MA Ğabr 1005 = MA Badawī III 874 (*naql qadīm*)

وقولك أنّ «شعر أوميروس إنّما هو من شكل بدائرة» فهذا بقول مُضِلّ بالمقياس.

CONTEXT:

In 171a 1-12 those who deal with confutations without having first defined the notion of syllogism, of which confutation is one kind, are criticised. Aristotle adds that the cause of an apparent confutation may lie in syllogism, in contradiction or both. To illustrate the first case, namely the confutation in which appearance is given in syllogism, Aristotle refers to Homeric poetry. The paralogism of the example is built on the ambiguity of κύκλος («cycle» / «circle»), the middle term of the syllogism and carrying two different meanings in the first and in the second premise: Homeric poetry is a cycle (κύκλος) / the κύκλος is a geometric figure (σχῆμα) / Homeric poetry is a geometric figure⁷³.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention of Homer and testimonium on the cyclical character of his poetry.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

With slight nuances the reference is correctly rendered by all three translators. Noteworthy is the expansion *bi-qawlin muḍillin bi-l-miqyāsi* for ἐν τῷ συλλογισμῷ in the old version.

6.

24, 180a 20-22

καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἥμισυ εἰπόντες τοῦ ἔπους “δὸς μοι Ἰλιάδα” σημαίνομεν, οἷον τὸ “μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά”.

MA Ğabr 1134 = MA Badawī III 998 (Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī)

وقلنا ليس يدلّ على «إيليدا» ابتداءؤها .

Gloss to ليليدا منيا ابد فأو: إيليدا

⁷³ Fait 2007, 146-147; Dorion 1995, 275.

MA Ġabr 1136 = MA Badawī III 1000 (‘Īsā ibn Ishāq ibn Zur‘a)

فأما إذا قلنا نصف سطر من شعر أوميروس فإننا ندلّ على «إيلياذا» – ومثال ذلك: «أذكر لي أيتها
الآلهة السخط المهلك لأخيلوس...».

المهلك 2 MS فلم coni. Badawī Ġabr | فإننا MS | صطل coni. Badawī Ġabr [سطر 1

con. Badawī Ġabr لمهلك MS

MA Ġabr 1138 = MA Badawī III 1002 (*naql qadīm*)

كقولنا: نصف بيت من الشعر، فإننا ندلّ به على كذا وكذا، وذاك أنّ المعنى مرسل على غير تحقيق.

CONTEXT:

The quotation is reported at the end of chapter 24, at the conclusion of the investigation on the fallacies generated by the alleged ambiguity of the genitive (180a 8-22), a topic related to the paralogism of the accident, which is analysed in this chapter.⁷⁴ Aristotle discusses whether the genitive can actually assume ambiguous meanings due to its double value, possessive and partitive, or rather whether, as Aristotle argues, the genitive as such has a possessive value and assumes a partitive meaning by omission of the term that governs the genitive. The fallacy, therefore, does not derive from a linguistic ambiguity, but from understanding what is said in some way (πῆ) – meaning, that is referred to a specific aspect – , like the partitive genitive, as something that is said in an absolute way (ἀπλώς), like the possessive genitive. An example of this is the erroneous inference that if «wisdom is a knowledge of evils» then «wisdom is of evils». In fact, this fallacy can generate the apparent paralogism «wisdom is a knowledge of evils / wisdom is of evils / but wisdom is a good / something of evils is good» (180a 8-9).⁷⁵ But, Aristotle continues, the omission of the term that governs the genitive is not to be understood as a linguistic ambiguity, because the phrase «the man is of the animals» (where one can think of an elision of «species» from «the man is a species of the animals») is not open to multiple interpretations (οὐ λέγεται πολλαχῶς) and the genitive here can only be partitive. The unambiguity of the omission is also shown by other cases not involving the genitive, such as the one that concerns us. It is not easy to determine what kind of omission Aristotle refers to with the example of the *Iliad* and whether it really provides support to strengthen his argument. Aristotle seems to argue that even by quoting only half of the first verse of the *Iliad*, omitting the second part of the verse, one would understand that one is referring to this Homeric poem. In truth, as Dorion points out, this particular case of synecdoche does not involve the same syntactic ambiguity that had emerged in the investigation on the use of the genitive. In fact, the omitted part of the verse does not compromise the univocal understanding of the meaning of the statement. This is rather a case

⁷⁴ The interpretation of this passage and its position in the Aristotelian classification of apparent refutations that are independent from linguistic expression has been variously discussed: Dorion 1995, 380-384; Fait 2007, 199-207, in particular 207; Schreiber 2003, ch. 7 and 8, in particular 146-148.

⁷⁵ Fait 2007, 206-207.

of substitution of the whole (the *Iliad*) with its specific part or aspect, but not with the omission of one or more linguistic elements that cause syntactical ambiguity.⁷⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention of the work and explicit author's isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁷⁷

As in previous instances, Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's translation «and we say: its incipit does not indicate *Iliad*» is incomplete and inaccurate. The negative *laysa*, has no counterpart in Greek, and might derive from a misreading of ἡμισυ as ἡμεῖς / οὐ (the latter deriving from a misreading of σ as ο, hence ἡμισυ > ἡμισ/συ > ἡμεῖς/οὐ), which also explains the use of *qulnā* for the participle εἰπόντες. Since the Aristotelian context does not specify that the quotation corresponds to the first words of the *Iliad*, the expression *ibtidā'uhā* «its incipit» appears to be an interesting addition, probably due to a gloss either in the Syriac translation used by Yaḥyā or in the Greek copy on which the Syriac translator relied. Both editors Badawī and Ğabr record in the apparatus the phrase *minīn abidi fā'ū* written in the mg. of the MS, but at the current stage of research it is not possible to tell whether it is part of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's translation or a marginal note added by a later reader who checked the text against another source. The Arabic *minīn abidi fā'ū* appears to be a corrupted transliteration of μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, where *abidi* was originally *aīdi* (=ἄειδε) and *fā'ū* might cover *thā'ū* (=θεά) or something alike. In any case, the Arabic outcome reveals the difficulty for the translator to interpret the poetic quotation.

Ibn Zur'a's version bears a problem analogous to Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's. Here too, we find the interpolation of a negative, since *fā-inna-nā* is a Badawī' conjecture for the transmitted *fā-lam*. This negative, however, did not arise from a misunderstanding of ἡμισυ, because the term is correctly translated with *nisf*. If we accept Badawī's correction, Ibn Zur'a's version reads: « In fact, when we say half a line of Homer's poem we indicate the *Iliad*, that is “tell me, goddess, the destructive wrath of Achilles”». Noteworthy are the use of the verb *dakara* for the Greek ἀείδω – which does not grasp the singing component of the epic poem but rather expresses the idea of recitation and narration – and, most importantly, the addition *al-muhlika li-Āḥīlūs* corresponding to Ἀχιλλῆος / οὐλομένην, namely the final part of v. 1 and the beginning of v. 2 of the *Iliad*. The added syntagma might come either from a gloss in the Greek MS that has been incorporated in the Syriac translation used by Ibn Zur'a or from the pen of the Syriac translator himself.⁷⁸

Finally, the old version runs as follows: «As we say: “half a line of the poem”, by it we mean so and so, for the meaning is absolute and non-standard». The quotation in this case is completely omitted and is replaced by the generic expression *ka-dā wa-ka-dā*. The final addition, while trying to reinforce Aristotle's argument, does not make sense and is self-contradictory. In fact, the translator uses *mursil* to render ἀπλῶς («absolutely, without qualification») and *'alā ḡayri taḥqīqi* to render μὴ κυρίως («non standardly»), but in the SE

⁷⁶ Dorion 1995, 383-384.

⁷⁷ For the analysis of these lines see also Kraemer 1956a, 264-265.

⁷⁸ For the knowledge of the *Iliad* in the Syriac milieu see chapter 1.

Aristotle uses ἀπλῶς and κυρίως as synonyms, as opposed to πῆ and ἐν μέρει, and hence to the non-κυρίως (see 5, 166b 37-167a 1 = MA Badawī III, 811).⁷⁹

2.3.1.5 *Rhetoric (Rh.)*

The only extant Arabic version of the *Rh.* is preserved in the *codex unicus* of the early 11th cent., MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ar. 2346, ff. 1v–65v. According to two of the notes accompanying this first section of the Parisian MS, the text of the *Rh.* was transcribed from a copy of Ibn al-Samḥ, who relied on an Arabic exemplar that he collated with another Arabic MS and a Syriac version of the *Rh.*⁸⁰ Neither the colophon nor the notes written partly in the mg. and partly at the end of the text⁸¹ provide information about the language from which the translation was made and its author. The *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm, on the other hand, enumerates three different versions, namely an anonymous old version (*naql qadīm*), a translation by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn and another one by Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Nāqid.⁸² Lexical and stylistic features, as well as some peculiar difficulties in the translations – such as an extreme literalism, the frequent use of obscure transliterations and misinterpretations of several passages – have led scholars to rule out the possibility that this version might have been produced by Ishāq or Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh. The hypothesis that the version of the Parisian MS is the old one mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm was advanced for the first time by Badawī and was then unanimously accepted by scholars. While a general consensus has been formed around the assumption that it dates back to a ‘pre-Ḥunayn stage’ (*qabla ‘aṣi Ḥunayn* in Badawī’s words) and probably to the Umayyad era, scholars have advanced different dating proposals none of which are definitive.⁸³

A yet unresolved issue concerns the role played by the Syriac tradition, and in particular whether the version that has come down to us was made from the Greek or from a preexisting Syriac version. Again, the evidence gathered by scholars is mostly indirect and does not allow us to go beyond the realm of hypotheses. Although the Syriac sources attest to an early knowledge of the *Rh.*,⁸⁴ none of them proves the existence of a Syriac version of the work prior

⁷⁹ See Fait 2007, 118; Schreiber 2003, 141-142.

⁸⁰ *Rh.* Lyons ii-iv.

⁸¹ These notes have been analysed several times (see Margoliouth 1897, 376; Georr 1948, 186-189; Stern 1956, 41-44; Lyons 1982 (= *Rh.* Lyons), ii-vi; Vagelpohl 2008, 42-44, 46-51) and the readings and interpretations given by the scholars differ significantly.

⁸² Flügel 1871-1872, I 250.1-3 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 164.15-16 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 26, Dodge 1970, 601 (Engl.).

⁸³ Georr 1984, 184 (early 9th cent.); Heinrichs 1969, 51; Badawī 1979 (= 1959), 3 = vii (early 9th cent.); *Rh.* Lyons i; Vagelpohl 2008, 45, 51. Vagelpohl concludes his analysis by noting: «On the basis of the findings outlined above, we are not in a position make a positive judgement about its translator(s). However, it provides us with enough material to place the text in close proximity to the Kindī-circle. The evidence clearly does not support an early, 8th cent. dating but suggests a translation date sometime in the first half of the 9th cent. Whichever member or associate of the Kindī-circle took on this task, it shows the mark of a comparatively inexperienced translator who had problems not only with the language of the *Rhetoric* but also with the cultural background required to understand it», Vagelpohl 2008, 207-208.

⁸⁴ In this respect J.W. Watt’s research on Antony of Tagrit is fundamental, starting from the edition and English translation of *The fifth book of the Rhetoric of Antony of Tagrit* published as volumes 480 and 481 of CSCO

to the indicative period in which the Arabic version would have been produced. Even the textual tradition provides little useful data in this regard. First, the notes concerning Ibn al-Samḥ's copy inform us only of the existence of a Syriac version in the 10th cent. used in the process of collation. Secondly, the many Syriacisms found in the Arabic version of the *Rh.* do not constitute sufficient evidence of Syriac derivation because they can be explained as lapses produced by the interference of the mother tongue of a Christian translator, or as interpolations that occurred in the textual tradition, perhaps at Ibn al-Samḥ's collation stage.⁸⁵ The only significant thesis in support of a Syriac *Vorlage* has been advanced by Watt. According to the latter, in compiling the section devoted to Aristotle's *Rh.* in his *Butyrum sapientiae* Bar Hebraeus relied not only on Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-šifā'* but also on Aristotle's text itself. Watt observed that, in the passages in which Bar Hebraeus is not paraphrasing Avicenna's words, in some instances the *Butyrum sapientiae* show close similarities to the Arabic version of the *Rh.*, in others it preserves segments omitted in Arabic and bears the transcription of some Greek terms that in our Arabic version of the *Rh.* are translated. These features would point to the existence of an early Syriac translation which had either been used as *Vorlage* of the Arabic version or had been made from a Greek copy very close to that used for the Arabic version.⁸⁶ Vagelpohl completed the picture by introducing a third possibility: «the Arabic translator, working from the Greek, may have consulted the same Syriac version which was subsequently used in Bar Hebraeus' *Butyrum*. Whatever the case, the evidence from the *Butyrum* suggests that a Syriac translation of the *Rhetoric* antedates Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq since it is at least as old as—if not older than—the Arabic translation».⁸⁷

The Arabic tradition of the *Rh.* features a long tradition of studies that has concerned both the Arabic version itself and its reception and has resulted in the preparation of critical editions, in investigations on textual aspects or in the linguistic examination of well-defined textual sections,⁸⁸ and in studies on the Arabic reception of Aristotle's work.⁸⁹ The reference critical edition is still the one published in 1982 by Lyons, who relied on the text of the Parisian MS, and took into account the emendations proposed by Margoliouth, by Panoussi, and by

in 1986. Useful overviews of key sources can be read in Aouad 2003, 456-457; Vagelpohl 2008, 54-60; Nicosia 2019, 269-271; Nicosia 2020, 63-74.

⁸⁵ See Aouad 2003, 457-458; Panoussi 2000, 234-235; Vagelpohl 2008, 60-61, 212-213. As sharply shown by Lyons and before him by Margoliouth, who took for granted the hypothesis of a Syriac-Arabic translation, some errors in the Arabic version can be explained only in the light of misinterpretations generated in Syriac or as confusion by homography or homophony in the transition from Syriac to Arabic; see Margoliouth 1897, 378-379; *Rh.* Lyons *passim* in his *Commentary*, see for instance below refs. 56, 63, 106, 114, 118, 149, 157.

⁸⁶ Watt 2005, 8, 22-29; restated in Watt 2018, in particular 119-120. The linguistic analysis in Nicosia 2019, 271-282 and Nicosia 2020, 74-88 is based on Watt's thesis.

⁸⁷ Vagelpohl 2008, 60.

⁸⁸ The third chapter of Vagelpohl's volume consists of a detailed linguistic analysis of 1403b 6-1412a 16 (with a special focus on 1403b 6-1404a 39). One textual aspect that has intrigued scholars is the Arabic translation and interpretation of the ὑπόκρισις, addressed by Woerther 2015a (see also Woerther 2015b) and Vagelpohl 2016, 169-170. Another example of a brief study focused on short textual portions is Moseley 2020.

⁸⁹ In the extensive bibliography on this subject the name of Maroun Aouad stands out, having investigated the works of al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Riḍwān, Ibn Rušd and Ibn Ṭumlūs. Most notable is the 3-volume edition with French translation of Ibn Rušd's *Talḥiṣ al-ḥaṭāba* that appeared in 2002. Important studies on reception, particularly in al-Fārābī and Ibn Rušd, have also been published by Frédérique Woerther; see for instance Woerther 2018. Concerning the *Rh.* of the *Kitāb al-Šifā'* see Würsch 1991 and Celli 2018.

Sālim in the textual segments of the Arabic version reported by the latter in his 1967 edition of Ibn Rušd's *Middle commentary* on Aristotle's *Rh.* (*Talḥīṣ al-ḥaṭāba*). Lyons also used the earlier edition by Badawī (1959) and compared the Arabic text with Ibn Rušd's *Talḥīṣ al-ḥaṭāba* and the Arabic-Latin version of Hermannus Almannus prepared in 1256.⁹⁰

The analysis of the poetic references contained in the Arabic version of the *Rh.* involved challenges of various kinds. First of all, the selection and identification of the references to be analysed was not as simple and straightforward as for the other works of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*. This is due not so much to the frequency with which Aristotle refers to the poetic heritage in the *Rh.*, but especially to the function that some of these references take on in the context of this writing. The greatest difficulties are not found in those references introduced for didactic-exemplification purposes, as is the case in most of Aristotle's treatises, but in the first chapters of book Γ of the *Rh.*, whose continuity with the *Poetics* is well known to scholars. The strong similarities between poetic and rhetorical art are consistently highlighted in the examination of the λέξις that occupies chapters Γ 1-12, as well as in the investigation of the ὑπόκρισις («delivery» in oratory and «recitation» in the theatrical frame) in Γ 1, in the exposition of the defects of rhetorical language when it becomes too poetic through excessive artifice exposed in Γ 3, or in the review of rhythms to assess which ones also fit prose in Γ 8.⁹¹

Although the Greek poetic tradition is the prerequisite for reading, interpreting, and thus also translating these chapters as a whole, our analysis has been limited to the references chosen according to the selection principles already stated.⁹²

Similarly problematic was the choice of whether to examine three references (1374b 36-1375a 2; 1416a 15-17; 1419a 26-30) that bear testimonia on the figure of the proboulos Sophocles. Since the identification of this Sophocles with the tragedian is far from certain and still debated today,⁹³ I decided not to include the three passages in the present analysis. In any case, even if one were to admit that the Sophocles mentioned here is the playwright, the passages contain biographical anecdotes, with no references to his poetic activity, and the texts are translated into Arabic with no additional notes (*Rh.* Lyons 72.2, 208.12, 221.16).

A second difficulty concerns the state of preservation of the only surviving copy of the Arabic version. It is sufficient to leaf through Lyons' edition to notice that the text is accompanied in many places by asterisks, with which the editor indicates the points where the MS is illegible due to material damage, resulting in the loss of one or more words of the translation (marked with * * and here replaced by cruces disperationis †...†), or a very uncertain reading of the graphemes (Lyons places these words between asterisks, a graphic

⁹⁰ *Rh.* Lyons xvi-xxv.

⁹¹ See Woerther 2017.

⁹² Also in accordance with the above criteria, the oracle reported at 1407a 39 is not included in our analysis, though it is covered in Lyons' examination of poetic quotations in the Arabic *Rh.*; see Lyons 2002, 201. Moraitou 1994, 131 classified the passage 1390b 9-11 as a poetic reference, seeing in it an echo of Solon's theory attested in fr. 27 West. However, the parallel is too vague to be considered a full-fledged testimonium and scholars are cautious about Aristotle's dependence on Solon's elegy: Cope, Sandys 1877, II 160; Gastaldi 2014, 489; see the commentary on the whole elegiac fragment in Noussia-Fantuzzi 2010, 369-378. For this reason it is not examined here.

⁹³ See Avery 1973; Bearzot 1997, 178-179.

solution maintained in the present analysis). Given these difficulties and considering the progressive deterioration of the MS,⁹⁴ Lyons' edition remains the most reliable and complete witness for the reconstruction of the Arabic translation, in the hope that a new exemplar will emerge. In my analysis, therefore, I have followed Lyons' interpretation, although the defective state of the text in some cases prevents in some cases to conduct a satisfactory analysis of the Arabic version. Finally, because of the long lacuna corresponding to 1412a 16–1415a 4, due to a missing *folio*,⁹⁵ the poetic references contained in the following passages have not been analysed: 1412a 23-24; 1412a 30-32; 1412b 14-21; 1412b 36-1413a 1; 1413a 6-14; 1413a 25-28; 1413a 31-35; 1413b 13-14; 1413b 25-29; 1414a 2-3; 1415a 3-4.

The last challenge concerns the poor quality of the translation itself, which seems to be due in part to the well-known elliptical language of Aristotle's exposition and the inexperience of the translator, and in part to the Greek MS from which the Arabic version was taken.⁹⁶ As Vagelpohl observes: «Often enough, the Aristotle's prose was simply beyond the translator's grasp. On occasion, he had to resort to extremely close imitations of the Greek text's word order in an attempt to squeeze some sense out of a passage. This happened frequently when extensive background knowledge about Greek literature, history and geography was required to understand the text. This knowledge was often not available to the translator. In combination with other issues, his unfamiliarity with much of the subject matter discussed in the *Rhetoric* caused substantial departures from the Greek text [...]».⁹⁷ It is clear that most of the passages selected in the present analysis constitute precisely those interpretative nodes in which the translator's exegetical ability has given way to a hyperliteral rendering of the text or to guesswork that has inevitably departed from the original sense.

As already anticipated, the Arabic version of the *Rhetoric* contains the highest number of poetic references among the texts analysed in this chapter, as many as 162 references out of the total 282 and covers much of my overall survey of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*. The following analysis not only evaluates and accepts the proposals of correction and exegesis to the text by Margoliouth, Panoussi, Sālim and others, but above all follows and integrates Dunlop's commentary on his critical edition, already very thorough, but not focused on poetic references.

Aristotle's *Rh.* is cited in the edition by William D. Ross, *Aristotelis ars rhetorica*, Oxford 1959 (repr. 1964). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker's edition.

⁹⁴ See *Rh.* Lyons xxiv; Vagelpohl 2008, 41 n. 2.

⁹⁵ *Rh.* Lyons xiii.

⁹⁶ See *Rh.* Lyons xvi; Vagelpohl 2016, 169. In fact, in one of the notes transcribed in the Parisian MS Ibn al-Samḥ complains that «not many students of the art of logic have arrived at a study of this book or have investigated it satisfactorily. For that reason there is not to be found any sound copy or anything that has been corrected. I did find an Arabic copy that was very defective indeed and then I found another Arabic copy less defective than the first», English translation in *Rh.* Lyons iii (Arabic transcription at ii). Therefore, it is legitimate to think that the Arabic translator had already encountered difficulties similar to those of Ibn al-Samḥ (who does not specify whether the sound or corrected copies that he was looking for were of Greek, Syriac or Arabic texts) in finding first of all a satisfactory copy of the Greek text, but also of exegetical material.

⁹⁷ Vagelpohl 2008, 206; see also *Rh.* Lyons xii-xiii and Vagelpohl 2016, 166-171.

1.

A 3, 1359a 3-5

οἶον Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐπαινοῦσιν ὅτι ἐβοήθησε τῷ ἑταίρῳ Πατρόκλῳ εἰδῶς ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἐξόν ζῆν. τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν τοιοῦτος θάνατος κάλλιον, τὸ δὲ ζῆν συμφέρον.

Rh. Lyons 17.19-21

كما يُمدَح أخيلوس حين نصر فطروقلوس صاحبه، وهو يعلم أنه يموت بسببه ولا يحيًا فالموت لهذا هاهنا أحسن والحياة هي النافعة له.

CONTEXT:

After introducing the three genres of oratory and their specific purposes, Aristotle points out the preeminence of the objective proper to each genre over any other purpose. Therefore, if the aim of the epideictic genre is the beautiful and the ugly, whoever delivers a speech of praise or blame will focus on these two values, while they will not care whether the noble action (ὁ τι καλόν) involved in his praise is concurrently disadvantageous (or harmful), since the latter is one of the two aims of deliberative discourse. A fitting example are the praises dedicated to Achilles for having sacrificed his life to protect Patroclus' body and avenge his death. Indeed, the noble gesture of heroic death is judged more beautiful («κάλλιον») than life, which was more advantageous («συμφέρον»). The reference to this mythological episode, well known to the Athenian public, is a *topos* and finds several parallels, listed by Cope, including Pl. *Smp.* 179e, *Ap.* 28c-d, and Isoc. *Paneg.* 53, the latter referring explicitly, as Aristotle does, to those who praise (ἐπαινοῦσιν) Achilles' gesture.⁹⁸ The common model to all the sources is generally recognised in a group of verses from Book 18 of the *Iliad*, viz. an exchange of words between Achilles and his mother Thetis in *Il.* Σ 94-126 (vv. 98-99 are central when compared with the text of Aristotle). It is not easy to establish whether Aristotle implicitly alludes to one of the antecedents (Plato or Isocrates) or refers directly to the Homeric passage.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium. The reference is inserted within a comparative incidental proposition introduced by οἶον.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁹⁹

Despite some misunderstandings, the translation adheres to the syntactic structure of the original, excluding the paratactic rendering of the participle forms (εἰδῶς = *wa-huwa ya'lamu*; for the rendering of ἐξόν see *infra*). The transliteration of proper nouns (*Aḡilaws* and *Faṭrūqlūs*) is modelled on the nominative (Ἀχιλλεύς ἑ Πάτροκλος). The adverb οἶον is rendered as *ka-mā*.

Lyons points out some departures from the original. First, δεῖ αὐτόν is misread as δι' αὐτοῦ and rendered with *bi-sababihi*. However, it would be preferable to assume δι' αὐτόν behind the Arabic *bi-sababihi*, keeping the accusative of δεῖ αὐτόν, for the causal nuance is better expressed by διά with accusative (especially with animate referents), while διά with genitive

⁹⁸ Cope, *Sandys* 1877, I 55. See also Grimaldi 1980-1988, I 84.

⁹⁹ See *Rh. Lyons* 242.

would instead build an agent or instrument complement.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, in correspondence with the syntagma ἐξὸν ζῆν one reads in Arabic *wa-lā yaḥyā*, «and not live», which depends on *wa-huwa ya'lamu annahū*. The outcome in Arabic could derive from a misinterpretation of the ending -ον of ἐξὸν for the negation οὐ. Also the adverb *hāhunā*, «here», for the demonstrative adjective τοιοῦτος is an inconsistency with the Greek. Finally, one can observe the final addition of *la-hū*, which repeats *li-hada*, already used to translate τοῦτω.

2.

A 6, 1362b 35-36

διὸ εἴρηται

ἢ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος.

Rh. Lyons 30.23-31.1

وما أحسن ما يُحكى عن فرياموس أنه قال حين انصرف عن الأعداء وسرَّ سرورًا عظيمًا لانصرافه عن

عدوه

CONTEXT:

In A 6 Aristotle observes that, since the useful (τὸ συμφέρον) – being the particular purpose of deliberative discourse – is good, those who deliberate deliberate on the means to achieve this good which is also useful. A preliminary distinction of the various forms of good is between those on which there is common agreement and those which are the subject of discussion (1362b 29-31). When the latter are the object of deliberative discourse, it is necessary to employ arguments that can help to demonstrate their validity, and that are based on certain commonplaces or *topoi*. At 1362b 30-32 Aristotle states that what whose contrary is bad is good and, for the most part (1362b 37-1363a 1), also what whose contrary is useful to our enemies is good for us. An example of the latter specification is a short Homeric quotation (*Il. A 255*, «Surely would Priam exult»)¹⁰¹ in which Nestor reminds Agamemnon and Achilles that internal discord always benefits enemies.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁰²

The Arabic rendering reads: «How well is it narrated about Priam that he said when he was turning away from the enemies and was very happy to have turned away from the enemy».¹⁰³ The Greek text is expanded and reinterpreted, perhaps due to the interpolation of one or more explanatory glosses in the original MS referring to the flight from the enemy and/or

¹⁰⁰ For this aspect see Luraghi 1994, 227-237.

¹⁰¹ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁰² See *Rh. Lyons* 255.

¹⁰³ See also Lyons 2002, 201.

paraphrasing Nestor's words in the Homeric passage. The introductory lemma is translated as if it were διὸ εὖ εἴρηται.

3., 4.

A 6, 1363a 5-7

ὄθεν ταῦτ' εἴρηται “κάδ δέ κεν εὐχολήν Πριάμω” καὶ “αἰσχρόν τοι δηρόν τε μένειν”. καὶ ἡ παροιμία δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ θύραις τὴν ὕδριαν.

Rh. Lyons 31.9-12

كالذي صار إليه فرياموس كما يحكى الشاعر عنه فيقول إنه كان من فرياموس خشوع وضرع، فأن كان قبيحاً قليلاً حيث كان يرى أصحابه الكرب الذي كان فيه يغتته حريق آنية على باب المدينة

CONTEXT:

To illustrate that what is obtained at the price of many efforts is good, Aristotle quotes two Homeric verses, followed by a proverb of similar meaning. The first verse, *Il. B 160* = *B 176*, bears some of the words with which Hera suggests to Athena to persuade Odysseus to stop the Greek soldiers from fleeing to the ships, reminding him that their defection would be a source of pride for Priam and all the Trojans. The same words are repeated by Athena in her warning to Odysseus. As has been variously noted,¹⁰⁴ to understand what Aristotle means by referring to this poetic segment the reader should recall the entire Homeric passage and not only the words quoted here. The second reference «it were a shame to have tarried so long»¹⁰⁵ is taken from *Il. B 298*, when Odysseus addresses Agamemnon emphasising that to return home at that point, empty-handed (see the conclusion of v. 298: *κενὸν τε νέεσθαι*, omitted here) would be a source of shame. Even the proverb illustrates the – failed – achievement of something good through many efforts, such as those who, having gone to the well or to a spring to fill the jar with water, break it right in front of the house.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The two quotations are explicit, anonymous, serial and correlated by *καί*, literal and incomplete monostich. The introductory lemma presents the usual formulation with the *verbum dicendi* εἴρηται.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁰⁶

The Arabic version departs from the Greek. This might be due to some textual problems in the Greek copy that made the text unclear and forced the translator to interpret freely or maybe to add an explicative gloss. Lyons translates as follows: «Like that to which Priam came, as the poet tells of him, saying that Priam made humble supplication and that he/it is ugly and small, where his companions used to see the grief into which he was plunged by the burning of containers at the city gate». Not only the two distinct quotations, but also the final proverb,

¹⁰⁴ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*; Cope, Sandys 1877, I 109.

¹⁰⁵ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁰⁶ See *Rh. Lyons* 255-256.

are understood as a single reference with Priam as its subject, with consequent alterations and adjustments far from the original meaning. Given the difficulty in reconstructing the misunderstandings that led from *αἰσχρόν τοι δηρόν τε μένειν* to the Arabic *fa-an kāna qabīhan qalīlan* Lyons argues that «the translator may simply have been guessing». It is interesting to note the addition of the subject *al-šā'ir* to the verb *yaḥkā* which corresponds to the Greek εἴρηται, which suggests a certain awareness (likely derived from some gloss) that the fragments are taken from a poetic source.

5.

A 6, 1363a 14-15

διὸ λελοιδορήσθαι ὑπέλαβον Κορίνθιοι ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου ποιήσαντος
Κορινθίους δ' οὐ μέμφεται τὸ Ἴλιον.

Rh. Lyons 31

—

CONTEXT:

Another notion of good among those listed in A 6 involves what even the enemies and the worthless praise (1363a 11). The verse by Simonides («Against the Corinthians hath Ilium no complaint», fr. 67 Page [PMG 572])¹⁰⁷ corroborates (see the conjunction διὸ) the thesis: the fact that Simonides does not count the Corinthians among the enemies of Troy devalues their contribution to the war and represents them as marginal or even insignificant adversaries.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, monostich. In the introductory lemma the reference is attributed to its author and linked (through διὸ) to the theoretical context, but it also contains a testimonium on the reception of Simonides' verse, namely the allusion to the resentment of the Corinthians for how they were pictured by the poet.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translator omits the entire reference, including the introductory paragraph.

6.

A 6, 1363a 17-19

καὶ δ' τῶν φρονίμων τις ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν προέκρινεν, οἷον Ὀδυσσεύα
Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ἑλένην Θησεύς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αἰθεαὶ καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς Ὀμηρος.

Rh. Lyons 31.16-19

ثمّ من تقدّم فاختر إنسان من العقلاء أو من الخيار من الرجال والنساء كما اختار أوميروس أودوسوس
الأثينى والأنى والإسكندر وأخلس.

¹⁰⁷ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

ما [من 1 tempt. Lyons in app.

CONTEXT:

A further kind of good consists of what is chosen by a wise or noble individual. The statement is followed by three mythological examples linked to the Trojan cycle, namely Athena's inclination toward Odysseus, Theseus' inclination toward Helen, the goddesses' inclination toward Alexander Paris, and a reference to Homer's predilection for Achilles.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference to the Trojan cycle and the *Iliad* (in the words Ἀχιλλέα "Ὀμηρος), with a testimonium on Homer.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁰⁸

As Lyons points out, *tumma man* would suggest that the translator read καὶ ὄν instead of καὶ ὄ, but the Arabic text could also be corrected into *tumma mā*, covering καὶ ὄ. The verb προέκρινεν is rendered with the hendiadys *taqaddama fa-htāra*. The repetition of the verb *ihtāra* in Arabic makes explicit the implied verb in the comparative incidental proposition. According to Lyons' translation the Arabic reads: «Homer chose Odysseus the Athenian, Helen, Alexander and Achilles». The accusative Ἀθηνᾶ is rendered as a nisba adjective attributed to Odysseus, while Θησεύς and αἰ θεαί are not transliterated. As commonly happens, all the transliterations are based on the nominative of the Greek names.

7.

A 7, 1364a 27-28

ὄθεν λέγεται

ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ.

Rh. Lyons 35.12

ومن هاهنا يقال الماء خيراً

CONTEXT:

This brief quotation is part of the discussion of the commonplace of the more and the less. In 1364a 23-27 Aristotle argues that what is rarer, because it is difficult to obtain, is greater than what is abundant. In this sense gold is superior to iron. But, he adds, the opposite principle may also apply, whereby often (πολλάκις) is superior to rarely (ὀλιγάκις). An example of this is the opening of the first *Olympian* by Pindar, here quoted anonymously. In v. 1 of this ode the poet exalts water as a supreme good, and then mentions gold – which Aristotle implicitly refers to in his argument – as one of the best goods.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ See *Rh.* Lyons 256.

¹⁰⁹ Gastaldi 2014, 399.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich. The introductory lemma presents the usual wording with the *verbum dicendi* λέγεται.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

In the Arabic version the superlative (ἄριστον) is not expressed and simplified into *hayran*.

8.

A 7, 1365a 11-15

ὄθεν καὶ ὁ ποιητῆς φησι πείσαι τὸν Μελέαγρον ἀναστήναι
ὄσσα κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστῳ ἀλώη·
λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,
τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσιν.

Rh. Lyons 38.6-8

ومن هاهنا قال الشاعر إنّ المدينة ستلقى من مالاغروس شرورًا والناس كلهم إذا افتتحت المدينة وفسد
الأقوام واحرقت المدينة بالنار عن آخرها واغترب بالأولاد.

Badawī انجرت الاولاد MS Salim واعترف بالاولاد conī. Lyons [واغترب بالأولاد 2

deplorabuntur Hermannus (ex عرا tempt. Lyons in app.)

CONTEXT:

The *topos* of the more and the less also includes an indication of the ways in which it is possible to make something appear bigger. One of these strategies is to divide something into its constituent parts, as Homer – here alluded to as “the poet” – does, when he speaks of Meleager in *Il.* I 592-594 («All horrors that light on a folk whose city is ta'en of their foes, / When they slaughter the men, when the burg is wasted with ravening flame, / When strangers are haling young children to thralldom»).¹¹⁰ In an attempt to convince Achilles to take up arms again, Phoenix utters a long exhortation, in which even the story of Meleager is related, by virtue of its assonance with that of Achilles. Meleager, angry with his mother, decides to withdraw from battle, and only when his wife enumerates the misfortunes that would befall his family and his people – as can be seen in these verses – he decides to desist.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, polystich made of two complete verses and a third incomplete verse. The introductory lemma provides a form of contextualization, ascribing the quotation to “the poet” and briefly paraphrasing the myth of Meleager.

¹¹⁰ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹¹¹

The introductory paragraph and the first verse of the quotation are merged and misinterpreted («the poet said: “the city will meet with evils from Meleager, together with all the people when the city is captured»), while the syntactically more linear rendering of the second verse is correct. The expression πῶρ ἀμαθύνει is emphatically translated *uhriqat bi-l-nāri* ‘*an āhīrihā* «was completely burnt by fire», where the active diathesis of the verb is made passive and «the city», which has the function of direct object in Greek, becomes the subject in Arabic. The last verse is rendered imprecisely and paraphrased as «the children are taken abroad». The verb *īḡtaraba*, however, is a conjecture by Lyons based on the Greek ἄλλοι ἄγουσιν, while the reading of the MS is not clear, and the outcome in the Latin translation by Hermannus Alemannus does not help, since it bears *deplorabuntur* which might come from ‘*azā*, as suggested by Lyons.¹¹²

9.

A 7, 1365a 16

καὶ τὸ συντιθέναι δὲ καὶ ἐποικοδομεῖν, ὥσπερ Ἐπίχαρμος,

Rh. Lyons 38.9

ثمّ التركيب والبناء كمثّل ما قيل في قصّة افبخاراموس،

CONTEXT:

This reference is linked to the theme of the previous passage (the topic of the more and the less). Two other means through which things may appear bigger consist in combining (συντιθέναι) different thing and piling them up (ἐποικοδομεῖν), two techniques used by the comic poet Epicharmus.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic expands the Greek wording. The identity of Epicharmus seems to be unknown to the translator, since he adds «what is said in the story of Epicharmus». The spirantization of the intervocalic π and the long vowel inserted between ρμ in the transliteration of Ἐπίχαρμος as *Afiḡārāmūs* may be a Syriacism or may mirror the transliteration of a hypothetical Syriac *Vorlage*.¹¹³ The conjunction ὥσπερ is rendered as *ka-mitli* (*mā*).

¹¹¹ See *Rh. Lyons* 263.

¹¹² See also Lyons 2002, 203.

¹¹³ See similar phenomena in ref. 1 DA and in ref. 1 *Cael*.

10.

A 7, 1365a 23-27

ὄθεν καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τῷ ὀλυμπιονίκῃ·

πρόσθε μὲν ἄμφ' ὠμοισιν ἔχων τραχεῖαν ἄσιλλαν
ἰχθύς ἐξ Ἄργους εἰς Τεγέαν ἔφερον,

Rh. Lyons 38.17-21

ومن هاهنا ما يزيد فيكتب في صفة المفيونيقيوس أولًا على منكبيه عبثًا وأنه حامل جزءًا من الحوت الذي
يُسمّى أرغوس وأنه طرحه على الأرض، ثم أنه الآن غلب في العدو، أي في المسابقة، إذ هم كافون عن
العناء

MS أو Lyons coni. [أولًا] | Badawī المعتق بنفسه MS المعونعس Lyons coni. [المفيونيقيوس 1

MS Badawī | الخوف Lyons coni. [الحوت] Badawī

CONTEXT:

Aristotle remarks at 1365a 18-23 that the greater an endeavour the greater the good that is achieved through it, which is a declination of the *topos* of the more and the less. Hence contingent factors – such as occasion, age, place, time, power of the person carrying out the action – should always be considered, since those who perform actions that go beyond their power or age obtain greater good. The quotation, «In time past, bearing a yoke on my shoulders, of wood unshaven, / I carried my loads of fish from Argos to Tegea town»,¹⁴ is taken from an epigram attributed to Simonides (fr. 41 Page [FGE]) for an Olympic victor, in which the poet highlights the athlete's humble origins.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, complete distich. The introductory lemma provides a testimonium about the poetic form and the fact that the poem celebrates a victory at the Olympian Games.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁵

The translation is inaccurate in several places. First, ἐπίγραμμα is broken down into ἐπί / γράμμα and reinterpreted, while ὀλυμπιονίκη is simply transliterated. The text reads: «Therefore what is added [derived from ἐπί] and written in the description of *ulumfūnīqūs*». In the translation of the distich πρόσθε is misread (the MS bears *aw*, «or», corrected into *awwalan* by Lyons), τραχεῖαν ἄσιλλαν is interpreted as *'ib'an*, Ἄργους is taken as a sort of apposition to ἰχθύς, Τεγέαν is understood as τήν / γέαν (γῆν), and the verb ἔφερον is translated as a 3rd pers. singular (and consequently all other verbs in the translation). Moreover, the

¹⁴ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁵ See *Rh. Lyons* 263-264.

Arabic text expands the Greek original based on a gloss, with the following outcome: «first on his shoulders a load, and he was carrying a portion of the fish called *argūs* and he threw it onto the ground. Then it was that he now won in the running, that is the race, as they were desisting from toil».¹¹⁶ No source in the Greek tradition specifies who this athlete was or in which discipline he won (based on the reference to the shoulders some modern commentators have thought about *pankration*), so we have no direct evidence of a gloss which might have provided information similar to the addition in the Arabic text.¹¹⁷

11.

A 7, 1365a 30

ὄθεν καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς φησιν “αὐτοδίδακτος δ’ εἰμί”.

Rh. Lyons 39.2-3

ولذلك ما يقول الشاعر إنِّي معلّم من ذاتي، أيّ حاذق من طباعي.

CONTEXT:

The example, taken from *Od.* χ 347, falls into the category of *topos* that has been described in the previous passage and exemplified by the quotation from Simonides – followed by a reference to the Athenian general Iphicrates (which I omitted, being in prose). Here Aristotle adds that the greater the effort of learning, the greater the good that is obtained from it. This is confirmed by a Homeric verse, which is pronounced by the *aidos* Phemius, who, upon Odysseus’ return, fears that his old master may punish him with death for having entertained the Proci with his singing. So, he remembers how he learned the art of poetry on his own (αὐτοδίδακτος δ’ εἰμί).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author’s isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich. It is introduced by a generic allusion to Homer as ὁ ποιητὴς and the *verbum dicendi*.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹¹⁸

The rendering of the reference is correct. The term αὐτοδίδακτος is first translated as «self-taught» and then explained through the gloss «that is naturally intelligent».¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ See also Lyons 2002, 203.

¹¹⁷ The MS A (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 1741) of the *Rhetoric* and the *schol. Anon. in Aristot. Rh.* A, 7 1365a 28 add a third verse of the epigram, which is: νῦν δὲ κράτος φέρομαι μετὰ πᾶσιν ὀλυμπιονίκαις. See Bravi 2006, 105-107.

¹¹⁸ See *Rh.* Lyons 264.

¹¹⁹ See also Lyons 2002, 201.

12.

A 9, 1367a 8-16

ὥσπερ καὶ Σαπφῶ πεποιήκεν, εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀλκαίου

θέλω τι εἰπῆν, ἀλλὰ με κωλύει
αἰδῶς,
αἰ δ' ἦχες ἐσθλῶν ἴμερον ἢ καλῶν
καὶ μή τι εἰπῆν γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κακόν
αἰδῶς κέν σε οὐκ εἶχεν ὄμματ',
ἀλλ' ἔλεγεσ περὶ τῷ δικαίῳ.

καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀγωνιῶσι [...]

ἦχες] ἦχες+ές corr. A ἴκες BY εἶχες Q αἰθ' ἦχες ἐς Σ

Rh. Lyons 44.24-45.2

كالذي فعلت سفا حين قال القاوس: إنني أريد أن أقول شيئاً لكنّ الحياء يمنعني، فإنّها الفيت حليلة
ودیعة ولم ينطق لسانها بخنى ولا قبيح، لأنّها كانت تستحي من ذلك ولا خطر ببالها أن أحداً كان يتخذها
مثلاً أو يجرى عليها المعاني، لكنّها كانت تبصر وتقول الحسنة التي عنها كانت تجاهد ومن معها

CONTEXT:

Within the discussion of the epideictic discourse in chapter A 9 Aristotle lists deeds and things that pertain to the beautiful and the ugly (καλόν / αἰσχρόν) – and so to virtue and vice – which is the aims of the speeches on praise and blame (1366a 23-25, 33-1366b 1). Among the actions that are defined as praiseworthy is the opposite of what one is ashamed of, since one is ashamed of what is ugly (τὰ γὰρ αἰσχροὶ αἰσχύνονται; 1367a 6-8). The shame (the archaic key-term αἰδῶς) that something ugly arouses¹²⁰ is the core of the poetic fragment quoted here, which stages a dialogue between Alcaeus and Sappho (Sapph. fr. 20 Lobel-Page [137]), as explained by Aristotle himself: «So when Alcaeus said “Something I fain would say to thee, / Only shame restraineth me,” Sappho wrote “If for things good and noble thou wert yearning, / If to speak baseness were thy tongue not burning, / No load of shame would on thine eyelids weigh; / What thou with honour wishest thou wouldst say».¹²¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, polystich. The introductory lemma provides a testimonium, not only mentioning the authors but also alluding to the dynamics of dialogue.

¹²⁰ See Gastaldi 2014, 413.

¹²¹ Roberts 2014, *ad loc.*

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹²²

The Arabic version reads: «as Sappho did when Alcaeus said: I want to say something but shame restrains me. For she was found to be gentle and mild and her tongue spoke no obscene or foul word. For she was abashed at that and it did not occur to her that anyone would take her/these things as an example or produce meanings for her/them, but she was looking and she was making fair speeches, about which she was struggling and those with her».¹²³

The perfect *πεποίηκεν*, here meaning «to write poetry», is trivialised in *fa'alat*.

The first two lines of the quotation are translated correctly, while the rest departs from the original. First, all the references to the second pers. singular (referred to Sappho) are replaced by the third pers. singular feminine. As for the verse αἰ δ' ἦχες ἐσθλῶν ἴμερον ἢ καλῶν, the words αἰ δ' ἦχες and ἴμερον have no counterpart in Arabic, while the rest of the phrase is freely reinterpreted and referred to Sappho. Indeed, the hendiadys *ḥalīma wadī'a* seemingly render the semantics of the Greek ἐσθλῶν...ἢ καλῶν, but the casus and genus of these adjectives is ignored.

In the fourth line of the quotation ἐκύκα is not translated, while κακόν is rendered with the hendiadys (*bi-*)*ḥanan wa-lā qabīh*. As for the last two verses, the Arabic version bears hardly any resemblance to the original. Lyons tried to explain the segment «and it did not occur...produce meaning for her/them» by speculating the interpolation of a gloss, maybe reading something similar to Anonym. *In Rh.*: CAG XXI 2, 51.22, Rabe: τίθησι δὲ παράδειγμα τῶν ἐφ' οἷς αἰσχύνεται τις.

The Greek καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀγωνιώσι is wrongly linked to the quotation as a relative clause and the verb third pers. plur. is translated as a third pers. sing. fem. The Arabic *man ma'hā* might be an attempt to render the plural of the verb ἀγωνιώσι.

13., 14.

A 9, 1367b 18-21

καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὀλυμπιονίκου

πρόσθε μὲν ἀμφ' ὁμοισιν ἔχων τραχείαν,

καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σιμωνίδου

ἢ πατρός τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὔσα τυράννων.

Rh. Lyons 46.23-47.2

أو في السفينونقيس وما قيل إنه ينبغي أن يزداد فيكون في صفته ما على المنكبين أو سمونيدس حيث قيل

للأب ولإخوة الرجل من الساطورائيتين

¹²² *Rh. Lyons* 268-269.

¹²³ See also the translation given in Lyons 2002, 204.

CONTEXT:

Whoever delivers an epideictic speech must take the audience into account and therefore praise those actions considered beautiful and praiseworthy by the listener. Hence, it is necessary to praise an individual not only when he performs beautiful actions in continuity with the past, i.e. in accordance with the virtuous actions performed by his ancestors, but also to exalt him when he is able to distinguish himself from his ancestors, exceeding the limits of his starting conditions. The argument is similar to that put forward in *Rh.* A 7, 1365a 19-29 (partially analysed as ref. 10), where the same examples are repeated, namely the self-praise of Iphicrates (which I omitted, being in prose) and Simonides' epigram for the winner at the Olympic Games. Here Aristotle adds the quotation of another verse by Simonides (fr. 26 Page [FGE]), part of a funeral epigram for Archedike, daughter of the Pisistratid Hippias, who had been given in marriage to the tyrant of Lampsacus Aeantides. In the epigram engraved on her tomb, Archedike herself declares that she was the daughter, wife and sister of tyrants. It should be noted that the attribution of the funeral epigram to Simonides is based only on this passage (see, for instance, Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* VI, 59 which reports the entire composition but anonymously).¹²⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit serial literal quotations. The first is an incomplete monostich, that, in all likelihood, has been left suspended deliberately to recall the previous passage A 7, 1365a 24-27, where the verse was quoted in full together with the subsequent verse. Even the introductory lemma is more concise than that in A 7: it gives a testimonium about the poem (the celebration of a victorious athlete), without spelling out that it is an epigram. Like the first occurrence of this reference, it is anonymous. The second quotation is a complete monostich and is explicitly ascribed to Simonides through the *genitivus auctoris*.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹²⁵

The rendering of the first verse is problematic, similarly to *Rh.* A 7, 1365a 24-27 = ref. 10 (pp. 99-100). The genitive *δλυμπιονίκου* is simply transliterated (the differences from the first occurrence can be explained as a corruption of the transmitted text). It is plausible that the translator read *προσθετέον* instead of *πρόσθε μέν*, from which the addition of a modal verb in Arabic may derive. The latter is followed by a *verbum dicendi* (a form of the verb *qāla*) to introduce the quotation. The verb *yuzdāda* seems to be added by analogy with 1365a 24, where the translator used the same root due to the misunderstanding of *ἐπίγραμμα* as *ἐπί / γράμμα*. The term *τραχειαν* is not translated. Finally, the syntagma *τ' οὔσα τυράνων* is taken as *του / σα τυράνων*. The translation runs as follows: «or about *alsfūnqīs* and the saying that should be

¹²⁴ Gastaldi 2014, 415-416.

¹²⁵ See *Rh.* Lyons 270-271.

added and in its/his description “that which is on the shoulders” or Simonides where it is said “to the father and the brothers of the man from al-Sāṭūrāniyyīn». ¹²⁶

15.

A 11, 1370a 10

διὸ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον λυπηρόν, καὶ ὀρθῶς εἴρηται
πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πράγμα' ἀνιαρόν ἔφου,

Rh. Lyons 55.7-8

فبحقّ ما قيل إنّ الاضطرار محزن مؤدى، لأنّ كلّ أمر يكون باضطرار هو مؤدى

CONTEXT:

Within the section A 10-15 on the judicial genre, chapter 11 deals with the definition of pleasure – and its opposite, pain –, which is, together with advantage, one of the reasons why injustice is committed (see A 10). At 1370a 9 Aristotle states that pleasant is what is not due to constriction (τὸ μὴ βίαιον), for constriction is against nature and therefore painful. As proof of this he quotes an anonymous verse, «every necessary deed is by nature grievous». The pentameter is attributed to the elegiac poet Evenus of Paros (Even. fr. 8 West), based on the comparison with two parallel passages in *Metaph.* Δ 5, 1015a 29-30 = ref. 4 (pp. 279-280) and in *EE B* 7, 1223a 31-32, where Aristotle explicitly mentions the name of the poet. The same verse, with a slightly different wording (πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον χρῆμα' ἀνιηρόν ἔφου) occurs in the *Theognidean Sylloge* (Thgn. 472 West). ¹²⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal altered quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION: ¹²⁸

The Arabic translation of the quotation is linear and close to the original. The rendering of the introductory paragraph, however, «hence it was rightly said that the compulsion is grievous and bitter» may derive from a Greek exemplar with εἶναι instead of καί (but this is not supported by the extant Greek MSS), thus reading: διὸ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον λυπηρόν εἶναι ὀρθῶς εἴρηται. *Mu'dī* anticipates the adjective ἀνιαρόν of the quotation and creates a hendiadys ¹²⁹ which is not present in the Greek text.

¹²⁶ See also Lyons 2002, 202, 204.

¹²⁷ Cope, Sandys 1877, I 202; See the analysis of this passage in Année 2020, 196-200, where the scholar discusses the possible explanations for the different wording – with πράγμα and doric as attested in Aristotle, with χρῆμα and ionic as reported in the *Theognidean Sylloge* – of the same fragment.

¹²⁸ See *Rh.* Lyons 277.

¹²⁹ See also Lyons 2002, 198.

16., 17.

A 11, 1370b 3-6

ὄθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,

ἀλλ' ἡδὺ τοι σωθέντα μεμνήσθαι πόνων,
καὶ
μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ
μνημένος ὅστις πολλὰ πάθη καὶ πολλὰ ἐόργη·

Rh. Lyons 56.11-15

بل إنّما يكون لذيذًا إذا خلص وسلم، ثمّ ذكر المرء الكدّ والنصب بعد ما يتمّ وينقضي، أعني أنّه قد
يلتذّ* الرجل الحريص الكدود بذكر الكدّ والنصب، إذا كان قد نصب كثيرًا وأنجح

CONTEXT:

In 1370a 27-35 it is stated that pleasure lies in perceiving a certain affection (ἐστὶν τὸ ἡδεσθαι ἐν τῷ αἰσθάνεσθαι τινος πάθους), and since φαντασία is a form of weak perception, then there will be pleasures generated by imagination, i.e. by remembering some past event or by hoping for some future event. Pleasure arising from memory can also concern an event that, though painful at the time of its occurrence, it had beautiful and pleasant consequences, whereby remembering that event produces pleasure. Two poetic quotations follow, the first from Euripides' *Andromeda* (F 133 Kannicht: «Sweet 'tis when rescued to remember pain»)¹³⁰ and the second corresponding to *Od.* ο 400-401 («Even his griefs are a joy long after to one that remembers / All that he wrought and endured»)¹³¹. The latter, though misquoted – probably from memory –, consists of the words with which the swineherd Eumaeus exhorts the stranger – Odysseus in disguise – to talk about his past.¹³²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit anonymous serial (correlation through καί) literal quotations. The first one is a complete monostich, while the second one is an incomplete distich and is altered.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹³³

The translation is not very straightforward, and the two quotations are rendered as connected to each other. The introductory sentence ὄθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται is missing in Arabic, whereas the first verse is correctly rendered but expanded with redundant effect: «but it is pleasant when someone is safe and sound, and then this man recalls weariness and toil after they are over and done with».¹³⁴ *Ḥalaṣa wa-salima* is a hendiadys for σωθέντα and *al-kadd wa-l-naṣb* is a hendiadys for πόνων, to which a brief clause is added, maybe derived from a

¹³⁰ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹³¹ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹³² Gastaldi 2014, 426-427.

¹³³ See *Rh.* Lyons 278.

¹³⁴ See also Lyons 2002, 205.

misinterpretation of *καὶ μετὰ* (the latter would be covered by *ba'da mā*) as part of the first quotation. The expression *a'nī annahū*, «I mean that» is probably derived from *γὰρ τε καὶ*, taken as the incipit of a new clause connected to the previous one. The rest of the text reads: «the covetous hard-working man rejoices at the memory of weariness and toil when he has toiled much and succeeded». The translator adds the adjectives *al-ḥarīṣ al-kadūd*, referred to *al-raḡul*, and links *ἄλγεσι* to the participle *μνημένος*, which is translated as a noun. Moreover, the verb *unḡiḥa* («he was made successful», then «he succeeded») might come from a misreading of *ἐόργη* (from *ἔρδω*) as a form of *εὐεργέω*.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC VERSION:

Apparently, the author of the *Kitāb al-sa'āda wa-l-is'ād* (conventionally ascribed to ps.al-ʿAmirī) read this version of the *Rh.* since the misinterpretations of these lines are strongly echoed in the following passage:³⁵

وذكر الكدّ والتعب من بعد انتقضائهما لذيد ولا سيّما إذا كان مع الظفر بالحاجة والوصول إلى البغية
وذكر نيل الراحة عند التعب والكد لذيد.

Minovi البنية 'Aṭiyya] البغية

The memory (*dīkr*) of weariness (*al-kadd*) and fatigue, after their termination (*min ba'di nqiḏā'ihimā*), is pleasant (*ladīd*), especially if it is accompanied by success and necessity, and the achievement of desire, and the memory of reaching rest in a moment of fatigue and weariness is pleasant.

18.

A 11, 1370b 11-12

ὥσπερ καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐποίησε περὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ
ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο

Rh. Lyons 56.20-21

كما قال أوميروس في الغضب أنه أحلى من قطرات العسل

CONTEXT:

The correlation between pleasure and imagination also concerns hope for future events. Pleasant are those things one rejoices in experiencing or hoping for, as attested in the Homeric image of *Il. Σ 109* («Sweeter it is by far than the honeycomb dripping with sweetness»)³⁶ Here Achilles describes the correlation between a painful passion such as anger and the pleasure that is produced in prefiguring – and hoping for – the act of revenge with which anger will be appeased and satisfied. The verse is also quoted in *Rh.* B 2, 1378b 4-6 = ref. 31 (pp. 119-120).

³⁵ Minovi 1957-1958, 35.4-7 = 'Aṭiyya 1991, 135.7-9. The transcribed Arabic terms are those that occur (either as such or in other forms of the same root) also in the Arabic version of the *Rhetoric* analysed above.

³⁶ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated with *ka-mā*. While πολύ is missing in Arabic, καταλείβω is rendered with the noun *qatarāt*, the *mudāf* of an *idāfa* construction with *al-ʿasal*. The Arabic text differs from the translation of the second occurrence of the same quotation (*Rh. B 2, 1378b 4-6 = ref. 31*).

19.

A 11, 1370b 28-29

διὸ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως εἴρηται
ὥς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ὑφ' ἡμερον ὤρσε γόοιο.

Rh. Lyons 57.14-16

فنعم ما قال أوميروس حيث يقول إنه، لمّا تكلم بذلك، صرخوا جميعًا صرخة واحدة فاجعة لذيدة.

[فنعم] coni. Lyons فيتم MS Salim Badawī

CONTEXT:

The example clarifies the correlation between pleasure and desire established at the beginning of chapter A 11, based on the definition of desire as an impulse towards pleasure (1370a 17-18). The pleasure linked to desire can concern both the past, i.e. remembering of having satisfied a desire, and the future, i.e. hoping for its realisation. Even what is painful can produce a certain form of pleasure, such as that which arises from the suffering for the death of a loved one. Although one feels pain for their absence, remembering them can be pleasant, as testified by the Homeric verse «He spake, and in each man's heart he awakened the love of lament»¹³⁷ which recurs in both poems. In *Il. Ψ 108* this verse concludes the account on the apparition of Patroclus' ghost to Achilles. In *Od. δ 183* this verse is a comment on the words with which Menelaus remembers Odysseus in the presence of Telemachus, who went to his court in search of news of his father.¹³⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

¹³⁷ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹³⁸ Cope 203, 208-209; Gastaldi 2014, 427-428.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹³⁹

Lyons translates: «Homer spoke well where he says: when he said that, they all cried out with a single pleasurable distressing cry».¹⁴⁰ The translator adds the name of the author, perhaps based on a gloss in the Greek exemplar, and paraphrases the verse, slightly departing from the original. In particular, the verb ὑφ'...ᾠρσε (tmesis for ὑπόρρυσμι) is mistranslated with *ṣarahū*, followed by the accusative of the inner object *ṣarḥatan*. The adjective *fāḡi'atan* might be based on the meaning of the epic genitive γόοιο (the morphological-syntactic structure of the Greek is not adopted in Arabic perhaps because the translator was not familiar with this form), while the specification *wāḥidatan* is an addition in Arabic. The adjective *laḏīdatan* must have originated from ἴμερον.

20.

A 11, 1371a 27-28

ὄθεν εἴρηται
μεταβολή πάντων γλυκύ.

Rh. Lyons 59.4-5

ومن هاهنا يقال إنَّ تغيير كلِّ شيء لذيذ

CONTEXT:

Among the things enumerated as pleasant there is change, μεταβολή, because it is a process in accordance with nature that breaks the monotony of the identical. The same verse, taken from Euripides' *Or.* 234, «Change is in all things sweet»,¹⁴¹ is also quoted in EN H 15, 1154b 28-29 = ref. 39 (pp. 328-329), where the pleasure of change is associated with human nature and placed in contrast to the superior nature of the immobile and stable deity.¹⁴²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is accurate. The comparison with the parallel passage in EN H 15, 1154b 28-29 = ref. 39 may be useful, where Uṣṭāt's renders γλυκύ with the root *h-l-w*.

21.

A 11, 1371b 15-17

ὄθεν καὶ αἰ παροιμίαι εἴρηνται, [ὡς] «ἡλιξ ἡλικά τέρπει», καὶ «ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον», καὶ «ἔγνω δὲ θῆρ θῆρα», «καὶ γὰρ κολοῖός παρὰ κολοῖόν», καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.

¹³⁹ See *Rh.* Lyons 279.

¹⁴⁰ See also Lyons 2002, 205.

¹⁴¹ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁴² Gastaldi 2014, 429.

Rh. Lyons 60.4-8

ومن هاهنا تنتزع الأمثال لكيما يُقال إنَّ الصبيَّ يفرح بالصبيِّ فما كان هكذا فهو أبدًا من الشبهة، وكما يُقال إنَّ اللصَّ يعرف اللصَّ والسبع يسكن إلى السبع والطائر يأنس بالطائر وما أشبه هذا.

CONTEXT:

The review of what is pleasant continues with two other elements: τὸ κατὰ φύσιν, what is in accordance with nature, and τὰ συγγενῆ, the congeners, which have a mutual relationship according to nature (1371b 12-14). The pleasure that the alike feels towards the alike is evidenced by a few references altogether labelled αἱ παροιμίαι, «proverbs», which also recur in other works of Aristotle.¹⁴³ The second proverb of the list is taken from Hom. *Od.* ρ 218 («like to like»), and is also reported in the parallel places of EE H 1, 1235a 9 and in EN Θ 1, 1155a 34 = ref. 41 (pp. 330-332); I 3, 1165b 17. It is one of the insults that the goatherd Melanthius addresses to Eumaeus and the beggar who accompanies him - a disguised Odysseus - when he meets them.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated (but in sequence with some proverbs) literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁴⁴

As Lyons points out, the translator does not grasp that the phrase is a quotation and renders the verse fragment as follows: «for what is like this always has a similarity», almost like a commentary note to the previous proverb («the mate delights the mate»). It is interesting to note, as Margoliouth and Lyons did, that in the Arabic translation this fragment is followed by «and like what is said, that the thief knows the thief». This sentence corresponds to the Greek ἔγνω δὲ φῶρ τε φῶρα, a proverb found in the parallel place EE H, 1, 1235a 9, where the latter comes immediately after the same poetic quotation *Od.* ρ 218 (in EE the verse, however, is reported in full) and the proverb καὶ γὰρ κολοιδὸς παρὰ κολοιδόν, which is found also in this passage of the *Rh.*. The addition in the Arabic text is probably the translation of a gloss in the Greek *Vorlage*.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The reference is echoed in ps.al-ʿĀmirī's *Kitāb al-saʿāda wa-l-isʿād*. The similarities are so striking that it is reasonable to assume that for this passage the author of the *Kitāb al-saʿāda* consulted the version of the *Rh.* that has come down to us:¹⁴⁵

وقد قيل بأنَّ الشبيه يحب الشبيه ومن هذا الوجه يفرح الصبيُّ بالصبيِّ والطائر بالطائر والسبع بالسبع وكل ما كان أشبه

¹⁴³ The loci paralleli are listed in Cope, Sandys 1877, I 220; Gastaldi 2014, 430.

¹⁴⁴ See *Rh.* Lyons 282.

¹⁴⁵ Minovi 1957-1958, 35.14-17 = ʿAtīyya 1991, 135.16-17.

It is said that the alike loves the alike and in this way the boy rejoices at the boy and the bird at the bird and the beast at the beast and whatever is alike.

22.

A 11, 1371b 31-34

ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητῆς φησι καπὶ τοῦτ' ἐπείγει,
νέμων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πλεῖστον μέρος,
ἴν' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει βέλτιστος ὢν.

Rh. Lyons 60.23-25

كما قال الشاعر حتى إنه قسم أكثر النهار أقسامًا <و> اكتسب لنفسه تلك التي قضى بها لنفسه لأنه
كان امرئاً فاضلاً.

CONTEXT:

As explained in 1371b 30-31, one pleasure among others is being involved in an activity (διατρίβειν) in which one believes to excel (τὸ ἐν ᾧ δοκεῖ βέλτιστος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι). This statement is followed by the quotation of two verses from Euripides' *Antiope* (F 184 Kannicht, vv. 2-3) «allotting the best part of each day to that in which he happens to surpass himself, he presses eagerly towards it».¹⁴⁶ This lost tragedy is famous for the agony among the sons of Antiope, the twins Zethus and Amphion, about the contrast between βίος πρακτικός, the active way of life chosen by Zethus, and βίος θεωρητικός, contemplative life, to which Amphion was devoted.¹⁴⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal altered quotation, complete distich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translator has partly expanded the syntactical structure of the Greek and has not fully expressed its original meaning: «Like what the poet said, in so far that he divided most of the day into sections, he acquired for himself that which he had decreed for himself because he was an excellent man».¹⁴⁸ The noun ποιητῆς is not transliterated, contrary to what usually happens in the Arabic version of the *Rh*. As can be seen, the meaning of the verb νέμω «to allot» is broken down into two Arabic verbs: *qasama* with the accusative of the inner object – which also absorbs the meaning of the adjective ἐκάστος, not translated here – and *iktasaba*. The rendering of the second verse is simplified: *li-anna* is a misinterpretation of the meaning of ἴνα in this context, the nuance given by τυγχάνω with the predicative participle is not expressed in Arabic as well as the reflexive form of the comparison given by the syntagma αὐτοῦ βέλτιστος, replaced by *imra'an fāḍilan* «an excellent man».

¹⁴⁶ Freese 1926, 129.

¹⁴⁷ Gastaldi 2014, 431.

¹⁴⁸ See Lyons 2002, 206.

*23.

A 12, 1372b 32-33

ὥς ὄντας κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τούτους Μυσῶν λείαν.

Rh. Lyons 64.13

فهم كما يقول المثل مسحون أبداً

مسحون] conī. Lyons مسحون MS

CONTEXT:

In this section of chapter A 12 Aristotle examines the characteristics of individuals who are wronged. After stating that injustice is committed against those who possess what the unjust people want and do not have, Aristotle observes here that victims of injustice are also those who have never prosecute, although they have already widely experienced injustice. This behavior exposes them to injustice, as attested by the expression «Mysians' prey», which has become proverbial to indicate an easy prey. The origin of this saying is not completely clear nor whether it actually refers to a mythical episode (the exposure of the Misians – without defenses and a guide – to the attacks of neighboring peoples during the absence of their mythical king Telephus), which has been related in some poetic works. In a long commentary note Cope (in the publication by Sandys) explains that it is not plausible that Euripides' *Telephus* is at the origin of the proverb, while possible sources might be some verses of the comic poet Strattis or a certain Simonides, author of iambs, (Simonides of Amorgos or Simonides of Ceos), according to what Harpocration says in this respect. However, the scholar finds another interpretation of the proverb, unrelated to the mythical reference, more convincing: the Misians had a reputation for being «the vilest and most contemptible of mankind» and for this reason were exposed to the attacks of other peoples.¹⁴⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁵⁰

The Greek ὥς is translated with *ka-mā*, which introduces an additional comparative clause with a *verbum dicendi*, whose subject is *al-matal*, an expansion of the Greek syntagma κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν. *Mishūn abadan* corresponds to Μυσῶν λείαν. According to Lyons' interpretation, *mishūn* could be an attempt to transliterate Μυσῶν, while *abadan* would perhaps derive from λείαν misread as ἀεί. So far, I could not find any better explanation.

¹⁴⁹ Cope, Sandys 1877, I 235-236.

¹⁵⁰ See Rh. Lyons 285.

24.

A 12, 1373a 3-4

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ παροιμία, προφάσεως δεῖται μόνον ἢ πονηρία.

Rh. Lyons 64.23-65.1

كما يقول المثل إنّ الشرّ إنّما يطلب علة

CONTEXT:

The unfair person also commits injustice against those for whom he has a pretext (πρόφασις), by addressing his ancestors, friends or other people close to him. This assumption is confirmed by the proverb «wickedness needs but a pretext»,¹⁵¹ that seems to be an echo of a fragment attributed to Menander (fr. 171 Kassel-Austin).¹⁵²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated paraphrastic quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Ka-mā corresponds to ὥσπερ, followed by the addition of the *verbum dicendi*. The word μόνον is not rendered and the text runs as follows: «Wickedness is what requires a pretext».

25.

A 13, 1373b 9-13

οἶον καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνη φαίνεται λέγουσα, ὅτι δίκαιον ἀπειρημένου θάψαι
τὸν Πολυνείκη, ὡς φύσει ὄν τοῦτο δίκαιον·
οὐ γὰρ τι νῦν γε κάχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε
ζῆ τοῦτο, κούδεις οἶδεν ἐξ ὄτου φάνη·

ἀπειρημένου] Ross ἀπειρημένον codd. Γ

Rh. Lyons 67.8-11

كما قالت انطيقوني لسوققليس إنّ الواجب الذي لا متكلم فيه وارى فولنيقوس، فإنّ ذلك كان واجباً له
طبيعياً، وليس هذا شيئاً كان اليوم أو أمس لكنّه أمر قائم أبداً، لا يعلم أحد من أين ظهر.

CONTEXT:

At the beginning of chapter A 13 Aristotle makes the classical distinction between two types of law that regulate justice, that is natural law, common to all men, and particular law, sanctioned by the norms that communities have adopted for themselves. This dichotomy is notoriously one of the pivotal themes of Sophocles' *Antigone*, whose vv. 456-457 are quoted

¹⁵¹ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁵² Gastaldi 2014, 435.

here: «Not of to-day or yesterday it is, / But lives eternal: none can date its birth».¹⁵³ They are part of the dispute between Antigone and Creon in the second episode, in which the former underlines the eternity of the law of nature. The quotation is contextualised by the following introductory lemma: «It is this that Sophocles' Antigone clearly means when she says that the burial of Polyneices was a just act in spite of the prohibition: she means that it was just by nature».¹⁵⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete distich, accompanied by a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁵⁵

The quotation is quite linear and accurately translated,¹⁵⁶ while some difficulties can be detected in the version of the introductory lemma. Φαίνεται is not translated and λέγουσα is rendered as a main verb. The syntagma *li-Sūfuqlīs* after the verb *qālat* leads to the following outcome: «as Antigone said to Sophocles». Lyons' input that the *li-* construction might be an alternative of the *iqāfa* for the Greek *genitivus auctoris* offers an interesting explanation but cannot be definitively proven without a thorough investigation, and the same problem occurs in *Rh.* 1375a 33-34 = ref. 26 (pp. 113-114). Instead of ἀπειρημένου, which is an emendation by Ross, the translator evidently read ἀπειρημένον and referred it to δίκαιον, resulting in: «the right about which there is no discussion». The infinitive θάψαι is rendered with a perfect, whose subject is seemingly *al-wāǧib*, «the right buried Polyneices». The addition of *la-hū* (in *dālika kāna wāǧiban la-hū ṭabī'yyan*, «this was a natural right for him») could be derived from reading *ώς* as *وَيْ*, but it could simply have been inserted by the translator without any correspondence in the Greek *Vorlage*.

οἶον is translated with *ka-mā*.

26., 27.

A 15, 1375a 33-b2

ὄθεν εἴρηται τὰ ἐν τῇ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνη· ἀπολογεῖται γὰρ ὅτι ἔθαψε παρὰ τὸν Κρέοντος νόμον, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τὸν ἄγραφον,
οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κάχθές, ἀλλ' αἰεί ποτε...
ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός...

Rh. Lyons 73.15-19

كالذي يستدلّ عليه من قول سوفقليس لأنطيوخون حيث تعتذر وتقول إنه دفن على غير سنة قراون ولكن ليس خارجًا من السنة المكتوبة، فإنّها ليست شيئًا يكون أو كان أمس لكنّه شيء دائم أبدًا، وهذا الآن مما لم أكن مزعومة به لرجل البتّة

¹⁵³ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁵⁴ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁵⁵ See *Rh.* Lyons 288.

¹⁵⁶ See Lyons 2002, 198.

CONTEXT:

Another quotation from Sophocles' *Antigone* occurs in the examination of laws, the first among non-technical means of persuasion, around which chapter A 15 revolves. In 1375a 27-35 Aristotle states that if the written law (the particular law of a particular community) tells against the cause, one should resort to the unwritten and common law, which is immutable and universal. The latter (παρὰ τὸν ἄγραφον) is invoked by Antigone in opposition to the law of the city, embodied by Creon (παρὰ τὸν Κρέοντος νόμον), when she claims the right to bury her brother Polynices («This is the bearing of the lines in Sophocles' *Antigone*, where Antigone pleads that in burying her brother she had broken Creon's law, but not the unwritten law»)¹⁵⁷. Of the verses recorded below, the first is v. 456 – which occurs also in A 13, 1373b 11 together with v. 457 (= ref. 25, pp. 112-113) – and the second corresponds to v. 458. Both quotations are merely allusive, since the first verse echoes the *locus parallelus* at 1373b 11, while the second is syntactically suspended and acquires meaning when read with v. 459 and the beginning of v. 460: φρόνημα δείσασ', ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην / δώσειν, «Not I would (fear the wrath) of any man (and brave Gods' vengeance) for defying these».

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's serial literal quotations, complete monostichs. The second quotation is altered (Aristotle's text has ταῦτ' οὖν instead of τούτων). Both are suspended in their syntax and allusive in their meaning if not read in their original context. The introductory lemma contains a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁵⁸

The Greek ὅθεν is expanded with the syntagma *ka-llādī yustadallu 'alayhi min*. The reference to the tragedy in the introductory lemma, ἐν τῇ Σοφοκλέους Ἀντιγόνη, is not understood and the addition of *li-* before the transliterated proper noun gives rise to: «the remark by Sophocles to Antigone» (see also ref. 25). The translation of the first verse is correct, but it is not identical to that of the *locus parallelus* at A 13, 1373b 11. They differ in the rendering of the opposition νῦν...ἀχθές, that at 1373b 11 is covered by the adverbs *al-yawma aw 'amsi*, while here the translator chose *yakūnu aw kāna 'amsi*. The version of the second verse is less clear, also because it is not possible to fully understand it without the subsequent verse. The adverb *al-'āna*, «now», might derive from οὖν read as νῦν. Otherwise, *al-'āna* maybe an addition of the translator, whereas he read τούτων instead of ταῦτ' οὖν – as in the textual tradition of Sophocles' *Antigone* – which has been translated as *mimmā*.

28., 29.

A 15, 1375b 28-34

λέγω δὲ παλαιούς μὲν τοὺς τε ποιητὰς καὶ ὄσων ἄλλων γνωρίμων εἰσὶν κρίσεις
φανεραί, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι Ὀμήρω μάρτυρι ἐχρήσαντο περὶ Σαλαμῖνος, καὶ Τενέδιοι

¹⁵⁷ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁵⁸ See *Rh.* Lyons 293-294.

ἔναγχος Περιάνδρω τῷ Κορινθίῳ πρὸς Σιγείεις, καὶ Κλειφῶν κατὰ Κριτίου τοῖς Σόλωνος
ἐλεγείοις ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὅτι πάλαι ἀσελγῆς ἢ οἰκία· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἐποίησε Σόλων
εἰπεῖν μοι Κριτία πυρρότριχι πατρός ἀκούειν.

Rh. Lyons 75.3-10

وأعني بالقدماء الأسلاف المعروفين المنتخبين عند جمهور الناس المشهور أمرهم، كمثل ما استعمل
الأثينيون أوميروس في الشهادة على اسلمينة، ثم الطينديون من بعد، ثم الآن من قرب استعمل القورنثانيون
فاربانديوس، وكذلك استعمل قلاوفون في الشهادة على قريطيوس قول سالون حيث يقول إنَّ المقدمات قد
سقت في الأهلين، فإنه لم يكن سالون ليجب البتة أن يُقال لي أيها القريطي الذي سمع وعُرف بالشعر
الأصهب.

CONTEXT:

Among the non-technical means of persuasion analysed in this chapter are also witnesses, divided into ancient and recent. Ancient witnesses are poets and other men of the past whose judgments (*κρίσεις*) are known to all. By way of example, Aristotle quotes an anecdote about Solon – who however is not mentioned – and the dispute between Megarians and Athenians concerning the island of Salamis. Allegedly, the legislator and elegiac poet, tried to support Athens' claims on Salamis by quoting a passage from the catalogue of ships in the *Iliad*, where Ajax Telamonius, son of the king of Salamis, is said to have stationed his twelve ships next to the Athenian phalanges. There follows a reference to the tyrant Periander of Corinth and the controversy between the inhabitants of Tenedos and the Sigeans, about which we have no other information. The last part of the passage describes the quarrel between Cleophon, the demagogue exponent of the popular party, and Critias, the exponent of the oligarchic party and one of the Thirty Tyrants. To attack Critias Cleophon cites a verse in which Solon blames one of his ancestors named Critias, playing on the homonymy with his rival and the fact that he was Solon's great-grandnephew.¹⁵⁹ The reference runs as follows: «Cleophon also made use of the elegiacs of Solon against Critias, to prove that his family had long been notorious for licentiousness, otherwise Solon would never have written: Bid me the fair-haired Critias listen to his father» (fr. 22a West, with the wording: εἰπεῖν μοι Κριτίηι ξανθότριχι πατρός ἀκούειν).¹⁶⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The first reference is a testimonium concerning Solon and the use of Homer's authority in a political-military context. The second is a testimonium on the use of Solon's authority in a political context, followed by an explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich. The wording is slightly altered.

¹⁵⁹ Cope, Sandys 1877, I 275-276; Gastaldi 2014, 446.

¹⁶⁰ Freese 1926, 157.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁶¹

Τούς τε ποιητάς of the introductory statement is missing in Arabic, with the outcome: «By ancients I mean the famous ancestors, selected from the multitude of men, which is famous for their command». The text continues: «as the Athenians used Homer in the testimony about (or: against) Salamis, then once the inhabitants of Tenedos, now recently the Corinthians used Periander». The version and the Greek original have some discrepancies: the dative μάρτυρι, apposition of Ὀμήρω, is covered by the syntagma *fī l-šahāda* («in the testimony»); the dative τῶ Κορινθίῳ is taken as a plural (as if it were οἱ Κορίνθιοι),¹⁶² parallel to Τενέδιοι; πρὸς Σιγείεις is omitted. *Ka-mitli* (*mā*) corresponds to οἶον. To introduce the last example (Κλειφῶν κατὰ Κριτίου...) the translator adds (*wa-*)*ka-dālika*. For τοῖς Σόλωνος ἐλεγείοις the Arabic text bears *qawl sālūn*, maybe because of a misreading of ἐλεγείοις as λόγοις. The Arabic runs as follows: «similarly Cleophon used in the testimony against (or: about) Critias the statement of Solon, where he says». The final part has various problems. Since πάλαι is misunderstood and translated as *al-muqaddimāt*, the entire sentence reads «the fore parts were unsound amongst the relatives». Moreover, as Lyons points out, the introductory lemma with the mention of Solon and the quotation itself are merged into a single sentence that departs from the original, since ποτε ἐποίησε is incorrectly rendered, while πατρός is missing,¹⁶³ but could also have been misinterpreted by the translator. The Arabic reads: «for Solon did not make it necessary at all that it should be said to me “Oh Critias, who heard and was known by his chestnut hair”».¹⁶⁴

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

Homer is briefly mentioned in the *al-Burhān fī wuḡūh al-bayān* (*The proof: On the ways of exposition*) by Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Wahb al-Kātib (mid. 4th/10th cent.), a rhetorical work where the ways of expression are re-examined through the lens of four categories of Aristotelian derivation, namely *i'tibār* («consideration, reflection»), *i'tiqād* («belief»); *ibāra* («verbal expression»), and *kitāb* («writing»). As the author explicitly states, his treatise is conceived as a re-organization of al-Ġāhīz's theory as presented in his *Kitāb al-bayan wa-l-tanbyīn*, but, evidently, it was also influenced by the *Kitāb al-Ḥarāġ wa-Šinā'at al-Kitāba* by Qudāma ibn Ġa'far (d. 337/948).¹⁶⁵ The mention of Homer is part of a broader reference to Aristotle contained in the discussion of poetry within the third section, on *ibāra*. The passage runs as follows:¹⁶⁶

وقد ذكر أرسطاطاليس الشعر في كتاب الجدل فجعله حجة مقنعة إذا كان قديماً، واحتجّ في كثير من كتب السياسة بقول أميروس شاعر اليونانيين.

¹⁶¹ See *Rh.* Lyons 295.

¹⁶² See also *GALex* I 545.

¹⁶³ See *GALex* I 575, where a missing <*wālidahū*> (for the Greek πατρός) is speculated. However, in this way, *urifa* (*bi-l-ša'ri l-aṣḥabi*) would be an addition of the translator simply based on the dative adj. πυρρότριχι.

¹⁶⁴ See Lyons 2002, 206.

¹⁶⁵ Heck 2010, 278-279 (see 279: «In other words, the work is a reconfiguration of al-Jāhīz and Qudāma now through an Aristotelian window»). See also van Gelder 2017a.

¹⁶⁶ Arabic text in Maṭlūb, al-Ḥadīthī 1967, 5-7.

Aristotle had mentioned poetry in his *Kitāb al-ğadal* (= *Topics* [!]) and considered it convincing evidence if it was ancient. So, in many of his political writings he cited the words of Homer, poet of the Greeks, as proof.

The reference is ambiguous, since it does not refer to any particular source, and suggests a second-hand knowledge of the Greek authors cited. The *Kitāb al-ğadal* is the title by which Aristotle's *Topics* were commonly known in Arabic, but, in this writing (and in its Arabic version), poetry is never discussed as persuasive evidence, as Ibn Wahb claims instead. The passage that most closely matches Ibn Wahb's words is the section from which *Rh.* ref. 28 is taken, part of the discussion of poets as ancient witnesses in *Rh.* A 15.

The second part of Ibn Wahb's passage is equally obscure because the expression *kutub al-siyāsa* would at first glance make one think of Aristotle's *Politics*, which, however, is a single work – a single *kitāb* – divided into 8 books (usually rendered into Arabic as *maqālāt*). About the Arabic reception of the *Politics* we have only a few fragmentary reports, none of which explicitly attest to the existence of a complete Arabic translation, but at most to the circulation of a few extracts by indirect means or of a partial paraphrase.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, it is difficult to assume that Ibn Wahb or any other Arabic source he consulted could have had access to the full text of the *Politics* to verify the high number of Homeric quotations it contains – which, for the record, are numerous but not comparable to the high concentration of references in the *Rh.* or in the EN.¹⁶⁸ It seems more plausible that the expression may refer to the so-called *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*, a cycle of texts – letters and some brief narratives interspersed – put together in their Arabic version in the first half of the 8th cent. These texts are mainly political in content and belong to the genre of mirrors for princes. The hypothesis is supported by the fact that some of these letters bear in their title the very term *al-siyāsa* (for instance the *Fī siyāsat al-mudun* or the famous *al-Siyāsa l-'āmmiyya*, one of the sources of another writing falsely attributed to Aristotle, the *Kitāb al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa*, also known as *Sirr al-asrār* or *Secretum Secretorum*).¹⁶⁹ Indeed, these

¹⁶⁷ See Peters 1968, 53-54; Pines 1975; Brague 1993. Further bibliography in Daiber 2012, 60 n. 101.

¹⁶⁸ See the list in Sanz Morales 1994, 189-190.

¹⁶⁹ The work was first edited in its entirety in 2006 by Miklós Maróth. I refer the discussion of the problems related to its composition and origin to Chapter 3 and Appendix 2, where more bibliographical references will be found. I shall point out here that Peters 1968, 54 already notes the confusion in some Arabic sources between Aristotle's *Politics* and other non-Aristotelian works of political content. It cannot be ruled out that Ibn Wahb meant here the *Sirr al-asrār* (the plural *kutub* remains to be explained, since it is a cohesive work and not a compilation of texts like the *Epistolary Novel*), since apparently a first version of the work circulated before the end of the 10th cent. (see Forster 2006, 11-19 on the question of dating). However, the *Sirr al-asrār* is transmitted by about 50 Arabic MSS and known through two recensions, one short and one long, of which it cannot be said whether they come from a common archetype or whether the long recension is a reworking of the short recension (hypotheses and studies are discussed systematically in Forster 2006, 20-22), and it was edited only once by Badawī in 1954 in its long recension. Therefore, nothing concrete can be said at the current state of research, and especially nothing can be assessed as to whether and how many Homeric quotations were contained in the recension that hypothetically Ibn Wahb might have read.

letters contain a good number of Homeric quotations (albeit spurious), as we shall see in Chapter 3 and Appendix 2.

30.

A 15, 1376a 3-7

οἶον εἴ τις συμβουλεύει μὴ ποιείσθαι φίλον γέροντα, τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ ἢ παροιμία,

μήποτ' εὖ ἔρδειν γέροντα,

καὶ τὸ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀναιρεῖν ὧν καὶ τοὺς πατέρας,

νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας υἱοὺς καταλείπει.

Rh. Lyons 75.15-18

كما لو أشار مشير بالآ يتخذ صديقاً شيخاً، ثمّ قال إنّ المثل تشهد بهذا حيث تقول لا تكونن للشيخ
صديقاً أبداً، وإنّه ينبغي أن يقتل الأولاد الذين قتلوا أباهم وتركوا الأولاد.

CONTEXT:

Testimonies also include proverbs, for which Aristotle gives two examples. The first example, «for instance, if one man advises another not to make a friend of an old man, he can appeal to the proverb, Never do good to an old man»¹⁷⁰ does not directly affect our inquiry, being in prose, but the two references are syntactically linked in a single comparative proposition. The second example, instead, «And if he advises another to kill the children, after having killed the fathers, he can say, Foolish is he who, having killed the father, suffers the children to live»¹⁷¹, is attributed to Stasinus (*Cypria* fr. 33 Bernabé), and occurs also in *Rh.* B 21, 1395a 18 = ref. 66 (pp. 144-145) with *παῖδας* (as printed in Bernabé's PEG) instead of *υἱοὺς*.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, complete monostich. The wording is slightly altered (*υἱοὺς* instead of *παῖδας*). It is defined as a proverb in the introductory lemma and is placed in a sequence with a proverb.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁷²

The translation of the proverb *μήποτ' εὖ ἔρδειν γέροντα* as «do not ever be a friend to an old man» is inaccurate and echoes the wording of the introductory statement *μὴ ποιείσθαι φίλον γέροντα*. Concerning the poetic reference, a part of the lemma (*ὧν καὶ τοὺς πατέρας*) and the incipit of the quotation (*νήπιος*) are missing in the Arabic version and consequently the translator merges Aristotle's words with the quotation itself: «one should kill the children who

¹⁷⁰ Freese 1926, 157.

¹⁷¹ Freese 1926, 157.

¹⁷² See also *Rh. Lyons* 295.

have killed their father and left the children». Οἶον, which introduces both references, is rendered with *ka-mā*.

31.

B 2, 1378b 4-6

διὸ καλῶς εἴρηται περὶ θυμοῦ·

ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξεται·

Rh. Lyons 84.7-8

فما أحسن ما قيل في الغضب إنّ الذي يعتلج في صدر الرجل منه أحلى من العسل والشهد وإنّ له مثل

الدخان

CONTEXT:

The quotation exemplifies one aspect of the definition of ὀργή, «anger», which falls into the passions (πάθη) that involve both the speaker and the audience and that Aristotle includes in the technical means of persuasion. In 1378a 30-31 anger is defined as a desire accompanied by pain for revenge for an offence, but – as explained at 1378b 1-5, 7-9 – it also entails a form of pleasure, which consists in the hope of being able to take revenge and thus to prefigure the realisation of revenge itself. This pleasure is described in the Homeric passage quoted here, *Il* Σ 109-110 («Sweeter it is by far than the honeycomb dripping with sweetness, and spreads through the hearts of men»)¹⁷³, whose first verse also occurs in *Rh. A* 11, 1370b 12 = ref. 18 (pp. 106-107). With these words Achilles expresses the pleasure that comes from anger, like the one he feels towards Agamemnon.¹⁷⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, incomplete distich. The introductory lemma specifies the referent of the metaphor (περὶ θυμοῦ) and bears a positive assessment of Homer's words (καλῶς εἴρηται).

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁷⁵

In the Arabic version, «how well is it said of anger that its agitation in a man's breast is sweeter than honey and honeycomb, and that it is for him like smoke»,¹⁷⁶ the syntactic structure of the Greek is rearranged with the anticipation of the verb *ya'taliḡu*, which stands for ἀέξεται. Since the Arabic verb does not grasp the meaning of its Greek counterpart, Lyons speculates that the translator read αἰσσει / εται instead of ἀέξεται. The plural ἀνδρῶν is rendered with the singular *al-raḡul*, μέλιτος is translated with the hendiadys *al-'asal wa-l-šahd*, while

¹⁷³ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁷⁴ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*; Gastaldi 2014, 452-454; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 8-13.

¹⁷⁵ See *Rh. Lyons* 302.

¹⁷⁶ See Lyons 2002, 206.

καταλειβομένοιο is omitted, although Lyons suggests that the latter might be expressed by the second term of the hendiadys.¹⁷⁷ As Lyons notes – as well as Margoliouth and Salim before him –, the last segment of the Arabic translation «and it is for him like smoke» corresponds to ἤυτε καπνός, the final part of v. 110, which Aristotle does not quote but which the translator may have found reported in a gloss.

32., 33.

B 2, 1378b 31-34

διὸ λέγει ὀργιζόμενος ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς

ἠτίμησεν· ἐλῶν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας αὐτὸς

καὶ

ὥς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην,

ὥς διὰ ταῦτα ὀργιζόμενος.

Rh. Lyons 85.14-16

ولذلك ما قال أميروس إنَّ أجاممنن استهان بأخيلوس حيث غضب وسلبه كرامته، يعني سرَّيته، وتركه

كالطائر المحترق، فغضب لذلك أخيلوس.

CONTEXT:

Within the section about anger Aristotle deals with ὀλιγωρία (1378b11 sqq.), «lack of respect» or «slighting», which is articulated in contempt, spite and insolence. Insolence, the humiliation that an individual inflicts on another in order to claim his superiority, also includes ἀτιμία, «deprivation of honour». The latter is what Achilles complains about in the two verses quoted here, since Agamemnon wronged him by taking his part of the loot.¹⁷⁸ The first quotation corresponds to *Il.* A 356 and reads «He has dishonoured me, since he keeps the prize he has taken for himself», while the second quotation is *Il.* I 648 = *Π* 59: «like a dishonoured vagrant».¹⁷⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit anonymous serial (correlated through καὶ) literal quotations, incomplete monostichs. The last word of verse A 356 (ἀπούρας) and the *incipit* of verse I 648 = *Π* 59 (Ἀτρείδης) are missing. An introductory sentence and a brief comment at the end accompany the quotations providing a testimonium. The introductory lemma presents the verses as words by Achilles, who is said to be ὀργιζόμενος (also repeated in the final statement), verb derived from the noun ὀργή, that is the main topic of the chapter.

¹⁷⁷ See Lyons 2002, 206.

¹⁷⁸ Gastaldi 2014, 454-455.

¹⁷⁹ Freese 1926, 177.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁸⁰

The Arabic translation obviously depends on a gloss that provides additional elements. The first part of the version merges the introductory lemma, the first quotation and the gloss. Lyons translates it as follows: «for that reason Homer said that Agamemnon scorned Achilles, since he became angry and robbed him of his honour, meaning of his concubine». First, Homer is mentioned as the author of both references; then the version adds that it was Agamemnon who slighted Achilles and that the part of the loot due to Achilles was a slave-girl. The second half of the passage is translated accurately with the addition of a verb in the rendering of the Homeric quotation: «and he left him like a scorned vagrant (*lit.* unexpected). For this reason Achilles was angry».¹⁸¹

34., 35.

B 2, 1379a 4-6

διὸ εἴρηται

θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφῶν βασιλῆων

καὶ

ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον·

ἀγανακτοῦσι γὰρ διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν.

Rh. Lyons 86.1-3

ولذلك ما قيل إنَّ شدة الاستشاطة للملوك الذين نشئوا في الثروة، وأشياء آخر تتصل بذلك، فقد يمتعضون

لعظم شأنهم.

CONTEXT:

As in the previous references, this passage is part of the discussion on anger, and contains two Homeric verses (*Il.* B 196; *Il.* A 82), which display the rise of anger in those who do not see the superiority they claim for themselves recognised by those who are inferior to them (1378b 34-1379a 4). Verse *Il.* B 196, «Great is the wrath of kings cherished by Zeus»,¹⁸² is taken from the speech with which Athena exhorts Odysseus to call the Achaeans to arms, who fled to the ships to return to their homeland after hearing the famous speech with which Agamemnon aimed to test their commitment to the war. With these words the goddess refers to the anger that a king cherished by Zeus like Agamemnon may feel when facing the flight of his soldiers.

¹⁸⁰ See *Rh.* Lyons 303.

¹⁸¹ See also Lyons 2002, 201.

¹⁸² Freese 1926, 177.

In *Il.* A 82, «Yet it may be that even afterwards he cherishes his resentment»,¹⁸³ the seer Calchas expresses concern about the wrath that he knows will soon overwhelm Achilles, who has asked him about the causes of the fury of Apollo, who has brought a plague on the Achaeans' camp.¹⁸⁴ The passage is closed by a brief comment by Aristotle, reading «For kings are resentful in consideration of their superior rank».¹⁸⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit anonymous serial (correlation through a καί) literal quotations. The first quotation is a complete monostich, the second is an incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁸⁶

The adjective διοτρεφής is misinterpreted and paraphrased as «that has been brought up in opulence». The translation of the second verse is poor and appears to be a continuation of the first one: «and other things connected to that». The conjunction ἀλλά is misread as ἄλλα and translated with *ašyā' uhar*. It is not clear what originated *tattašilu bi-dālika* (Lyons postulates ἐχόμενα, read instead of ἔχει κότον). The adverb μετόπισθεν is not translated.¹⁸⁷

36.

B 2, 1379b 15

ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀντιφώντος Πλήξιππος τῷ Μελεάγρῳ.

Rh. Lyons 87.25-88.1

كمثل ما يُقال في فيليخيفوس صاحب انطيفون بما لا غروس

CONTEXT:

Among the people toward which anger is directed there are friends who do not fulfil the duties of friendship (1379b 13-14). An example of this is a work by Antiphon referred to here by mentioning its main characters, Plexippus and Meleager (55 F 1b Snell). In all likelihood this Antiphon is to be identified with the tragic poet quoted in *Rh.* B 6, 1385a 10 = ref. 45 (pp. 129-130) and B 23, 1399b 26 = ref. 83 (pp. 161-163). In the latter reference Antiphon is explicitly recalled as the author of a play entitled *Meleager*, which is probably alluded to here too. According to the myth, after Meleager killed the Calydonian boar, a contest aroused among the Calydonian Hunters for the division of the boar trophies. Plexippus, Meleager's uncle, claimed that the boar belonged to him and intended to take it away from Atalanta, to whom instead Meleager had assigned the boar's hide, she being the first to wound the animal. In the end, Plexippus is killed by Meleager.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Freese 1926, 177.

¹⁸⁴ Gastaldi 2014, 455-456.

¹⁸⁵ Freese 1926, 179.

¹⁸⁶ See *Rh.* Lyons 304.

¹⁸⁷ See also Lyons 2002, 207.

¹⁸⁸ Gastaldi 2014, 457-458.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁸⁹

The term ὥσπερ is rendered with *ka-mitli (mā)*. The translator adds *ṣāhib* based on the context – Aristotle is dealing with anger towards friends who do not behave properly –, but the outcome is erroneous: «as what is said about Plexippos, the companion of Antiphon, in Meleager».

37.

B 3, 1380a 25-26

καὶ οἱ κύνες δηλοῦσιν οὐ δάκνοντες τοὺς καθίζοντας.

Rh. Lyons 90.7

فقد يدلّ على ذلك فعل الكلاب أيضًا حين تكفّت عن الجلوس

CONTEXT:

In B 3 Aristotle focuses on mildness (πραότης) – the opposite of anger, discussed in the previous chapters – and follows the same pattern adopted in the discussion of other πάθη, namely he provides a definition of mildness and describes the types of people towards whom it is directed as well as the conditions in which one is mild. As stated in these lines (1380a 24-25), people are inclined to be mild towards those who humiliate themselves in front of them and do not contradict them, since in this manner they seemingly admit their inferiority. As a confirmation of this Aristotle mentions the behavior of dogs that do not bite those who sit down. Commentators agree in recognising a poetic reminiscence or a deliberate allusion to Odyssey ξ 29-31, where it is narrated that Odysseus sat down not to be attacked by Eumaeus' dogs.¹⁹⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated compendary quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Correct translation. The *iḍāfa, fi'l al-kilāb* («the action of the dogs»), expands the Greek οἱ κύνες and grasps the logical subject of Aristotle's discourse, as it emerges from the context. The Arabic *hīna takuffu* ('an) for the Greek οὐ δάκνοντες is inaccurate: the participle is rendered as a temporal proposition, the negative is deleted, and the verb *kaffa* «to pull back, to keep away» vaguely paraphrases the meaning of the Greek.

¹⁸⁹ See *Rh. Lyons* 306.

¹⁹⁰ Grimaldi 1980-1988, II 54-55; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 34-35; Gastaldi 2014, 459.

38.

B 3, 1380b 22-25

διὸ ὀρθῶς πεποιήται

φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον,

ὥς οὐ τετιμωρημένος εἰ μὴ ᾗσθετο καὶ ὑφ' ὄτοθ καὶ ἀνθ' ὄτου.

Rh. Lyons 91.20-22

فبحقّ ما قيل لأدوسوس إنك لست فتّاح المدائن، ليعلموا هل يشعر بانهم يؤذونه أم لا

CONTEXT:

The Homeric example follows one of the observations that Aristotle formulates concerning the appeasing of anger and the attainment of mildness. Those who are angry become more easily mild if they believe that the victims of their anger will never realise that they have been punished by them in compensation for their own wrongs (1380b 20-21). Anger is always directed against the individual (1380b 21), as testified by the verse *Od.* 1 504 «say that it was Odysseus, sacker of cities»,¹⁹¹ in which Odysseus reveals his identity to Polyphemus, to fulfill his revenge and satisfy his anger. After the quotation Aristotle remarks: «as if he (*sc.* Odysseus) would not have considered himself avenged, unless he (*sc.* Polyphemus) learnt by whom and for what (he had been blinded)».¹⁹²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich. The comment following the quotation provides a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁹³

The accusative Ὀδυσσῆα is mistranslated as an indirect object: «it was rightly said to Odysseus». Furthermore, the Arabic text adds the negative *lasta* – with the outcome: «You are not the conqueror of cities» – which Lyons proposes to correct into an emphatic *anta*.¹⁹⁴ But since the Arabic *lasta* finds confirmation in the Latin version by Hermannus, which reads «non es tu», Lyons' hypothesis remains open. Aristotle's final comment is also misunderstood and rendered as follows: «in order that they might know whether he was aware that they were harming him or not». The translator takes ὥς with its final meaning – while here it is a comparative conjunction –, and apparently εἰ is misread as οὐ. The final section of the sentence, καὶ ὑφ' ὄτοθ καὶ ἀνθ' ὄτου, is omitted.

¹⁹¹ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

¹⁹² The translation is mine. See Gastladi 2014, 460.

¹⁹³ See *Rh. Lyons* 309.

¹⁹⁴ See also Lyons 2002, 207.

39.

B 3, 1380b 28-30

διὸ εὖ περὶ τοῦ Ἐκτορος ὁ ποιητής, παύσαι βουλόμενος τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα τῆς ὀργῆς
τεθενεώτος,

κωφὴν γὰρ δὴ γαίαν ἀεικίζει μενεαίνων.

Rh. Lyons 92.2-5

فما أحسن ما حكى الشاعر عن اقطور إنه قال حيث أراد أن يسكن غضب أخليوس على ذلك الذي
هلك حيث يقول للهالك إنك الآن معانق الأرض البكماء التي أنت فيها أبداً.

CONTEXT:

Aristotle makes another remark concerning mildness by saying that one cannot be angry with the dead, since they cannot feel pain or sensations (1380b 24-27). This is the meaning of the verse quoted here (*Il. Ω* 54), in which Apollo condemns Achilles' treatment of Hector's corpse: «And therefore, in regard to Hector, the poet well says, wanting Achilles to restrain the anger against a dead man, "For it is senseless clay that he outrages in his wrath"».¹⁹⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich, with a testimonium in the introductory lemma.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁹⁶

Lyons gives the following translation: «How well the poet related of Hector that he said where he wanted to calm the anger of Achilles with regard to that man who was dead, where he says to the dead man "you are embracing the dumb earth in which you shall remain forever"».¹⁹⁷ The expression *haytu yaqūlu li-l-hāliki*, «where he said to the dead man» is an inaccurate addition of the translator. The verse as such is completely mistranslated. Margoliouth observed that *μενεαίνων* might have been read as a form of the verb *μένω* («to stay, to remain»), maybe as the participle *μένων*, followed by *ἀεί*, resulting in the Arabic *abadan*. For the latter, however, Lyons gives an alternative explanation, assuming that it could be a corruption or a misreading of *ἀεικίζει* (*ἀεί* / *κίζει*).

40.

B 4, 1381b 16

γίγνεται γὰρ οὕτω τὸ «κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ»

τὸ ΘΒΔΕΓ] καὶ ΑC

¹⁹⁵ Freese 1926, 191 (modified).

¹⁹⁶ See *Rh. Lyons* 309.

¹⁹⁷ See also *Lyons* 2002, 207.

Rh. Lyons 94.21

كالذي يكون بين الفاخراني والفاخراني.

CONTEXT:

Chapter B 4, as part of the review of the *πάθη*, is focused on love (*φιλεῖν*) and its opposite, hate (*μισεῖν*) (1380b 35-36). This passage is part of the enumeration of people toward whom one feels love and friendship. At 1381b 14-16 Aristotle notes that a man loves those who are similar to him («*τοὺς ὁμοίους*») and that are engaged in his same pursuits («*τοὺς ταῦτὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντας*»),¹⁹⁸ as long as they do not bother each other and do not compete for their livelihood. The competition that is created between those who are engaged in the same profession is illustrated by Hesiod in *Op.* 25 «Potter against potter», a quotation of proverbial value that is repeated in *Rh.* B 10, 1388a 16 = ref. 48 (pp. 131-132).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich. The syntagma, governed by a neuter article, is the subject of the sentence.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:¹⁹⁹

The Arabic translation, «like that which occurs between the potter and the potter», grasps the meaning of the Greek, but their syntactic structures are slightly different. *Γὰρ οὕτω* is paraphrased with *ka-lladī*, which is usually employed for *οἶον* or *ὥσπερ*. The Arabic *bayna...wa...* for the Greek structure of accusative (*κεραμεύς*)-dative (*κεραμεῖ*) appears to be a free interpretation of the translator, who, however, as Lyons suggests, might have read *καί* instead of *τό*, as attested in part of the manuscript tradition.

41.

B 6, 1383b 18-19

οἶον τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν ἀσπίδα ἢ φυγεῖν· ἀπὸ δειλίας γάρ.

Rh. Lyons 102.8

وذلك مثل طرح الترس والهرب جبناً وخوفاً

CONTEXT:

Chapter B 6 is part of the section dealing with the *πάθη* and focuses on shame (*αἰσχύνεσθαι*) and its opposite (*ἀναισχυντεῖν*). One is ashamed of all the actions that derive from vice (*ὅσα ἀπὸ κακίας ἔργα ἐστίν*, 1383b 18), such as the literary *topos* of throwing the shield or fleeing from the fight – which derives from cowardice (*δειλία*) –, an act condemned by various archaic poets, including Archilochus fr. 5 West, Alcaeus fr. Z 105 Loebel-Page (428), Anacreon fr. 36b Page (PMG 381).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 52.

¹⁹⁹ See *Rh.* Lyons 311.

²⁰⁰ Grimaldi 1980-1988, II 109; Gastaldi 2014, 468.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content and expressive reference to a *topos* of archaic lyric poetry.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁰¹

The translation is correct. The adverb οἶον is covered by *wa-dālika mitl*. The expression ἀπὸ δειλίας is linked to the previous proposition and rendered with two adverbial accusatives, the hendiadys *ǧubnan wa-ḥawfan* («for cowardice and fear»); γάρ is not translated.

42.

B 6, 1384a 34

ὄθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία τὸ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶναι αἰδῶ.

Rh. Lyons 104.17-18

ومن هاهنا يقول المثل إنما الخزي فيما تراه العين

CONTEXT:

One feels shame when one acts in the presence of people considered wise, such as the elderly and the educated (1384a 31-33). For this reason, the eyes and sight are described as the channel through which shame passes, as the proverbial expression cited above testifies. This constitutes a literary *topos* and the same image can be found in various poets before Aristotle: E. *Hipp.* 246; Euripides F 457 Kannicht (from the *Cresphontes*); Ar. V. 446; Thgn. 85.²⁰²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content and expressive reference to a literary *topos* defined as a παροιμία, proverb.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The version is correct but bears minor alterations, namely: ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, dative plural indefinite noun governed by ἐν, is rendered as a singular definite noun *al-ʿayn*; the syntactic structure is expanded by the insertion of the verb *raʿā* (resulting in: «shame lies in what the eye sees»); the reference is introduced by an added *verbum dicendi*, *yaqūlu* («the proverb says»).

43.

B 6, 1384b 10

οἶον χλευασταῖς καὶ κωμωδοποιοῖς.

²⁰¹ See *Rh. Lyons* 316.

²⁰² Cope, *Sandys* 1877, II 80.

CONTEXT:

Another category of people before whom one is ashamed are «those whose main occupation is with their neighbours' failings»²⁰³ (1384b 9-10), like οἱ χλευασταί, satirists or mockers in general, and οἱ κωμωδοποιοί, comic poets.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic expressive reference to the art of comedy and in particular to the practice of explicitly attacking individuals (ὀνομαστί κωμωδεῖν) in Ancient comedy.²⁰⁴

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The adverb οἷον is rendered with *ka-*. The introduction of the verb *fa'ala* produces a syntactic expansion of the Greek original. The verb governs the following doublet of accusatives, *al-muzdarīna al-mustahzi'īna*, «the scorning mockers», that would correspond to χλευασταίς και κωμωδοποιοίς, but apparently translates only χλευασταίς, while κωμωδοποιοίς is neither translated nor transliterated.

44.

B 6, 1384b 15-16

διὸ εὖ ἔχει ἢ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἀπόκρισις πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους

Rh. Lyons 105.14-15

فما أحسن ما قال أوريفيدس في جوابه لأهل ساراقوسة

CONTEXT:

Euripides' reply to the Syracusans is alluded to here to show that people are ashamed if someone they have recently befriended asks for a favour for the first time, since they are afraid of not being able to make a good impression and therefore ruin their good reputation. According to a scholium referred to this passage, Euripides was sent by Athens as ambassador to ask for peace and for an alliance with the Syracusans. When the Syracusans refused, he told them they should be ashamed of themselves, as the Athenians, by asking for an alliance, showed admiration for them. Since the episode of Euripides and the Syracusans is not attested

²⁰³ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²⁰⁴ Gastaldi 2014, 470.

by any other source, some scholars look with scepticism at the explanation given by the scholiast.²⁰⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention of the poet Euripides, without any reference to his art or to his works.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is correct.

45.

B 6, 1385a 10-13

ὄθεν καὶ Ἀντιφῶν ὁ ποιητὴς, μέλλων ἀποτυμπαρίζεσθαι ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, εἶπεν, ἰδὼν τοὺς συναποθνήσκειν μέλλοντας ἐγκαλυπτομένους ὡς ἦεσαν διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, “τί ἐγκαλύπτεσθε;” ἔφη· “ἢ μὴ αὐριὸν τις ὑμᾶς ἴδῃ τούτων;”

Rh. Lyons 106.24-107.4

ومن هاهنا قال أنطيفون الشاعر ما قال حين أحضر بين يدي ديانوسوس للعقوبة ونظر إلى الذين قد أحضروا للموت معه يسترون وجوههم ويخرجون من باب المدينة فقال لهم فرحًا مستبشّرًا: استروا وجوهكم خشيا لعل هؤلاء الذين يرونكم اليوم ينظرون اليكم غدًا فتخزون منهم.

CONTEXT:

The anecdote on the tragic poet Antiphon exemplifies one of the conditions in which one feels ashamed. Aristotle restates that sight is the channel through which shame passes: one is ashamed if one is about to be seen and if one is in public before those who know his or her actions (1385a 8-9: ὀρᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν φανερώ ἀναστρέφεσθαι τοῖς συνειδόσιν). When Antiphon, sentenced to death by Dionysius I of Syracuse, saw his fellow prisoners covering their faces as they passed through the gates (ἐγκαλυπτομένους ὡς ἦεσαν τῶν πυλῶν), he criticised them by saying: «Why do you cover your faces? Is it lest some of these spectators should see you *tomorrow*?» (53 T 1 Snell).²⁰⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁰⁷

The Arabic translation is not particularly problematic. The Greek εἶπεν is rendered three times in Arabic, through a triple repetition of the *verbum dicendi*, the last of which is accompanied by an adverbial hendiadys, *farihan mustabširan*, not very appropriate to the context («and therefore the poet Antiphon said what he said when...so he said to them

²⁰⁵ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 83; Gastaldi 2014, 471.

²⁰⁶ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²⁰⁷ See *Rh. Lyons* 319.

cheerfully and joyfully»). The question pronounced by Antiphon is mistranslated as an exhortation with an imperative. The text runs as follows: «Cover your faces for fear, lest those who see you to-day look at you to-morrow and feel shame before you».

46.

B 9, 1387a 32-34

ὄθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,

Αἴαντος δ' ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο·

Ζεὺς γὰρ οἱ νεμέσασχ', ὅτ' ἀμείνωνι φωτὶ μάχοιτο·

Rh. Lyons 115.2-4

ومن هاهنا قيل ما قيل في جهاد أس بن طلامون إنه كان امرأً مقدورًا له من المشتري، ثم إذا حارب

رجلاً هو أفضل منه.

CONTEXT:

Indignation (νεμεσᾶν) is the passion examined in chapter B 9. Among the things that trigger indignation is disrespect for the hierarchical principle, as when an individual of lower rank competes with one of higher rank in the same field. Hence only people of equal rank should confront each other (1378a 31-32). This statement is followed by two verses corresponding to *Il.* Λ 542-543 «Only from battle he shrank with Aias Telamon's son; / Zeus had been angered with him, had he fought with a mightier one».²⁰⁸ V. 543 is not attested in the extant manuscripts of the *Iliad*, nor printed by modern editors of the *Iliad*, as it is transmitted only by indirect testimonies, i.e., in this passage of Aristotle, in *Plu. De aud. poet.* 24c, 3 and in *Vit. Hom.* II 1529. The distich refers to Cebriones, one of Priam's sons, who decided not to clash with Ajax Telamonius in order not to incur Zeus' wrath for fighting against a more powerful warrior.²⁰⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, complete distich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²¹⁰

The translation is inaccurate: «thus was said what was said about the battle of Ajax son of Telamon, that he was a man for whom the fate had been decided by Zeus, then when he fought against a man better than himself».²¹¹ The verb ἀλέεινε is missing and νεμέσασχε is misinterpreted (*maqḍūran* may derive from a misreading of νεμέσασχε as a form of νομοθετέω?). As already observed by Lyons, Ζεὺς is assimilated to planet Jupiter and translated as *al-muštari*. Similar adaptations can be found in *Rh.* Γ 4, 1407a 18 = ref. 109 (pp. 187-189),

²⁰⁸ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²⁰⁹ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 118-119; Gastaldi 2014, 480.

²¹⁰ See *Rh.* Lyons 325.

²¹¹ See also Lyons 2002, 208.

where Ἄρης becomes *al-mirrīh*, planet Mars, and EN H 7, 1149b 15 = ref. 32 (pp. 323-324), where Uṣṭāt translates the term Ἀφροδίτη with *al-zuhara*, planet Venus.²¹²

47.

B 10, 1388a 7-8

ὄθεν εἴρηται

τὸ συγγενὲς γὰρ καὶ φθονεῖν ἐπίσταται.

Rh. Lyons 117.9-10

ومن هاهنا قيل إنّ المضارعة قد تحسن أن تحسد

CONTEXT:

Chapter B 10 focuses on envy, φθόνος. This passion is manifested especially towards those who are similar to us and are close to us in time, place, age and reputation (1388a 6-7), as displayed in the verse «Kinship knows how to envy also»²¹³ attributed to Aeschylus, F 305 Radt).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The version, «thus it is said that resemblance is good at envying»,²¹⁴ is not far from the Greek, but *al-muḍāraʿa*, «the resemblance», does not render precisely τὸ συγγενὲς.

48.

B 10, 1388a 16-17

ἀνάγκη μάλιστα τούτοις φθονεῖν, διόπερ εἴρηται

καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ.

Rh. Lyons 117.19-20

فهؤلاء لا محالة أحرى أن يُقال لهم حسادًا من الفاخراني للفاخراني

CONTEXT:

We feel envy towards those against whom we compete, i.e. a) those against whom we contend, b) rivals in love and c) those who aim at the same goals, such as the rivalry among

²¹² This strategy is quite common, as already pointed out by Strohmaier 1968, 135 and Vagelpohl 2008, 161 and n. 201, and is already found in Greek Christian literature and in Byzantine commentaries on Homer (see Mavroudi 2020, 459).

²¹³ Freese 1926, 241.

²¹⁴ Lyons 2002, 208.

those who practice the same profession. The quotation stems from Hesiod *Op.* 25 «Potter against potter», already related in *Rh.* B 4, 1381b 16 = ref. 40 (pp. 125-126).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²¹⁵

The translator interprets the structure of the sentence erroneously and assigns to *μάλιστα* a relative instead of an absolute meaning: «for these people have a better right to be called envious than the potter towards the potter».²¹⁶

49.

B 16, 1391a 8-12

ὄθεν καὶ τὸ Σιμωνίδου εἶρηται περὶ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ πλουσίων πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Ἰέρωνος ἐρομένην πότερον γενέσθαι κρεῖττον πλούσιον ἢ σοφόν. “πλούσιον” εἰπεῖν· τοὺς σοφοὺς γὰρ ἔφη ὄραν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις διατρίβοντας

***Rh.* Lyons 127.13-16**

ولهذا قال سيمونيدس ما قال لامرأة إيرون حيث سألته أيّ الأمرين أفضل، إن يكون المرء غنيًا أم حكيماً؟

فقال لها، بل يكون حكيماً، قد وطئ عتبات الأغنياء،

2 [حكيماً] tempt. Lyons in app. غنيًا فإن الحكيم.

CONTEXT:

Chapters B 12-17 review the ἡθῆ, «characters», of classes of individuals defined according to age or social status. In chapter B 16 Aristotle focuses on the character of the rich, by exploring the advantages and disadvantages linked to their condition. One of the benefits of being rich is the possibility of enjoying the company of the wise, who often seek the protection of a wealthy patron. An example of this is the anecdote concerning the poet Simonides and the wife of the tyrant of Syracuse Hiero, who had hosted him at his court. When the woman asked Simonides whether it is better to be rich or wise, the poet answered: «Rich [...] for I see the wise men spending their days at the rich men's doors».²¹⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium on Simonides, in the form of anecdotic narrative of an episode of his life, without any reference to his poetry.

²¹⁵ See *Rh.* Lyons 327.

²¹⁶ See also Lyons 2002, 208.

²¹⁷ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.* (Eng.); see Gastaldi 2014, 485; 490-491.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²¹⁸

The Arabic translation is correct but has some omissions. The syntagma *περὶ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ πλουσίων* is not translated and the text reads: «therefore Simonides said what he told to the wife of Hiero where she asked him which of the two was better, the rich man or the wise man». Even more problematic is the omission of *πλούσιον*, which produces the following text: «he replied to her: he should be a wise man, who has trodden the thresholds of the rich». In app. Lyons proposes to correct the second occurrence of *hakīman* into *ganīyan fa-inna al-hakīm*, to restore the meaning of the Greek text. If we accept Lyon's conjecture, the transmitted *hakīman* would be a later corruption of an original correct translation.

50.

B 19, 1392b 6-9

ὄθεν καὶ Ἀγάθωνι εἴρηται

καὶ μὴν τὰ μὲν γε τῆς τέχνης πράσσειν, τὰ δὲ
ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη καὶ τύχη προσγίγνεται.

τῆς τέχνης πράσσειν] Richards τῆ τέχνη πράσσει EQ τῆ τύχη πράσσειν BCDYZI
τῆ τύχηι πράσσει A χρὴ τέχνηι πράσσειν Porson

Rh. Lyons 131.16-18

ولهذا ما قال فلان خيرات مالان، منها ما نفعله عرضًا وبالجدّ ومنها ما نجتلبه اضطرارًا وبالصناعة.

CONTEXT:

In this chapter the examination of commonplaces is resumed, starting from the *topos* of the possible and its contrary, the impossible, which is analysed in its various meanings. At 1392b 5 Aristotle explains that if it is possible to do something without technique and preparation (*ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ παρασκευῆς*) then its opposite – doing that thing with technique and accuracy (*διὰ τέχνης καὶ ἐπιμελείας*) – is all the more valid. This is followed by a quotation from a lost tragedy by Agathon that reads: «To some things we by art must needs attain, / Others by destiny or luck we gain» (39 F 8 Snell).²¹⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal (but altered) quotation, complete distich. The introductory lemma bears the name of the author in the dative case and the *verbum dicendi*.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²²⁰

The misinterpretation of the proper noun Ἀγάθων as a form of the adjective ἀγαθός triggers a chain of errors in the rendering of the introductory lemma: «for this reason so-and-so said that good things consist of two types of wealth». The generic subject *fulān* is an addition of

²¹⁸ See *Rh. Lyons* 333-334.

²¹⁹ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.* (Eng.); see Gastaldi 2014, 497.

²²⁰ See *Rh. Lyons* 336.

the Arabic. The word *hayrāt* («good things») probably comes from a misreading of Ἀγάθωνι as a genitive plural noun ἀγαθῶν,²²¹ while *mālāni* («two types of wealth») would have originated, according to Lyons, from a dittography of Ἀγάθων/ἀγαθός interpreted again as a genitive plural ἀγαθῶν or as a dual ἀγαθοῖν. The Arabic translation of the quotation, «some things that we do by chance and good luck and others that we get by necessity and art»,²²² shows two interesting aspects from a philological point of view. The hendiadys *ʿaraḍan wa-bi-l-ḡaddi* translates the Greek τῆ τύχῃ (instead of τῆς τέχνης), which is attested by most MSS of the *Rh.*, while the hendiadys *idṭirāran wa-l-ṣināʿati* corresponds to the Greek ἀνάγκη καὶ τέχνη instead of ἀνάγκη καὶ τύχη, which however is not attested as a variant reading by any witness of the Greek tradition.

51.

B 20, 1393b 8-22

λόγος δέ, οἷος ὁ Στησιχόρου περὶ Φαλάριδος καὶ <ὁ> Αἰσώπου ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ. Στησίχορος μὲν γὰρ ἐλομένων στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Ἱμεραίων Φάλαριν καὶ μελλόντων φυλακὴν διδόναι τοῦ σώματος, τᾶλλα διαλεχθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λόγον ὡς ἵππος κατεῖχε λειμῶνα μόνος, ἐλθόντος δ' ἐλάφου καὶ διαφθείροντος τὴν νομὴν βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν ἔλαφον ἠρώτα τινὰ ἄνθρωπον εἰ δύναται ἂν μετ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν ἔλαφον, ὁ δ' ἔφησεν, ἐὰν λάβῃ χαλινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβῆ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἀκόντια· συνομολογήσας δὲ καὶ ἀναβάντος ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι αὐτὸς ἐδούλευσε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. “οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς”, ἔφη, “ὄρατε μὴ βουλόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους τιμωρήσασθαι τὸ αὐτὸ πάθητε τῷ ἵππῳ· τὸν μὲν γὰρ χαλινὸν ἔχετε ἤδη, ἐλόμενοι στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα· ἐὰν δὲ φυλακὴν δώτε καὶ ἀναβῆναι ἐάσητε, δουλεύσετε ἤδη Φαλάριδι”.

***Rh.* Lyons 135.1-14**

وأما الكلام فمثل ما قال أسطيسيخوس لقومه حيث أرادوا أن يقيموا لفلارس الحرس والحفظة، فإنه بعد ما فسر عن أشياء آخر ضرب لهم مثلاً بفرس كان قد استولى على مرعى وتفرّد به وحده، فدخل أيل فاسد للمرعى، فلما أراد الفرس الانتقام من الأيل سأل الإنسان هل يقدر على الانتقام منه بمعاونته، فقال له الإنسان: نعم إن أنت قبلت اللجام وحملتني على ظهرك وفي يدي قضيب. فلما أذعن الفرس بذلك، ركب الرجل وصار مكان الانتقام من الأيل إلى أن خضع للرجل وصار في ملكه. قال: فهكذا انظروا أنتم أيضاً لا تكونون وأنتم تريدون الانتقام من أعدائكم تصيرون إلى ما صار إليه الفرس، فإنكم قد التقمتم اللجام حيث قبلتم سلطاناً أوطقراطور، وهو الممسك بنفسه، فإن أقمتم له الحرس وخليتموه والدخول فقد أذعنتم لفلارس.

²²¹ Such confusion is not uncommon. For instance, in Abū Bišr Mattā's Arabic version of *Po.* 18, 1456a 24 we read *fi l-hayr* in correspondence to Ἀγάθων. Since Abū Bišr Mattā relied on a Syriac *Vorlage*, it is arguable that the error should be attributed to the Syriac translator. However, a few lines further on (1456a 30) the proper noun in the genitive Ἀγάθωνος occurs again and is rendered as *Agātun al-šā'ir*. See Tkatsch 1928-1932, I 260.16, 20.

²²² See also Lyons 2002, 202.

CONTEXT:

In this context λόγος is unanimously interpreted as fable – whose highest representatives are, according to Aristotle, Aesop’s fables and the Lybian tales (1393a 30-31) –, which in the *Rh.* is classified as a kind of example, one of the proofs common to all oratory genres. At the beginning of chapter B 20 example (παράδειγμα) is divided into two kinds, historical and invented, the latter including comparisons (παραβολαί) and fables (λόγοι). The first example of a fable quoted by Aristotle is an anecdote reported by Stesichorus (fr. 104a Page [PMG 281]). The reference runs as follows: «A fable is for instance that of Stesichorus concerning Phalaris, or that of Aesop on behalf of the demagogue. For Stesichorus, when the people of Himera had chosen Phalaris as supreme commander and were on the point of giving him a bodyguard, after having explained other arguments he related a fable to them: “A horse was in sole occupation of a meadow. A stag having come and done much damage to the pasture, the horse, wishing to avenge himself on the stag, asked a man whether he could help him to punish the stag. The man consented, on condition that the horse submitted to the bit and allowed him to mount him javelins in hand. The horse agreed to the terms and the man mounted him, but instead of obtaining vengeance on the stag, the horse from that time became the man’s slave. So then,” said he, “do you take care lest, in your desire to avenge yourselves on the enemy, you be treated like the horse. You already have the bit, since you have chosen a supreme commander; if you give him a bodyguard and allow him to mount you, you will at once be the slaves of Phalaris”». ²²³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Since this is not a quotation of verses, the reference is intended as a testimonium on Stesichorus.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION: ²²⁴

The Arabic version adheres to the Greek except for the first part. Due to the omission of καὶ <ὁ> Αἰσώπου...τῶν Ἱμεραίων Φάλαριν καὶ – probably resulting from a *saut du même au même* – the translator is forced to find a meaning in what he was reading, so to explain the plural μελλόντων right after the singular ὁ Στησιχόρου περι Φαλάριδος he adds *li-qawmihī* (referred to Stesichorus) and takes περι Φαλάριδος as the indirect object of διδόναι. The Arabic reads: «the speech is like what Stesichorus said to his people since they wanted to assign to Phalaris a bodyguard and guards, after having explained other arguments, he related a fable to them: “A horse was occupying a pasture completely alone. Then a stag entered and did much damage to the pasture. As the horse wanted to take revenge on the stag, he asked the man if he could take revenge on him with his help. The man answered him: yes, if you accept the bit and carry me on your back with a stick in my hand. When the horse granted this, the man mounted him and instead of taking revenge on the stag he ended up being submitted to the man and became part of his property. He said: be careful that you do not become so too, that you want to take revenge on your enemies and end up like the horse. For you have already got the bit, since you have accepted a commander *awṭuqrāṭūr*, that is one who controls himself, if you assign him

²²³ Freese 1926, 275, 277 (modified). See Rapp 2002, II 913.

²²⁴ See *Rh.* Lyons 338-339.

the guard and also allow him to enter, then you will submit to Phalaris». Some linguistic features are noteworthy, namely: the hendiadys *al-ḥaras wa-l-ḥafaẓa* for φυλακὴν...τοῦ σώματος; the renderings of the word λόγος, that in its first occurrence is covered by the generic *kalām*, while some lines below it is more properly translated with *matal* («example», «fable»), as the context suggests; the emphatic expression *wa-tafarrada bi-hī waḥda-hū* corresponding to the adjective μόνος; the same Arabic word *marʿā* «pasture» for the two synonyms λειμῶν «meadow» and νομή «pasture»; ἔλόμενοι is covered by *qabiltum*, which is a more appropriate translation for δεχόμενοι than for the former; the term αὐτοκράτωρ (in its second occurrence, since the first is missing due to the *saut du même au même*) is transliterated and accompanied by the gloss «that is one who controls himself». Moreover, one may observe that the man's answer (ἐὰν λάβῃ χαλινὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβῆ ἔπ' αὐτὸν ἔχων ἀκόντια) is translated as a direct speech instead of an indirect one as in Greek. Finally, the infinitive ἀναβῆναι is inaccurately translated with the *maṣdar duḥūl* meaning «to enter» and in fact some lines above the same Arabic root translates the Greek ἔρχομαι (ἐλθόντος). Moreover in this same passage for other forms of the same verb the translator uses other synonyms, αὐτὸς ἀναβῆ ἔπ' αὐτὸν as «*ḥamaltanī 'alā zāhrika*» (the subject and the indirect object of the Greek are reversed in Arabic) and ἀναβάντος as *rakibahū*.

52., 53., 54., 55., 56.

B 21, 1394a 28-b 6

οἶον

χρὴ δ' οὐ ποθ' ὅστις ἀρτίφρων πέφυκ' ἀνήρ
παίδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι σοφούς.

τοῦτο μὲν οὖν γνῶμη· προστεθείσης δὲ τῆς αἰτίας καὶ τοῦ διὰ τί ἐνθύμημά ἐστιν τὸ
ἅπαν, οἶον

χωρὶς γὰρ ἄλλης ἣς ἔχουσιν ἀργίας,
φθόνον παρ' ἀστῶν ἀλφάνουσι δυσμενῆ,

καὶ τὸ

οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνήρ εὐδαιμονεῖ,

καὶ τὸ

οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρῶν ὅστις ἔστ' ἐλεύθερος

γνῶμη, πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐνθύμημα,

ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν ἢ τύχης.

Rh. Lyons 137.8-17

وذلك كقول القائل إنه ليس * ينبغي * إذا ترقى أن يكون البتة ما هم به أو رآه الآن رجل كان معلماً، أعني
أن كينونة العلمان حكماً فضل أو بطالة، هذا الآن رأى، إذا اضيف إليه العلة وإن لم وجب هذا، كان
جميع ذلك تفكيراً، وذلك كقول القائل إن في غير البطالة أيضاً متكلماً للحساد، ممّا يحسد فيه... هذا †
ومن ذلك قول القائل ليس في جميع †... † خير، فإن هذا مع شيء آخر يضاف يكون تفكيراً، أعني قول
إن ذلك من فعل المال †... † الجدد.

coni. Badawī * بواجب *]* ينبغي * 1

CONTEXT:

Chapter B 21, as stated in the opening line (1394a 19), focuses on the *γνωμολογία*, «the art of maxim-making».²²⁵ Maxims – defined at 1394a 21-25 as statements of universal scope concerning human action – play a key role in the construction of enthymemes. For, if one renounces to the syllogistic form of enthymemes and takes premises and conclusion separately, they become maxims (1394a 25-28), as illustrated by a series of Euripidean quotations with gnomic content. The first example is derived from the first episode of the *Medea*, vv. 294-295 «Never should any man whose wits are sound / Have his sons taught more wisdom than their fellows»,²²⁶ expressing a universal ethical principle. If, as Aristotle remarks, we attach to these verses a statement explaining the reason of their content – that in this case is offered by vv. 296-297 of the same tragedy, that are quoted below («It makes them idle; and therewith they earn / Ill-will and jealousy throughout the city»)²²⁷ –, we compose an enthymeme. Two more examples follow. The first is a verse from the prologue of the lost *Stheneboea* («There is no man in all things prosperous»;²²⁸ F 661 Kannicht, v. 1), which is a simple maxim, since the reason of what it expresses is not given. The commentators point out that its reason comes from the agon between Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. In fact, Aristophanes makes Euripides utter this verse in *Frogs* v. 1217, and vv. 1218-1219 provide the following explanation «he may have been noble born yet lacking livelihood, he may have been lowborn and–».²²⁹ V. 1219, left intentionally suspended, is completed by Aeschylus, who interrupts Euripides by saying «Lost his oil bottle».²³⁰ According to a scholiast, Euripides' actual conclusion of the line would be: «Though he ploughs a rich field».²³¹ The last example corresponds to v. 864 from the third episode of the *Hecuba*, «There is no man among us all

²²⁵ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 204.

²²⁶ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²²⁷ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²²⁸ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²²⁹ Henderson 2002, 191.

²³⁰ Henderson 2002, 191.

²³¹ Dover 1993, 341.

who is free».²³² If we add v. 865 «For all are slaves of money or of chance»,²³³ which gives the reason, also this maxim is transformed into an enthymeme.²³⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Literal anonymous serial quotations, two complete distichs from Euripides' *Medea*, a complete monostich from Euripides' *Stheneboia*, a complete distich (but the two verses are separated by Aristotle's note) from Euripides' *Hecuba*. Each of the two couplets from the *Medea* is introduced by the adverb οἶον. The expression καὶ τό is used to introduce the second example and is repeated to introduce the third. Although there are no *verba dicendi* or other elements that clearly point out that these are poetry references, the microcontext makes it explicit that these lines are quoted from other sources.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²³⁵

The lacunae and corruptions of the MS make it difficult to read this passage. The adverb οἶον, in both occurrences, is translated and expanded *wa-dālika ka-qawli l-qā'ili inna*, and a similar expression *wa-min dālika qawli l-qā'ili* is used to introduce the second example (οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ), where in Greek there is a simple καὶ τό. The last example is introduced by *a'nī qawlu inna*. Following Lyons' reconstruction, the first couplet reads: «it is not necessary, when one advances, that what a man who was a teacher concerns himself with or thinks now exists at all, I mean, that the youths should be extraordinarily wise or heroic».²³⁶ One may observe that the translation of οὐ ποτε «never» with *laysa...al-battata* is inaccurate; ἀρτίφρων is mistranslated as a combination of ἄρτι «now» and a form of the verb φρονέω (φρονῶν / φρονεῖ ?) «to think»; *mu'alliman* derives from a misinterpretation of the verb ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι. *Faḍl* might correspond to the adverb περισσῶς, while the hendiadys *ḥukamā'* [...] *aw biṭāla* stands for σοφούς. However, *biṭāla* also means «idleness», and it is used with this meaning some lines below at 1394a 32 to render ἀργία. By taking *biṭāla* as «idleness», we would have: «I mean, the fact that youths are wise is excess and idleness». In this alternative interpretation, *ḥukamā'* stands for σοφούς while the adverb περισσῶς is covered by the hendiadys *faḍl aw biṭāla*. At 1394b 30 the translator apparently read οἶν as νῶν (= *al-'āna*). The translation of the second couplet is very damaged and can be only partially reconstructed: «it is not a matter of idleness also to talk to the envious, about what he envies †...†».²³⁷ The two monostichs quoted below are also not readable in the Arabic translation. One can discern *ḥayr* corresponding to the Greek εὖ- (of εὐδαιμονεῖ), as confirmed by the Latin version of Hermannus Alemannus bearing *boni*. However, Lyons rightly points out, *ḥayr* may be corrected into *ḥurr* and would then translate the Greek ἐλεύθερος. The version of the last verse is also damaged but evidently the term δούλος is rendered with the root *f:l* probably because

²³² Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²³³ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²³⁴ See Gastaldi 2014, 503-504.

²³⁵ See *Rh.* Lyons 340.

²³⁶ See also Lyons 2002, 209. Here the scholar argues that ترفى may be read as ترفى, but, in any case, the Arabic does not cover the sense of the Greek.

²³⁷ See Lyons 2002, 209.

the Syriac *Vorlage* bore a form of the root ‘*b-d*’, which expresses both the meaning of «to do» and «to be a slave».

57., 58., 59., 60., 61.

B 21, 1394b 11-26

1 τούτων δ’ ἀνάγκη τὰς μὲν διὰ τὸ προεγνώσθαι μηδὲν δεῖσθαι ἐπιλόγου, οἶον

ἀνδρὶ δ’ ὑγιαίνειν ἄριστόν ἐστιν, ὡς γ’ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ

(φαίνεσται μὲν γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὕτω), τὰς δ’ ἅμα λεγομένας δὴλας εἶναι ἐπιβλέψασιν, οἶον

οὐδεὶς ἐραστής ὅστις οὐκ ἀεὶ φιλεῖ.

5 τῶν δὲ μετ’ ἐπιλόγου αἱ μὲν ἐνθυμήματος μέρος εἰσὶν, ὥσπερ

χρῆ δ’ οὐ ποθ’ ὅστις ἀρτίφρων,

αἱ δ’ ἐνθυμηματικαὶ μὲν, οὐκ ἐνθυμήματος δὲ μέρος· αἴπερ καὶ μάλιστα εὐδοκιμοῦσιν. εἰσὶν δ’ αὐταὶ ἐν ὅσαις ἐμφαίνεται τοῦ λεγομένου τὸ αἴτιον, οἶον ἐν τῷ

ἀθάνατον ὄργην μὴ φύλασσε θνητὸς ὤν·

10 τὸ μὲν γὰρ φάναι “μὴ δεῖν φυλάττειν” γνώμη, τὸ δὲ προσκείμενον “θνητὸν ὄντα” τὸ διὰ τί. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ

θνατὰ χρῆ τὸν θνατόν, οὐκ ἀθάνατα τὸν θνατόν φρονεῖν.

7 ἀρτίφρων ΑΓ + πέφυκ’ ἀνήρ ΘΠ 10 μὴ...γνώμη] δεῖν (+ ἀεὶ ΘΠ) φυλάττειν
τὴν ὄργην ΘΠΓ

Rh. Lyons 138.4-20

1 وهذا النحو لا محالة منه †...† لتقديم المعرفة، فإنه هكذا لا يحتاج إلى تقديم الكلام بشيء، وذلك كقول
القائل إن خير الأشياء للرجل فيما أظن أن يكون صحيح البدن. فقد يظن هذا هكذا عند كثير من الناس، ومنه ما
يكون كذلك من قبل إنه حين يُقال، فهو ظاهر من ساعته للذين يبصرون، كقولك ليس محبًا من لا يحب دائمًا،
وأما الاتي يكن مع تقديم كلام فمنهنّ أجزاء للتفكيرات، كقول القائل إنه ليس بواجب أن يكون البتة ما بهم به
5 أو يراه الآن رجل كان كذا. ومنهنّ تفكيرات وليس أجزاء للتفكيرات، وهذه التي تنجح بزيادة، أعني التي تنتهي
فيها علّة قول القائل، وذلك كقول القائل إنه في هذا الأمر لا ينبغي له أن يثبت الغضب لا ميت إذا كان هو نفسه
ميتًا، فقولك إنه لا ينبغي أن يثبت الغضب أبدًا هو رأى وأما قولك إذا كان هو ميتًا فأخبار عن لِمَ، أي عن العلّة،
وكذلك قول القائل إن الذي يجب للميت أن يُوصف بالموتيات لكيلا يُتوهم الميت لا ميت.

هم [يهمّ به أو يراه 4 tempt. Lyons in app. ما كان [†...† 1
 تفكيريات 5] conī. Badawī (cf. *Rh.* B 21, 1394a 29 = ref. 52, pp. 136-139) به أو راه
 تفكيريات tempt. Lyons in. app.

CONTEXT:

According to Aristotle there are four kinds of maxims, which must be preliminarily divided into two categories. On the one hand, there are maxims that can be used without ἐπίλογος because they do not express anything paradoxical (παράδοξόν τι) or questionable (ἀμφισβητούμενον), and, on the other, there are maxims that require an ἐπίλογος, i.e., a conclusion that expresses the reason of what is stated in the maxim, thus building a syllogistic reasoning. To show these two types of maxims and their internal divisions the philosopher uses a series of examples, that are reported here all together since they are part of the same argument, and the close link between theoretical explanation and poetic example makes it necessary to quote the passage in full. Among the maxims that do not need ἐπίλογος there are a) maxims that are already known (διὰ τὸ προεγνωσθαι), such as the line «Chiefest of blessings is health for a man, as it seemeth to me»,²³⁸ quoted by several Greek authors (for instance Plato in *Gr.* 451e) and ascribed to Epicharmus or to Simonides (Epicharmus fr. 250 Kassel-Austin; cf. Simonides 146 Page [PMG 651]). No conclusion is required either in b) the maxims that are self-evident, as in the case of v. 1051 uttered by Hecuba in the third episode of Euripides' *The Trojan Women* (where the verse reads οὐκ ἔστ' instead of οὐδέεις), «No love is true save that which loves forever».²³⁹ Then Aristotle goes on to examine the maxims accompanied by an ἐπίλογος, which either c) are part of an enthymeme or d) are themselves ἐνθυμηματικάι, «have the character of enthymemes», as they express the reason of what is said. The latter are defined by Aristotle as the most effective. An example of type c) is v. 294 from Euripides' *Medea*, quoted here with the omission of the final two words and reported in full at *Rh.* B 21, 1394a 29-33 together with vv. 295-297 (= refs. 52, 53, pp. 136-139). For type d) two examples are given. The first is a verse whose source is unknown (Adesp. F 79 Snell) and that is briefly analysed by Aristotle: «“O mortal man, nurse not immortal wrath”. To say ‘it is not right to nurse immortal wrath’ is a maxim; the added words ‘O mortal man’ give the reason».²⁴⁰ The last quotation, «Mortal creatures ought to cherish mortal, not immortal thoughts»,²⁴¹ is attributed to Epicharmus (fr. 251 Kassel-Austin).²⁴²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Literal anonymous serial (interspersed with brief notes) quotations, monostichs. All of them are complete except for *χρῆ δ' οὐ ποθ' ὄστις ἀρτίφρων* (v. 294 from Euripides' *Medea*), in which the suspension effect is sought to recall what is written a few lines above (cf. ref. 52). As

²³⁸ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²³⁹ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²⁴⁰ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²⁴¹ Roberts 1924, *ad loc.*

²⁴² Cope, Sandys 1877, II 207-210; Gastaldi 2014, 504-505.

in the previous references (refs. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56), there is no element that explicitly introduces the quotations as such, but the context makes it clear that they are cited as examples with gnomic value. In fact, once again the translator adds a *verbum dicendi* before each reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁴³

The passage, taken as a whole, is translated correctly and there are no noticeable phenomena of misinterpretation.

The rendering of the introductory phrase τούτων δ' ἀνάγκη...δείσθαι ἐπιλόγου is very close to the Greek even though it cannot be read in full because it is partially damaged – Lyons proposes in the apparatus to supplement *mā kāna*. It may be noted, however, that the plurals τούτων and τὰς μέν are rendered as singular.

As for the elements introducing the quotations (οἶον - οἶον - ὥσπερ - οἶον ἐν τῷ - ὁμοίως δὲ καί) in all five instances the translator adds a *verbum dicendi*: οἶον = *wa-dālika ka-qawli l-qā'ili inna*; οἶον = *ka-qawlika* (referred to a generic “you”); ὥσπερ = *ka-qawli l-qā'ili inna*; οἶον ἐν τῷ = *wa-dālika ka-qawli l-qā'ili innahū fi hādā l-amri* (but ἐν τῷ is taken as part of the quotation that follows); ὁμοίως δὲ καί = *wa-ka-dālika qawlu l-qā'ili inna*.

In the translation of the first quotation, ὥς γ' ἡμῖν δοκεῖ is anticipated and the *plurale maiestatis* is rendered with the singular *azunnu*, as indeed is common in modern translations of Greek (cf. Roberts' translation reported above).

In the translation of τὰς δ' ἅμα λεγομένας δήλας εἶναι ἐπιβλέψασιν the participle τὰς...λεγομένας is paraphrased as «what is so earlier than when it is pronounced», while ἅμα is postponed «it is immediately clear to those who consider [it]».

The second quotation is also translated correctly, while the third (χρῆ δ' οὐ ποθ' ὄστις ἀρτίφρων) is partly paraphrased and partly expanded by the addition of the two final words of the verse, πέφυκ' ἀνήρ, which Aristotle omitted, but which are transmitted by some MSS (ΘΠ) of the Greek tradition of the *Rh*. The Arabic reads: «it is not necessary that what a man who was like this concerns himself with or sees now should exist at all».²⁴⁴ As in the rendering of the previous occurrence of this quotation (= ref. 52, pp. 136-139) ἀρτίφρων is divided in ἀρτί (= *al-'āna*, «now») and -φρων read as a form of the verb φρονέω, and thus translated with the hendiadys made of the verbs *hama* (*bi-*) and *ra'ā*.

As observed by Lyons, αἰ δ' ἐνθυμηματικαὶ is translated in Arabic as if it were τὰ δ' ἐνθυμηματικά, but the scholar does not rule out the possibility that *tafkīrāt* might be corrected into *tafkīriyyāt*, with the addition of the nisba suffix for the Greek -ικός (as indicated in the apparatus).

In correspondence to ἐμφαίνεται the Arabic bears *tantahī* «is completed», which does not cover the meaning of the Greek verb. Since the Latin version of Hermannus Alemannus has *declarata*, it seems to be a corruption of *tatabahhā*, as suggested by Salim and Badawī (or maybe *tatabayyanu* –my hypothesis), rather than a mistranslation of ἐμφαίνεται as if it were περαίνεται.

²⁴³ See *Rh*. Lyons 340-341.

²⁴⁴ Translation in *Rh*. Lyons 340. In Lyons 2002, 2009 the scholar changes his translation: «it is not right that what a man is concerned about or sees now should be like that».

As for the fourth quotation, the Arabic is not far from the *Vorlage*. It has already been mentioned that ἐν τῷ of the introductory phrase is translated as part of the quotation. The imperative 2nd sg. φύλασσε is translated as a 3rd sg. preceded by *yanbaḡī (la-hū) an*, which semantically replaces the imperative, while the rest of the quotation is referred to a 3rd sg.

As Lyons notes, both τὸ μὲν γὰρ φάναι and τὸ δὲ προσκείμενον are paraphrased with *qawluka*, that addresses a generic “you”.

Even at 1394b 23 the Arabic version evidently follows the MSS ΘΠ of the Greek textual tradition, which bear δεῖν αἰεὶ φυλάττειν τὴν ὀργὴν instead of δεῖν φυλάττειν.

Finally in the last quotation the translator adds the verb *yūṣafa* and gives an interpretation that is not completely identical to the original meaning: «what is necessary for the mortal is that he should be characterised by mortal attributes, lest what is mortal be thought for as immortal».

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The monostich ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλασσε θνητὸς ὤν (Adesp. F 79 Snell) is also transmitted as part of the gnomologium entitled *Menandri Sententiae* (fr. 5 Pernigotti), that has been translated into Arabic in at least one of its recensions. A peculiarity of the Arabic tradition is that, in almost all the sources preserving its Arabic version of this compilation, it is ascribed to Homer,²⁴⁵ and indeed this verse is listed among Homer’s wise sayings in the *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal (Book of Religions and Sects)* by al-Šahrastānī (d. 548/1153), one of the main testimonies of the Arabic version of the *Menandri Sententiae*. But the Arabic translation of the verse in the *Kitāb al-milal* differs from the wording of the version of the *Rh.*:

إن كنت ميئاً فلا تحقر عداوة من لا تمت

If you are mortal, do not disdain the hostility of the immortals.²⁴⁶

To explain the different meaning that the monostich assumes in Arabic, Nauck, as reported by Ullmann, suggested that the translator of the *Menandri Sententiae* might have had ἀθανάτου ἔχθραν μὴ φαύλιζε θνητὸς ὤν in his Greek copy.²⁴⁷

62.

B 21, 1394b 30-32

οἶον εἴ τις εἴποι

“ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε φθονεῖσθαι δεῖ οὔτ’ ἀργὸν εἶναι, οὐ φημι χρῆναι παιδεύεσθαι”

²⁴⁵ See next chapter.

²⁴⁶ Arabic text and German translation in Ullmann 1961, 17 (= n. I 5 Ullmann).

²⁴⁷ Ullmann 1961, 17 n. 5. Ullmann compares this line with n. II 10 (Ullmann 1961, 64), part of another Arabic version of a recension of the *Menandri sententiae* preserved in the MS Paris, BnF, ar. 147, where the collection is ascribed to Gregory of Nazianz instead of Homer.

Rh. Lyons 139.2-4

وذلك كما يقول القائل أمّا أنا فإنّي لكيلا أحسد أو أذعى باطلا أزعّم أنّه لا ينبغي لي أن أتأدّب

CONTEXT:

After distinguishing the various types of maxims, Aristotle stresses that those maxims that deal with paradoxical or disputed matters must be accompanied by an ἐπίλογος. This can either precede the maxim or follow it as a conclusion. An example of a maxim introduced by an ἐπίλογος is once again the group of vv. 294-297 of Euripides' *Medea*, which Aristotle had already referred to in 1394a 29-33 = refs. 52, 53 (pp. 136-139; cf. 1394b 18 = ref. 59, pp. 139-142). Unlike the previous instances, here the verses are not quoted literally but paraphrased to display an inference: «as, for example, if one were to say, “As for me, since one ought neither to be the object of jealousy nor to be idle, I say that children ought not to be educated”».²⁴⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated paraphrastic quotation. Compared to the Euripidean text, the order of the couplets is reversed, as the paraphrasis of vv.296-297 is followed by that of vv. 294-295.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁴⁹

The Arabic rendering is accurate in lexicon and syntax, but the entire discourse is in first person sing. – probably triggered by the presence of the personal pronoun ἐγώ at the beginning of the quotation –, with the outcome: «As for instance he who says: “As for me, in order that I may not be envied and called idle I maintain that I should not be educated”».

63.

B 21, 1394b 35-1395a 2

οἷον εἴ τις λέγει ὅπερ Στησίχορος ἐν Λοκροῖς εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ὑβριστὰς εἶναι, ὅπως μὴ οἱ τέττιγες χαμόθεν ἄδωσιν.

Rh. Lyons 139.8-10

وذلك إن يقول قائل كما قال سطييسيخورس بلوقراس إنّه لا ينبغي أن نكون شتامين لكيلا توزوز الخطاطيف من الأرض.

(شتام 1 95a 142: Glossary but cf. Lyons شتامين 1 corr. [شتامين 1

²⁴⁸ Freese 1926, 283. See Gastaldi 2014, 505.

²⁴⁹ See *Rh. Lyons* 341.

CONTEXT:

If a maxim deals with obscure matters (περὶ δὲ τῶν...ἀδήλων, 1394b 32) the cause must be explained as concisely as possible (στρογγυλώτατα, 1394b 33), to make the statement immediately comprehensible to a popular audience. A good example, says Aristotle, are the enigmatic expressions, «as, for instance, to say what Stesichorus said to the Locrians, that they ought not to be insolent, lest their cicadas should be forced to chirp from the ground» (fr. 104b Page [PMG 281]).²⁵⁰ With these words the poet alludes to the consequences that a war would have brought about if the Locrians had behaved with arrogance. With the devastation of the territories and the felling of the trees, the cicadas would have been forced to sing on the ground and not among the branches of the trees.²⁵¹ Reference to the same maxim also appears in Γ 11, 1412a 23-24.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium on Stesichorus. It is not known whether the maxim was in verse or prose.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁵²

The rendering of Stesichorus' words bears some striking features. It reads: «We should not be arrogant lest the swallows waddle on the ground». The verb ἄδωσιν is mistranslated and maybe the translator is guessing based on the nearby adverb χαμόθεν. The rendering of τέττιγες, cicadas, with *ḥaṭāṭīf*, swallows, is particularly interesting. Lyons keenly points out that the translator's misunderstanding may be triggered by the interference of Syriac, so it might be either a Syriacism or an Arabic translation of a Syriac *Vorlage*. In fact, the Greek term τέττιξ may have been confused with the Syriac *ṭaitikōs* / *ṭītikōs* (ܛܝܬܝܟܘܫܘܬܐ or ܛܝܬܝܟܘܫܘܬܐ) which instead means a type of bird, a sandpiper.

It is not possible to compare this rendering with the second occurrence of this reference (Γ 11, 1412a 23-24) due to a lacuna of the MS of the Arabic version.

64., 65., 66.

B 21, 1395a 12-18

- 1 οἶον παρακαλοῦντι ἐπὶ τὸ κινδυνεύειν μὴ θυσαμένους
“εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης”,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἦττους ὄντας
“ξυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος”,
- 5 καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀναιρεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰ τέκνα καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα
“νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει”.
ἔτι ἔνιαι τῶν παροιμιῶν καὶ γινώμαί εἰσιν, οἷον παροιμία “Ἀττικὸς πάροικος”

7 παροιμία] ACF Ross μαρτυρία ΘΒΔΕ

²⁵⁰ English translation in Freese 1926, 283.

²⁵¹ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 210-211; Gastaldi 2014, 505-506. See also the commentary in Ercoles 2013, 352-359.

²⁵² See *Rh*. Lyons 341.

Rh. Lyons 140.6-11

وذلك كما †...صرع† في الجهد و †ا...ا† يذبحوا لأنه كان واحد †...† البطل الذي أخذ *بتأر*
مدينته، و*هذا* جعل الهزيمة على العدو ولناس وليقتل أولاد الأعداء ولا ظلم، بل الطفل المقاتل أبا ويخلف
اولادًا. ثم إن من بعض الأمثال أيضًا *آراء* و*هنّ* شهادات، كما يقال †...†

CONTEXT:

Here Aristotle underlines the importance for a maxim to be *τεθρολυμένη*, «commonly used» or «repeatedly mentioned», and *κοινή*, «common», since if it enjoys the support of universal consensus, it seems to be correct (1395a 10-11). These features are illustrated by a series of poetic examples. The first two quotations correspond to *Il. M* 243 and *Il. Σ* 309, and both are words of exhortation that Hector addresses to Polydamas. In *Il. M* 243 («the best of omens is to defend one's country») he admonishes him to ignore the bad omen – an eagle clutching a snake in its claws – that appeared to the Trojans before the battle. In *Il. Σ* 309 («the chances of war are the same for both») Hector replies to Polydamas' proposal to retreat behind the walls of the city inciting him to fight and to face Achilles. The third maxim is taken from the *Cypria* by Stasinus (*Cypria* fr. 33 Bernabé) and is also quoted in *Rh. A* 15, 1376a 7 = ref. 30 (pp. 118-119) but with a slightly different wording. The proverb «an Attic neighbor» is attested in the *History of the Peloponnesian War* (I, 70) by Thucydides, as part of a speech delivered by the Corinthians at a congress held in Sparta.²⁵³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Three explicit anonymous serial literal quotations. The first and the third quotations are complete monostichs, whereas the second is an incomplete monostich. Each of them is introduced by a brief contextualizing note.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁵⁴

The Arabic text is badly damaged and lacunose, so it is difficult to evaluate the quality of the version, which runs as follows: «For instance, †...brought down† in the danger †...† that they kill because one was †...† the hero who took vengeance to his city, this man defeated the enemies, to the people and to destroy the children of the enemy and there is no wrong (in this), but the infant who has slain the father also leaves the children behind. Further among some examples there are also maxims, and these are testimonies, as saying †...†».²⁵⁵ Lyons observes two aspects: the Arabic *li-nās* («to people») may be the result of a later deformation of the transliteration of the Greek *ἔνυάλιος*; *šahādāt* «testimonies» follows a part of the Greek tradition, represented by the MSS ΘBDE which bear *μαρτυρίαί* instead of *παροιμία*.

²⁵³ Gastaldi 2014, 506-507. All the English translations come from Freese 1926, 285.

²⁵⁴ See *Rh. Lyons* 341-342.

²⁵⁵ See also Lyons 2002, 210.

67.

B 22, 1395b 29-30

ὥσπερ φασὶν οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους παρ' ὄχλῳ μουσικωτέρως λέγειν

Rh. Lyons 142.19-20

كما يقول الفيثونون إنّ الذين لا أدب لهم أفكه في المجتمع

CONTEXT:

In chapter B 22 Aristotle returns to deal with the enthymeme in general, laying out the differences from the dialectical syllogism. Unlike the latter, the enthymeme cannot be too long, so «the conclusion must neither be drawn from too far back nor should it include all the steps of the argument» (1395b 25-26; see A 2, 1357a 7-21).²⁵⁶ The rhetorical syllogism must therefore be concise and clear because it is addressed to an inexperienced audience, and for this reason, says Aristotle, illiterate orators are more persuasive than educated ones (τοῦτο γὰρ αἴτιον καὶ τοῦ πιθανωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους τῶν πεπαιδευμένων ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις, 1395b 27-28). This statement is reinforced through a poetic example («as the poets say, “the ignorant are more skilled at speaking before a mob»),²⁵⁷ generically referred to «the poets». The reference is actually a paraphrasis of vv. 988-989 of the third episode of Euripides' *Hippolytus* (οἱ γὰρ ἐν σοφοῖς / φαῦλοι παρ' ὄχλῳ μουσικώτεροι λέγειν), in which Hippolytus complains before his father Theseus that among wise people the φαῦλοι are considered to be more skilled at speaking before a crowd.²⁵⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated paraphrastic quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁵⁹

Ka-mā renders ὥσπερ. The term οἱ ποιηταὶ is transliterated, as common in the Arabic version of the *Rh.*, while μουσικωτέρως is translated with *afkah* «merrier», occurring also at 1395b 27 for the Greek πιθανωτέρως.

68.

B 22, 1396a 13-14

ἢ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν πραχθέντα

ὑπὸ] Ross ὑπὲρ codd. Γ

Rh. Lyons 144.3

أو ما صنع بسبب الهرقليدس

²⁵⁶ Freese 1926, 289.

²⁵⁷ Freese 1926, 289.

²⁵⁸ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 222-223.

²⁵⁹ See *Rh. Lyons* 343.

CONTEXT:

Whoever produces a discourse – of any of the three genres – must possess τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, that is, all the information related to the object being treated (1396a 4-7). Aristotle provides concrete examples using Athens as a frame of reference. If one wanted to deliver a speech in praise of the city, one would have to mention its most glorious undertakings, «for men always base their praise upon what really are, or are thought to be, glorious deeds» (1396a 14-15). In the case of Athens, glorious deeds are the battles of Salamis or Marathon (τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἢ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην, 1396a 12-13) or the deeds performed for the Heraclidae. The latter expression refers to the mythical episode of the descendants of Heracles, who were defended by the king of Athens Theseus, who engaged in a war against their persecutor Eurystheus. Euripides' tragedy entitled *Heracleidae* recounts the protection offered by the king of Athens Demophon to the descendants of Heracles.²⁶⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁶¹

Lyons points out that the Arabic *bi-sabibi* corresponds to the reading ὑπέρ, which has been corrected by Ross into the final ὑπό (with genitive).

69.

B 22, 1396a 23-30; 1396b 10-18

οὐδὲν δὲ διαφέρει περὶ Ἀθηναίων ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἢ ἀνθρώπου ἢ θεοῦ, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δρᾶν· καὶ γὰρ συμβουλευόντα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ ψέγοντα, καὶ κατηγοροῦντα καὶ ἀπολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ δοκούντα ὑπάρχειν ληπτέον, ἴν' ἐκ τούτων λέγωμεν, ἐπαινοῦντες ἢ ψέγοντες εἴ τι καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρὸν ὑπάρχει, κατηγοροῦντες δ' ἢ ἀπολογούμενοι εἴ τι δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, συμβουλευόντες δ' εἴ τι συμφέρον ἢ βλαβερόν. [...] λέγω δὲ κοινὰ μὲν τὸ ἐπαινεῖν τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἡμιθέων καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ἐστρατεύσατο· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις ὑπάρχει πολλοῖς, ὥστε οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ἐπαινεῖ ἢ Διομήδη· ἴδια δὲ ἄμηνεϊ ἄλλω συμβέβηκεν ἢ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, οἷον τὸ ἀποκτείνειν τὸν Ἔκτορα τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Τρώων καὶ τὸν Κύκνον, ὃς ἐκώλυσε ἅπαντας ἀποβαίνειν ἄτρωτος ὦν, καὶ ὅτι νεώτατος καὶ οὐκ ἔνορκος ὦν ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα.

Rh. Lyons 144.14-19; 145.16-146.4

كما قيل إنّه لا فرق بين أن يفعل ذلك بالأتينيين أو اللقدماتيين أو بإنسان أو بإله، فإنّ الفعل في هذا واحد. ثمّ أنّا حين نصف أخيلوس بأنّه كان يشاور أو يمدح أو يذمّ أو يشكو* أو يجيب* إنّما نأخذ ممّا يتكلّم به عنه كلّ ما هو موجود أو ما يظنّ موجودًا، فيكون قولنا من تلك الأمور بأعيانها، أمّا إذا مدحنا أو

²⁶⁰ See Gastaldi 2014, 510.

²⁶¹ See *Rh.* Lyons 344.

5 ذمنا، فكلّ ما كان من حسن أو قبيح، وأمّا إذا شكونا أو أجبنا، فكلّ ما كان من الواجب، وأمّا إذا اشترنا، فكلّ ما نفع أو ضرر [...] أعني بالعوامّ كما يمدح مادح أخيلوس بأنّه إنسان من الایمناّیین... لالهة† وإنّه حيث أغار جهاز الغارة بماله ، فإنّ هذه الصفات موجودة لآخرين كثيرين ، †...† في شيء من هذا من التقريظ لأخيلوس أكثر ممّا لديوماديس ، فأمّا الخواصّ †...† لم يكن لأحد غير أخلوس ، كما نقول إنّه قتل أقطور فارس طراونيين وإنّه †...† قنوس الذي †...† أصحابه ولم تصبه طعنة وإنّه أغار وهو صبيّ من غير تجربة ومهما كان *على* هذا ونحوه.

(*aut iniustum* Hermannus) أو غير الواجب. Lyons in app. tempt. Lyons in app. [الواجب] 4

CONTEXT:

With these words, Aristotle specifies that the orator must possess the *ὑπάρχοντα* regarding any subject (see prev. ref.). To reiterate these notions the philosopher mentions Achilles – in accordance with the rhetorical practice of building fictitious speeches on mythical topics – for which he says: «For, when advising Achilles, praising or censuring, accusing or defending him, we must grasp all that really belongs, or appears to belong to him, in order that we may praise or censure in accordance with this, if there is anything noble or disgraceful; defend or accuse, if there is anything just or unjust; advise, if there is anything expedient or harmful».²⁶² The reference to Achilles returns a few lines below to emphasise the need to select among the *ὑπάρχοντα* those peculiar and closer to the subject, which are also more appropriate (*ὅσῳ δ' ἐγγύτερον, τοσοῦτω οικειότερα*, 1396b 9-10). Therefore it is necessary to leave out what is common, such as, in the case of Achilles, those aspects that he shares with other heroes: «By common I mean, for instance, praising Achilles because he is a man, or one of the demigods, or because he went on the expedition against Troy; for this is applicable to many others as well, so that such praise is no more suited to Achilles than to Diomedes».²⁶³ On the other hand, it is necessary to focus on some characteristic enterprises (*ἰδιὰ*, 1396b 14) such as the killings of Hector (*Il. X* 248-366) and Cycnus, son of Poseidon and king of Kolonai in Troad (who is mentioned together with Hector in Pindar *Ol. II* 81-83; *Isthm. V* 39-41); or on the fact that, as a very young man, he had participated in the Trojan War (see *Il. A* 417) or that, unlike the other Greek heroes, he had not sworn to Tydeus, father of Helen, to defend the man whom his daughter would have chosen as husband, as narrated in Euripides *Iph. Aul.* 49-65 and alluded to elsewhere (Hom. *Il. A* 158-159; Soph. *Aj.* 1111).²⁶⁴ The Greek text reads: «By common I mean, for instance, praising Achilles because he is a man, or one of the demigods, or because he went on the expedition against Troy; for this is applicable to many others as well, so that such praise is no more suited to Achilles than to Diomedes. By particular I mean what belongs to Achilles, but to no one else; for instance, to have slain Hector, the bravest of the Trojans, and Cycnus,

²⁶² Freese 1926, 293.

²⁶³ Freese 1926, 293, 295.

²⁶⁴ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 231-232.

who prevented all the Greeks from disembarking, being invulnerable; to have gone to the war when very young, and without having taken the oath; and all such things». ²⁶⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁶⁶

The translation proceeds straightforwardly, but some departures from the Greek text should be noted.

The rendering of οὐδὲν δὲ διαφέρει περὶ Ἀθηναίων ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων is introduced by the addition *ka-mā qīla inna*.

The proposition καὶ γὰρ συμβουλευόντα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα ψέγοντα, καὶ κατηγοροῦντα καὶ ἀπολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ [...] is introduced in Arabic by *tumma inna-nā hīna naṣifu* and τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ is rendered as the subject of participles (as if it were an accusative in Greek), resulting in: «When we describe Achilles as consulting or praising or censuring or accusing or defending». ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ is constructed with the next phrase τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ δοκοῦντα ὑπάρχειν ληπτέον («we only take from what is said about him everything that exists or is thought to exist»). The words ἢ ἄδικον in the phrase εἴ τι δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον are not covered, but since they are attested in the Latin version by Hermannus this might be an omission that occurred in the textual transmission of the Arabic text.

The rendering of the syntagma ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅτι ἡμιθέων within the sentence λέγω δὲ κοινὰ μὲν τὸ ἐπαινεῖν τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἡμιθέων is problematic. At this point, however, the Arabic text is damaged, so the reconstruction is only hypothetical. Apparently καὶ ὅτι is not translated and ἡμιθέων is transliterated, perhaps followed by an explanatory gloss. Indeed, it reads: «as one who praises Achilles for being a man of the *al-īmatāyīn* [...] the gods».

The Arabic *bi-mālihi* «at his own expense» covering the syntagma ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον might come from its misreading as ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον.

A further inconsistency concerns the adjective τὸν ἄριστον «the bravest» attributed to Hector and rendered with the Arabic *fāris* «knight» which more properly translates ἱππεύς.

The segment καὶ τὸν Κύκνον, ὃς ἐκώλυσε ἀπαντας ἀποβαίνειν ἄτρωτος ὦν is very damaged and cannot be reconstructed in its entirety. ἄτρωτος ὦν seems to be paraphrased as *wa-lam tuṣibhu ta'natu* (lit. «and the attack does not injure him»). The Arabic *aṣḥābuhū* is perhaps part of the rendering of ἀπαντας.

For the rendering of καὶ ὅτι νεώτατος καὶ οὐκ ἔνορκος ὦν ἐστράτευσε as «and that he went to the war and was a boy without experience» Lyons suggests a confusion between ἔνορκος and ἔμπειρος.

70., 71.

B 23, 1397a 12-18

εἴ περ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς κακῶς δεδρακόσιν
ἀκουσίως δίκαιον εἰς ὀργὴν πεσεῖν,

²⁶⁵ Freese 1926, 295.

²⁶⁶ See *Rh.* Lyons 344-345.

οὐδ' ἂν ἀναγκασθεῖς τις εὖ δράσῃ τινά,
προσήκον εἶναι τῷδ' ὀφείλεσθαι χάριν.

ἀλλ' εἴ περ ἔστιν ἐν βροτοῖς ψευδηγορεῖν
πιθανά, νομίζειν χρή σε καὶ τοῦναντίον,
ἄπιστ' ἀληθῆ πολλὰ συμβαίνειν βροτοῖς.

ψευδηγορεῖν] A²C²Σ ψευδήγερον A ψευδολογεῖν cett.

Rh. Lyons 147.9-14

وإنه إن كان الذين أسأؤوا أخذوا وهو مكرهون ليس من العدل أن يكون عليهم غضب، فلا إذا أحسن
أيضًا امرؤ إلى امرئ بالكره فمن الواجب أن تكون له المنّة، لكن أن كان الناس يكرمون كرامة كاذبة، فقد
ينبغي أن تعلم أنهم إنما يستعملون المقنع. فقد يعرض للناس كثيرًا قبول ما لا يقبل من نسيان الضدّ.

CONTEXT:

Through two poetic quotations Aristotle exemplifies the *topos* of opposites, the first of 28 commonplaces related to enthymemes that are analysed in this chapter. According to the *topos* of opposites a predicate can be attributed to a subject if the opposite of that predicate can be attributed to the opposite of that subject. The poetic references follow, without any introductory element, an explicit quotation from Alcidas' *Messeniac speech* in which the theme of contrariety between war and peace is developed (1397a 11-12). The source of the first 4 verses is unknown and several attempts of attribution have been proposed («For if it is unfair to be angry with those who have done wrong unintentionally, it is not fitting to feel beholden to one who is forced to do us good»,²⁶⁷ Adesp. F 80 Snell), while the next 3 verses are taken from the *Thyestes* by Euripides («If men are in the habit of gaining credit for false statements, you must also admit the contrary, that men often disbelieve what is true»,²⁶⁸ F 396 Kannicht).²⁶⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two hidden serial literal quotations, a complete tetrastich followed by a complete tristich. The correlation between the two quotations and the correlation of these with the previous prose quotation is done by asyndeton.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁷⁰

The first quotation is translated as follows: «if it is not fair to be angry with those who have taken something wrongly and were compelled to do so, then when a man does good to a man by compulsion, he has no right to gratitude».²⁷¹

²⁶⁷ English translation in Freese 1926, 297.

²⁶⁸ English translation in Freese 1926, 297.

²⁶⁹ Gastaldi 2014, 512-513; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 238-240.

²⁷⁰ See *Rh. Lyons* 345-346.

²⁷¹ For the English translation of the Arabic of this quotation and the following one see also Lyons 2002, 210.

The version of the first quotation closely follows the *ordo verborum* of the Greek text, as can be seen from the anticipation of *allaḍīna asā'ū aḥḍan* translating the syntagma τοῖς κακῶς δεδρακόσιν and then referred to in *'alayhim*. The Arabic *aḥḍan* does not cover the semantics of the perfect of δεδρακόσιν, which may have been misread as a form of the perfect of δέχομαι. Two terms of the same root *k-r-h* are used for the Greek synonyms ἀκουσίως and ἀναγκασθεῖς.

The rendering of the second quotation bears some misinterpretations: «but if men confer a false honour, you should know that they employ what is persuasive. It often happens that men accept what is unacceptable through forgetfulness of the opposite».

The Arabic *kāna yukrimūna karāman kāḍiban* (that Lyons takes as a passive in his translation of 2002: «are honoured falsely»)²⁷² seem to derive from a misreading of ψευδηγορεῖν (or the variant ψευδήγερον) as ψευδ(ές) γέρας. The term πιθανά is referred to what follows (νομίζεῖν χρή σε). The verb *yasta'milūna* is either derived from χρή (and *yanbaḡī* is an addition by the translator) or added by the translator (and *yanbaḡī* correctly renders χρή). The end of the verse τὸνναντίον is construed with what follows and translated as a genitive in the expression *mā lā yaqbalu min nisyāni l-ḍiddi*, which comes from a wrong division of the Greek text ἄπιστ' ἀληθῆ as ἄπιστα ληθῆ.

72.

B 23, 1397b 2-6

ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀλκμαίῳ τῷ Θεοδέκτου “μητέρα δὲ τὴν σὴν οὐ τις ἐστύγει βροτῶν”; φησὶ δὲ ἀποκρινόμενος “ἀλλὰ διαλαβόντα χρή σκοπεῖν”. ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλφεισιβοίας πῶς, ὑπολαβῶν φησιν

τὴν μὲν θανεῖν ἔκριναν, ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ κτανεῖν.

2 διαλαβόντα] ACF διαλαβόντας ΘBDE

Rh. Lyons 148.10-15

كالذي كان من قول ثودوقطوس *للاقمون* حيث يقول: أمّا أمك فلم يكن أحد *منا بسببه* يتظلم منها، فقال مجيباً أمّا...† عليها للعبارة والتعليم، وأمّا أنا فلكتيلاً أقتل. غير أنه ينبغي لنا إذا أخذ...† ننظر ما الذي يجب عنه.

CONTEXT:

The third *topos* analysed by Aristotle in this chapter is that drawn from terms in a mutual relation (ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀλληλα, 1397a 23). Given two subjects, if one attributes a predicate to the first subject the reciprocal of the predicate can be attributed to the other subject. For instance, «if to have done rightly or justly may be predicated of one, then to have suffered similarly may be predicated to the other.²⁷³ However, Aristotle explains, the application of this commonplace can lead to the formulation of paralogisms, so one should examine separately

²⁷² Lyons 2002, 210.

²⁷³ Freese 1926, 297, 299.

the two subjects to whom a predicate is attributed and its reciprocal, as, for instance, in the relation between suffering a penalty and inflicting it. If someone has suffered a penalty justly, it is not always valid to say that the person who administered it did so justly. In fact, the person who inflicted the punishment may not have been authorised to do so (1397a 28-b 2).²⁷⁴ The mythical story of Alcmaeon – narrated in a lost tragedy of the 4th cent. BCE tragedian and rhetor Theodectes – offers a fitting example. The text runs as follows: «As in the *Alcmaeon* of Theodectes: “And did no one of mortals loathe thy mother?” Alcmaeon replied: “We must make a division before we examine the matter.” And when Alpheisiboea asked “How?”, he rejoined, “Their decision was that she should die, but that it was not for me to kill her» (72 F 2 Snell).²⁷⁵ The reported verses must have been part of a dialogue between Alcmaeon and his wife Alpheisiboea, daughter of Phegeus, king of Psophis. Here Alcmaeon had found refuge after killing his mother Eriphyle at the request of his father, the seer Amphiaraus. The latter had predicted the defeat of the expedition against Thebes led by Polynices, and had tried to hide, not to take part. However, his wife revealed the hiding place to Polynices and Amphiaraus was forced to join the expedition.²⁷⁶ Therefore, although it is fair that Eriphyle was punished for her actions, it is not as fair that she was punished by her son, who thus committed matricide.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The poetic reference is articulated: the explicit author’s literal quotation of 4 verses (the second being incomplete) is accompanied by phrases that structure the dialogic exchange. As a whole, it can be defined as compendiary quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁷⁷

The conjunction ὡσπερ is rendered with *ka-llādi*. The Arabic *min qawli tawdūqtūs li-lāqmūn* for ἐν τῷ Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ Θεοδέκτου resembles the solution used in *Rh.* refs. 25, 26, 27 and apparently does not grasp the *genitivus auctoris*. The textual problems of the Arabic make the interpretation of the version uncertain, but relying on Lyons’ reconstruction, it turns out as follows: «As for your mother, not one of us complains about her because of this». The reading *minnā bi-sabibihī* is doubtful, and as Lyons suggests, it might be a corruption of the rendering of the genitive βροτῶν (maybe as *mina l-nāsi*, as proposed by Moseley).²⁷⁸ The rest of the translation is difficult to follow: «And he said replying as for [...] to / against her for an example and a lesson, and as for me, so that I should not kill. However, when we take †...†, we should look at what necessarily follows from it». ²⁷⁹ After the Arabic for φησὶ δὲ ἀποκρινόμενος we find *ammā*, a short lacuna and then *‘alayhā li-l-‘ibrati wa-l-ta‘īmi*. The latter hendiadys has no counterpart in the Greek text, but the whole segment appears to be a rendering of τὴν μὲν θανεῖν ἔκριναν, since it is clearly followed by the translation of ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ κτανεῖν. Behind the

²⁷⁴ Rapp 2002, II 752-753; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 241-244; Gastaldi 2014, 514-515.

²⁷⁵ Freese 1926, 299.

²⁷⁶ See the article *Alcmaeon* by A. Schachter and *Eriphyle* by R.E. Harder in BNP 2006. Aristotle also refers to Alcmaeon’s matricide as a negative example in EN Γ 1, 110a 28-29 = ref. 5 (pp. 301-302).

²⁷⁷ See *Rh.* Lyons 346.

²⁷⁸ Moseley 2020, 47.

²⁷⁹ For the translation of the verse τὴν μὲν θανεῖν ἔκριναν, ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ κτανεῖν see also Lyons 2002, 210-211.

hendiadys *li-l-‘ibrati wa-l-ta‘līmi* Lyons has speculated μαθεῖν (or: μανθάνειν) instead of θανεῖν. The misreading (or a variant attested in the Greek copy used by the translator) may be easily generated from τὴν μένθανεῖν > τὴν μανθάνειν, but, as Moseley notes, *ammā* covers (τὴν) μέν, as elsewhere in the Arabic version of the *Rh.*, hence the confusion seemingly comes just from θανεῖν²⁸⁰. For the translation of ἔκριναν, which is lost due a lacuna, Lyons ventures *i‘tabara* (conjugated as *i‘tabarū*) based on 1374b 30 = *Rh.* Lyons 71.16,²⁸¹ while Moseley proposed a more articulate reconstruction, namely *hiya* (or: *tilka, ummī*) *fa-ḥakamū* with the consequent correction of *li-l-‘ibrati wa-l-ta‘līmi* into *bi-l-‘ibrati wa-l-ta‘līmi*²⁸². As for the rest of the passage, (“ἀλλὰ διαλαβόντα χρή σκοπεῖν”. ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλφειβοῖας πῶς, ὑπολαβὼν φησιν), ἀλλὰ διαλαβόντα χρή σκοπεῖν has slipped to the bottom of the entire passage in Arabic, after *aqṭula* (= κτανεῖν) and the pronoun plural *lanā* might derive from διαλαβόντας (attested in part of the MS tradition) instead of διαλαβόντα. Of the sentence ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλφειβοῖας πῶς, ὑπολαβὼν φησιν there is no trace in Arabic, even though Moseley observes that *fa-qāla muḡīban* might cover either φησί δ’ ἀποκρινόμενος or ὑπολαβὼν φησί.²⁸³

73., 74.

B 23, 1397b 20-24

ὄθεν εἴρηται

καὶ σὸς μὲν οἰκτρὸς παῖδας ἀπολέσας πατήρ·

Οἶνευς δ’ ἄρ’ οὐχὶ [τὸν Ἑλλάδος] κλεινὸν ἀπολέσας γόνον;

καὶ ὅτι, εἰ μὴδὲ Θησεύς ἠδίκησεν, οὐδ’ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ εἰ μὴδ’ οἱ Τυνδαρίδαι, οὐδ’ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ εἰ Πάτροκλον Ἐκτωρ, καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος.

3 [τὸν Ἑλλάδος] secl. vir doctus in ed. Morel. apud Gaisford | κλεινὸν] ΑΓ
κλεινότατον ΘΠΣ om. ΘDE

***Rh.* Lyons 149.11-17**

ومن هاهنا قيل إن سسمنوقطرس لم يكن دون اليونانيين حيث أهلك ولده هونوس، فإنه أهلك له ولدًا جديدًا بكراً. ومثل ذلك أيضًا أن لم يكن ثيسوس ظلم فلا الاكسندروس أيضًا، ولو لا فعل ابنة *طندارداس* هيلاني لم يكن فعل الاكسندروس، فلو لا قتل فطروفولوس لم يقتل اقطور* ولو لا فسد* الاكسندروس لم تكن قصة أخيلوس

2 [ابنة] conī. Lyons ابنت MS conī. Badawī ابني conī. Margoliouth

²⁸⁰ Moseley 2020, 47.

²⁸¹ Lyons 2002, 211.

²⁸² Moseley 2020, 47.

²⁸³ Moseley 2020, 47.

CONTEXT:

The fourth *topos* that Aristotle examines is the argument from more to less, presented at 1397b 12, also known as *argumentum a fortiori*. The poetic quotation and the subsequent mythological reference illustrate a specific declination of the *topos*, based on the comparison of parallel cases.²⁸⁴ If two things are not one greater or more probable than the other, but equal, then whatever is predicated of one is also predicated of the other. The poetic quotation runs as follows: «Thy father deserves to be pitied for having lost his children; / is not Oeneus then equally to be pitied for having lost an illustrious offspring [of the Greece]?». ²⁸⁵ Though its source is unknown, the mention of Oeneus refers to the myth of Meleager and has led scholars to think of a reference to the tragedy *Meleager* by Antiphon (Adesp. F 81 Snell), already mentioned at *Rh.* B 2, 1379b 15 = ref. 36 (pp. 122-123). According to the commentator Stephanos the verses might be words pronounced by Meleager Oeneus' father, in an attempt to console his wife and mother of Meleager Althea. If Althea's father is to be pitied as he lost his sons and Althea's brothers, Toxeus and Plexippus, – killed by their nephew Meleager – then Oeneus is to be pitied too as he lived in the same condition, having lost his son Meleager. Aristotle's text continues as follows: «Other instances are: if Theseus did no wrong, neither did Alexander; if the sons of Tyndareus did no wrong, neither did Alexander; and if Hector did no wrong in slaying Patroclus, neither did Alexander in slaying Achilles». ²⁸⁶ The reference explicitly mentions mythological figures that also appear in works of Greek poetry, but it is probably taken from an apologia or encomium of Alexander (on the model of the famous *Encomium of Helen*), in which the hero is justified for having kidnapped Helen based on the comparison with the earliest kidnapping of Helen by Theseus and with the kidnapping of Phoebe and Eleaera by the Tyndaridae Castor and Pollux. Similarly, if one considers that Paris committed an injustice by killing Achilles so did Hector by killing Patroclus. The rhetorical work alluded to here probably coincides with the *Alexander* mentioned at *Rh.* B 23, 1398a 22-24, as well as at B 24, 1401b 20 = ref. 93 (pp. 170-172) and B 24, 1401b 35-1402a 1 = ref. 94 (p. 172). ²⁸⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, complete distich. It is followed by a generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁸⁸

The Arabic version diverges from the *Vorlage* by a number of errors. From a misunderstanding of σὸς μὲν οἰκτρὸς (read as a single word and possibly corrupted) originates *susmūqtrus* (corrected by Lyons into *susminūqtrus*), which is taken as the subject of the sentence. *Dūn* has no counterpart in Greek. *Waladahū* is perhaps a corruption of *wālidahū* for

²⁸⁴ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 248, who adds: «This is the argument, from analogy, the foundation of induction, the observation of resemblances in things diverse, leading to the establishment of a general rule».

²⁸⁵ See Freese 1926, 301.

²⁸⁶ Freese 1926, 301.

²⁸⁷ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 248-249. See especially Rapp 2002, II 756-757; 760, who indicates a fragment of the rhetorician Polycrates as a *locus parallelus* to this passage and speculates that the *Alexander* mentioned by Aristotle at 1398a 22-24 is precisely an oration of the latter.

²⁸⁸ See *Rh.* Lyons 347.

πατήρ. *Ġadīdan bikran* «a new first-born» may derive from a corruption of κλεινόν into καινόν (Lyons points out that part of the MS tradition has κλεινότατον instead of κλεινόν, so the Arabic outcome may come from a misreading of κλεινότατον as καινότατον). *Wa-mitla dālīka* is an addition of the translator to introduce another set of examples. Even the rendering of the second part of the passage (the testimonium) bears several differences from the Greek, which perhaps have been triggered by one or more glosses, as suggested by the mention of Helen, only implied in the Greek text. The Arabic reads: «Hence it has been said that *susminūqtrus* was not inferior to the Greeks since he killed his son Hūnūs, since he destroyed for him a new first-born son. And also for instances: if Theseus did no wrong, neither did Alexander; had it not been for the action of the daughter of Tyndaros Helen, there would not be the action of Alexander; had it not been for the killing of Patroclos, Hector would not have been killed, and had it not been for the mischief-making [*but the reading is doubtful*] of Alexander, there would not have been the story of Achilles».²⁸⁹

75.

B 23, 1398a 3-4

ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καθ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, οἶον ἐν τῷ Τεύκρω.

Rh. Lyons 150.9-10

ثمّ من القول المقول، وهذا †...† ذاك، كالذي كان من أمر طوقاروس

†...†] *modus iste alius est ab eo qui precessit H*

CONTEXT:

With this sentence Aristotle introduces *topos* no. 6 of «turning upon the opponent what has been said against ourselves» (ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καθ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα).²⁹⁰ The example consists of a reference to a work entitled *Teucer*, which according to the commentators is to be identified with a lost tragedy by Sophocles, also mentioned in *Rh.* Γ 15, 1416b 1 = ref. 146 (pp. 212-123). Since in that passage, at 1416b 2, Odysseus is explicitly counted among the characters of the tragedy, it has been speculated that Aristotle is alluding here to the episode in which Odysseus applies the *topos* of retaliation of criticism against Teucer.²⁹¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention.

²⁸⁹ See also Lyons 2002, 202.

²⁹⁰ Freese 1926, 303.

²⁹¹ See Cope, Sandys 1877, II 252-253, also for the discussion of the textual problems of these lines.

The MS is damaged in correspondence of the introductory statement. As for the poetry reference, the version erroneously expands the original text: «like what there was of the affair of Teucer».

76.

B 23, 1398b 10-20

καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας, ὅτι πάντες τοὺς σοφοὺς τιμῶσιν. “Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον καίπερ βλάβσφημον ὄντα τετιμήκασι, καὶ Χίοι Ὀμηρον οὐκ ὄντα πολίτην, καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι Σαπφῶ καίπερ γυναῖκα οὖσαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Χίλωνα καὶ τῶν γερόντων ἐποίησαν ἤκιστα φιλόλογοι ὄντες, καὶ Ἰταλιῶται Πυθαγόραν, καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ξένον ὄντα ἔθαψαν καὶ τιμῶσι ἔτι καὶ νῦν, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις χρησάμενοι εὐδαιμόνησαν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Λυκούργου, καὶ Θήβησιν ἅμα οἱ προστάται φιλόσοφοι ἐγένοντο καὶ εὐδαιμόνησεν ἡ πόλις”.

Rh. Lyons 152.6-17

كما <قال> أرخيداموس إنَّ الناس كلَّهم يكرمون الحكماء، فالفاريون قد أكرموا أرخيلائوس، على أنه 1
 قد كان ... † وأهل كيبوس قد أكرموا أوميروس، ولم يكن من أهل مدينتهم، وأهل ميطلونية قد أكرموا سفا،
 على أنها كانت امرأة، واللقدمنون جعلوا قيمون من المشيخة النبيل، لأنَّهم كانوا محبِّين للكلام، وأهل إيطالية
 أكرموا فيناغورس و <لا> مسافيس دفنوا *أنق* ساغورس، وكان غريبًا، ثمَّ هم حتَّى الآن يكرمونه، والأثينيون
 5 حيث استعملوا سنن سالون *صلحوا* وانجحوا وكذلك اللقدمنون حيث استعملوا سنن لوقارغوس، وكذلك
 أهل ثيباس، حيث كان ولاتهم اجمعين فلاسفة صلحت المدينة واستقامت.

[قيمون 3 conī. Badawī قال القيداماس MS أرخيداموس Lyons] <قال> أرخيداموس 1

Badawī *أهل* لمبساقيس Lyons] <لا> مسافيس 4 conī. Badawī قيلون MS Lyons

CONTEXT:

This is one of the examples illustrating *topos* no. 10, based on induction (ἐπαγωγή), whereby a general rule can be deduced from a few similar cases. The fragment, which I have quoted in full for the sake of completeness, is explicitly attributed to the orator Alcidas (perhaps extracted from his *Mouseion*) and shows, as Aristotle points out, that everyone honours wise people. Among them some poets are mentioned, such as Archilocus honoured by the Parians despite his evil-speaking, Homer honoured by the Chians though he was not a

²⁹² See *Rh. Lyons* 348.

fellow citizen, Sappho honoured by the Mytilenaeans though she was a woman. Solon is remembered here as a legislator of Athens.²⁹³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium on the honours given to some poets, defined σοφοί alongside philosophers and politicians.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁹⁴

The Arabic version is close to the Greek, except for some minimal differences. Lyons prints *qāla* in brackets following Badawī's conjecture, as required by Arabic syntax, but the verb is not transmitted by the MS – in the Greek *καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας, ὅτι* the verb is omitted too. The MS is damaged in correspondence of the term translating βλάσφημον. The translator adds all the verbs that are implied in Greek, since *τετιμήκασι* is reported in the first example (Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα *τετιμήκασι*), but then implied in Χίιοι Ὀμηρον, Μυτιληναῖοι Σαπφῶ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι Χίλωνα, and Ἰταλιῶται Πυθαγόραν. *Akmarū* renders the first *τετιμήκασι* and is then repeated in the translation of all other phrases except for Λακεδαιμόνιοι Χίλωνα (for which see *infra*). The same holds true for νόμοις χρησάμενοι that occurs in the sentence Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Σόλωνος νόμοις χρησάμενοι εὐδαιμόνησαν and is implied in the following phrase Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Λυκούργου. Again, the translator repeats *haytu ista'malū sunana* in both sentences. Apparently Badawī's and Lyons' proposal to add the verb *qāla* at the beginning of the passage is based on and finds confirmation in these additions. In the version of the sentence *καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Χίλωνα καὶ τῶν γερόντων ἐποίησαν ἥκιστα φιλόλογοι ὄντες* several aspects are noteworthy. Χίλωνα is transliterated as if it were Cimon, but this could easily be a corruption of the MS tradition. The translator does not grasp that here, too, *τετιμήκασι* is implied and omits the second *καὶ* which introduces the sentence with the verb *ἐποίησαν*. The term τῶν γερόντων is translated accurately with the syntagma *mina l-mašyahati l-nubli* «(part) of the elders of nobility». As for the participial phrase, ἥκιστα φιλόλογοι ὄντες, the word ἥκιστα is not translated and the participle ὄντες is taken with a causal meaning and not as a concessive, producing an opposite meaning to the original Greek in the Arabic rendering. The adverb ἅμα in ἅμα οἱ προστάται φιλόσοφοι ἐγένοντο is mistranslated and paraphrased with *ağma'ina* «since their governors all became philosophers». Both occurrences of the verb εὐδαιμονέω are translated with hendiadys, εὐδαιμόνησαν with *šaluḥū wa-anğahū* and εὐδαιμόνησεν with *šaluḥat [...]* *wa-staqāmat*.

77.

B 23, 1398b 27-29

[εἰ] ταῖς μὲν σεμναῖς θεαῖς καλῶς εἶχειν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ δοῦναι τὰ δίκαια,
Μιξιδημίδη δ' οὐ.

1 εἰ] del. Ross ἄτοπον εἰ Σ

²⁹³ Rapp 2002, II 762-764; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 259-263; Gastaldi 2014, 520-521; see Freese 1926, 307.

²⁹⁴ See *Rh.* Lyons 350.

Rh. Lyons 153.4-6

أما في ذوات †...† عند الله، فكنتنا على حال كأفينه وأما بأريوسفاغوس فالمزكي †الفعل بمك... باوس †

CONTEXT:

The reference is taken from one of the examples with which *topos* no. 11 is illustrated, based on the recourse to a judgment previously formulated concerning the same, or similar or contrary case (1398b 21). Appealing to a previous judgment is all the more useful if made by an authoritative person. Aristotle cites as an example the words that Autocles – an Athenian politician, among the ambassadors sent to Sparta in 371 BC before the battle of Leuctra – addressed to a certain Mixidemides. The latter, according to the reference, refused to appear before the tribunal of the Areopagus. Autocles attacks him reminding that even «the awful goddesses were content to stand their trial before the Areopagus»,²⁹⁵ so Mixidemides was required to do so. The expression αἱ σεμναὶ θεαί indicates by antonomasia the Eumenides or Erinyes and the entire reference is an allusion to the myth of Orestes, persecuted by the Erinyes for his mother's murder, and to the trial presided over by Athena, as we can read in Aeschylus' *The Eumenides*.²⁹⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:²⁹⁷

Although the text is damaged and lacunose one can discern a process of adaptation in the masculine sing. *inda llāhi* for the feminine plur. θεαίς.²⁹⁸ Ταίς μὲν σεμναίς is seemingly misinterpreted as *fī dawāti* «about the possessors of [...]», the result of some corruption that I have been unable to reconstruct. Ἀρείω πάγω is transliterated. The rest of the reference, «we were in a state of sufficiency and as for (what is) at Areopagus it is the man pure in action †...†» is hard to decipher.

78.

B 23, 1398b 29-30

ἢ ὡσπερ Σαπφώ, ὅτι τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακόν· οἱ θεοὶ γὰρ οὕτω κεκρίκασιν·
ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ἄν.

Rh. Lyons 153.6-8

أو كما قالت سفا إنّ الموت شرّ، فهكذا حكمت الآلهة * لأنهم هم * لا يموتون

²⁹⁵ Freese 1926, 309.

²⁹⁶ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 264-265.

²⁹⁷ See *Rh. Lyons* 350.

²⁹⁸ This strategy has also been attested elsewhere, but found to have almost never been applied systematically. Strohmaier has presented a few significant cases of adaptation of Greek polytheism to Christian-Islamic monotheism, in Strohmaier 1968 and Strohmaier 2012.

CONTEXT:

The reference to Sappho (Sapph. fr. 84 Loebel-Page [201]) provides a further example of the *topos* ἐκ κρίσεως (no. 11; see previous reference). The fact that dying is bad (τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν κακόν) is confirmed by the judgment of the gods, who decided not to die, preferring immortality.²⁹⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated paraphrastic quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁰⁰

The version is correct. The syntagma ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ἄν is paraphrased as «for they do not die», but the reading of *li-annahum hum* is uncertain. The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated as *ka-mā* followed by the addition of the verb feminine singular *qālat* – the genus of Σαπφώ cannot be inferred from the context, but at 1398b 13-14 Sappho was explicitly mentioned as a female. The plural οἱ θεοὶ is kept in Arabic.

79., 80.

B 23, 1399a 1-3

Καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἑλένης ὡς Ἴσοκράτης ἔγραψεν ὅτι σπουδαία, εἴπερ Θησεὺς ἔκρινεν,
καὶ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὅτι αἱ θεαὶ προέκριναν [...]

Rh. Lyons 153.13-15

وكالذي كان من أمر هيلاني، كما وصف ايسقراطيس في كتابه أنّ ثيسوس عجل فحكم الاكسندروس
بما قد تقدّمت الإلهة فحكمت به [...]

CONTEXT:

Still within the context of the discussion of the *topos* of judgment, no. 11, Isocrates' *Encomium of Helen* is mentioned. According to Aristotle, Isocrates praises Helen as σπουδαία, virtuous, because Theseus had already judged her as such. Similarly, Isocrates bases his judgment of Alexander Paris on the preference that the goddesses had given him.³⁰¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonia of mythical episodes relating to the Trojan cycle, included in a reference to an oration by Isocrates.

²⁹⁹ Gastaldi 2014, 521.

³⁰⁰ See *Rh. Lyons* 350.

³⁰¹ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 267.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁰²

The Arabic departs from the original: «as it is from the affair of Helen, as Isocrates described in his book, that Theseus hastily judged Alexander in accordance with the judgment already given by the gods/goddess». Again (cf. *Rh.* B 23, 1398b 27 = ref. 77, pp. 157-158) the term θεαί is not rendered with a plural feminine but with الالهة, which might be read either as the singular feminine *al-ilāha* (as apparently Lyons does, since in the Arabic text there is an 'alif overwritten to the *lām*) or as the plural masculine *al-āliha* (as Lyons translates it in his commentary). Lyons explains the Arabic 'aḡila, «to hasten», as a misreading of σπουδαία as σπουδῆ, a hypothesis that appears convincing.

81.

B 23, 1399a 14-17

οἶον “τῆ παιδεύσει τὸ φθονεῖσθαι ἀκολουθεῖ κακὸν <ὄν>, τὸ δὲ σοφὸν εἶναι ἀγαθόν· οὐ τοίνυν δεῖ παιδεύεσθαι, φθονεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ δεῖ· δεῖ μὲν οὖν παιδεύεσθαι, σοφὸν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ”.

***Rh.* Lyons 154.2-6**

كقول القائل في الأدب إنّ الذي يلزمه من الشرّ أنّ المرء يكون محسودًا، والذي يلزمه من الخير أنّ المرء يكون حكيماً، فلا ينبغي للمرء أن يتأدّب لكيلا يحسد، وينبغي له أن يتأدّب ليكون حكيماً

CONTEXT:

The example illustrates *topos* no. 13, according to which most things have good and bad consequences. It follows that the speaker must start with one of two consequences depending on the purpose of his speech: if he intends to advise, defend or praise he will refer to the good consequence; if he intends to advise against, attack or blame he will refer to the bad consequence. The reference, «For instance, education is attended by the evil of being envied, and by the good of being wise; therefore we should not be educated, for we should avoid being envied; nay rather, we should be educated, for we should be wise»,³⁰³ clearly alludes to vv. 294-297 of Euripides' *Medea*, already quoted in *Rh.* B 21 1394a 29-33 = refs. 52, 53, pp. 136-139; see also ref. 59, pp. 139-142) and paraphrased in *Rh.* B 21 1394b 30-32 = ref. 62 (pp. 142-143).³⁰⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated paraphrastic quotation, implicitly alluding to two passages of *Rh.* B 21.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic translation is correct. Note the rendering of οἶον with the syntagma *ka-qawli l-qā'ili*, which signals an awareness that these are not Aristotle's words but a reference to another source.

³⁰² See *Rh.* Lyons 351.

³⁰³ Freese 1926, 311.

³⁰⁴ Rapp 2002, II 765-766; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 270-271.

82., 83., 84.

B 23, 1399b 22-31

ὄθεν καὶ τοῦτ' εἴρηται,

πολλοῖς ὁ δαίμων οὐ κατ' εὖνοιαν φέρων
μεγάλα δίδωσιν εὐτυχήματ', ἀλλ' ἵνα
τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐπιφανεστέρας.

καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τοῦ Ἀντφώντος,

οὐχ ὡς κτάνωσι θῆρ', ὅπως δὲ μάρτυρες
ἀρετῆς γένωνται Μελεάγρω πρὸς Ἑλλάδα.

καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Αἴαντος τοῦ Θεοδέκτου, ὅτι ὁ Διομήδης προείλετο Ὀδυσσέα οὐ τιμῶν,
ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤπτων ἦ ὁ ἀκολουθῶν· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τούτου ἕνεκα ποιῆσαι.

φέρων] φρενῶν Schneidewin

Rh. Lyons 156.13-21

ومن هاهنا قيل هذا القول: إنّ الجدد لأناس كثير ليس عن حسن رؤية من علم يعطى السعادة، لكن
ليجذب العظام الأسف بالظاهر جداً، وكما قال أنطيفون في مالاغروس إنّه إن لم يكن ذلك منهم ليقتلوا
حيواناً حياً، بل ليكونوا شهوداً على فضيلة مالاغروس عند اليونانيين، وكما قال ثاودقطوس في أدوسوس إنّ
ديوميديس قد كان تقدّم فلقى أدوسوس، ليس إكراماً منه له، لكن تقصيراً بالذي قد كان لزمه، فقد يمكن
أن يفعل هذا بسبب هذا.

CONTEXT:

The three poetic references exemplify *topos* no. 9, which consists in describing something possible as real, as when the possible end of an action is accepted as real. After a brief introduction at 1399b 20-21, Aristotle brings in the first example: if someone gives us a gift, he might not do so for the expected reason, i.e. to do good, but for another possible reason, i.e. to take it back later and make us suffer (1399b 22-23). Through the adverb ὄθεν Aristotle connects this first example with two poetic quotations followed by a testimonium. The first quotation is from an unknown tragedy (Adesp. F 82 Snell) and reads: «It is not from benevolence that the deity bestows great blessings upon many, but in order that they may suffer more striking calamities».³⁰⁵ The second quotation is explicitly taken from Antiphon's *Meleager* (already mentioned in *Rh.* B 2, 1379b 15 = ref. 36 (pp. 122-123) and perhaps quoted in *Rh.* B 23, 1397b 21-

³⁰⁵ English translation in Freese 1926, 315.

22 = ref. 73 (pp. 153-155) according to some interpreters), and it explains the true purpose of hunting the Calydonian boar in these terms: «Not in order to slay the monster, but that they may be witnesses to Greece of the valour of Meleager» (55 F 2 Snell).³⁰⁶ Finally we read a reference to the *Ajax* of the orator and poet Theodectes: «And the following remark from the *Ajax* of Theodectes, that Diomedes chose Odysseus before all others, not to do him honour, but that his companion might be his inferior; for this may have been the reason» (72 F 1 Snell).³⁰⁷ A similar argument can also be read in *Rh.* Γ 15, 1416b 12-15 = ref. 147 (p. 213), while in *Rh.* Β 23, 1400a 27-29 = ref. 85 (pp. 163-164) is another explicit reference to the same work. According to Cope's reconstruction based on the comparison of the three passages, the tragedy was to stage «a rhetorical contest» between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles. With the words that are reported here, Ajax alludes to the mythical episode of the nightly raid in the Trojan camp of Odysseus and Diomedes, narrated in *Il.* K 227sq., and provides an alternative explanation of the reason why Diomedes chose Ulysses as his companion in the enterprise.³⁰⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit serial literal polystich quotations, the first (a complete tristich) being anonymous, the second (a complete couplet) bearing the name of the author. These are followed by a testimonium with mention of the work and its author.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁰⁹

Regarding the first quotation, the Arabic version departs from the Greek. The term *ǧidd* for the Greek δαίμων is not attested in any other Arabic version and does not cover any of its meanings (perhaps to be emended into *ǧinn*, which is used to translate δαίμων in *Rh.* 1419a 10 = *Rh.* Lyons 220.22?). The expression κατ' εὐνοίαν is rendered with 'an *husni ru'yati*, and Lyons observes that, since in 1417a 24 δίανοια is translated with the only *ru'ya*, *husn* would correspond to the prefix εὐ-.³¹⁰ The Arabic *min 'ilm* covers φέρων, a mistranslation that Lyons explains by speculating that the translator read φρενῶν instead of φέρων (the Arabic version would then confirm Schneidewin's conjecture). The outcome is the following: «from good consideration derived from knowledge». The adjective μεγάλη is not attributed to εὐτυχήματα but postponed and referred to συμφοράς («things of great sadness»). Moreover the adjective referred to συμφοράς, ἐπιφανεστέρως, is translated with the periphrasis *bi-l-zāhiri ǧiddan*.³¹¹

The second quotation, on the other hand, is translated smoothly. We note only the rendering of the accusative singular of θήρ as *ḥayawān ḥayy* «living animal», instead of *sab'* employed at *Rh.* 1371b 16 = *Rh.* Lyons 60.7. Both occurrences of the *genitivus auctoris* are translated correctly: τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος as *ka-mā qāla antiḥūn fi mālāgrūs* and similarly, in the third reference, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Αἴαντος τοῦ Θεοδέκτου as *ka-mā qāla tāwdiqṭūs fi adūsūs* (the expansion with the *verbum dicendi* and *fi* is also attested in refs. 85, 89). In the

³⁰⁶ English translation in Freese 1926, 317.

³⁰⁷ English translation in Freese 1926, 317.

³⁰⁸ Rapp 2002, II 769-770; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 282-283.

³⁰⁹ See *Rh.* Lyons 353.

³¹⁰ As discussed in the later article by Lyons 2002, 211.

³¹¹ See also Lyons 2002, 211.

latter case, however, instead of Αἶας we read the transliteration of the name Ὀδυσσεύς, which perhaps can be interpreted as an error of regressive assimilation of a later copyist, who read *adūsūs*, the transliteration of Ὀδυσσεύς, a few lines below and transcribed it here instead of the transliteration of Αἶας. In both cases the translator adds *ka-mā* to introduce the poetic examples.

The aorist προείλετο (from προαίρῃω) is incorrectly rendered with (*kāna*) *taqaddama fa-laqiya* «he had already met», through the root *l-q-y* instead of the root *h-y-r* form VIII, which is widely attested in this translation (alone: *Rh.* 1363a 30 = *Rh.* Lyons 32.9, *Rh.* 1388b 35 = *Rh.* Lyons 120.13, 1400b2 = *Rh.* Lyons 159.14, *Rh.* 1416b 13 = *Rh.* Lyons 210.8 = ref. 147 (p. 213); preceded by *taqaddama*: *Rh.* 1368b 11 = *Rh.* Lyons 50.8, *Rh.* 1373b 37 = *Rh.* Lyons 68.13-14; preceded by *taqaddama fa-*: *Rh.* 1368b 12-13 = *Rh.* Lyons 50.9-10, *Rh.* 1372b 36 = *Rh.* Lyons 64.18). The lexical choice, albeit isolated in the Arabic version of the *Rh.*, is not so surprising if we consider that the same root *l-q-y* is employed for the Greek ἀφαιρέω in Arist. GA 762a 18 = GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 129.10 and in Eucl. *El.* I, 35: v, 49.5 = Eucl. *El.* Besthorn-Heiberg 2, 148. 13.

Finally, the phrase ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤττων ᾖ ὁ ἀκολουθῶν is misinterpreted as: «to diminish the one that was attached to him», since ἤττων is given an active meaning that corresponds rather to the verb ἐλαττώ. The root *l-z-m* had also been used in the B 23, 1399b 30 = ref. 84 (pp. 161-163) – but in a different context and with another shade of meaning – to render the verb ἀκολουθέω.

85.

B 23, 1400a 27-29

καὶ οἶον ἐν τῷ Αἴαντι τῷ Θεοδέκτου Ὀδυσσεὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Αἴαντα διότι ἀνδρείότερος ὢν τοῦ Αἴαντος οὐ δοκεῖ.

***Rh.* Lyons 158.21-159.2**

وكالذي قال ثاودقطوس في الاس إنَّ أودوسوس قال لاس إنَّه أشجع منه ولم يكن هذا حسنًا

CONTEXT:

The example concerns *topos* no. 23. In support of persons and facts that have been wrongly the object of suspicion or have appeared so (τοῖς προδιαβεβλημένοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ πράγμασιν, ἢ δοκοῦσι), one must state the cause of the wrong opinion (τὸ λέγειν τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ παραδόξου), because there must be a reason why they appear to be the object of suspicion (1400a 24-26). The reference is again to Theodectes's *Ajax*, namely to the agon between Odysseus and Ajax over Achilles' arms, in which each claimed superiority over the other. From what we can reconstruct, in his speech Odysseus refuted the false opinion that he appeared to be less brave than Ajax.³¹²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

We cannot precisely evaluate the type of reference, but it is presumably a testimonium.

³¹² Cope, Sandys 1877, II 288-290.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³¹³

Again, as in the previous reference, the *genitivus auctoris* is made the subject of a phrase with an added *verbum dicendi* (καὶ οἷον ἐν τῷ Αἴαντι τῷ Θεοδέκτου = *wa-ka-llādī qāla tawdiqtūs fi āās*). The causal meaning of διότι is lost («Odysseus told Ajax to be braver than he is») and the Arabic «and this was not good» for οὐ δοκεῖ is imprecise, probably, as Lyons explains, because the translator chose the wrong meaning of δοκέω.

86.

B 23, 1400b 10-15

οἷον ἐν τῇ Καρκίνου Μηδεία οἱ μὲν κατηγοροῦσιν ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ φαίνεσθαι γοῦν αὐτούς (ἤμαρτε γὰρ ἡ Μήδεια περὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῶν παίδων), ἢ δ' ἀπολογεῖται ὅτι οὐ [ἄν] τοὺς παῖδας ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰάσονα ἄν ἀπέκτεινεν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤμαρτεν ἄν μὴ ποιήσασα, εἶπερ καὶ θάτερον ἐποίησεν.

Rh. Lyons 160.4-8

كالذي صنع أناس بقرقنبوس حيث قرفوا ميديّة بأنّها قتلت ولدها، لأنّهم لم يروا، وكانت ميديّة قد أخطأت
وزلّت في إرسالها ولدها، فأجابت بأنّها لم تقتل *ولدها ولا* أيّاسون بعلمها، فقد أخطأت هذه وزلّت أن كانت
فعلت الأمرين كليهما

2 زلّت] conī. Lyons *دلت* MS ذلك conī. Badawī *erravit* Hermannus

CONTEXT:

The reference to Medea illustrates *topos* no. 27, consisting of accusing or defending from the mistakes one has made (τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτηθέντων κατηγορεῖν ἢ ἀπολογεῖσθαι, 1400b 9-10). Aristotle explicitly refers to a version of the mythical episode staged by Carcinus, a tragic poet whom Aristotle also mentions in *Po.* 17, 1455a 26-29, son of Xenocles and grandson of the Carcinus who, along with his sons Xenocles, Xenotimus and Xenarchus, is attacked by Aristophanes in his comedies. The tragedy is lost, but from this testimonium (70 F 1e Snell) it appears that in Carcinus' version Medea did not kill her sons but drove them away. Medea, however, was called upon to defend herself against those who accused her of killing them (οἱ μὲν κατηγοροῦσιν ὅτι τοὺς παῖδας ἀπέκτεινεν), since they were missing (οὐ φαίνεσθαι γοῦν αὐτούς). Therein lies her mistake: having sent them away she was unable to prove that they were alive. In her own apology Medea replied «that she would have slain, not her children, but Jason; for it would have been a mistake on her part not to have done this, if she had done the other».³¹⁴

³¹³ See *Rh.* Lyons 354.

³¹⁴ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 295. See the English translation in Freese 1926, 321, 323. See also the article *Carcinus* in C. Walde, E. Visser, B. Zimmermann, in *BNP* 2006, and Lucarini 2013, 193-196 (with bibliography).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Also in this case, it is impossible to establish with precision the type of reference, but it seems to be a compendary quotation of part of the episode in which Medea defends herself from the accusation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³¹⁵

The version runs as follows: «As people did with Carcinus where they accused Medea of having killed her children, for they are not seen, and Medea was wrong and mistaken in sending her children away, so she replied that she did not kill her children nor her husband Jason, and that she would have made this mistake and would have been wrong if she did both things together». *Ka-llādī* stands for οἶον, the *genitivus auctoris* in the syntagma ἐν τῇ Καρκίνου Μηδεία is mistranslated with the preposition *bi-* (*bi-qarqīnūs*), while the transliteration *mīdiya* for Μηδεία is postponed as direct object of the subordinate clause. Both aorist verbs ἤμαρτε and ἤμαρτεν are rendered with the hendiadys *aḥṭaʿat wa-zallat* (see a similar hendiadys for ἀμάρτημα at 1396a 21). Concerning the apodosis τοῦτο γὰρ ἤμαρτεν ἂν μὴ ποιήσασα, the translation of μὴ ποιήσασα is missing. The distributive meaning of θάτερον is not grasped and it is translated as if it were ἀμρότερον.

87.

B 23, 1400b 17-18

οἶον ὡς ὁ Σοφοκλῆς

σαφῶς σιδήρῳ καὶ φοροῦσα τοῦνομα,

Rh. Lyons 160.10-13

كما يستعمل *سوفوقليس* اسم الحديد بالتحقيق في موضع استعارة الاسم أو تحويل الاسم،

MS Badawī [بالتحقيق]

CONTEXT:

The quotation from Sophocles' *Tyro* (F 658 Radt, v. 2) is the first of a long series of examples of the last *topos* (no. 28), the one based on the meaning of the name and consisting in the creation of wordplays. The verse «Certainly thou art iron, like thy name» links σίδηρος, «iron», and Σιδηρώ, the name of Tyro's stepmother, alluding to the abuse that Sidero inflicted on the protagonist of this tragedy.³¹⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

³¹⁵ See *Rh. Lyons* 355.

³¹⁶ Gastaldi 2014, 530; see the article *Tyro* by P. Dräger in: *BNP* 2006.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³¹⁷

The introductory expression οἷον ὥς is translated as *ka-mā*. The version departs from the Greek: «As Sophocles accurately uses the noun “iron” metaphorically or by paronomasia». The translator adds the verb *yasta‘milu* governing the translation of the quotation and does not grasp the meaning of the *Vorlage*. In particular, καὶ φοροῦσα τοῦνομα is freely reinterpreted and Lyons explains the syntagma *fi mawḍi‘i sti‘ārati l-ismi* as the outcome of a misreading of φοροῦσα as μεταφε- or μεταφορ-. The Arabic *aw taḥwīl al-ism* (lit. «alteration of the name») is an addition by the translator.³¹⁸

88., 89.

B 23, 1400b 22-24

Καὶ ὥς ἡ Εὐριπίδου Ἑκάβη εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην “καὶ τοῦνομ’ ὀρθῶς ἀφροσύνης ἄρχει θεᾶς”, καὶ ὥς Χαιρήμων Πενθεὺς ἐσομένης συμφορᾶς ἐπώνυμος.

Rh. Lyons 160.18-161.3

وكما قالت اقبابى التي في اوريفيديس لافروديطى: *قد* كان الاسم مستقيماً *يستبد* بالهات الضلال،
وكما قال خيريمون في بنثوس حيث كانت تتوقع الحزن فاستوى الاسم.

Badawī وشبها [يستبد*] 1 Badawī الحرب [الحزن] 2

CONTEXT:

The two references offer two more puns based on the meaning of the word (see previous reference). The first example is v. 990 of the third episode of Euripides' *The Trojan Women*, in which Hecuba, responding to Helen, establishes an etymological connection between Ἀφροδίτη and ἀφροσύνη by saying «And rightly does the name of the goddess begin like the word aphro-syne (folly)». ³¹⁹ The second quotation comes from a lost work by the fifth-century BCE tragedian Chaeremon and reads «Pentheus named after his unhappy future» (71 F 4 Snell). ³²⁰ Here the author links the tragic end of Pentheus, torn apart by the maenads including his mother Agave, to the meaning of his name (πένθος as a synonym for συμφορά). ³²¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit author's serial literal quotations, complete monostichs. Both are introduced by a comparative conjunction, the indication of the author and the characters to whom the reference is addressed.

³¹⁷ See *Rh. Lyons* 356.

³¹⁸ See also *Lyons* 2002, 211-212.

³¹⁹ Freese 1926, 323.

³²⁰ Freese 1926, 323.

³²¹ Cope, *Sandys* 1877, II 299.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³²²

Both ὡς are translated as *ka-mā*. The Arabic for καὶ ὡς ἡ Εὐριπίδου Ἐκάβη εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην reads: «as Hecuba, that is in (or: regarding) Euripides, said to Aphrodite». The insertion of the verb *qāla* in the Arabic rendering of the *genitivus auctoris* is typical of the Arabic version of the *Rh.* (see refs. 25, 72, 83, 84, 85), but unlike in other cases where the *genitivus auctoris* becomes the subject of the Arabic *verbum dicendi*, the genitive is rendered here with the *fī* + indirect object structure, while Ἐκάβη remains the subject in Arabic as well. In contrast, the rendering of the other sentence with a *genitivus auctoris*, ὡς Χαϊρήμων Πενθεύς, follows the structure used in the other instances, i.e. the *genitivus auctoris* is made subject of an added *verbum dicendi* and the Greek subject Πενθεύς is rendered with the *fī* + indirect object structure.

In the rendering of the first quotation the genitive singular θεᾶς is confused with the accusative plural θεάς and the genitive ἀφροσύνης is referred to it. The verb *yastabiddu*, corresponding to ἄρχει, is Lyons' conjecture and seems plausible. If this were the case, the translator would have selected the wrong meaning of ἄρχω in this context, i.e. «to command» instead of «to begin». Thus, the text reads: «the name rightly has sole control over the goddesses of confusion». In the second quotation ἐσομένης seems to be attributed to the name Πενθεύς (misinterpreted as a form of genitive?) which is therefore understood as feminine. Also συμφορᾶς is misread as an accusative plural (συμφοράς) instead of genitive singular. Lastly, ἐπώνυμος is translated analytically (ἐπί + ὄνομα) and coordinated with the rest of the sentence, resulting in: «she was expecting sorrow and the name agreed (with this)».

90.

B 24, 1401a 15-18

ἢ εἴ τις κύνα ἐγκωμιάζων τὸν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ συμπαραλαμβάνοι, ἢ τὸν Πᾶνα, ὅτι Πίνδαρος ἔφησεν

ὦ μάκαρ, ὃν τε μεγάλας
θεοῦ κύνα παντοδαπὸν
καλέουσιν Ὀλύμπιοι

***Rh.* Lyons 162.11-13**

وكما لو مدح أمرؤ الكلب فأضاف إليه الكلب الذي في السماء، كما قال فننداروس في فانا: ذلك

السعيد المكرم عند العامة وبه يدعى الكلب السمائي

2 [الالهة] العامة tempt. Lyons in app.

CONTEXT:

Among the topics of apparent enthymems are those based on linguistic expression (λέξις). With this example Aristotle intends to describe a particular type of fallacious reasoning arising

³²² See *Rh.* Lyons 356.

from λέξις, namely homonymy. The reference is a fragment of one of Pindar's *Parthenia* (fr. 96 Snell-Maehler), which plays on the ambiguity of the term dog, κύων, which indicates the common animal but can also refer to the star Sirius (the so-called 'dog-star' of the constellation Canis Major) or even to the god Pan, defined as the dog of the great mother Cybele, meaning her faithful adherent. The passage runs as follows: «Or if, in praising the dog, one were to include the dog in heaven (Sirius), or Pan, because Pindar said, "O blessed one, whom the Olympians call dog of the Great Mother, taking every form».³²³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, polystich, with a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³²⁴

The initial *ka-mā* is an addition of the translator to mark the example. In the rendering of the introductory phrase ἢ τὸν Πάνα is postponed, referred to Πίνδαρος ἔφησεν and misinterpreted: «if a man praised the dog, he would relate to it the dog that is in the sky, as Pindar said in the *fānā*». The quotation is translated as follows: «that fortunate one, honoured amongst the common people after whom the heavenly dog is named». The Arabic *ʿinda l-ʿāmmati* has been produced from some misreading of παντοδαπόν, confirmed by the fact that, as Lyons points out, *ʿamm* is used at 1406a 26 to render the adjective πάνδημος.³²⁵ Ὀλύμπιοι is paraphrased and taken as a predicative singular accusative referred to κύνα.

91.

B 24, 1401a 36-1401b 3

συντίθησι γάρ. ἢ τὸ ἐν τῷ Ὀρέστη τῷ Θεοδέκτου· ἐκ διαιρέσεως γάρ ἐστιν·

δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἥστις ἂν κτείνῃ πόσιν,

ἀποθνήσκειν ταύτην, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ γε τιμωρεῖν τὸν υἱόν, οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῦτα ἃ πέπρακται· συντεθέντα γάρ ἴσως οὐκέτι δίκαιον. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἔλλειψιν· ἀφαιρεῖ γάρ τὸ ὑπὸ τίνος.

5 ἀφαιρεῖ ΑΓ ἀφαιρεῖται ΘΠ

Rh. Lyons 163.12-17

فإنه مؤلف إلى الذي كان من نادوقطوس في أمر أورشطيس، وهو ممّا يصحّ بالتفصيل، وكما يُقال إنّ من العدل أن قتل امرأة زوجها أن تقتل به وأن يقاد الولد بوالده، وقد فعل هذا. فلَمَّا أَلَّف ذلك معاً، لم يكن عدلاً. وقد يكون هذا النحو في أقلّ من هذا أيضاً، وقد يوجد فيه ما فعله أمرؤ من الناس.

³²³ Freese 1926, 327. Cope, Sandys 1877, II 305.

³²⁴ See *Rh. Lyons* 357.

³²⁵ Lyons 2002, 212.

CONTEXT:

Beginning in 1401a 25 Aristotle examines the apparent *topos* of combining what is separate and dividing what is united, a type of fallacy also presented in chapters 4 and 20 of the SE. An example of improper division is provided by a quotation from Theodectes' *Orestes* (fr. 72 F 5 Snell). It runs as follows: «"It is just that a woman who has killed her husband" should be put to death, and that the son should avenge the father; and this in fact is what has been done. But if they are combined, perhaps the act ceases to be just. This might also be classed as the fallacy of omission; for the (person) by whom is withdrawn».³²⁶ The fallacy results from the fact that both Clytemnestra' killing of her husband and Orestes' revenge of his father seem just if taken separately, but if the two actions are considered together, it turns out that Orestes killed his own mother, and the deed appears unjust. In the continuation of his argument Aristotle hypothesises that the fallacy may derive from omission (ἔλλειψις) since who carried out the action (of revenge) is not mentioned.³²⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, monostich, accompanied by a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³²⁸

The quotation, δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἥστις ἂν κτείνῃ πόσιν, is correctly translated, and introduced by a *verbum dicendi*: «as one says that it is right that, if a woman has killed her husband». The version continues with the rendering of ἀποθνήσκειν ταύτην as «she should be killed in revenge for him»,³²⁹ where *bihī* is an explicative addition. Some problems can be detected in the translation of Aristotle's comments on the quotation. The Greek συντίθησι γάρ is referred to the previous example (1401a 34-36), but in Arabic it is constructed with what follows, resulting in: «for it is joined to what Theodectes did about the affair of Orestes». The section καὶ τῷ πατρὶ γε τιμωρεῖν τὸν υἱόν, οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῦτα ἃ πέπρακται is vaguely paraphrased: «and that the son is guided by his father, and he did this». The adverb ἕως is missing in Arabic. The rendering of the last sentence is inaccurate: «this type can also be found in less than this, and there may be found in it that has been done by a certain person». The mistranslation could be partly caused – Lyons suggests – by a misreading of ἀφαιρείται (variant reading of ἀφαιρεῖ attested by a part of the MS tradition) as ἐφευρίσκειται.

92.

B 24, 1401b 16-19

ἢ εἴ τις φαίη τὸ ἐπὶ δείπνον κληθῆναι τιμιώτατον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐμήνισε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδω· ὁ δ' ὡς ἀτιμαζόμενος ἐμήνισεν, συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι.

³²⁶ Freese 1926, 329, modified.

³²⁷ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 307-310.

³²⁸ See *Rh.* Lyons 358.

³²⁹ See also Lyons 2002, 200.

Rh. Lyons 164.12-15

أو لو قال قائل إن ... إلى العشاء كرامة *لأن* أخلوس حيث لم يدع بطنادوس غضب على اليونانيين
وحقد ذلك، فإنما اضطنغن لأنه احتقر، وإنما عرض ذلك من قبل إنه لم يدع إلى الطعام، غضب لأنه احتقر.

CONTEXT:

The example illustrates the sixth *topos*, which consists in producing apparent reasoning from an accident, i.e., holding that something is caused by an event that only coincidentally occurs in conjunction with it. An example is the inference that «nothing is more honourable than to be invited to a dinner»³³⁰ (τὸ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθῆναι τιμιώτατον), starting from the case of Achilles, i.e. assuming that «because he was not invited Achilles was wroth with the Achaeans at Tenedos; whereas he was really wroth because he had been treated with disrespect, but this was an accident due to his not having been invited».³³¹ With these words Aristotle summarises the mythical episode of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon at the island of Tenedos, during the journey to Troy. The anger of Achilles towards the Achaeans was probably triggered by the fact of not having been invited to a banquet or of having been invited to it after the other Achaeans. On this subject Sophocles wrote two tragedies, both lost, Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος and Ἀχαιῶν σύνδειπνον (or Ἀχαιῶν σύνδειπνοι).³³²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³³³

The version is close to the original. The Arabic «he was angry at the Greeks and hated this» for ἐμήνισε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς is noteworthy not only for the hendiadys of verbs but also for the correct equivalence between the Homeric τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς and *alā l-yūnāniyyīna*.³³⁴ Furthermore, the final addition «he was angry because he was treated with contempt» derive from a duplication of the syntagma ὡς ἀτιμαζόμενος ἐμήνισεν.

93.

B 24, 1401b 20-23

οἶον ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὅτι μεγαλόψυχος· ὑπεριδὼν γὰρ τὴν πολλῶν ὁμιλίαν ἐν τῇ
”Ἰδὴ διέτριβεν καθ’ αὐτόν· ὅτι γὰρ οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι τοιοῦτοι, καὶ οὗτος μεγαλόψυχος
δόξειεν ἄν.

³³⁰ Freese 1926, 331.

³³¹ Freese 1926, 331.

³³² Rapp 2002, II 784; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 314.

³³³ See *Rh. Lyons* 358.

³³⁴ An analogous instance can be detected in Ishāq’s Arabic version of EN Γ 11, 117a 26, where the Greek οἱ Ἀργεῖοι is translated with *al-yūnāniyyūna*. See Dunlop’s *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 104 and here (= EN Akasoy-Fidora) 227.4.

Rh. Lyons 164.16-19

كما لو قيل إنّ الاكسندروس لكبر نفسه تهاون بمحادثة الجماعة وانتبذ فأقام في جبل ايدس *غائبا ب*
نفسه. فالكبيرة نفوسهم هم مثل هؤلاء، وهكذا فليظنّ المرء كبير النفس.

MS بمحاربة. in mg.] بمحادثة 1

CONTEXT:

The mythical reference to Alexander Paris' youth spent as a shepherd on Mount Ida goes back to the Trojan cycle, but is actually mediated by a rhetorical work entitled *Alexander*, an encomium also mentioned at *Rh.* B 23, 1398a 22-24 and plausibly alluded to at *Rh.* B 23, 1397b 22-24 = refs. 73, 74 (pp. 153-155). The example illustrates *topos* no. 7, the apparent inference being based on consequence (see also SE 5, 167b 1-20), as Aristotle says: «for instance, in the *Alexander* (Paris) it is said that Paris was high-minded, because he despised the companionship of the common herd and dwelt on Ida by himself; for the high-minded are of this character. Paris also might be thought as high-minded».³³⁵ The fallacy lies in the belief that a consequence and its antecedent are convertible, that is, if we have a certain consequence starting from an antecedent then it will be sufficient to assume the consequence to necessarily go back to that antecedent. In this way, we erroneously build a universal principle from a particular case and we do not admit that the same condition can be a consequence of different antecedents. For instance, from the fact that great-souled people normally live alone it cannot be inferred that necessarily all those who live isolated are great-souled and that one is great-souled because he lives alone. Consequently, one cannot infer that Paris is great-souled because he lives alone.³³⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³³⁷

The expression with which the example is introduced and contextualised, οἷον ἐν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, is rephrased with a *verbum dicendi* (*ka-mā law qīla inna l-Iksandrūs*). In rendering ὅτι μεγαλόψυχος the translator erroneously interprets ὅτι with a casual meaning instead as a marker of direct discourse. Hence the text reads: «as if it were to be said that Alexander, because of the greatness of his soul». The Arabic *muḥādaṭa*, «discussion», for ὁμιλία denotes an imprecise selection among the meanings of ὁμιλία which does mean «conversation», but in this context expresses the idea of social contact. As is frequently the case, the participle ὑπεριδών is rendered in paratactic form and coordinated with the main verb. The correct addition *ḡabal* «mount» to specify ἐν τῇ Ἰδῆ, perhaps based on a gloss, should be noted. The translation «a man should thus be thought as great-souled» of the last clause καὶ οὗτος

³³⁵ Freese 1926, 331, slightly modified.

³³⁶ Rapp 2002, II 784; Cope, Sandys 1877, II 314-315.

³³⁷ See *Rh.* Lyons 359.

μεγαλόψυχος δόξειεν ἄν does not convey the same meaning of the Greek text. The translator does not grasp the reference to Alexander through the pronoun οὗτος, which was perhaps read as οὕτως. This would explain *hākādā* in Arabic.

94.

B 24, 1401b 35-1402a 1

οἷον ὅτι δικαίως Ἀλέξανδρος ἔλαβε τὴν Ἑλένην· αἴρεσις γὰρ αὐτῇ ἐδόθη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς. οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἴσως, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρῶτον· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ μέχρι τούτου κύριος.

Rh. Lyons 165.13-17

كما قيل إنّ الاكسندروس بعدل ما أخذ هيلاني، لأنّ أباه جعل له الاختيار. وليس يكون ذلك عدلاً أن كان في تلك الحال سواء، ولكن أن كان في الحال الأولى لأنّ أباء كان في تلك الحال مسلطاً جائز الأمر.

CONTEXT:

The apparent *topos* no. 9 arises by the omission of the how and the when (παρὰ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τοῦ πότε καὶ πῶς, 1401b 34). Once again Aristotle refers to an episode from the Trojan Cycle. The abduction of Helen by Paris could find apparent justification in the fact that her father Tydeus had allowed his daughter to choose her own husband. However, we should omit the when, for, as Aristotle specifies, this right of choice had not been granted forever but only for the first time (οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἴσως, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρῶτον), that is when Helen chose Menelaus, and, after their marriage, her father's authority ceased (ὁ πατὴρ μέχρι τούτου κύριος).³³⁸ Rapp maintains that this reference might derive from the encomium of Alexander (see previous ref.) and draws attention to a fragment by the rhetor Policrates (fr. 17 Baiter-Sauppe).³³⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁴⁰

οἷον is translated with *ka-mā* followed by the addition of *qila inna*. The rendering of αἴρεσις γὰρ αὐτῇ ἐδόθη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς is paraphrased on a syntactical level and the feminine referent (αὐτῇ = Helen) is replaced by a masculine one, noticeable in the Arabic *abāhu* for παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς and *la-hū* for αὐτῇ, with the following outcome «for his father granted him the choice». The phrase οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἴσως is inaccurately translated as «that is not fair if there is equality in that condition». Perhaps, Lyons notes, it has been misread as οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον εἰ ἴσως, since in the previous sentence *bi-'adlin mā* stands for δικαίως. The translator uses the term *hāl* three times: *fī tilka al-hāli* in the erroneous paraphrase of οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἴσως, *fī l-hāli l-ūlā* for τὸ πρῶτον and *fī tilka al-hāli* for μέχρι τούτου. The Greek κύριος is translated with the periphrasis *musallaṭan ḡā'izi al-'amr*.

³³⁸ Cope, Sandys 1877, II 317.

³³⁹ Rapp 2002, II 786.

³⁴⁰ See Rh. Lyons 359.

95.

B 24, 1402a 9-13

ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀγάθων λέγει
τάχ' ἄν τις εἰκὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγοι,
βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν οὐκ εἰκότα.

γίνεται γὰρ τὸ παρὰ τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε εἰκός καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὸ εἰκός, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἔσται τὸ
μὴ εἰκὸς εἰκός. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς

Rh. Lyons 166.1-6

وذلك كما قال أغاثون إن كان البتة أحد يزعم أن هذا واجب، يعني أن كثيراً ممّا لا يجب أو لا ينبغي
للناس، قد يكون الشيء خارجاً ممّا ينبغي لكنّه، وإن كان هذا قد يكون، أعني أن الذي ليس واجباً قد
يجب، فليس يكون ذلك مرسلًا

CONTEXT:

The quotation from a lost work of Agathon (39 F 9 Snell) offers an example of an apparent enthymeme resulting from interpreting a term, that is used only in a particular sense, with an absolute meaning (1402a 7-9). Specifically it revolves around the ambiguity of the notion of εἰκός, «probable», and the necessity to distinguish between absolute probability and a form of particular probability, as emerges in Agathon's verses: «“One might perhaps say that this very thing is probable, / that many things happen to men that are not probable”; for that which is contrary to probability nevertheless does happen, so that which is contrary to probability is probable. If this is so, that which is improbable will be probable. But not absolutely». ³⁴¹ As Gastaldi explains, «il probabile, una modalità che, rispetto all'accadere delle cose, presenta l'indice di ricorrenza del per lo più, e non la costanza assoluta del necessario, non preclude l'esistenza dell'improbabile, almeno in alcuni casi. La fallacia [...] consiste nell'estendere questa probabilità parziale a tutto quanto l'eikos». ³⁴² The same reference to Agathon and to the notion of probable improbable occurs also in *Po.* 18, 1456a 23-25. ³⁴³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit isolated author's literal quotation, complete distich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION: ³⁴⁴

The text reads: «like Agathon said: if anyone at all claims that this is necessary, that is, that much of what is not needed or should not be (needed) by the people, this thing only is outside of what should be, and if this is so, that is, what is not necessary (= is contrary to necessity) is

³⁴¹ Freese 1926, 335.

³⁴² Gastaldi 2014, 536.

³⁴³ For the whole section see also Cope, Sandys 1877, II 319-320; Rapp 2002, II 786.

³⁴⁴ See *Rh.* Lyons 359.

necessary, this is not absolutely». ³⁴⁵ The section ὥστε εἰκὸς καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς is missing in Arabic. Εἰκὸς is improperly translated with forms of the root *w-ǧ-b* (*wāǧib* and *qad yaǧibu* for ἔσται...εἰκός) or of the root *b-ǧ-y*, which are also combined in the hendiadys (*kaṭīran mimma*) *lā yaǧibu aw lā yanbaǧī* corresponding to (πολλὰ)...οὐκ εἰκότα. Similar translations of εἰκός occur in 1400a 12, 1402a 9,11,17,27, 1402 b 16. On the contrary Abū Bišr resorts to the root *ḥ-q-q* in the parallel passage in *Po.* 18, 1456a 23-25. ³⁴⁶ ὥσπερ is rendered with *wa-dālika ka-mā*.

96.

Γ 2, 1404b 25

ὄπερ Εὐριπίδης ποιεῖ καὶ ὑπέδειξε πρῶτος

Rh. Lyons 176.6-7

كالذي فعل أوريفدس، وكان أول من أظهره.

CONTEXT:

Chapter Γ 2 is part of the discussion of style (λέξις), addressed in chapters Γ 1-12. At 1404b 1-4 two fundamental virtues of rhetorical discourse (λέξεως ἀρετή) are listed, which are to be clear (σαφή εἶναι) and to be appropriate, that is neither mean nor above the true evaluation of the referent (μήτε ταπεινήν μήτε ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξιωμα, ἀλλὰ πρέπουσαν). Among the means the speaker must employ to maintain τὸ πρέπον is the ability to conceal the artificial aspects of the discourse so that the expressive form appears as natural as possible (1404b 17-19). ³⁴⁷ In this regard, Aristotle adds (1404b 24-25) that the artificial is well concealed (κλέπτεται δ' εὖ), if one composes by selecting his words from ordinary language (ἐάν τις ἐκ τῆς εἰωθυίας διαλέκτου ἐκλέγων συντιθῆ), as Euripides does, being the first to show the way. Gastaldi observes that Aristotle's assessment is influenced by Aristophanes' *Frog* vv. 940-944, where the character Euripides, in his agon against Aeschylus, claims to have slimmed down the poetic art he had inherited from Aeschylus, who had bloated it with his solemn and bombastic style. ³⁴⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium on the writing style of Euripides.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is correct. *Ka-llādī* renders ὄπερ.

97.

Γ 2, 1405a 28-30

Τὸ δὲ ὡς ὁ Τήλεφος Εὐριπίδου φησίν,

³⁴⁵ See Lyons 2002, 212.

³⁴⁶ Tkatsch 1928-1932, I 260.16-17.

³⁴⁷ The passage is commented extensively in Rapp 2002, II 821-833. See also Cope, Sandys 1877, III 13-15.

³⁴⁸ Gastaldi 2014, 547.

κώπης ἀνάσσω· ἀποβὰς εἰς Μυσίαν,

ἀπρεπές, ὅτι μείζον τὸ ἀνάσσειν ἢ κατ' ἀξίαν· οὐ κέκλεπται οὖν.

Rh. Lyons 178.12-15

وهذا كمثل ما قيل في طيلافوس الذي يذكر أوفيدس أنه كان ملكاً على اللصوص، فلما ألقى في العامة والسوقة انف، لأنَّ الملك أمر كبير ذو قدر وإن كان على اللصوص.

CONTEXT:

From 1405a 3 Aristotle focuses on the use of metaphor, which is a fundamental tool for rhetorical purposes due to its characteristics of clearness, pleasure and foreign air (καὶ τὸ σαφές καὶ τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχει μάλιστα ἢ μεταφορά, 1405a 8-9). The verse from Euripides' *Telephos* (F 705 Kannicht, v. 1) exemplifies an inappropriate (ἀπρεπές) construction of metaphor, for the term chosen to metaphorically replace the subject is not commensurate and proportionate to the referent.³⁴⁹ Consequently, the artifice does not remain hidden (see 1404b 18-26 and prev. ref.). Euripides' metaphor «ruling over the oar and having landed in Mysia»³⁵⁰ is considered inappropriate because the verb ἀνάσσειν, which refers to the figure of the king (ἄναξ) of the archaic era, has too high a dignity compared to its referent, namely the act of ruling the ship in navigation.³⁵¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁵²

The conjunction ὥς is translated with *ka-mitli (mā)*. The *genitivus auctoris* is expanded with the addition *allādī yadkuru*. The text runs as follows: «this is like what was said about Telephos whom Euripides mentions as having been king of the thieves. When he was thrown amongst the common and ordinary people he showed pride, because kingship, even over thieves, is a great and important matter». The Arabic *al-luṣūṣ* «the thieves» might be the result of a misreading of κώπη as a form of the noun κλέπτῃς or of the participle κλέπτων, maybe influenced by the following κέκλεπται of the phrase οὐ κέκλεπται οὖν. The latter phrase is rendered in Arabic as «even over thieves», where *al-luṣūṣ* grasps the basic meaning of the Greek verb, «to steal», while οὐ may have been misunderstood as a genitive masculine of the relative pronoun. It is not easy to evaluate how the sequence εἰς Μυσίαν, ἀπρεπές has been interpreted. In his commentary to the edition of the Arabic version, Lyons had suggested the possibility that the hendiadys «the common and ordinary people» could derive from a transliteration in Syriac characters of Μυσίαν preceded by the polyfunctional morpheme *dolat*, so that in the Syriac *Vorlage* the Arabic translator read something resembling the

³⁴⁹ See 1405a 10-11: δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπίθετα καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς ἀρμοττοῦσας λέγειν. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάλογον.

³⁵⁰ Freese 1926, 357.

³⁵¹ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 27; Gastaldi 2014, 551.

³⁵² See *Rh. Lyons* 368.

transliteration of δῆμος. The hypothesis was abandoned in his 2002 article, where he speculates that the Arabic might derive from the infiltration of a gloss to εἰς Μυσίαν, since «the Mysians were proverbially worthless» as also emerges from the maxim Μυσῶν λεία quoted in *Rh.* A 12, 1372b 33 = ref. *23 (p. 111). Again, according to Lyons, the translation «he showed pride» could have originated from a misinterpretation of ἀπρεπές as a form of πρέπω.³⁵³

98.

Γ 2, 1405a 32-34

οἷον Διονύσιος προσαγορεύει ὁ χαλκοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις κραυγὴν Καλλιόπης τὴν ποίησιν, ὅτι ἄμφω φωναί.

Rh. Lyons 178.16-18

كما يسمي ديانوسوس ذاك النحاسي بيت الايغاس مستعملاً صرخة وكشيش الفيونطي في اللفظتين
جميعاً،

MS الوسطى [الفيونطي] | Lyons in app. | وكشيشا conī. Badawī [وكشيش 1

Badawī

CONTEXT:

The expression “Calliope’s screech”, coined by the Athenian eleagist Dionysius the Brazen to denote poetry (fr. 7 West), is cited as a negative example in the construction of metaphors. Both ποίησις and κραυγή fall into the genus of sound (ἄμφω φωναί), but, Aristotle adds, the metaphor is not well composed because it juxtaposes the pleasant sound of poetry (impersonated by the muse Calliope) with the disjointed, meaningless (φαύλη δὲ ἡ μεταφορὰ τῆς ἀσῆμοις φωναίς†, 1405a 34) – and unpleasant – sound expressed by κραυγή. The latter is associated with «the ‘coak’ of the raven and the frog, and the ‘bawling’ of a man». The relationship between the poetic reference and the context is not perfectly clear and poses problems of interpretation, highlighted and discussed by Rapp.³⁵⁴ Indeed, the metaphor of Dionysius the Brazen is cited as an example of the error that arises in metaphors whose syllables are not signs of something pleasant (1405a 31-32). Consequently, Aristotle’s criticism could be at the semantic level (the juxtaposition of poetry and an animal cry) or at the phonetic level (the syllables that make up the word κραυγή are cacophonous). According to the interpretation of the ancient commentator Stephanus φωναί is used in this context as a synonym for syllables. The syllable κραυ is not pleasant but harsh (οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδεῖα ἀλλὰ τραχεῖα), hence this metaphor is bad due to the inarticulate and ill-sounding character of the sound (φαύλη δὲ ἡ μεταφορὰ αὕτη διὰ τὸ ἄσημον καὶ δύσηχον τῆς φωνῆς).³⁵⁵

³⁵³ For the whole passage see Lyons 2002, 212-213.

³⁵⁴ Rapp 2002, II 841-842.

³⁵⁵ Steph. *In Aristot. Rh.*: CAG XXI 2, 314, Rabe.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The elegy of Dionysius Chalcus has not been preserved, so it is impossible to make a precise assessment of the nature of the reference. According to the context in which this fragment is placed, it is highly likely that the syntagma κραυγή(ν) Καλλιόπης are the poet's *ispissima verba*, adapted, however, to the syntax of the context that determines the accusative of the first term. Based on the metrics it is possible that Dionysius Chalcus' verse bore the sequence κραυγήν Καλλιόπης, but it is also likely that here Aristotle broke the metrical pattern to simply quote the image invented by the poet. Thus, it can be assumed that this is an explicit author's isolated paraphrastic quotation, with a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁵⁶

οἶον is rendered with *ka-mā*. The Arabic text reads: «as Dionysius, that one of brass, names the verse of *al-iḡās* using a cry and the rustling of poetry in both expressions together». The expression *bayt* (which also means «house» besides «verse») *al-iḡās* comes from ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις, where ἐλεγείοις is transliterated, and ἐν-τοῖς might have been confused with a form of ἔπος. The hendiadys *ṣarḥa wa-kašīṣ* translates κραυγήν, while Καλλιόπης is missing in Arabic. Τὴν ποίησιν is transliterated, as usual, and misinterpreted as a genitive. As Lyons remarks: «An alteration in the Arabic word order could give 'using the elegiac line, (he) calls a cry and rustling poetry', but there is no evidence to support this. For 'rustling' Badawī reads a transliterated form of Καλλιόπης, but this is not confirmed by the manuscript».

99.

Γ 2, 1405a 37-b 3

οἶον ἐν τῷ αἰνίγματι τῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι

ἄνδρ' εἶδον πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἐπ' ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα·

ἀνώνυμον γὰρ τὸ πάθος, ἔστι δ' ἄμφω πρόσθεσις τις·
κόλλησιν τοίνυν εἶπε τὴν τῆς σικύας προσβολὴν

2 πυρὶ χαλκὸν Vict. πυρίχαλκον codd. Γ

Rh. Lyons 179.4-6

وذلك الرمز كما قيل الذي ينجح إذا رأى رجلاً قد خَلَّ رجلاً بالنحاس الأحمر، فإنّ هذا الألم غير ذي

اسم، وكتاهما تقديم وضع، وقال ...† ... [...]

CONTEXT:

Another indication on the use of metaphor concerns catachresis, that is, the metaphorical use of a word to denote something that lacks a specific name. In these cases, Aristotle argues,

³⁵⁶ See *Rh.* Lyons 368.

it is advisable to transfer a term that is not too distant from the designated object, but that shares its species and genus. An example is the verse attributed to the poetess Cleobulina (fr. 1 West), which describes the practice of bloodletting using bronze cups: «as in the famous enigma, “I saw a man who glued bronze with fire upon another”. There was no name for what took place, but as in both cases there is a kind of application, he called the application of the cupping-glass “gluing”». ³⁵⁷ The quotation also occurs in *Po.* 22, 1458a 29-30 and it is the first verse of an elegiac couplet reported in full by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophists* X 452b. ³⁵⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION: ³⁵⁹

The adjective τῷ εὐδοκιοῦντι is not referred to τῷ αἰνίγματι in Arabic but is misinterpreted as a substantive adjective. The noun πυρί of the poetic quotation seems to be missing in the Arabic version, but the translator may have interpreted it as a kind of specification of χαλκὸν and rendered it by metonymy as *al-ahmar* «red». In this regard it should be noted that πυρί χαλκὸν is conjecture by Victorius, while the MSS bear πυρίχαλκον, i.e., the cupping-instrument, but the translator probably read πυρί χαλκὸν. Instead, the II form of the verb *halla*, meaning «to pickle», for the participle κολλήσαντα is puzzling and might be derived from a transliteration of the Greek term. ³⁶⁰ The Arabic version runs as follows: «And that riddle is like what was said to the one who has success when he saw a man pickling another man in red copper». ³⁶¹ The rendering of Aristotle’s comment is only partially legible since the MS is damaged at 1405b 3-10. The translation of ἀνώνυμον γὰρ τὸ πάθος, ἔστι δ’ ἄμφω πρόσθεσις τις is close to the original, but evidently the translator reads πρόσθεσις as if it were πρόθεσις. The rendering of πάθος with *alam* «pain, suffering», while semantically correct, is not appropriate for this context. Of the next phrase only *wa-qāla* for εἶπε can be read.

In the Arabic version of *Po.* 22, 1458a 29-30 the same verse (ἄνδρ’ εἶδον πυρί χαλκὸν ἐπ’ ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα) reads: «he connected in an evident way copper with fire and copper itself with man». Although the participle κολλήσαντα is translated correctly (*alṣaqa ilṣāqan*), this version also deviates from the Greek. ³⁶²

100.

Γ 2, 1405b 6-8

κάλλος δὲ ὀνόματος τὸ μὲν ὡσπερ Λικύμνιος λέγει, ἐν τοῖς ψόφοις ἢ τῷ σημαινομένῳ,
καὶ αἰσχος δὲ ὡσαύτως.

³⁵⁷ English translation in Freese 1926, 359.

³⁵⁸ Rapp 2002, II 843; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 28-29.

³⁵⁹ See *Rh.* Lyons 368.

³⁶⁰ See for instance in Ullmann 2011, 573 the reference to Paul. Aeg. 7.3 = Pormann 2004, 214, where the subjunctive κολλᾷ is rendered through *yulziqū* (or maybe *yulṣiqū* as transmitted in one of the MSS and as suggested by Ullmann).

³⁶¹ See also Lyons 2002, 213.

³⁶² See Tkatsch 1928-1932, I 270.3-4 and Gutas’ commentary Tarán, Gutas 2012, 441.

Rh. Lyons 179.9-11

فأما حسن الاسم فممنه كما قال ليقومانيوس إلا يكون †...† أو التصريح نحو الذي *يعبر*، وكذلك
القبح *أيضاً*

CONTEXT:

At 1405b 5-6 another indication for the composition of metaphors is introduced, namely that metaphors must be drawn from beautiful things (ἀπὸ καλῶν). Using the authority of Lycimnius (floruit about 420 BCE), a dythirambic poet and pupil of Gorgias,³⁶³ Aristotle specifies that the beauty or ugliness of a name are in the sound or in the meaning.³⁶⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic text is damaged in correspondence of ἐν τοῖς ψόφοις and cannot be reconstructed in full, but apparently it adds a negative *illā*, with the outcome: «about the beauty of the name, as Lycimnius says about it, that it does not †...† or the expression is a way to convey the meaning, as well as the ugliness». ὥσπερ = *ka-mā*.

101.

Γ 2, 1405b 18-20

διαφέρει δ'εἰπεῖν, οἷον ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς μάλλον ἢ φοινικοδάκτυλος, ἢ ἔτι φαυλότερον ἐρυθροδάκτυλος.

Rh. Lyons 179.23-180.3

وقد يختلف القول فيما بين أن يُقال كذا أو كذا، وذلك كما قيل وردية الأصابع، فإنه كان يقبح لو قيل حمراء الأصابع، وأقبح من ذلك لو قيل قرمزية الأصابع.

CONTEXT:

Among the characteristics required for a metaphor to be appropriate (ἀρμόττουσα or πρέπουσα) there is also τὸ καλόν, beauty, a decisive criterion in the construction of this literary device. Aristotle underlines that metaphors should employ nouns whose beauty lies in their sound, in their meaning or in their ability to involve the senses (1405b 17-18). In addition, nouns should be the most appropriate, most similar to the object and such that they can set it before the eyes (τὸ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν). Focusing on the property of beauty Aristotle quotes the Homeric metaphor ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς without naming the poet and maintains: «For it does make a difference, for instance, whether one says “rosy-fingered morn,” rather than “purple-fingered,” or, what is still worse, “red-fingered”».³⁶⁵

³⁶³ See the article *Lycimnius* by T. Heinze and E. Robbins in BNP 2006.

³⁶⁴ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 30-31.

³⁶⁵ Freese 1926, 359. See Cope, Sandys 1877, III 33; Gastaldi 2014, 552-553.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁶⁶

The subject of the metaphor, ἡώς, is omitted, while φοινικοδάκτυλος and ἐρυθροδάκτυλος are transposed. The Arabic text reads as follows: «For it does make a difference between saying this or that, for instance, saying rosy of the fingers, since it would be ugly if one had said red of the fingers and even worse than this, if one had said crimson of the fingers».³⁶⁷

102., 103.

Γ 2, 1405b 21-27

καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις ἔστιν μὲν τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ποιεῖσθαι ἀπὸ φαύλου ἢ αἰσχροῦ, οἷον ὁ μητροφόντης, ἔστι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος, οἷον ὁ πατὴρ ἀμύντωρ· καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅτε μὲν ἐδίδου μισθὸν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ ὁ νικήσας τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν, οὐκ ἤθελε ποιεῖν, ὡς δυσχεραίνων εἰς ἡμίονους ποιεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἱκανὸν ἔδωκεν, ἐποίησε

χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρεις ἵππων·

καίτοι καὶ τῶν ὄνων θυγατέρες ἦσαν.

Rh. Lyons 180.4-12

وكذلك يكون في الموضوعات أيضًا، فقد يكون أن يصنع الموضوعات من الأمور القبيحة أو الردئة كمثل
ميطروفنتيس ويكون أن يصنع من التي هو أفضل كمثل ذاك الذي أثار من أبيه، ومثل الذي يذكره سيمونيدس
حيث كان يعطيها الأجرة القليلة، وكمثل ذاك الذي غلب، وكان كارهاً أن يصنع بالبغال ما صنع، لأنه كان
كالمتكبر لأن يفعل ذلك بالبغال، وكان إذا غلب فسيفعل، وكان مسروراً بانضمامه إلى بنات الخيل، على
أنهن قد كنَّ أيضًا بنات الحمير.

³⁶⁶ See *Rh.* Lyons 369.

³⁶⁷ The outcome of this reference in Ibn Rušd's *Middle Commentary* is striking: «This occurs, for instance, when one describes a woman whose hand is dyed with henna and says: “red in the extremities” or “crimson in the extremities” or “rosy in the extremities” or as someone said: “from the hand of a slave as if the extremities of her fingers were made of silver and were tied by a necklace of jujube” in fact, our saying “rosy in the extremities” is a beautiful substitution and in the same way our saying “of the colour of the jujube in the extremities”. But our saying “red in the extremities” is viler; and our saying “crimson in the fingers” is even uglier. If [the poet] said concerning the woman “bleeding in the fingers” surely it would have been closer to satire than to eulogy. [...]», Arabic text and French translation in Aouad 2002, II 282-283. As Aouad (Aouad 2002, III 370-371) points out Ibn Rušd expands his analysis by introducing a verse drawn from the work by the ‘Abbāsid poet ‘Ukkāša al-‘Ammī, who died at the beginning of the 9th cent. and was known for a series of poems celebrating his love for a slave-girl named Nu‘aym.

1 [اثار من] coni. Lyons من اتاه MS ل انتقم coni. Badawī 3 [حين] tempt. Lyons

in app.

CONTEXT:

After laying out the rules for composing metaphors Aristotle focuses on epithets, i.e. «not only single adjectives, but any ornamental or descriptive addition to a plain ὄνομα κύριον». ³⁶⁸ Like metaphors, epithets can also be drawn from what is mean or disgraceful (ἀπὸ φαύλου ἢ αἰσχροῦ) or from what is morally better (ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος). In this regard, Aristotle quotes two epithets attributed to Orestes, by which the killing of Clytemnestra is alluded to in diametrically opposed terms. The reference is to Euripides' *Orestes* v. 1587, where Menelaus defines Orestes as a matricide, and v. 1588, where the latter justifies himself as his father's avenger. There follows another example that insists on the proverbial greed of gain of the poet Simonides (alluded to by Aristotle on several occasions), whose verse from an epinician is also quoted. The poetic reference offers an example of construction of an epithet ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος: «When the winner in a mule-race offered Simonides a small sum, he refused to write an ode, as if he thought it beneath him to write on half-asses; but when he gave him a sufficient amount, he wrote, "Hail, daughters of storm-footed steeds!" and yet they were also the daughters of asses» (fr. 10 Page [PMG 515]). ³⁶⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden literal quotation of the incipits of two verses from Euripides' *Orestes*. This is followed by an account (testimonium) of the poet Simonides that introduces an explicit author's literal isolated quotation, complete monostich

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION: ³⁷⁰

The translation of the first part is close to the original. The first epithet introduced as an example, ὁ μητροφόντης, is transliterated. The second, ὁ πατρός ἀμύντωρ, appears to be correctly translated «who took revenge from his father», but it must be said that *at'ara* is Lyons' emendation of the transmitted *atāhu* «[that which] came to him». Both occurrences ὄλον are rendered with *ka-mitli*.

The second part of the passage (the example concerning Simonides) poses more problems and is translated as follows: «as for example what Simonides says, where [*haytu*, but in app. Lyons suggests an emendation into *hūna* based on the Greek ὅτε] he was giving her a small reward, and like the man who won. He was unwilling to do what he did with the mules, because he was like one expressing dislike at doing that with mules. When he won he would have acted. He was glad to be joined to the daughters of the horses, although they were also the daughters of asses». The addition of a *mitla* to introduce this reference signals some awareness by the translator of the beginning of a new example. A further addition is *ka-mitli* after the rendering of ὅτε μὲν ἐδίδου μισθὸν ὀλίγον αὐτῷ, on which *dāka lladī galaba* (= ὁ νικήσας) depends. According to Lyons this *ka-mitli* might stem from a *καὶ ὡς* following αὐτῷ in the

³⁶⁸ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 22.

³⁶⁹ Freese 1926, 361.

³⁷⁰ See *Rh.* Lyons 369.

Greek *Vorlage*, on which the Arabic version (or its potential Syriac antecedent) depends. The rest of the sentence (τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν, οὐκ etc.) is translated into Arabic accurately, but is coordinated with the above by means of the conjunction *wa-*, an addition that causes a syntactic imbalance and a divergence from the Greek. The proposition ἐπεὶ δ' ἱκανὸν ἔδωκεν, ἐποίησε is incorrectly rendered: *ǧalaba* comes from a misreading of ἱκανὸν ἔδωκεν (perhaps as a form of the verb νικάω?), while the translator selected the wrong meaning of ποιέω, i.e., «to do» instead of «to compose poetry» as required by the context. This aspect shows that the translator did not grasp that this is a poetic reference. The version of the quotation is problematic as well, since χαίρετε is rendered with a third singular person (*kāna masrūran*), while ἀελλοπόδων is completely misunderstood, but reconstructing how the Arabic outcome originated is not an easy task. In its place, in Arabic, we read *bi-inḏimāmihi* to which *banāti* (another syntactic function for the Greek θύγατρεις) is connected.³⁷¹

104.

Γ 2, 1405b 30-33

ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης σκώπτει ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, ἀντὶ μὲν χρυσίου χρυσιδάριον, ἀντὶ δ' ἱματίου ἱματιδάριον, ἀντὶ δὲ λοιδορίας λοιδορημάτιον καὶ ἀντὶ νοσήματος νοσημάτιον.

Rh. Lyons 180.13-15

كما يصنع أرسطوفانيس حيث يزري على ما كان لأهل *بابل*، فيقول مكان الذهب ذهبيا ومكان الثوب

ثوبياً ومكان الشتيمة شُتِيمة،

CONTEXT:

Aristotle draws from Aristophanes' *usus scribendi* a few examples on the use of the diminutive (ὑποκορισμός), that is, what makes both the ugly and the beautiful smaller (ὁ ἔλαττον ποιεῖ καὶ τὸ κακὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, 1405b 28-29). Although the comic poet makes extensive use of this expressive device throughout his production, Aristotle explicitly refers to the diminutive forms of «gold», «cloak», «reproach», «disease» employed in the *Babylonians*, Aristophanes' second comedy to be staged (see fr. 92 Kassel-Austin).³⁷²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁷³

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated as *ka-mā*. The Greek σκώπτει ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις is not accurately transferred into Arabic: «he ridicules what belonged to the people of Babel and

³⁷¹ For the translation of the quotation see also Lyons 2002, 213.

³⁷² Rapp 2002, II 844; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 34-36; Gastaldi 2014, 553.

³⁷³ See *Rh. Lyons* 369.

says». The translator reproduces the diminutives in Arabic, but the last example *καὶ ἀντὶ νοσήματος νοσημάτιον* is not translated.

105.

Γ 3, 1406a 11-14

ἐν μὲν γὰρ ποιήσει πρέπει “γάλα λευκόν” εἶπειν, ἐν δὲ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν ἀπρεπέστερα· τὰ δέ, ἂν ᾗ κατακορή, ἐξελέγχει καὶ ποιεῖ φανερόν ὅτι ποίησις ἐστίν

Rh. Lyons 181.10-14

فإنه في الفيئطبة فيجمل أن يُقال مكان اللبن الأبيض، وما كان من نظائر هذه. وأمّا في الكلام فبعضهنّ لا تحسن البتّة وبعضهنّ إن كنّ مملولات يقيدن ويكنّ ظاهرات لأنهنّ فوئطيات.

2 [يقيدن] conī. Badawī يقبحن tempt. Lyons in app.

CONTEXT:

Chapter Γ 3 contains the reviews of τὰ ψυχρά of λέξεις, namely faults – metaphorically defined as «cold» features – of the expressive form. Aristotle warns against the improper use of compound words, glosses, and epithets in prose because these are devices more suited to expression in verse and they risk making speech too poetic. In 1406a 10-11 the use of epithets that are excessively long, inappropriate, or too frequent (ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις τὸ ἢ μακροῖς ἢ ἀκαίροις ἢ πυκνοῖς χρῆσθαι) is criticised. The first example he quotes in this regard is the Homeric expression γάλα λευκόν, «white milk», which is appropriate in the poetic context but out of place in prose discourse, «and if epithets are employed to excess, they reveal the art and make it evident that it is poetry».³⁷⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium on a Homeric iunctura.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁷⁵

For both occurrences of the Greek ποίησις the translator resorts to the transliterated form as usual in this version. The expression “γάλα λευκόν” εἶπειν is mistranslated as: «to say in place of “milk” “white”», and followed by the addition «and so on». The term ἀπρεπέστερα, a superlative adjective with a negative meaning conveyed by the alpha privative, is translated with the emphatic negative *lā tahsunu al-battata*. The final section τὰ δέ, ἂν ᾗ κατακορή, ἐξελέγχει καὶ ποιεῖ φανερόν ὅτι ποίησις ἐστίν is not accurately translated, particularly in the rendering of the adjective κατακορή and the verb ἐξελέγγω. The Arabic reads: «and if these are disgusting, they restrain and are clear in that they are poetic». For the translation of

³⁷⁴ Freese 1926, 363. See Cope, Sandys 1877, III 36-40. All of the examples inserted in these lines from Γ 3 have not been analysed, being rhetorical imitations of poetry and not actual poetic references. Exceptions are those references that are an explicit and distinctly identifiable reworkings or quotations, as in this case and the next two.

³⁷⁵ See *Rh. Lyons* 370.

ἐξελέγχω Lyons suggests that the verb *yuqayyidna* «to restrain» might be corrected into *yuqabbihna* «to express disapproval».

106.

Γ 3, 1406b 11-14

καὶ ὡς Ἀλκιδάμας τὴν φιλοσοφίαν “ἐπιτείχισμα τῷ νόμῳ”, καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν “καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον”, καὶ “οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἄθυρμα τῇ ποιήσει προσφέρων”.

Rh. Lyons 183.11-13

وكما سمى القيدامس الفلسفة سور السنن وسمى الكتاب الذي في المال المرأة الجيدة لمعاش الناس،
فهذا الآن ما يفعل شيئاً من هذا النحو ممّا أقرب

CONTEXT:

Alcidamas is the orator most frequently cited in Γ 3 due to his misuse of typical elements of poetic language in his speeches. After criticising him, along with Lycophron and Gorgias, for their usage of compound nouns (1406a 1-5) and glosses (1406a 8-10) and for their overly long, frequent and ostentatious epithets (1406a 18-32), Aristotle here condemns his use of metaphors and gives three examples. The first is the definition of philosophy as «a bulwark of the laws» (fr. 26 Baiter-Sauppe); the second – the one we are concerned with – involves the Odyssey which he calls «a beautiful mirror of human life» (fr. 27 Baiter-Sauppe); the third example reads «introducing no such plaything in poetry» (fr. 28 Baiter-Sauppe), and the latter had already been quoted, in a shorter form, as an example of gloss at 1406a 8-9.³⁷⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention of the Odyssey.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁷⁷

The conjunction ὡς is rendered with *ka-mā* followed by the verb *sammā* (also repeated to introduce the second example) which correctly interprets the implied verb in Greek. The reference καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν “καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον” corresponds to the Arabic «and he named the book on possession “the beautiful mirror for human life”». As already noted by Lyons the syntagma *kitāb allādī fi l-māl* for the Greek reveals a Syriac substratum. In fact, one can speculate that the Syriac transcription of Ὀδύσσεια, ܐܘܕܝܫܝܐ, was corrupted into or misread as ܐܘܫܝܐ (with the mere omission of *dolat*), i.e. the transliteration of the Greek οὐσία, which later on the Arabic translator interpreted as «substance» and so «possession», «wealth». Lyons refers to the similar case of the Syriac-Arabic version of Abū Bišr Mattā of *Po.*

³⁷⁶ English translation in Freese 1926, 365, 367. See Rapp 2002, II 849; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 39, 46-47.

³⁷⁷ See *Rh.* Lyons 371.

1453a 32, where ἡ Ὀδύσσεια is translated with *al-tadwīn allādī li-l-ǧawhar* («the writing down that is for [on] the substance»)³⁷⁸.

107.

Γ 3, 1406b 15-19

τὸ δὲ Γοργίου εἰς τὴν χελιδόνα, ἐπεὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ πετομένη ἀφῆκε τὸ περίττωμα, ἄριστα <ἔχει> τῶν τραγικῶν· εἶπε γὰρ αἰσχρόν γε, ὦ Φιλομήλα. ὄρνιθι μὲν γὰρ, εἰ ἐποίησεν, οὐκ αἰσχρόν, παρθένῳ δὲ αἰσχρόν. εὖ οὖν ἐλοιδόρησεν εἰπὼν ὃ ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὃ ἔστιν.

Rh. Lyons 183.14-19

فأما جرجياس فإنه حيث كانت خطافة تطير فوق رأسه نظر إليها ثم قال: ما أقبح ما صنعت أيها الطائر الفيلوميليا، أي محبة التفاح، فإنه وإن كان الذي فعلت لم يكن قبيحًا فيما بينها وبينه، ولكن ذلك قبيح للعدراء. فما أحسن ما عنفها حيث ذكر ما قد كان وليس ما هو قائم.

CONTEXT:

An anecdote about Gorgias offers another example of metaphor misuse in prose discourse. Aristotle reports: «As for what Gorgias said to the swallow which, flying over his head, let fall her droppings upon him, it was in the best tragic style. He exclaimed, “Fie, for shame, Philomela!”; for there would have been nothing in this act disgraceful for a bird, whereas it would have been for a young lady. The reproach therefore was appropriate, addressing her as she was, not as she is».³⁷⁹ The myth of Philomela and her family is frequently referred to in Greek literature and was the subject of various lost tragedies and comedies.³⁸⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁸¹

The Greek ἀφῆκε τὸ περίττωμα, ἄριστα <ἔχει> τῶν τραγικῶν is missing in the Arabic version resulting in a reinterpretation of the entire passage, in particular the paraphrase of εἰ ἐποίησεν, οὐκ αἰσχρόν, which takes on a meaning distant from the original. It is curious to note that the transliteration of the proper noun Φιλομήλα is followed by a gloss that explains its meaning as *muhibbu l-tuffāhi* («lover of apples»). A similar case can be read in the Arabic translation of the proper noun Φιλοκτήτης in EN H 3, 1146a 19-21 = ref. 28 (pp. 319-321).³⁸²

³⁷⁸ Tkatsch 1928-1932, I 248; cf. 207a. Kraemer 1956a, 282-283 n. 4 had already drawn attention to this confusion between Ὀδύσσεια and οὐσία in the *Po*.

³⁷⁹ English translation in Freese 1926, 367.

³⁸⁰ See the article *Procne* by K. Waldner in BNP 2006. For the myth see *infra*, HA I 49B, 633a 17-27 = ref. 18 (pp. 258-259).

³⁸¹ See *Rh. Lyons* 371.

³⁸² Similarly, in al-Fārābī's *Falsafat Aflātūn* many of the titles of Plato's dialogues are glossed (see Rosenthal, Walzer 1943, xvi-xvii). A case in study is the expression following the transliteration of the proper noun

The Arabic text reads: «Concerning Gorgia, since a swallow was flying upon his head, he looked at it and then said “how shameful what you have done, oh Philomela bird, that is, lover of apples” for even though what it (*or*: she) did was not shameful as between it (*or*: her) and him, but this is shameful for a maiden. So he is right to admonish it (*or*: her) since he mentions what it was and not what it is».

108.

Γ 4, 1406b 20-24

ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκῶν μεταφορά· διαφέρει γὰρ μικρόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἴπη [τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα] “ὥς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν”, εἰκῶν ἐστίν, ὅταν δὲ “λέων ἐπόρουσε”, μεταφορά· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἄμφω ἀνδρείους εἶναι, προσηγόρευσε μετενέγκας λέοντα τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα.

Rh. Lyons 183.20-23

ثمَّ أنّ المثل أيضًا تغيير، لكنَّهما يختلفان قليلاً. فقول القائل في أخيلوس إنه وثب وثبة أسد هو تغيير، فمن أجل أنَّهما جميعًا شديدان سمى أخيلوس بالتغيير والاختلاف أسداً.

CONTEXT:

These lines form the opening of chapter Γ 4, focusing on simile. Right from the start, simile is presented as a particular type of metaphor (ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκῶν μεταφορά), in which the link between the referent and the metaphorical subject is made explicit by using connective elements such as the conjunction ὥς or other similar forms. The relationship between simile and metaphor is so close that one can be converted into the other, as shown by the example involving Achilles: «When (the poet) says of Achilles, “he rushed on like a lion” it is a simile; if he says, “a lion, he rushed on”, it is a metaphor; for because both are courageous, he transfers the sense and calls Achilles a lion».³⁸³ The example refers to *Il. Y* 164-175, a passage in which Achilles’ momentum in battle is compared to the ferocity of a lion ready to strike down many men.³⁸⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated compendary quotation, in which ὥς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν sums up the meaning of *Il. Y* 164 (Πηλεΐδης δ’ ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίον ὦρτο λέων ὥς) and the description contained in the following verses.

Protagoras, حامل اللبن (Rosenthal, Walzer 1943, 4). The text has been vocalised *hāmil al-labini* (or *libni/libini*), «who carries bricks», by the editors Rosenthal and Walzer, who argued that the author of this gloss divided Πρωταγόρας into πρωτ- (misinterpreted as a form of φέρω) and -αγορας confused with the Syriac *āgorrē*, plur. of *āgorā* «brick» (Rosenthal, Walzer 1943, xvi). On the contrary, in Robinowitz 1946, 78-79 the scholar proposes to read *hāmil al-labani*, «who carries milk», based on φορτηγός («carrier») and ὀρός («milky-whey»). A new hypothesis has been put forward in Marcus 1947, where the scholar claims that this is not a gloss explaining the proper noun, but *hāmil* stands for φορμοφόρον «porter», an epithet attributed to Protagoras in Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 10, 8.8, while *libn/labin* is a later addition by association.

³⁸³ Freese 1926, 367.

³⁸⁴ Gastaldi 2014, 558; see Cope, Sandys 1877, III 48. Rapp 2002, II 850 reports other verses in the *Iliad* in which a hero’s assault is compared to an animal’s momentum.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁸⁵

The syntagma εἰκὼν ἐστίν, ὅταν δὲ “λέων ἐπόρουσε” is not translated and the omission is probably due to a *saut du même au même* (ἐπόρουσεν, εἰκὼν ἐστίν, ὅταν δὲ “λέων ἐπόρουσε). The verb ἐπορεύω is emphatically translated with the verb *wataba* accompanied by the accusative of the internal object. The paratactic structure προσηγόρευσεν μετενέγκας is translated into Arabic with a main verb accompanied by a hendiadys: *sammā...bi-l-taǧyīri wa-bi-l-iḥtilāfi*.

109.

Γ 4, 1407a 17-18

οἶον εἰ ἢ φιάλη ἀσπίς Διονύσου, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀρμόττει λέγεσθαι φιάλην Ἄρεως.

Rh. Lyons 185.12-14

كما أنا إذا قلنا ذو الكأس فإنما نعلمى المشتري، وإذا قلنا ذو الـ...† فإنما نعلمى المريخ

†...الـ] *الترس* coni. Salim Badawī الررد tempt. Lyons in app. (cf. IS الحربة; IR

(المجن)

CONTEXT:

The example, built on the metaphor “the cup of Ares”, shows what Aristotle said in the previous lines (1407a 15-17), namely that «the proportional metaphor should always be reciprocally transferable, and to either of the two congeners».³⁸⁶ The example is grounded on the proportion “the cup is to Dionysus as the shield is to Ares”. So, if the metaphor “the cup is the shield of Dionysus” is valid, then also the metaphor “the shield is the cup of Ares” must be valid. The same reference is repeated in *Rh.* Γ 11, 1412b 36-1413a 1 and is explained in *Po.* 21, 1457b 20-22, but in none of the three passages the author of the metaphor is spelled out.³⁸⁷ Interpreters tend to ascribe the metaphor to the citharist and poet Timotheus of Miletus (fr. 21 Page [PMG 797]), mentioned by Aristotle also in *Metaph.* α 1, 993b 15-16 = ref. 1 (pp. 275-276). In fact, in *Deipnosophistae* X 433c Athenaeus of Naucratis discusses the use of the expression «saucer of Ares» (φιάλη Ἄρεως) to mean a cup (ποτήριον) and quotes a couplet from the *Caeneus*³⁸⁸ by the Middle Comedy poet Antiphanes (fr. 110 Kassel-Austin) where it is stated:

³⁸⁵ See *Rh.* Lyons 371. See also GALex I 397, where the first part of the fragment is discussed (in particular, the fact that the initial ἔστιν is misread as ἔτι, and therefore translated with *tumma*).

³⁸⁶ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 54.

³⁸⁷ For the whole issue see Rapp 2002, II 852; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 54; Gastaldi 2014, 560.

³⁸⁸ Regarding Caeneus, it is worth noting that Aristotle speaks of a certain Caeneus in *APo.* A 12, 77b41-78a5 about an example of paralogism, but the identification is still problematic. If we leave out the testimony of John Philoponus, who in his commentary on the work claims he is a sophist – but probably by guesswork – there remains the mythological character Caeneus, who was one of the Lapiths who fought along with the Centaurs. Most commentators, following Ross 1949, 548, tend to regard him as the character in the play of the same name by Antiphanes, who was a contemporary of Aristotle. However, in a recent study, Huffman convincingly rules out this hypothesis and proposes to identify the Caeneus that Aristotle mentions in the *APo.* with a Pythagorean

«Then give me forthwith the saucer of Ares, as Timotheus calls it [...]».³⁸⁹ According to Lanza the metaphor might derive from Timotheus' *nómos The Persian*, of which only 240 verses survive.³⁹⁰ However, again in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* XI 502b the expression «saucers of Ares» to refer to cups is explicitly attributed to Anaxandrides,³⁹¹ identified with the Middle Comedy poet Anaxandrides of Rhodes (fr. 82 Kassel-Austin).³⁹²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Without knowing the source, it is not possible to determine whether this is a literal quotation or an allusion paraphrasing the poet's words.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁹³

The translation of the reference is inaccurate: «when we say “the one with the cup”, we mean Jupiter and when we say “the one with the [...] we mean Mars». Firstly, it is worth noting the strategy, already seen in *Rh.* B 9, 1387a 32-34 = ref. 46 (pp. 130-131, but also *Rh.* Γ 4, 1407a 18 = ref. 109, pp. 187-189, and EN H 7, 1149b 15 = ref. 32, pp. 120-121), to assimilate the name of the deity to the corresponding planet. Here Διόνυσος is reinterpreted as *al-muštārī*, planet Jupiter, which however is commonly associated with Ζεύς (perhaps the translator read Διός or another declined form of Ζεύς instead of Διονύσου?). *Al-mirriḥ*, planet Mars, stands for Ἄρης. In correspondence to the rendering of τὴν ἀσπίδα the Arabic text bears a lacuna, which cannot easily be filled. Lyons remarks that Ibn Rušd (IR)'s *Middle Commentary* provides the correct translation, i.e. *al-miğann*, unlike Ibn Sīnā (IS) who in the corresponding passage in the section of the *Rh.* of the *Kitāb al-Šifā'* gives *al-ḥarba* «the lance».³⁹⁴ As can be seen from other textual passages, Ibn Rušd did read the same Arabic version of the *Rh.* that has come down to us, but he had a MS that was more intact than ours.³⁹⁵ Hence, we are not entitled to correct a lacuna in our MS of the Arabic *Rh.* on the sole basis of Ibn Rušd's testimony. However, it is reasonable to assume that the translator's lexical choice to render ἀσπίς was correct and that a potential error originated in the later tradition. It is not possible to compare the text with the parallel reference in *Rh.* Γ 11, 1412b 36-1413a 1 since it is part of a long gap (1412a 16-1415a 4) in the Arabic MS. The Arabic version of *Po.* 21, 1457b 20-22 does not help in this case. In fact, the term that translates ἀσπίς has evidently become corrupted and Tkatsch prints in text what he reads in the MS (the Arabic version of the *Poetics* is preserved in the same copy that bears

of the 4th cent.; see Huffman 2005, 534-536. For this reason, I have not included the passage *APo.* A 12, 77b41-78a5 in my analysis.

³⁸⁹ Gulick 1927-1957, IV 462-463. See also Canfora 2001, 1070.

³⁹⁰ Lanza 1987, 192 n. 8.

³⁹¹ Gulick 1927-1957, V 246-247.

³⁹² Canfora points out that Anaxandrides could also be identified with the historian Anaxandrides of Delphi and in fact this passage by Athenaeus is among the fragments of Anaxandrides collected by Felix Jacoby (FGrHist 404 F 6); see Canfora 2001, 1243. However, the analysis of the fragment in the article *Anaxandridas (404)* by J. Rzepka in BNJ 2007, shows that it is unlikely that the Anaxandrides mentioned here by Athenaeus is the historian.

³⁹³ See *Rh.* Lyons 373.

³⁹⁴ For Ibn Rušd see Aouad 2002, II 286.16; for Ibn Sīnā, see Sālim 1954, 212.15.

³⁹⁵ See *Rh.* Lyons i; Aouad 2002, I 2. For instance, Ibn Rušd read the Arabic version of the passage 1412a 16-1415a 4, which is missing in the Parisian MS.

the *Rh.*, MS Paris, BNF ar. 2346), i.e. الربرير and الربرس. As he reconstructs in footnote these are the forms without diacritics for التديبر (*al-tadbīr*) which is probably a simplification error for الترس (*al-turs*), as Margoliouth proposed before him.³⁹⁶ In any case Abū Bišr had chosen another synonym to render the Greek term.

110., 111.

Γ 6, 1407b 32-35

καὶ τὸ ἐν πολλὰ ποιεῖν, ὅπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ ποιούσιν· ἐνὸς ὄντος λιμένος ὁμῶς λέγουσι
 λιμένας εἰς Ἀχαιϊκούς
 καὶ
 δέλτου μὲν αἶδε πολύθυροι διαπτυχαί.

***Rh.* Lyons 188.18-21**

والإكثار من ...† على أنّ الفيوئطيين قد يفعلونه إذا كان المستراح ...† كما قد يقولون في المرسيات
 إنّ منهنّ *القيادلطوس* ومنهنّ كثيرة الأبواب وذوات وجهين

CONTEXT:

In this chapter Aristotle lists the devices through which the ὄγκος, i.e. dignity or amplification of style, is achieved. These include the use of the plural instead of the singular, common in poetry (τὸ ἐν πολλὰ ποιεῖν, ὅπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ ποιούσιν). The first example, «although there is only one harbour, they say “to Achaean harbours”», is part of a verse whose author is unknown (Adesp. F 83 Snell). Cope notes that the use of λιμένες in the plural to designate a singular harbour is found in five places of Euripides and one of Sophocles, but none of them bears the adjective «Achaean». The second verse quoted, «Here are the many-leaved folds of the tablet»,³⁹⁷ is taken from the third episode of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* (v. 727). With these words Iphigenia refers to the letter to her loved ones in Argos that she intends to hand to Pylades.³⁹⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit anonymous serial (correlated through καί) literal quotations. Both are monostichs, the first incomplete and the second complete.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:³⁹⁹

The Arabic text is lacunose and seriously damaged in this passage. Based on what remains of the translation of ἐνὸς ὄντος λιμένος ὁμῶς λέγουσι, ὁμῶς is not rendered and replaced in Arabic with *ka-mā* (or rather misread as *ῶς?*), while *al-mustarāḥ* is an addition by the translator ([*li-*]yastariḥū is employed for παυσόμενοι at 1377a 5= *Rh.* Lyons 78.21). Moreover, λιμένος is translated with the plural *al-marsiyāt*. Unlike *Rh.* B 24, 1401b 18 = ref. 92 (pp. 169-170),

³⁹⁶ Tkatsch 1928-1932, I 266.19-20 and 267 nn. 44, 47.

³⁹⁷ Freese 1926, 377. For the interpretation of this verse in the Aristotelian context see Kyriakou 2006, 248.

³⁹⁸ Rapp 2002, II 859; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 64-67; Gastaldi 2014, 563.

³⁹⁹ See *Rh.* Lyons 375.

in which τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς was correctly interpreted as *‘alā l-yūnāniyyīna*, here the term Ἀχαιῶν is transliterated inaccurately. Lyons speculates that the transliteration *al-qiyādaltūs* may have originated from a corruption of Ἀχαιῶν καὶ δέλτου into Ἀχαιῶν- δέλτου. The corruption of the syntagma Ἀχαιῶν καὶ δέλτου also explains the structure of the Arabic version, in which the two quotations are merged into a single expression «(as they say of the harbours that) amongst them is al-qiyādaltūs and amongst them are those with many doors, two-faced».⁴⁰⁰ The translation shows that the adjective πολύθυροι is translated literally, while the dual *waǧhayni* may derive from a misreading of the prefix δια- of διαπτυχαί as δι-.

112.

Γ 6, 1408a 1-4

καὶ τὸ Ἀντιμάχου χρήσιμον, ἐξ ὧν μὴ ἔχει λέγειν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τευμησοῦ,
ἔστι τις ἡνεμόεις ὀλίγος λόφος.
αὕξεται γὰρ οὕτως εἰς ἄπειρον.

Rh. Lyons 189.3-7

ثمَّ أنّ الذي يليق جدًا بأنطيماخوس من الكلام أن يصف ما فعله الفاعل بما ليس أو بالمعدوم، لكنّ هذا
لا يحسن بك أنت، أعني ذلك الذي كان من ذلك كلامًا عاليًا شريفًا، لأنّ هذا غير ذي حدٍّ أو نهاية.

CONTEXT:

The last device for the amplification of style consists in «describing a thing by the qualities it does not possess»⁴⁰¹ (ἐξ ὧν μὴ ἔχει λέγειν) and is related to the epic poet and elegist Antimachos of Colophon (late 5th/ early 4th cent. BCE).⁴⁰² According to interpreters, the reference is taken from the epic poem entitled *Thebais*, centred on the mythical episode of the Seven against Thebes. The work should also contain an encomium of Teumessus – a low hill in Boeotia where a village had been established – of which Antimachos would have listed all the qualities that do not pertain to it. The quotation, «There is a windy low hill» (fr. 2 Kinkel), seems to be the incipit of this encomium. After the reference Aristotle remarks that in this way amplification may go on to infinity.⁴⁰³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, monostich, accompanied by a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁰⁴

The Arabic version is inaccurate: «Then the speech that is very suited to Antimachos is one that should describe what the agent did in terms of what is not or of the non-existent. But this is not appropriate for you yourself, I mean the part of it that is high, noble, speech, because

⁴⁰⁰ Lyons 2002, 202.

⁴⁰¹ Freese 1926, 377.

⁴⁰² See the article *Antimachus* by Marco Fantuzzi in BNP 2006.

⁴⁰³ Rapp 2002, II 860; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 68-69; Gastaldi 2014, 564.

⁴⁰⁴ See *Rh. Lyons* 375.

this has no limit or end». In the rendering of τὸ Ἀντιμάχου χρήσιμον...λέγειν the function of the genitive Ἀντιμάχου is not grasped resulting in a logical-syntactic rearrangement. The section ὁ ἐκεῖνος ποιεῖ is mistranslated since the subject ἐκεῖνος (referred to Antimachos) is paraphrased with *al-fā'il*. For the negative of ἐξ ὧν μὴ ἔχει the translator employs the hendiadys *bi-mā laysa aw bi-l-ma'dūmi*. The Arabic «this is not appropriate for you yourself» seems to come from the misinterpretation of the proper noun Τευμησοῦ, divided into (T) / ευ / μη / (σ) / σοῦ. The translation of the quotation ἔστι τις ἡνεμόεις ὀλίγος λόφος departs from the original, but it is not easy to reconstruct how the Greek text became corrupted or misunderstood. Evidently the Arabic *kalām* has no correspondence in Greek and might be a misreading of either ὀλίγος (ὀ / λίγος) or λόφος. Finally, αὔξεται disappears in the Arabic version. Lyons speculates that *li-anna hādā* may derive from an ἔσται instead of αὔξεται. For εἰς ἄπειρον the translator also resorts to a hendiadys (*ǧayru dī ḥaddin aw nihātayin*).

113.

Γ 6, 1408a 6-9

ὄθεν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα οἱ ποιηταὶ φέρουσιν, τὸ ἄχορδον καὶ τὸ ἄλυρον μέλος· ἐκ τῶν στερησῶν γὰρ ἐπιφέρουσιν· εὐδοκίμει γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς λεγόμενον ταῖς ἀνάλογον, οἷον τὸ φάναι τὴν σάλπιγγα ἰέναι μέλος ἄλυρον.

Rh. Lyons 189.8-12

ومن هاهنا يأتي الفيوتطيون بأسماء اللحون، فيقولون: لا *معرفية* ولا زفنية ولا رقصية وإنهم يأتون بها من الإعدام. وقد يظنّ بهذا النحو حسناً إذا قيل بالتغيير وعلى المعادلة، وذلك إنّه *يقال* *مكان القرن أو البوق لحن غير معرفي.

Badawī وترية ولا قيثارية [*معرفية* ولا زفنية ولا رقصية 1

CONTEXT:

This reference, related to the previous one, is inserted in the discussion of the practice of describing a subject by listing all the characteristics that do not apply to it. Aristotle emphasises that this device is typically poetic and cites a twofold expression, τὸ ἄχορδον καὶ τὸ ἄλυρον μέλος, «stringless or lyreless music»,⁴⁰⁵ that, referring to a melody produced without a stringed or wind instrument, is constructed by attributing to the referent the elements of which it is devoid (ἐκ τῶν στερησῶν γὰρ ἐπιφέρουσιν). Moreover, this device is particularly effective in proportional metaphors, such as calling the sound of the trumpet a melody without a lyre (οἷον τὸ φάναι τὴν σάλπιγγα ἰέναι μέλος ἄλυρον). For the expression τὸ ἄχορδον καὶ τὸ ἄλυρον μέλος (Adesp. F 83a-b Snell) – which is not attested in this form in any work or fragment known to us – commentators have identified several parallels in Greek lyricists and

⁴⁰⁵ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 70.

tragedians, a good example being the *iunctura* φόρμιγξ ἄχορδος ascribed to the tragic poet Theognis in Demetr. *Eloc.* 85 (28 F 1 Nauck; cf. Adesp. 33 Page [PMG 951]).⁴⁰⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The reference seems to be a generic expressive reference rather than a quotation of a specific verse.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁰⁷

The translator rearranges the syntax of the Greek by anticipating μέλος and adding the verb *yaqūlūna* («from this the poets derive the nouns of melodies, so they say»). The adjectives ἄχορδον and ἄλυρον are transposed; ἄλυρον is correctly rendered as *lā mi'zafīyya*, while ἄχορδον has been seemingly misread as ἄχορον, «without the dance» and translated with the hendiadys *lā zafīyya wa-lā raqṣīyya*. As for the final example οἷον τὸ φάναι τὴν σάλπιγγα ἰέναι μέλος ἄλυρον, τὴν σάλπιγγα is rendered with a hendiadys and instead of ἰέναι the Arabic shows ἀντί. The text reads: «to say, in place of horn or trumpet “melody”».

114.

Γ 7, 1408a 13-16

μηδ' ἐπὶ τῷ εὐτελεῖ ὀνόματι ἐπὶ κόσμος· εἰ δὲ μή, κωμωδία φαίνεται, οἷον ποιεῖ
Κλεοφῶν· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἔνια ἔλεγε καὶ εἰ εἶπειεν [ἄν] “πότνια συκῆ”.

Rh. Lyons 189.16-20

ولا يستعمل الاسم الدنى، وهو الذي بالتهيئة، والذي يكون... قومودية†، كمثل مقالة قلاوفون، فإنه
يقول الشيء على ما هو عليه وبالتفصيل لكل شيء على حدته، كما قال: وكانت التينة العظيمة تلتهب.

1 قومودية† [قومودية... مؤذية * باشياء * Badawī بالقومودية tempt. Lyons in app.

CONTEXT:

At the beginning of chapter Γ 7 Aristotle resumes the concept of τὸ πρέπον, «what is appropriate» and applies it to the λέξις (cf. *Rh.* ref. 96). To be appropriate style shall express emotion and character and be proportionate (ἀνάλογον) to the subject matter (1408a 10-11). The criterion of τὸ ἀνάλογον is met «when neither weighty matters are treated offhand, nor trifling matters with dignity» (1408a 12-13), and when «no embellishment is attached to an ordinary word» (μηδ' ἐπὶ τῷ εὐτελεῖ ὀνόματι ἐπὶ κόσμος).⁴⁰⁸ If style does not follow these principles it degenerates into comedy (κωμωδία φαίνεται), as happens in some expressions

⁴⁰⁶ Dufour, Wartelle 1938-1973, III 108 n.3; Rapp 2002, II 860; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 70-71; Gastaldi 2014, 564-565.

⁴⁰⁷ See *Rh.* Lyons 375.

⁴⁰⁸ Freese 1926, 377, 379.

suitable only in a certain context, for instance in an emotional speech (1408b 11-12). The following example is provided: «for when a man is enraged it is excusable for him to call an evil “high-as-heaven” or “stupendous”». ⁴¹² The two terms, οὐρανομήκης and πελώριος, are respectively a compound adjective and a foreign word or gloss, in the sense of «an antiquated or barbarous term that requires explanation». ⁴¹³ The latter is a term of Homeric derivation and is already mentioned (in the alternative form πέλωρος) as an example of a gloss in Γ 3 1406a 7-8. The adjective οὐρανομήκης is attested in Hom. *Od.* ε 239, Aesch. *Agam.* 92, Aristoph. *Nub.* 357, 459.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic expressive reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴¹⁴

The example is introduced by *ka-mā*, while in Greek there is just γάρ and no comparative conjunction or adverb. The inaccurate rendering of the passage is due primarily to a misinterpretation of the syntax of the sentence: «as it is said that forgiveness in the view of an angry man is an evil, and that the tall (man) reaching towards the sky is called brave». The translator divides συγγνώμη γάρ ὀργιζομένῳ κακὸν φάναι and οὐρανόμηκες, ἢ πελώριον εἰπεῖν. Consequently, the adjective οὐρανόμηκες is no longer attributed to its referent (κακόν) and is substantivised, while πελώριον is taken as its predicative. The lexical choice *ṣuḡā'* for πελώριος is not perfectly fitting. It is not possible to adequately compare this rendering with the translation of πέλωρον ἄνδρα at 1406a 7-8, since there the Arabic MS is damaged. However, what remains, «in place of war» (*makān †...al-ḥarb†*), would suggest a misreading of πέλωρον as πολεμ- (*Rh.* Lyons 181.7-8).

116., 117., 118.

Γ 8, 1409a 12-18

ἔστιν δὲ παιᾶνος δύο εἶδη ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀρμόττει, ὡσπερ καὶ χρώνται· οὗτος δ' ἔστιν οὗ ἄρχει μὲν ἢ μακρά, τελευτῶσιν δὲ τρεῖς βραχεῖαι, Δαλογενὲς εἶτε Λυκίαν, καὶ Χρυσεοκόμα Ἐκατε παῖ Διός· ἕτερος δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας, οὗ βραχεῖαι ἄρχουσιν τρεῖς, ἢ δὲ μακρὰ τελευταία.

μετὰ δὲ γὰν ὕδατά τ' ὠκεανὸν ἠφάνισε νύξ.

οὗτος δὲ τελευτὴν ποιεῖ· ἢ γὰρ βραχεῖα διὰ τὸ ἀτελὴς εἶναι ποιεῖ κολοβόν.

Rh. Lyons 194.2-8

وفي الفاون نوعان يضادّ أحدهما الآخر، فأحدهما يشاكل في البدو كما يستعملونه أيضًا، وهذا هو الذي

يكون بدوه بحرف طويل ويتناهى بثلاثة مفضّلة، وأمّا الآخر فخلاف هذا، أعني أنّه يبتدئ بثلاثة منفصلة

⁴¹² Freese 1926, 381.

⁴¹³ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 80.

⁴¹⁴ See *Rh.* Lyons 377; see also see *Rh.* Lyons 369 for the translation of 1406a 7-8.

ويتناهى بالطويل. فهكذا وبهذا يكون المنتهى، وذلك أنّ المتقلّص، من قبل أنّه ليس كلامًا، يجعل الكلام قصيرًا.

CONTEXT:

Aristotle examines various meters to assess their applicability in prose speech and recognises the peon – a metrical foot made of three shorts syllables that are either preceded or followed by a long one – as the most suitable for such use. Then he distinguishes two antithetical forms of peon (ἔστιν δὲ παιάνος δύο εἶδη ἀντικείμενα ἀλλήλοις): one consisting of a sequence of one long and three short syllables, to be used at the beginning of the sentence, and one consisting of a sequence of three short and one long syllable, to be inserted at the end of the sentence. The sentence should end with a long syllable «for the short syllable, being incomplete, mutilates the cadence» (ἢ γὰρ βραχεία διὰ τὸ ἀτελής εἶναι ποιεῖ κολοβόν). Aristotle gives three examples (Adesp. 32 Page [PMG 950]), two for the first type and one for the second. The first two examples appear to be incipits of paeans to Apollo.⁴¹⁵ The first quotation, «O Delos-born, or it may be Lycia», refers, in fact, to Apollo, while the second, «Golden-haired far-darter, son of Zeus», is an invocation to Hecate. The third example reads «after earth and waters, night obscured ocean».⁴¹⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Three hidden serial quotations, an incomplete and two complete monostichs. Aristotle is the only source for these fragments.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴¹⁷

All three quotations are omitted in Arabic. Besides this, the version bears some shortcomings such as the use of *mufaṣṣala* for the Greek βραχεία and the addition of *ḥarf* where the Greek implies «syllable». The text runs as follows: «In the peon two forms are opposed to each other, the one being suitable for the beginning as it is also used. And this is the one that begins with a long letter and ends with three separated. The other is the opposite of this, that is, it begins with three separate (letters) and ends with a long one. Thus and so it is completed, that is, contracted, since it is not a sentence and makes the speech short». Panoussi proposed to explain *laysa kalāman*, which apparently covers the Greek ἀτελής, by assuming an interference with the Syriac ܠܐ ܡܠܐ. The latter can be vocalised either as *d-lā malā* («without being full») which is closer to the Greek adjective or as *d-lā mellē* («without words»), as the translator apparently read it.⁴¹⁸

119.

Γ 9, 1409b 9-12

ὥσπερ τὰ Σοφοκλέους ἰαμβεῖα,

⁴¹⁵ Rapp 2002, II 874; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 89-90; Gastaldi 2014, 569.

⁴¹⁶ English translation in Freese 1926, 385.

⁴¹⁷ See *Rh.* Lyons 379.

⁴¹⁸ Panoussi 1989, 199.

Καλυδῶν μὲν ἦδε γαῖα· Πελοπίας χθονός·
τοῦναντίον γὰρ ἔστιν ὑπολαβεῖν τῷ διαιρεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου τὴν
Καλυδῶνα εἶναι τῆς Πελοποννήσου.

Rh. Lyons 195.15

كمثل الايامبوا الذي من قول سوفقليس.

CONTEXT:

Aristotle here analyzes the linguistic expression at the structural level, and after dealing with the continuous or running style (ἡ εἰρομένη λέξις), he discusses the concatenated style (ἡ κατεστραμμένη λέξις). The latter is also called periodic since it consists of periods, i.e., «a sentence that has a beginning and end in itself and a magnitude that can be easily grasped».⁴¹⁹ At 1409b 8-9 Aristotle emphasises the need for the period to be complete in itself as much in form as in content, that is, to express a conceptual unity which is unbroken between periods (δεῖ δὲ τὴν περίοδον τῆς διανοίας τετελειώσθαι, καὶ μὴ διακόπτεσθαι), as happens in Sophocles' iambs. The quotation, «“This is Calydon, territory of the land of Pelops”», is taken from Euripides' *Meleager* (F 515 Kannicht, v. 1), as the Anonymous commentator reports (Anonym. *In Rh.*: CAG XXI 2, 197.5, Rabe). The attribution to Sophocles would thus be an oversight by Aristotle, who, according to Wartelle, would have had in mind the first verses of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, where precise geographical references are given like in this quotation.⁴²⁰ The Anonymous also cites the subsequent four verses, the first of which (ἐν ἀντιπύρθοις πάντ' ἔχουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν) is also found in Luc., *Symp.* 25 and in Demetr., *Eloc.* 58 (with πεδί' instead of πάντ'). The comparison with these verses allows the contextualization of Aristotle's words: «for by a division of this kind it is possible to suppose the contrary of the fact, as in the example, that Calydon is in Peloponnesus».⁴²¹ In fact, interrupting the period at the end of the first verse Calydon would seem to be in Peloponnesus, but, by connecting Πελοπίας χθονός to ἐν ἀντιπύρθοις in the next verse, Calydon turns out to be located in front of Peloponnesus, as the opposite end of the gulf.⁴²²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich, with a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴²³

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated with *ka-mitli*. We can read only «like the iambs that are part of Sophocles' saying», while the quotation and the following comment are missing. Since in the translation of the *Rh.* we have not encountered cases of partial omissions, in which only the introductory testimonium is translated while the quotation is left out – a common feature

⁴¹⁹ Freese 1926, 387.

⁴²⁰ Dufour, Wartelle 1938-1973, III 60 n.1.

⁴²¹ Freese 1926, 389.

⁴²² Cope, Sandys 1877, III 96-97; Rapp 2002, II 879; Gastaldi 2014, 571-572. See Anonym. *In Rh.*: CAG XXI 2, 197.4-9, Rabe.

⁴²³ See *Rh. Lyons* 380.

in the Arabic version of Aristotle's *Zoological writings* –, we can reasonably assume that this is an omission due to the negligence of a copyist and not a choice of the translator.

120.

Γ 9, 1409b 26-29

ὥστε γίνεται ὁ ἔσκαψεν Δημόκριτος ὁ Χίος εἰς Μελανιππίδην ποιήσαντα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀντιστροφῶν ἀναβολάς
οἱ τ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλω κακὰ τεύχων,
ἢ δὲ μακρὰ ἀναβολὴ τῷ ποιήσαντι κακίστη·

Rh. Lyons 196.6-10

كما يكون ما <ذمّ> ثاوقريطس الذي من أهل كيوس فيما كتب به في ميلانيفي بدل الكرور تلبثاً،
وذلك حيث يقول: فأما هم فلم يفعلوا به شراً، لكنّ الرجل الذي يفعل الشرّ هكذا، فالتبث الطويل †...†
في الذي يفعل الشرّ.

CONTEXT:

Aristotle advises that clauses and periods should neither be truncated, as they can leave the listener in suspense and make him stumble, nor too long, leaving the listener behind (1409b 17-24). Too long a period will make it sound like a speech and resemble the ἀναβολή, the prelude to the dithyrambs (1409b24-25), already mentioned at 1409a 24-25. In this regard Aristotle resumes the controversy between the musician Democritus of Chios and the dithyrambic poet Melanippides of Melos, known for composing astrophic preludes.⁴²⁴ According to the words of Aristotle, Democritus mocked Melanippides for composing preludes instead of antistrophes. As Ercoles has recently explained: «by extending the strophe over the expected limit, he violated the principle of proportion and abolished any possibility of a corresponding stanza (antistrophe). The ratio can be represented as follows: 'long rhetorical περίοδοι : λόγος = long ἀντίστροφοι : ἀναβολή'. In other words, "composing *anabolai* instead of *antistrophoi*" (ποιήσαντα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀντιστροφῶν ἀναβολάς) refers to the substitution of antistrophic couples with an extended through-composed prelude».⁴²⁵ The attack that Democritus of Chios makes against his opponent is exemplified by the following quotation: «A man does harm to himself in doing harm to another, and a long prelude is most deadly to one who composes it». As has been noted, the couplet is a parody of Hes. *Op.* 265-266, of which the first verse is reused *verbatim* while the second is rewritten.⁴²⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated quotation, complete distich, with a contextualizing testimonium. Aristotle is the only source of the fragment, so it is not possible to verify whether the quotation is literal or not.

⁴²⁴ See the article *Melanippides* by E. Robbins in BNP 2006.

⁴²⁵ Ercoles 2018, 210; see also Ercoles 2017, 138-144.

⁴²⁶ English translation in Freese 1926, 391. See Gastaldi 2014, 573.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴²⁷

The sense of the Greek and the poetic context of the reference is not grasped, partly because the two technical terms ἀντίστροφος and ἀναβολή are translated with their basic meanings. Yet the participle ποιήσαντα is rendered as *kataba* (and not trivialised in *fa'ala*), even though it is erroneously referred to Democritus instead of Melanippides. The proper noun Δημόκριτος is transliterated as if it were Theocritus. ὥστε is translated with *ka-mā* as if it were ὤς. The rendering of the quotation bears only a vague resemblance to the original and cannot be read in full due to a small lacuna. Lyons suggests that οἱ must have been misread as οὐ or οἶ followed by a negative to explain the Arabic *fa-amma hum fa-lam*. Moreover, ἄλλω seems to have been taken as ἀλλά. The text reads: «For instance, it happened what Theocritus, one of the inhabitants of Chios, criticised about the fact that in the Melanippides he wrote hesitation [or *delay*, lit. translation of ἀναβολή] instead of return [lit. translation of ἀντίστροφος]. And this since he says: “As for them, they did him no evil, but the man who does evil (is) like this, the long hesitation †...† in the one who does evil”». ⁴²⁸ For this latter word (*al-šarr*) Lyons speculates a misreading of κακίστη as κάκιστα.

121., 122.

Γ 9, 1410a 29-31

ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα, “ἀργὸν γὰρ ἔλαβεν ἀργὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ”,
δωρητοὶ τ’ ἐπέλοντο παρὰ ρρητοὶ τ’ ἐπέεσσιν.

Rh. Lyons 198.5-7

† † والمبادئ في هذا النحو كما قيل: *الخراج* أخذت والقراح الذي له من جهة الكرامة صار †

الخراج القراح Badawī المزاح tempt. Lyons in app. (cf. *hilaritas* Hermannus)

CONTEXT:

The two quotations provide an example of *παρομοίωσις*. This technical term refers to the similarity between the extremities of the κῶλα, the members of a period, or clauses. If the *παρομοίωσις* stands at the onset of the clauses it concerns entire words, while at the end of clauses the similarity can involve words, final syllables or inflections (*Rh.* 1410a25-29). As frequently happens in Aristotle, the verses are quoted without spelling out the sources. The first quotation («for he received from him land untilled») is a verse of Aristophanes (fr. 666 Kassel-Austin), while the second («they were ready to accept gifts and to be persuaded by words») is part of the speech in which Phoenix tries to convince Achilles to return to battle (*Il.* I 526).⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷ See *Rh.* Lyons 380-381.

⁴²⁸ See also Lyons 2002, 213.

⁴²⁹ English translation in Freese 1926, 395. See Gastaldi 2014, 575-576.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two hidden serial quotations. The quotation from Aristophanes is made of the first parts of two different verses. The quotation from Homer's *Iliad* is a complete monostich and bears τ' ἐπέλοντο instead of the transmitted τε πέλοντο.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴³⁰

The Arabic text has a lacuna in correspondence of the second quotation (except for δωρητοί covered by *al-karāma?*), the rest reading: «For instance, in this manner at the beginning, as it is said: the land-tax (*al-ḥarāḡ*) I took and the field (*al-qarāḥ*) which belonged to him came through nobility †...†».

The word *al-ḥarāḡ* is a tentative reading by Lyons, while Badawī suggested to conjecture *al-qarāḥ* based on the Greek ἀγρόν. The Latin by Hermannus Alemannus bears *hilaritas* which might come from the Arabic *al-muzāḥ* or *al-mizāḥ*, «joke».

Since these examples play on the phonic and graphic similarity between words with different meanings, they are practically untranslatable.

123.

Γ 9, 1410b 3-5

εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ ψευδεῖς ἀντιθέσεις, οἷον καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐποίει,
τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνων ἐγών ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνοις ἐγών.

Rh. Lyons 198.17-19

ثمّ قد تكون موضوعات بالخلاف كواذب كمثل ما قال افبخارموس: إنّه كما يصيرني أنا أيضًا إلى أن
أطنب في الذين ولدتهم وأنسلتهم أنا.

CONTEXT:

At the end of Γ 9 a verse by Epicharmus, «at one time I was in their house, at another I was with them» (fr. 145 Kassel-Austin), is reported as an example of false antitheses (εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ ψευδεῖς ἀντιθέσεις), whose members are only at first glance opposites, which in the quotation are ἐν τήνων and παρὰ τήνοις.⁴³¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴³²

The Arabic translation of the quotation bears hardly any resemblance to the original passage: «Then there are some false places of the opposite (= antithesis) like what Epicharmus said: "this is like what makes me also speak at length about those whom I myself have fostered

⁴³⁰ See *Rh. Lyons 382*.

⁴³¹ Rapp 2002, II 882. English translation in Freese 1926, 395.

⁴³² See *Rh. Lyons 382*.

and begotten”». ⁴³³ The verb ἐποίει is referred to the quotation that follows and translated with *yuşayyiru*. Perhaps the first τόκα has been read as τὸ καί (= *innahū...aydan*). Lyons suggests that *uṭniba* might derive from a misreading of ἐν τήνων as ἐκτείνων (participle of ἐκτείνω, «to expand»), while the hendiadys *waladtuhum wa-ansaltuhum* may be the result of a misreading of the second τόκα as a form of τίκτω (maybe of the perfect τέτοκα).

124.

Γ 10, 1410b 14-15

ὅταν γὰρ εἶπη τὸ γήρας καλάμην, ἐποίησεν μάθησιν καὶ γνῶσιν διὰ τοῦ γένους· ἄμφω γὰρ ἀπηνθηκότα.

Rh. Lyons 199.4-6

فإذا قيل في التغيير إنَّ الشيخوخة فعلت الخيرات فذاك تعليم وعلم يكون بالجنس، وكلاهما حسن

خشن [حسن] tempt. Lyons in app.

CONTEXT:

At 1410b 10-12 it is explained that «easy learning is naturally pleasant to all, and words mean something, so that all words which make us learn something are most pleasant»⁴³⁴ and that, among all, metaphor has the greatest learning effect (ἡ δὲ μεταφορὰ ποιεῖ τοῦτο μάλιστα, 1410b 13). Aristotle makes the following example: «For when he calls old age stubble, he teaches and informs us through the genus; for both have lost their bloom».⁴³⁵ The reference alludes to Hom. *Od.* ξ 214, in which Odysseus, disguised as an old man by Athena so as not to be recognised, speaks of old age as stubble. In Aristotle's interpretation, the Homeric metaphor is constructed according to genus since old age and stubble are both ἀπηνθηκότα.⁴³⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The key word in the quotation is καλάμην, the only one occurring in *Od.* ξ 214. Thus, one could call it an explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, although consisting of a single word.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴³⁷

The Arabic version deviates from the original: «if it is said metaphorically that old age did good things, then this learning and knowledge occur by genus, and both are fine». The translator adds the expression *fi l-tajyiri* based on the context. From the syntactic point of view there is an incorrect division of the sentence: ὅταν γὰρ εἶπη τὸ γήρας καλάμην ἐποίησεν / μάθησιν καὶ γνῶσιν διὰ τοῦ γένους. Consequently, the accusatives μάθησιν and γνῶσιν are treated

⁴³³ See also Lyons 2002, 214.

⁴³⁴ Freese 1926, 395-397.

⁴³⁵ Freese 1926, 397 (modified).

⁴³⁶ Gastaldi 2014, 577. See Rapp 2002, II 890-891, where the scholar questions whether it is really a metaphor by genus or instead by analogy.

⁴³⁷ See *Rh. Lyons* 383.

as subjects of the second sentence. From a semantic point of view, *al-hayrāt* apparently corresponds to *καλάμην*, which could result from misreading it as *καλά / μήν*. For the Greek ἀπηνθηκότα the Arabic MS bears *hasan*, which Lyons suggests correcting into *hušn*, «rough» plur., in app.

125.

Γ 10, 1411a 18-20

καὶ τὸ Ἀναξανδρίδου ἰαμβεῖον ὑπὲρ τῶν θυγατέρων πρὸς τὸν γάμον ἐγχρονιζουσῶν
 “ὑπερήμεροί μοι τῶν γάμων αἱ παρθένοι”.

Rh. Lyons 201.5-6

وانكساندريدوس حيث †... †زل العذارى على أنهن أقمن هناك فضل يوم على ما أقام المتزوجات.

للعدارى MS العذارى اى [العدارى | غازل tempt. Lyons in app. | قال †... †زل

coni. Badawī

CONTEXT:

The reference fits into the series of examples with which Aristotle illustrates proportional metaphors (*κατ’ ἀναλογίαν*) from 1411a 1. The Middle Comedy poet Anaxandrides (see *Rh.* ref. 109) is said to have composed an iambic verse about the fact that his daughters were not yet married, which reads: «My daughter are “past the time” of marriage» (fr. 67 Kassel-Austin).⁴³⁸ The adjective *ὑπερήμερος* is used in a metaphorical sense and is drawn by analogy from the legal context. Indeed, it «is properly a technical term of Attic law, signifying one who has failed to pay a fine, or to comply with any judgment or verdict imposed by the court on the day appointed: one who has passed the prescribed term or the day fixed».⁴³⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author’s literal isolated quotation, monostich, with a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁴⁰

The Arabic text reads as follows: «and Anaxandrides, where [...] the maidens, (saying) that they had stayed there for a day longer than had the married women». It is impossible to reconstruct precisely how the translator rendered *ἰαμβεῖον ὑπὲρ* due to a lacuna in Arabic. Following Lyons’ conjecture *ġāzila*, the text reads: «he wrote love poems to the maidens». The syntagma *πρὸς τὸν γάμον* is missing in this version, while *ἐγχρονιζουσῶν ὑπὲρ / ἡμεροί* in Arabic becomes «they had stayed there for a day longer». The term *al-mutazawwiġāt* might be a misreading of *τῶν γάμων* or an interpretation of *τῶν γάμων αἱ παρθένοι* taken as a syntagma (?).

⁴³⁸ English translation in Freese 1926, 401.

⁴³⁹ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 116.

⁴⁴⁰ See *Rh.* Lyons 384.

126.

Γ 11, 1411b 26-27

οἷον τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα φάναι εἶναι τετράγωνον μεταφορά, (ἄμφω γὰρ τέλεια), ἀλλ’ οὐ σημαίνει ἐνέργειαν

τέλεια ΘΠΓ τελει A

Rh. Lyons 202.21-203.1

وذلك كما يقول في الرجل الصالح إنه طاطراغونون. والتغيير قد يكمل الأمرين جميعًا، غير أنه لا يتبين

عن الفعال

CONTEXT:

Among the characteristics required for a metaphor to be appropriate (ἀρμόττουσα or πρέπουσα) and effective, is the τὸ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν, «to set things before the eyes», which produces actuality (ἐνέργεια) by showing things in action.⁴⁴¹ Before illustrating this concept with a long series of quotations (see *Rh.* refs. 128., 129., 130., 131., 132., 133., 134. below) Aristotle gives a negative example, that is, an expression which, despite being a metaphor, does not express actuality. The metaphor «a good man is four-square» (since both are perfect) – referred to also in EN A 11, 1100b 21 – is drawn from the famous incipit of Simonides’ ode to Scopas, quoted in Plato’s *Protagoras* 339b (cf. fr. 37 Page [PMG 542]).⁴⁴² Cope points out that: «τετράγωνον comes from Simonides – or rather from the Pythagoreans, who by a square number or figure symbolised (or, as Aristotle tells us, Met. A, actually identified it with) completeness, and perfect equality in the shape of justice. It was their type of perfection».⁴⁴³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium without mentioning the author.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁴⁴

οἷον is translated with *wa-dālīka ka-mā*. Τετράγωνον is transliterated. Μεταφορά is construed with what follows and the Arabic *yukmilu* (IV form; or *yukammilu* II form) is apparently derived from the variant τελει (attested in part of the MS tradition) instead of τέλεια.

127., 128., 129., 130., 131., 132., 133., 134.

Γ 11, 1411b 28-1412a 10

καὶ

<τὸν τεύθεν οὖν> “Ἕλληνας ἄξαντες ποσίν·

τὸ ἄξαντες ἐνέργεια καὶ 3. ἐν πάσι δὲ τῷ ἐνέργειαν ποιεῖν εὐδοκιμεί, οἷον ἐν τοῖσδε, “αἰτίς ἐπὶ δάπεδόνδε κυλίνδετο λάας ἀναιδῆς”, καὶ “ἔπτат” οἰστός”, καὶ “ἐπιπτέσθαι

⁴⁴¹ «A state of realised action (or activity)» according to Cope, Sandys 1877, II 125.

⁴⁴² Rapp 2002, II 910. For the analysis of the poem see Gentili 2006, 106-109 (see in particular 108-109 n. 20).

⁴⁴³ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 125-126.

⁴⁴⁴ See *Rh.* Lyons 386.

μενεαίνων”, και “ἐν γαίῃ ἴσταντο λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἄσαι”, και “αἰχμὴ δὲ στέρνοιο διέσσυτο μαιμῶσα”. ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις διὰ τὸ ἔμψυχα εἶναι ἐνεργούντα φαίνεται· τὸ ἀναισχυτεῖν γὰρ και μαιμᾶν και τὰ ἄλλα ἐνέργεια. ταῦτα δὲ προσῆψε διὰ τῆς κατ’ ἀναλογίαν μεταφορᾶς· ὡς γὰρ ὁ λίθος πρὸς τὸν Σίσυφον, ὁ ἀναισχυτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀναισχυντούμενον, ποιεῖ δὲ και ἐν ταῖς εὐδοκιμούσαις εἰκόσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ταῦτά·

κυρτά, φαληριόωντα· πρὸ μὲν τ’ ἄλλ’, αὐτὰρ ἐπ’ ἄλλα·

κινούμενα γὰρ και ζῶντα ποιεῖ πάντα, ἢ δ’ ἐνέργεια κίνησις.

Rh. Lyons 203.4-21

كما قيل: إن اليونانيين عدوا على أقدامهم، فقولك هاهنا عدوا فعال وتغيير. فأما الخفة في المقال فالتى قد يستعملها أوميروس كثيراً حيث يجعل التغيير في كل شيء بلا نفسانيات ويسدده نحو الفعال، وذلك كما يقول: وأما في هذه ومن الرأس، ومن بعد وإنه تس... † الحجر في القاع العميق، وهز رمحه ثم رمى فلم يقصر، وأما أولئك فكانوا قتيماً على الأرض قد مسحوا أجسادهم بالدهن، وإنه ركز السيف في صدره فلم يرث لابن أمه. فهذه كلها من أجل أنها كانت تكون من ذوي الأنفس قد تقال فواعل، وأما ترك الاستحياء والوقاحة وسائر هذا النحو فهن أيضاً فواعل، وقد أضيفت إلى التغيير الذي يكون بالمعادلة، وذلك كما قيل إنه بمنزلة الحجر عند سيسيفوس، كذلك يكون الذي لا يستحي عند الذي لا يستحيا منه. وقد يكون مثل هذا في المثل المنجحات في غير النفسانيات أيضاً، كما قيل إنه †يرمى منهم ب... † البيض قبل ما سوى ذلك. ثم حيث لقي بعضهم بعضاً وافترقوا وهم احياء، فالفعل هاهنا حركة.

Badawī سيرسب [†... †] 3

CONTEXT:

Aristotle provides here a series of examples taken from poetry illustrating the concept τὸ πρὸ ὀμμάτων ποιεῖν. The first quotation is v. 80 of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*, in which Agamemnon describes the landing of the Greeks in Aulis. The verse is misquoted (probably from memory) since the original δορί, «spear», is replaced with ποσίν. Following Aristotle's wording we read: «and “Thereupon the Greeks shooting forward with their feet”. The word “shooting” contains actuality and metaphor, since it means quickly». The text continues with a detailed description of Homer's use of vivifying and animating metaphors accompanied by several examples: «And as Homer often, by making use of metaphor, speaks of inanimate things as if they were animate; and it is to creating actuality in all such cases that his popularity is due, as in the following examples: “Again the ruthless stone rolled down to the plain” and “The arrow flew” and “[The arrow] eager to fly [towards the crowd]” and “[The spears] were buried in the ground, longing to take their fill of flesh” and “The spear-point sped eagerly through his breast”. For in all these examples there is appearance of actuality, since the objects are represented as animate: “being shameless”, “being eager” and all other expressions mean actuality. He applied these attributes through the medium of proportional metaphor; for as the stone is to Sisyphus, so is the shameless one to the one who is shamelessly treated. In his

popular similes, he also proceeds in the same manner with inanimate things: “Arched, foam-crested, some in front, others behind”, for he fives movement and life to all, and actuality is movement». ⁴⁴⁵ The first five quotations are respectively: *Od.* λ 598, *Il.* Δ 125, *Il.* Δ 126, *Il.* Λ 574, *Il.* Ο 542. The verse from the *Odyssey* is one part of the description of the punishment of Sisyphus, whom Odysseus met in his *katabasis* into Hades, while Λ 574 and Ο 542 are taken from battle scenes; *Il.* Δ 125 and 126, instead, refer to the arrow that wounded Menelaus shot by Pandarus, at Athena’s urging. Once again *Il.* Δ 125 seems to be quoted from memory, since Aristotle confuses the verse *Il.* Δ 125, ἄλτο δ’οἴστος, with the recurring phrase ἔπτατο πικρὸς οἴστος (*Il.* Ε 99, Ν 587, 592). According to Sanz Morales, the mistake may be read as a later trivialisation occurred in the textual tradition of the *Rh.*, while Aristotle had recorded the verse correctly. ⁴⁴⁶ The final quotation corresponds to *Il.* Ν 799, where Homer compares the advancing of the Trojan army to the motion of waves. ⁴⁴⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The first reference is a hidden isolated literal quotation, complete monostich, briefly commented on by Aristotle. There follows a long account of Homer’s use of metaphors (testimonium), augmented by several quotations (five in sequence and a short distance away a sixth isolated quotation). All six are explicit author’s literal and do not exceed the length of the monostich (the second and third quotations are incomplete monostichs, the others complete monostichs).

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁴⁸

The first example, τούντεῦθεν οὖν Ἕλληνας ἄξαντες ποσίν is translated correctly and introduced by the syntagma *ka-mā qīla*, «as it is said: the Greeks attacked on their feet». ⁴⁴⁹ As for the related comment, τὸ ἄξαντες ἐνέργεια καὶ μεταφορὰ ταχὺ γὰρ λέγει, the phrase ταχὺ γὰρ λέγει is constructed with what follows (καὶ ὡς κέχρηται πολλαχοῦ Ὀμηρος... ποιεῖν εὐδοκιμεῖ) and misinterpreted. The Arabic text reads: «and your saying “attacked” is actuality and a metaphor. The fluency of the speech is what Homer often employs where he sets the metaphor in everything (that is) devoid of vital faculties and directs it towards actuality». The term ἔμψυχα is missing in the translation.

The syntagma introducing the poetic examples, οἷον ἐν τοῖσδε, is rendered with *wa-dālika ka-mā yaqūlu*, «as when it is said». The translation of the sequence of Homeric quotations is extremely inaccurate and in places even faulty: «in these things from the summit and afterwards and that <...> the stone in the low plain. He shook his spear and threw it, and it did not fall short. Those were buried in the ground anointing their bodies with oil. He stuck the sword in his breast and did not mourn for his mother’s son». To explain the outcome «anointing their bodies with oil» for the Greek λιλαιόμενα χροὸς ἄσαι Lyons writes: «ἐλαίω can be suggested for λιλαιόμενα, but this is too may be a guess on the part of the translator».

⁴⁴⁵ See Freese 1926, 405, 407 (I have only partially followed his English translation). I have already examined these lines in Zarantonello 2020b, 99-100.

⁴⁴⁶ See Sanz Morales 1994, 134-135.

⁴⁴⁷ For the whole passage see Cope, Sandys 1877, III 126-128; Gastaldi 2014, 585-586.

⁴⁴⁸ See *Rh.* Lyons 386-387.

⁴⁴⁹ See also Lyons 2002, 200.

The sentence ἐν πάσι γὰρ τούτοις διὰ τὸ ἔμψυχα εἶναι ἐνεργούντα φαίνεται· τὸ ἀναισχυντεῖν γὰρ καὶ μαιμᾶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνέργεια is translated as: «and all these things, because they are endowed with a soul, are called active/agents. Shamelessness and insolence and all other things of this kind are also active/agents». The translator seemingly read λέγεται instead of φαίνεται and has passed over the structure ἐν + dat. The Arabic *al-waqāḥa* for μαιμᾶν is imprecise, but, as Lyons points out, it could be the second part of a hendiadys translating τὸ ἀναισχυντεῖν. If so, μαιμᾶν is missing in the Arabic version. The term *fawā'il* for ἐνέργεια, instead of the form *fa'āl* used twice in this passage (see above), suggests that the translator read ἐνεργούντα – since in the previous sentence *fawā'il* stands for ἐνεργούντα – instead of ἐνέργεια. This could be a progressive assimilation error by the copyist or translator induced by the presence of the term ἐνεργούντα just before.

The following section ταῦτα δὲ προσήψε...ἐπὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ταῦτά adheres to the Greek, except for the generic rendering of ποιεῖ...ταῦτά in the last sentence as *wa-qad yakūnu mitla hāda*. Moreover ὡς γὰρ is translated with *wa-dālika ka-mā qila innahū bi-manzilati...ka-dālika*. The verse is introduced by the expression *ka-mā qila innahū*, which has no counterpart in Greek and maybe has been added based on a diacritical sign in mg. of the Greek MS indicating the beginning of the quotation. The version of the verse (κυρτά, φαληριόωντα· πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα) and of the final sentence, κινούμενα γὰρ καὶ ζῶντα ποιεῖ πάντα, ἢ δ' ἐνέργεια κίνησις, is faulty and the MS is partially damaged here: «he shoots them with white [...] before what is other than that, and then where some of them meet others. They parted being alive, because here actuality is movement». It is not clear how the verb «to part» (*iftaraqa*) originated from κινούμενα. Lyons suggests that: «If 'part' can be taken as a Syriac corruption, based on confusion between the roots 'b-d, covering «to do», and 'b-r, covering «to pass on», then κινούμενα was either been dropped, or may be taken as attached to the preceding phrase, 'meet others'».

135., 136., 137., 138., 139., 140.

Γ 14, 1415a 7-22

τὰ δὲ τοῦ δικανικοῦ προοίμια δεῖ λαβεῖν ὅτι ταῦτ' οὐ δύναται ὅπερ τῶν δραμάτων οἱ πρόλογοι καὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ προοίμια· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν διθυράμβων ὅμοια τοῖς ἐπιδεικτικοῖς· «διὰ σέ καὶ τεὰ δῶρα εἶτε σκύλα». ἐν δὲ προλόγοις καὶ ἔπεσι δεῖγμά ἐστιν τοῦ λόγου, ἵνα προειδῶσι περὶ οὗ [ἦ] ὁ λόγος καὶ μὴ κρέμῃται ἢ διάνοια· τὸ γὰρ ἀόριστον πλανᾷ· ὁ δὲ οὖν ὡσπερ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιεῖ ἐχόμενον ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ λόγῳ. διὰ τοῦτο

“μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά”. “ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα.”

“ἦγέ μοι λόγον ἄλλον, ὅπως Ἄσιας ἀπὸ γαίης

ἦλθεν ἐς Εὐρώπην πόλεμος μέγας.”

καὶ οἱ τραγικοὶ δηλοῦσι περὶ <οὗ> τὸ δράμα, κἂν μὴ εὐθύς ὡσπερ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ, ἀλλὰ πού γε, ὡσπερ [καὶ] Σοφοκλῆς

“ἐμοὶ πατήρ ἦν Πόλυβος”.

καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία ὡσαύτως.

ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ, ἀλλὰ πού γε, ὡσπερ [καὶ] Ross ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ γέ που δηλοῖ, ὡσπερ καὶ codd. δηλοῖ secl. Vahlen Bekker

Rh. Lyons 204.7-22

فأما الصدر فينبغي أن يستعمل في الكلام الخصومي لأنه يقدر على مثل الذي تقدر عليه صدور الكتب أو الأشعار، والصدور من تلك التي تسمى ديثورامبوا تشبه الصدور من أجل المترائيات، وهي في تقديم الكلام وفي الشعر نبأ عن الكلام، يراد به أن يتقدموا فيعلموا فيماذا يتكلم المتكلم، وألا يكون الفكر معلقًا، فإن الكلام الذي لا يكون محدودًا، لكنّه إنّما يكون مهملاً إذا ما كان، يغلط ويضلل وليس بمنزلة الكلام الذي يكون متبعًا للبدو، وذلك كما قيل: أنبئني أيتها الإلاهة عن غضب أخليوس، وكما قيل: أنبئني يا موسى عن الرجل الكثير المكائد الذي جشم أمورًا كثيرة من بعد ما خربت المدينة العامرة أيليون. ثم الطراغوديون أيضًا يبينون في أقاويلهم وليس من قرب، كالذي يفعل أوريفيدس، لكنهم يبينون بتقديم الكلام، كما قال سوفقليس: إن فولوبوس كان لي أبًا. وكذلك القومودية أيضًا

CONTEXT:

Chapter Γ 14 focuses on the first of the parts of speech, the exordium (προοίμιον). After describing the characteristics of the exordium in epideictic speech (1414b 21sq.), Aristotle deals here with the exordium of judicial speech. In the latter genre the exordium is similar to the prologues of dramas and the proems of epic poems (τῶν δραμάτων οἱ πρόλογοι καὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ προοίμια), while in the epideictic genre it resembles the preludes to the dithyrambs (τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν διθυράμβων). To explain this last analogy Aristotle quotes a line from the poet Timotheos of Miletus⁴⁵⁰ (fr. 18 Page [PMG 794]; cf. Adesp. 7(e)22): «For thee and thy presents or spoils».⁴⁵¹ In epic poems, Aristotle continues, the proem has the function of introducing the topic to prepare the audience for what will be dealt with, as required in judicial speeches too. In order to show this three epic proems are quoted, namely the incipit of the *Iliad* («Sing the wrath, goddess»), the incipit of the *Odyssey* («Tell me of the man, O Muse»), and a couplet («Inspire me with another story, how from the land of Asia a great war came to Europe») derived from the epic poem by Choerilus of Samos on the Persian war (*Persika* fr. 1 Bernabé; see also fr. 2), and since it is quoted together with v. 1 of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, some commentators believe it to be the incipit of the *Persika* of Choerilus. Aristotle mentions and quotes from this author shortly before at 1415a 3-4.⁴⁵² The same anticipatory function is found in dramas: «Similarly, tragic poets make clear the subject of their drama, if not immediately in the prologue, like Euripides, at least somewhere, like Sophocles, “My father was Polybus”. And comedy in like manner». The quotation (v. 774 Sophocles' *Oedipus rex*) is drawn from the account of his own past and thus of the background to the tragedy itself that Oedipus gives in the second episode of the tragedy. This narrative – in the same way as the exordium of judicial

⁴⁵⁰ See the commentary on *Rh.* Γ 4, 1407a 17-18 = ref. 109 (pp. 187-189).

⁴⁵¹ For this and subsequent translations see Freese 1926, 431 (modified).

⁴⁵² For this author compare the analysis of *Top.* Θ 1, 157a 14-17 = ref. 2 (pp. 77-78).

discourses, the proem epic poems, and the prologue of tragedies – serves as an explanation of the subject matter of the entire play.⁴⁵³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The passage includes three groups of quotations. The first is a hidden isolated literal incomplete monostich. There are then three hidden serial literal quotations, two incomplete monostichs and an incomplete distich. This is followed by a paragraph bearing a testimonium in which Euripides and Sophocles are mentioned. The mention of Sophocles introduces the last reference, that is an explicit author's isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁵⁴

The translator takes ὅτι with its casual meaning, so the text reads: «As for the exordium it must be used in adversarial speech, because they have the same function of the exordia of books or poems». The expression τῶν δραμάτων οἱ πρόλογοι καὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ προοίμια is simplified in *ṣudūr al-kutubi aw al-aš'āri*. The version continues: «The exordia of the so-called dithyrambs resemble the exordia of epideictic (speeches)». The example διὰ σέ καὶ τεὰ δῶρα εἴτε σκῶλα is omitted. The translation of the following passage adheres to the Greek: «in prologues and poems they (exordia) are a sample of the subject. By this one wants (the listeners) to know in advance what the speech is about and that (*lit.* so that) the mind may not be kept in suspense». The syntagma τὸ γὰρ ἀόριστον πλανᾷ is expanded (maybe due to a gloss?) as: «speech which is not limited, but is neglected when it is (produced), causes mistakes and errors». Both προειδῶσι and πλανᾷ are rendered with hendiadys. The Arabic *wa-laysa* in correspondence to ὁ δοῦς (οὖν) might be derived from a misreading as ὁ δ' οὐκ, while the rest of the sentence is misinterpreted: «and it is not like the speech which follows the beginning». The translator expands διὰ τοῦτο, introducing the examples, with *wa-dālika ka-mā qīla*. An analogous expression, *wa-ka-mā qīla*, precedes the second Homeric quotation (ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα). Both quotations are translated accurately and expanded, probably due to the insertion of glosses: «tell me, goddess, of the wrath of Achilles» and «tell me, Muse, of the man of many wives, who suffered many troubles after the flourishing city of Ilium had been laid waste». The second part of v. 1 and v. 2 of the *Odyssey* (πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε) are added, and Τροίης is correctly understood as a synonym of Ilium. The third quotation (ἦ γέ μοι...πόλεμος μέγας) is omitted. The translation of ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ γέ που δηλοῖ, ὥσπερ καὶ (as in *codd.*) is close to the Greek text, but που is missing. The text runs as follows: «also tragic poets give information in what they say, and not immediately as Euripides does, but they give information in the prologue, as Sophocles says: “Polybus was a father to me”. And comedy in like manner».⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵³ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 167-169; Rapp 2002, II 964-965; Gastaldi 2014, 602. Note that ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ, ἀλλὰ πού γε, ὥσπερ [καὶ] is Ross's emendation of the transmitted ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ γέ που δηλοῖ, ὥσπερ καὶ, which, as will be seen, is the text the Arabic translator reads. Freese's English translation and Cope's commentary (but also the critical edition with French translation in Dufour, Wartelle 1938-1973, III 80 and the German translation in Rapp 2002, I 153) are based on the text ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ γέ που [δηλοῖ], ὥσπερ καὶ; Gastaldi instead follows Ross's emendation.

⁴⁵⁴ See *Rh.* Lyons 387-388.

⁴⁵⁵ See also Lyons 2002, 200, 214.

141., 142.

Γ 14, 1415b 18-21

πάντες γὰρ ἢ διαβάλλουσιν ἢ φόβους ἀπολύονται ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις·
ἀναξ, ἐρῶ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως σπουδῆς ὑπο,
τί φοροϊμάζῃ;

Rh. Lyons 206.13-14

فكلهم يضع ويكثر في صدر كلامه وأن شغب عليه، وليس من قبل أن أمرهم على طريق الفضيلة يفعلون
الصدر.

CONTEXT:

In this part of chapter Γ 14 Aristotle presents the strategies that speakers should adopt towards their listeners to make them well-disposed, drive them to anger, draw their attention or distract them (1415a 34-36), depending on the goal of their speech. These are features that are unrelated to the very purpose of the exordium (specifically of the judicial genre), which is to introduce the topic that will be discussed in the speech. These strategies are instead required because the audience is often φαῦλος, poor in judgment, and not an attentive and bias-free listener (1415b 4sq.). Therefore, as emphasised at 1415b 17-18, all speakers, in their exordia, seek to either insinuate suspicion and prejudice against their opponent if they are delivering a prosecutorial speech, or to dispel fears of being themselves the victims of prejudice and suspicion if they are defending. Two poetic quotes follow. The first, «O prince, I will not say that with haste», is v. 223 from Sophocles' *Antigone*. In the first episode, the guard reports to Creon that Polynices' body has been buried, in violation of the edict Creon himself had proclaimed, and tries to avoid an angry reaction from his listener by beginning his speech with these words. The second quotation, «Why this preamble?», is v. 1162, taken from the fourth episode of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*. It is part of an exchange of words between King Thoas, who asks for information about the progress of the sacrifice, and Iphigenia, who tries to evade his questions so as not to reveal that the rite of purification at sea is a pretext to escape.⁴⁵⁶

REFERENCE FROM AND STRUCTURE:

Two hidden serial literal quotations, complete monostichs.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁵⁷

The Arabic version differs considerably from the original, both because the rendering of the verbs διαβάλλουσιν and ἀπολύονται is incorrect (while there is no trace of φόβους in the translation) and because the two quotations are merged into a single sentence, in which the interrogative pronoun τί is taken as the indefinite τι. The Arabic text reads as follows: «all of them set down and expand in the exordium, and if he is disturbed and it is not because their

⁴⁵⁶ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 174-175; Gastaldi 2014, 604.

⁴⁵⁷ See *Rh. Lyons* 389-390.

affairs follow the path of virtue that they produce the exordium». Lyons speculates that ἄναξ ἐρῶ has been misinterpreted: «ἀν may have been read as, or assumed to be, ἐάν, with ἀξ ἐρῶ perhaps being read as a form of ἐξείρω, in the sense of ‘arouse, stir up’». ⁴⁵⁸ The marginal gloss *nushatun al-didd* referred to the term *al-šadr* offers an alternative reading taken from another MS (*nushatun*) which gives no sense here. This set of variants, introduced by *nushatun* or *nushatun uhrā*, has been discussed by Lyons in the preface of his edition, but since they have never been specifically examined, nothing definitive can be said. According to Lyons, *nushatun* means the main MS used by Ibn al-Samḥ or a later copyist, and the variants in mg. are errors that emerged from the collation with another copy of the Arabic version, whose variant, judged superior, was included in the text in place of that of the main MS relegated to mg. Accordingly, *nushatun uhrā* potentially refers either to a third copy, independent from Ibn al-Samḥ’s philological works – since he relied only on two Arabic MSS as far as we know – or to the abovementioned MS used in the collation, whose readings, in these cases, were inferior and have been recorded in the mg. ⁴⁵⁹

143.

Γ 14, 1415b 26-28

ἐπεὶ δ’ εὖ λέγεται

δός μ’ ἐς Φαίηκας φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἢ δ’ ἐλλεινόν,
τούτων δεῖ δύο στοχάζεσθαι.

Rh. Lyons 206.20-21

وكيف تكون إجابة القول فيها.

CONTEXT:

With this example, Aristotle emphasises the dual purpose at which the exordium of a judicial speech must aim (τούτων δεῖ δύο στοχάζεσθαι) in order to make the listener well disposed. The speaker must be able to arouse *φιλία* and *ἔλεος*, as is evident from the Homeric verse quoted here, *Od.* ζ 327 «grant that I may come to the Phaeacians an object of love and pity», that is the prayer that Odysseus addresses to the goddess Athena before going to the court of Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians. ⁴⁶⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, complete monostich, introduced by the εὖ λέγεται.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION: ⁴⁶¹

The version conveys only ἐπεὶ δ’ εὖ λέγεται, that in Arabic reads «and how the good speech consists of this», and is coordinated with the rendering of the previous sentence (πτόθεν δ’

⁴⁵⁸ Lyons 2002, 214.

⁴⁵⁹ See *Rh.* Lyons vi-viii.

⁴⁶⁰ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 175; Gastaldi 2014, 604.

⁴⁶¹ See *Rh.* Lyons 390.

εὔνους δεῖ ποιεῖν, εἴρηται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλον ἕκαστον τῶν τοιούτων). The quotation and the following remark τούτων δεῖ δύο στοχάζεσθαι are missing.

144., 145.

Γ 15, 1416a 29-34

ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης πρὸς Ὑγιαίνοντα ἐν τῇ ἀντιδόσει κατηγοροῦντα ὡς ἀσεβῆς, ὅς γ' ἐποίησε κελεύων ἐπιорκεῖν,
ἢ γλῶσσο' ὁμώμοχ', ἢ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος.
ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἀγώνος κρίσεις εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια ἄγοντα· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῶν δεδωκέναι λόγον, ἢ δῶσειν εἰ βούλεται κατηγορεῖν.

Rh. Lyons 209.6-11

كما كان أوريفيديس يشكو ذلك الصحيح في تلك الشربة كالمناق وكالذي فعل حيث أمر بأن يحث في اليمين فقال: أمّا اللسان فحلف صحيح وأمّا الفكر فلم يحلف. وزعم أنّ هذا ظلم في أحكام وقائع ديانوسوس بديقاسطيريا، فإنّه هنالك يصحّ عن نفسه.

CONTEXT:

Chapter Γ 15 deals with a specific aspect of the exordium, the διαβολή and the act of διαβάλλειν, covering «all insinuations and accusations by which one of the parties in a case endeavours to raise a prejudice against the other, which are to be reflected upon, but do not directly help to prove, the main charge or point at issue».⁴⁶² The chapter examines some commonplaces by which one can either insinuate a prejudice against the opponent or dismiss an insinuation that has been made against the speaker. The anecdote taken from the biography of the tragedian Euripides is an example concerning the commonplace that is based on a previous judgment. For if there has already been a judgment (εἰ γέγονεν κρίσις, 1416a 29) on one of the charges made by the opponent, there is no need for it to be made again in the current trial. In the context of a trial for antidosis (the exchange of property with another citizen that was required for those who refused to cover the costs of a liturgy) Euripides is accused by his opponent Hygiaenon of being impious (ὡς ἀσεβῆς) for having composed a verse in which he exhorted to commit perjury (ὅς γ' ἐποίησε κελεύων ἐπιорκεῖν). The verse in question, «my tongue hath sworn, but my mind is unsworn»,⁴⁶³ which Aristotle quotes in full, is the famous v. 612 from the second episode of the *Hippolytus*, where Thaeus' son admits that the oath he swore to the nurse not to reveal Phaedra's love for him was meaningless. The tragedian responds to the accusation by arguing that this verse had already been submitted for trial at the theatre in the Great Dionysia of 428 BC, and the victory obtained on that occasion was an expression of favourable judgment by the citizens: «he said that Hygiaenon committed injustice in transferring the decisions out of the Dionysiac contest into the law

⁴⁶² Cope, Sandys 1877, III 178.

⁴⁶³ Freese 1926, 441.

courts; for he had already given an account of what he had said there, or was still ready to give it, if he desired to accuse him».⁴⁶⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium including an explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁶⁵

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated with *ka-mā*. Moreover the Arabic *ka-llādī* corresponding to ὅς γε suggests that here the translator read ὡς γε (or ὡς τε, according to Lyons). The Arabic version reads: «As Euripides complained about that healthy one in that dose as the hypocrite. As what he did where he exhorted to perjury in the oath: the tongue has sworn it is true but the thought has not sworn. And he claimed that this was wrong-doing with regard to the judgments of Dionysos at *dīqāstīriyā* because there he was right about himself».⁴⁶⁶

This example offers a clear picture of the specific difficulties of translating Greek poetic references. In fact, the quotation as such does not pose any particular problems and is correctly transferred into Arabic, while there are some inaccuracies in the rendering of the context notes. The participle κατηγοροῦντα is referred to the nominative Εὐριπίδης (perhaps the translator was reading Εὐριπίδην?), furthermore the proper noun Ὑγιαίνοντα is misinterpreted as a participle of the verb ὑγιαίνω (grammatically correct, but not in this context) and translated as *al-ṣaḥīḥ*. Emblematic is the rendering of ἀντίδοσις, a technical term in the Athenian legal system, which falls into the category of translation theory *realia*. The Arabic *ṣarba/šurba* clearly shows that ἀντίδοσις has been confused with ἀντίδοτος (both share the same stem of the verb ἀντιδίδομι), probably triggered by the misinterpretation of Ὑγιαίνοντα as a health-related term. The noun ἀντίδοσις also occurs at *Rh.* 1418b 27 = *Rh.* Lyons 219.22 (the title of a speech treatise by Isocrates) and is rendered with *muḥādāh* (but the reading is doubtful and Badawī suggested *muḡādala*) and in EN 1133a 6 = EN Akasoy-Fidora 313.2 where it is translated with *mukāfa'a*.⁴⁶⁷ The translation of the adjective ἀσεβής with *munāfiq* is also not precise, and elsewhere the translator of the *Rh.* uses synonyms such as *ātim* (1408a 17 = *Rh.* Lyons 189.21) and *fāsiq* (1377a 20, 24 = *Rh.* Lyons 79.20, 80.3). The reference to the theatrical context in the expression ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσιακοῦ ἀγῶνος is not grasped. Τὰ δικάστηρια is simply transliterated, unlike other instances, even in the same Arabic version of the *Rh.* (1375a 13 = *Rh.* Lyons 72.19, 1376a 10 = *Rh.* Lyons 75.21-22, 1410a 18 = *Rh.* Lyons 197.14), where δικάστηριον is translated as *maḡlis al-ḥukūma*. The translation of the second part of the disjunctive sentence, ἢ δώσειν εἰ βούλεται κατηγορεῖν, is missing.

⁴⁶⁴ See Freese 1926, 441; Cope, Sandys 1877, III 183-184; Gastaldi 2014, 607.

⁴⁶⁵ See *Rh.* Lyons 392.

⁴⁶⁶ See also Lyons 2002, 200.

⁴⁶⁷ See Ullmann 2011, 329.

146.

Γ 15, 1416b 1-4

οἶον ἐν τῷ Τεύκρω ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὅτι οἰκεῖος τῷ Πριάμῳ· ἢ γὰρ Ἡσιόνη ἀδελφή· ὁ δὲ ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ ἐχθρὸς τῷ Πριάμῳ, ὁ Τελαμών, καὶ ὅτι οὐ κατεῖπε τῶν κατασκόπων.

Rh. Lyons 209.15-18

وذلك كما قال أدوسوس في طوقاروس إنه كان ولياً لفرياموس لأنه كان *مخاطباً* لأخته، فأما هو فزعم أنه كان مثل أبيه عدواً لفرياموس، أعني طيلامون، وأنه لم *يطلع* على ذلك الجاسوس.

1 [مخاطباً*] Lyons مواطنا Badawī

CONTEXT:

Another commonplace used in the opening of both an accusatory and defensive speech is constructed by citing signs (τὸ σύμβολα λέγειν, 1416b 1). An example is drawn from the lost *Teucer* by Sophocles (cf. frs. F 576-579b Radt), which Aristotle also cites in *Rh.* B 23, 1398a 3-4 = ref. 75 (pp. 155-156). According to the brief hints at the plot reported here, Odysseus was to imply that Teucer sided with the Trojan enemy because he was related to Priam (οἰκεῖος τῷ Πριάμῳ). His mother Hesion, in fact, was the Trojan king's sister. Teucer, to prove his loyalty to the Greeks, recalled that his father Telamon was instead an enemy of Priam and that he himself had not denounced to the Trojans the Greek spies who had entered the enemy camp. Therefore, Odysseus draws a sign from the kinship with Priam on his mother's side to insinuate a prejudice on Teucer and the latter dismisses it by drawing an opposite sign from his father's enmity towards the Trojans.⁴⁶⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Since the source is lost, the reference might be either a testimonium or a compendary quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁶⁹

The Arabic reads: «This is like what Odysseus said in the *Teucer*, that he was a relative of Priam because he was asking for his sister's hand in marriage (*Lyons; or:* addressing his sister) and he claimed that he was like his father, that is Telamon, an enemy to Priam, and he did not reveal about that spy». In the rendering of the introductory phrase, οἶον ἐν τῷ Τεύκρω ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ὅτι, οἶον is translated with *wa-dālika ka-mā* followed by the addition of the verb *qāla*, corresponding to a form of λέγειν implied in the Greek, on which ὅτι depends. Apparently, the proper noun Ἡσιόνη was not transliterated and this generated an error. However, the Arabic reading (*muḥāṭiban* according to Lyons, *muwāṭin* for Badawī) is doubtful and it is hard to tell what misunderstanding has arisen from the Greek Ἡσιόνη. To explain the Arabic *mitla abīhi*

⁴⁶⁸ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 184-185; Gastaldi 2014, 608.

⁴⁶⁹ See *Rh. Lyons* 392.

Lyons speculates that instead of ὅτι before ὁ πατήρ the translator read ὡς. Finally, the plural τῶν κατασκόπων is translated in the singular.

147.

Γ 15, 1416b 12-15

οἶον ὅτι ὁ Διομήδης τὸν Ὀδυσσεά προείλετο, τῷ μὲν ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἄριστον ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, τῷ δ' ὅτι οὐ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μόνον μὴ ἀνταγωνιστεῖν ὡς φαῦλον.

Rh. Lyons 210.8-10

كما فعل ديوميديس حيث اختار أودسوس لا †.....† الخير وأما الآخر فلم يظنّ به ذلك ولا في
.†.....† أن يجاهد وحده، كما يظنّ بالردىء *العاجز*.

CONTEXT:

The last *topos* analysed in Γ 15, and valid for both accusers and defenders, is the following: «since the same thing may have been done from several motives, the accuser must disparage it by taking it in the worse sense, while the defender must take it in the better sense» (1416b 9-12).⁴⁷⁰ The example is similar to that given in *Rh. B* 23, 1399b 29-31 = ref. 84 (pp. 161-163) and is presumably taken from the same work, the lost *Ajax* by Theodectes, although neither the author nor Ajax is mentioned here (72 F 1 Snell). The same deed – Diomedes' choice to take Odysseus as his companion in the night raid on the Trojan camp – may be dictated by different motivations and interpreted differently. Someone might say that he made this decision because he considered Odysseus the best (τῷ μὲν ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἄριστον ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ὀδυσσεά), others because he considered him to be the only one who could not compete with him, since he was worthless (τῷ δ' ὅτι οὐ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μόνον μὴ ἀνταγωνιστεῖν ὡς φαῦλον).⁴⁷¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁷²

The MS is damaged and thus it is impossible to clearly reconstruct the Arabic text. According to Lyons' interpretation, it reads: «as Diomedes did where he chose/preferred Odysseus not †...† the best and as for the other he did not think so and not in †...† to fight on his own, as is thought of the bad and incapable». Though the reading *al-ʿāǧiz* is uncertain, φαῦλον is rendered with a hendiadys. Οἶον is expanded in Arabic: *ka-mā fa'ala...haytu*.

148.

Γ 16, 1416b 27-29

οἶον εἰ θέλεις Ἀχιλλέα ἐπαινεῖν (ἴσασι γὰρ πάντες τὰς πράξεις), ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς δεῖ. ἐάν δὲ Κριτίαν, δεῖ· οὐ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἴσασιν...

⁴⁷⁰ Freese 1926, 443.

⁴⁷¹ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 185-186; Rapp 2002, II 969.

⁴⁷² See *Rh. Lyons* 393.

Rh. Lyons 211.2-5

كما أنك إن أردت أن تمدح أخيلوس، فكلّ يعرف أفعاله، لكنّه ينبغي أن يستعمل ذلك إن احتاج إليه الحاكم، فإنّ كثيرًا منهم لا يعلمون.

CONTEXT:

Chapter Γ 16 is concerned with narrative (διήγησις), namely with an examination of the characteristics it takes on in epidemic speech. With this example Aristotle points out that if the speech is about a character familiar to all, such as one praising Achilles, the narrative will be very concise, since his actions are already known and need only be mentioned. On the other hand, if one intends to praise a lesser-known character, such as the Athenian politician Critias, one will need to narrate his actions.⁴⁷³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference to a character from the Trojan cycle.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁷⁴

The Arabic version is correct except for the rendering of the proper noun Κριτίαν misunderstood as a form of the noun κριτής and taken as subject of the clause ἐὰν δὲ Κριτίαν δεῖ. Hence one reads: «for instance if you want to praise Achilles, everybody knows his actions, but one must use that if the judge needs that, for many of them do not know».

149, 150., 151.

Γ 16, 1417a 13-16

παράδειγμα ὁ Ἀλκίνοῦ ἀπόλογος, ὃς πρὸς τὴν Πηνελόπην ἐν ἐξήκοντα ἔπεσιν πεποίηται, καὶ ὡς Φάϋλλος τὸν κύκλον, καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ Οἰνεῖ πρόλογος.

1 ἔπεσιν] ἔτεσι ΘD

Rh. Lyons 213.12-14

ويأتي بالبرهان في ذلك من انصراف القيناوس إلى فينلوفى في تسعين ساعة، وإنه يجاوز الدور كلّ كالرديء †... † يفعل † تقديم الكلام أيضًا بعقل.

CONTEXT:

Aristotle now turns to the use of narrative in the judicial genre, where it plays a decisive role. After describing what the narrative must look like in the accuser's speech (1416b 30-1417a 8), Aristotle explains that the defender must deliver a very brief narrative, so as not to overlap with the accuser's narrative. In addition, the narrative should show either that the act of which the defender is accused did not happen or, if it did happen, that it is not harmful, wrong, or

⁴⁷³ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 188; Gastaldi 2014, 609.

⁴⁷⁴ See Rh. Lyons 393.

serious (1417a 8-12). It is better, as stated in 1417a 12-13, to present events as they are, that is, as past events (πεπραγμένα) and one should relate them as present events in their unfolding (πραττόμενα) only if pity or indignation (ἢ οἴκτον ἢ δεινῶσιν) can be aroused in this manner. An example of this is Odysseus' long narrative of his own journey given at the court of Alcinoos, which spans four books of the *Odyssey* (ι-μ) and is then summarised in about sixty verses (*Od.* ψ 264-284; 310-343) in front of his wife Penelope. Since Odysseus needed to arouse compassion in the king of the Phaeacians, a longer and more vivid narrative was delivered in that instance. There follow two more allusive references to two lost works that must have been examples of conciseness in narrative. Phayllus is an unknown author, who – we can assume from this evidence – was an epic poet or rhapsode who summarised the entire epic cycle in a few lines. The third example of brevity is the prologue of the *Oeneus*, a lost tragedy by Euripides (F 558 Kannicht).⁴⁷⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Three testimonia.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁷⁶

The Arabic text reads: «And he gives an example about this from the departure of Alcinoos to Penelope in ninety hours, and he passes beyond the whole circle like the wicked man †...† the prologue also affects the intellect». *Burhān, lit.* «demonstration, proof», is the term that most frequently translates παράδειγμα in the Arabic version of the *Rh.* (cf. for instance *Rh.* 1356b 3, 5, 7, 12, 15, 24 = *Rh.* Lyons 9.20, 23, 24, 10.7, 10, 19; 1357a 14, 15 = *Rh.* Lyons 12.6, 8, *al.*; see also *Rh.* 1417a 29 = ref. 152, pp. 215-216). The Arabic version is faulty. First, in correspondence of ἀπόλογος the Arabic bears *insirāf*, as if the translator had misread it for ἀπόπλους. We also note the corruption of the numeral – but this could easily be an error by a later copyist – and the rendering of ἔπεσιν as *sā'a*. As Lyons remarks, the error can be explained if one considers the fact that in the Greek tradition ΘD have as a variant ἔτεσι (dat. plur. of ἔτος «year») instead of ἔπεσιν. The Greek ἔτεσι corresponds to the Syriac *šnīn* (plur. abs.), which can be confused for the Arabic *šā'a* «hour». It is not possible to assess at what stage of the tradition the error was generated. The proper noun Φάυλλος is misinterpreted as the adjective φαῦλος (= *al-radī*) to which the Arabic translator adds the verb *yugāwizu*. Finally, the proper noun dat. Οἶνεϊ seems to have been interpreted as a form of νοῦς (νῶ ?).

152.

Γ 16, 1417a 28-33

ἂν δ' ἄπιστον ἦ, τότε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιλέγειν, ὥσπερ Σοφοκλῆς ποιεῖ· παράδειγμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης, ὅτι μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐκήδετο ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τέκνων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἂν γενέσθαι ἀπολομένων,
μητρὸς δ' ἐν Ἄιδου καὶ πατρὸς βεβηκότων
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅς τις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ.

⁴⁷⁵ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 191-192; Rapp 2002, II 974; Gastaldi 2014, 611.

⁴⁷⁶ See *Rh.* Lyons 395.

Rh. Lyons 214.10-14

فإن لم يكن الأمر مصدقاً فليذكر العلة حينئذ كما فعل سوفقلس حيث أتى بالبرهان امرأة نطيعونى فقال
إنها كانت تعنى بأخيها أشد من عنايتها ببعليها وولدها، لأن هؤلاء يستعادون أن فقدوا، وأما الأخ فلا يكون
إذا ما الأبوان هبطا* فعر الهاوية

CONTEXT:

Narrative should also be ἠθικὴ, «moral», in the sense of showing the characters of the individuals spoken of (1417a 16). After providing a few remarks in this regard, Aristotle points out that if what is said (about someone's character) is incredible (ὄν δ' ἀπίστον ἦ), then a reason should be added (τότε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιλέγειν). Aristotle resorts to Sophocles' *Antigone* to exemplify this strategy. If the fact that she was more concerned with securing a burial for her brother Polynices than with having a husband and children may seem incredible, it then becomes necessary to explain the reason for her behaviour, which shows an aspect of her character. In the fourth episode of the tragedy *Antigone* explains that if her husband had died, she could have found a new one and that she would always be able to give birth to new children (verses here summarised by Aristotle with τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὄν γενέσθαι ἀπολομένων), «but when father and mother are gone in Ades, / there is no brother who can ever be born» (vv. 911-912).⁴⁷⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete distich. The wording is altered, since Sophocles' text bears κεκευθότων instead of βεβηκότων. The quotation is accompanied by a testimonium that paraphrases and explains the context from which the verses are taken.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁷⁸

The poetic reference is rendered as follows: «there can be no brother when both parents have fallen into the depth of the abyss».⁴⁷⁹ Therefore, the Arabic text reflects the meaning of the Greek, but the order of the two verses is reversed and the second line οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφός ὅς τις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ is simplified into *wa-amma l-ahu fa-lā yakūna*, the two terms μητρός and πατρός are condensed into the dual *al-abawāni*, while ἐν Ἄιδου is not transliterated but interpreted as *qa'r al-hāwīya*. The only flaw is found in the rendering of the syntagma παράδειγμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης as «where he brought proof to the wife of Antigone», where Antigone appears to be understood as a male figure (see a similar outcome in *Rh.* Γ 17, 1418b 32 = ref. 162, pp. 222-224) and the term *imra'a* might be inferred from the article τῆς taken separately from the noun Ἀντιγόνης which it introduces. This case clearly illustrates where the real difficulty in translating poetic references lies: not in the verse as such but in the interpretation of the literary heritage that is often the subject of the poetic work.

⁴⁷⁷ For this section see Cope, Sandys 1877, III 192-194, Rapp 2002, II 974-976; Gastaldi 2014, 611-613.

⁴⁷⁸ See *Rh.* Lyons 395.

⁴⁷⁹ Lyons 2002, 200.

153.

Γ 16, 1417b 3-5

πλείστα δὲ τοιαῦτα λαβεῖν ἐξ Ὁμήρου ἔστιν·

ὧς ἄρ' ἔφη, γρήυς δὲ κατέσχετο χερσὶ πρόσωπα·

οἱ γὰρ δακρῦειν ἀρχόμενοι ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

Rh. Lyons 215.3-6

وهذا النحو كثير يمكن أن نأخذه من أميروس، كما قال أيضًا: إنّ تلك العجوز حبست عندها الوجه

الحسان، والذين يبتدون بإفاضة الدموع يضعون أيديهم على أعينهم

CONTEXT:

To compose an effective narrative the good orator must draw from what is παθητικός, «emotional», emphasising its accompaniments (τὰ ἐπόμενα), such as facial expressions and gestures, that can be immediately recognised by the audience.⁴⁸⁰ Homer is evoked as an appropriate testimony of this procedure, notably through the verse *Od.* τ 361, where the old nurse Eurycleia's sorrow is expressed by her weeping and covering her face with hands: «Numerous elements of this kind may be drawn from Homer: “Thus she spoke, and the aged nurse covered her face with her hands;” for those who are beginning to weep lay hold of their eyes».⁴⁸¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁸²

The Arabic version is quite correct: «We may draw numerous elements of this kind from Homer, as he also says: this old woman kept by her the beautiful faces, for those who are beginning to weep put their hands over their eyes». The translator interprets ὧς ἄρ' ἔφη as part of Aristotle's words (*ka-mā qāla ayḍan*) rather than as part of the quotation. Moreover, the addition of the adjective plur. *al-ḥisān*, «beautiful», would suggest, as Lyons speculates, that the translator read καλά (or maybe the comparative κρείσσονα) instead of χερσὶ, which in fact does not appear in the Arabic version of the verse, but *aydiyahum* is used in the expression *yaḍa'ūna aydiyahum* (*'alā*) that renders the Greek ἐπιλαμβάνονται in the last line of the passage. Καλά (or κρείσσονα) is not a variant attested in the Greek tradition.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸⁰ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 195-196.

⁴⁸¹ Freese 1926, 449, modified. I have already analysed this reference in Zarantonello 2020b, 103-104.

⁴⁸² See *Rh.* Lyons 396.

⁴⁸³ In Lyons 2002, 215 the scholar suggests that this confusion might be derived from Syriac without developing this hypothesis, which, put like this, does not seem convincing to me.

154., 155.

Γ 16, 1417b 18-20

οἶον ἢ Ἰοκάστη ἢ Καρκίνου ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἀεὶ ὑπισχνεῖται πυνθανομένου τοῦ
ζητούντος τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ὁ Αἴμων ὁ Σοφοκλέους.

Rh. Lyons 215.19-21

كما كانت يسطى بقرقينوس في أمر أوديفوس تعد دائماً والطالب ابنها يسمع وكذلك أيمن الذي يذكره

سوفقليس .

CONTEXT:

The end of chapter Γ 16 concerns the function of narrative in deliberative discourse. Since the latter is concerned with future events while the narrative consists in an account of past events, narrative has very little room here and is limited to some specific purposes, particularly those cases in which the recollection of past events can be of help in making decisions for the future. At 1417b 16-18 Aristotle adds: «if there is anything incredible, you should immediately promise both to give a reason for it at once and to submit it to the judgement of any whom the hearers approve».⁴⁸⁴ This is followed by two examples, whose connection with Aristotle's statement is not so perspicuous to commentators. The first reference involves Jocasta in the *Oedipus* by Carcinus, who «is always promising» – the verb ὑπισχνεῖται echoes the infinitive of the same verb used at 1417b 17 – «when he who is looking for the son questions her» (Karkinos 70 F 1f Snell). The second example is identified in Sophocles' Haemon, namely a character from the *Antigone*. The reference might be an allusion to the long speech that Haemon addresses to his father Creon (vv. 683-723).⁴⁸⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two testimonia concerning two tragedies, whose authors are mentioned. The reference to Carcinus' *Oedipus* might be a compendiary quotation, however this cannot be established exactly since the tragedy is lost.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁸⁶

The Arabic version adheres to the Greek text with minimal inaccuracies: «for instance Jocasta was always promising on (or: with?) Carcinus, in the affair of Oedipus, and he who was looking for her son was listening, and similarly Haemon that Sophocles mentions». Οἶον is translated with *ka-mā* and the second example is introduced by the addition *ka-dālika*. The first *genitivus auctoris* (Καρκίνου) is misinterpreted and rendered through the preposition *bi-* (note that the Arabic verb *wa'ada* «to promise» governs *bi-ind. obj.* to express what is

⁴⁸⁴ English translation in Freese 1926, 451 (who nevertheless reads διατάττειν οἷς βούλονται instead of διατάττειν ὡς βούλονται as Ross). On the difficulty of interpreting these lines, and in particular the verb διατάττειν, see Freese 1926, 450 n. a, and Rapp 2002, II 978-979 who records the proposed translations by leading scholars before him. See also Gastaldi 2014, 337, 614-615.

⁴⁸⁵ See Freese 1926, 450 nn. b-c; Dufour, Wartelle 1938-1973, III 125 nn. 1-2; Rapp 2002, II 979; Cope, Sandys 1877, 197; Gastaldi 2014, 615.

⁴⁸⁶ See *Rh. Lyons* 397.

promised or that on which one promises). On the contrary, the second *genitivus auctoris* is expanded in a relative clause with the verb *dakara* (cf. an analogous outcome in EN H 3, 1146a 19-21 = ref. 28, pp. 114-118). The verb *πυνθανομένου* is mistranslated with *yasma'u*.

156.

Γ 17, 1418a 7-9

ἔστιν γὰρ καὶ τοῦ ποσοῦ ὄρος.

ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ τόσα εἶπες ὄσ' ἂν πεπνυμένος ἀνήρ,
ἀλλ' οὐ τοιαῦτα

Rh. Lyons 217.3-5

كما قيل إنَّ ابن فيسوروس فيلافطوس أبداً صبيّ. وليس ينبغي أن يُقال ما كان من هذا النحو

CONTEXT:

The Homeric example, corresponding to *Od.* δ 204, supports an observation on the way in which enthymemes should be used. These along with examples constitute the demonstrative tools through which evidence is produced (see A 2, 1356b 6-7), the latter being the main focus of Γ 17. After pointing out that enthymemes are particularly suited to judicial discourse (τὰ δ' ἐνθυμήματα δικανικώτερα, 1418a 2), because the latter deals with past events whose existence or non-existence and necessity must be proven (1418a 4-5), Aristotle lays down some rules on their use. According to the first indication, it is advisable to avoid formulating one enthymeme after another, while it is preferable to mix them with other arguments (1418a 6-7). Therefore, a limit in quantity (τοῦ ποσοῦ ὄρος) of enthymemes, regardless of their quality (ἀλλ' οὐ τοιαῦτα) should be set. This is what Menelaus means in the verse quoted here, «Friend, since thou hast said as much as a wise man would say»,⁴⁸⁷ where he comments on the long speech (τόσα εἶπες) of Peisistratus, son of Nestor, who accompanied Telemachus to Sparta at the court of Menelaus.⁴⁸⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁸⁹

The Arabic reads: «As it was said that the son of Fīṣūrūs Fīlāfuṭūs is always a boy. This type of thing should not be spoken». ⁴⁹⁰ Note the rendering of ἔστιν γὰρ καὶ with the expression *ka-mā qīla inna*, which makes the example explicit. For the rest, the passage is completely misunderstood because of the incorrect separation of words in the *scriptio continua*, and the translator's difficulty also emerges from the use of transliteration. If we accept the hypothesis that the Arabic version depends on a Syriac model, then these errors were already present in the Syriac. In particular (τοῦ) ποσοῦ ὄρος is misread as a proper noun and the genitive case is

⁴⁸⁷ Freese 1926, 455.

⁴⁸⁸ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 200-201; Gastaldi 2014, 616; Rapp 2002, II 982.

⁴⁸⁹ See *Rh. Lyons* 398.

⁴⁹⁰ See also *Lyons* 2002, 203.

taken as a patronymic. A similar division error occurs in the sequence φίλ', ἐπεὶ τόσα εἶπες. The first part, φιλεπειτοσ-, is transliterated and understood as a proper noun in the nominative case. The second part, α-ει / πες, is interpreted as αἰ παῖς (with a phonetic error in the Greek αἰ < ε, due to the confusion generated by the gradual shift in the pronunciation of the diphthong αἰ from [ai] to [e]). The last part of the quotation ὅσ' ἂν πεπνυμένος ἀνήρ is missing in Arabic. Then the comment that follows the quotation, ἀλλ' οὐ τοιαῦτα, is vaguely and inaccurately paraphrased.

157.

Γ 17, 1418a 35-38

ὃ ἔλεγεν Γοργίας, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπολείπει αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος, ταῦτό ἐστιν· εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς λέγει Πηλέα ἐπαινεῖ, εἶτα Αἰακόν, εἶτα τὸν θεόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείαν, ἢ τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιεῖ ἢ τοιόνδε ἐστίν.

2 ἀνδρείαν] ἀνδρίαν ΘΠ | ἢ Fossius ἢ codd. Γ ἦτις Σ | ἢ ΑΓ ὃ cett.

Rh. Lyons 218.10-13

وكما قال جرجياس إنّه لا يعوزه مقال ولا يبقى له مقال، يعنى إن هو مدح أخيلوس أو فيلاوس أو أقوياس فكيف *بـ:الإله. وكذلك أيضًا ولا أن وصف صنعة الصنم أو الذين صنعوه أو كيف هو.

ولا] أو tempt. Lyons in app.

CONTEXT:

About the epideictic genre, Aristotle recommends varying the speech by introducing episodes in which other subjects or characters are praised (1418a 33-34). After the cursory mention of Isocrates he mentions Gorgias, who «was never at a loss for something to say» (οὐχ ὑπολείπει αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος) and who, within an epideictic speech about Achilles (82 B 17 Diels-Kranz), also inserts a praise of his father Peleus, a praise of the father of the latter, Aeacus, a praise of the god, Zeus, father of Aeacus, a praise of courage, a virtue that distinguishes Achilles' action and so on.⁴⁹¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference to Achilles, indirect because the reference concerns explicitly the orator Gorgias and his composition of a laudatory speech on this mythical character, as already seen in similar examples in the *Rh.*

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁹²

The structure with anticipation of the relative pronoun ὅ...ταῦτό ἐστιν is paraphrased with *ka-mā* which makes explicit the exemplary function of this passage. The subordinate ὅτι οὐχ

⁴⁹¹ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 204-205; Rapp 2002, II 984; Gastaldi 2014, 618.

⁴⁹² See *Rh. Lyons* 399.

ὑπολείπει αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος is rendered with a hendiadys. Hence the text reads: «As Gorgias said, that he is not at a loss for something to say and there is anything left over for him to say».

The particle γάρ is replaced in Arabic by the explicative *ya'nī*. The verb λέγει is not translated, while the transliteration of Αἰακόν is imprecise (but could be an error by an Arabic copyist): «if he praises Achilles or Peleus or Aqwiya's, how then (if he praises) God?». The main deviation from the original concerns the term ἀνδρείαν, «courage», replaced in Arabic by *ṣan'at al-sanam*, «sculptural work», resulting in a misunderstanding of the entire final part of the sentence: «and also similarly, and that he described the statue or those who made it or something similar to it» (?). The origin of the error can be detected in part of the Greek MS tradition (ΘΠ), which bears the reading ἀνδρίαν instead of ἀνδρείαν (homophones according to the pronunciation of late Roman and Byzantine era). Therefore, the translator may have misread ἀνδρίαν as a singular accusative form of ἀνδριάς. In the sentence ἢ τὰ καὶ τὰ ποιεῖ ἢ τοιόνδε ἐστίν («[courage], which does this and that, or is of such a kind»), the relative pronoun ἢ is Fossius' emendation, followed by Ross, of the disjunctive ἢ attested in codd. Γ (while Σ has ἤτις). The Arabic *aw* follows codd. Γ. Instead ἢ (in ἢ τοιόνδε ἐστίν) is a reading of ΑΓ, where the rest of the MSS (cett.) has δ. The Arabic *aw* follows ΑΓ.

158., 159.

Γ 17, 1418b 17-22

ἔσται δὲ ἂν ἀνέλης· διὸ ἢ πρὸς πάντα ἢ τὰ μέγιστα ἢ τὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντα ἢ τὰ
εὐέλεγκτα μαχεσάμενον οὕτω τὰ αὐτοῦ πιστὰ ποιητέον.

ταῖς θεαῖσι πρῶτα σύμμαχος γενήσομαι·

ἐγὼ γὰρ Ἦραν·

ἐν τούτοις ἤψατο πρῶτον τοῦ εὐηθεστάτου.

3 ταῖς θεαῖσι] Victorius τοῖς θεοῖς codd.

Rh. Lyons 219.13-16

وهذا إذا كان معنيًا مجتهدًا وكان يرى أو يثبت من الواجبات في كل شيء أو العظائم أو في المنجحات

أو في المقولة حسنًا ليس في أن يكون مصدقًا أو صحيحًا فيما بينه وبين الله.

CONTEXT:

The end of chapter Γ 17 hosts several indications on the opponent's refutation. At 1418b 12sq. Aristotle explains that who speaks after his opponent needs first to counter the latter's arguments by resorting to refutations and counter-syllogisms. This strategy is all the more necessary the more effective the opponent's words have been on the audience. Thus, before delivering his speech, the second speaker should remove from the audience the prejudice produced by the opponent's speech. As Aristotle says: «Wherefore it is only after having combated all the arguments, or the most important, or those which are plausible, or most easy to refute, that you should substantiate your own case».⁴⁹³ There follow two verses (not consecutive but taken from the same speech) of Euripides' *The Trojan Women*, from the agon

⁴⁹³ Freese 1926, 459.

that sees Hecuba and Helen confront each other in the third episode. The words of v. 969, «I will first become ally to the goddesses», open Hecuba's reply to the defensive speech by Helen. The latter justifies her actions by pointing out that both Hecuba, being the mother of Paris, and the three goddesses, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, who had fought to decide who was the most beautiful of the three, are responsible for the events of Troy. The second quotation is the incipit of v. 671 «for [I do not think that] Hera». Since the argument of the responsibility of the three goddesses – especially of Hera, turns out to be the weakest argument put forward by Helen, Hecuba's refutation starts from this point on (ἐν τούτοις ἤψατο πρῶτον τοῦ εὐηθεστάτου).⁴⁹⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two hidden serial quotations, a complete and an incomplete monostich. Aristotle adds a brief comment.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁴⁹⁵

The rendering is flawed and lacunose. Almost the entire quotation is omitted (πρῶτα σύμμαχος...Ἡραν) and the commentary sentence that follows (ἐν τούτοις...εὐηθεστάτου) also does not appear in the translation. It is impossible to determine whether the omission is due to the Syriac translator (if we accept the hypothesis of the Syriac *Vorlage*) or to the Arabic translator, or whether it is actually a lacuna in the manuscript tradition.

All that remains of the quotation is the sing. *Allāh* for the fem. plur. ταῖς θεαῖσι, which, however, as Lyons points out, is Victorinus' emendation of the transmitted reading τοῖς θεοῖς. Moreover, the term *Allāh* is syntactically referred to the preceding ἔσται δὲ ἂν ἀνέλγης· διὸ ἤ...πιστὰ ποιητέον. The Arabic translation of this passage differs completely from the original and reads: «This happens if he is concerned or exerts himself and he use dot think or to establish what is obligatory in everything or (in) what is great, in what is successful or in what is spoken well, that it should be believed or soundly established between him and God». As Lyons had already noted, εὐέλεγκτα is read as εὐ / ελεγκτα, an adverb of manner and some form of the verb λέγω. The negative *laysa* followed by *fī* derive from a misreading of οὐτω as οὐ and τῷ. In addition, the hendiadys *yakūna muṣaddaqan aw ṣahīhan* is explained by assuming a misreading or a corruption of the Syriac due to the confusion between root 'b-d «to do», used for ποιητέον, and the nearly homographical root s-b-r «to believe».

160., 161., 162.

Γ 17, 1418b 27-33

καὶ ὡς Ἀρχίλοχος ψέγει· ποιεῖ γὰρ τὸν πατέρα λέγοντα περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐν τῷ
 ἰάμβῳ
 χρημάτων δ' ἄελπτον οὐθέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀπώμοτον,
 καὶ τὸν Χάρωνα τὸν τέκτονα ἐν τῷ ἰάμβῳ οὐδ' ἀρκή
 οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω,

⁴⁹⁴ Cope, Sandys 1877, III 207-208; Gastaldi 2014, 620.

⁴⁹⁵ See *Rh.* Lyons 400.

καὶ ὡς Σοφοκλῆς τὸν Αἴμονα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ὡς λεγόντων
ἑτέρων.

Rh. Lyons 219.21-220.5

وكالذي فعل أرخيلاقوس في الهجاء الذي هجا بوزن الايامبو، فإنه يجعل أباه قائلاً في ابنته في هذه
الايامبو: إنَّ المال ليس معه يأس ولا يمين، †...† في خارون النجّار أيضًا في هذه الايامبو التي فاتحتها:
ليست لي الاتي بجوجس، وكما فعل سوفقليس أمون كأنه يقول لصاحبه عن أنطيوخوني ما يقول في بنت
أبيهم.

3 بنت] *filia* Hermannus بيت Badawī *an om.* tempt. Lyons in app.

CONTEXT:

The sequence of poetic references shows how one should insert ethical proofs in the discourse, i.e. arguments concerning the character of the speaker or his opponent. As explained at 14018b 23-26: «since sometimes, in speaking of ourselves, we render ourselves liable to envy, to the charge of prolixity, or contradiction, or, when speaking of another, we may be accused of abuse or boorishness, we must make another speak in our place».⁴⁹⁶ Such a strategy is deployed by Archilocus when he writes invectives (ψέγει), as revealed by two examples. In the first reference, «he makes the father saying of his daughter in the iamb “There is nothing unexpected or that can be sworn impossible”» (fr. 122 West).⁴⁹⁷ In the second example, the poet expresses his contempt for the riches by making the character of carpenter Charon speak in an iamb whose incipit is quoted, οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω, and which continues with τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει («I do not [care about] the possessions of [wealthy] Gyges», fr. 19 West),⁴⁹⁸ alluding to the legendary wealth of the king of Lydia. Then a third example follows, being a reference to Sophocles' *Antigone*, vv. 688-700: «Sophocles, also, introduces Haemon, when defending Antigone against his father, as if quoting the opinion of others».⁴⁹⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit author's literal quotations. The first is a complete monostich, the second is an incomplete monostich, accompanied by Aristotle's contextualizing comments (*testimonia*). The third reference is too vague to be a compendary quotation of vv. 688-770 from Sophocles' *Antigone*, so it can be classified as a *testimonium*.

⁴⁹⁶ Freese 1926, 461.

⁴⁹⁷ Scholars tend to identify father and daughter with Lycambes and Neoboule, the girl who had been betrothed to Archilocus, but whom her father Lycambes had later given in marriage to another man. See the discussion in Swift 2019, 128-129; 307.

⁴⁹⁸ Swift 2019, 82-83; 243-244.

⁴⁹⁹ Freese 1926, 461, 463. For the whole section see Cope, Sandys 1877, III 208-210; Gastaldi 2014, 620-621.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:⁵⁰⁰

The first ὥς, introducing the two examples from Archilocus, is rendered with *ka-llādī*, while the second ὥς, introducing the reference to Sophocles' *Antigone*, is rendered with *ka-mā*. The version reads: «like what Archilocus did in the satire that lampoons in iambic meter, since he makes his father say about his daughter in this iamb: “with money there is no despair and no oath” †...† about Charon the carpenter also in this iamb whose incipit is: “I do not have what belonged to Gyges”. Like Sophocles makes Haemon as though he was saying to his companion about Antigone what he was saying about the daughter of their father». ⁵⁰¹ The verb ψέγει is paraphrased with *fa'ala...fi l-hiḡā'i llādī haḡā*. One may also note the significant addition of *bi-wazni āyāmbūs*,⁵⁰² either based on the context or derived from a gloss to Ἀρχίλοχος ψέγει. Another addition consists in the suffixed pronouns in the terms *abāhu* and *bintihī*.

In the rendering of the quotation χρημάτων δ' ἄελπτον οὐθέν ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀπώμοτον, χρημάτων is taken with the meaning of «money», «possessions», which is not appropriate in this context. The meaning of ἄελπτον is not grasped (maybe misread as (ἄ)λυπος?), while ἀπώμοτον is simplified in the translation. Since the quotation οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω is left hanging, the translation tries to get the sense of the reference by interpreting – correctly – the words reported by Aristotle.⁵⁰³ From the translation of the last example, ἐτέρων seems to have been misread as ἐταίρω (due to the phonetical confusion of [ai]/[e] in reading the diphthong αι [see *Rh.* ref. 156]). Finally, Lyons speculates that *bint*, «daughter», added in Arabic, might stem from an interpretation of the gen. τῆς Ἀντιγόνης as a patronymic. If so, Antigone would once again be interpreted as a masculine (see *Rh.* Γ 16, 1417a 30 = ref. 152, pp. 215-216).

2.3.2 Natural Philosophy

2.3.2.1 Physics (*Phys.*)

The only Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Physics* preserved to date is authored by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, prepared at the end of the 9th cent., presumably from the Greek.⁵⁰⁴ The Arabic text is transmitted almost in its entirety⁵⁰⁵ by the MS Leiden Or. 583 (L) and for *Phys.* Δ 9, 217b 27-E 1, 224b 10 also by the MS Escorial ár. 896. The only complete edition of the text was published by Badawī between 1964 and 1965, who, however, relied exclusively on the Leiden MS. Recently, Rüdiger Arnzen presented a new critical edition of Book Eight of the Arabic *Phys.*,

⁵⁰⁰ See *Rh.* Lyons 400-401.

⁵⁰¹ See Lyons 2002, 200; 215.

⁵⁰² On the use of the term *wazn* in the Arabic *Rhetoric* see Nicosia 2019, 279-280.

⁵⁰³ See also Lyons 2002, 200.

⁵⁰⁴ Arnzen, who thoroughly examined Ishāq's version, has shown that the translator most likely relied on more than one Greek exemplar; see Arnzen 2021, C-CXIII. The scholar adds: «That Ishāq may have used additional Syriac or Arabic sources cannot be excluded with certainty. However, the text contains no specific hint pointing in this direction», Arnzen 2021, CI n. 219.

⁵⁰⁵ The translation of 189b 28-191a 29 with the corresponding comment sections is missing due to the loss of two folios, while the text that we read in Badawī's edition is a translation from the Greek made by Badawī himself; see Arnzen 2021, XL-XLI.

preceded by a philologically rigorous analysis of the two MSS and more generally by an in-depth study of the Arabic tradition of the *Phys.*, to which reference should be made for more detailed information.⁵⁰⁶

The Leiden MS is an indirect copy of a volume assembled around 395/1004 by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), a Muʿtazilī theologist and disciple of Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Samḥ, that collects various written materials from the exegetical work on the *Phys.* by the members of the Aristotelian circle in Baḡdād.⁵⁰⁷ The text of the Arabic version is divided into lemmata of varying length, each accompanied by a commentary section. These sections include lecture notes and doctrinal comments ascribed to the Baḡdād Aristotelians (cf. refs. *Phys.* 2, 3), namely Abū Biṣr Mattā ibn Yūnus, Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Samḥ, Abū l-Faraḡ ibn al-Ṭayyib, and a certain Abū ʿAmr, who might be al-Ṭabarī, a pupil of Mattā ibn Yūnus, but also references to the lost translations of the *Phys.* by Qusṭā ibn Lūqa and ʿUṭmān Saʿīd ibn Yaʿqūb al-Dimašqī, as well as paraphrased fragments of the commentaries by John Philoponus, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius, which had been at least partially translated into Arabic and studied by the Baḡdād Aristotelians. It is worth clarifying that neither Qusṭā nor al-Dimašqī are credited with translating the whole of the *Phys.*, but both are reported to have translated parts of Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on this work, while Qusṭā is also said to have translated the first half of John Philoponus' lemmatic commentary (on Books A-Δ). Therefore, references to their translations of Aristotle's text should be understood as translations of the lemmata contained in these commentaries.⁵⁰⁸

A notable feature of the Leiden MS are the various comments on lemmata of books Γ-H that go under the name *Yaḥyā* (cf. refs. *Phys.* 3, 4, 5). Since in most cases their contents, as Gerhard Endress first pointed out, dovetail with the corresponding passages in John Philoponus's *Commentary on Aristotle's Phys.*, the label *Yaḥyā* – which stands for Yaḥyā al-Nawḥī, the name under which the philosopher was known in Arabic – denotes comments paraphrasing the (Arabic version of) Philoponus's lemmatic commentary.⁵⁰⁹

Moreover, the Arabic version – and to a lesser extent the commentary sections – are equipped with numerous marginal and interlinear notes, among which some are authored by Iṣḥāq himself, some refer to alternative translations, in particular those by Qusṭā ibn Lūqa and al-Dimašqī, or to readings collated from other MSS, some are interpretations of single words or phrases proposed by the Aristotelian scholars of Baḡdād, while others – tagged with the letter *ḥā* – consist of brief remarks and corrections transcribed by al-Baṣrī from another copy of Iṣḥāq's translation annotated by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (cf. ref. *Phys.* 1). However, the use of these signs is not always unambiguous because, as has been noted by Giannakis followed by Arnzen, there are occurrences where the letter *ḥā* introduces excerpts from Philoponus'

⁵⁰⁶ Arnzen 2021, XIX-CCXXXIV, see in particular the *Tentative Stemma of the Arabic Transmission and Some MSS* at CCXXX for a useful overview.

⁵⁰⁷ See Arnzen 2021, XLV-LV.

⁵⁰⁸ Arnzen 2021, LVII. See also Flügel 1871-1872, I 249.7-27 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 166-167 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 30-31, Dodge 1970, 602-603 (Engl.).

⁵⁰⁹ Endress 1977, 36-38; see Lettinck 1994, 4; Arnzen 2021, LIII.

commentary.⁵¹⁰ Finally, the MS bears several anonymous glosses (cf. ref. *Phys.* 7), whose nature and origin can be reconstructed only after a closer investigation.⁵¹¹

Aristotle's *Physics* is cited in the edition by William D. Ross, *Aristotelis physica*, Oxford 1950 (repr. 1966 (1st ed. corr.)). The letters and numbers in mg. to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter and to the pagination of Bekker's edition.

Since the edition of the Arabic version (Badawī 1964-1965) bears in mg. Bekker numbers, I reported only page numbers, while I left out the line numbers. The latter are indicated when citing commentary sections from the same edition.

1.

B 2, 194a 30-33

διὸ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς γελοίως προήχθη εἰπεῖν

ἔχει τελευτήν, ἥσπερ οὐνεκ' ἐγένετο.

βούλεται γὰρ οὐ πᾶν εἶναι τὸ ἔσχατον τέλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον.

Ṭabī'a Badawī 95-96

ولذلك صار قول الشاعر إنّه «صائر إلى الموت، وهو الذي من أجله كان»، قولاً مستحقاً للهزاء، لأنّ

مجري الأمور ليس هو على أنّ كلّ آخر فهو غاية، بل الآخر الأفضل.

CONTEXT:

The natural scientist shall study nature both as form and as matter, which means nature understood as an end (τέλος), as that for the sake of which (οὐ ἔνεκα), and as means to reach this end, given that in natural things matter has form as its end and is for the sake of it. At 194a 28-30 Aristotle explains that in natural bodies whose motion is continuous and which have an end (ὦν γὰρ συνεχοῦς τῆς κινήσεως οὐσης ἔστι τέλος), the end coincides with the last term and the thing for the sake of which (τοῦτο <τὸ> ἔσχατον καὶ τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα). In nature, however, the end does not coincide with any last term, but only with the best one (194a 32-33: οὐ πᾶν εἶναι τὸ ἔσχατον τέλος, ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον). The poetic quotation given in this context, «He has reached his end, for the sake of which he was born»⁵¹², is marked as a ridiculous testimony (γελοίως προήχθη εἰπεῖν), since it implicitly addresses death. The poet, in fact, assumes that death is the end of life, which is a continuous motion with an end, and draws the erroneous conclusion that death, as ἔσχατον, is also the end and what-for-the-sake-of-which of life. However, death is an ἔσχατον, but not τὸ βέλτιστον, so it is not an end. As Philoponus explains in commenting on 194a 30: «Now to be is better than not to be; therefore death is not that for the sake of which. Moreover death is not even a last term and end of the change continuous since birth; but nature changes up until the perfect acme of the creature, and having brought it to this perfect [point] it halts [it there]. This then is the end of the change [which is] continuous as far as birth is concerned».⁵¹³ The commentator, at the beginning of this section

⁵¹⁰ Giannakis 1992, 33-34; Arnzen 2021, LXVII.

⁵¹¹ Arnzen 2021, XLIX; LI-LII; LV-LXXV; LXXXII-LXXXVII; CI-CXIII.

⁵¹² Wicksteed, Cornford 1957, 123.

⁵¹³ Phlp. *In Phys.*: CAG XVI, 236.17-21, Vitelli; translated in Lacey 1993, 49.

on 194a 30,⁵¹⁴ attributes the anonymous quotation to Euripides, but it has been suggested that the author might be a comic poet (Adesp. 447 Kock).⁵¹⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Ishāq correctly interprets the Greek, not only in lexical choices (e.g., the use of *al-mawt* to render the polysemic *τελευτήν* within the quotation), but also by changing the *ordo verborum* of the Greek. The text reads: «Therefore the poet's saying "he comes to death, which is what for the sake of which he was born" is a saying worthy of derision, because things do not proceed in a way that every last term is an end, but only the best last term [is an end]». The Greek *βούλεται...οὐ...εἶναι* is paraphrased with the verbose expression *mağra l-umūri laysa huwa 'alā anna*.

In the apparatus Badawī reports a marginal gloss, marked with the letter *ḥā'*, that reads «*ya'nī Awwmīrūs*» (*Ṭabī'a* Badawī 96 n. 1), according to which the anonymous *ὁ ποιητής* is to be identified with Homer. As seen in the introduction, the letter *ḥā'* in the Leiden MS stands for Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's annotated copy of Ishāq's translation with which al-Baṣrī compared the material he had taken from other sources. Thus the gloss could be either a remark by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī himself (unlikely) or a translation of a gloss in the Greek *Vorlage* from which Ishāq translated or a gloss derived from another source used by Ishāq or by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī. It is doubtful that this source is the Arabic version of Philoponus' commentary (as has been proven for other *ḥā'-notes*)⁵¹⁶, since there the quotation is explicitly attributed to Euripides.

2.

Δ 1, 208b 29-33

δόξειε δ' ἄν και' Ἡσίοδος ὀρθῶς λέγειν ποιήσας πρῶτον τὸ χάος. λέγει γοῦν "πάντων μὲν πρῶτιστα χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα γαί' εὐρύτερνος," ὡς δέον πρῶτον ὑπάρξει χώραν τοῖς οὐσι, διὰ τὸ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πάντα εἶναι που και' ἐν τόπῳ.

Ṭabī'a Badawī 274

وقد يُظنّ أن إيسيدوس أيضًا قد أصاب حين قال في شعره: إن الفضاء كان أولًا، وقوله على هذا النحو: «أول ما كان الفضاء، ثمّ بعده الأرض الواسعة الرحب» إنّما قال ذلك لأنّه ذهب إلى أنّه يحتاج أولًا إلى وجود مكان للموجودات، من قبل أنّه توهم ما يتوهمه الجمهور من أن الموجودات كلّها بحيث ما وفي مكان.

CONTEXT:

The reference to Hesiod is part of the introductory discussion of the concept of place. After recalling the common view according to which, if a being exists, then it is in a place, Aristotle

⁵¹⁴ Phlp. *In Phys.*: CAG XVI 236.7, Vitelli.

⁵¹⁵ Wagner 1995, 457.

⁵¹⁶ Giannakis 1992, 33-34, referred to by Arnzen 2021, LXVII.

examines various arguments to prove the existence of place (208a 27-208b 27). At the end of the discussion Aristotle adds a further confirmation taken from the cosmogony described in Hesiod's *Theogony* (vv. 116-117), which he comments on exhaustively: «Hesiod, too, might seem to be speaking correctly in making Chaos first; he says “Foremost of all things Chaos came to be / And then broad-breasted Earth” suggesting that it was necessary that there should first be a space for the things that are, because he thinks as most people do that everything is somewhere and in place».⁵¹⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated quotation, incomplete and altered distichum (the incipit of v. 116 has ἦτοι instead of πάντων). The quotation, extensively commented, is accompanied by a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Ishāq interpreted the Greek correctly: «It is thought that also Hesiod was right when he said in his poem that Chaos came to be first. And his saying reads this way: “First Chaos came to be, then after him the broad Earth in its vastness”. He said this because he believed that there should first be a place for the things that are, because he thought what most people think, namely that all the beings are somewhere and in place». The genitive πάντων in the quotation is not translated. It could be speculated that the Greek *Vorlage* bore ἦτοι instead of πάντων as transmitted by the textual tradition of Hesiod's *Theogony* and as attested in Philoponus' commentary (CAG XVII, 501.1, Vitelli; see *infra*). The rendering *al-wāsi'atu l-ruḥbi* for the compound adjective εὐρύστερνος emphasises the semantics of the first component (εὐρύ-) while it does not translate the second (-στερνος, from στέρνον = «breast»). The participle ποιήσας is correctly broken down into *ḥīna qāla fi šī'rihī*.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The commentary on the lemma corresponding to 208a27-209a2 includes an anonymous remark on the poetry quotation (*Ṭabī'a* Badawī 277.5-8): «Aristotle advances two other arguments derived from common opinions. The first comes from the statement of those who establish [the existence of] the void, because they claim that it is a place devoid of body (= 208b 25-27). The second argument comes from the statement of the poet: “First vastness came to be, then the broad Earth in its vastness”. Therefore, he makes the place necessary for the existence of things but does not make it necessary for it (*sc.* the chaos)». The commentary section consists almost entirely of observations ascribed to *Yaḥyā*, i.e. comments drawing on Philoponus' commentary. The comments are interspersed with two brief remarks made by Abū 'Alī ibn al-Samḥ. The first remark is preceded by the usual *Abū 'Alī*, whilst the second is a response by Ibn al-Samḥ to a question put to him (marked by the expressions *qultu li-Abī 'Alī* [...] *fa-qāla* [...]). Hence it appears to be a transcription made by al-Baṣrī of one of the “classroom conversations” held by his teacher Ibn al-Samḥ.⁵¹⁸ This being so, and comparing

⁵¹⁷ Hussey 1983, 21 (modified). See also Themistius' paraphrase: Them. *In Phys.* 208b27-209a2 = CAG V 2, 103.26-104.8, Schenk; translated in Todd 2003, 18-19.

⁵¹⁸ Arnzen 2021, LIII.

the note concerning the poetic reference with the corresponding passage in Philoponus' Greek commentary,⁵¹⁹ the passage we are interested in is highly likely to be a continuation of the section preceding the question-and-answer exchange, i.e. it is part of the adaptations of Philoponus' commentary.⁵²⁰ The paraphrase of the poetic reference in the note is close to Ishaq's translation, but differs in the rendering of the term $\chi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$ with *wasā'* instead of *fa'dā'*. The use of the synonym *wasā'* may reflect a different translation choice by Qusṭā ibn Lūqa, who is the author of the version of Philoponus' commentary corresponding to the first four books of the *Phys.*, including the lemmata of Aristotle's text. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that Qusṭā also translated $\chi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$ as *fa'dā'* and that the lexical variation is due to the very nature of the Arabic commentary, which is not a proper translation but a free reformulation of Philoponus' commentary.

3.

Δ 12, 221b 32

οἶον Ὅμηρός ποτε ἦν

Ṭabī'a Badawī 458

مثل أوميرس الشاعر فإنه قد كان في وقت من الأوقات

CONTEXT:

This reference and those in the following chapter (Δ 13) are part of the discussion of time, commenced at Δ 10. Here Aristotle arrives at the conclusion that everything that is subject to coming to be and to passing away, i.e. what at some time is and at some time is not, must be in time (221b 28-30). For «there will be some greater time which will exceed both their being and that [time] which measures their being» (221b 30-31)⁵²¹. Time, therefore, also contains what is not now, such as future events, which will be, and past events, which are no longer, an example of which is the reference Ὅμηρός ποτε ἦν, «Homer once was» (221b 31-222a 2).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The example is accurately translated («as Homer the poet, that he was once»). The expression *fi waqtin mina l-awqāti* for ποτε is also used at 250b 23 and 251a 17. The qualification *al-šā'ir* is added to the transliteration of the name Homer. οἶον is translated with *mitla*.

⁵¹⁹ Phlp. *In Phys.*: CAG XVII, 500.26-501.12, Vitelli; translated in Algra, van Ophuijsen 2012, 21. See Lettinck 1994, 272.

⁵²⁰ Badawī also considered this comment part of *Yahyā's* work, whom he nevertheless identified with *Yahyā ibn 'Adi*; see *Ṭabī'a Badawī* 277 n. 1.

⁵²¹ Hussey 1983, 49.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

A reference to the poet can be detected in the commentary section, that for its doctrinal content and its structure appears to be an assemblage of notes that al-Baṣṣī wrote down during a lecture by Ibn al-Samḥ based on Philoponus' work. Indeed, the text is subdivided into paragraphs introduced either by *Yaḥyā* (= John Philoponus) or by *Yaḥyā wa-Abū 'Alī* (= John Philoponus and Abū 'Alī ibn al-Samḥ) or by *Abū 'Alī*. Another striking feature is the inclusion within the commentary of a lemma of Aristotle's text introduced by the pattern *qāla Aristūṭālīs* (*Ṭabī'a Badawī* 460.13-14), that must have been translated along with Philoponus' text. In a paragraph headed *Yaḥyā wa-Abū 'Alī* we read: «[...] what is and is not contingent (*fī ḥālin dūna ḥālin*) is what at a certain time is and at a certain time is not, because there is a time that is greater than each of the two states. This happens in three ways: that whose existence has passed, such as Homer; things that will be; and things that were before and will be after, such as the sunrise» (*Ṭabī'a Badawī* 460.8-12).⁵²²

4., 5.

Δ 13, 222a 22-26, b 11-12

τὰ δ' ἐν Ἰλίῳ γέγονεν οὐ νῦν, οὐδ' ὁ κατακλυσμὸς [γέγονε] νῦν· καίτοι συνεχῆς ὁ χρόνος εἰς αὐτά, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐγγύς. τὸ δὲ ποτέ χρόνος ὠρισμένος πρὸς τὸ πρότερον νῦν, οἷον ποτὲ ἐλήφθη Τροία, καὶ ποτὲ ἔσται κατακλυσμὸς. [...] (222b 11) τὸ δὲ Ἴλιον φάναι ἤδη ἐαλωκέναι οὐ λέγομεν, ὅτι λίαν πόρρω τοῦ νῦν.

Ṭabī'a Badawī 463-464, 466

فأما الحرب التي كانت بإيليون <والطوفان> فليست «الآن»: على أن الزمان واحد بعينه متصل، لكنّ زمانهما ليس قريباً. وأما «متى» فإنه زمان حاصل عند «الآن» المتقدم، مثال ذلك أن يُقال: «متى» فتح بلد كذا، ومتى يكون طوفان، [...] ولسنا نقول إنّ مدينة إيليون هو ذا قد فتحت، لأن فتحها كان بعيداً جداً من الآن.

L ايليوى [إيليون 3 | L لأن زمانها [con. Badawī | لكن] [con. Badawī <والطوفان> 1

CONTEXT:

Aristotle mentions the Trojan War to clarify the meaning and use of certain terms expressing notions of time. Of the term νῦν (now) he distinguishes both a technical meaning, i.e. the present instant that delimits and connects past and future thus giving continuity to time (222a 10-21), and a broader meaning, when the term is referred to an event close in time, in the recent past or in the immediate future. Accordingly, the term νῦν cannot refer to a remote event such as the Trojan War: «But it is not the case that the Trojan war has *now* occurred, or the deluge: the time is continuous [from now] to then, but they are not close at hand». This is followed by a discussion of the term ποτέ (at some time), which expresses an event in the past or future defined in relation to a νῦν, to a present instant, «e.g. 'Troy fell at some time', 'the deluge will occur at some time'». Further on, Aristotle examines the term just-

⁵²² Philoponus' *Commentary on the Phys.*: CAG XVII, 755. 28-35, Vitelli; translated in Brodie 2011, 63. See Lettinck 1994, 365.

now (ἤδη), defined as what «is close to the present indivisible now, whether it is a part of future time [...] or of past time, when it is not far from the now» (222a 7-10). The reference to the war of Troy is an additional specification: «But to say that Troy has just fallen—we do not say it, because that is too far from the now».⁵²³ The Trojan Wars are mentioned in a parallel passage in *Metaph.* Δ 11, to explain the temporal meaning of the term πρότερον («prior»): «Some things are prior as being further from the present, as in the case of past events (for the Trojan is prior to the Persian war, because it is further distant from the present [πρότερον γὰρ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ τῶν Μηδικῶν ὅτι πορρώτερον ἀπέχει τοῦ νῦν])» (1018b 14-17).⁵²⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic rendering is close to the original. Interestingly enough, the translator seems to be more familiar with the name Ἴλιον than with the alternative Τροία. One should note the accurate interpretation of the generic τὰ in the syntagma τὰ δ' ἐν Ἴλιῳ (lit. «the events» that took place in Ilium) as «the war», i.e. *al-ḥarbu llatī kānat bi-īlūn*, perhaps suggested by the anonymous gloss transmitted in the margin of the Leiden MS: «this war belongs to the remote past». Similarly at 222b 11 Ἴλιον is rendered *madīnata īlūn* (the transcription is corrected by Badawī). Instead, the generic expression *baladun kadā* replaces Τροία.

οἶον is translated with *mitāl dālīka an yuqāla* (extended by the addition of a *verbum dicendi*).

The Arabic rendering of the mention of the Trojan wars in the parallel passage *Metaph.* Δ 11, 1018b 14-17, preserved in Uṣṭāt's version, is correct and very close to the Greek. Indeed, it is noteworthy that even in that passage τὰ Τρωϊκὰ, which alludes to war events that occurred in Troy, is correctly interpreted with *ḥurūb aṭrūā* (as well as τῶν Μηδικῶν is rendered with *ḥurūb mīdiyā*).⁵²⁵

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The commentary on the lemma that includes these passages bears some traces of the references. As in the previous instances, the commentary notes are attributed to *Yahyā* and draw upon Philoponus' interpretation with the addition of original explanations and further examples.⁵²⁶ The treatment of the term *matā*, which translates ποτέ in Ishāq's version, opens as follows: «*matā* is a determinate time, past or future, continuous with the non-accidental now [= instantaneous now].⁵²⁷ For it is asked: When was there such a war (*matā kānati l-ḥarb*

⁵²³ I quoted all passages in the English translation of Hussey 1983, 50 (the italics and brackets are his); see Hussey 1983, 170-171.

⁵²⁴ Tredennick 1933, 247.

⁵²⁵ *Metaph.* Bouyges 567.10-568.1 (T.16 d).

⁵²⁶ It is worth noticing the addition in the Arabic commentary of a brief mention of the use of *qubaylu* (for the Greek τὸ ἄρτι) in Ishāq's translation instead of the synonym *al-sā'ata*, which figured in the Arabic adaption of Philoponus' commentary; see *Ṭabī'a* Badawī 467.15-16; Arnzen 2021, LXXXIX.

⁵²⁷ Philoponus explicitly distinguishes two uses of the term νῦν, νῦν as instantaneous now and νῦν in the broad sense. See CAG XVII, 760.18-23, Vitelli; translated in Broadie 2011, 68-69. This bipartition is reproduced in the

al-fulāniyya)? And it is answered: in such a year. And one asks: when will there be an eclipse? It is answered: in the second month. Thus we fix between what has passed and what will happen a nexus with the non-accidental now. Unless you believe that if it is asked: when was the war? You answer: since one year. But time is calculated from the now in which we are. In the same way, [unless you believe that] if it is asked: when will there be an eclipse? You answer: up to one month (from now)» (*Ṭabīʿa* Badawī 468.13-19; cf. Phlp. *In Phys.*: CAG XVII, 761.24-34, Vitelli). A little further on, the discussion focuses on *huwa dā* (just now = ἤδη), where we read: «*huwa dā* refers to time, both past and future, that is close to the non-accidental now. [...] for what was or what is far from “now” one does not say “just now”, indeed one does not say “the Basūs war was just now» (*Ṭabīʿa* Badawī 469.3-7; cf. Phlp. *In Phys.*: CAG XVII, 762.10-16, Vitelli).

As can be seen, Philoponus also repeatedly uses references to the Trojan War as examples of a past event, which are, however, reshaped in the Arabic commentary. In his explanation of the concept *some time* Philoponus writes: «When did the Trojan war happened? We might say a thousand years ago». ⁵²⁸ In correspondence with this passage in Arabic we found a generic *al-ḥarb al-fulāniyya*. In dealing with just-now, instead, Philoponus writes: «one would not say that Troy has just-now been taken». ⁵²⁹ In this case the Greek reference is replaced with an Arab one, namely the mention of the Basūs war, a legendary 40-year conflict made of hostilities and vendettas between the Banū Taglib and the Banū Bakr during the 6th cent. ⁵³⁰

6.

Δ 13, 222b 16-17

ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ πάντα γίγνεται καὶ φθείρεται· διὸ καὶ οἱ μὲν σοφώτατον ἔλεγον

Ṭabīʿa Badawī 466

وفي زمان يتكون ويفسد كل ما ينكون ويفسد؛ لذلك نسبه قوم إلى غاية الحكمة

CONTEXT:

Aristotle describes the notion of suddenly (τὸ ἄξαίφνης) as something coming out of its own condition and passing into another in a period of time that is imperceptible because of its brevity and adds that it is in the nature of all change to pass from one condition to another (222b 14-16). Since it is in time that all things come into being and pass away, some define time as very wise (διὸ καὶ οἱ μὲν σοφώτατον ἔλεγον), in the sense that it makes us aware of change. This characterisation of time is in fact widespread, but scholars tend to believe that behind the allusive expression οἱ μὲν there would be a reference to a lost verse by Simonides or a

Arabic text, where, however, a distinction is made between a non-accidental and an accidental meaning of *al-āna* (*Ṭabīʿa* Badawī 467.13-468.13).

⁵²⁸ Translation in Broadie 2011, 69.

⁵²⁹ Translation in Broadie 2011, 70.

⁵³⁰ See Fück 1960; Hoyland 2001, 226.

sapiential saying attributed to him (fr. 140 Page [PMG 645]),⁵³¹ according to what is stated in Simplicius' commentary⁵³² and in Themistius' paraphrase.⁵³³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Since Aristotle and his commentators are the only sources for this fragment, it is not possible to establish its nature as a reference (whether it is a quotation or not). Thus, we identify it generically as a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is accurate. It is worth noting the paraphrased rendering of σοφώτατον ἔλεγον with *nasabahū...ilā jāyati al-ḥikma*.

7.

Z 9, 239b 14

δευτερος δ' ὁ καλούμενος Ἀχιλλεύς.

Ṭabī'a Badawī 713

والحجّة الثانية هي التي تُعرف بأخلوس

In mg. (referred to بأخلوس):

هذا اسم رجل كان سريع الإحضار (= العدو)، وزينن يمثل به في حجّته.

CONTEXT:

In this chapter Aristotle refutes four arguments against motion raised by Zeno, the second being the famous paradox of Achilles, according to which the slowest competitor will never be caught by the fastest because the distance between them can be divided infinitely (see 239b 14-18). The paradox is based on the proverbial speed of Achilles, the "swift-footed" hero in Homer's words.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference (mediated by the testimonium on Zeno).

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The reference is correctly rendered. There is no mention of the mythical-literary context in the margin gloss, which reads: «this is the name of a man who was fast in running (*al-iḥḍār*) (= *al-'adw* [explicative synonym added by Badawī]), and Zenon uses him as an example in his argument».

⁵³¹ See Poltera 2008, 62-63 (= T 71) and n. 103.

⁵³² Simp. *In Phys.* 22b16-27 = CAG IX, 754.7-16, Diels; translated in Urmson 1992, 166-167.

⁵³³ Them. *In Phys.* 22b16-27 = CAG V 2, 158.27-159.1, Schenkl; translated in Todd 2003, 68.

2.3.2.2 *De caelo* (*Cael.*)

Gerhard Endress has been actively engaged in the investigation of the Arabic tradition of the *Cael.* for over 50 years, starting with his doctoral dissertation, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen von Aristoteles' Schrift De Caelo*, printed in 1966, to the more recent study entitled *Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Arabic Version and Commentary of Aristotle's De Caelo*, that appeared in 2017 in the journal *Studia Graeco-Arabica*, in which the scholar has recapitulated and partly revised the results that emerged from the linguistic and structural analysis of the preserved Arabic versions.

To date, three Arabic versions have been identified, transmitted by about twenty MSS that have come down to us.⁵³⁴ The versions are actually two, the third being a partial revision of one of the two translations. First, we have the 9th-ce. Syriac-Arabic version made by Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq (denoted by B both in Endress 1966 and in Endress 2017b), attested by a large number of codices and widely spread as a vulgate version of Aristotle's *Cael.* Ibn al-Biṭrīq's translation is the text that Ibn Rušd relied on when, around 548/1188, he composed his *Tafsīr* or *Šarḥ kitāb al-Samā' wa-l-ālam*, in which he complains of having drawn on *the translations of al-Kindī* instead of on one of the *translationes veriores* by Ishāq.⁵³⁵ But in some parts of his commentary Ibn Rušd expressly cites Ibn al-Ṭayyib's version he consulted where the text of Ibn al-Biṭrīq was deficient or unsatisfactory.⁵³⁶ The *Tafsīr* is partially preserved (for chapters A 7-B 7) in a *codex unicus* reproduced in the facsimile edition published by Endress in 1994. Ibn al-Biṭrīq's version is also known in a second recension (tagged with C in Endress 1966 and with B^C in Endress 2017b), i.e., a partial revision, restricted to chapters A 1-6, consisting of a correction of some unclear passages of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's translation and an updating of the philosophical lexicon to the technical terminology that had been imposed since the second half of the 9th cent. with Ishāq's translations of philosophical writings.⁵³⁷ This is the text printed by Badawī in 1961 in his edition – which to date remains the only one of the Arabic *Cael.* – that is based, however, only on one of the MSS recorded by Endress.⁵³⁸ The latter raised the possibility that this anonymous revision is the partial version of the first book of the *Cael.* attributed to Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yūnus in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, where Mattā ibn Yūnus is said to have also translated Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on the first book of the *Cael.*⁵³⁹ It is not clear whether Mattā ibn Yūnus' version is a new translation presumably made from a Syriac antecedent (solution that seems most probable based on the aforementioned sources) or a revision of an earlier Arabic translation. According to Endress, Mihrān ibn Manšūr al-Masiḥī – the author of the holograph in 553/1158 from which all the MSS of this branch of the tradition derive – «incorporated the revised version of Mattā, found in the lemmata of what

⁵³⁴ Endress 1966, 7-30; updated in Endress 2017b, 218.

⁵³⁵ Carmody, Amzen 2003, II 567 (= III c. 35); see Endress 1994, 2-3; Endress 2017b, 216, 222.

⁵³⁶ Endress 2017b, 230-234.

⁵³⁷ Endress 2017b, 223, 225.

⁵³⁸ On the problems and limitations of Badawī's edition see Endress 1966, 21-22.

⁵³⁹ Flügel 1871-1872, I 250.29, 264.1-2 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 168.3-4, 201.8 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 35, Dodge 1970, 603, 630 (Engl.). See Endress 2017b, 225, but also 215-216, 226-227, where he also mentions the important testimony given by Ibn al-Sarī (d. 548/1153) in his *Bayān al-ḥaṭa'*.

was available of Alexander's commentary [...] into his copy of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's translation».⁵⁴⁰ The third version, unrelated to the first two but stemming from the same Syriac version, is ascribed to Ibn al-Ṭayyib (marked A in Endress 1966 and T in Endress 2017b). It is partially preserved in a *codex unicus* (Paris, BnF, arabe 2281) covering *Cael.* A 9, 279a 3-B 9, 290b 12 – with some interspersed gaps –,⁵⁴¹ in which the Arabic text of the Aristotelian work is accompanied by extracts of a literal commentary by Ibn al-Ṭayyib himself. Although thoroughly studied by Endress, an integral critical edition is still a *desideratum*.⁵⁴²

As emerges from the above outline, not only is a synoptic edition of all three preserved Arabic versions still missing, but we do not even have a satisfactory and reliable critical edition for Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq's, which is available in Badawī's edition and in the lemmata of Ibn Rušd's *Tafsīr kitāb al-Samā' wa-l-'ālam* published by Endress. Accordingly, the analysis of the two poetic references below has been conducted as follows. For ref. 1 I collated the text of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's version printed by Badawī with the Textus of the *Tafsīr* (another witness to Ibn al-Biṭrīq's translation) in the Endress' facsimile edition. I have also considered the Latin translation by Michael Scotus made around 1230 and edited by Carmody and Arnzen in 2003.⁵⁴³ Lastly, I have transcribed the Arabic text of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's version from the digital reproduction of Paris, BnF, arabe 2281, available at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525084694/>.

For ref. 2, I have limited myself to the text of Badawī's edition since the *Tafsīr* of Ibn Rušd as preserved in the *codex unicus* breaks off earlier, while the text of Ibn al-Ṭayyib as preserved in the Paris MS is lacunose in this passage. Although I attempted to conduct the analysis on as complete a sample of sources as possible, my investigations make no claim of providing a critical text, which is beyond the scope of my research and not feasible, since I did not have access to all the testimonies of the three versions.

Aristotle's *Cael.* is cited in the edition by Paul Moraux: *Aristote, Du ciel. Texte établi et traduit par P. Moraux*, Paris 1965. The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker's edition.

1.

B 1, 284a 18-23

Διόπερ οὔτε κατὰ τὸν τῶν παλαιῶν μῦθον ὑποληπτέον ἔχειν, οἱ φασιν Ἄτλαντός τινος αὐτῷ προσδεῖσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν· εὐοίκασι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον οἱ συστήσαντες τὸν λόγον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν ὑπόληψιν τοῖς ὕστερον· ὡς γὰρ περὶ βάρους ἐχόντων καὶ γεγηρῶν ἀπάντων τῶν ἄνω σωμάτων ὑπέστησαν αὐτῷ μυθικῶς ἀνάγκην ἔμψυχον.

1 μῦθον] λόγον E⁴

⁵⁴⁰ Endress 2017b, 225.

⁵⁴¹ Endress 2017b, 237.

⁵⁴² Endress 2017b, 229-275.

⁵⁴³ For ref. 1: Carmody, Arnzen 2003, II 275 (= II t. 4)

Samā' Badawī 225.8-226.1 (+ IR = Tafsīr 145.2-7): Yaḥyā ibn al-Bīṭriq

فلذلك لا نقول في هذا الجرم الكريم ونراه به كما رأى ناس من الأولين فقالوا إنّ السماء تحتاج إلى شيء يحملها به، يُدعى أطلس، ليحفظها ويقيها أن تميل فتقع. فهؤلاء الذين قالوا هذا القول يشبهون في قولهم هؤلاء الآخرين الذين في زماننا، فإنّ هؤلاء ظلّوا أيضًا أنّ الأجرام العالِيّة كلّها أرضيّة ذوات ثقل، فقالوا لذلك إنّها محتاجة اضطرارًا إلى نفس تُحرّكها. ولم يكن قولهم هذا بقياس صحيح مقنع، لكنّ بقول خرافيّ.

IR لا يدعها [يقيها] IR يدعني [يدعى] om. IR [به] 2 IR له [به] IR ولا [و] IR نقوله [نقول] 1
IR ذات [ذوات] om. IR [أيضًا] om. IR [الآخرين] 3 om. IR [الذين] IR وهؤلاء [فهؤلاء]

MS Paris, BnF, ar. 2281 74v 5-75r 4: Ibn al-Ṭayyib

ولهذا ما لا نقول ذلك في هذا الجسم الكريم ولا نراه كما يراه قوم من المتقدمين حتى قالوا إنّ السماء تحتاج إلى حامل يحملها ويدعمها يُدعى اطالس لمنعها من أن تميل فتقع وهو لا القائلون هذا القول يشبهون في قوله المتأخرين الذين في زماننا، فإنّ هؤلاء ظلّوا أيضًا أنّ الأجسام العالِيّة كلّها أرضيّة ذوات ثقل فقالوا لهذا إنّها محتاجة إلى نفس تحركها من الاضطرار وهو لهم هذا لم يكن بقياس صحيح مقنع لكنّ بقول خرافيّ

CONTEXT:

In B 1, Aristotle disputes those who explain the condition of heaven by resorting to myth (κατὰ τὸν τῶν παλαιῶν μῦθον ὑποληπτέον ἔχειν), namely to the mythological figure of Atlas that according to them ensures the preservation (σωτηρία) of heaven. But heaven is ingenerate, incorruptible, one and eternal, moves by eternal motion, circular and without effort, and there can be no external necessity that imprints a different condition from that in which it is by nature.⁵⁴⁴ In contrast, those who introduce mythical necessity (οἱ μὲν μυθικὴν εἰσάγουσιν ἀνάγκην, in Simplicius' words)⁵⁴⁵ – picturing Atlas as the external guarantor of the motion and stillness of the heavens – start from the same assumption as those who believe that the higher bodies possess weight and were earthlike (ὡς γὰρ περὶ βάρους ἐχόντων καὶ γερῶν ἀπάντων τῶν ἄνω σωμάτων). As a result they assign them an animated necessity based on myth (ὑπέστησαν αὐτῷ μυθικῶς ἀνάγκην ἔμψυχον).⁵⁴⁶

The poetic reference is quite vague and certainly mediated by the Platonic precedent in *Phd.* 99c.⁵⁴⁷ However, the myth of Atlas holding up the sky is attested in various poetic places,

⁵⁴⁴ See 283b 26-29, 284a 2-17, and in particular 284a 15-16: διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν προσδεῖσθαι βιαίας ἀνάγκης, ἢ κατέχει κωλύουσα φέρεσθαι πεφυκότα αὐτὸν ἄλλως. See Simplicius' remarks on this last aspect in his *In Aristotelis de caelo commentaria*: CAG VII, 374.5-23, Heiberg, translated in Mueller 2004, 19.

⁵⁴⁵ Simpl. *In Cael.*: CAG VII, 374.25-26, Heiberg.

⁵⁴⁶ The whole passage, as made explicit in the reference to Atlas and the idea of an animated necessity, recalls earlier Platonic treatises, as highlighted by all commentators. See Jori 2009, 427.

⁵⁴⁷ See the previous note.

such as Hom. *Od.* α 52-54 and Hes. *Theog.* 517-519 – to which Simplicius also refers in his commentary on these lines –,⁵⁴⁸ but also Aesch. *Pr.* 347-350.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference (mediated by Plato's *Phaedo*).

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Both Ibn al-Biṭrīq's and Ibn al-Ṭayyib's versions are accurate. The translators have limited themselves to introducing some minimal explanatory elements taken from the context or to resorting to hendiadys. Ibn al-Biṭrīq's version reads: «Therefore we do not speak of this noble body nor do we conceive of it as some of the ancients did. They claimed that heaven needs something to support it, called Atlas, so that he preserves and safeguards it from leaning and thus falling. Those who say this resemble in their assertion the latest ones of our time, for they too hold that all higher bodies are earthlike and endowed with weight, and they therefore maintain that they necessarily need a soul to set them in motion. And this saying of theirs does not conform to a correct and satisfactory syllogism but conforms to a mythological tale». The text given in the lemma of Ibn Rušd's *Long commentary* offers no interesting variant except (*li-*)...*lā yada'ahā* («so that he does not allow it to») instead of (*li-*)...*yaqiyahā* («so that he safeguards it from»).

Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Arabic version does not differ much from Ibn al-Biṭrīq's except for a few synonyms. The use of the term *ġism* for «body» versus Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ġirm* has already been noted by Endress.⁵⁴⁹ See also: *mina l-mutaqaddimīna* versus al-Biṭrīq's *mina l-awwalīna*; the more specific *ḥāmil* versus al-Biṭrīq's *šay'*; the hendiadys *yaḥmiluhā wa-yad'amuhā* versus al-Biṭrīq's plain *yaḥmiluhā*; the plain maṣdar *li-mana'ihā min* versus al-Biṭrīq's hendiadys of verbs *li-yaḥfazahā wa-yaqiyahā*; the syntagma *mina l-iḍṭirāri* versus al-Biṭrīq's adverbial accusative *iḍṭirāran*.⁵⁵⁰

In both translations μῦθον is rendered though the root *r-'y*, which might be either a simplification of the meaning of the Greek word (but a few lines later the adverb μυθικῶς is translated with a broad clarifying periphrasis) or, as Endress noted, a translation of λόγον, in the sense of «doctrine, belief», a variant of μῦθον attested in E⁴.⁵⁵¹

Finally, to explain the Arabic expansion for the Greek τὴν σωτηρίαν, glossed through the periphrasis «so that he preserves and safeguards it from leaning and thus falling» in Ibn al-Biṭrīq's version (and similarly in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's «so that he prevents it from leaning and thus falling») Endress observes an echo of Simplicius' words, ἀνάγκην τοῦ μὴ πίπτειν τὸν οὐρανόν, in Simpl. *In Cael.*: CAG VII, 374.26, Heiberg.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁸ Simpl. *In Cael.*: CAG VII, 374.25-31, Heiberg, translated in Mueller 2004, 19-20. Simplicius mistakenly attributes Hesiod's verse to Homer probably due to a *lapsus memoriae*.

⁵⁴⁹ Endress 1966, 60; Endress 2017b, 233.

⁵⁵⁰ Endress has also observed that Ibn al-Ṭayyib's strange transliteration *aṭālas* (where Ibn al-Biṭrīq has *aṭlas*, which is closer to the Greek) may have originated in the transition from Syriac to Arabic, having been either the result of a wrong vocalization of the Syriac transliteration or an error due to the reversal of the Syriac letters *olaf* and *lomad* or later of the Arabic *alif* and *lām*; see Endress 1966, 32, 221.

⁵⁵¹ Endress 1966, 221.

⁵⁵² Endress 1966, 221.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The passage can be compared with another mention of Atlas from Book Three of Galen's *Commentary* on the First Book of Hippocrates' *Epidemics*. In affirming the importance of some indicators for the prognosis, like what the patient says or does, Galen reports the example of a man he diagnosed with early-stage melancholia based on his account. The patient had in fact told him he had been awake all night thinking of what would happen if Atlas, exhausted by fatigue, had decided to no longer hold up the heavens (εἰ δόξειε τῷ Ἄτλαντι κάμνοντι μηκέτι βαστάζειν τὸν οὐρανόν, ὃ τί ποτ' ἄν συμβαίη).⁵⁵³ The text is preserved in Arabic in the translation by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, who, in correspondence of the dative τῷ Ἄτλαντι, inserts the following note: «the angel the poet claims carries heaven and calls Atlas».⁵⁵⁴ The adaptation of Greek polytheism through the term *al-malak* has already been pointed out and this is not an isolated case, since sometimes Ḥunayn – presumably at the explicit request of a client – altered the text to meet the taste of a monotheist reader.⁵⁵⁵ More interesting, however, is the source from which the remark originates, namely *al-šū'arā'*, the poets. The addition could be derived from the reading of a gloss in the margin transmitted by the Greek codex of the commentary to the *Epidemies* on which Ḥunayn was working. One could also put forward the hypothesis that Ḥunayn added the remark by reading these lines of the *Cael.*, and more specifically, with the Greek commentaries on this passage. As noted above, Simplicius comments on it by explicitly referring to the poetic tradition and citing two verses, one taken from Homer and the other from Hesiod, although he improperly attributes both to Homer. Apparently, Simplicius' commentary on the *Cael.* was not known to Arabic-speaking readership, but the reference to the poets can also be read in another surviving text, for which an Arabic reception is documented, namely Themistius' paraphrase. The treatise is lost in Greek as is its 10th cent. Arabic translation, by either Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī or by Abū Bišr Mattā (from the Syriac version by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq) and later revised by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī.⁵⁵⁶ However, an Arabic-Hebrew version done by Zeraḥyah ben Yīḥāq ben Šealtiel Ḥen (Gracian) ha-Sefardi in 1284 and a Hebrew-Latin version done by Moshe Alatino between 1568 and 1573 are preserved.⁵⁵⁷ Below is the passage that is of interest to us in the Latin version: «Neque vero hoc est secundum fabulam antiquorum, videlicet poetarum, quemadmodum inquit Homerus ac id genus alii poetarum nonnulli, caelum <Atlante quodam> sustentari ipsumque ad se tuendum indigere tali necessitate».⁵⁵⁸ That Ḥunayn had already read Themistius' paraphrase of the *Cael.* in the 9th cent. is not such a far-fetched possibility. In the paragraph about the *Cael.* of his *Fihrist* Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a work by Ḥunayn on the subject entitled *al-Masa'il al-sitt al-ʿašra* (*Sixteen Questions*) immediately after discussing Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's version or revision of Themistius'

⁵⁵³ CMG V 10, 1, 107, Wenkebach, Pfaff (= Kühn 17a, 213.14-214.1)

⁵⁵⁴ CMG Suppl. Or. V 1, 362.10, Vagelpohl (see Vagelpohl's English translation here CMG Suppl. Or. V 1, 363). The second occurrence of the same reference in Book Eight of Galen's *Commentary* on Book Six of the *Epidemics* is not examined since the Arabic version has yet to be published.

⁵⁵⁵ See Vagelpohl 2012, 145; Strohmaier 2012, 179.

⁵⁵⁶ See the analysis of sources in Endress 2017b, 214-215, 228.

⁵⁵⁷ Coda 2012, 356-357; Endress 2017b, 228.

⁵⁵⁸ *Themistii In libros Aristotelis De caelo paraphrasis hebraice et latine*: CAG V 4, 90.15-18, Landauer.

paraphrase.⁵⁵⁹ From the syntax of the text it could be either that Ḥunayn's *Sixteen Questions* were compiled either from Aristotle's *Cael.* or from Themistius' paraphrase.⁵⁶⁰ Be that as it may, scholars have proposed to identify Ḥunayn's *Sixteen Questions* with a compendium to the *Cael.*⁵⁶¹ preserved in ps.-Avicenna's *Liber celi et mundi*. The latter is a Latin translation attributed to Domenicus Gundissalinus and Johannes Hispalensis, done between 1150 and 1175, of a lost Arabic work,⁵⁶² which might be Ḥunayn's compendium. Since the author of the *Liber celi et mundi* seems to know Themistius' work – as has been suggested based on the similarity between three parts of the *Liber celi et mundi* and his paraphrase,⁵⁶³ it would appear that Ḥunayn knew Themistius' text, including the reference to the use that poets make of the myth of Atlas. However, in what remains of the *Liber celi et mundi* there is no reference to Atlas and the attribution of the original to Ḥunayn is still doubtful at the current state of research.⁵⁶⁴

Finally, it should be noted that Aristotle refers to the poets and their descriptions of Atlas as a supporter of the heavens also in *Metaph.* Δ 23, 1023a 19-21 = ref. 6 (p. 280, καὶ ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Ἄτλαντα ποιοῦσι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχειν ὡς συμπεσόντ' ἄν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν). In this passage, however, it is said generically that Atlas holds up (ἔχειν; rendered in Arabic through the possessive construction with *li-*) and not that he carries the heavens (that should be expressed through the root *h-m-l*). In any case, Ḥunayn may also have had in mind these lines from the *Metaph.*, since some of books of this work had been translated by his son Ishāq, but it seems less likely in the absence of precise textual correspondences.

2.

Γ 1, 298b 24-29

Ἔτεροι δὲ τινες ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τὴν ἐναντίαν τούτοις ἔσχον δόξαν. Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἳ φασιν οὐθὲν ἀγένητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι, γενόμενα δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄφθαρτα διαμένειν, τὰ δὲ πάλιν φθειρέσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περὶ Ἡσίοδου, εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογήσαντες.

⁵⁵⁹ Flügel 1871-1872, I 250.30-251.1 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 168.5-6 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 35, Dodge 1970, 603 (Engl.).

⁵⁶⁰ Glasner 1996, 92.

⁵⁶¹ See Endress 2017b, 224 which reports two other titles taken from the list of Ḥunayn's works transmitted in the *Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, that could be identified with the *Sixteen Questions*: the *Ġawāmi' kitāb al-samā' wa-l-'ālam* (*Summaria of the Book on the Heaven and the world*), and the *Ġawāmi' tafsīr al-quḍamā' al-yūnāniyyūn li-kitāb Aristūṭālīs fi l-samā' wa-l-'ālam* (*Compendium of the comments of the ancient Greeks on Aristotle's book On the Heaven and the World*). See Savage-Smith, Swain, van Gelder 2020, ch. 8.29 (nn. 62 and 103 of the works' list).

⁵⁶² See Gutman's edition and his introduction: Gutman 2003, ix-xvii. The Latin version was later translated into Hebrew, Gutman 2003, xi-xii.

⁵⁶³ Gutman 2003, xiii-xvii; Endress 2017b, 225.

⁵⁶⁴ Glasner 1996, 92-93; Endress 2017b, 225.

Samā' Badawī 307.3-8

ومنهم من خالف هؤلاء الخلاف كله كأنه تعمد ذلك فقال إن الأشياء كلها مكوّنة وليس شيء من الأشياء غير مكوّن البتّة، إلا أنّها ما تكون ولا تقع تحت الفساد، ولكنّها تبقى دائماً ومنها ما يفسد ويفنى كقول إسودس وأصحابه وأناس آخرين من الطبيعيين الذين تفلسفوا في الأشياء الطبيعيّة أولاً.

CONTEXT:

At the beginning of Γ 1 Aristotle undertakes the investigation of the four sublunary elements – the two light elements, air and fire, and the two heavy elements, earth and water –⁵⁶⁵ and addresses the question of coming to be and passing away, preliminarily reviewing the doctrines of his predecessors. Hesiod is mentioned as the leader of those (οἱ περὶ Ἡσίοδον) who believe – along with those who first speculated on nature (εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογήσαντες) – that among things there is nothing that is not generated (οὐθὲν ἀγένητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων) and that everything is generated (ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι), of which some things remain incorruptible (τὰ μὲν ἀφθαρτα διαμένειν) while other things become corrupted (τὰ δὲ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι). According to Simplicius Hesiod expresses this position in *Theog.* 116 «Foremost of all things Chaos came to be» (cf. *Phys.* Δ 1, 208b 29-33 = ref. 2, pp. 227-229, where Aristotle quotes this same line), while others alluded to in this passage are Orpheus and Musaeus and their followers. But all of them, adds Simplicius, use myths to discuss divine matters (διὰ μύθων οὗτοι θεολογοῦντες).⁵⁶⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation adheres to the Greek (noteworthy is the inversion of the phrases οὐθὲν ἀγένητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων and πάντα γίνεσθαι in the Arabic rendering) and is accurate: «Others take a completely opposite position to those as if they did so on purpose and maintain that all things are generated and nothing is at all ingenerate. However, some are generated and do not fall into corruption, but remain eternal, and some are corrupted and destroyed, as what Hesiod and his companions and the other naturalist philosophers who first speculated on natural matters said».

⁵⁶⁵ Jori 2009, 480.

⁵⁶⁶ Simpl. *In Aristotelis de caelo commentaria*: CAG VII, 560.16-27, Heiberg, translated in Mueller 2009, 34-35. On the reference to Hesiod in this passage of the *Cael.* see also Santoro 2020, 431-432.

2.3.2.3 *Meteorologica* (*Mete.*)

Aristotle's *Meteorologica* is known in Arabic through two adaptations produced in the 9th cent., being two Arabic translations of a Greek paraphrastic compendium of the Aristotelian work, either of which possibly derived from an earlier Syriac version, though many aspects of the question of their origin remain unresolved.⁵⁶⁷ The first Arabic compendium is ascribed to Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq and has been edited three times (Badawī 1961; Petraitis 1967; Schoonheim 2000, along with the 12th-cent. Latin version by Gerard of Cremona). The analysis of the underlying references is conducted starting by the most recent edition, which is a revision of that of Badawī (who used only one of the two MSS) and that of Petraitis, in which Schoonheim found some shortcomings.⁵⁶⁸ The second version is the compendium attributed to Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, published in 1975 by Hans Daiber. In the introduction to the volume, the latter addresses important issues concerning not only Ḥunayn's text itself but also its relations to the Greek tradition and to Ibn al-Biṭrīq's abridgment. First, he ascertains that Ḥunayn's work is not an original composition by the translator, but a version from a Greek *Vorlage*, and the attribution to Ḥunayn is accepted although it cannot be conclusively proven on stylistic and linguistic grounds.⁵⁶⁹ Even more important is the conclusion he reaches regarding the Greek origin of the two Arabic versions. According to Daiber, the compendia by Ḥunayn and Ibn al-Biṭrīq are two independent translations of two separate recensions of the same abridgment of Aristotle's *Mete.* Ibn al-Biṭrīq's version reproduces the *Langfassung*, while Ḥunayn's reproduces a *Kurzfassung*. Moreover, he hypothesises that the composition of this Greek compendium is a *Schulprodukt* of the late Peripatos and traces therein influences of Middle Stoicism.⁵⁷⁰ In addition, Schoonheim notes that in Ibn al-Biṭrīq's text «it may be assumed that the Arabs themselves added to the subject matter, in this connection the text represents a further development from earlier versions».⁵⁷¹

Since both Arabic texts are a paraphrastic compendium of the *Mete.*, naturally they do not coincide with the Aristotelian text verbatim, but abbreviate it in some parts and expand it in others by adding interpolations,⁵⁷² and, consequently, omit some of the references to poetry contained in the Greek original. Ḥunayn's *Kurzfassung* contains none, while Ibn al-Biṭrīq's compendium preserves two, a nominal quotation from Homer and an allusive reference to Hesiod. The reference to the Trojan War at 352a 9-10 is not given in either version.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁷ See Schoonheim 2000, xv for Ibn al-Biṭrīq's compendium. The scholar points out that the presence of alleged Syriacism is not a probative sign that the Arabic version was carried out from Syriac. See Daiber 1975, 15 for both compendia, in particular for Ḥunayn's. The *Kitāb al-Fihrist* tells anything specific of the translator(s) or adaptor(s) of Aristotle's treatise. See Flügel 1871-1872, I 251.8-10 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 169.3-5 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 39, Dodge 1970, 604 (Engl.).

⁵⁶⁸ Schoonheim 2000, xxviii.

⁵⁶⁹ Daiber 1975, 4-6.

⁵⁷⁰ Daiber 1975, 6-17.

⁵⁷¹ Schoonheim 2000, xv-xvi (and n. 8 where he gives a specific example).

⁵⁷² Daiber 1975, 7-10.

⁵⁷³ Moraitou 1994, 136 also points out B 2, 356a 18 = Aeschylus F 335 Radt and B 6, 364b 13 = fr. com. adesp. 1229 Kock, which, however, should be considered as mere parallels and not as actual poetic references.

Aristotle's *Mete.* is cited in the edition by Francis H. Fobes, *Aristotelis meteorologicorum libri quattuor*, Cambridge, Mass. 1919 (repr. Hildesheim 1967). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker's edition.

1.

A 14, 351b 34-352a 3

Καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἢ Αἴγυπτος Θῆβαι καλούμεναι. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος, οὕτως πρόσφατος ὢν ὡς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας μεταβολάς· ἐκείνου γὰρ τοῦ τόπου ποιεῖται μνείαν ὡς οὐπω Μέμφιος οὔσης ἢ ὄλως ἢ οὐ τηλικαύτης. τοῦτο δ' εἰκὸς οὕτω συμβαίνειν·

***Mete.* Schoonheim 55.423-425**

وقد كانت مصر تُسمّى أوّلاً بغير هذا الاسم، كان اسمها ثيبة، أخبرنا بذلك أوميروس الشاعر ولم يخبر بجميع حالاتها لأنّه لم يدرك جميع التغيرات التي حدثت فيها إلى زماننا هذا.

CONTEXT:

In describing the long processes by which some regions of the world dry up and others grow wet, the example of Egypt is cited. Evidently this land is the result of deposits of the River Nile and has undergone a progressive desiccation, which at first, with the drying of marshy areas, has allowed the formation of the first settlements. However, as for other similar phenomena in other parts of the planet, man has been unable to preserve the memory of this process because its duration extends far beyond the span of human life. Nevertheless, Aristotle adds, some traces of this still remain in the fact that all the mouths of the Nile, except that of Canopus, are man-made and not natural, and that in ancient times Egypt was called Thebes (καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἢ Αἴγυπτος Θῆβαι καλούμεναι). The Greek text continues as follows: «Homer's evidence proves this last point, though in relation to such changes he is comparatively modern: for he mentions the country as though Memphis either did not exist as yet at all or at any rate were not a place of its present importance. And it is quite likely that this was in fact so».⁵⁷⁴ With these words Aristotle means that, when Homer speaks of Egypt, he mentions Thebes (*Il.* I 381-382, *Od.* Δ 126-127), a city far south of the Nile delta, and not the cities that rose on the delta, such as Memphis.⁵⁷⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The passage is paraphrased in Arabic vaguely enough, but the outcome is not far from the original meaning: «Anciently, Egypt was called not by this name, and its name was Thebes.

⁵⁷⁴ Lee 1952, 111.

⁵⁷⁵ Louis 1982, I 112; Sanz Morales 1994, 70; Pepe 2003, 228 n. 81.

We are informed of this by the poet Homer, who does not report all its positions because he does not understand all the changes that have taken place in it up to this time of ours».

2.

B 1, 353a 34-b 5

οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι καὶ διατρίβοντες περὶ τὰς θεολογίας ποιούσιν αὐτῆς πηγᾶς, ἴν' αὐτοῖς ὦσιν ἀρχαὶ καὶ ῥίζαι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης· τραγικώτερον γὰρ οὕτω καὶ σεμνότερον ὑπέλαβον ἴσως εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον, ὡς μέγα τι τοῦ παντός τοῦτο μόνιον ὄν· καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον περὶ τοῦτον συνεστάναι τὸν τόπον καὶ τούτου χάριν ὡς ὄντα τιμιώτατον καὶ ἀρχήν.

***Mete.* Schoonheim 61.467-470**

وقد قال بعض القوم الذين نظروا في العلم اللهيّ والأمر السماوية إنّ البحر ينبع من الفلك فيه أصله وابتدأه، وقد أحسنوا النظر في ذلك. ثمّ قالوا إنّ منتهى الفلك عند منتهاه وذلك لفضل هذا الموضع.

CONTEXT:

Aristotle opens chapter B 1 by announcing the discussion of the sea and polemically recalling the theories of those among the ancients who dealt with theology. These, in fact, argued that the sea had sources (ποιούσιν αὐτῆς πηγᾶς) and that therefore, like the earth, it had origins and roots (ἴν' αὐτοῖς ὦσιν ἀρχαὶ καὶ ῥίζαι γῆς καὶ θαλάττης). By understanding the sea this way, they equated it with the earth with the effect of giving greater dramatic force and importance to what they were advocating (τραγικώτερον γὰρ οὕτω καὶ σεμνότερον ὑπέλαβον ἴσως εἶναι τὸ λεγόμενον), namely that the earth is a great part of the universe (ὡς μέγα τι τοῦ παντός τοῦτο μόνιον ὄν), the most precious and a principle of it (ὡς ὄντα τιμιώτατον καὶ ἀρχήν), while all the rest of the heavens formed around this place and did so for its sake (καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον περὶ τοῦτον συνεστάναι τὸν τόπον καὶ τούτου χάριν). This theory will be refuted further on at 353b 17sq. Commentators agree in recognising among οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι καὶ διατρίβοντες περὶ τὰς θεολογίας Hesiod and those who followed him, similarly to other works in the *Corpus Aristotelicum* (see *Metaph.* refs. 3 and 12, 13). Alexander of Aphrodisias was already of this opinion, writing in the *In Mete.* 66.13-15 «he defines theologians those who profess to deal with the gods, among whom are Homer, Orpheus and Hesiod, who also composed a *Theogony*». Indeed, scholars have found two of Hesiod's passages that might have been alluded to here, *Theog.* 282 (Ὠκεανὸς παρὰ πηγᾶς), *Theog.* 727-728 (...γῆς ῥίζαι...καὶ...θαλάττης) and *Theog.* 787-792.⁵⁷⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The passage is very briefly paraphrased as follows: «Some of those who have investigated divine science and celestial matters assert that the sea rises from the celestial sphere, in which

⁵⁷⁶ Gilbert 1907, 400 n. 1; Lee 1952, 123; Louis 1982, I 113; Pepe 2003, 228 n. 1.

there are its root and its beginning. And they are right in believing this. Then they affirm that the utmost limit of the celestial sphere coincides with its limit, and this is for the excellence of this place».

2.3.2.4 Zoological writings

Of Aristotle's zoological writings, the Arabic versions of the *Historia animalium* (HA), the *De partibus animalium* (PA) and the *De generatione animalium* (GA) are preserved in a collective 19-book work entitled *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, that in the extant MSS is arranged as follows: HA (books 1-10; edited by L.S. Filius in 2019), PA (books 11-14; edited by R. Kruk in 1979), GA (books 15-19; edited by J. Brugman and H.J. Drossaart Lulofs in 1971). As for the *De Motu Animalium* and the *De Incessu Animalium*, no MS containing their Arabic versions has so far turned up, and, apparently, they have not been translated with the rest of Aristotle's zoology.⁵⁷⁷

Not only did the Arabic HA, PA and GA circulate as a unified whole labelled *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, but their distinct linguistic affinities indicate that they are the product of the same translator. The identification of the latter poses several problems. All scholars agree that he is not Ibn al-Baṭrīq, as reported by Ibn al-Nadīm.⁵⁷⁸ Endress, who first challenged the account of the *Fihrist*, proposed the name of Uṣṭāt, after observing some similarities between the terminology and translation technique of the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and that of Uṣṭāt's version of the *Metaph.*⁵⁷⁹ On the other hand, Drossaart Lulofs more cautiously suggested that it was authored by an anonymous translator and Kruk, the editor of the Arabic PA, does not take a definitive position on this.⁵⁸⁰ The attribution to Uṣṭāt though seems to be the most convincing, and has been endorsed by Ullmann, in the light of his analysis of the translation of Books 5-10 (= E-K) of the EN, as well as by Filius, editor of the Arabic version of HA. Despite numerous Syriacisms and despite Ibn al-Nadīm's mention of a Syriac version in addition to the Arabic, nothing points unequivocally to a Syriac 'intermediary'.⁵⁸¹

Due to two lacunae in the Arabic version of the HA, one at the end of Book Five (= E, 550a 9-558b 7) and the other at the end of Book Six (= Z, 576a 3-588a 15),⁵⁸² two poetic references have not been analysed, namely the testimonium on Alcman at 557a 1-3 and the quotation from Homer at 578a 32-b 2.

A peculiarity in the rendering of poetic references in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* is the frequent addition of epithets to the transliteration of the proper nouns of Greek authorities cited by Aristotle. While in the case of Homer the addition of the qualification *al-šā'ir* is systematic (refs. HA 1, 7-10, 15-17; GA 4), in other cases the identification as a poet is much rarer (Musaeus in ref. HA 6; Hesiod in ref. HA 13). More often, however, poets are generically referred to as *al-*

⁵⁷⁷ HA Filius 4 n. 8.

⁵⁷⁸ Flügel 1871-1872, I 251.21 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 170.10 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 47, Dodge 1970, 605 (Engl.).

⁵⁷⁹ Endress 1966, 113-115.

⁵⁸⁰ See GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 1-37; PA Kruk 9-31.

⁵⁸¹ All these aspects are briefly outlined by Filius in his edition's introduction: HA Filius 8-14; See also EN Ullmann 15-56.

⁵⁸² As these same lacunae are also found in Michael Scotus' Arabic-Latin version, Filius posits that these sections were never translated into Arabic, HA Filius 5.

ḥakīm/al-hukamā' (refs. HA 4, 18; PA 1; GA 2; cf. ref. HA 5). Oddly enough, the title *al-šā'ir* is also attributed to Alcmaeon, mentioned by Aristotle at line 492a 14 (= HA Filius 124), but the latter is Alcmaeon of Croton a natural philosopher and physician of the early 5th cent. BCE, who on the basis of the preserved fragments and evidence does not seem to have written in verse. Alcmaeon is also mentioned further on at 581a 16 (= HA Filius 360), where neither *al-šā'ir* nor any other qualification is added.⁵⁸³ The origin of the misattribution of the definition *al-šā'ir* at 492a 14 is not easy to trace at first glance. Three hypotheses can be formulated: a) the translator may have confused Alcmaeon with the Spartan poet Alcman (quoted at HA 557a 1-3, where the Arabic has a gap); b) the error may have been induced by a marginal scholium containing a poetic reference as *locus parallelus*; c) Alcmaeon of Croton may have been mistaken for a homonymous poet, as Huffman speculates to explain the account that Alcmaeon of Croton was the first to compose animal fables.⁵⁸⁴

Aristotle's HA is cited in the edition by Pierre Louis: Aristote, *Histoire des animaux. Texte établi et traduit par P. Louis*, 3 vols., Paris 1964-1969. Aristotle's PA is cited in the edition by Pierre Louis: Aristote, *Les parties des animaux. Texte établi et traduit par P. Louis*, Paris 1956. Aristotle's GA is cited in the edition by Hendrik J. Drossaart Lulofs, *Aristotelis de generatione animalium*, Oxford 1965 (repr. 1972). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker's edition.

2.3.2.4.1 *Historia animalium* (HA)

1.

Γ 3, 513b 26-28

ἦν καὶ Ὀμηρός ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἶρηκε ποιήσας “ἀπὸ δὲ φλέβα πᾶσαν ἔκερσεν, ἣ τ’ ἀνὰ νῶτα θέουσα διαμπερές ἀυχέν’ ἰκάνει”.

HA Filius 57 (= 167)

وهو العرق الذي ذكر أوميرس الشاعر في بعض أبيات شعره وقال إن الذي ضرب صاحبه بالسيف في الحرب قطع ذلك العرق كله وهو العرق الذي يمرّ بالظهر وينتهي إلى العنق. فهذا قول أميروس الشاعر في هذا العرق

CONTEXT:

In the description of the vasculature within the anatomy section of HA (I 7–IV 7) Homer is mentioned in regard to the testimony he offers on the *vena cava*, which Aristotle defines as «that vessel which extends to the vertebra of the neck and the backbone» and that «stretches back again along the backbone».⁵⁸⁵ In fact, in battle Antilochus slays Thoön by cutting off his

⁵⁸³ In this occurrence there is also a textual problem in the transliteration of the proper noun, as *alqmayūn* is an emendation by Filius based on the previous case at 492a 14.

⁵⁸⁴ Huffman 2017.

⁵⁸⁵ Thompson 1910, *ad loc.*

vena cava as related in the lines quoted: «he wholly severed the vein that, running along the back, extends up to the neck» (*Il.* N 546-547).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, incomplete distich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic text reads: «And this is the vein that Homer the poet mentions in some lines of his poetry. He says: "that one who struck his companion with the sword cut this vein wholly. This is the vein that runs along the back and extends up to the neck". This is the saying of Homer the poet about this vein». The translator follows the Greek carefully and adds some elements. The personal pronoun *h̄n* is correctly rendered as *huwa l-'irqu lladī*, and Homer is qualified as *al-šā'ir* both in the introductory sentence and in the final comment, the latter being another addition to the Greek wording. The phrase opening the quotation «that one who struck his companion with the sword» might be either an addition by the translator based on the context or the rendering of a gloss in the Greek MS and then included in the Arabic version. The wording is close to the first part of *Il.* N 546 οὐτασ' ἐπαΐξας, «he struck him with a wound», omitted in Aristotle's quotation.

2.

Γ 12, 519a 19-20

διὸ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον φασὶν ἀντὶ Σκαμάνδρου Ξάνθον προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν.

HA Filius 67 (= 177)

—

CONTEXT:

Aristotle reports that the waters of certain rivers can cause a change in the colour of the hair of those animals that drink from them. For instance, the river Scamander is believed to turn the coats of lambs yellow. For this reason, it is said, Homer has named it Xanthos ("Yellow" river) instead of Scamander. The reference alludes to *Il.* Y 74 (ὄν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον).⁵⁸⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated paraphrastic quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Omission.

3.

Γ 21, 522b 23-25

⁵⁸⁶ See Louis 1964-1969, I 98 n. 5.

Μέγιστοι δ' οἱ τε βόες εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τὰ καλούμενα Πυρρική, τὴν ἔπωνυμίαν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ βασιλέως.

HA Filius 75 (= 185)

وفيهما أغنام عظيمة الجثث تُسمّى باليونانية بورخا من قبل اسم برس الملك الذي اتخذها.

CONTEXT:

When discussing milk production, which is all the greater the greater the size of the animal, Aristotle reviews large quadrupeds, including the so-called Pyrrhic sheep, named after King Pyrrhus. The latter is the other name of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles and Deidamia, Achaean warrior in the expedition to Troy and mythical ancestor of the kings of Epirus.⁵⁸⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Fī-hā is referred to *tilka l-balada* (= ἡ χώρα) in the previous sentence. οἱ τε βόες is missing in the translation. The noun ἔπωνυμία is broken down into ἐπί (*min qibali*)⁵⁸⁸ and ὄνομα (*ism*). The addition *bi-l-yūnānīyati* is quite common in the Arabic version of HA especially in the expression *alladī yusammā bi-l-yūnānīyati* used to introduce transliterations.⁵⁸⁹ It is not clear whether the phrase *alladī ittaḥada-hā* is an addition by the translator or corresponds to ἔχοντα, where the participle is read as a genitive form referred to Πύρρου τοῦ βασιλέως.

4.

E 8, 542b 7-10

καθάπερ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ὡς ὁπότεν χειμέριον κατὰ μῆνα πινύσκη Ζεὺς ἦμαατα τεσσαρακαίδεκα, λαθάνεμόν τέ μιν ὥραν καλέουσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι, ἱεράν παιδοτρόφον ποικίλας ἀλκυόνος.

HA Filius 113 (= 223)

كما ذكر سيمونيدس الحكيم في كتابه.

⁵⁸⁷ The adjective *πυρρικός* occurs also in Θ 7, 595b 18 to designate a cattle breed (*Πυρρικός βοῦς*) without any reference to the mythical king. Here the term is transliterated in a different way (see HA Filius 285). An analogous case is the Achillean sponge, mentioned in 548b 2 and 21, where the adjective Ἀχιλλεῖος is simply transliterated (see HA Filius 234, 235).

⁵⁸⁸ The employment of *min qibali* for the preposition ἐπί is rare; see for instance Ps.-Plut. *Placita Philosophorum* II 4, 2 330a 18 in Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's translation (ed. Daiber 1980, 140) and Galen *Quod animi mores corp. temp. sequ. An. Virt.* 48.11 Müller in Ḥubayš' translation (ed. Biesterfeldt 1973, 21.19).

⁵⁸⁹ See HA Filius 30.

CONTEXT:

In contrast to other birds that pair and breed in spring and early summer, halcyons mate in the period of the winter solstice. Hence, if in the seven days before and in the seven days after the winter solstice the weather is good, this time of year is called *halcyon days* (542b 1-7). The quotation of Simonides, taken from an epinicion for a five-event-champion, addresses precisely those days in the following terms: «as when in the winter month Zeus admonishes fourteen days, and mortals call it the holy season which forgets the winds, the season of child-rearing for the dappled halcyon»⁵⁹⁰ (fr. 3 Page [PMG 508]).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, incomplete polystich (but Aristotle is the only source for this fragment).

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The sentence introducing the poetry quotation and containing the name of the poet is rendered into Arabic, while the poetic lines are omitted and replaced by a generic reference *fī kitābihī* («in his book»). Noteworthy is the designation of Simonides as *al-ḥakīm*, «the sage», attributed also to Herodotus (523a 17 = HA Filius 185), Herodorus father of the sophist Bryson (563a 7 = HA Filius 245; 615a 10 = HA Filius 325; but in both cases the adjective might be referred to Bryson given the ambiguity of the *idāfa* construction),⁵⁹¹ Aeschylus (633a 18 = HA Filius 359). The plural *baʿḍ al-ḥukamāʾ*, «some sages», is used to conceal the name of the poet Stesichorus (see the following reference).

The adverb *καθάπερ* is rendered as *ka-mā*.

5.

E 9, 542b 24-25

διὸ καὶ Στησίχορος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐμνήσθη περὶ αὐτῆς.

HA Filius 113 (= 223)

كما ذكر بعض الحكماء.

CONTEXT:

The generic testimonium on Stesichorus concerns again the halcyon, an extremely rare bird to spot, as Aristotle remarks: «It is seen only about the time of the setting of the Pleiads and the winter solstice, when ships are lying at anchor in the roads, it will hover about a vessel and then disappear in a moment, and Stesichorus in one of his poems alludes to this

⁵⁹⁰ English translation: Campell 1991, II 373. On the popularity of the halcyon in the poetic context see Epstein 2019, 281.

⁵⁹¹ The form *al-ḥakam* in 563a 7 (HA Filius 245) must be a misprint, since all the references to this passage in the final glossary bear *al-ḥakīm* (see HA Filius 389, 404, 435, 480). In 615a 10 the adjective might be grammatically referred to Herodorus (HA Filius 325).

peculiarity»⁵⁹² (fr. 71 Page [PMG 248]). The poetry line(s) alluded here by Aristotle has not come down to us.⁵⁹³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The content of the reference, including the poet's name, is omitted and replaced by the generic expression «as some sages said».

The connector διὸ is rendered as *ka-mā*.

6.

Z 6, 563 a 17-19

‘Ο δ’ ἀετὸς ᾧὰ μὲν τίκτει τρία, ἐκλέπει δὲ τούτων τὰ δύο, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μουσαίου λεγομένοις ἔπεσιν, “ὅς τρία μὲν τίκτει, δύο δ’ ἐκλέπει, ἐν δ’ ἀλεγιζει”.

HA Filius 136 (= 246)

فأما العقاب فهو يبيض ثلث بيضات ويخرج من ذلك البيض فرخين فقط ويدع البيضة الواحدة كما يزعم
موساس الشاعر.

CONTEXT:

Concerning the eagle (ὁ ἀετὸς) Aristotle stated that it «lays three eggs and hatches two of them, as it is said in the verses ascribed to the semi-mythic poet Musaeus: “that lays three, hatches two, and cares for one”»⁵⁹⁴ (98F Bernabé).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Since Aristotle's statement (‘Ο δ’ ἀετὸς ᾧὰ μὲν τίκτει τρία, ἐκλέπει δὲ τούτων τὰ δύο) and the poetry quotation as such (ὅς τρία μὲν τίκτει, δύο δ’ ἐκλέπει, ἐν δ’ ἀλεγιζει) have an almost identical wording, the translator renders both together as follows: «regarding the eagle it lays three eggs, hatches and gives birth to two young eagles from these eggs and lays down one egg, as the poet Musaeus claims». The quotation is not omitted in the strict sense and Musaeus is qualified as *al-šā'ir*. The translation of the verb ἀλεγιζει is faulty.

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated with *ka-mā*.

⁵⁹² Thompson 1910, *ad loc.*

⁵⁹³ Most commentators follow Schneider's conjecture, that in Stesichorus' poem the alcyon had appeared to the Argonauts before they left the harbour. See most recently Epstein 2019, 284.

⁵⁹⁴ Thompson 1910, *ad loc.*

7.

Z 20, 574b 33-575a 1

διὸ καὶ Ὀμηρον οἶονται τινες ὀρθῶς ποιῆσαι τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει ἀποθανόντα τὸν κύνα τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως.

HA Filius 159 (= 269)

ولذلك يزعمون أنّ أميروس الشاعر أصاب حيث قال في شعره إنّ كلب أدسوس هلك وهو ابن عشرين

سنة.

CONTEXT:

Chapter Z 20 is entirely centred on the dog. Since female dogs of some breeds can live up to 20 years (574b 31-33), Homer's account seems plausible. By mentioning Odysseus' dog and his death at the age of 20, Aristotle alludes to the famous lines *Od.* ρ 326-327 «But as for Argus, the fate of black death seized him, / once he had seen Odysseus in the twentieth year».⁵⁹⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated paraphrastic quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The version is accurate. It should be noted that the dative τῷ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει is rendered with a paratactic clause («Odysseus' dog died and he was 20 years old»). Homer is qualified as «the poet» (*al-šā'ir*) and the verb ποιῆσαι is rendered as *qāla fi šī'rihi*.

The conjunction διὸ = *li-dālika*.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

This passage is reported in the *Tenth Night* of the *Kitāb al-Imtā' wa-l-Mu'ānasa* by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (m. 414/1023), whose central theme is zoology. The Arabic translation of the HA constitutes precisely one of the main sources consulted by al-Tawḥīdī for the writing of this chapter, and it is certainly from it that the reference to Homer is drawn, given its almost *verbatim* correspondence with our passage.⁵⁹⁶

قال أميروس الشاعر إنّ كلب إديوس هلك وهو ابن عشرين سنة.

8., 9.

Z 21, 575b 4-7

διὸ καὶ Ὀμηρόν φασι πεποιημέναι τινὲς ὀρθῶς ποιήσαντα ἄρσενά πενταέτηρον καὶ τὸ βόδι ἐννεώροιο· δύνασθαι γὰρ ταῦτόν.

⁵⁹⁵ Murray 1919, 179.

⁵⁹⁶ Arabic text in Amīn, Zayn (undated), I 164.3. The whole chapter has been analysed and translated into English in Kopf 1956.

HA Filius 160-161 (= 270-271)

ولذلك يمدح بعض الناس أوميرس الشاعر حيث قال في شعره إنَّ بعض من قرب قربانًا ذبح ثورًا ابن

خمس سنين.

CONTEXT:

In this chapter revolving around cattle reproduction Aristotle informs that the bull reaches maximum strength at five years of age. «For this reason, some say that Homer was right in writing “a five-year-old male” and “nine-season bull”, since they have the same meaning». Vegetti explains the references in the following terms: «I commentatori hanno dato varie interpretazioni di questo passo. A mio avviso il significato è questo: Omero parla di animali sacrificati (di 5 anni *Il.* II, 403; VII, 315; *Od.* XIX, 420; di 9 anni *Od.* X, 19), quindi nell’eccellenza delle forze. Perché ora 5, ora 9? Perché è lungo tutto questo periodo che il bue raggiunge il suo fiore. AW [sc. Aubert, Wimmer, *Aristoteles Thierkunde*] sostengono invece che vi è qui equivalenza fra 9 stagioni (estati e inverni) e 4 anni e mezzo, quindi le due espressioni omeriche indicherebbero la stessa età. Si tratta comunque di un interessante esempio dell’acribia con la quale veniva condotta la critica omerica».⁵⁹⁷ In particular, the first quotation, ἄρσενα πενταέτηρον, matches the wording of *Il.* H 315 and *Od.* τ 420, while the syntagma βoδς ἐννεώροιο *Od.* κ 19.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit author’s serial literal quotations, incomplete monostichs.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

By using the Arabic *yamdahu* for πεποιηκέναι...ὀρθῶς the translator manages to grasp the meaning of the Greek expression («some men praise Homer the poet») and similarly to the previous reference the verb ποιήσαντα is correctly rendered as *haytu qāla fī šī’rihī*. Once again, this epithet accompanies the name Homer. For the Greek ἄρσενα πενταέτηρον the Arabic reads «some of those who offered a sacrifice slaughtered a five-year-old bull». The addition is apparently due to an interpolated gloss, which perhaps referred to the sacrifices described in *Il.* H 315sq. and *Od.* τ 420sq. The rest of the passage (καὶ τὸ “βοδς...ταύτόν”) is missing in Arabic.

10.

H 4, 585 a 13-14

καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ἴφικλέα καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα μυθολογοῦσιν.

HA Filius 258 (= 368)

كما يُذكر المثل عن إفيقلوس وإراقولوس

⁵⁹⁷ Lanza, Vegetti 2018, 583.

CONTEXT:

The mythical episode of Heracles and Iphicles offers an example of dizygotic twins born as a result of superfetation, the phenomenon described by Aristotle in these lines. Women (like mares and other animals predisposed to superfetation, e.g. hares) can be impregnated again, even if they have already conceived. Only in rare cases, if the second conception occurs close to the first one, they succeed in carrying a double pregnancy to term and have twin births. As related by Hesiod in *The Shield* 1-56, Heracles and Iphicles were generated the same night: first Alcmaena conceived Heracles with Zeus, then she generated Iphicles with her husband Amphitryon, returned from war.⁵⁹⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Καθάπερ is rendered as *ka-mā*. The verb μυθολογοῦσιν (+ accusative) is translated as *yadkuru l-matalu* (+ 'an).

11.

H 6, 585b 22-24

οἶον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μυθολογεῖται, ὃς ἐν δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τέκνοις
θυγατέρα μίαν ἐγέννησεν.

HA Filius 259 (= 369)

ويُقال مثل من الأمثال إنه وُلد لأراقلوس اثنان وسبعون ولدًا كلهم ذكورة ما خلا أنتى واحدة.

CONTEXT:

Still on the subject of human reproduction, Aristotle refers to the propensity of both men and women to procreate either males or females. He mentions the case of Heracles, who according to myth had 72 male children and only one daughter. The latter is Macaria, who figures in Euripides' *Heraclides* (though her name never appears in the tragedy and is inferred from the *hypothesis*).⁵⁹⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translator does not transfer into Arabic the comparative meaning of οἶον...μυθολογεῖται but employs a partitive expression: «one of the myths [*matal, amtāl*] narrates [*lit. passive*]». The rendering of the syntagma κατὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους is misplaced, with the following outcome:

⁵⁹⁸ Balme 1991, 449; see Most 2018b, 3-7.

⁵⁹⁹ See Thompson 1910, *ad loc.*; Aubert, Wimmer 1868, II 357; Louis 1964-1969, II 147.

«that he [Heracles?] generated to Heracles [understood as a female name?] 72 children, all male, except for one female». The term θυγατέρα is more generally translated as *'untā*.

*12.

Θ 12, 597a 6-9

οὐ καὶ λέγονται τοῖς Πυγμαίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν γένος μικρὸν μὲν, ὥσπερ λέγεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι, τραγλοδύται δ' εἰσὶ τὸν βίον.

HA Filius 178 (= 288)

وفيما يُقال هنالك يقاتل الرجال الذين قامات أجسادهم قدر ذراع. وليس هذا القول مثلاً، بل هناك بالحقيقة جنس من أجناس الناس صغير القامة كما يُقال وخيلهم أيضاً كمثل ومساكن اولائك الاسراب والحجرة وفيها يأوي جميع عمرهم

CONTEXT:

Among the factors that influence animal behavior are seasonal changes and the resulting variations in temperature, which cause certain birds to migrate. These include cranes making a long journey from the Scythian plains to the marshes of Upper Egypt, where the Nile flows (596b 23-597a 4). In this region, Aristotle adds, it is said that they attack the Pygmies. «For they are no myth, but there truly exists a kind that is small, as reported—both the people and their horses—and they spend their life in caves».⁶⁰⁰ Aristotle here affirms the concrete and not merely legendary existence of a population of short men, as well as their horses. Commentators point out that the term Pygmies is used here in the proper sense, to designate a γένος, i.e. a category of individuals, a people. On the contrary, in GA B 749a 4-6 οἱ πυγμαῖοι refers to individuals whose short stature is due to a deformation of the limbs as a result of problems during gestation.⁶⁰¹ If one follows the reading of most MSS ἐπιχειρεῖν (instead of the alternative reading κατοικοῦσιν, corrected in κατέχουσιν in one MS) the passage alludes to the *geranomachía*, the battle between cranes, that used to attack pygmy people, and the latter, who destroyed the cranes' nests as a retaliation. The mythical episode is recalled by Homer in *Il.* Γ 3-7 – where Trojan soldiers are compared to birds –, but as Schnieders reports: «Es ist nicht haltbar, daß der homerische Text die (alleinige) Quelle für Aristoteles gewesen sei, wie Körner 1931, 200f. meint, weil dieser sehr genau das Verhalten der Kraniche beschreibe und nur Homer in der Troas Gelegenheit zur Autopsie gehabt haben könne. Die Berücksichtigung des Homertextes schließt eigene Beobachtungen oder Informationsquellen jedoch nicht aus».⁶⁰²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

⁶⁰⁰ Balme 1991, 133.

⁶⁰¹ Balme 1991, 133; Bloch 2006.

⁶⁰² Schnieders 2019, 504; see Janni 1978, 35-37. According to Schnieders 2019, 505: «ein Relikt der Geranomachie ist vielleicht die in Hist. an. IX 12.615 b 16ff. beschriebene Kampfbereitschaft der Kraniche untereinander».

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic version is accurate and reads: «In this place it is said that men whose bodies are the height of a cubit fight, and this saying is not a legend, but here in truth there is a category of men short in stature, as it is said, and also their horses, as those live together in holes and caves and here they retire for their entire life». One may observe the use of *maṭal* for translating μῦθος and the periphrasis rendering τοῖς Πυγμαίοις (the Greek πυγμαῖος is rendered in a similar way also in GA 749a 4 = GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 95: *al-riḡālu l-qišāru lladīna aḡsāmuhum qadra dirā'in*) and τρωγλοδύται (cf. another periphrasis used at HA 610a 12 = HA Filius 314).

13.

Θ 18, 601b 1-3

ἀλλ' Ἡσίοδος ἡγνόει τοῦτο· πεποίηκε γὰρ τὸν τῆς μαντείας πρόεδρον ἀετὸν ἐν τῇ διηγῆσει τῇ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου πίνοντα.

1 Ἡσίοδος] Ἡρόδοτος D^a

HA Filius 187 (= 297)

وقد جهل ذلك أسيودوس الشاعر فإنه زعم في شعره أن العقاب المتقدم في دلالة الرجز يشرب ماء وإنما ذكر هذا الذكر في كتابه الذي كتب في حصار المدن

CONTEXT:

Chapter Θ 18 describes the influence of climatic conditions on animals. If birds in general drink little (so rainy seasons can be bad for them), birds of prey do not drink at all, «though Hesiod appears to have been ignorant of the fact, for in his story about the siege of Ninus he represents the eagle that presided over the auguries as in the act of drinking».⁶⁰³ The name Hesiod is attested only by part of the MS tradition, whereas in the other witnesses the reference is attributed to the historian Herodotus. Interestingly enough, the Arabic version bears the name Hesiod, whereas Michael Scotus' Arabic-into-Latin translation replaces it with Homer, which might be due to a corruption of the Arabic transliteration or might reveal an attempt at interpreting an obscure transliteration in Arabic script. It has not yet been possible to identify the reference among the available sources and to establish who the author is, nor to assess whether this sentence is a part of Aristotle's argument or a later gloss slipped into the text as suspected by some scholars (Vegetti removes it from the Greek text and from his Italian translation).⁶⁰⁴ I classified the reference as poetry on the basis of the Arabic version, which shows the name of Hesiod.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

As the source text is not preserved, one cannot tell whether the reference is a testimonium or a compendary quotation.

⁶⁰³ Thompson 1910, *ad loc.*

⁶⁰⁴ Lanza, Vegetti 2018, 733; see a detailed analysis in Schnieders 2019, 584.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

As in previous instances Hesiod is qualified as «the poet» (*al-šā'ir*) and the translator grasps the technical meaning of the verb *πεποίηκε* (= *za'ama fi š'i'rihī*). The expression *al-mutaqaddima fi dalālati l-ruǧzi* corresponds to the Greek τῆς μαντείας πρόεδρον, where *ruǧz*, «punishment», does not properly render the meaning of μαντεία «divination» (see Artem. *Oniocr.* 171.24 = *Oniocr.* Fahd 308.3, where the anonymous translator uses *irāfa*). The addition of the object *mā'*, «water», to the verb *yašrabu* is based on the context (see the Arabic rendering of ἄποτα in 601b = HA Filius 297). The Greek ἐν τῇ διηγῆσει τῇ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου is rendered as a coordinate clause: «and what he narrates in the book that he wrote about the siege of the cities». The name of the city (Νίνου) is omitted.

14.

Θ 28, 606a 18-20

καὶ ἐν μὲν Λιβύῃ εὐθὺς γίνεται κέρατα ἔχοντα τὰ κερατώδη τῶν ζώων, οὐ μόνον οἱ ἄρνες, ὥσπερ φησὶν Ὅμηρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰλλα

HA Filius 195 (= 305)

وفي ارض لوبية يولد الكباش الناتئة القرون من ساعة ولادها وكما يزعم أوميرس الشاعر في شعره ليس تولد الذكورة على مثل هذه الحال فقط، بل الإناث أيضًا

CONTEXT:

Chapter Θ 28 collects data showing that environmental factors not only affect the geographical distribution of animals but also determine specific differences within the species. Thus, the characteristics of a given species may vary in relation to the environment in which the members of that species are distributed. For instance, «in Libya the horned animals are born with horns, and not lambs only, as Homer tells, but the others as well». ἄρνες is conjectured by Bekker based on the comparison with Homer's line alluded here (*Od.* δ 85: καὶ Λιβύῃ, ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι, «and in Libya where rams sprout horns early», part of Menelaus' account of his voyage back to Sparta), whereas the MSS bear ἄρρνες («males»). The same mention of Homer is found in Herodotus (IV 29), whom Aristotle implicitly refers to here.⁶⁰⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Since Aristotle's words are very close to Homer's line, they may be read as a paraphrastic quotation, or, more generically, as a testimonium.

⁶⁰⁵ Schnieders 2019, 642. Regarding Hesiod, I have not included among the references analysed a supposed reminiscence of a passage from the *Theogony* in the 9th book of the *HA*, pointed out by Schnieders 2019, 584: «vermutlich liegt aber in *Hist. an.* IX 627 a 12ff. eine Bezugnahme auf *Theogonie* 585ff. (vgl. auch *Op.* 302ff.) vor (siehe dazu den Komm. ad loc.)».

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic text shows some differences from the Greek original: «In the land of Libya rams develop a protuberance, horns from their birth and as Homer the poet tells in his poetry not only males but also females are born in such a condition». First, one may note the use of two synonyms for κέρατα (Synonymenhäufungen are a common feature of the Arabic version of HA, see HA Filius 13, 14) and the term *al-dukūra* (= ἄρρηνες) which, not surprisingly, follows the reading of Greek MS tradition. More interestingly *al-'ināt* «the females» replaces the Greek τᾶλλα, but it is not possible to assess whether it is a loose interpretation by the translator or the rendering of an alternative reading of the Greek (of which there is no trace in the extant MSS).⁶⁰⁶ The clause ὥσπερ φησὶν Ὀμηρος is translated with the standard expression *ka-mā yaz'umu Awwmīrus al-šā'iru fi šī'rihī*, but as it is brought forward from the rendering of οὐ μόνον οἱ ἄρνες the overall meaning of this final part (οὐ μόνον οἱ ἄρνες, ὥσπερ φησὶν Ὀμηρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλλα) is altered.

15.

I 12, 615b 9-10

ἦς καὶ Ὀμηρος μέμνηται ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι εἰπὼν “χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν”.

HA Filius 216 (= 326)

وقد ذكر هذا الطير أوميرس الشاعر في شعره الذي يُسمى الياس فإنه زعم أن الناس يسمونه قومنديس وقد

زعم بعض الناس أن هذا الطير هو الذي يُسمى خلقيس أيضًا

CONTEXT:

Among the birds discussed in this chapter is the cymindis, as Ionians call it, a long and slender black bird which is rarely seen and lives on mountains. And Homer recalls it in the *Iliad* by saying: «gods call it chalkis, but men cymindis». The line quoted (Ξ 291) closes a brief excursus in which Homer compares the god of sleep Hypnos, on his ascent to Mount Ida, to this mountain bird.⁶⁰⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete mnostich, with a mention of the source's title.

⁶⁰⁶ Filius does not record in his apparatus the Latin translation given by Michael Scotus for this term and the whole text of the Arabic-Latin version is so far unpublished. But, apparently, Scotus followed the Arabic *al-ināt*, as shown by Albertus Magnus, who relied on Scotus' Arabic-Latin version and who writes: «In eadem Nubia oves pariunt agnos cornutos, et cornua in terra illa non habent tantum arietes, sed etiam oves **feminae** sicut dixit Homers» (*de Animalibus* VII 2, 4, ed. Stadler 1916-1921, I 549.26-28). Since also Theodorus Gaza's Greek-into-Latin version has *foeminae* (see p. 222 of the *editio princeps* of Theodorus Gaza's *de Animalibus*, printed by Johannes de Colonia and Johannes Manthen, Venice 1476, accessible at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k58921c.r=de%20animalibus%20ogaza?rk=21459;2>), some scholars suggested interpreting the Greek τᾶλλα as referred to ewes (opposed to rams, οἱ ἄρνες / ἄρρηνες), see Thompson 1910, *ad loc.* n. 4; Schnieders 2019, 642.

⁶⁰⁷ The passage is examined in great detail in Schnieders 2019, 791-793.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

If the introductory sentence is accurately translated («Homer the poet mentions this bird in his poetry that is entitled *Iliad* by saying»), the rendering of the quotation itself is faulty («[by saying] that men call it *qūmindīs*, and some men say that this bird is the one that is also called *ḥalqīs*»). First, the two *chola* of the poetry line are reversed in Arabic, and the term *θεοί* is rendered with *baʿd al-nās*. Moreover, the second part (which in Arabic corresponds to *χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί*) seems to be taken not as a part of Homer's words, but a further source opposed to Homer. This is suggested by the parallel structure *fa-innahū* [*sc.* Homer] *zaʿama an* and *wa-qad zaʿama baʿdu al-nāsi an*.

16.

I 32, 618b 25

[...] ἐπικαλείται δὲ νηττοφόνος καὶ μορφνός· οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος μέμνηται ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πριάμου ἐξόδῳ.

HA Filius 223 (= 333)

[...] وهو يُسمّى قاتل أوز الماء وأميروس الشاعر يذكره في شعره حيث ذكر خروج أبرياموس من مدينته.

CONTEXT:

The chapter is centred on the eagle. In 618b 23 a specific species of eagle named *plangus* is introduced. The latter «ranks second in point of size and strength; it lives in mountain combs and glens, and by marshy lakes, and goes by the name of ‘duck-killer’ and ‘swart-eagle’ (= ἐπικαλείται δὲ νηττοφόνος καὶ μορφνός)». ⁶⁰⁸ At this point Aristotle mentions Homer, who recalls this species of eagle (οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος μέμνηται), in the expedition (*lit.* going out) of Priam (ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πριάμου ἐξόδῳ). The expression ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πριάμου ἐξόδῳ alludes to an episode of the last book of the *Iliad*, that is Priam's departure from his palace to visit Achilles' tent and ask for the return of Hector's corpse. Before leaving, the king offers a libation to Zeus and asks him to send down a bird as an auspicious sign. So, an eagle, defined «swart hunter» (μόρφνον θηρητήρα, *Il.* Ω 316), appears.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium. As the term *μορφνός* unequivocally points to *Il.* Ω 316, one might also see an explicit author's quotation consisting of a single word.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

While *νηττοφόνος* is correctly translated through a periphrasis, *μορφνός* is not covered. As usual in the Arabic version of Aristotle's zoological writings, Homer is qualified as «the poet» and accompanied by the addition «in his poetry». The Greek structure ἐν + dative (prepositional syntagma) is rendered as a dependent clause (verbal syntagma), whose verb is taken from the main clause (μέμνηται). The outcome produces a reiteration effect: «[he]

⁶⁰⁸ Thompson 1910, *ad loc.*

recalls it where he recalls...». A further addition is *mina l-madīnatihī* «from his city» to *hurūḡ abryāmūs* (= [έν] τῆ τοῦ Πριάμου ἐξόδω).

17.

I 44, 629b 21-23

Ἀληθῆ δὲ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα, τό τε φοβείσθαι μάλιστα τὸ πῦρ, ὥσπερ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν “καιόμεναί τε δεταί, τὰς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ,” [...]

HA Filius 243 (= 353)

والذي يُقال عنه إنه يخاف النار خاصة حقّ كما قال أوميرس الشاعر [...]

CONTEXT:

Within the description of the lion's behavior Aristotle states: «Also what is claimed is true, that he fears especially fire, as Homer wrote in verse “and blazing torches that he dreads, though fierce,” [...]». The quotation corresponds to *Il.* Λ 554 and is part of a long metaphor (whose terms of comparison are first the lion and then the donkey) concerning Ajax. As the Trojans are unable to curb the fury of the Achaean warrior, Zeus intervenes and strikes fear into him, like a lion before a fire.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The introductory statement is correctly translated (note the simplification *qāla* for the verb ἐποίησεν, in contrast to previous instances), Homer is qualified as «the poet» as usual, but the poetry quotation is omitted.

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated with *ka-mā*.

18.

I 49B, 633a 17-27

ὥσπερ πεποίηκεν Αἰσχύλος ἐν τοῖσδε·

Τούτον δ' ἐπόπτην ἔποπα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν
πεποικίλωκε, κάποδηλώσας ἔχει
θρασὺν πετραῖον ὄρνιν ἐν παντευχίᾳ,
ὃς ἦρι μὲν φαίνοντι διαπάλλει πτερόν
κίρκου λεπάργου. Δύο γὰρ οὖν μορφὰς φανεί,
παιδὸς τε χαύτου νηδύος μιᾶς ἄπο.
Νέας δ' ὀπώρας ἠνίκ' ἄν ξανθῆ στάχυσ,
στικτὴ νιν αὐθις ἀμφινωμήσει πτέρυξ,
Ἄει δὲ μίσει τῶνδ' ἄπ' ἄλλον εἰς τόπον
δρυμοὺς ἐρήμους καὶ πάγους ἀποικίσει.

CONTEXT:

Among the birds that change their aspect and plumage colour according to season there is the hoopoe as attested in the long poetry fragment quoted here: «This bird, the hoopoe, which presides over its own evils, / he has adorned with varied colours and has displayed / as a bird of the rocks, bold in full panoply, / who when spring reveals him spreads the wing / of a white-feathered hawk. For he will show two forms / from a single womb, the young one's and his own. / When at new harvest the corn is threshed, / a dappled wing will cover him again. / But ever in hatred he will go from these places to another / and make his home in deserted woods and crags»⁶⁰⁹ (Aeschylus fr. 304 Nauck = Sophocles F 581 Radt). Aristotle attributes the quotation to Aeschylus, though some scholars have suggested it comes from a lost tragedy by Sophocles, entitled *Tereus*. The quotation alludes to the mythical episode of Tereus king of Thrace, who was turned into a hoopoe or a hawk (depending on the variants of the myth) together with his wife Procne and his wife's sister Philomela, transformed into a swallow and a nightingale respectively. Since in our case the character is said to have been turned into a hawk in early spring and then into a hoopoe in autumn, the poetry reference apparently combines the two versions of the myth.⁶¹⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete polystich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translator omits the quotation and covers it with the generic «as what the sage Aeschylus said» (= ὡσπερ πεποίηκεν Αἰσχύλος).

The conjunction ὡσπερ is translated with *ka-mā*.

2.3.2.4.2 *De partibus animalium (PA)*

1.

Γ 10, 673a 14-17⁶¹¹

λέγουσι γάρ τινες ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος·
φθεγγομένη δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη· ἀλλ' οὐ, φθεγγομένου.

⁶⁰⁹ Balme 1991, 411; 413.

⁶¹⁰ Schnieders 2019, 1085-1086.

⁶¹¹ In commenting this passage, Aristotle reports an anecdote about a head which, after being severed, allegedly uttered a phrase, «'Twas Kerkidas did slaughter man on man» (Engl. in Peck, Forster 1937, 283), which appears to be an incomplete verse classified as fr. adesp. iamb. 49 West (see also Moraitou 1994, 136). However, it does not fit the criteria adopted here and has therefore not been analysed.

CONTEXT:

Chapter Γ 10 deals with diaphragm, or midribs. By separating the lung and the heart from the liver, spleen and kidneys, this muscle protects the soul's perceptive and intellectual capacities against exhalations from the organs involved in food processing. However, hot residual fluid and heat emanating from below affect the diaphragm and this produces alterations in thought and perception. In particular, the heating up of the diaphragm makes the change in the sensation immediately recognisable. Two forms of involuntary laughter are examples of this. The first case is laughter generated by tickling, which is a form of motion that produces heat. The second example is laughter that arises when the heat emitted by a war wound hits the diaphragm (a sort of sardonic smile). This last consideration is the starting point for a short excursus in which Aristotle reports the claim, which he finds scarcely reliable, that a man's severed head could speak. And he adds: «Sometimes they cite Homer in support, who (so they say) was referring to this when he wrote “As it spake, his head was mingled with the dust” but not “As he spake...”».⁶¹² Aristotle articulates his polemic on a question of Homeric philology, in which the syntactic-grammatical aspect has a decisive weight in the meaning's interpretation. The argument revolves around the readings φθειγγομένη / φθειγγομένου in a verse found in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (*Il.* K 457 and *Od.* X 329; in both occurrences our text coincides with the one approved by Aristotle, φθειγγομένου). Those against whom he is arguing rely on the first version, in which it is the head (κάρη) that speaks (φθειγγομένη) after it has already been severed. In the second wording (the correct one according to Aristotle) the head is cut off while the victim (φθειγγομένου) was still speaking.⁶¹³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium and explicit author's isolated literal (and altered) quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translator adopts a previously seen strategy. The general reference to Greek poetry is rendered but the quotation omitted: «and it is said that Homer the poet told something of this kind in his poetry». As usual, Homer is defined *al-šā'ir*.

⁶¹² Peck, Forster 1937, 283 (modified).

⁶¹³ Lanza, Vegetti 2018, 121; Lennox 2001, 274-276; see also Luois 1956, 97 n. 3.

2.3.2.4.3 *De generatione animalium* (GA)

1.

A 18, 724a 28-30

ἔτι δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ὡς Ἐπίχαρμος ποιεῖ τὴν ἐποικοδόμησιν, ἐκ τῆς διαβολῆς ἢ
λοιδορίας, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἡ μάχη.

GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 29

وأيضًا وغير هذه الأنواع الفنّ الذي يذكر إبيخرموس، فإنّه يقول إنّ القتال يكون من المحل والنميمة
والصخب،

CONTEXT:

Lines 724a 14-15 open the enquiry into what the seed is (περὶ σπέρματος τί ἐστίν), which «means to be by nature the sort of thing *out of which* naturally constituted things are produced in the first place» (724a 17-18).⁶¹⁴ In this context Aristotle examines the many ways in which it is said that one thing comes out of another (ἄλλο ἐξ ἄλλου; 724a 20-21; cf. *Metaph.* Δ 24 1023a 26sq.). These include the derivation from the principle of movement or change (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως) or efficient cause, as exemplified by the reference to the comic poet Epicharmus: «Again, besides these, the way that Epicharmus composes his ‘build-up’: out of the insult came abuse, and out of that came the battle»⁶¹⁵ (724a 28-30). Aristotle explains: «in all of these the beginning of the movement comes out of something. Some of this sort contain the beginning of the movement in themselves, for example those just mentioned (the insult is a part of the whole disturbance) [...]»⁶¹⁶ (724a 30-33). Following Peck, the reference to the comic poet corresponds to fr. 146 Kassel-Austin.⁶¹⁷ The same example occurs in *Metaph.* Δ 24 1023a 30, in a vaguer wording and with the omission of the name of the poet.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The technical term ἐποικοδόμησις is not translated and in its place we read *al-fann*, employed for τρόπος as a synonym of *naw*.⁶¹⁸ The translation of the reference itself is inaccurate, since ἡ μάχη is taken as the subject of the whole sentence, ἐκ τῆς διαβολῆς is rendered with a hendiadys (*mina l-maḥli wa-l-namīmati*; the same expression is used also for the διαβολή at 724a 32-33), while ἡ λοιδορία is translated as a genitive (*wa-l-ṣaḥabi*) and correlated to the previous hendiadys. The translator might have considered the noun as an

⁶¹⁴ Balme 1972, 40. The next two lines (724a 19-20) are corrupted and secluded by some editors. For a more detailed analysis of the function of the σπέρμα as a principle of change and a giver of form to matter (viz. female component) in reproduction see Lanza, Vegetti 2018, 1462-1463.

⁶¹⁵ Balme 1972, 41 (translation). For Epicharmus' stylistic device of ἐποικοδόμησις see *Rh.* A 7, 1365a 16.

⁶¹⁶ Balme 1972, 41 (translation); see 144-145 (notes).

⁶¹⁷ Peck 1942, 73.

⁶¹⁸ See GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 262, 271.

anticipation of ἐκ δὲ ταύτης, which is not translated into Arabic. The version reads: «Again, besides these species there is the kind that Epicharmus mentions, for he says that battle comes out of deceit, slander and tumult».

2.

B 1, 734a 18-20

ἢ ἐφεξῆς ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις Ὀρφέως ἔπεσιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὁμοίως φησὶ γίγνεσθαι τὸ ζῶον τῇ τοῦ δικτύου πλοκῇ.

GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 56

أو كينونة بعضها تتلو بعضًا مثل ما قيل في شعر أروفوس الحكيم، فإنه يزعم أن الحيوان يكون كما يكون العدد مثل تشبيك وتركيب الشبكة.

CONTEXT:

In this chapter Aristotle inquires as to how a newly conceived living being's body parts are formed and puts forward two hypotheses. The parts either form all together ("Ἡ γὰρ τοὶ ἅμα πάντα γίγνεται τὰ μόρια; 734a 16-17) or form «successively, as we read in the poems ascribed to Orpheus, where he says that the process by which an animal is formed resembles the plaiting of a net».⁶¹⁹ The reference is presumed to be a fragment (404F Bernabé) of the Δίκτυον, one of the Orphic *Carmina de mundi imaginibus*.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Aristotle is the only source of this fragment, so it is not possible to identify its exact typology. It can be speculated that it is either a paraphrastic quotation (if the original wording is maintained) or a more generic testimonium (if the wording is rephrased).

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The version reads: «Or the generation of parts comes one after the other as what is said in the poetry of Orpheus the sage. In fact, he claims that animals are generated as the number (their quantity?) resembles the plaiting and composition of the net». It partially deviates from the original, especially for the intrusion of the term *al-'adad*, which usually translates the Greek ἀριθμός. One can also observe the hendiadys corresponding to πλοκῇ and the addition *al-hakīm* to the transliteration of the proper noun.

3.

E 4, 784b 19-23

καὶ εὖ δὴ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις μεταφέρουσι σκώπτοντες τὰς πολιὰς καλοῦντες γήρως εὐρώτα καὶ πάχνην. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ γένει τὸ δὲ τῷ εἶδει ταυτόν ἐστιν, ἢ μὲν πάχνη τῷ γένει (ἀτμὶς γὰρ ἄμφω), ὁ δὲ εὐρώς τῷ εἶδει (σῆψις γὰρ ἄμφω).

⁶¹⁹ Peck 1942, 147.

GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 188

وقد أصابت الشعراء حيث سموا الكبير والعجز تكثرًا وجليدًا، لأن أحدهما بالجنس والآخر بالصورة هو فهو، لأن الجليد من البخار والتكرش أيضًا منه، وكلاهما بالصورة عفونة.

CONTEXT:

Aristotle's explanation of the human phenomenon of white hair due to aging is supported by two poetic examples of metaphorical language: «so poets use a good metaphor in their comedies when they jokingly call white hair the “mould” and “hoar-frost of age”: one of them is generically, the other specifically, the same [as white hair]: hoar-frost is the same generically (both being vapour), mould is the same specifically (both being putrefactions)»⁶²⁰ (fr. com. Adesp. 650a Kock). According to Aristotle, white hair in the elderly is associated with a decrease in body heat. The latter processes by coction the nourishment needed to keep the various bodily parts healthy. When body heat decreases in old age, the nutrients in the hair are not concocted by body heat but putrefy because of external heat and humidity (which are greater than body heat). Putrefaction, Aristotle adds, always occurs as a result of heat, as in the case of mold, which is generated by the putrefaction of earthy vapor. A related but opposite phenomenon to mold is hoarfrost. Like mold, hoarfrost is produced by evaporation (i.e. from earthy vapor), but whereas mold is a form of putrefaction, hoarfrost is a form of freezing. In light of this, the two metaphors mentioned by Aristotle become clear. “White hair is the mold of age” is a metaphor from species to species, for white hair and mold are two species belonging to the genus putrefaction. On the other hand, “White hair is the hoarfrost of age” is a more articulated metaphor constructed by analogy. What connects white hair to hoarfrost is vapor, the ultimate genus to which both can be traced by virtue of the following relationships. As we have already seen, white hair and mold are two species of a putrefied substance (viz. putrefied vapor), which in turn is a species of the broader genus vapor. But under the genus vapor is also the subgenus congealed vapor of which hoarfrost is a species. So the analogy is built on the association between age and earth and on the proportion “earth : hoarfrost = age : white hair”.⁶²¹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Expressive generic reference. From the plurals *οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαῖς* we can assume that Aristotle is not paraphrasing a specific verse, but is referring to an image variously attested in comic poetry.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic translation only partly covers the original wording and due to the omission of some terms the outcome is rather imprecise. In the context of our examination, it is interesting to observe that some technical expressions, *ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαῖς* and *μεταφύρουσι* with

⁶²⁰ Peck 1942, 529 (modified).

⁶²¹ The four types of metaphor identified by Aristotle are described in *Po.* 1457b 6-33. Aristotle's theory of metaphor is discussed by Levin 1982, who provides a detailed analysis of the metaphors described here in GA 784b 19-23.

the participle *σκώπτοντες*, have not been translated. Hence the main verb of the sentence (*'aṣābat*) is derived from the adverb εἶ. If the employment of hendiadys (*al-kibara wa-l-ʿuǧza*) for the genitive noun γήρως correctly grasps its semantics, the translation is grammatically inaccurate as *al-kibara wa-l-ʿuǧza* are direct objects of *καλοῦντες*. By contrast, τὰς πολιὰς is not translated. Even the rendering of the last sentence departs from the original meaning, due to the omission of some words (τῷ γένει...ἄμφω), with the consequent misunderstanding of the syntactic structure. The Arabic reads: «Poets are right where they call old age and aging mould and hoar-frost, since they are the same one by genus and the other by species. For hoar-frost comes from vapor and from it also mould comes, and both of them are putrefaction by species».

4.

E 5, 785a 15-16

διὸ καὶ Ὀμηρὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν·
 ἵνα τε πρῶται τρίχες ἵππων
 κρανίῳ ἐμπεφύασι, μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστιν.

GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 189

وقد أصاب أميروس الشاعر حيث ذكر الصدغين في شعره وقال حيث أول شعر الخيل النابت في الصدغين
 وهي الأماكن المميتة جداً إذا أصابها جرح.

CONTEXT:

In animals, the phenomenon of age-related white hair (see previous ref.) is very rare because their less humid brains produce less heat, which makes coction impossible. Horses are the animals in which white hair is most visible because «the bone which surrounds the brain is, in proportion to the animal's size, thinner than that of any other animal. A proof of this is that a blow delivered on this spot is fatal to a horse»⁶²² (785a 12-14). This is evidenced by Homer's verses from *Il.* Θ 83-84, where he describes the blow inflicted by Paris on one of Nestor's horses: «where the first hairs of the horses grow on the skull, / and where is the most fatal spot».

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, incomplete distich. The wording is altered (*ἵνα* instead of the Homeric *ὅθι*).

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic reads: «and the poet Homer is right where he mentions in his poetry both temples and says: where the first hair of the horse grows on both temples and these are the most fatal places when injured». The reference to the temples in the introductory sentence (Arabic term *al-ṣudǧ*) is an addition to the original, probably derived from the context, since at 784b 35 Aristotle explains that the first hairs to turn white are those on the temples (where

⁶²² Peck 1942, 533.

τοὺς δὲ κροτάφους is rendered as *šaʿr al-ṣudǧayni*, see GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 189). The same term *al-ṣudǧayni* is used as a metonymic translation of the Greek κρανίω. The final phrase, *idan aṣābahā ǧurḥ*, is another addition based on the context. The translator inserts the verb *aṣāba* at the beginning of this passage, which is usually employed to cover the Greek adverbs εὔ, καλῶς and ὀρθῶς, especially with the verb λέγειν, (see instances listed in GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 246). In this case we have none of the above adverbs, but οὕτως. The translator's Greek MS might bear a variant reading εὔ/καλῶς/ὀρθῶς in place of οὕτως, but there is no evidence in our Greek testimonies. Homer is defined as «the poet», as usual.

2.3.2.5 *De anima (de An.)*

The only surviving direct Arabic translation of *de An.* is transmitted in the *codex unicus* MS Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2450, and was edited in 1954 by Badawī. To date, it has not been possible to identify the author of the translation, although in the MS the version is explicitly attributed to Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, a fact that finds confirmation in bibliographic sources, and is supported by Badawī.⁶²³ Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* attests to a complete Syriac translation by Ḥunayn and at least one translation by Ishāq, presumably in Arabic,⁶²⁴ but his testimony raises numerous questions, especially when compared to the material that has come down to us. First of all, Ibn al-Nadīm reports that Ishāq first produced an incomplete translation and then authored a second complete and revised translation. Moreover, Ishāq is said to have translated the paraphrase of the *de An.* by Themisius into Arabic, but since the copy at his disposal was in a bad state, he corrected his translation 30 years later, after coming into possession of a better Greek MS. The Arabic version of Themisius' paraphrase is preserved in a *codex unicus* and was edited by Lyons in 1973.

As for the Arabic version of the *de An.*, the question is more intricate. The attribution to Ishāq has been conclusively refuted by Frank (1958-1959), on the basis of some linguistic and philological observations. The translation is to be considered anonymous (sometimes called by the ps. Ishāq) and, presumably, earlier than that of Ishāq. Additional material is provided by the indirect tradition, i.e. a) Ibn Sīnā's "*Glosses in the margins of Aristotle's De anima*", preserved in the Cairo MS Ḥikma 6M, a compilation of Ibn Sīnā's texts assembled by one of his third-generation pupils 'Abd al-Razzāq,⁶²⁵ and edited by Badawī in 1947,⁶²⁶ b) the Arabic-Jewish version by Zeraḥya ben Yiṣḥāq ben Shealtiel Ḥen (d. after 1291), c) the lemmata from Ibn Rušd's *Long commentary*, preserved only in the 13th cent. Latin translation by Michael Scotus, d) Ibn Rušd's *Middle commentary on the de An.* Analyses by Frank (1958-1959), Bos (1994), Ivry (2001), Gutas (2004), and, most recently, Treiger (2017), have shown that none of these texts is based on the Arabic version that has come down to us, but that they were all

⁶²³ Nafs Badawī (14)-(16). A full survey of bibliographic sources was first attempted by Gätje 1971, 20-27.

⁶²⁴ Flügel 1871-1872, I 251.11-12 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 169.8-9 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 40, Dodge 1970, 604-605 (Engl.).

⁶²⁵ Gutas 2004, 78; Gutas 2014, 153-155, where he explains that the glosses have been extracted by the compiler of the MS from the margins of Ibn Sīnā's personal copy of the AV of Aristotle's *de An.*

⁶²⁶ See also the analysis by Frank 1958-1959, 238-247. None of our poetic references is treated in the glosses. Gutas has announced that he is preparing a new critical edition.

modelled after Ishāq’s lost version, at least until *de An.* 413a 14.⁶²⁷ At this point in the text, the incomplete version by Ishāq mentioned in the *Fihrist* must have stopped. This is explicitly indicated in the glosses by Ibn Sīnā, who, in correspondence to *de An.* 413a 14, notes that he based the rest of his work on another translation which he corrected in various ways, and in the Arabic-Hebrew version, where Zerahya ben Yiṣḥāq says that he conducted the rest of the translation on the Syriac-Arabic version by Abū ‘Īsā ibn Ishāq, identified with Ibn Zur‘a by concurring opinion. In fact, starting from *de An.* 413a 14 Ibn Sīnā’s glosses seem to coincide with the text from our MS,⁶²⁸ while the Arabic-Jewish version, the lemmata from Ibn Rušd’s *Long commentary* and the quotations from the *Middle commentary* follow another version, “the supplement” by Ibn Zur‘a. As Treiger explains: «it stands to reason that Ibn Zur‘a had at his disposal Ishāq’s first and incomplete translation of the *De Anima* and completed it working from an unknown (possibly Ḥunayn’s) Syriac version».⁶²⁹

In the light of this evidence, Treiger concludes that the second complete and revised version by Ishāq mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm does not exist and that either the name Ishāq should be corrected into Abū ‘Īsā ibn [Ishāq] or the note should refer to the second translation of Themistius’ paraphrase that was done 30 years later.⁶³⁰

At the beginning of 2021 Jawdath Jabbour announced the discovery of a Cairo MS that presumably bore the Arabic version by Ishāq relative to the first two books of the *de An.*, a text which remains yet unpublished that I have not been able to consult.

Aristotle’s *de An.* is cited in the edition by William D. Ross, *Aristotelis de Anima*, Oxford 1961 (repr. 1967). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker’s edition.

1.

A 2, 404a 29-30

διὸ καλῶς ποιῆσαι [τὸν] "Ὀμηρος ὡς ὁ "Εκτωρ "κεῖτ' ἀλλοφρονέων".

Nafs Badawī 9.6-7

ولذلك أحسن أوميرش في شعره إذ قال إنَّ أقطر متغيّر بالعقل

CONTEXT:

Chapter A 2 is structured in a review of ἔνδοξα, the psychological doctrines of Aristotle’s predecessors regarding two fundamental characteristics of the soul, its role in movement and in sensation, to which the question of the (in)corporeality of the soul is closely related. The

⁶²⁷ Scholars have observed that Avicenna’s notes have precise correspondences with the AV of Themistius’ paraphrase, which contains literal quotations from the *de An.*; see Frank 1958-1959, 240 n.1; Gutas 2004, 80 n. 32. For the proximity of Ishaq’s AV of the *de An.* to the AV of the quotations from the *de An.* in Themistius’ paraphrase, see Treiger 2017, 200. Moreover, when Ibn Rušd refers to an *alia translatio* in his *Long Commentary* on the *de An.*, he probably means the AV that has come down to us, see Ivry 2001, 60.

⁶²⁸ Frank 1958-1959, 232. Treiger, on the other hand, concedes that Avicenna may have compared the anonymous translations with that of Ibn Zur‘a and that his glosses actually attest to a contamination of the two; see Treiger 2017, 198 e n. 32.

⁶²⁹ Treiger 2017, 197.

⁶³⁰ Treiger 2017, 199.

reference to Homer comes after the criticism of Democritus' doctrine, according to which soul and intellect are identical, since the true is made to coincide expressly with the phenomenon (404a 27-29). Shields comments on the passage as follows: «Aristotle's quotation of Homer, that 'Hector lay with his thoughts elsewhere' (*allophroneôn*; 404a30), does not correspond to anything precise in the text of the *Iliad* as we have it. It may be a kind of amalgam of 22.330 and 23.698, where it is used of Euryalus; or it may be that Aristotle was operating with a different text or textual tradition. Aristotle's probable meaning may be inferred from *Met.* 1009b9–1110a1, where he associates Homer, and this passage in particular, with those of his predecessors who conflated perception (*aisthêsis*) and understanding (*phronêsis*). There he explains that some people cite this passage as evidence that even Homer accepted that perception and understanding are the same: 'they take him to mean that even those with a deranged understanding have understanding, though not about the same things'. A fuller context is also supplied by Theoc. *Idyl.* 22 128-30, where Amycus, savagely beaten senseless by Polydeuces, is so described. The phrase in that context evidently means that he 'lay unconscious' or that he 'lay with his thoughts elsewhere'. If the former, the point of Aristotle's reporting that Democritus approved of Homer's locution would be clear: on this reading, it implicitly equates sense perception (*aisthêsis*) with understanding (*phronêsis*), on the grounds that a lack of perception is tantamount to a lack of conscious awareness. If it means instead, as it may, 'lay with his thoughts elsewhere', the point would be rather that the delirium occasioned by a serious blow to the head scrambles the patterns of thought. That too would provide a reason for identifying perception and understanding, though via a less direct route: Hector, on this reading, has a kind of understanding, his own understanding, other than the understanding of those around him. They understand him to be unconscious; he understands himself, let us say, to be fighting in battle. What seems to be to him is what he understands». ⁶³¹ Indeed, the reference does not coincide with any specific Homeric passage but seems rather to be a combination of different lines (according to some *Il.* X 330 and Ψ 698, but other scholars also refer to *Il.* O 246 or E 698).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

The reference is explicit author's isolated quotation and could be either literal (if it attests to an unpreserved recension of the text of the *Iliad*) or altered (if Aristotle quotes from memory). In either case, it can be an incomplete monostich or a paraphrased quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic translation follows the Greek, except for the omission of the verb κείτο and the rendering of the participle ἀλλοφρονέων with the syntagma *mutaǧayyirun bi-l-'aqli* («altered in the intellect»). Worthy of note is the accurate translation of the verb ποιῆσαι with *verbum dicendi* (*qāla*) + *fī šī'rihī*.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

A similar reference can be read in the parallel passage *Metaph.* Γ 5, 1009b 28-31 (φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον ταύτην ἔχοντα φαίνεσθαι τὴν δόξαν, ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν Ἑκτορα, ὡς ἐξέστη ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς,

⁶³¹ Shields 2016, 108-109.

κεῖσθαι ἀλλοφρονέοντα, ὡς φρονοῦντας μὲν καὶ τοὺς παραφρονοῦντας ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτά). Book Γ has been preserved in the Arabic translation by Uṣṭāt, through Ibn Ruṣd's *Tafsīr*, but at Γ 5, 1009b 25-1011a 2 the Leiden MS that preserves the work is lacunose. The Arabic text in Bouyges' edition is authored by the editor himself, based on the Latin and Hebrew versions of the *Tafsīr*.⁶³²

2.

A 3, 406b 17-19

οἶον Δημόκριτος, παραπλησίως λέγων Φιλίππῳ τῷ κωμωδοδιδασκάλῳ· φησὶ γάρ τὸν Δαίδαλον κινουμένην ποιῆσαι τὴν ξυλίνην Ἀφροδίτην, ἐγχέαντ' ἄργυρον χυτόν·

Nafs Badawī 15.4-6

وقد قال ذومقراط قولاً مقارناً لقول فيليس معلّم هجاء الناس فإنّه زعم أنّ رجلاً يُقال له دادالس هيأ صنماً
من خشب للزهرة وكان يتحرك من ذاته من أجل ما صب فيه من الفضة المسبوكة

CONTEXT:

Here Aristotle returns to the role of the soul in movement, challenging the view of those who believe that the soul moves the body in which it is located when it itself moves (406b 15-16). These include Democritus, whose position is compared to the plot of a work attributed to the Middle Comedy poet Philippus. More precisely, the idea that atoms move the body from within finds analogous expression in the image of liquid silver that moves the wooden statue of Aphrodite made by Daedalus (= «For Philippus claims that Daedalus made his wooden Aphrodite move by pouring liquid silver into it»,⁶³³ fr. 1 Kassel-Austin). Philippus was one of the sons of Aristophanes, some of whose comedies we know the titles of, including the *Daedalus*, and that he staged some plays by Eubulus, so that some believe that even the *Daedalus* mentioned here was actually a comedy by Eubulus.⁶³⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium on the plot of a comedy by Philippus.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic text reads: «Democritus says something close to the saying of Philippus, the teacher of satire of people, for he claims that a man called Dedalus prepared a wooden statue of Venus and it moved by itself due to the liquid silver that he poured in it». Badawī inserts in brackets *wa-hiya l-zi'baq* («that is quicksilver»), without indicating whether it is part of the text, a note in the margin of the MS or an explanatory note added by him (which seems more likely). Thus, I omitted it from the text. Besides the rendering of the name Ἀφροδίτη with the Arabic name of the corresponding planet Venus, *al-zuhara* (strategy already seen in *Rh.* B 9, 1387a 32-34 = ref. 46, pp. 130-131, and Γ 4, 1407a 18 = ref. 109, pp. 187-189) it is worth highlighting

⁶³² See *Metaph.* Bouyges 413 (T.21 p-r) and Bertolacci 2005, 253 n. 31.

⁶³³ Shields 2016, 10.

⁶³⁴ See Movia 1979, 248; Shields 2016, 123.

the translation *mu'allim al-hiġā' al-nās* for κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος. This is another attestation of the famous association between comedy and satire, as occurs in al-Kindī's *Risāla fī kammiyyāt kutub Aristū*⁶³⁵ and in the Abū Bišr Mattā' Arabic version and in the Arabic tradition of the *Poetics*.⁶³⁶

οἶον is not translated.

3.

Γ 3, 427a 25-26

τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτοις βούλεται καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρου “τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστίν”

Nafs Badawī 68.8-9

وكذلك رأَت القدماء - منهم أنبادقلس وأوميرش الشاعر

CONTEXT:

Again, the quotation from Homer is part of a revision of the ἔνδοξα by Aristotle's predecessors. Similarly to *de An.* A 2, 404a 29-30 = ref. 1 (pp. 266-268) Homer is counted among those who reduce thought to a form of perception, based on a materialistic conception of thought, arguing that men perceive and recognise like by like (427a 26-28).⁶³⁷ From these stances the ancients claimed that reason mutates «in relation to what is present (to it)» (πρὸς παρεόν) – a term that has been variously interpreted either as our bodily state or as the object of perception –,⁶³⁸ echoing the words of Empedocles quoted at 427a 22-25. Aristotle likewise interprets a passage from the *Odyssey*, alluded to only by quoting the first part of the verse *Od.* σ 136 («for the reason is such»). The reference does in fact make sense when read in its context, together with the rest of v. 136 and v. 137: «For such is the mind of earthly men as the father of gods and men delivers upon them day by day»,⁶³⁹ but Aristotle's interpretation is rather forced, as highlighted by commentators.⁶⁴⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's literal isolated quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Lines 427a 21-26, containing the poetry reference, are paraphrased and only partly translated. *Wa-kaḏālīka ra'ati l-quḏamā'* is a loose translation of καὶ οἷ γε ἀρχαῖοι [...] φασι (427a 21-22). The quotations from Homer are omitted (as those from Empedocles), but both

⁶³⁵ Guidi, Walzer 1940, 402 = Abū Rīda 1950-1953, I 382. English translation in Adamson, Pormann 2012, 294.

⁶³⁶ See also another similar adaptation in the Arabic version of the *Rhetoric*: at 1403b 22 = *Rh.* Lyons 172.3 the term τραγωδιῶν is transliterated (*trāġūdiyāt*) and then glossed *al-trāġūdiyāt šibhun l-arāġīzi li-l-Rūmi wa-ka-ḏālīka l-qūmūdiyāt* («tragedies for the Rūm are similar to *raġaz*-poems, the same applies to comedies»). *Rh.* Lyons xi; Vagelpohl 2008, 81.

⁶³⁷ See also the English translation in Hett 1957, 155.

⁶³⁸ See the summary given in Movia 1979, 362-363.

⁶³⁹ The translation is given in Shields 2016, 278.

⁶⁴⁰ See the references in Movia 1979, 36; Shields 2016, 278.

authors are mentioned by name. The transliteration of the name Homer is followed by the usual addition *al-šā'ir*.

2.3.3 *Metaphysics* (*Metaph.*)

The Arabic text of the *Metaphysics* survives in an incomplete state, but in more than one version, and is transmitted not by direct means, but through the commentary tradition, i.e., in literal commentary lemmata or paraphrase-commentary citations. The most important witness is surely Ibn Rušd's *Tafsīr mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*, preserved in a *codex unicus* (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 2074 + ff. 35r-55v of Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 2075)⁶⁴¹ and published by M. Bouyges between 1938 and 1948. Bouyges's edition is completed by an introductory volume that appeared posthumously in 1952. In the extant copy of the *Tafsīr* we can read the Arabic versions that Averroes reported in the Textus and/or quoted in his commentary, and those added in the mg. of the MS by later copyists.

Since the Arabic versions of the *Metaph.* have been the focus of numerous overview studies, analyses of individual Arabic books, and comparative examinations – if more than one version of the same book is available to us –,⁶⁴² I will deal only briefly with the Arabic version of the *Metaph.* in general and merely enumerate which Arabic versions have survived limited to the books containing poetic references (A, α, B, Γ, Δ, Z, H, Λ, N).

For all the books of the *Metaph.* we have records of at least one translation produced between the 9th and 10th cents. The *Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm attributes the most complete version to Uṣṭāt, from Book α to Book M,⁶⁴³ of which a good part is preserved in the Textus and in the mgg. in Ibn Rušd's *Tafsīr* (α, B-I, Λ), apart from Books K, M and N, which are missing from the *Tafsīr* at least in the form that has come down to us, but to which the Andalusian commentator refers to in his work.⁶⁴⁴ Ibn al-Nadīm also reports the name of the other main translator of the *Metaph.*, Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, to whom he generically ascribes the translation of «a number of treatises».⁶⁴⁵ According to the surviving versions and fragments, Ishāq translated at least Books α, Γ, Θ-I, Λ.⁶⁴⁶

In addition to Books K, M and N, the *Tafsīr* does not cover the first part of book A (from the beginning to A 5, 987a 6) that is placed after Book α, with which Ibn Rušd's commentary opens. As we learn from a marginal note, the translator of Book A is Naẓīf ibn Yumn (or: Ayman) al-Rūmī, active in the second half of the 10th cent.⁶⁴⁷ To explain the apparent exclusion of Book A from Uṣṭāt's translation plan, several hypotheses have been formulated, either related to the doubts of authenticity that weighed on Book A already in the Greek tradition – as Drossaert Lulofs and Berti argue – or due to problems of textual tradition, i.e. to the fact that the Arabic

⁶⁴¹ On the MSS see *Metaph.* Bouyges (*Notice*, 1952), XXVI-XLII.

⁶⁴² See the bibliographical references in Martin 1989, 528-534; Martini Bonadeo 2003a, 259-264; Bertolacci 2005, 241-242 nn. 2-4; Bertolacci 2006, 5-6 nn. 2-4.

⁶⁴³ Flügel 1871-1872, I 251.26-28 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 171.3-6 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 49, Dodge 1970, 606 (Engl.).

⁶⁴⁴ Bertolacci 2005, 250-251, and in particular n. 22.

⁶⁴⁵ Flügel 1871-1872, I 251.30-31 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 171.9-10 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 49, Dodge 1970, 606 (Engl.).

⁶⁴⁶ Bertolacci 2005, 247-248, 257.

⁶⁴⁷ Martini 2002, 78; Bertolacci 2005, 249.

translators did not have a Greek copy bearing Book A – as Bouyges proposes – or linked to the critique of the ontology of the pre-Socratics and Plato contained in *Metaph. A* and that could not be reconciled with the neo-Platonizing reinterpretation of Aristotle that was ongoing in the circle of al-Kindī – as suggested by Martini.⁶⁴⁸ Be as it may, when Book A was translated by Naẓīf ibn Yumn, it was still thought that Book α was the prolegomenon of the *Metaph.*, perhaps because the Arabic version of Book A lacked its incipit, i.e. chapters 1-4 and part of chapter 5. This would explain the inversion of Books α and A in Ibn Rušd's *Tafsīr*.⁶⁴⁹ However, some later sources seem to show that there might be at least one other, perhaps complete, translation of *Metaph. A*.⁶⁵⁰

Following the order of the Arabic tradition, I will present below the preserved versions for *Metaph. α* and A, as well as those of the other books that interest us.

α . Book α was translated by both Uṣṭāt and Ishāq. In the Textus of Averroes' *Tafsīr* the version by Ishāq is preserved up to 995a 17, while the version transcribed in mg. is that by Uṣṭāt. Therefore, for the single reference of this Book (α 1, 993b 15-16 = ref. 1, pp. 275-276), we have at our disposal both translations. For the last part of book α (995a 17-20) Averroes claims to have used another translation, whereas the mg. version is missing. Hence it has been inferred that the "other version" reported in the Textus for this passage is that by Uṣṭāt.⁶⁵¹ Another important source for the Arabic version of *Metaph. α* is Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's *Tafsīr li-l-maqāla l-ūlā min kitāb Ariṣṭūṭālīs al-mawsūm bi-maṭāṭāfūsīqā ay fī mā ba'd al-ṭabī'yyāt wa-ḥiya l-mawsūma bi-l-alif al-ṣuḡrā*. As shown by Martini, the version quoted in the lemmata of this commentary is a more comprehensive recension of Ishāq's version than that preserved in Averroes' *Tafsīr*, and Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī expressly tells us that in some passages he compared the text with other Syriac and Arabic translations.⁶⁵² Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī does not dwell on the poetic example of ref. 1 in his commentary, but the work offers nonetheless useful evidence for the reconstruction of Ishāq's Arabic version and has therefore been included in our analysis. Ishāq's version of α 1, 993a 30- α 2, 994b 31 is also extant in MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, ḥikma 6,

⁶⁴⁸ It is not possible to discuss here the hypotheses that have been advanced, which, in any case, do not affect our analysis of the preserved Arabic versions. The debate has been summarised in Martini 2002, 80-84, 91-92. See Bertolacci 2005, 247 n. 16; Bertolacci 2006, 11 n. 18.

⁶⁴⁹ See Bertolacci 2005, 251; Bertolacci 2006, 14.

⁶⁵⁰ Significant in this sense are the testimonies offered by al-Kindī, Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, Ibn Sinā, al-Šahrastāni and 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡdādī, examined on several occasions by Cecilia Martini and Amos Bertolacci. Among these authors, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡdādī shows in his *Kitāb fī 'ilm mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a* that he had access to a full translation of *Metaph. A*. In addition, Martini analysed the language and translation style of a Latin fragment corresponding to A 1, 980a 21-981b13 preserved in the MS Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ott. Lat. 2048, concluding that it is probably a Latin version based on an earlier Arabic translation. The same fragment is paraphrased by 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡdādī in his compendium. See Martini 2001, 173-206; Martini 2002, 75-112; Bertolacci 2005, 257-269; Bertolacci 2006, 20-30; Martini Bonadeo 2013, 40-41. Among the various sources examined by the two scholars – of which those already mentioned are a just a small selection – only the *Tafsīr* by Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (see *infra*) proved useful for our analysis.

⁶⁵¹ Bertolacci 2005, 251-252; Bertolacci 2006, 14.

⁶⁵² Martini Bonadeo 2003b; Martini Bonadeo 2007.

which has been studied by Gutas and edited in 2019 by Meyrav. In this textual fragment, however, our passage is omitted.⁶⁵³

A. As we have already mentioned, Book A is preserved in Averroes' *Tafsīr* (mutilated in the first part (A 1, 980a 21-A 5, 987a 6 is missing) and is read in the translation by Naẓīf ibn Yumn. Thus, only one poetic reference remains, A 8, 989a 10-11 = ref. 2 (pp. 276-277), while the others (A 2, 982b 30-31; A 2, 982b 34-983a 5; A 3, 983b 27-33; A 4, 984b 23-31) are lost in Arabic and have not been considered.

B. The version by Uṣṭāṭ attested to in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* is the one that is found in the Textus (and Lemmata) sections of the *Tafsīr* and is apparently the only one used by Averroes. The interpretation of the other accounts that Ibn al-Nadīm provides regarding Book B is less straightforward: «Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn translated a number of the treatises [of this work]. Syrianus commented on treatise “B”. It [*i.e.* treatise “B” together with Syrianus' commentary] was translated into Arabic. I saw it written in Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī's own hand in the list of his books». ⁶⁵⁴ There is no indication of which books were translated by Iṣḥāq or what the pronoun «it» (*-hā*) refers to, whether to treatise “B” or treatise “B” together with Syrianus' commentary – as understood by Bertolacci – or Syrianus' commentary alone or a number of the treatises. Even the expression «I saw it» is too vague to indicate unequivocally the Arabic version of treatise “B” together with Syrianus' commentary, as would seem plausible.⁶⁵⁵ Yet other data in this sense have emerged from the indirect tradition. In the *Ilāhiyyāt* of Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Šifā'* some passages of *Metaph. B* are paraphrased from a different version than Uṣṭāṭ's, which according to Bertolacci could be the translation by Iṣḥāq.⁶⁵⁶ The only reference contained in Book B (B 4, 1000a 9-19 = ref. 3, pp. 277-279) is therefore attested in the version by Uṣṭāṭ transmitted in the *Tafsīr*.

Γ. Book Γ also falls within the core translated by Uṣṭāṭ as attested by Ibn al-Nadīm. In his *Tafsīr* Averroes resorts to Uṣṭāṭ's version in the Textus and in the Lemmata, but sometimes refers to «another translation», which might be that by Iṣḥāq.⁶⁵⁷ Book Γ contains two poetic references, one in Γ 5, 1009b 28-31 and another in Γ 5, 1010a 5-7. However, due to some missing folios in the Leiden MS, the section of the Textus and part of Averroes' commentary corresponding to Γ 5 1009b 25-1011a 2 has been lost, and the Arabic version printed by Bouyges for these lines has been reconstructed by Bouyges himself from the MSS of the Hebrew and Latin versions.⁶⁵⁸ Since this is a retroversion made by the editor and not Uṣṭāṭ's version I have not analysed these two references.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵³ Bertolacci 2005, 252 and Bertolacci 2006, 15, who refers to Gutas 1987, 8-17. As Bertolacci explains, apparently Iṣḥāq's version was the one consulted by Ibn Sinā in the *Ilāhiyyāt* of the *Kitāb al-Šifā'*. The Arabic text is edited in Appendix A in Meyrav 2019, 509-513.

⁶⁵⁴ Flügel 1871-1872, I 251.30-252.1 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 171.9-11 (Ar.). English translation in Bertolacci 2005, 244; Bertolacci 2006, 8.

⁶⁵⁵ Bertolacci 2005 discusses this point at 245-246 n. 11 (= Bertolacci 2006, 9 n. 12)

⁶⁵⁶ Bertolacci 2005, 247-248; Bertolacci 2006, 311-312.

⁶⁵⁷ Bertolacci 2005, 253; Bertolacci 2006, 15-16. The same holds true for Books Θ and I.

⁶⁵⁸ Bertolacci 2005, 253 n. 31; Bertolacci 2006, 15 n. 33. *Metaph.* Bouyges (*Notice*, 1952), XLII-XLIV, CLXXXVI-CLXXXVII. On the Hebrew translations: *Metaph.* Bouyges (*Notice*, 1952), LXXXV-XCVII. On the Latin translations: *Metaph.* Bouyges (*Notice*, 1952), LXVI-LXXXI.

⁶⁵⁹ See the Arabic text in *Metaph.* Bouyges 413 (T.21 p-r) for Γ 5, 1009b 28-31 and *Metaph.* Bouyges 421 (T.22 d) for Γ 5, 1010a 5-7.

Δ. The Arabic version of Book Δ is also preserved in the Textus and Lemmata of Averroes' *Tafsīr*. This is the translation by Uṣṭāt mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm. As in the case of Book B, Avicenna, in the *Ilāhiyyāt* of his *Kitāb al-Šifā'*, paraphrases some passages of Book Δ, by presumably drawing on the version of Iṣḥāq, who, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, translated some unspecified books of the *Metaph*. Three poetic references are included in Book Δ and are analysed below, namely Δ 5, 1015a 28-31 = refs. 4, 5 (pp. 279-280); Δ 23, 1023a 19-21 = ref. 6 (p. 280); Δ 24 1023a 32-33 = ref. 7 (pp. 281-282). The mention of the Trojan wars at Δ 11, 1018b 16-17 is too general to constitute a separate poetic reference and seems to refer more to the historical event than to the episode that is the subject of the epic narrative. However, the passage is briefly treated contextually with the locus parallelus *Phys*. Δ 13, 222a 22-26, b 11-12 = refs. 4, 5.

Z. The Arabic version of Book Z is preserved in the Textus and Lemmata of Averroes' *Tafsīr*, in Uṣṭāt's translation. It contains two interconnected poetic references, namely Z 4, 1030a 8-9; 1030b 8-10 = refs. 8, 9 (pp. 282-283).

H. The Arabic version of Book H is preserved in the Textus and Lemmata of Averroes' *Tafsīr*, in Uṣṭāt's translation. It contains a mention of the *Iliad* in H 6, 1045a 12-14 = ref. 10 (pp. 282-283), in a context very similar to that of *Metaph*. refs. 8, 9 from Book Z, so I have dealt with these three references jointly.

Λ. For this book we are faced with the most composite situation. As in the other cases, Ibn al-Nadīm informs us of a translation by Uṣṭāt – as also reported in a note from the Leiden MS bearing the *Tafsīr* by Averroes⁶⁶⁰ and mentions a number of other translations. These are: an Arabic translation of this book accompanied by the commentary by Alexander of Aphrodisias attributed to Abū Bišr Mattā; a Syriac translation by Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq; another translation by Abū Bišr Mattā with a commentary by Themistius; and a translation by Šamlī. It is unclear how one should interpret the evidence on Themistius' commentary and whether Abū Bišr Mattā indeed produced two separate versions of *Metaph*. Λ. As Geoffroy pointed out, followed by other scholars, Themistius' commentary is a paraphrase and therefore, unlike Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary, it did not bear lemmata with Aristotle's text. Therefore, it is possible that Abū Bišr Mattā translated Themistius' paraphrase and appended to it his own Syriac-Arabic translation of *Metaph*. Λ, made from the Syriac version by Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq mentioned earlier by Ibn al-Nadīm.⁶⁶¹ For his *Tafsīr*, Averroes made use of more than one version. In the Textus, in fact, Abū Bišr Mattā's version is given from the beginning of Book Λ until Λ 7, 1072b 16 and from Λ 8, 1073a 14 until the end of Book Λ. At various points in his commentary, Averroes then refers to Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary, translated in actual fact by Abū Bišr Mattā. For some passages of *Metaph*. Λ up to Λ 7, 1072b 16⁶⁶² and for

⁶⁶⁰ *Metaph*. Bouyges (*Notice*, 1952), LVI, CXVIII. Bertolacci 2005, 248-249; Bertolacci 2006, 12-13.

⁶⁶¹ Geoffroy 2003, 417-420. Bertolacci 2005, 245 n.9; Bertolacci 2006, 9 n. 10. See also Genequand 1984, 9-10 and Martini Bonadeo 2013, 43 n. 215. Lost in Greek, the paraphrase by Themistius is preserved in Arabic – which might be a translation by Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn revised by Tabit ibn Qurra – and in Hebrew – in a version from Arabic by Moshe ibn Tibbon dated 1255. In addition to indirect quotations, including those contained in Averroes' *Long Commentary*, a fragment corresponding to Chapter 1 and part of Chapter 2 as well as an abridgment of Chapters 6-9 have come down to us, both edited by Badawī in 1947 (*Arist.* 'Arab Badawī 12-21 and 329-333). A new Arabic-Jewish edition edited by Yoav Meyrav appeared in 2019. See the introductory study in Meyrav 2019, 24-209.

⁶⁶² The passages are listed in Bertolacci 2005, 254 n.36; Bertolacci 2006, 16 n. 38.

section Λ 7, 1072b 16-1073a 13 Averroes uses Uṣṭāṭ's version. Uṣṭāṭ's translation of Λ 1-7 (from the beginning to 1072b 16) is preserved in the mg. of the Leiden MS and was used by Avicenna in his *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, where he comments on Λ 6 1071b 5- Λ 10, 1075a 27.⁶⁶³ Finally, Averroes cites additional translations in his commentary. Of these, some quotations appear to be taken from Uṣṭāṭ's version – identified through a comparison with the text given in mg. –, whereas a passage (Λ 3, 1070a 2-7) is taken from a translation that Averroes explicitly ascribes to Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, which is also partially reproduced in mg. along with Uṣṭāṭ's version. Other quotations remain unidentified, and some have proposed attributing them to Iṣḥāq or to Šamlī, on the basis of Ibn al-Nadīm's account.⁶⁶⁴ Finally, an anonymous paraphrase of Λ 6, 1071b 3- Λ 10, 1076a 4, sometimes improperly cited by scholars as a version of Book Λ , is also extant.⁶⁶⁵

Book Λ contains four poetic references. The first corresponds to Λ 5, 1071a 22 = ref. 11 (pp. 283-284) and is transmitted in both Abū Bišr Mattā's (textus) and Uṣṭāṭ's (mg.) versions.⁶⁶⁶ The closely related second and third are found in Λ 6, 1071b 26-28; 1072a 7-8 = refs. 12, 13 (pp. 284-286) and are read in both Abū Bišr Mattā's (textus) and Uṣṭāṭ's (mg.) versions. Since Avicenna's paraphrase in his *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* covers only Λ 6, 1071b 5- Λ 10, 1075a 27 it could only be used for the examination of these two references, of which, however, no trace remains in the treatise⁶⁶⁷. The two references are not included in the anonymous paraphrase either.⁶⁶⁸

The last reference, a famous one, is found in Λ 10, 1076a 4 = ref. 14 (pp. 286-287). However, the Leiden MS is mutilated in its final part – in correspondence with the textus of Λ 9, 1075b 20- Λ 10, 1076a 4 and to Averroes' related commentary –, which in Bouyges' edition is replaced by a retroversion from Hebrew to Arabic provided by the editor himself.⁶⁶⁹ For the same reasons advanced for the gaps in Book Γ , the passage has not been examined. However, the anonymous paraphrase provides an Arabic version of the quotation, on which we based our analysis.

Finally, Book N seems to have been translated for the first time in the 10th cent. Ibn al-Nadīm, in fact, reports that this book existed only in Greek along with the commentary by Alexander of Aphrodisias.⁶⁷⁰ But from a mg. note of the *Tafsīr*, which however as already mentioned does not include this book of the *Metaph.*, we learn that Naẓīf ibn Yumn had translated it together with Book A.⁶⁷¹ In the absence of the Arabic version of N the poetic references (N 3, 1091a 7-9; N 4, 1091b 4-6; N 6 1093a 15-18; N 6 1093a 26-28) have not been analysed.

⁶⁶³ Bertolacci 2005, 254; see also Bertolacci 2006, 588-589.

⁶⁶⁴ Bertolacci 2005, 255-256; Bertolacci 2006, 17-18.

⁶⁶⁵ Bertolacci 2005, 256-257; Bertolacci 2006, 18-19. The text is preserved in the previously mentioned MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, ḥikma 6. I consulted this work in Badawī's 1947 edition (= Arist. 'Arab Badawī 3-11), but there exists also an earlier 1937 edition published in Egypt by Abū l-'Alā 'Afīfī under the title *An Ancient Arabic Translation of the Book Λ of the Metaphysics of Aristotle*, which I did not consult. On the paraphrase authorship question see Bertolacci 2005, 256 n. 48; Bertolacci 2006, 19 n. 53.

⁶⁶⁶ Bertolacci 2005, 254 n. 36; Bertolacci 2006, 16 n. 38.

⁶⁶⁷ Arist. 'Arab Badawī 22.16-18. See Janssens 2003, 402-403 (Janssens numbers the lines of the Arabic text excluding the title and the eulogy).

⁶⁶⁸ Arist. 'Arab Badawī 4.7-8, 12-13.

⁶⁶⁹ *Metaph.* Bouyges (vol. 3, 1948), VIII-IX; *Metaph.* Bouyges (*Notice*, 1952), XLII-XLIV, CLXXXVI-CLXXXVII.

⁶⁷⁰ Flügel 1871-1872, I 251.27 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 171.5 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 49, Dodge 1970, 606 (Engl.).

⁶⁷¹ *Metaph.* Bouyges (*Notice*, 1952), LVI, CXVIII. Bertolacci 2005, 249; Bertolacci 2006, 12-13.

Aristotle's *Metaph.* is cited in the edition by William D. Ross, *Aristotle's metaphysics*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1924 (repr. 1970 [of 1953 corr. ed.]). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book, chapter and to the pagination of Bekker's edition. The Arabic text in Bouyges' edition occupies 3 volumes (V, 2 of 1938, VI of 1942 and VII of 1948). Since the 3 volumes bear a continuous page numbering, the volume and the year which the page number refers to have not been specified in mg. to the Arabic text below.

1.

α 1, 993b 15-16

εἰ μὲν γὰρ Τιμόθεος μὴ ἐγένετο, πολλήν ἂν μελοποιίαν οὐκ εἶχομεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ Φρύνις, Τιμόθεος οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο.

Metaph. Bouyges 9.2-3 (T.2): Ishāq (textus)

فإنّ طيماوس لو لم يكن لكتنا نعدم كثيرًا من تأليف اللحن ولو لم يكن حروسيس لم يكن طيماوس

Metaph. Bouyges 9.2-3 in app.: Uṣṭāt (mg. Ibn Rušd)

فإنه لو لم يكن طيماوس لم يكن لنا معرفة بتأليف اللحن ولو لم يكن أفرونيس لم يكن طيماوس

tempt. Bouyges in app. [بتأليف كثير من] بتأليف ***

CONTEXT:

The account on Timotheus and Phrynīs fits into a celebrated passage in which Aristotle describes the search for truth (993a 30: ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας θεωρία, with which chapter α 1 opens) as a process by accumulation, requiring the participation of all the wisemen and that cannot be completed by a single man. For this reason, Aristotle offers his gratitude to all those who have preceded him, including those whose opinions he does not share and even those who have made superficial contributions to the advancement of knowledge (993b 11-14). A similar process is found in the field of poetry and music, as is evident from the remark «for if there had been no Timotheus, we would not have had many musical compositions, but if there had been no Phrynīs there would have been no Timotheus». Timotheus – early 4th cent. BCE poet and citharist – is credited with having adopted a modern style in his compositions, but his art would not have been possible without the stylistic innovations of his older contemporary Phrynīs. The latter was a chitharist of the late 5th cent. BCE, who presumably was defeated by Timotheus himself in a musical contest (cf. fr. 26 Page [PMG 802]).⁶⁷²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

⁶⁷² Cardullo 2013, 243-244; see the articles by Harmon on *Phrynīs* and Robbins on *Timotheus* in BNP 2006.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Ishāq's version («For if there had been no Timotheus we would nevertheless be deprived of many of the works of melody, and if there had been no Phrynis there would be no Timotheus») follows the Greek closely, beyond the corruptions in the transliteration of proper nouns plausibly due to some copyist's carelessness. Indeed, Timotheus is transliterated *Ṭimāwus* as if it were Timaeus, while for Phrynis we read *ḥarūsīs*. This is confirmed by the Arabic text of the *lemmata* of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's *Tafsīr li-l-maqāla l-ūlā min kitāb Ariṣṭūṭālīs al-mawsūm bi-maṭāṭāfūsīqā ayfi mā ba'd al-ṭabī'iyāt wa-hiya l-mawsūma bi-l-alif al-ṣuḡrā*, which bears the version by Ishāq in a more complete recension than that transmitted by the *Tafsīr* of Averroes and, above all, has been transmitted in a large number of MSS and not in a *codex unicus* as in the case of the *Long commentary* of Averroes. In Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī's *Tafsīr* the Arabic version by Ishāq coincides verbatim with that preserved in the *Tafsīr* of Averroes, including the corruptions of proper nouns, although in some MSS the correct transliteration *Ṭimūtāwus* is attested.⁶⁷³ The version given in mg. to the Leiden MS of Averroes' *Tafsīr*, ascribed to Uṣṭāt, is close to the Greek as well, and bears the same transliteration of Timotheus as if it were Timaeus. After *bi-ta'lifi* the text of Uṣṭāt's version is illegible, and Bouyges speculates in the apparatus that it could have been *kaṭīri min*, similarly to Ishāq's translation. The version reads: «for if there had been no Timotheus we would have no knowledge of <many> works <of> melody, and if there had been no Phrynis there would be no Timotheus».

2.

A 8, 989a 10-11

φησι δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος τὴν γῆν πρώτην γενέσθαι τῶν σωμάτων.

Metaph. Bouyges 86.12-13 (T. 14 b): Naẓīf ibn Yumn

وأسيودس يقول إنّ الأرض هي المبدأ الأول للأجسام

CONTEXT:

Chapter A 8 opens with a polemic against the monists, namely «all those who regard the universe as a unity, and assume as its matter some one nature, and that corporeal and extended»⁶⁷⁴ (988b 22-23). One of the errors of the monists⁶⁷⁵ consists of having assumed as a principle one of the elements (water, air, fire, but not the earth) without taking into account their mutual relations of generation (988b 31: τὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσιν), which occur by combination or separation. Aristotle then examines two hypotheses (988b 34-389a 18). If one were to assume as the first principle the element from which the other elements derive by combination then one would take the simplest and one that is endowed with the most subtle parts, that is, fire. If one instead assumed as the first principle the latest element by generation (989a 15-16: τὸ τῆ γενέσει ὕστερον), one from which the other elements derive by separation, then one should take earth (even before water), the most complex element and one consisting

⁶⁷³ Miškāt 1967, 20.1-2 = Badawī 1973, 174.20-21 Ḥalifāt 1988, 228.4-5.

⁶⁷⁴ English translation in Tredennick 1933, 51.

⁶⁷⁵ See 988b 24-32; summarised by Cardullo 2013, 214

of the largest parts. In this regard Aristotle wonders why the monists have not placed earth as the primary element, as was *communis opinio* (989a 9: ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων) and since «Hesiod too says that earth was generated first of corporeal things».⁶⁷⁶ Aristotle alludes here to vv. 116-117 of the *Theogony* – already explicitly quoted already in *Metaph.* A 4, 984b 23-31 (but the Arabic version is not preserved) and also in *Phys.* Δ 1, 208b 29-33 = ref. 2 (pp. 226-227) – where Earth is the first among elements to be generated after Chaos: «Foremost of all things Chaos came to be / And then broad-breasted Earth».

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated compendiary quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Nazif ibn Yumn's version («and Hesiod claims that earth is the first principle for the bodies») poses no particular problems. The Arabic *al-mabda'* corresponding to the Greek ἄρχή is inferred from the context.

3.

B 4, 1000a 9-19

οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ πάντες ὅσοι θεολόγοι μόνον ἐφρόντισαν τοῦ πιθανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς, ἡμῶν δ' ὠλιγώρησαν (θεοὺς γὰρ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐκ θεῶν γεγονέναι, τὰ μὴ γευσάμενα τοῦ νέκταρος καὶ τῆς ἀμβροσίας θνητὰ γενέσθαι φασίν, δῆλον ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα γνῶριμα λέγοντες αὐτοῖς· καίτοι περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς προσφᾶς τῶν αἰτίων τούτων ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς εἰρήκασιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χάριν ἡδονῆς αὐτῶν θιγγάνουσιν, οὐθὲν αἴτια τοῦ εἶναι τὸ νέκταρ καὶ ἀμβροσία, εἰ δὲ τοῦ εἶναι, πῶς ἂν εἶεν αἰδιοὶ δεόμενοι τροφῆς)· ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν μυθικῶς σοφισζομένων οὐκ ἄξιον μετὰ σπουδῆς σκοπεῖν·

***Metaph.* Bouyges 247.1-12 (T.15 c-i): Uṣṭāt**

فَأَمَّا مَنْ كَانَ عَلَى رَأْيِ أَفِيْقُودَسٍ وَجَمِيعٍ مِنْ تَكَلَّمَ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ الْإِلَاهِيَّةِ فَإِنَّ عَنَائِتَهُمْ كَانَتْ فِي إِقْنَاعِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ فَقَطْ وَلَمْ تَكُنْ عَنَائِتَهُمْ فِي إِقْنَاعِنَا بَلْ تَوَانُوا عَنْ ذَلِكَ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُمْ يَجْعَلُونَ الْأَوَائِلَ آلِهَةً وَمِنْ آلِهَةٍ وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ الْأَوَائِلَ الَّتِي لَمْ تَشْرَبْ مِنْ نَقْطَرٍ وَلَمْ تَطْعَمْ مِنْ أَمْرُوسِيَا صَارَتْ تَمُوتُ فَمَعْلُومٌ أَنَّهَا قَالُوا هَذِهِ الْأَشْيَاءُ وَهِيَ عِنْدَهُمْ مَعْرُوفَةٌ إِلَّا أَنَّ مَا وَضَعُوا مِنْ أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْعِلَلُ تَطْعَمُ وَتَذُوقُ أَشْيَاءَ فَهَذَا الْقَوْلُ خَارِجٌ عَنْ عَقُولِنَا وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ إِنْ كَانَتْ مَنَائِلَتُهُمْ لَهَا لِمَكَانٍ لَذَّةٌ فَلَيْسَ نَقْطَرٌ وَلَا الْأَمْرُوسِيَا عِلَّةٌ لِبَقَاءِ شَيْءٍ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ مَنَائِلَتُهُمْ إِيَّاهَا لِأَنَّ تَبَقَى أَتَيْتَهُمْ فَكَيْفَ يَكُونُونَ أَرْلِيَيْنِ وَهُمْ مُحْتَاجُونَ إِلَى الطَّعَامِ وَلِذَلِكَ لَيْسَ بِوَاجِبٍ أَنْ نَفْحَصَ فَحَصًا بِالْعَا عَنْ أَقَاوِيلِ الَّذِينَ حَكَمْتَهُمْ شَبِيهَةً بِالزَّخَارِيفِ

CONTEXT:

The reference to Hesiod and his followers is part of the discussion of the tenth aporia out of the 15 presented in Book Three. Aristotle asks whether the principles of corruptible and

⁶⁷⁶ English translation in Tredennick 1933, 53.

incorruptible things are the same or different and, if they are the same, how and why some things are incorruptible and others are corruptible (1000a 6-8). Aristotle first polemicalises with the followers of Hesiod and all the theologians (οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ πάντες ὅσοι θεολόγοι), who have formulated their doctrines with the sole interest of being persuasive in their own eyes, without trying to be so for others, in this case for philosophers like Aristotle (μόνον ἐφρόντισαν τοῦ πιθανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς, ἡμῶν δ' ὠλιγώρησαν). The limits of their discourse are presented thus: «For, after they have made the principles Gods and generated from the Gods, they state that whoever did not taste of the nectar and ambrosia became mortal – clearly using these terms in a sense significant to themselves. But as regards the actual application of these causes their statements are beyond our comprehension. For if it is for pleasure that the Gods partake of them, the nectar and ambrosia are in no sense causes of their being; but if [they are cause] of their being, how can Gods be eternal if they require nourishment? However, it is not worth while to consider seriously the subtleties of mythologists». ⁶⁷⁷ As seen in other passages (*Mete.* B 1, 353a 34 = ref. 2, pp. 276-277; see *infra Metaph.* Λ 6, 1071b 26-27 = ref. 12, pp. 284-286; but see also *Metaph.* Α 3, 983b 29, not preserved in Arabic) Hesiod and his followers (*in primis* Orpheus and Musaeus) represent the group of theologians, i.e. those who tried to explain reality by always resorting to the divine in their mythological discourses in verse, of which only Hesiod's *Theogony* has been preserved in its entirety. ⁶⁷⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Uṣṭāṭ's text runs as follows: «As for those of Hesiod's opinion and all those who spoke on divine matters, their concern was only to convince themselves while they did not concern themselves with convincing us. But they left this out, that is, they made the principles as gods and derived from gods and affirmed that the principles who do not drink of nectar and do not eat of ambrosia become mortal. And it is certain that they affirm these things in a sense significant to themselves. But, as far as they have established that these causes eat and taste something, this statement is beyond our comprehension. That is, if they procure it for a condition of pleasure neither nectar nor ambrosia is a cause for the existence of anything, and if they procure it so that their essence exists, how can they who need nourishment be eternal? Therefore, we need not examine in depth certain statements of those who have formulated them akin to ornate speeches».

The translation is close to the original Greek, except for some minor differences. First, the verb ὠλιγώρησαν governs what follows (θεοὺς γὰρ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐκ θεῶν γεγονέναι) as it would seem from the Arabic *bal tawānaw 'an dālīka wa-dālīka anna-hum* etc. The phrase καίτοι περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς προσφᾶς τῶν αἰτίων τούτων ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς εἰρήκασιν is partially mistranslated and Uṣṭāṭ is misled by the term αἴτιον in the genitive plural, which he misinterprets as a

⁶⁷⁷ English translation in Tredennick 1933, 127, 129 (modified).

⁶⁷⁸ See Cardullo 2013, 185.

synonym of ἀρχή (see τὰς ἀρχὰς at 1000a 11). The adverb μυθικῶς is paraphrased as (*šabiha*) *bi-l-zahārifi*, a simplification of the original meaning.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

As noted by Bertolacci, al-Fārābī relied on Uṣṭāṭ’s version by referring to this passage in his *Kitāb al-alfāz al-musta‘mala fi l-manṭiq*.⁶⁷⁹ However, he only takes up lines 1000a 9-11, 13-15, 18-19, thus eliminating any element connected with οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἡσίοδον καὶ πάντες ὅσοι θεολόγοι and their doctrines. Only a trace of the adverb μυθικῶς remains at 1000a 18, trivialised just as in Uṣṭāṭ’s version: «Likewise, we do not have to examine the statements of those whose philosophy is like an embellishment [*šabiha bi-l-zahārifi* (sic)]». ⁶⁸⁰

4., 5.

Δ 5, 1015a 28-31

τό γὰρ βίαιον ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται, διὸ καὶ λυπηρόν (ὥσπερ καὶ Εὐϋηνός φησι “πάν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον πράγμα’ ἀνιαρόν ἔφου”) καὶ ἡ βία ἀνάγκη τις (ὥσπερ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς λέγει “ἀλλ’ ἡ βία με ταῦτ’ ἀναγκάζει ποιεῖν”)

Metaph. Bouyges 516.1-4 (T.6 d-f)

فإنّ الشيء القاهر يُقال مضطّرّ ولذلك هو محزن أيضًا كما قال أدينيس إنّ كلّ شيء مضطّرّ فمؤلم ومحزن
والقهر اضطرار ما كما قال قرقاليس أيضًا إنّ القهر يضطرنّي أن فعل هذا

CONTEXT:

One of the meanings of necessary, ἀναγκαῖον, enumerated from 1015a 20, is «what is compulsory and compulsion», τὸ βίαιον καὶ ἡ βία, namely «what hinders and obstructs an impulse or choice» (1015a 26-27). For, Aristotle remarks, «what is compulsory is said necessary, and therefore also painful, as Evenus claims “every necessary deed is by nature grievous” and compulsion is a sort of necessity, as Sophocles says “but compulsion necessitates I do these things”). The first quotation corresponds to Even. fr. 8 West and also occurs in *Rh.* A 11, 1370a 10 = ref. 15 (p. 104),⁶⁸¹ while the quotation of Sophocles is the v. 256 of *Electra*’s first episode, pronounced by the homonymous character to justify her intentions of revenge.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit serial literal author’s quotations, complete monostichs. Both verses are altered, or at least are also known in different forms. The fragment of Evenus is also attested in the *Theognidean Sylloge* (Thgn. 472 West) with the wording πάν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον χρῆμα’ ἀνιηρόν ἔφου. Instead, in Sophocles’ tragedy we read the verse in the form ἀλλ’ ἡ βία ταῦτ’ ἀναγκάζει με δρᾶν.

⁶⁷⁹ Bertolacci 2006, 21 n. 61 and 96 n. 60. Arabic text in Mahdi 1968, 91.15–92. 3 = *Metaph.* B, 4, 1000a9–11, 13–15, 18–19.

⁶⁸⁰ Mahdi 1968, 92.3. English translation in Bertolacci 2006, 96 n.60.

⁶⁸¹ See Année 2020, 196–200.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic reads: «what is compulsory is said necessary, and therefore also painful, as Evenus claims “every necessary thing is grievous and painful, and compulsion is a sort of necessity, as also Sophocles says compulsion necessitates I do this». The version is very close to the Greek but the words *πράγμα* and *ἔφω* are not translated. The term *ἀνιάρων* is rendered by the hendiadys *mu'lim wa-muḥzin* (the latter translates *λυπηρόν* at 1015a 28). Both *ὥσπερ* are rendered with *ka-mā*.

6.

Δ 23, 1023a 19-21

καὶ ὥς οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Ἄτλαντα ποιοῦσι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχειν ὥς συμπεσόντ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν φυσιολόγων τινὲς φασιν.

Metaph. Bouyges 650.7-9 (T.28 e)

ومثل ما ذكر الشعراء أنّ أطليطس للسماء كأنه لو لم يكن هذا كان قد سقط على الأرض كما يذكر بعض من تكلم في الأمور الطبيعية

CONTEXT:

The reference exemplifies one of the meanings of *ἔχειν* discussed in Δ 23, namely when it is used to denote «that which prevents anything from moving or acting in accordance with its own impulse» (1023a 17-18). The term is employed with this sense by poets (e.g. Hom. *Od.* α 52-54 and Hes. *Theog.* 517-519), who «make Atlas hold up the heaven, because otherwise it would fall upon the earth (as some of the physicists maintain also)». ⁶⁸² An analogous reference is found in *Cael.* B 1, 284a 18-23 = ref. 1 (pp. 235-239).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The first *ὥς* is translated as *mital mā*, while *ὥσπερ* as *ka-mā*. In Arabic the syntactic functions of τὸν Ἄτλαντα and τὸν οὐρανὸν are reversed and thus the subject of *ἔχειν* is τὸν οὐρανὸν. The second *ὥς* is taken with the meaning of «as if» and translated with *ka-annahū*.

The version reads: «As what the poets say, that the sky has [i.e. holds up] Atlas as if, if it were not so, it would fall on the earth, as some of those who have spoken on natural matters say».

⁶⁸² English translations in Tredennick 1933, 277.

7.

Δ 24 1023a 32-33

ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου τὰ μέρη καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιάδος τὸ ἔπος

Metaph. Bouyges 655.7-9 (T.29 f)

مثل الأجزاء من الكلّ والقصيدة من كلام الشعر مثل قصيدة من الشعر المسمى الباس

CONTEXT:

One of the meanings of ἐκ τινος («to derive from something») is the deriving from the combination of matter and form (1023a 31-32: ἐκ τοῦ συνθέτου ἐκ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς μορφῆς), like the parts derive from the whole and verses from the *Iliad*.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention of the *Iliad*.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

ὥσπερ is translated as *mital*, and is also repeated within the expanded translation of the example ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιάδος τὸ ἔπος. The reference to the *Iliad* (whose transliteration الباس has been corrupted into الباس) is rendered in Arabic and rephrased as follows: «like the parts from the whole and the ode (*qaṣīda*) from the poetic discourse (*kalām al-šīri*), like the ode from the poem which is called *Iliad*». Instead of rendering ἔπος with *bayt* the translator opts for the more extensive measure of *qaṣīda*, of which the broader poetic discourse to which the *Iliad* is assimilated, is composed. However, strictly speaking, the *qaṣīda* would seem to be a species of the genus *kalām al-šīr* rather than part of it.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The example of the *qaṣīda* in al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-waḥid wa-l-waḥda*⁶⁸³ to explain the oneness of a compound body is probably derived from this passage – the only one among those concerning the *Iliad* as a unit by conjunction (see also *Metaph. Z* 4, 1030a 8-9; 1030b 8-10; H 6, 1045a 12-14 = refs. 8, 9, 10, pp. 282-283, and *APo. B* 7, 92b 31-32; B 10, 93b 35-37 = refs. 1, 2, pp. 72-74) whose Arabic version introduces the term *qaṣīda* – or, one might speculate, from an unpreserved version of one of these passages that similarly bore *qaṣīda*.

Another parallel, though neither directly nor explicitly related to our passage, can be read in the First Book of al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al-kabīr*. After establishing a chain of derivation according to the principle of ἐκ τινος among the elements that constitute a musical composition, al-Fārābī states: «A musical composition (*al-alḥān*) is like a poem (*al-qaṣīda*) and poetry (*al-šīr*). In fact, the first elements that compose it are the letters (*al-ḥurūf*), which are combined together, then there are the *al-asbāb* (metrical units made up of two letters), the *al-awtād* (metrical units made up of three letters), and those composed of the *al-asbāb* and the *al-awtād*, then the feet of the hemistichs (*ağzā' al-maṣārī'*), the hemistichs (*al-maṣārī'*), and then the verse (*al-bayt*). The same thing happens in musical composition, for it

⁶⁸³ The example occurs in three places in the work: Mahdi 1989, 49.10 (para. 14); 73.3 (para. 54); 95.4 (para. 88).

too is composed of elements that are combined, some being those that come first and others those that come second, until we arrive at those elements that stand for the melody as the verse stands for the poem. What in the musical composition corresponds to the letters in the poems is the musical sound [...]. After this one may finally examine the musical composition [in itself] and the annexed things as has been done for the art of metrics in poetry».⁶⁸⁴

8., 9., 10.

Z 4, 1030a 8-9

πάντες γὰρ ἂν εἶεν οἱ λόγοι ὅροι· ἔσται γὰρ ὄνομα ὀπωρὸν λόγῳ, ὥστε καὶ ἡ Ἰλιάς ὀρισμὸς ἔσται

Z 4, 1030b 8-10

τοῦτο δὲ ἐὰν ἐνὸς ᾗ, μὴ τῷ συνεχεῖ ὥσπερ ἡ Ἰλιάς ἢ ὅσα συνδέσμων, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὀσάχως λέγεται τὸ ἔν·

H 6, 1045a 12-14

ὁ δ' ὀρισμὸς λόγος ἐστὶν εἷς οὐ συνδέσμων καθάπερ ἡ Ἰλιάς ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνὸς εἶναι.

Metaph. Bouyges 795.11-13 (T 13 c-d); 807.9-11 (T 16 c)

وإلا فسيكون جميع الكلم حدودًا فإن لكل كلمة اسمًا فإذا سيكون جميع الشعر المسمى الناس حدًا

Metaph. Bouyges 807.9-11 (T 16 c)

وهذا أيضًا إذا كان الواحد لا بأنه متصل مثل كتاب الناس وجميع التي تتصل برباط بجمع، بل إذا كان

واحدًا على الأنواع التي يُقال الواحد بها

Metaph. Bouyges 1089.8-9 (T 15 d)

وأما الحد فإنه كلمة واحدة ليس بالعقد مثل كتاب الناس يعني كتاب أميرش الأول بل بأنه لشيء واحد

CONTEXT:

In Z 4 Aristotle deals with substance in the sense of essence and returns to discuss the definition as well as the relation that binds the latter to essence. «The essence of each thing is that which is said to be *per se*»⁶⁸⁵ (1029b 13-14), and it is «an individual type; but when a subject has something distinct from it predicated of it, it is not an individual type. E.g., “white man” is not an individual type» (1030a 3-5). It follows that the essence in the proper and absolute sense is said only of the individual substance, while it is not given in the compounds, if not in a derivative way. Moreover, «essence belongs to all things the account of which is a definition» (1030a 6-7), and, as explained by ps. Alexander «that is, among beings, the essence is said in the proper sense only of those substances, the discourse on which is a definition, namely an

⁶⁸⁴ Hašaba, Hifnī 1967, 85. 9-86.4, 8-9.

⁶⁸⁵ All English translations of these two passages from *Metaph. Z 4* come from Tredennick 1933, 321, 323, 327 (modified).

explanation and enumeration of that which per se and essentially belongs to them».⁶⁸⁶ In this regard Aristotle stresses that not every discourse that means the same thing as a name is a definition, otherwise even the *Iliad* would be a definition. In fact, since the poem of the *Iliad*, the set of its verses and books, is a speech that means the same thing as the name *Iliad*, then such speech would end up being the definition of the *Iliad*.

Instead, as explained a little further on, only a unitary discourse can constitute a definition, and its unity must be essential – that is «in one of the proper senses of “one.” (ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ὁσάχως λέγεται τὸ ἓν). And “one” has the same variety of senses as “being.”» (1030b 10-11) – and not one by continuity, like the *Iliad*. Evidently, the passage echoes *APo.* B 10, 93b 35-37 = ref. 2 (pp. 72-74) in which the unity represented by the *Iliad* (ὁ μὲν συνδέσμων, by the «conjunction» of its parts) – the poem being taken as a defining discourse – was contrasted with the non-accidental unity (μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός). The phrase «one not by continuity, like the *Iliad*, or things [that are one] by conjunction» is commented on by Ps. Alexander of Aphrodisias as follows: «He adds “things [that are one] by conjunction” not as if it meant something other than “not by continuity”, but as if he said “by continuity like the *Iliad*”, since the *Iliad* is continuous by conjunction, he added “or things [that are one] by conjunction».⁶⁸⁷ The same question is taken up briefly in H 6, 1045a 12-14, where the essential unity of the definition is contrasted with the unity of the *Iliad* as a whole of its parts.

Clearly, the points raised here by Aristotle refer explicitly to the discussion of the definition in the *APo.* and the mention of the *Iliad* is the *trait d’union* of all these passages.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Mention.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic versions of the three passages are accurate and close to the Greek. The only problem is found in the rendering of the Greek ἡ Ἰλιάς, whose transliteration in all cases has been corrupted into *al-nās* «the man» (الناس > الياس). In the first passage ἡ Ἰλιάς is translated as «the whole of the poem called “the man”» – where *al-šīr* is probably due to the comparison with a similar passage that explicitly refers to the *Iliad* as a poem –, while in the second instance ἡ Ἰλιάς is rendered as «the book of the man». In H 6, the Greek title is paraphrased as «the book of the man, that is the book of Homer the ancient».

Both the conjunction ὥσπερ and the adverb καθάπερ are translated as *mitla*.

11.

Λ 5, 1071a 22

ἀλλὰ Πηλεὺς Ἀχιλλέως σοῦ δὲ ὁ πατήρ

Metaph. Bouyges 1542.1-2 (T.27 f): Mattā (textus)

إلا قيلوس لأفيلوس ولك أنت أبوك

⁶⁸⁶ (Ps.)Alex.Aphr., in *Metaph.*: CAG I, 471.19-22, Hayduck. Italian translation in Movia 2007, 1229.

⁶⁸⁷ (Ps.)Alex.Aphr., in *Metaph.*: CAG I, 475.29-32, Hayduck. Italian translation in Movia 2007, 1239.

Metaph. Bouyges 1542.1 in app.: Uṣṭāt (mg.)

إلا كما أنّ فليس لأوساوس الذي هو له أب

CONTEXT:

The example involving Achilles and Peleus falls under the discussion of principles. According to Aristotle, the first causes of all particular things are themselves particular, thus «the proximate principles of all things are the proximate actual individual and another individual which exists potentially»⁶⁸⁸ (1071a 18-19). He does indeed admit that man in general is principle of man in general (ἄνθρωπος μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου καθόλου), but only on a conceptual level, because man in general does not exist (οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς) and universal man has no separate ontological reality (1071a 21-22).⁶⁸⁹ Instead, there are particular men whose efficient causes are their respective fathers – the father-son relation to explain efficient cause is mentioned several times in the *Metaph.* – just as Peleus is the cause of Achilles or your father is the cause of you.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Textus version shows no particular difficulties, apart from the common corruptions generated in the transmission of the transliteration of proper nouns. The mg. version links the second example σοῦ δὲ ὁ πατήρ to the previous one, neglecting the particle δέ, and reading αὐτοῦ instead of σοῦ, with the following outcome: «but as Peleus for Achilles, who was his father». In this version as well, the transliterations of proper nouns are corrupted. *Ka-mā anna*, introducing a comparative clause, is an addition by the translator.

12., 13.

Λ 6, 1071b 26-28; 1072a 7-8

καίτοι εἰ ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ νυκτὸς γεννῶντες, ἢ ὡς οἱ φυσικοὶ ὁμοῦ πάντα
χρήματά φασι, τὸ αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον.

[...]

ὥστ' οὐκ ἦν ἄπειρον χρόνον χάος ἢ νύξ

Metaph. Bouyges 1563.9-1564.3 (T.30 n-q); 1575.8 (T 32.c): Mattā (textus)

على أنه بحسب ما يقول المتكلمون في الإلهيات الذين يؤلّدون العالم من الليل والمتكلمون في

الطبيعيّات وهم القائلون إنّ الأمور كلّها كانت معًا لا يمكن أن تكون هي بعينها بجمعها

[...]

⁶⁸⁸ Tredennick 1935, 137.

⁶⁸⁹ See also (Ps.)Alex.Aphr., in *Metaph.*: CAG I, 684.8-19, Hayduck. Italian translation in Movia 2007, 1909, 1911 (cf. 2017 n. 214).

فإذا الوهدة والليل ليس بغير نهاية

Metaph. Bouyges 1563.6-1564.1 in app.; 1575.4 in app.: Uṣṭāt (mg.)

وهو ممتنع أيضًا على حاله كما كان يقول أصحاب الكلام الإلهي الذي يولدون من الليل وأصحاب

الكلام الطبيعي الذي يقولون ***

[...]

فإذ لم تكن هوية أو ليل زمان ما يتناهى

conī. Geoffroy 2 ***] إن الأمور كلها كانت معا [1 كما كان < إن كان > كما [كان] كما كان 1

Geoffroy 4 هوية] هوية tempt. Geoffroy fort. هوية temptavi (see *infra* n. 689)

CONTEXT:

In demonstrating the existence of the immobile motor – an eternal and immovable substance, the principle of motion, and completely devoid of potentiality, but pure actuality – Aristotle addresses the aporia (171b 22-26) that since potency is apparently always prior to action, then the immobile motor, which is actuality, should also derive from potentiality. But Aristotle explains that this cannot be, for if it were, no beings would exist, since what is in potentiality may not become act. The same impossibility (τὸ αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον) is reached by οἱ θεολόγοι – by which Aristotle refers to Hesiod and his followers (see *Metaph.* ref. 3) –, «who generate everything from Night» and the physicists, who claim that «all things were together» (a quotation from Anaxagoras: cf. 59 B 1 Diels-Kranz; cf. 169b 20-21). Behind the reference to the theologians one can recognise Hes. *Th.* 116-117 and *Op.* 17 (as Ps. Alexander of Aphrodisias does in his commentary)⁶⁹⁰ but also an orphic fragment (20F Bernabé) collected in a lost writing on the history of theology by Eudemos of Rhodes, a disciple of Aristotle.⁶⁹¹ The doctrine of the theologians is resumed polemically at 1072a 7-8: «Therefore Chaos or Night did not endure for an unlimited time».⁶⁹²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two generic content references.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Mattā's version is close to the Greek and reads: «But according to the doctrines of the theologians (*al-mutakallimūna fī l-ilāhiyyāti*) who produce the world from night and of the physicists (*al-mutakallimūna fī l-ṭabī'iyāti*) who say that “all was together”, all these same

⁶⁹⁰ (Ps.)Alex.Aphr., in *Metaph.*: CAG I, 690.7-13, Hayduck. Italian translation in Movia 2007, 1925. A trace of the mention of Hesiod might be preserved (though corrupted) in Averroes' *Tafsīr: Metaph.* Bouyges 1586.9-11 (C. 34.k), English translation in Genequand 1984, 146.

⁶⁹¹ Reale 2000, 703 n. 182; Reale 2004, 1261 n. 16 gives further possible references.

⁶⁹² All English translations come from Tredennick 1935, 143, 145.

things cannot be either. [...] Thus, Chaos and Night were not infinite».⁶⁹³ The translation in mg., attributed to Uṣṭāt, is lacunose and not even the indirect tradition can help us in this case.⁶⁹⁴ Geoffroy, who analysed the passage, proposed to emend the lacuna by following the parallel version by Abū Bišr, given the strong similarity between the two translations in the preceding lines.⁶⁹⁵ The Greek τὸ αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον is covered by *wa-huwa mumtani'un ayḍan 'alā ḥālihī*, which is placed at the beginning of the sentence, while in rendering the poetry reference the translator adds the direct object *al-'ālam*. Seemingly, the Greek καίτοι εἰ ὥς is just paraphrased. According to Geoffroy's reconstruction, one should add *in* before *ka-mā* and move the *kāna* following *ka-mā* immediately after *in*, with the result *in kāna ka-mā* (= εἰ ὥς). This way, however, καίτοι would not be expressed in Arabic and it might be, in Geoffroy's opinion, that the translator read only *καί* in his copy.⁶⁹⁶ The text, as preserved, reads: «and it is also impossible in this way, as said by the theologians (*aṣḥābu l-kalāmi l-ilāhiyyi*) who produce from night and the physicists (*aṣḥābu l-kalāmi l-ṭabī'yyi*) who say [...] Therefore Chaos or Night did not endure for the unlimited time».⁶⁹⁷ The conjunction ὥς is rendered with *ka-mā*. Both Mattā's and Uṣṭāt's translations of χάος (respectively *al-wahda* and *hawīyya*)⁶⁹⁸ differ from the synonyms *fa'ḍā'* and *wasa'* used in the parallel passage of the Arabic version of *Phys. Δ 1, 208b 29-33* = ref. 2 (pp. 227-228).

14.

Λ 10, 1076a 4

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω.

Arist. 'Arab Badawī 11.21

وليس من الجيد أن يكون الرؤساء كثيرين، لكنّ الرئيس ينبغي أن يكون واحداً

CONTEXT:

With this quotation «the rule of many is no good thing, let one be the ruler», which closes Book Λ, Aristotle reaffirms the necessity of admitting a single supreme principle to guarantee the order of things. The reference corresponds to *Il. B 204*, part of the famous speech by Agamemnon.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

⁶⁹³ Genequand 1984, 137, 141.

⁶⁹⁴ See above in the introductory paragraph on the *Metaph.* in Arabic.

⁶⁹⁵ Geoffroy 2003, 428-429.

⁶⁹⁶ Geoffroy 2003, 428.

⁶⁹⁷ See also the interpretation given in Geoffroy 2003, 434 for the second reference.

⁶⁹⁸ The transmitted هوية («passion», but also «deep cavity») might be emended with هوية meaning «abyss» as the term هوية used by Mattā. Moreover, هوية appears to be a *lectio facilior* since, given the context, it would be more spontaneously vocalised as *huwīyya* «being», a term that comes up frequently in Uṣṭāt's translation of the *Metaph.* See Bertolacci 2006, 21 n. 61. Geoffroy's hypothesis arguing that *hawīyya* may be a trivialization of *hāwīyya* (another synonym for «abyss») due to the fall of the *alif* also seems convincing. See Geoffroy 2003, 434.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

As noted in the introduction, the Leiden MS is lacunose at this point and so we must rely on the anonymous paraphrase for the reconstruction of the passage. Although the source is not a direct translation but an Arabic paraphrase of a portion of *Metaph. A*, the quotation we are interested in is reported literally and most likely as the author read it in the Arabic version on which the paraphrase is based. The Arabic text closely follows the Greek. The rendering of the first part of the quotation, οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη (*wa-laysa mina l-ğayyidi an yakūna al-ru'asā'a kaṭīrīna*), can be compared with the translation found in the gnomological tradition (particularly in the *Muntaḥab šiwān al-ḥikma* and the collections stemming from it)⁶⁹⁹ where instead one reads *lā ḥayra fī kaṭrati l-ru'asā'*. It is not possible to deduce any conclusive information about the identity of the translator of the version used in the anonymous paraphrase from the linguistic analysis of this brief segment. The only distinctive feature, the translation of οὐκ ἀγαθόν, here *laysa mina l-ğayyidi*, has no parallel in the rest of the Arabic tradition of *Metaph.* (cf. Γ 7, 1012a 27 οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε οὐκ ἀγαθόν, both translated by Uṣṭāṭ with *ḥayr* = *Metaph.* Bouyges 460.12 [T 28 h] and Z 6, 1031b 11 οὐκ ἀγαθόν translated by Uṣṭāṭ with *ḥayr* = *Metaph.* Bouyges 823.5 [T 20 u]). But even from these different translation choices we cannot derive anything probative.

2.3.4 *Nicomachean Ethics* (EN)

The history of the discovery and the editorial vicissitudes of the Arabic *Nicomachean Ethics* is just as fascinating as it is intricate, and it interests us only partially, so I will limit myself here to providing the essential data for the purposes of our analysis.⁷⁰⁰

The EN is preserved in two incomplete and complementary Arabic versions transmitted from a single *codex unicus* in the Qarawiyyīn library in Fez. The MS was found at two different moments, between the 1950s and 1960s, as it was dismembered in two separate codicological units, which had been assigned two different signatures (MS Fez, Ḥizānat al-Qarawiyyīn L 2508/80 and MS Fez, Ḥizānat al-Qarawiyyīn L 3043/80).⁷⁰¹ The two scholars credited with

⁶⁹⁹ See Dunlop 1979, 68.1369 (Ar.) and *infra* Chapter 3. Tornero Poveda 2016 examined the occurrences of this verse in Arabic sources. This Homeric quotation is also included in the section on *Int.* of Ibn Zur'a's *Ağrād Aristūṭālis al-mantiqīyya*, in the discussion of universal and indefinite negative propositions and in the refutation of those who claim that they are equivalent. The Homeric example is quoted with the same wording as the fragment transmitted by the *Muntaḥab šiwān al-ḥikma* and is probably derived from a lost commentary on *Int.* Indeed, Ibn Zur'a's argument has distinct similarities to a parallel passage in Ammonius's commentary on *Int.* 7 although this is not his source (Ibn Zur'a inserts a set of references, to Aristotle's *Phys.* and *An.*, and to Plato's *kitāb al-siyāsa*, which are not included in Ammonius's passage). For Ibn Zur'a's *Ağrād*, see Ğihāmī, al-'Ağam 1994, 49.9sqq. (the Homeric quotation is found in l. 16); for the reference to Homer in Ammonius' commentary see CAG IV 5, 115.6, Busse (translated in Blank 1996, 121).

⁷⁰⁰ I have traced the history of studies in more detail in Zarantonello 2020a, 136-141, where a comprehensive bibliography can also be found. Here I will limit myself to mentioning the most important and recent studies.

⁷⁰¹ The discoveries of the two MSS have been announced in Arberry 1955a and Dunlop 1962. In fact, the Fez manuscript, Ḥizānat al-Qarawiyyīn L 2508/80 had already been briefly presented in *Liste des manuscrits précieux*,

identifying the Arabic versions of the EN in the two MSS, Arthur J. Arberry and Douglas M. Dunlop, conducted parallel research on the work, which remained unpublished due to the premature death of both. While Arberry's papers were apparently lost, the English translation of the Arabic and the introductory study done by Dunlop was collected in 2005 by Anna Akasoy and Alexander Fidora who published it together with their own critical edition of the Arabic text⁷⁰². The *codex unicus* preserves the ten books of the EN in Arabic – but some parts are lost due to the loss of folios or have become illegible due to material damage –, with an added book after Book Six (= Z) of the EN, marked in Arabic as the “Seventh Book” (“*al-maqāla al-sābi‘a*”), extraneous to the Aristotelian text. It follows that Books 7-10 (= H-K) in the Greek tradition are numbered 8-11 in the Arabic version. The last part of the MS contains a short introductory text to the science of ethics attributed to a certain Nicholas, which constitutes a sort of third codicological unit since it has its own colophon.⁷⁰³ As for the *al-maqāla al-sābi‘a* – partly damaged at the beginning and mutilated at the end –, it is a sort of reworked summary of chapters Γ 5-E 7, probably a translation of a Greek original. About the author, the environment of composition, and the transmission in Arabic of the compendium, or at least of the section survived as the “Seventh Book”, several hypotheses have been advanced, none of them definitive.⁷⁰⁴ But the structure of the Arabic EN in eleven books as transmitted by the Fez MS poses problems when compared with the account transmitted by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Kitāb al-fihrist*, mentioning among the works of Aristotle the *Kitāb al-aḥlāq* («Book of Ethics»), commented on by Porphyry, in twelve books, and translated by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 298/910)⁷⁰⁵. The question of the twelve books remains unresolved: the syntax of the text of Ibn al-Nadīm does not allow to understand if they are to be referred to the Arabic version of the

exposés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université Quaraouiyine à Fès, à l'occasion du onzième centenaire de la fondation de cette Université (Rabāt, 1960), see Dunlop's *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 5.

⁷⁰² Before 2005 the Arabic version of Book Ten of the EN had been edited and translated into English by Dorothy G. Axelroth in her 1968 doctoral dissertation, but remained unpublished, while ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī had released the *editio princeps* in 1979, much criticised for his ecdotic choices.

⁷⁰³ The treatise has been isolated and analysed by Lyons, who suggests the author was Nicholas of Laodicea, a contemporary of Julian the Apostate: Lyons 1960/1961 (in particular p. 48); see also Schneider 2005, 679; Zonta 2005.

⁷⁰⁴ The text was probably merged with that of the EN already in the Greek tradition, although time and place cannot be established, this way eventually reaching the Arabic tradition. According to Dunlop the “Seventh Book” would be the first part of Porphyry's commentary (the neo-Platonic milieu was suggested already in Lyons 1960/1961, 56-57) mentioned in the *Fihrist*, whose second part was placed at the end of the work, after Book Eleven of the Arabic version, as the “Twelfth Book”. This would explain Ibn al-Nadīm's evidence. See Dunlop's *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 55-62. Ullmann, on the other hand, points out that the “Seventh Book” does not have the structure of a lemmatic commentary like the one composed by Porphyry – a lost work but recoverable from the fragments preserved in ps. al-‘Āmirī's *Kitāb al-sa‘āda wa-l-is‘ād* –, but appears to be instead a compendium of the EN designed to be read independently of Aristotle's text, see Ullmann 2012 (= EN Ullmann), 63-71. See Endress' reaction to Ullmann's argument in Endress 2017b, 255. The “Seventh Book” contains many poetry references which however have not been investigated here (EN Akasoy-Fidora 335.4 [?, see 334 n. 3]; 337.6-11; 339.7-8; 341.2-3, 16-18; 343.4-5; 345.12-17; 349.18-351.1; 363.16-17).

⁷⁰⁵ Flügel 1871-1872, I 252.2 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 171.14-172.1 (Ar.); Peters 1968, 52, Dodge 1970, 606 (Engl.). A comprehensive discussion of references to the Arabic version of EN in Arabic sources can be found in Dunlop's *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 6-28.

EN – in contradiction with our text in eleven books –, to the commentary of Porphyry or to both works taken as a whole.⁷⁰⁶

As for the identity of the translator, bibliographic sources mention only Iṣḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, but in 2012 Manfred Ullmann convincingly demonstrated that only the first four books of the Arabic version of the EN transmitted by the Fez MS can be attributed to Iṣḥāq and that instead the author of the translation of books H-K (= 8-11 in Arabic) and the “Seventh Book” is Uṣṭāṭ.⁷⁰⁷ The latter identification was possible on linguistic and stylistic grounds, by comparing it with other translations attributed to Uṣṭāṭ such as some books of the *Metaph.* and the Arabic versions of some of Aristotle’s zoological writings known collectively as the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* – although on the attribution of the latter version to Uṣṭāṭ weigh many doubts. Manfred Ullmann also carried out a thorough philological re-examination of the Fez MS that offers important improvements to the 2005 critical edition. The study was published in two volumes collectively entitled *Die Nikomachische Ethik des Aristoteles in arabischer Übersetzung* and appeared between 2011 and 2012. While the first volume, *Wortschatz*, consists of a Greek-Arabic glossary, the second volume, *Überlieferung - Textkritik - Grammatik*, re-examines the main points that have characterised the history of textual studies and advances countless conjectures and suggestions for corrections to the 2005 edition are advanced. Most importantly, the scholar presents major conclusions about the language and style of the translation, which enabled the distinction of the two different translations. Therefore, consultation of the 2005 edition can only take place with the aid of Ullmann’s subsequent study, and in presenting the Arabic text of the poetic references I have corrected the text of the Akasoy and Fidora (EN Akasoy-Fidora) edition with the emendations proposed by Ullmann (EN Ullmann). Where in the apparatus I have marked a reading simply with “Ullmann” and not with “coni. Ullmann” I mean that Ullmann has read the MS differently.

The Fez MS is damaged in several points, and among the lacunae that prevent the text from being read *in extenso* is the loss of the final part of Book Five (the Arabic version stops at 1136a 25) and almost all of Book Six, of which only a few fragments at the end (from 1144b 29 onwards) survive. Consequently, the poetic references in this book (1139b 6-7; 1139b 9-11; 1140a 18-20; 1141a 14-15; 1142a 2-6) have not been examined. The same is true of other lacunae in passages containing references, which have therefore been left out (1100a 7-9; 1100b 21; 1101a 6-8; 1118a 20-23; 1136b 9-11; 1152a 21-23; 1170a 11-13). Among the references lost within the long lacuna that runs from 1099b 26 to 1101b 8, one is particularly interesting because it is later echoed in Miskawayh’s *Tahḍīb al-aḥlāq wa-taḥḥīr al-a’rāq*. At the end of A 10 Aristotle mentions Priam to exemplify the fragility of happiness, since even a person at the peak of prosperity like the king of Troy can be struck by the worst misfortunes given the unpredictable changes to which human life is exposed (1100a 5-9). And a reference to the misfortunes that

⁷⁰⁶ See the different interpretations given by Dunlop in Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 27, 85-94 and Ullmann 2012 (= EN Ullmann), 65-66.

⁷⁰⁷ Ullmann 2011, 440; Ullmann 2012 (= EN Ullmann), 15-56. Ullmann (Schmidt, Ullmann 2012, 14-15) reports that already D.G. Axelroth had concluded that the translator of Book Ten of the EN could not be Iṣḥāq. Dunlop, on the other hand, had noted stylistic differences between the first books and the “Seventh Book”, speculating that the latter was the work of another translator. See Dunlop’s *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 59-60. See also the explanation formulated by Ullmann to account for the co-presence of two versions in the Fez codex, in Ullmann 2012 (= EN Ullmann), 55, and Endress’s doubts, in Endress 2017b, 255. See Endress 2017b, 254.

may happen to a man like Priam recurs a little further on (in A 11, 1101a 6-8), after stating that a blessed man cannot become miserable because he will always perform good deeds, seeking to make the best of every situation. However, Aristotle adds, a happy man, even if he will never become miserable for the reasons mentioned, cannot call himself completely blessed because he is still exposed to the blows of fate as happened to Priam. Although we do not have the Arabic version of these passages, Miskawayh has apparently quoted them *verbatim* and incorporated them in his work. In fact, starting with the reference to Solon's maxim that opens EN A 11 – that no one can be said to be happy before one's death – and the related discussion on whether and how the happiness of the dead can be affected by the living (1100a 10sq.), Miskawayh deduces that Aristotle believed in the immortality of the soul and in the hereafter. And he faces this question with a quotation expressly taken from the *Kitāb al-ahlāq* by Aristotle: «we also recognise that man is subject to many changes and various coincidences, since it is possible for the person who leads the most pleasant life to be afflicted with great misfortunes, as is said symbolically of Priam. Now, nobody would consider a person happy who suffers such misfortunes and dies as a result»⁷⁰⁸ (= EN A 10, 1100a 5-9). A little further on, Miskawayh mentions Aristotle again and paraphrases the second passage (1100b 33-1101a 13) that contains the reference to Priam: «This being the case, the happy man always feels blessed even if he suffers the misfortunes that befell Priam».⁷⁰⁹ But a few pages earlier, when Miskawayh presents the attitude of the happy man in front of the accidents of life, he refers to the Koranic figure of Job: «Never will he be so drawn, even though he may be smitten by all the misfortunes of Job (may the peace of God be upon him!) or many times their number».⁷¹⁰

Other loci paralleli that emerged from the consultation of Arabic sources have been indicated in the analysis that follows, exclusively for those cases in which the source reports more or less literally the poetic reference and not just the Aristotelian context in which it is placed.

Aristotle's EN is cited in the edition by Ingram Bywater, *Aristotelis ethica Nicomachea*, Oxford 1894 (repr. 1962). The letters and numbers in margin to the Greek text correspond to book and chapter, followed by the numeration in Bekker's edition. I am following Bekker's chapter division instead of Didot's.

1.

A 2, 1095b 7-13⁷¹¹

ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἔχει ἢ λάβοι ἂν ἀρχὰς ῥαδίως. ᾧ δὲ μηδέτερον ὑπάρχει τούτων,
ἀκουσάτω τῶν Ἡσιόδου·

οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ,
ἔσθλός δ' αὖ κακείνους ὃς εἰ εἰπόντι πίθηται,
ὃς δὲ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων

⁷⁰⁸ Arabic text: Zurayk 1966, 97. English translation Zurayk 1968, 86. Cf. Arkoun 1969, 153.

⁷⁰⁹ Arabic text: Zurayk 1966, 99. English translation Zurayk 1968, 88. Cf. Arkoun 1969, 156. It should be noted that in his paraphrase of EN A 11, Miskawayh omits the examples of the army commander and the shoemaker, but not of Priam.

⁷¹⁰ Arabic text: Zurayk 1966, 96. English translation Zurayk 1968, 85. Cf. Arkoun 1969, 151.

⁷¹¹ The analysis of this passage reproduces and expands on part of an earlier contribution of mine: Zarantonello 2020a, 150-157.

ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνήρ.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 119.20-121.13, EN Ullmann 125

- 1 ومن كان بهذه الحال فمعه المبادئ أو يتناولها بسهولة ومن لم تكن معه واحدة من هاتين الخصلتين
فلينصت إلى قول إسويدوس الشاعر حيث يقول:
أما هذا فأفضل الناس في جميع الحالات
وأما ذاك فعلى السداد
- 5 فأما من لم يفهم من تلقاء نفسه ما يجب ولم يقبل من غيره
ويعمه قلبه فهو الرجل العطب
- قال⁷¹² المترجم هذا ما ذكره أرسطو من شعر إسويدوس وهو على خلاف ما نجده في كتاب الرجل ولعل
أرسطو اختصر القول ونحن نثبت هنا كما قاله الشاعر:
أما أفضل الناس في جميع الحالات فهو من فهم جميع
10 ما يجب عليه من تلقاء نفسه
والسديد من لم يبلغ ذلك لكّنه يقبل قول غيره إذا كان مصيباً
والرجل †...† الذي لا يفهم من تلقاء نفسه
ما يجب عليه ولا يقبله من غيره
و †...†

Akasoy-Fidora وبعد Ullmann coni. [ويعمه 6

CONTEXT:

This quotation from Hes. *Op.* 293-297 closes the second chapter of Book One. Among the methodological indications that Aristotle provides in the first pages of the treatise there is also that of proceeding from principles to causes, according to an inductive type movement.⁷¹³ By principle Aristotle here means the actual fact (ἀρχή γάρ τὸ ὄν), the *what* in concrete circumstances, what is known to us, and therefore what for us is the principle. From it, one can go back to τὸ διότι, to the principle in absolute terms. Only those who have received a good education and have good habits (ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος) already possess or can easily acquire these principles (ἔχει ἢ λάβοι ἂν ἀρχὰς ῥαδίως). The first two verses of the quotation precisely

⁷¹² Before *qāla* (and thus the entire gloss by Ishāq given there), Akasoy and Fidora print: *wa-naḥnu na'ūdu ilā l-qawli min ḥaytu taraknāhu* («We return to the argument where we broke it off»), corresponding to the Greek ἡμεῖς δὲ λέγωμεν ὅθεν παρεξέβημεν, the phrase with which Aristotle resumes the argument after the quotation. Ullmann points out that the translator's gloss is closely related to Hesiod's quotation, and suggests postponing the phrase after the second version of the quotation, so as not to break the contiguity between quotation and gloss. See EN Ullmann 125.

⁷¹³ See Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 19-20.

exemplify these two possibilities: he who ἔχει ἀρχάς corresponds to the Hesiodic «Best of all is the man who thinks everything by himself», while he who λαμβάνει ἀρχάς, he who needs to acquire these principles, is defined as «He too is good who is persuaded by who speaks well». The last two lines of the quotation, «but whoever neither thinks by himself nor pays heed to what someone else says and lays it to his heart—that man is good for nothing», instead describe the human type which Aristotle turns to in his exhortation to listen to Hesiod’s words (ἀκουσάτω τῶν Ἡσιόδου).⁷¹⁴

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author’s isolated literal quotation, complete tristich. Aristotle omits v. 294, as does much of the indirect tradition.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic version is striking first because of the note by the translator (made explicit by the expression *qāla l-mutarǧim*) in which he confesses to be dissatisfied with his first attempt at translating the quotation and offers a second version of the verses. Unfortunately, the MS is damaged in correspondence of the final part of this second translation, though we can still make some considerations on it.

The introductory sentence ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἔχει ἢ λάβοι ἂν ἀρχάς...τῶν Ἡσιόδου is correctly translated as «He who is such possesses the principles, or else acquires them easily. As for he who does not have either of these characteristics, let him hear the words of Hesiod the poet where he says». It is worth noting the expansion of the *genitivus auctoris* through the addition of the qualification *al-šāʿir* and the use of the noun *qawl* and the expression with the *verbum dicendi* (*ḥaytu yaqūlu*).

The first version of the quotation is probably based on an incomplete Greek text, as Ishāq himself seems to somehow suspect, by assuming that Aristotle must have shortened the original wording (*laʿalla arisṭū ihtašara l-qawl*). Specifically, the final parts of the first two verses are missing, i.e., the two relative clauses ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ and ὃς εἶ εἰπόντι πίθηται. In fact the first line of the Arabic «as for this one he is the best of men in all circumstances» corresponds to οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος and the second «as for that one, he is rightly guided» covers ἐσθλὸς δ’ αὖ κακείνος. Evidently the translator tries to make sense of the two mutilated phrases by assuming an implied verb «to be». Both adjectives, πανάριστος and ἐσθλός, are paraphrased, and the expression *ʿalā al-sadādi* for ἐσθλός does not seem very fitting (ἐσθλός perhaps misread as an adverb ἐσθλῶς?). Conversely, the rendering of the last two verses is complete: «But as for him who understands not of himself and accepts not from another what is necessary, and his heart heeds it not, he is the perishing man».⁷¹⁵ The Arabic follows the Greek, but three aspects can be observed: the addition of *mā yaǧību*, the usage of the root *q-b-l* for the verb ἀκούω instead of the more common *s-m-* (cf. 1095b 9 where the root *n-ṣ-t* covers the same verb), the adjective *ʿatab* for ἀχρήιος. As mentioned above, Ishāq introduces here a comment in which he states: «the translator said: this is what Aristotle mentioned of the poetry of Hesiod, and it is contrary to what we find in the man’s book. Perhaps Aristotle

⁷¹⁴ English translation in Most 2018a, 111 (modified).

⁷¹⁵ Dunlop’s translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 120.

abbreviated the wording. We set it down here as the poet spoke it». ⁷¹⁶ Although this is the only translation note in the EN, the practice of briefly commenting on textual problems or individual choices in the Greek rendering is widely attested in the versions produced by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's circle ⁷¹⁷. From what we can read, the translation that follows certainly appears more complete – the first two verses are translated in full – yet not much more correct than the previous. It runs as follows: «As for the most excellent of men in all circumstances, he is the one who understands all that is necessary for him, of himself; and well-guided is the man who has not attained that, but accepts the speech of another, when he is right; but the man †...† who understands not of himself what is necessary for him, nor accepts it from another and †...†». In this second version the syntagma *'alā al-sadādi* is replaced by the simple adjective *sadīd* for ἐσθλός, while both occurrences of the verb νοέω are translated with the root *f-h-m* and the addition *mā yaǧību* (similarly to what was found in the first version). The Greek ὃς εἶπόντι πίθηται is paraphrased and *lam yabluǧ dālīka lakinnahū* has no counterpart in Greek; *yaqbalu* is an inaccurate translation choice for πίθηται; *qawla ǧayrihi idā kāna muṣīban* paraphrases εἶπόντι. Finally, from what remains (*wa-l-raǧul*), the translation of ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνήρ is brought forward to the beginning of the sentence, covering the last two verses.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The passage has intrigued readers of the Arabic version of the EN primarily because of the reference to the *kitāb al-raǧul* contained in the translator's note, which in all its vagueness and read together with *ka-mā qālahū l-šā'ir* has prompted the suggestion that Ishāq is alluding here to a Greek copy of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. ⁷¹⁸ As I have attempted to show elsewhere, ⁷¹⁹ the hypothesis is fascinating and cannot be ruled out, but this would be an absolutely unique case. There is no further evidence in Arabic sources of an integral Arabic translation of a Greek poem – as intended here –, and all references appear mostly mediated through the channels of transmission presented in the introductory pages of the present study. ⁷²⁰ Instead, it seems to me more likely that with *kitāb al-raǧul* Ishāq meant a copy of a Greek gnomologium containing the same quotation from Hesiod. This group of verses forms an actual «*aforisma esiodo*» and enjoyed considerable popularity in Greek wisdom literature. ⁷²¹ My assumption finds confirmation in the examination of the gnomological collection entitled *Nawādir falsafīyya* ascribed to Ishāq, perhaps the translation of an anonymous Greek gnomologium. Indeed, the first saying reported in this compilation is from a certain *Isūryus*, a corrupted

⁷¹⁶ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 120.

⁷¹⁷ A study centred on this aspect is Vagelpohl 2011.

⁷¹⁸ Dunlop 1962, 22-23; Dunlop 1971, 243; See Dunlop's *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005, 99-101; Akasoy 2012, 93.

⁷¹⁹ Zarantonello 2020a, 153-157.

⁷²⁰ Similarly, the instances presented by Strohmaier in his important 1980 article entitled *Homer in Baghdad* – namely the brief notes added by Ḥunayn in his Arabic versions of Galenic writings in which the translator lingers on the explanation of some terms related to Homeric poetry – can be explained by assuming that the reading of marginal glosses in the Greek MSS or some other source is helpful in interpreting the text, but none unequivocally point to direct knowledge of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

⁷²¹ Tosi 2006, 75. Many loci paralleli are indicated in the apparatus of Rzach's edition of Hesiod's poems: Rzach 1958, 70-71.

transliteration of Ἡσίοδος, and can be easily identified with vv. 293-295 of the *Works and Days*:⁷²²

قال إسوريس يقال إنّ الإنسان خير في الطبقة الأولى إذا كان استخراجها للأمر الجميلة من تلقاء نفسه، ويقال إنّ خير في الطبقة الثانية إذا كان قابلاً للأمر الجميلة إذا عرفها.

Hesiod said: it is reported that man is good in the highest degree if he infers noble things from himself alone; it is reported that he is good in the second degree if he acquires noble things only if he already knows them.

However, from a comparison of the two passages, it is clear that the translation terminology is different throughout – apart from the expression *mina tilqā'i nafsihī* –, a question-begging phenomenon if one admits that both texts reproduce Ishāq's version. One could venture the hypothesis that the Arabic text of the *Nawādir falsafīyya* was reworked by a later reader on the basis of comparison with parallel passages, given the well-known fluidity of the textual transmission of wisdom literature in every linguistic tradition, but this is too far-fetched and unverifiable in the current state of research. The table below includes other occurrences of this saying in Arabic sources – gnomological collections or works drawing on the Greek-Arabic gnomological tradition –, testifying to its extreme popularity.⁷²³

<i>Nawādir falsafīyya</i> (‘Abd Allāh 1998, 72.4-6)	Hesiod قال إسوريس يقال: إنّ الإنسان خير في الطبقة الأولى إذا كان استخراجها للأمر الجميلة من تلقاء نفسه، ويقال: إنه خير في الطبقة الثانية إذا كان قابلاً للأمر الجميلة إذا عرفها.
<i>Muntaḥab ṣiwān al-ḥikma</i> (SAWS online ed. / Dunlop 1979, 96.2046-2048)	Hesiod إسودس قال: يُقال إنّ الإنسان خير في الطبقة الأولى إذا كان استخراجها للأمر الجميلة بطبعه، من تلقاء نفسه، ويُقال إنّ خير في الطبقة الثانية إذا كان قائلاً للأمر الجميلة إذا عرفها.
[من] إسوريس codd. [من] con. Daiber ⁷²⁴ corr. Dunlop [إسودس]	

⁷²² ‘Abd Allāh 1998, 72. Kraemer 1956a, 297 had already dwelt on this passage from Hesiod by analysing the MS Istanbul, Köprülü I 1608.

⁷²³ There is a further source transmitting this saying in Arabic, namely an unpublished gnomology – which I was unable to consult – studied by Daiber and preserved in the MS Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2456. As recorded in Daiber 1984, 62, our saying (albeit in an incomplete form) is found at fol. 98v 15-17, and bears the same wording as the fragment in the *Muntaḥab*.

⁷²⁴ Daiber 1984, 62.

al-Tawḥīdī, <i>al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-daḥāʾir</i> or <i>baṣāʾir al-ḥukamāʾ wa-daḥāʾir al-quḍamāʾ</i> I 136 (al-Qāḍī 1988, 53.9-12)	Anonymous	وقال فيلسوف: الإنسان خير في الطبقة الأولى إذا كان استخراجها للأمر الجميلة من تلقاء نفسه. وهو خير في الطبقة الثانية إذا كان قابلاً للأمر الجميلة من غيره، لأنّ اللسان يحلف كاذباً. فأما العقل فلا يحلف كاذباً.
al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik, <i>Muḥtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim</i> (Badawī 1958, 299.16-300.2)	Hesiod	وقال إرسوريس: يقال للإنسان إنه خير في الطبقة الأولى إذا كان استخراجها للأمر الجميلة بطبعه، من تلقاء نفسه، ويقال إنه خير في الطبقة الثانية إذا كان قابلاً للأمر الجميلة إذا عرفها من غيره.
ps.al-ʿĀmirī, <i>Kitāb al-saʿāda wa-l-isʿād</i> (Minovi 1957-1958, 184.2-6 = Aṭīyya 1991, 236.3-6)	Within a reference to Aristotle	قال وأقول: الفاضل في الطبقة العليا هو الذي يبتغي الفضائل من تلقاء نفسه، والفاضل في الطبقة الثانية هو الذي يميز لها إذا سمعها من غيره، ومن أخطأه الأمران فإنه الساقط الدني.
<i>Philosophical Quartet</i> (Gutas 1975, 110.1-4)	Socrates' saying no. 45	وسئل عن الفاضل فقال الفاضل في الطبقة العليا هو الذي يبتغي الفضائل من تلقاء نفسه، والفاضل في الطبقة الثانية هو الذي يتحرك لها إذا سمعها من غيره، ومن أخطأه الأمران فهو الساقط الدني.
al-Tawḥīdī, <i>al-Baṣāʾir wa-l-daḥāʾir</i> or <i>baṣāʾir al-ḥukamāʾ wa-daḥāʾir al-quḍamāʾ</i> III 393 (al-Qāḍī 1988, 115.13-116.1) ⁷²⁵	Following a saying ascribed to Socrates	وقيل له: من الفاضل؟ قال: الفاضل في الطبقة العليا الذي يبتغي الفضائل من تلقاء نفسه، والفاضل في الطبقة الدنيا هو الذي يتحرك لها إذا سمعها من غيره، ومن أخطأه الأمران فهو الساقط الدني.
al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik, <i>Muḥtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim</i> (Badawī 1958, 116.3-5)	Among Socrates' sayings	وقال: الفاضل في الطبقة العليا هو الذي يبتغي الفضائل من تلقاء نفسه، والفاضل في الطبقة الثانية هو الذي يتحرك لها إذا سمعها من غيره، ومن أخطأه الأمران فهو الساقط الدني.
<i>Kitāb nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa rawḍat al-afrāḥ</i> (Aḥmed 1976, I 157.13-158.1)	Among Socrates' sayings	

⁷²⁵ In the apparatus al-Qāḍī records among the parallel sources for this fragment the Liqāḥ al-ḥawāṭir wa-ḡalāʾ al-baṣāʾir by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muʿammar ibn Ḡaʿfar. The work is preserved in ff. 1-98 of the MS Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Qq. 139, and as far as I know the work remains unedited. Following al-Qāḍī Hesiod's quotation occurs at f. 45r and is ascribed to Irsūryūs, which can easily be a corruption for the transliteration of the name Hesiod.

وقال: الفاضل في الطبقة العليا هو الذي يبتغي الفضائل من تلقاء نفسه، والفاضل في الطبقة الثانية هو الذي يتحرك لها إذا سمعها من غيره، ومن أخطأه الأمران فهو الساقط الدني.

As the table shows, the reference circulated in two distinct versions (separated by the black line), the first of which is ascribed to Hesiod (whose name is found variously corrupted) – with the exception of the generic *faylasūf* that is read in al-Tawhīdī's *al-Baṣā'ir wa-l-daḥā'ir* –, while the second version is almost always found among the sayings of Socrates. A distinct case is the *Kitāb al-sa'āda* by ps.al-Āmirī, where the verb *qāla* that opens the fragment actually refers to Aristotle, since it is preceded by a longer quotation introduced by *qāla Aristūṭālīs*. The latter reads: «But he obeys the rule who obeys the speech and the admonition, and he obeys the speech and the admonition who already has good habits because the principles are what is part of the present things or the first things by simplicity. Whoever does not understand of himself nor does he understand if someone else makes him understand he is a miserable man». ⁷²⁶ Clearly, the reference very loosely takes up the context of Hesiod's quotation in EN A 2 – indeed it paraphrases the sense of Hesiod's verses as such – and does not seem to depend directly on the Aristotelian text, neither in content nor in lexicon when compared with the Arabic version. Therefore, the origin of the saying remains unknown, but it seems unlikely to originate from Ishāq's version of EN.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that a reworking of this Aristotelian passage is found in the section of the *Muḥtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim* by Mubaššir ibn Fātik centred on Aristotle, which, however, like the other 29 fragments whose contents are traceable to the EN and transmitted by this compilation, does not depend directly on an Arabic version of the EN but on the *Iḥtiṣār al-Iskandarāniyyūn*. The latter is a compendium preserved only fragmentarily in Arabic and known in the Latin translation under the title *Summa alexandrinorum* written by Hermannus Alemannus in 1243. On the origin of the *Iḥtiṣār* several hypotheses have been put forward, but given the vagueness of the sources and the fragmentary nature of the textual tradition nothing conclusive can be said. In any case, the most accredited thesis today, advanced by Ullmann and supported by Woerther in her recent re-edition of the *Summa Alexandrinorum*, is that the *Iḥtiṣār al-Iskandarāniyyūn* is not the translation of a lost Greek writing, but a compendium written directly in Arabic at the beginning of the 10th cent., starting from the version of Aristotle's treatise in the same arrangement in which it is reproduced in the Fez MS, as proven by a contrastive analysis of the language of some parallels in the two texts. ⁷²⁷

In her 2021 edition of the Latin text of the *Summa Alexandrinorum*, Frédérique Woerther re-examined the Arabic sources in detail and included the Arabic fragments of the *Iḥtiṣār al-*

⁷²⁶ Minovi 1957-1958, 183.16-184.2 = 'Aṭīyya 1991, 235.25-236.3.

⁷²⁷ See Dunlop's *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005 (= EN Akasoy-Fidora), 62-85 and EN Ullmann, 72-121. This question is taken up again in chapters 1 and 2 in Woerther 2021.

Iskandarāniyyīn in an appendix. Fr. 4 of the *Muḥtār al-ḥikam* covers EN A 2, 1095b 2-13 and thus in part also the Hesiodic reference, which we find here attributed to Homer:⁷²⁸

الإنسان يحتاج في الاطلاع على حقائق الخيرات إمّا إلى آلة جيّدة يعلم بها الحقّ، وإمّا إلى تصوّر يأخذ به أوائل الأشياء من غيره بسهولة فمن ليس فيه واحدة من الخلتين فليستمع قول أوميروس الشاعر فيه حيث يقول أمّا هذا ففاضل، وأمّا ذاك فصالح فأما الذي لا يفقه من نفسه ولا يفقه إذا فقّهه غيره فهو غاية الشقاء والعطب.

In the search for the truths of good man needs either a good instrument that lets him know the truth, or the conception that makes him grasp with ease the principles of things from someone else. He who has neither of these two characteristics in him, let him listen to the words of Homer the poet, where he says: «As for this one, he is excellent; as for this one, he is righteous; as for the one who does not understand of himself nor does he understand if someone else makes him understand,⁷²⁹ this one is the highest degree of misery and decay.

The huge popularity of this saying is self-evident and emerges with even more clarity if one compares its content to that of other Arabic sayings bearing similar classifications of human types, which, however, have no direct relation with Hesiod's verses. Three examples are given below.

1. Proverb no. 398 from the collection *Ġawāhir al-kilam wa-farā'id al-ḥikam* by 'Alī b. 'Ubayda al-Rayḥānī (d. 219/834) reads: «Men are of three kinds, to whom one cannot add a fourth: a full-man, who has good judgment and advice, a half-man, who has good judgment but no advice, and a none-man, who has no good judgment and no advice».⁷³⁰

2. In Chapter 5 – consisting of a compilation of maxims – in the mirror for princes entitled *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk* and attributed to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111)⁷³¹ one finds the following saying: «A sage is reported to have said, 'Men are of four sorts: Those who possess knowledge and know that [they possess it]; from them you should see to learn. those who possess knowledge, but do not know that they possess it; they are forgetful, and you should remind them. Those who lack knowledge and know that

⁷²⁸ Woerther 2021, 398-399 (cf. also 61 n. 15). See the Arabic edition of the *Muḥtār al-ḥikam*: Badawī 1958, 209. 17-210. 2.

⁷²⁹ This phrase (لا يفقه من نفسه ولا يفقه إذا فقّهه غيره) bears the same wording of the saying ascribed to Aristotle in the *Kitāb al-sa'āda* by ps.al-'Āmirī translated above (see Minovi 1957-1958, 184.1-2 = 'Aṭīyya 1991, 236.2-3).

⁷³⁰ Arabic text and English translation in Zakeri 2007, II 197.

⁷³¹ The work was originally composed in Persian and then translated into Arabic (under the title *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī naṣīḥat al-mulūk*) in the second half of the 12th cent. It survives in both languages and has been edited several times (for Persian we rely on the edition by Humā'ī 1351/1972 [2 ed.]; among the various Arabic editions I have been able to consult only the 1409/1988 edition by Aḥmad Šams al-Dīn – our saying is found at p. 104.12-15, English trans. in Bagley 1964, 134). Chapter 5 is included in the second part of the work, which is considered spurious by scholars; on this issue see Crone 1987.

they lack it; they seek guidance, and you should guide them. Those who lack knowledge and do not know that they lack it; they are ignorant, and you should shun them».

3. In the *Rabīʿ al-abrār wa-nuṣūṣ al-aḥbār* by al-Zamaḥṣārī (d. 538/1143) we read the following saying ascribed to *al-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī* (d. 110/728): «al-Ḥasan [said]: men are of three [kinds], the man that is a man, the man that is half man and the man that is not a man. The man is endowed with thought and accepts advice, the half man is the one who is endowed with thought and does not ask for advice, the man who is not a man is the one who is not endowed with thought and does not ask for advice». ⁷³²

In the next chapter we will conduct a similar analysis to that proposed for this poetic reference applied to the sayings attributed to Greek poets in Arabic gnomological collections. It should be already noted that this fragment offers an exceptional and isolated testimony of the interplay between philosophical and gnomological literature in the reception of Greek poetry in Arabic.

2.

B 5, 1106b 33-35

καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τῆς μὲν κακίας ἢ ὑπερβολῆ καὶ ἢ ἔλλειψις, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἢ μεσότης.

ἔσθλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς, παντοδαπῶς δὲ κακοί.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 173.10-13, EN Ullmann 140

فلذلك صارت الزيادة والنقصان من حيز الخساسة والتوسط من حيز الفضيلة «وذلك أن الخيار يصيرون

خيارًا بجهة واحدة والشرار يصيرون شرارًا بكلّ جهة»

1 [وذلك أن الخيار 1] coni. Ullmann وذلك الخيار Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

In defining virtue as a kind of middle state (μεσότης τις, 1106b 27), being able to hit the mean (στοχαστική γε οὔσα τοῦ μέσου, 1106b 28) in passions and actions – as opposed to the excess and deficiency with which vice is identified –, Aristotle adds that there is only one way to be right, whereas the ways of erring are infinite and so is vice. The same concept is expressed by the anonymous pentameter quoted here: «noble in one way, bad in all kinds of ways» (Adesp. fr. 3 West). ⁷³³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, complete monostich (but the source is unknown).

⁷³² Arabic text in Mihannā 1412/1992, III 449.8-11. The saying must have been well circulated since it is also found quoted in other sources, including the *Uṣūl al-ḥikam fi niẓām al-ʿālam* by Ḥasan Kāfi l-Āqḥiṣārī (d. 1025/1616). See the Arabic edition of al-ʿAmd, 1407/1987, 141.9-12 and n. 8, where further loci paralleli are reported.

⁷³³ See Frede 2020, 431.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Ishāq correctly interprets the Greek: «Therefore excess and defect are of the realm of vice, and the mean is of the realm of virtue. That is “the good become good in one way, the wicked become wicked in all ways”». ⁷³⁴ One may observe the use of the expression *min ḥayyizi* + gen. for the Greek genitive of characteristic.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The passage is echoed in one of the fragments of the *Iḥtiṣār al-Iskandarāniyyīn* transmitted in the *Muḥtār al-ḥikam* by Mubaššir ibn Fātik (see EN ref. 1), catalogued by Woerther as fr. 15. The latter covers EN B 5, 1106b 28-35 and in the concluding part, corresponding to our quotation, reads: ⁷³⁵

وكوننا أحيانًا من جهة واحدة، وكوننا أشرارًا من جهات كثيرة .

And we are good in one way, but we are bad in many ways.

3. ⁷³⁶

B 9, 1109a 31-32

καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Καλυψὼ παραινεῖ
τούτου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔεργε
νήα.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 181

—

CONTEXT:

Chapter B 9 contains a series of indications and practical advice on pursuing virtue. Among other things, one should keep away from the vice that is most contrary to the mean. For between the latter and the two extremes in which the corresponding vices of excess and deficiency are placed, there is no mathematical equidistance, but one of the two extremes is always more distant and therefore more contrary to the mean than the other. It follows that one vice is worse than the other with respect to the middle virtue. Aristotle associates this remark with the image of navigation evoked by the quotation from *Od.* μ. 219-220, «Steer the ship clear of yonder spray and surge». ⁷³⁷ Here Odysseus repeats to the helmsman the advice he had previously received from Circe, although Aristotle, quoting from memory, confuses the latter with Calypso, to whom he attributes these words (καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Καλυψὼ παραινεῖ). ⁷³⁸

⁷³⁴ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 172.

⁷³⁵ Woerther 2021, 402. See the Arabic edition of the *Muḥtār*: Badawī 1958, 211. 18-19.

⁷³⁶ I have already analysed this reference in Zarantonello 2020a, 145-147, where I examined the omission of the quotation in relation to the context in which it is placed.

⁷³⁷ Rackham 1926, 111.

⁷³⁸ See Araiza 2010.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal quotation, incomplete distich accompanied by a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Omission of the incidental-comparative clause (from *καθάπερ* to *νῆα*).

4.

B 9, 1109b 9-11

ὄπερ οὖν οἱ δημογέροντες ἔπαθον πρὸς τὴν Ἑλένην, τοῦτο δεῖ παθεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἠδονήν, καὶ ἐν πάσι τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπιλέγειν φωνήν

EN Akasoy-Fidora 183.6-7, EN Ullmann 143

ونحن نرى الميل إليها فينبغي أن يكون ما ينالنا عند اللذة مثل الذي ينال المشايخ عند ألاني وأن نستعمل كلامهم الذي قالوه لألاني في جميع هذه الأشياء

المشايخ] Ullmann المشايخ Akasoy-Fidora 1

CONTEXT:

Another practical advice for hitting the mean is to be on guard against pleasure, towards which human nature is inclined and which interferes with our ability to think rationally. This will also make it easier to keep us from making mistakes. Once again, Homer offers a positive example: «Hence we should feel towards pleasure as the elders of the people felt towards Helen, and we should repeat their words on every occasion». This is an allusion to *Il.* Γ 156-60, where the elderly Trojan chiefs assert that even if it is understandable that Achaeans and Trojans fight over a woman of such beauty as to be compared to the goddesses, she must be sent home.⁷³⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

Ishāq chooses a more linear syntactic structure, eliminating the anticipation of the relative pronoun – as we also did in the English version – and translates: «We must have a feeling towards pleasure like what the old men felt towards Helen, and in all these things employ their words, which they spoke to Helen».⁷⁴⁰ Moreover, he does not simply translate but interprets the Greek *τὴν ἐκείνων...φωνήν* by adding *alladī qālūhu li-alānī*.

⁷³⁹ Frede 2020, 447-448. See Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 167.

⁷⁴⁰ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 182.

5.

Γ 1, 110a 28-29

καὶ γὰρ τὸν Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμαίωνα γελοῖα φαίνεται τὰ ἀναγκάσαντα μητροκτονῆσαι.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 187.10-12

وذلك أنّ الأسباب التي اضطرت ألقماون الذي ذكره أوريبيدس الشاعر إلى أن يقتل أمّه هي من الأمور التي يُضحك منها.

CONTEXT:

Book Three opens with an examination of the concepts of the voluntary and the involuntary (τὸ ἐκούσιον καὶ τὸ ἀκούσιον). Distinguishing voluntary from involuntary actions and passions is crucial in defining virtues, for while voluntary actions undergo praise and blame, involuntary actions and passions – that is, those performed by force or ignorance – receive forgiveness, and sometimes pity (1109b 30-35). Aristotle then dwells on those actions with a mixed character, which should be evaluated in relation to the circumstance (ὁ καιρὸς) in which they are performed. In fact, actions are voluntary inasmuch as they are the result of a choice made by the agent, «though perhaps they are, taken without qualification, involuntary; for no one would choose any such thing for itself».⁷⁴¹ Therefore, if someone endures something shameful or distressing for the sake of something great and noble, he could be praised instead of blamed. This is followed by the discussion of a disputed type of action on the interpretation of which there is no agreement among scholars:⁷⁴² «In some cases praise is not accorded, but excuse, when one does something one should not because of things that overstrain human nature and which no one would endure. But there are some things which perhaps one cannot be necessitated to do, but one should rather die having suffered the most terrible things»⁷⁴³ (1110a 23-27). A concrete example is matricide, which is not justifiable under any circumstances, so that even the reasons that necessitated (τὰ ἀναγκάσαντα) the mythical character of Alcmaeon – to whom Euripides had dedicated a lost tragedy – to kill his mother appear ridiculous (γελοῖα φαίνεται). In the mythical episode, Alcmaeon kills his mother Eriphyle to honour the request of his father Amphiaraus, one of the seven heroes who had fought against Thebes. The seer Amphiaraus had predicted the failure of the expedition led by Polynices and refused to participate in it by seeking a hiding place. Betrayed by his wife – who had revealed his hiding place to Polynices in exchange for Harmonia's necklace – he was forced to take part in the expedition, but before leaving he asked his son to avenge him (cf. *Rh.* B 23, 1397b 2-6 = ref. 72, pp. 151-153).

⁷⁴¹ Taylor 2006, 16. A useful overview on the voluntary in Aristotle's Ethics is given in Meyer 2006.

⁷⁴² Specifically, there is no agreement on whether these are voluntary, involuntary, or mixed actions, according to the Aristotelian definition. For further evaluation of this problem, on which I do not linger in detail, I refer to the discussion of the entire passage in Taylor 2006, 129-138 (see in particular, 136, n. 6). See also Frede 2020, 454, 458-459.

⁷⁴³ Taylor 2006, 17.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translator perfectly interprets the sense of the Greek text, not only by rendering τὰ ἀναγκάσαντα with «the causes which forced», but also by making clear the reference τὸν Εὐριπίδου Ἀλκμαίωνα with the following wording: «Alcmaeon, whom the poet Euripides mentioned». It is not possible to establish if the addition *al-šā'ir*, which does define the reference as poetic, is due to a marginal gloss that the translator found in the Greek manuscript or to his own knowledge of Greek literature.

6., 7.

Γ 2, 111a 9-12

ἢ οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρρητα ἦν, ὥσπερ Αἰσχύλος τὰ μυστικά, ἢ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος ἀφείναι, ὡς ὁ τὸν καταπέλτην. οἰηθείη δ' ἄν τις καὶ τὸν υἱὸν πολέμιον εἶναι ὥσπερ ἡ Μερόπη, [...]

EN Akasoy-Fidora 191.11-13, EN Ullmann 145

أو إنهم لا يعلمون أنّ ما يقولونه ممّا لا يجب أن ينطق به بمنزلة ما يقوله أسخولس في الأسرار أو من يريد أن يري شيئاً ويخليه من يده مثل الذي خلى الآلة التي يُرمى بها وقد يتوهم متوهم أنّ ابنه عدوه كما توهمت
ماربي

1 [يرمى] coni. Ullmann يدهن MS Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

For an action done out of ignorance to be called involuntary, it must provoke repentance (ἐν μεταμελείᾳ, 1110b 19) and the ignorance must relate to specific aspects of the circumstances and persons involved in the action. After listing these aspects (who acted, what they did and in relation to what they did it, under what circumstances, with what instrument, in view of what, the manner in which they did it; 111a 3-6), Aristotle introduces a series of examples, although, as Taylor points out, «it is not entirely clear how the examples are distributed among the kinds of error».⁷⁴⁴ We are interested in two of them. The first instance (ἢ οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρρητα ἦν: «or they did not know that the matter was a secret») mentions the poet Aeschylus, who is said to have been tried for revealing the secrets of the initiation rites to the Eleusinian Mysteries, but then acquitted in respect of the military service he had performed in Marathon, according to Heraclides Ponticus. The Anonymous commentator, who transmits this account, mentions the tragedies in which Aeschylus would have revealed the secrets of the mysteries: *Archeresses*, *Priestesses*, *Sisyphus the Stone-roller*, *Iphigenia*, *Oedipus* (all lost).⁷⁴⁵ The second instance (οἰηθείη δ' ἄν τις καὶ τὸν υἱὸν πολέμιον εἶναι: «and one might maintain one's

⁷⁴⁴ Taylor 2006, 147.

⁷⁴⁵ Anon. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XX, 145,24-146,3, Heylbut.

son to be an enemy») is exemplified by the mythical character of Merope, wife of Cresphontes, the king of Messenia, who was killed by the usurper Polyphontes to take possession of the kingdom. In Euripides' *Cresphontes* – preserved only fragmentarily – the son of Merope, also named Cresphontes returns to court disguised to avenge the killing of his father and is almost killed by his mother Merope before she recognises him.⁷⁴⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two testimonia, one anecdotal about the biography of the tragedian and one related to the plot of a tragedy.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The first example is translated accurately: «or that they do not know that what they say must not be uttered, as Aeschylus said of the mysteries».⁷⁴⁷ One may observe the periphrasis *mimmā lā yağibu an yanṭuqa bihī* for ἀπόρητα. The accusative τὰ μυστικά is translated with *fī l-asrāri* «about the secrets» and there is no additional note expressing its technical meaning or constituting an attempt at cultural translation (indeed, the context is not provided by the pithy Aristotelian reference). The second reference is also interpreted correctly: «someone might suppose that his son was his enemy, as Merope supposed».⁷⁴⁸ As for the example concerning the catapult (ὡς ὁ τὸν καταπέλτην), Ullmann points out that Dunlop rightly corrects the transmitted *yudhanu*, but proposes to read the passive diathesis *yurmā* instead of the active diathesis *yarmī* with Dunlop (and Akasoy-Fidora). Consequently we have the following periphrasis in Arabic: «the instrument with which one throws».

The first ὥσπερ is translated as *bi-manzila* [*mā*], while the second as *ka-mā*. In both cases the translator adds a verb, inferred from the preceding sentence: for the first example [*mā*] *yaqūluhū*, in the second example he adds the feminine verb *tawahhamat* (rightly referred to the feminine ἡ Μερόπη).

8.

Γ 5, 113a 7-9

δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων πολιτειῶν, ὅς "Ὀμηρος ἐμιμεῖτο· οἱ γὰρ βασιλεῖς
ἀ προείλοντο ἀνήγγελλον τῷ δήμῳ.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 203.9-11

ويتبين هذا من السياسات القديمة التي اقتدى بها أميرس وذلك أنه زعم أن الملوك كانوا ييوحون للعامة
بالأمور التي كانوا يختارونها.

⁷⁴⁶ See *Po.* 1454a 5-7. Taylor 2006, 146-148; Frede 2020, 463-464; for the plot of the lost *Cresphontes*: Collard, Cropp 2008, 493-494.

⁷⁴⁷ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 190.

⁷⁴⁸ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 190.

CONTEXT:

The reference to Homer shows an aspect of the relationship between choice and deliberation, analysed in chapters Γ 4-5. As is also clear from the definition of choice as «deliberative desire of the things which are up to us»⁷⁴⁹ given in 113a 10-11, its object is an action on which one has already deliberated and whose origin can be traced back to the person making the choice, or rather, αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἡγούμενον, to the controlling part of oneself (see 113a 2-7). Aristotle adds: «this is clear also from the ancient forms of government which Homer described; for the kings announced to the people what they had chosen to do». The comments of Aspasius and Anonymous help to explain this analogy: τὸ ἡγούμενον is the intellect (ὁ νοῦς), the «reasoning and deliberative» part of the soul, according to Aspasius, and more precisely τὸ ἡγούμενον is «the practical intellect» according to Anonymous. The Homeric kings, who correspond to the controlling part of the soul, make decisions and communicate them to the people, who embody desire and vote in favor of the king (= intellect) and rush forth along with it.⁷⁵⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is accurate. Note the addition of the *verbum dicendi za'ama* referred to Homer to introduce the second clause. The verb μιμέομαι, «to imitate» and thus «to represent», is translated as *iqṭadā* «to imitate», the same form used by Ishāq in Alex. Aphr. *de An. mant.* 146.15 = Gätje 159.141 (cf. Mattā ibn Yūnus' translation of the *Poetics* where the verb is mostly rendered with the root *h-k-y*).

9.

Γ 7, 113b 14-17

τὸ δὲ λέγειν ὧς

οὐδεις ἐκῶν πονηρὸς οὐδ' ἄκων μακάριος

ἔοικε τὸ μὲν ψευθεῖ τὸ δ' ἀληθεῖ· μακάριος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεις ἄκων, ἡ δὲ μοχθηρία ἐκούσιον.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 207.4-6

فَأَمَّا الْقَوْلُ بِأَنَّهُ لَا يَكُونُ أَحَدٌ رَدِيئًا طَوْعًا وَلَا سَعِيدًا كَرِهًا فَيَشْبَهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ بَعْضُهُ بَاطِلًا وَبَعْضُهُ حَقًّا وَذَلِكَ

أَنَّهُ لَا يَكُونُ أَحَدٌ سَعِيدًا كَرِهًا فَأَمَّا الرَّدَاءُ فَتَكُونُ طَوْعًا

CONTEXT:

Chapter Γ 7 shifts the analysis of voluntary actions to the moral level, that is, to the distinction between good and bad actions. Voluntary actions are the effect produced by their

⁷⁴⁹ Taylor 2006, 23.

⁷⁵⁰ Asp. *In EN*: CAG XIX 1, 74.34-75.5, Heylbut; English translation in Konstan 2006, 75. Anon. *In EN*: CAG XX, 152.33-153.3, Heylbut. See Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 205.

agent's choice on things that are within their power and which always have an end. Choice, and deliberation with it (see ref. above), involves specifically the means leading to an end and the end is desired by the agent in accordance with their character disposition, that is virtue and vice. Since the activities of the virtues, viz. the actions by someone who acts in accordance with virtue, concern these means, it is through the choice of these means that the character disposition of virtue is transferred to the action and that action is morally connoted as good (113b 3-6).⁷⁵¹ Choice, Aristotle points out at 113b 7-11, has to do with both carrying out and not carrying out an action, so it follows «that if doing something fine by acting is up to us, then equally, doing something disgraceful by not acting will be up to us, and if doing something fine by not acting is up to us, so is doing something disgraceful by acting».⁷⁵² Moreover, since good and bad actions depend on us, it depends on us to be good or bad (for we are good because we do good actions and we are bad because we do bad actions). At the end of this reasoning, Aristotle quotes, in a polemical tone, a verse (Aesp. F 75a Snell) which takes the form of a maxim: «Saying that “no one is voluntarily wicked or involuntarily blessed” seems to be partly true, partly false; no one is blessed involuntarily, but wickedness is voluntary».⁷⁵³ The first part of the verse is not true, since according to what has been said above the actions of virtue (and therefore also of vice) are always the result of choice and thus voluntary. For those who perform bad actions, and are therefore mean, always do so voluntarily. As explained by the Anonymous,⁷⁵⁴ the verse quoted by Aristotle takes, in an altered form, a fragment of the Ἡρακλῆς ὁ πᾶρ Φόλω by Epicharmus (fr. 66 Kassel-Austin, v. 2), where the second part of the verse reads οὐδ' ἄταν ἔχων instead of οὐδ' ἄκων μακάριος.⁷⁵⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated monostich quotation, literal if considered as the quotation of an anonymous verse (iambic trimeter) which in turn rephrases a verse by Epicharmus.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is accurate and reads: «As for the saying that no one is wicked voluntarily, and no one is happy against his will, but as for wickedness, it seems that it is partly false, partly true. That is, no one is happy against his will, but as for wickedness, it is voluntary».⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵¹ The whole passage has been recently discussed in detail by Bobzien 2014, 97-101. See also Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 168-169.

⁷⁵² Taylor 2006, 24.

⁷⁵³ Taylor 2006, 24. The same verse is quoted by Socrates in the pseudo-platonic dialogue *de Iusto* 374a to confirm the doctrine of the involuntariness of injustice. In the light of this double occurrence, the reference has been the object of various interpretations in order to establish whether Aristotle in this passage of the EN implicitly argues with the author of the *de Iusto* or vice versa, or if there is no direct relationship between the two passages and the verse was simply part of a shared sapiential heritage. Most interpreters lean towards the latter hypothesis. See Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 213; Deman 1942, 109.

⁷⁵⁴ Anon. *In Arist. EN*: CAG XX, 155.2, Heylbut.

⁷⁵⁵ The alteration of the second part of the verse entails a shift in the meaning that the adjective *πονηρός* had in Epicharmus' original, as underlined by the Anonymous Commentator (see also Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 213). For this fragment see Berk 1964, 61-62.

⁷⁵⁶ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 206.

10., 11.⁷⁵⁷

Γ 11, 116a 21-26

τοιούτους δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρος ποιεῖ, οἷον τὸν Διομήδην καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα·

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει·

καὶ [Διομήδης]

Ἑκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσει ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων

Τυδείδης ὕπ' ἐμείο.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 221.1-5, EN Ullmann 153

كما جعل أميروش ديوميديس وأقطر فقال:

بولودامس أول من ييكتني ويعذلني

ثم ديوميديس:

وذلك أن أقطر يخطب بذلك في الاطرس

4 [الاطرس] Ullmann الأَطروس Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

The behaviour of Homeric heroes offers an example of civic courage (ἡ πολιτική ἀνδρεία), namely the first of the five improper forms of courage. In its true form, courage is the moral virtue median between fear and boldness, proper to those who choose voluntarily and according to reason to face fear and the greatest evils because it is beautiful and because it would be shameful not to do so. Civic courage emerges in citizens who seek honours (i.e., what is beautiful) and shun blame (i.e., what is ugly), similarly to what actual courageous people do, but who, unlike the latter, are motivated by external reasons, namely by sanctions provided by the law and forms of social censorship.⁷⁵⁸ The two verses quoted here are introduced by the names of the Homeric heroes who utter them. In the first case, Hector imagines that, if he did the cowardly act of not facing Achilles in a duel, he would be the object of blame and states «Polydamas will be the first to heap reproach on me»⁷⁵⁹ (*Il.* X 100). In the second quote Diomedes says: «Hector will say when he speaks to the Trojans / the son of Tydeus from me...»⁷⁶⁰ (*Il.* Θ 148-149), thus responding to Nestor who had intimated him to put the horses to flight.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two explicit author's serial literal quotations, the first is a complete monostich, while the second is a complete distich. The quotation of the incipit of *Il.* Θ 149 is merely allusive since it implies the second part of the verse (φοβεύμενος ἔκετο νῆας).

⁷⁵⁷ I have already analysed this pair of quotations and the next reference in Zarantonello 2020a, 147-150.

⁷⁵⁸ Taylor 2006, 185-186

⁷⁵⁹ Taylor 2006, 29.

⁷⁶⁰ Taylor 2006, 30.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The rendering of the first quotation is correct, and one may observe the use of the hendiadys *yubakkitunī wa-yaʿdulunī* for the expression μοι...ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει. Obviously, the Arabic *tumma dyūmīds* for καὶ Διομήδης includes the transliteration of the proper noun Διομήδης, which is instead expunged by Bywater. The translation of the second quotation is more inaccurate. The omission of Τυδείδης ὑπ' ἐμεῖο may be due to the difficulty of grasping the meaning of the whole phrase without having access to the rest of the verse, φοβεῦμενος ἔκετο νῆας, which only a Greek reader who knew Homer by heart could implicitly reconstruct. The structure main verb + participle φήσει...ἀγορεύων of the Greek is simplified with the imperfect *yaḥṭubu*, which semantically is akin to the Greek ἀγορεύω, but translates the morphology of the future φημί.

12.⁷⁶¹

Γ 11, 116a 33-35

ὥσπερ ὁ Ἴκτωρ

ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης πτώσσοντα νοήσω,

οὐ οἱ ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 221.10-12

كما فعل أظفر حين قال:

فمن كنت أراه يهرب من الحرب

ما كنت أقنع إلا أن أجعله مأكلة للكلاب والطيور

CONTEXT:

Another quote taken from the *Iliad* (*Il.* B 391-393) is reported to describe a variant of the previous case, namely those who are brave out of fear and face the dangers not to escape blame, but under duress of the leaders, and to escape what causes pain, i.e. «threats of physical punishment of shirkers, combined with methods of physical compulsion on the battlefield, such as beating any who turn back». ⁷⁶² Aristotle introduces the quotation, «If I see anyone shrinking from the battle / He will not be able to avoid the dogs», ⁷⁶³ as if it were pronounced by Hector, when in fact it is taken from the speech that Agamemnon gives to incite the Achaeans who had fled to the ships to return to battle. As the commentators point out, Aristotle, quoting from memory, confuses the verses with a similar place (*Il.* O 348-351), in which it is Hector who is speaking. ⁷⁶⁴

⁷⁶¹ I have already examined this reference in Zarantonello 2020a, 149-150.

⁷⁶² Taylor 2006, 186.

⁷⁶³ Taylor 2006, 30.

⁷⁶⁴ See recently Frede 2020, 505-506.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal altered quotation, incomplete tristich. The Homeric text bears: ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω, / μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὐ οἱ ἔπειτα / ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic reads: «as Hector did when he said: “the man whom I see fleeing from the battle / I shall not be sufficed except by making him food for dogs and birds».⁷⁶⁵ The translation reflects the sense of the Greek text, albeit with some simplification: the meaning of the verb πτώσσω is covered by the root *h-r-b* («to flee»), but the adverb ἀπάνευθε («far away») is not explicitly translated; the expression οὐ οἱ ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται is rendered with *mā kuntu aqna'u* «I will not be satisfied», probably by analogy with ἀρκέομαι.⁷⁶⁶ In contrast, the allusiveness of the syntagma (οὐ) φυγέειν κύνας is made explicit, perhaps on the basis of context, in *ǧa'ala ma'kala li-l-kilāb*, «make food for dogs».⁷⁶⁷ Finally, we should underscore the addition of the noun *al-ṭuyūr* «the birds» coordinated with *al-kilāb*, which corresponds to οἰωνούς, the explicit of v. 393 of the Homeric text, left out by Aristotle in the quotation. The hypothesis of an integration by the translator is not to be ruled out, though it seems hard to prove, while an addition already present in the Greek copy of Iṣḥāq and recorded in his Arabic translation is more plausible.⁷⁶⁸

The sequence ὄσπερ + proper noun is rendered in Arabic as *ka-mā fa'ala* + proper noun + *ḥīna qāla*.

13., 14., 15., 16.

Γ 11, 116b 26-30

ἰτητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος “σθένος ἔμβαλε θυμῷ” καὶ “μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔγειρε” καὶ “δριμύ δ' ἀνὰ ῥίνας μένος” καὶ “ἔξεσεν αἶμα”. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔοικε σημαίνειν τὴν τοῦ θυμοῦ ἔγερσιν καὶ ὀρμήν.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 223.14-225.1

وذلك أَنَّ الغضب يهيج بالطبع في وقت المجاهدة ولذلك قال أوميروش إِنَّه قَوَى غضبه وإنه هيج منه قوّة الغضب وإنّ دمه غلى فإنّ هذه الأشياء كلّها تدلّ على هيجان الغضب وثورانه.

CONTEXT:

Line 116b 22 sets off the examination of a further kind of improper courage, namely the one derived from spirit (ἢ διὰ τὸν θυμὸν, 117a 4). Spirit – which human beings share with wild animals that have been injured or are frightened – is said to be something that really urges us to confront danger (ἰτητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους). This statement is followed

⁷⁶⁵ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 220.

⁷⁶⁶ EN Ullmann 153.

⁷⁶⁷ See GALEX I 208 where this paraphrase is classified as a semantic metathesis, namely a transformation of a negative sentence into a positive one through translation.

⁷⁶⁸ Dunlop 1962, 29; See Dunlop's *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005 (= EN Akasoy-Fidora), 104.

by the quotation of some Homeric verses, which seem to express the arousal of spirit and impetus (σημαίνειν τὴν τοῦ θυμοῦ ἔγερσιν καὶ ὄρμηን). The first reference, «he cast strength into his spirit», is actually a combination of two different Homeric expressions that can be found in *Il.* Λ 11 = *E* 151 and *Il.* Π 529. The same happens with the second quotation, «he stirred up rage and spirit», merging *Il.* E 470 with *Il.* O 232, 594. The syntagma «fierce rage breathed through his nostrils» is a slightly altered form of *Od.* ω 318-319. Unlike the previous references, which described the onset of impetus in the hero before a courageous act on the battlefield, this last quotation depicts the emotions Odysseus felt at the time of his reunion with his father Laertes.⁷⁶⁹ Finally, the words «his blood boiled» are not part of our texts from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, but it has been stated that «il est possible qu'ils aient figuré dans le text d'Homère à l'époque d'Aristote».⁷⁷⁰

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Four explicit author's serial literal altered quotations, incomplete monostichs.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic reads: «That is, anger wells up naturally in time of conflict, and for that reason Homer said that 'he made strong his anger', that 'the strength of his anger welled up' and that 'his blood boiled', for all these things point to the welling up and raging of anger».⁷⁷¹ The rendering of ἰτητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους is not accurate and the unusual term ἰτητικώτατον is missing in the translation. The use of the root *ǧ-h-d* for κίνδυνος also recurs in the anonymous version of the *Rh.*; cf. B 21, 1395a 12-18 = refs. 64, 65, 66 (pp. 144-145); but also *Rh.* 1366b 12 = *Rh.* Lyons 43.16. The hendiadys μένος καὶ θυμόν of the second quotation is rendered with the *idāfa* structure *qūwat al-ǧaḍab*. The third quotation δριμὺ δ' ἀνά ῥίνας μένος is missing in the translation. Also, the verb ἔοικε remains untranslated. As observed by Ullmann⁷⁷² on the rendering of the first quotation (σθένος ἔμβαλε θυμῶ), the term قَوَى is to be read *qawwā* based on the Greek σθένος ἔμβαλε, but to an Arabic-speaking reader it would come more naturally to read it as the adjective *qawiyun*.

17.

Γ 11, 1116b 35-1117a 1

ἐπεὶ οὕτως γε καὶ οἱ ὄνοι ἀνδρείοι εἶεν πεινῶντες· τυπτόμενοι γὰρ οὐκ ἀφίστανται τῆς νομῆς.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 225.5-6, EN Ullmann 154

ولو لا ذلك لكانت ستكون إذا جاعت بمنزلة أهل الشجاعة إذا ضربت لا تنتحي عن الفريسة

[تنتحي] coni. Ullmann تنتحي Akasoy-Fidora

⁷⁶⁹ For this section see Zavaily 2020, 238-240. For an English translation of the passage see Taylor 2006, 31.

⁷⁷⁰ Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 231.

⁷⁷¹ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 222, 224.

⁷⁷² EN Ullmann 154.

CONTEXT:

In his discussion of courage as spirit, Aristotle points out that *ὁ θυμὸς* alone is not sufficient to define a courageous person, for, although all the courageous are spirited – and, in this sense, courage that derives from spirit is defined as the most natural kind of courage – not all the spirited are courageous. Only those who act on choice and are oriented toward an end are truly courageous (1117a 4-5). If being *θυμοειδής* were enough to be defined as courageous, then «even donkeys would be courageous when hungry, since they don't stop grazing even when they are beaten».⁷⁷³ In this image some commentators⁷⁷⁴ have seen an echo of *Il.* Λ 558-562, the second of the two animal similes describing Ajax's retreat from combat after Zeus infused fear into him to contain his momentum against the Trojans. After comparing Ajax to a lion that recoils from fire (cf. HA I 44, 629b 21-23 = ref. 17, pp 258), Ajax, urged on by the Trojans, here is compared to a donkey that walks into a field to eat its grain despite being beaten by boys.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated compendiary quotation.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The nominative *οἱ ὄνοι* is not translated and the subject of the sentence becomes the wild animals (*τὰ θηρία* = *al-sibā'*), derived from the previous section. This also induces a reinterpretation of *νομή* («grazing») as *al-farīsa* («prey»), whereas it is more commonly rendered with forms of the root *r-ʿ-y* (e.g. cf. *Uṣṭāt*; EN 1161a 14 = 463.5 EN Akasoy-Fidora; but also anonymous translator: *Rh.* 1393b 14 = *Rh.* Lyons 135.4; anonymous translator: HA 522b 21 = HA Filius 185.3; HA 525b 9 = HA Filius 191.12; HA 575b 4 = HA Filius 270.20; HA 596a 14 = HA Filius 286.16; HA 596a 29 = HA Filius 287.4; HA 598a 3 = HA Filius 290.5; HA 598a 31 = HA Filius 291.7; HA 599b 16 = HA Filius 293.19; HA 609b 15 = HA Filius 313.15; HA 626b 20-21 = HA Filius 347.7; PA 680b 1 = 112.10 PA Kruk).

18.

Γ 13, 1118b 11

καὶ εὐνής, φησὶν Ὅμηρος ὁ νέος καὶ ἀχμᾶζων

EN Akasoy-Fidora 227.16-17

والحدث والشاب كما قال أوميروش يشتهي معهما المضجع

CONTEXT:

Temperance, investigated in chapter Γ 13, is a virtue consisting in the observance of the mean in relation to the pleasures of the body, and, to a lesser extent, to its pains. Temperance and the corresponding vice, profligacy, have to do particularly with those pleasures that derive from touch and taste (akin to touch), namely pleasures from drinking and eating, and sexual

⁷⁷³ Taylor 2006, 31.

⁷⁷⁴ See Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 232.

pleasure. From 1118b 8 Aristotle explains that it is profligate to indulge in these pleasures to excess, whereas satisfying physical pleasures, including those mentioned above, in the right measure is natural, for anyone who needs it desires solid or liquid nourishment, and sometimes both, and «the young and vigorous, as Homer says, desires [the pleasure of] bed». This is a reminiscence of *Il. Ω* 129-130 (οὔτε τι σίτου / οὔτ' εὐνής), in which the pleasures of food and of sexual intercourse are associated. Here Thetis asks her son Achilles still in pain for the death of Patroclus: «My child, how long will you devour your heart with weeping and sorrowing, and take no thought of food or of the bed?»⁷⁷⁵ (*Il. Ω* 128-30).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated paraphrastic quotation. Since only one word of the verse is quoted, the reference seems to be a reminiscence.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic adheres to the Greek: «The young and vigorous, as Homer said, desires the bed in addition». The expression *ma'ahumā* is referred to *ǧidā'an raṭban aw yābisan* (= ξηρὰς ἢ ὑγρὰς τροφῆς, 118b 10) of the previous sentence (EN Akasoy-Fidora 227.16).

19.

Δ 2, 1121a 7

καὶ τῷ Σιμωνίδου οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος.

Σιμωνίδου] Bywater Σιμωνίδη codd.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 243.9, EN Ullmann 157

وكان على خلاف ما يُوصى به سيمونيدس

Ullmann [يُوصى] Akasoy-Fidora | سيمونيدس Ullmann [سيمونيدس]

Fidora

CONTEXT:

The virtue analysed in the first two chapters of Book Four is ἐλευθεριότης, literally «liberality», understood as freeness in giving and taking, and sometimes translated as «generosity». Among other things «the liberal man is an easy person to deal with in money matters; he can be cheated, because he does not value money, and is more distressed if he has paid less than he ought than he is annoyed if he has paid more: he does not agree with the saying of Simonides»⁷⁷⁶ (1121a 4-7). The genitive Σιμωνίδου is Bywater's conjecture, followed by most scholars, in place of the transmitted Σιμωνίδη. The poet is credited with numerous sayings and anecdotes based on his proverbial greed, to which Aristotle alludes several times in the *Rh.* by

⁷⁷⁵ Murray 1925, 573.

⁷⁷⁶ Rackham 1926, 197.

citing various examples (cf. *Rh.* B 16, 1391a 8-12 = ref. 49, pp. 132-133, and Γ 2, 1405b 23-27 = ref. 103, pp. 180-182).⁷⁷⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic translation confirms Bywater's conjecture:⁷⁷⁸ «and it is opposed to what Simonides recommends».

20.

Δ 3, 1121b 27

ὁ κυμινοπρίστης

EN Akasoy-Fidora 247.12-13, EN Ullmann 158

مقدد العدس

مقدد] Ullmann معدد Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

This chapter examines the two vices corresponding to liberality, namely prodigality and meanness. The latter is divided into two aspects: deficiency in giving and excess in taking. Among the various epithets used to designate the avaricious who are deficient in giving there is also ὁ κυμινοπρίστης, «the cumin-splitter», i.e. the skinflint, a term typical of the language of comedy (cf. *Ar. V.* 1357: κυμινοπριστοκαρδαμογλύφος).⁷⁷⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic expressive reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic bears «the lentil-splitter». In medical texts κύμινον is more frequently translated as *kammūn* eg. Ḥunayn: *Hippocr. Diaet. Acut.* 46.5 = Lyons 15.3; unidentified translator: *Hippocr. Superf.* 94.2 = Mattock 21.5; *Hippocr. Superf.* 96.4 = Mattock 23.11; *Hippocr. Superf.* 96.9 = Mattock 24.4; *Hippocr. Superf.* 88. 3-4 = Mattock 15.9; *Hippocr. Superf.* 92.17 = 20.2; cf. also Ḥunayn's Arabic version of Galen's *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum II commentariorum I-VI* (the Greek original is lost), where both *adas* (CMG Suppl. Or. V 2, 712.11, Vagelpohl) and *kammūn* (CMG Suppl. Or. V 2, 848.8, 850.15-16, 858.3, 934.8, 946.9, Vagelpohl) are attested.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁷ Frede 2020, 530.

⁷⁷⁸ Schmidt, Ullmann 2012, 41.

⁷⁷⁹ Frede 2020, 533.

⁷⁸⁰ See also the examples given by Ullmann in WGAÜ I 605; III 287.

21.

Δ 4, 1122a 27

οἶον τὸ “πολλάκι δόσκον ἀλήτη,”

EN Akasoy-Fidora 249

—

CONTEXT:

Chapter Δ 4 includes a discussion of μεγαλοπρέπεια, «magnificence», a virtue that is achieved by undertaking a large expenditure in a manner appropriate to the spender, the occasion and the object of the expenditure. Μεγαλοπρέπεια is measured in adequate expenditure for great occasions, whereas one who undertakes small or mediocre expenditures in a convenient way is not defined as such (1122a 25-28). For instance, we cannot define as magnificent «the man who said “Oft gave I alms to homeless wayfarers”»,⁷⁸¹ i.e. Odysseus disguised as a beggar who both in *Od.* ρ 420 and in *Od.* τ 76 recalls having helped homeless wayfarers in the past, but since these were small expenses they were not manifestations of μεγαλοπρέπεια.⁷⁸²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The quotation introduced by the adverb οἶον is missing in the Arabic translation.

22.

Δ 8, 1124b 15-16

διὸ καὶ τὴν Θέτιν οὐ λέγειν τὰς εὐεργεσίας τῷ Δίῳ

EN Akasoy-Fidora 265.4, EN Ullmann 163

ولذلك لم تكن تاطس تذكر لزوس إحسانه إيها

تكن] coni. Ullmann: يكثر Akasoy-Fidora | تذكر] coni. Ullmann: يذكر Akasoy-

Fidora

CONTEXT:

In this passage Aristotle explores an aspect of μεγαλοψυχία – the virtue of those who are worthy of great things and consider themselves such – introduced in Δ 7. A great-souled person – precisely because he aspires to be and feels superior to others – «is fond of conferring benefits, but ashamed to receive them»⁷⁸³ (1124b 9-10) and, even when he receives a benefit, he

⁷⁸¹ Rackham 1926, 205.

⁷⁸² Frede 2020, 535-536.

⁷⁸³ Rackham 1926, 221.

will try to reciprocate so that his benefactor will become indebted to him. He also remembers and listens with pleasure when reminded of the benefits he has provided, but does not willingly remember the benefits he has received. This is displayed by the mythical reference given here, an allusion to *Il. A* 503-504: «Father Zeus, if ever among the immortals I aided you / by word or deed, fulfill for me this wish». ⁷⁸⁴ With these words Thetis begs Zeus to help Achilles in his dispute against Agamemnon, following her son's suggestion to remind Zeus of the benefits she had granted him in the past (vv. 394-407). Commentators note that the poetic reference here is not very accurate because in these verses Thetis actually reminds Zeus, albeit allusively, of the benefits she had provided. ⁷⁸⁵ Frede, on the other hand, interprets Aristotle's use of the mythical example as follows: «Dies deutet Aristoteles als taktisches Vorgehen, um Zeus nicht zu verstimmen, sondern ihrer Bitte geneigt zu machen. Bei diesen Überlegungen mag es sich um eines der typischen Homerprobleme handeln, die früh Gegenstand von Diskussionen waren und auch im Unterricht behandelt wurden (das Verzeichnis der aristotelischen Schriften bei Diogenes Laertius V 26,7 erwähnt *Homerprobleme* in fünf Büchern)». ⁷⁸⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

In the text of the MS printed by Akasoy and Fidora, the subject Thetis (*tātis*) is given a masculine verb (*yakun... yadkuru*). Rather than speculate that the translator took Thetis for a male character – an unlikely possibility, all the more so because in Greek τὴν Θέτιν is expressly marked as feminine by the article –, it is more reasonable to think that the outcome is due to inaccuracies in affixing the diacritical marks and to an error of the copyist. This has been put forward by Ullmann, who conjectures *takun... tadkuru*. However, a problem still remains, namely the interpretation of the suffix pronouns *ihsānahū* and *ilayhā* (Akasoy and Fidora understood the first to be referred to Thetis, assumed as a male character by the translator, and the second to Zeus, a hypothesis discarded by Ullmann). Following the correction by Ullmann, the text reads: «for this reason Thetis did not mention to Zeus the good deeds he had done towards her». Consequently, in the Arabic version the direction of the action is reversed compared to the meaning of the Greek text (Zeus as the subject and Thetis as the indirect object instead of vice versa). Also in this case, we could presume an error occurred in the MS tradition and that originally the translation was *ihsānahā ilayhi*.

23., 24.

E 3, 1129b 27-30

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις κρατίστη τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἢ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ οὐθ' ἔσπερος οὐθ' ἕως οὕτω θαυμαστός· καὶ παροιμιαζόμενοι φάμεν “ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετῇ ἔνι”.

⁷⁸⁴ Murray 1924, 51.

⁷⁸⁵ Rackham 1926, 222 n. a; Taylor 2006, 224.

⁷⁸⁶ Frede 2020, 550.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 295.3-5, EN Ullmann 173

ومن أجل هذا مرارًا كثيرة يظنّ بالعدالة إذا أضيفت إلى شيء آخر أنّها أقوى الفضائل وتكون عجيبة أشدّ إعجابًا من الكوكب المشرق بالعشيات والغدوات الذي يتمثّل به وأمّا جميع العدالة بالجملة ففضيلة [...]]

الذي 2 Akasoy-Fidora وتكون أشدّ إعجابًا corr. Ullmann [وتكون عجيبة أشدّ إعجابًا 1
Akasoy-Fidora والذي يتمثّل به corr. Ullmann [يتمثّل به

CONTEXT:

In the third chapter of the book on justice, Aristotle deals with universal justice, which he defines as «perfect Virtue, though with a qualification, namely that it is displayed toward others»⁷⁸⁷ (1129b 25-27). And he adds: «For this reason Justice is often thought to be the greatest of the virtues, and neither evening nor morning star are so wonderful; and it is proverbially said “In justice is all virtue comprehended”». According to the Anonymous the reference to the evening and to the morning stars draws on the lost *Melanippe* by Euripides (F 486 Kannicht). The proverbial (παροιμιαζόμενοι) line quoted below correspond to Thgn. 147.⁷⁸⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two serial quotations: a hidden paraphrastic quotation followed by an explicit anonymous literal altered (ἀρετὴ ἔνι instead of ἀρετὴ ἴστυ) complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic text reads: «For this reason it is often thought of justice, when it is related to something else, that it is the strongest of the virtues and is a marvel more marvellous than the star shining in the mornings and evenings, which is proverbial. As for all justice in general, it is a virtue [...]».⁷⁸⁹

The translation of *Uṣṭāt* differs from the original due to some misunderstandings. First, the addition of the parenthetical *idā uḍḍifāt ilā ṣay'in āḥara* is evidently derived from ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἕτερον of 1129b 27, which is similarly translated *wa-lākin tuḍāfu ilā ṣay'in āḥara* in the previous sentence (cf. EN Akasoy-Fidora 295.2-3; EN Ullmann 173). The repetition could be either the translation of an interpolation already in the Greek *Vorlage* or an integration by the translator. Moreover, the phrase *καὶ παροιμιαζόμενοι φάμεν* is referred to the previous sentence rather than interpreted as an introductory expression of the final quotation. The meaning of the latter is also not grasped, because the adjective *πᾶσα* is referred to *δικαιοσύνη* instead of *ἀρετή*, while the adverb *σὺλλήβδην* is understood in its generic meaning of «in sum» and translated as *bi-l-ḡumlati*.

⁷⁸⁷ Rackham 1926, 259.

⁷⁸⁸ Frede 2020, 590.

⁷⁸⁹ See Dunlop's translation EN Akasoy-Fidora 294.

25.

E 8, 1132b 25-27

–καίτοι βούλονταί γε τοῦτο λέγειν καί τὸ Ῥαδαμάνθους δίκαιον· “εἴ κε πάθοι τά τ’ ἔρεξε, δίκη κ’ ἰθεία γένοιτο”–

EN Akasoy-Fidora 311.5-6, EN Ullmann 179

وإن كانوا يريدون إن يقولوا إنَّ هذا هو عدل رادامنتس الذي ينتقم من فعل الآفات

[رادامنتس] coni. Ullmann فاي ذاسنن Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

In the first lines of the investigation of the notion of reciprocity (τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός) in chapter E 8, Aristotle rejects the ἐνδοξον attributed to the Pythagoreans according to which reciprocity is a form of justice in general (comparable to the *ius talionis*) and argues that it does not fall into either of the two particular types of justice, neither corrective nor distributive (1132b 21-25).⁷⁹⁰ Those who claim that the just is to be identified with reciprocity find confirmation in the saying attributed to the mythical Rhadamanthys, king of Crete and judge in the Underworld like his brother Minos: «If one suffers even what he did, it will be right justice».⁷⁹¹ In Anon. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XX, 222.23-26, Heylbut the verse is quoted along with the previous one (εἰ κακὰ τις σπείραι, κακὰ κέρδεα ἀμῆσειεν· = «if someone sowed evils, he would reap bad profits») and is said to be taken from the lost *Great Works* (μέγαρα ἔργα) of Hesiod (fr. 286 Merkelbach-West; cf. Mich. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XXII 3, 31.31-32, Hayduck, where it is simply ascribed to Hesiod).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal (?) quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic reads: «although they want to say that this is the justice of Rhadamanthys, that takes vengeance for the doing of evil deeds».⁷⁹² The quotation is not translated and is replaced by a relative clause – where *alladī* might be referred to Rhadamanthys as understood by Dunlop, and to the justice of Rhadamanthys – which does not cover the meaning of the original Greek. This distortion could be due to a reconstruction by the translator based on what follows in the Greek text (1132b 28sqq.: πολλαχού γὰρ διαφωνεῖ· οἶον εἰ ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐπάταξεν κτλ.), which, in fact, in Arabic refers to Rhadamanthys: «Often his words [*qawluhū*] are contradictory in many things, as when he says [*mitla qawlihī*]: if a man who holds rule has wounded, it is right not merely that a wound should be inflicted in return, but the culprit

⁷⁹⁰ Further on, Aristotle explains that reciprocity on a proportional basis may constitute a form of justice in regulating exchange relations. However, commentators disagree in interpreting reciprocity as understood in this way, as whether it is a form of corrective justice, a form of distributive justice, or a third form of justice in a broad sense; the issue is summarised by Frede 2020, 611-612, 614, with bibliography.

⁷⁹¹ See Frede 2020, 613.

⁷⁹² Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 310.

should be beaten also».⁷⁹³ But to explain the outcome of the relative clause in place of the quotation, one can also assume that, in the margin of his Greek copy, the translator had found the first verse of Hesiod's fragment as reported by the Anonymous commentary (εἰ κακὰ τις σπείραι, κακὰ κέρδεα ἀμήσειεν: see above). However, this hypothesis is not supported linguistically because Uṣṭāt preferentially uses the roots *r-d-* and *ṣ-r-r* to translate κακός and κακία, while here κακὰ is rendered with *al-āfāt*, which is never used for these terms in the Arabic version of EN, and the relative phrase would only be a very loose rendering of Hesiod's fragment.

Ullmann corrected the transliteration *rādāmantis* based on the comparison with the loci paralleli in the “*al-maqāla al-sābi‘a*” (EN Akasoy-Fidora 363.17) and in ps.al-‘Āmirī’s *Kitāb al-sa‘āda* (Minovi 1957-1958, 226. 8, 13 = ‘Aṭiyya 1991, 261.9, 13).⁷⁹⁴

26.

E 11, 1136a 11-14

πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἔστιν ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης εἴρηκε, λέγων ἀτόπως
μητέρα κατέκταν τὴν ἐμήν, βραχὺς λόγος.
ἐκὼν ἐκοῦσαν, ἢ οὐχ ἐκοῦσαν οὐχ ἐκὼν;

3 <οὐχ> ἐκοῦσαν] Jackson θέλουσαν codd.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 329.9-12, EN Ullmann 186

أَوَّلًا إِنْ كَانَ كَمَا قَالَ أَوْرِيْبِيدِيسَ بِنَوْعِ مَحَالٍ
أَنْ أَقْتَلَ وَالِدَتِي بِإِرَادَتِي وَهِيَ تَرِيدُ
بِقَوْلِ فَاصِلٍ أَوْ بِإِرَادَتِهَا وَأَنَا لَا أُرِيدُ

1 [أوريبیدیس] Ullmann أوريبیدیس Akasoy-Fidora

3 [وأنا] corr. Ullmann وأنا Akasoy-

Fidora

CONTEXT:

Chapter E 11 opens with an aporia about suffering and committing injustice. The quotation anticipates the real question formulated below (1136a 15sq.), namely whether suffering and committing injustice are involuntary or always voluntary.⁷⁹⁵ The reference consists of a couplet from a lost tragedy of Euripides, probably entitled *Alcmaeon* (fr. 304a Kannicht, where it is listed

⁷⁹³ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 310. The Arabic has here a lacuna due a homeoteleuton cf. EN Akasoy-Fidora 310 n. 123, 311.6-8; EN Ullmann 179.

⁷⁹⁴ The name of Rhadamanthys also occurs in al-Birūnī's *Kitāb fi taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind min maqūla maqbūla fi l-'aql aw mardūla* (Al-Birūnī 1958, 73.9 [Ar.]; Sachau 1910, I 96 [Engl.]) and in one of the letters that make up the *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander, the Letter on the Government of the Cities* (Swain 2013a, 194.3 [Ar.], 195 [Engl.] = Maróth 2006, 95.6[Ar.]; see Chapter 3 and Appendix 2 for further details), but none of these passages are related to the quotation in EN.

⁷⁹⁵ See Frede 2020, 635-637.

self-control and a certain higher virtue that is above our level (τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀρετὴν) and somewhat heroic and divine (ἥρωικὴν τινα καὶ θεῖαν).⁷⁹⁸ An example of the latter is the exceptional virtue (ὅτι σφόδρα ἦν ἀγαθός) that Homer recognises in Hector, through the words with which his father Priam describes him in *Il.* Ω 258-259 when begging Achilles to return his son's corpse: «and he did not seem to be / son of mortal man, but of a god».

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete distich, introduced by a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic reads: «As for that which is said to be the opposite of beastliness, it is most proper that it should be said to be the virtue which is higher than us, and as it were related to heroes (translit. for ἥρωες), i.e. mighty men, and as it were like what Homer described in his poetry about Hector, when Priam said about him that he was very excellent, and it was not thought for him that he was the son of a mortal man but that he was a god».⁷⁹⁹

In the Arabic version, the poetic reference, which in Greek forms an incidental-comparative subordinate clause introduced by ὥσπερ, is coordinated with the rendering of the preceding ἥρωικὴν τινα καὶ θεῖαν via the correlation (*wa*)-*ka-annahā...wa-ka-annahā* (in the first occurrence *ka-annahā* translates the indefinite τινα). As for the expression ἥρωικὴν τινα καὶ θεῖαν, καὶ θεῖαν is missing in the translation, while the adjective ἥρωικὴν is rendered analytically. The adjectival suffix -ικός, meaning «pertaining to»,⁸⁰⁰ is covered by *mansūba ilā*, while the word ἥρω- (=ἥρωος) is transliterated and then translated with the plural *al-ǧabābira*. The technical meaning of the verb *πεποίηκε* is accurately translated as *waṣafa...fi šī'rihi*. The complement *περὶ <τοῦ> Ἐκτορος* is rendered twice. First, following the syntactic anticipation of the Greek, it is placed after *waṣafa...fi šī'rihi* (= *πεποίηκε*), then it is referred to with the pronoun *ʿanhu* in the dependent clause translating the participle λέγοντα, which actually governs the syntagma *περὶ <τοῦ> Ἐκτορος*. Regarding the poetic quotation, if we follow the text of the MS, *anna-hū*, and not Badawī and Dunlop's correction, *ibn*, the epic genitive θεοῦ is not grasped grammatically, but is rendered as a predicative of the subject (as if it were a nominative like the previous πάις). The epic genitive is mistranslated also by the anonymous translator of the *Rh.* (A 11, 137ob 28-29 = ref. 19, pp. 107-108).

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated with *ka-llādī*.

28., 29.⁸⁰¹

H 3, 1146a 19-21

οἶον ὁ Σοφοκλέους Νεοπτόλεμος ἐν τῷ Φιλοκτῆτη· ἐπαινετός γὰρ οὐκ ἐμμένων οἷς ἐπέισθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς διὰ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι ψευδόμενος.

⁷⁹⁸ See Frede 2020, 719-721.

⁷⁹⁹ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 370 (modified).

⁸⁰⁰ Cf. Schwyzer 1939, 497-498.

⁸⁰¹ I have already analysed these references in Zarantonello 2020a, 142-145.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 375.12-14, EN Ullmann 190

مثل ناوفظولاموس الذي يذكره سوفوقليس في مقالة فيلواقطيطس الذي معناه محبّ القنية فإنه ممدوح عندما لم يثبت على ما كان أقنعه به أوديسوس

con. Ullmann | فيلواقطيطس 1 Akasoy-Fidora | أوديسوس 2 con.

Ullmann | أوديسوس Akasoy-Fidora

H 10, 1151b 18-21

οἶον ἐν τῷ Φιλοκτήτη τῷ Σοφοκλέους ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος· καίτοι δι' ἡδονὴν οὐκ ἐνέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ καλήν· τὸ γὰρ ἀληθεύειν αὐτῷ καλὸν ἦν, ἐπέισθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ψεύδεσθαι.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 405.4-6, EN Ullmann 203

كما فعل ناوفظولاموس الذي يوصف في كتاب صوفقلس الذي يسميه فلقطيطس وإن كان لم يثبت

لمكان لذّة... لذّة فإنه كما... لذّة جيّدًا وقد أقنعه أوديسوس... †

con. Ullmann | فلقطيطس | Akasoy-Fidora | قد فعله Ullmann | صوفقلس 1

Akasoy-Fidora | لذّات جيّدًا | con. Ullmann | لذّة... لذّة فإنه كما... لذّة جيّدًا 2

Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

The mythical story of Philoctetes and Neoptolemus, exemplified by the two references to Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, offers a case study within the treatment of the ἀκρασία («lack of control»), the disposition of those who despite knowing what would be right to do rationally do not do it because they are dominated to excess by desire and pleasure.⁸⁰² Lack of control, along with its positive opposite, ἐγκράτεια («self-control»), is the focus of chapters H 1-11. The first reference (H 3, 1146a 18-21) falls under the third of the six aporias discussed in chapter H 3 and formulated from the presentation of six ἔνδοξα regarding these two dispositions in chapter H 2. The third aporia challenges ἔνδοξα nos. 1 and 2, which reveal that 1) self-control is good and praiseworthy, while lack of control is bad and blameworthy (1145b 8-10), 2) the ἐγκρατής holds firm his or her reasoning, while the ἀκρατής departs from his or her reasoning (1145b 10-12). The ἔνδοξον no. 2 is briefly rephrased at 1146a 16-17 to introduce aporia no. 3: if it is true that self-controlled people always stick with their reasoning, then there must be a bad form of ἐγκράτεια – the one that makes us persist in holding wrong opinions – as well as a positive form of ἀκρασία, which makes us deviate from a wrong opinion. An example of the latter case is Neoptolemus' behaviour in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, who, persuaded by Odysseus, initially conceives a plan to deceive Philoctetes in order to take away his weapons, but then,

⁸⁰² See Frede 2020, 715.

because of the suffering caused by lying (διὰ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι ψευδόμενος), deviates from his opinion and does not implement the plan (οὐκ ἐμμένων οἷς ἐπέισθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως: «since he does not stick with the opinions of which he was convinced by Odysseus»). Thanks to his ἀκρασία, Sophocles' Neoptolemus is worthy of praise (ἐπαινετός). Further on, in H 10, 1151b 17-21, the mythical episode is analysed again to resolve the aporia. Neoptolemus' behavior is not dictated by lack of self-control, but is the result of a choice in pursuit of noble pleasure (δι' ἡδονὴν...καλήν) that comes from telling the truth (τὸ γὰρ ἀληθεύειν αὐτῷ καλὸν ἦν) to Philoctetes instead of lying as he had been persuaded by Odysseus to do (ἐπέισθη δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ψεύδεσθαι).⁸⁰³

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two testimonia.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The first reference is translated as follows: «for instance, Neoptolemus, mentioned by Sophocles in the discourse *Philoctetes*, meaning 'loving possessions': he is praised for not standing by what Odysseus persuaded him to». ⁸⁰⁴ The translator grasps that the expression ὁ Σοφοκλέους (Νεοπτόλεμος) ἐν τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ is a bibliographical reference (*genitivus auctoris* and ἐν + dat.) and that Νεοπτόλεμος is a character who figures in the work, but not knowing it directly, he introduces the term *maqāla* («prose speech, treatise») instead of a more appropriate *šīr*. Interestingly, the transliteration of the proper noun (τῷ) Φιλοκτήτῃ is followed by a gloss explaining (inaccurately) its meaning. The translator interprets it as a compound of φίλος and κτητά, in Arabic *muhibbu l-qinyati*.⁸⁰⁵ As for the second reference, we read: «as Neoptolemus did, who is described in the work of Sophocles entitled *Philoctetes*, although he did not hold fast on account of a pleasure †...† because †...† very †...†, and Odysseus had convinced him †...†». Again, the translator is guided by the structure *genitivus auctoris* and ἐν + dat. (ἐν τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ τῷ Σοφοκλέους) to render the bibliographical reference and adds, similarly to the previous case, the generic *kitāb*, which does not refer in any way to a composition in verse. Since the MS is damaged at this point, it is not possible to analyze the rendering of the poetic reference in detail.

The sequence οἶον - nom. - gen. auct. - ἐν + dat. is translated with *mitla* + acc. (= translit. of nom.) *alladī yadkuruhū* nom. (= translit. of gen. auct.) *fī maqālati* + gen. (= translit. of dat.)

The sequence οἶον - ἐν + dat. - gen. auct. - nom. is translated with *ka-mā fa'ala* nom. (= translit. of nom.) *alladī yūšafu fī kitābi* + gen. (= translit. of gen. auct.) *alladī yusammīhi* acc. (= translit. of dat.).

⁸⁰³ For an examination of these passages and, more generally, of the treatment of ἀκρασία and ἐγκράτεια in EN H 1-11: Broadie 2009, 157-172; Natali 2017, 145-153; Frede 2020, 724, 726-730, 771-772.

⁸⁰⁴ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 374.

⁸⁰⁵ See *Rh.* Γ 3, 1406b 15-19 = ref. 107 (pp. 185-186) for a similar outcome.

30., *31.

H 6, 1148a 33-1148b 2

εἴ τις ὥσπερ ἡ Νιόβη μάχοιτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἢ ὥσπερ Σάτυρος ὁ φιλοπάτωρ ἐπικαλούμενος περὶ τὸν πατέρα· λίαν γὰρ ἐδόκει μωραίνειν·

EN Akasoy-Fidora 387.11-12, EN Ullmann 195

إن حارب أحد الآلهة كما فعل أنيوبي أو كما فعل صاطورس المحبّ أباه حين دعا إلى أبيه فقد كان يظنّ به أنّه قد حمق جدًّا

Ullmann] صاطورس Akasoy-Fidora 1

CONTEXT:

Both examples address qualified forms of lack of control – in contrast to plain lack of control, without qualification, which, as Lorenz has recently shown, in Aristotle corresponds to the lack of control – or, better, they address dispositions that, due to their similarity with lack of self-control, are so called subject to some limitation (cf. 1148b 2-14).⁸⁰⁶ In particular, Niobe's and Satyrus' stories are examples of excessive love towards children and parents respectively, that is, they concern desires and pleasures that in themselves address what is beautiful and good by nature, and are therefore naturally worthy of choice, but, if carried to excess, they are wrong and must be shunned. In this sense, Niobe and Satyrus can be called uncontrolled (ἀκρατής), but with a limitation, as their lack of control concerns their love for their loved ones. The story of Niobe, who fought even against the gods (μάχοιτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς), is first attested in Hom. *Il.* Ω 602-617 and was later narrated in various poetic works.⁸⁰⁷ Since Niobe had boasted of her twelve children by ridiculing Leto who had only given birth to Apollo and Artemis, the latter avenged their mother by killing all of Niobe's children.⁸⁰⁸ As for Satyrus, «who was nicknamed the Philopator [for his devotion] to his father, for he was thought to carry it to the point of infatuation»,⁸⁰⁹ the identification is more problematic. The Anonymous commentator tells of a certain Satyrus who ended up loving his father Sostratus so much that when he died Satyrus killed himself.⁸¹⁰ Some scholars propose to identify him with one of the kings of Bosphorus named Satyrus and who might have adopted the epithet Philopator.⁸¹¹ Frede suggests: «Er könnte aber auch Gegenstand einer Komödie gewesen sein; so ist ein Titel *Philopatôr* für den Dichter Antiphanes bezeugt, einen Vertreter der Mittleren Komödie des 4. Jahrhunderts».⁸¹²

⁸⁰⁶ See Lorenz 2009; Frede 2020, 746-747.

⁸⁰⁷ Frede 2020, 751. See the article *Niobe* in R.H. Harder and B. Bäbler in BNP 2006.

⁸⁰⁸ Anon. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XX, 426.17-22, Heylbut.

⁸⁰⁹ Rackham 1926, 399 (modified).

⁸¹⁰ Anon. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XX, 426.23-29, Heylbut. Cf. also *Schol. In Aristot.* EN ad 1148a 34.

⁸¹¹ Stewart 1892, II 178; Rackham 1926, 399 n. d.

⁸¹² Frede 2020, 751. See Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 624-625.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two generic content references.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic reads: «If one fights against the gods, as Niobe did, or as Satyrus did, who loved his father, when he prayed to his father, and it was thought of him that he had been very foolish».⁸¹³ The version follows the Greek except for the rendering of ἐπικαλούμενος περί τὸν πατέρα, where ἐπικαλούμενος is taken as a middle diathesis and with the meaning of «to praise», assumed by the verb without the περί and with only the accusative. So, the translator seems to have read the passage without περί, similarly to the way the Anonymous commentator interprets the passage by writing: ἦ ὁ Σάτυρος ὡς θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενος τὸν πατέρα (or Satyrus invoking his father as a god).⁸¹⁴

32., 33.

H 7, 1149b 14-17

ἦ δ' ἐπιθυμία καθάπερ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην φασίν· “δολοπλόκου γὰρ κυπρογενοῦς.” καὶ τὸν κεστὸν ἰμάντα Ὀμηρος· “πάρφασις, ἦ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντος.”

EN Akasoy-Fidora 393.18-395.1, EN Ullmann 198

وأما الشهوة فإنها كما يقال في الزهرة إن المولود بقبرس ففتال الاغتتيال وكما قال أوميرش عن كشتس إنه

سرق السير وهو يرى رأي اغتيال

1 [ففتال] Badawī Ullmann يغتال MS Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

Among the reasons why the lack of control due to anger is preferable to that dictated by desire (ἐπιθυμία) is the fact that those who cannot restrain desire are more unfair than the impetuous, because, unlike the latter, they are crafty. This aspect of ἐπιθυμία is described by two quotations that refer, the first implicitly, the second explicitly, to the mythical personification of desire, Aphrodite. The first reference is a poetic *topos*, the epithet of Aphrodite «weaver of wiles in Cyprus born»⁸¹⁵ (Adesp, fr. 31 Page [PMG 949]). The second reference, as reported by Aristotle, concerns τὸν κεστὸν ἰμάντα (*Il.* Ε 214), i.e. Aphrodite's «brodered girdle» borrowed by Hera to seduce Zeus in Book 14 of the *Iliad*. The verse is taken from the description of the girdle in *Il.* Ε 214-218 and of all its charms, including «beguilement, that cheats even the wise out of the wits» (*Il.* Ε 217).⁸¹⁶

⁸¹³ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 386.

⁸¹⁴ Heliod. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XIX 2, 144.2-3, Heylbut.

⁸¹⁵ Rackham 1926, 409.

⁸¹⁶ Frede 2020, 757-758.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two serial quotations together with testimonia. The first quotation is catalogued among the Adespota, so its source is unknown. However the expression is echoed in so many loci paralleli, that the example given by Aristotle seems to be a broad reference to the *topos* of Aphrodite δολοπλόκη (cf. Sapph. fr. 1 Loebel-Page, v.2; Thgn. 1386; Simonides 36 Page [PMG 541], v. 9) rather than a specific quotation. Hence it could be categorised as a generic expressive reference.

The second is an explicit author's literal quotation, complete monostich, but altered as it bears the singular φρονέοντος instead of the plural φρονεόντων of v. 217.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The adverb κατάπερ is covered by *ka-mā...wa-ka-mā*.

Aphrodite is assimilated to the planet Venus (for similar instances see *Rh.* B 9, 1387a 32-34 = ref. 46 (pp. 130-131) and Γ 4, 1407a 17-18 = ref. 109 (pp. 187-189); see also Aetius Arabus I 6, 12-13 = Diels 296a = Daiber 112.24, 114.2). The quotation δολοπλόκου γάρ κυπρογενοῦς is rendered accurately (based on Badawī's and Ullmann's conjecture).⁸¹⁷ The rendering of the second reference departs from the Greek: «and as Homer said of Kestus: "he stole the gridle, contriving a crafty plan"». ⁸¹⁸ The accusative κεστόν is transliterated, while πάρφασις seems to be behind the Arabic *qāla* (= [παρά]φημι, from which πάρφασις/παράφασις derives) and is referred to Homer. The accusative ἰμάντα becomes the direct object of ἔκλεψε. Maybe the words νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντος are taken as a genitive absolute (where νόον is the direct object of φρονέοντος) and the interpretative translation *ra'y iġtiyāl* is based on the context. The form VII of the root *j-w-l* is used in EN Akasoy-Fidora 537.15 (= K 3, 1173b 27) to translate προδίδωμι (with the meaning of «betray»).

34., 35.

H 8, 1150b 8-10

ὥσπερ ὁ Θεοδέκτου Φιλοκτῆτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔχεως πεπληγμένος ἦ ὁ Καρκίνου ἐν τῇ Ἀλόπη Κερκύων

EN Akasoy-Fidora 399.6-7, EN Ullmann 200

مثلما فعل فلقطيطس تاودقطس حين لسع من الأفاعي والكلب الذي صار ثعلبًا ولسع من سرطان

Ullmann ثيودقطس Akasoy-Fidora] تاودقطس

CONTEXT:

At the beginning of this chapter Aristotle identifies a correspondence between two pairs of dispositions: self-control and the lack of it are to pleasure what endurance and softness are to pain. Since pleasure and pain are also the object of the vice of self-indulgence and of the corresponding virtue, moderation, these 4 dispositions are compared with the behaviours of

⁸¹⁷ See in this respect also Woerther 2021, 313 n. 16.

⁸¹⁸ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 394.

self-indulgent and moderate people (1150a 9-15).⁸¹⁹ At 1150b 6-10 Aristotle notes that, unsurprisingly, there are violent and excessive pleasures or pains which men cannot overcome. Therefore, they cannot be called soft or uncontrolled, but instead will be forgiven if they succumb to the struggle. On the other hand, Aristotle adds a little further on, it is surprising if one is overcome by what the multitude⁸²⁰ can resist (1150b 12-13). As Bobonich points out,⁸²¹ the interpretation of the examples given by Aristotle in this section, including our own, is not straightforward. The first example revolves around Theodectes' lost tragedy *Philoctetes*, in which, according to the Anonymous (Anon. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XX, 436.33-437.1, Heylbut), Philoctetes was shown resisting the pain caused by the viper's bite until he demands that his injured hand be amputated. The second example is Cercyon in the *Alope* by Carcinus, another lost tragedy presumably from the 4th cent. BCE. Once again, we rely on the Anonymous commentary (Anon. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XX, 437.1-9, Heylbut): Alope's father, Cercyon, having learned that his daughter had been seduced and wanting to know who the seducer was, discovers his identity (it is Poseidon, though not specified by the Anonymous), but, unable to bear the pain, commits suicide.⁸²²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Two testimonia.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The conjunction ὡσπερ is translated with *mitlamā fa'ala*.

The first reference, ὁ Θεοδέκτου Φιλοκτῆτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔχεως πεπληγμένος, is rendered correctly. The singular ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔχεως becomes plural in Arabic (*mina l-afā'i*). The second reference is coordinated with the preceding one (in fact, the disjunctive conjunction ἢ is rendered with the coordinative *wa*), the participle πεπληγμένος is taken as the implied verb of this second sentence and all proper nouns are translated rather than transliterated. The translations are based on the following approximations: Καρκίνος > κάρκινος = crab; Ἀλόπη > ἀλώπηξ = fox; Κερκύων > κύων = dog). The outcome is distant from the Greek: «and the dog which became a fox and was bitten by a crab». ⁸²³ Uṣṭāt̄ does something analogous in EN H 3, 1146a 19-21 = ref. 28 (pp. 319-321), where he explains the meaning of Φιλοκτῆτης after transliterating it.

⁸¹⁹ The entire chapter, which my summary is based on, is analysed by Bobonich 2009. See also Frede 2020, 760, 763.

⁸²⁰ From the outset (1150a 15-16) Aristotle refers to the disposition of the crowd (ἡ τῶν πλείστων ἕξις), which lies between (μεταξύ) the two positive dispositions (self-control and endurance) and the two negative dispositions (lack of control and softness), though it leans towards the worse dispositions. The disposition of the crowd constitutes an implicit parameter in this section as well; cf. Bobonich 2009, 155.

⁸²¹ Bobonich 2009, 155 and n. 48.

⁸²² The validity of this example is challenged by Bobonich 2009, 155 n. 48.

⁸²³ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 398.

36.

H 9, 1151a 8-10

ὥσπερ τὸ Δημοδόκου εἰς Μιλησίους “Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσίν, δρώσιν δ’ οἴάπερ ἀξύνετοι”

EN Akasoy-Fidora 401.9-10

كقول ديمودوقس في أهل ميلسوس حين قال إنَّ أهل ميلسوس ليس هم بجَهَّال وهم يفعلون فعل الجَهَّال
لقلَّة التجربة

CONTEXT:

While they share many aspects, vice and lack of self-control are distinguished by the fact that the former is a disposition and people affected by vice follow a certain reasoning and make a choice, whereas the uncontrolled deviate from their reasoning because they are overwhelmed by pleasure and desire. This distinction is exemplified by the elegiac distich that the poet Demodocus (6th/5th cents. BCE)⁸²⁴ composed about the Milesians: «Milesians are no fools, 'tis true, But yet they act as fools would do»⁸²⁵ (fr. 1 West).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, incomplete distich, along with a testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated with *ka-* [+ *hīna qāla*].

The Arabic follows the Greek: «Like the saying of Demodocus about the Milesians, when he said: “The Milesians are not fools, but they act like fools through lack of experience”».⁸²⁶ The translator rightly expands the elliptic τὸ Δημοδόκου by adding the noun *qawl* and then the clause *hīna qāla inna*. The final addition *li-qillati l-tağribati* appears to be a trivial explanation introduced by the translator himself (or by a later reader of the Arabic).

37.

H 11, 1152a 31-33

ὥσπερ καὶ Εὐήνος λέγει “φημί πολυχρόνιον μελέτην ἔμεναι, φίλε, καὶ δὴ / ταύτην ἀνθρώποισι τελευτῶσαν φύσιν εἶναι.”

EN Akasoy-Fidora 407.9-11, EN Ullmann 204

كما قال أوينوس: قلت إنَّ <من> الدراس بكثرة الزمان يكون للناس سريعاً طبع تامّ

⁸²⁴ Cf. R. Nünlist, and E. Bowie, *Demodocus* in BNP 2006.

⁸²⁵ Rackham 1926, 419.

⁸²⁶ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 400.

Ullmann أوينوس Akasoy-Fidora | قلت] coni. Ullmann قال Akasoy-Fidora |
Ullmann بطبع Akasoy-Fidora | بطبع] coni. Ullmann < من >

CONTEXT:

Aristotle ends chapter H 11 with a quotation from the poet Evenus of Paros. After stating that it is easier to heal those who are uncontrolled by habit than those who are uncontrolled by nature, Aristotle adds that the habit in the long run is, however, so rooted as to become a form of nature and in this regard he reports the elegiac couplet of Evenus: «I maintain, my friend, it is a long-continued training, and this ends up being men's nature» (fr. 9 West).⁸²⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete distich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The conjunction ὥσπερ is translated with *ka-mā*.

The translation of the quotation has several problems. The Arabic *qultu* for φημί is Ullmann's conjecture instead of the transmitted *qāla*. The vocative φίλε is untranslated and the two coordinate clauses of the Greek text are merged in a single sentence in Arabic, where καὶ δὲ is omitted and *yakūnu* covers only one of the two forms of the verb εἰμί. The translator does not grasp that the implied subject of the first clause is «habit» (τὸ ἔθος = *al-āda*), mentioned in the previous lines. The participle τελευτῶσαν (= adj. *tāmm*), instead of being referred to the demonstrative pronoun ταύτην (that stands for μελέτην), which is not translated, is attributed to the other accusative φύσιν. It is unclear where the adverb *sarī'an* (usually covering ταχέως) comes from. A grammatical problem remains. If we take *al-dirās* (= μελέτην) as the subject of the sentence like in Greek, we would read «I maintain that training for a long time is soon *complete nature*⁸²⁸ to men», but *ṭab' tām* should be an accusative. For this reason, Ullmann suggests the conjecture *min* governing *al-dirās* (read as genitive), with the result: «I maintain that from training for a long time men soon acquire a perfect nature».

38.

H 14, 1153b 25-28

καὶ τὸ διώκειν δ' ἅπαντα καὶ θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους τὴν ἡδονὴν σημείον τι τοῦ εἶναί
πως τὸ ἄριστον αὐτῆν. «φήμη δ' οὐτίς πάμπαν ἀπόλλυται, ἦν τινα λαοί / πολλοί...»

EN Akasoy-Fidora 415.13-14-417.1-2

وأيضًا في طلب جميع الناس والسباع اللذة دليل ما أنها جيّدة بنوع ما أقول ليس لذّة ما مرسلّة في جميع

الحالات بل التي هي الأكثر

⁸²⁷ Tieleman 2009, 181; Frede 2020, 776. This passage has been recently analysed by Année 2020, 192-193.

⁸²⁸ This translation is not correct since it bends grammatical rules.

CONTEXT:

This chapter continues the inquiry (begun in H 12) into the nature of pleasure, defined as the unhindered activity of a natural disposition (1153a 12-15; 1153b 9-12). According to Aristotle, not only it is natural to seek pleasure, but also «the fact that all animals and humans pursue pleasure is a sign that it is somehow the supreme good». This statement is followed by a quotation, «No rumor dies away entirely, which many people...», taken from Hesiod's *Op.* 763-764, which in the Aristotelian context assumes a meaning opposite to that of the source text. Hesiod warns against *vox populi* and *vox dei*, stating that φήμη, in the sense of rumor, is always evil and never disappears completely once it is put into circulation. In Aristotle, on the other hand, φήμη acquires the positive connotation of reputation.⁸²⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, incomplete distich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic reads: «Also in the fact that all, men and beasts, seek pleasure, is a proof that it is somehow good: I say: “no pleasure is unrestricted in all cases but that which is the most».⁸³⁰ The superlative τὸ ἄριστον is rendered with the positive degree *ḡayyidatun*. The translation of the quotation has several flaws, due both to the absence of any introductory expression and, above all, to the incompleteness of the quotation itself (only the incipit of v. 764 is quoted, and the relative sentence without a verb remains suspended). Furthermore, as Arberry suggests φήμη has been misread as φημί and translated with *aqūlu*. The Arabic *mursila* suggests that the translator also misread ἀπόλλυται (from πόλλυμι) as ἀπολύεται (from ἀπολύω); cf. ἀπολύεται GA 752b 10 = *mursila* GA Brugman-Drossaart Lulofs 105.7.

39.

H 15, 1154b 28-29

μεταβολή δὲ πάντων γλυκύ, κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν,

γλυκύ] Bywater γλυκύτετον codd.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 423.3

كقول الشاعر إنه يتغير جميع الأشياء الحلوة جدًا

CONTEXT:

Book Seven closes with the observation of the inconstancy of pleasure, due to the complex nature of man in contrast to the absolute simplicity of God, who always enjoys a unique and simple pleasure (1154b 20-28).⁸³¹ The quotation «Change is in all things sweet», already in *Rh.* A 11, 1371a 27-28 = ref. 20 (p. 108) is part of Euripides' *Or.* 234.

⁸²⁹ Cf. Frede 2020, 792-793.

⁸³⁰ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 414-416.

⁸³¹ Frede 2020, 798-799.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The syntagm κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν is placed before the quotation and translated as *ka-qawli l-šā'iri*, as if it were an incidental comparative introduced by ὡς/ὥσπερ/οἶον. As for the quotation, the meaning of the terms is grasped but morphology and syntax are altered, resulting in a departure from the overall meaning: «all the sweetest things change». Of course, the translation reflects the MSS reading γλυκύτατον and not Bywater's correction, based on Aspasius' commentary, the manuscript tradition of Euripides' tragedy and the loci paralleli EE H 1, 1235a 16 e *Rh. A* 11, 1371a 27-28. One may observe that for the Greek γλυκὺς Ustāt resorts to a different root (*h-l-w*) than the one (*l-d- d*) used by the anonymous translator of the *Rh.*⁸³²

40.

Θ 1, 1155a 15-16

σὺν τε δὴ ἐρχομένων· καὶ γὰρ νοῆσαι καὶ πράξει δυνάτωτεροι.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 425.11-12

فإنّ الاثنين إذا اجتمعًا كانا أقوى على الفعل والفهم

CONTEXT:

Book Eight, concerning φιλία (friendship), begins with a brief mention of the benefits of friendship for the individual, including a comment on how they vary according to age. In fact «Friends are an aid to the young, to guard them from error; to the elderly, to tend them, and to supplement their failing powers of action; to those in the prime of life, to assist them in noble deeds» (1155a 13-15). The latter is manifested in the φιλία ties that bind Homeric heroes together, as it emerges from the words spoken by Diomedes in Book Ten of the *Iliad*, from which the quotation is taken. This is the first part of the v. 224, «When twain together go», in which Diomedes affirms the importance of having a companion in the nocturnal expedition into the Trojan camp because, he adds, two can find the best solution (vv. 224-225), whilst the insight of one alone is shorter and his wit is slender (v. 226). Though only the beginning of v. 224 is quoted, Aristotle is actually alluding to the whole tristich, for he adds: «For two are better able both to plan and to execute».⁸³³

⁸³² Ullmann (EN Ullmann 211) refers to Lyons 2002, 205, which contains an analysis of the Greek and the Arabic of *Rh. A* 11, 1371a 27-28. However, Lyons commits an oversight in reporting the Arabic text. For *fa-inna l-tağyīra mina l-hāqiri l-qaribi* translates the Greek μεταβολή γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἐστίν of 1371a 29 (cf. *Rh. Lyons* 59.7), whereas our quotation (at 1371a 27-28) is translated as *inna tağyīra kulli šay'in laqīdun* (cf. *Rh. Lyons* 59.4-5 = ref. 20, p. 109). Consequently, in order to explain the divergence of the Arabic from the Greek Lyons had to assume that the translator had misread πάντων as παρόντων.

⁸³³ English translation of Aristotle's text in Rackham 1926, 451. Cf. Frede 2020, 806.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated quotation, incomplete monostich. Aristotle's commentary paraphrases the meaning of *Il.* 224-226.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is accurate.

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE ARABIC TRADITION:

The reference is repeated almost *verbatim* in ps.al-ʿĀmirī's *Kitāb al-saʿāda*.⁸³⁴

فإنّ الاثنين إذا اجتمعا كانا أعون على الفهم وعلى الفعل

اجتمعا] Minovi ʿAtīyya

The adjective *aʿwan*, «more helpful», replaces *aqwā*, *al-fahm* and *al-fīl* are inverted and a second *ʿalā* is added.

Another occurrence of this quotation can be detected among the fragments of the *Iḥtiṣār al-Iskandarāniyyīn* contained in the section on Aristotle of Mubaššir ibn Fātik's *Muḥtār al-ḥikam* (see EN ref. 1). The passage that interests us corresponds to the final part of fr. 24 in Woerther's list covering Θ 1, 1155a 12-16 and reads:⁸³⁵

لأنّ الاثنين إذا اجتمعا كانا أقوى على الفهم والعقل والتدبير .

41., 42., 43.

Θ 2, 1155a 32-b 4

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιότητά τινα τιθέασιν αὐτήν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους φίλους, ὅθεν τὸν ὁμοίον φασιν ὡς τὸν ὁμοιον, καὶ κολοιὸν ποτὶ κολοιόν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· οἱ δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας κεραμεῖς πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀλλήλοις φασιν εἶναι. Καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀνώτερον ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ φυσικώτερον, Εὐριπίδης μὲν φάσκων ἐρᾶν μὲν ὄμβρου γαίαν ξηρανθεῖσαν, ἐρᾶν δὲ σεμνὸν οὐρανὸν πληρούμενον ὄμβρου πεσεῖν ἐς γαίαν,

EN Akasoy-Fidora 427.10-14, EN Ullmann 212-213

فإنّ بعضهم يضع لها مشابهة ما ويضع ... قالوا إنّ الشبيه كالشبيه والأخيل كالأخيل ... شبيه هذه ومنهم من قال خلاف ذلك بأنّ جميع من كان من هاؤلاء بعضهم لبعض كالقمرمة ويطلب في هذه بعينها طلباً أرفع وأفضل طبيعة كأوريبيدوس حين قال رفع الأرض التي قد جفّت من المطر ورفع المساء الكريمة التي تملأ من المطر لتقع على الأرض

⁸³⁴ Minovi 1957-1958, 139.7-8 = ʿAtīyya 1991, 205.8-9.

⁸³⁵ Woerther 2021, 406 (cf. p. 26). See the Arabic edition of the *Muḥtār*: Badawī 1958, 213.12.

- 1 [هاؤلاء 2 Arberry (Akasoy-Fidora) والأجمل كالأجمل Ullmann والأخيل كالأخيل 1
 3 وأفضل Akasoy-Fidora كالقومرة Ullmann كالقمرمة | Akasoy-Fidora †...† Ullmann
 كأوريبيوتوس Ullmann [كأوريبيدوس | Badawī Akasoy-Fidora وأوفر طبيعة MS Ullmann [طبيعة
 Akadoy-Fidora قال ورفعت MS Badawī Ullmann [قال رفع | Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

Aristotle evaluates two opposing positions regarding friendship, i.e. on the one hand, those who holds that friendship is based on similarity and that those who are more alike tend to become friends (οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁμοιότητά τινα τιθέασιν αὐτήν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους φίλους) and, on the other, those who argue the opposite (οἱ δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας [...]). Various sources are cited in support of each of the two theories, many of them poetic. To confirm the thesis of similarity Aristotle reports the Homeric proverbial segment taken from *Od.* ρ 218 («like to like»), followed by the proverb «jackdaw to jackdaw» (meaning «birds of a feather flock together»)⁸³⁶. Both examples, with slightly different wording, are found in the analogous passage *Rh.* A 11, 1371b 15-17 = ref. 21 (pp. 108-110).⁸³⁷ As evidence of the opposite thesis, that friendship is based on inequality, another proverbial verse is alluded to, i.e. Hes. *Op.* 25, on rivalry between potters, already quoted in *Rh.* B 4, 1381b 16 and *Rh.* B 10, 1388a 16 (= refs. 40, 48, pp. 125-126, 131-133). Aristotle continues: «Some try to find a more profound and scientific explanation of the nature of affection. Euripides writes that 'Earth yearneth for the rain' when dried up, 'And the majestic Heaven when filled with rain Yearneeth to fall to Earth'».⁸³⁸ This quotation comes from a lost tragedy by Euripides (F 898 Kannicht, vv. 7, 9-10), and echoes some verses from Aeschylus' *Danaides* (cf. F 44 Radt, vv. 1-4), apparently describing the effects of Aphrodite.⁸³⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Three explicit serial paraphrastic quotations, of which only the last is introduced by mentioning its author.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The version of the first sentence is lacunose in places. Of the three poetic references, the first two are accurately translated, respectively as τὸν ὁμοίον...ὡς τὸν ὁμοιον = (*inna*) *al-šabīha ka-l- šabīhi* («the alike is like the alike») and κερამεῖς πάντας τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀλλήλοισι = (*bi-anna*) *ḡamī'a man kāna min hā'ulā'i ba'ḏuhum li-ba'ḏin ka-l-qarmadati* («all those who are among those are for each other like potters»). In the rendering of the third quotation there is a misunderstanding related to the interpretation of the two occurrences of the verb ἐρᾶν («to love»), which as speculated by Arberry⁸⁴⁰ has been misread as αἴρειν («to raise»). Hence the Arabic reads: «As Euripides when he spoke of the raising of the earth which has dried from

⁸³⁶ Rackham 1926, 453.

⁸³⁷ Per tutti i loci paralleli cf. Rapp 2002, II 473.

⁸³⁸ Rackham 1926, 453, 455.

⁸³⁹ See Gauthier, Jolif 1959, 667; Frede 2020, 810.

⁸⁴⁰ EN Akasoy-Fidora 426 n. 23.

the rain and the raising of the high-ranking sky which is filled with rain to fall upon the earth». ⁸⁴¹

For the sake of completeness, Ullmann's conjecture, *wa-l-ahyala ka-l-ahyali*, «and the green woodpecker is like the green woodpicker», should be noted, which translates the Greek *καὶ κολοιδὸν ποτὶ κολοιδόν*. Before him, Arberry ⁸⁴² had explained the MS reading *wa-l-aḡmala ka-l-aḡmali* as a translation of *κάλλιον* instead of *κολοιδόν*, which is therefore either the result of a trivialization error in the Greek copy from which Uṣṭāt translated or a misreading of the Greek text by Uṣṭāt himself. Ullmann's hypothesis is supported by a comparison with ps. al-ʿĀmirī's *Kitāb al-saʿāda* ⁸⁴³ where we read *yafraḥu...wa-l-ṭā'iru bi-l-ṭā'iri* «and the bird rejoices at the bird». ⁸⁴⁴ However, for these lines the text of the *Kitāb al-saʿāda* bears more assonances with the *locus parallelus Rh. A 11, 1371b 15-17 = ref. 21* (pp. 108-110) rather than with what remains of Uṣṭāt's translation.

44.

Θ 12, 1160b 25-27

έντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρος τὸν Δία πατέρα προσαγορεύει· πατρικὴ γὰρ ἀρχὴ βούλεται ἢ βασιλεία εἶναι.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 461.7-8, EN Ullmann 226

ولذلك سمى أميروش <ديا> أباً لأنَّ الملك يحتاج أن يكون رياسة أبوية

MS تكون رياسته Ullmann [يكون رياسة | زيوس coni. Dunlop] coni. Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

The first part of chapter Θ 12 contains a brief examination of the three types of constitution (πολιτεία) – monarchy, aristocracy, timocracy – and their respective deviations – tyranny, oligarchy, democracy (1160a 31-1160b 21). In the second part, similarities (ὁμοιώματα) are identified between constitutions and family communities, to the extent that the latter represent models (παραδείγματα) for the former. The kingship pattern is found in the father-son relationship, since the father has to look after his son's welfare (1160b 25) as the king does for his subjects (cf. 1160b 2-7). Accordingly, Aristotle adds, Homer calls Zeus father, the monarchy being a sort of paternal government. The statement is an allusion to the Homeric epithet *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, «father of men and gods», regularly attributed to Zeus. ⁸⁴⁵

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

⁸⁴¹ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 426.

⁸⁴² EN Akasoy-Fidora 426 n. 18.

⁸⁴³ Minovi 1957-1958, 35.15-16 = ʿAtiyya 1991, 135.16-17.

⁸⁴⁴ EN Ullmann 212.

⁸⁴⁵ Frede 2020, 848-849.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The version is correct. A translation or transliteration of the Greek τὸν Δία is missing, so Dunlop conjectures *dyan* where Badawī had already proposed *zyūs*. Hence, both editors are inclined to believe that this omission is due to a lacuna that occurred in the MS tradition of the Arabic text rather than a fault in the translation. However, it is not possible to establish how Uṣṭāṭ had rendered τὸν Δία.

45.

Θ 13, 1161a 14-15

ὄθεν καὶ Ὀμηρος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν εἶπεν.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 463.5-6, EN Ullmann 226

ولذلك سمّي أوميروش أغاممنن راعي الناس

Ullmann غانمين Akasoy-Fidora]أغاممنن

CONTEXT:

Chapter Θ 13 establishes the link between the *excursus* on the constitutions in the previous chapter and the theme of friendship discussed more extensively in Book Eight. There is indeed a form of friendship and justice corresponding to each of the constitutions (1161a 10-11). Once again Aristotle uses a Homeric epithet to describe an aspect of monarchy: «The friendship of a king for his subjects is one of superiority in beneficence; for a king does good to his subjects, inasmuch as being good he studies to promote their welfare, as a shepherd studies the welfare of his sheep»⁸⁴⁶ (1161a 10-14). This simile involves the epithet ποιμένα λαῶν, «shepherd of the people», with which Homer qualifies Agamemnon in several instances.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The version is correct.

46.

I 1, 1164a 26-27

ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δ' ἐνίοις ἀρέσκει τὸ «μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ.»

EN Akasoy-Fidora 483.7, EN Ullmann 234

وبعض الناس يُرضيهم في مثل هذه الأجرة

⁸⁴⁶ Rackham 1926, 495.

برضيهم] coni. Ullmann برضيهم Akasoy-Fidora

CONTEXT:

In chapter I 1 Aristotle expands on the theme, already introduced in Θ 15 and later discussed in Θ 16, of the exchange of benefits within an unequal friendship, in which one of the two companions is superior to the other, and the conflicts that can arise from this. As stated at 1158b 23-24 and 1162b 4, and repeated at the beginning of I 1 (1163b 32-33), the exchange of benefits between two friends in an unequal relationship must take place according to proportion (τὸ ἀνάλογον), but – Aristotle asks (1164a 22-23) – who is to determine the value of the exchange, the giver or the receiver? At first, he adduces the example of the sophist Protagoras, who, as stated in Plato's dialogue by the same name (328b-c), used to make his students establish the price of the lesson, based on what they had learned. Then follows an example to the contrary, the quotation of the incipit of Hes. *Op.* 379, endorsed by those who in such cases (ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις δ' ἐνίοις ἀρέσκει) maintain that the fee should be fixed and established from the beginning. With this reference Aristotle actually alludes to the meaning of the entire verse line: «Let the payment agreed for a man who is your friend be reliable».⁸⁴⁷

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation follows the Greek, but the translation of δ' ἀνδρὶ is missing. Ullmann speculates that originally after *al-uğra* the Arabic text had *li-l-rağuli* and «Ein arabischer Kopist, der das von Hesiod stammende Sprichwort nicht als solches erkennen konnte, dürfte das Wort li-r-rağuli als sinnentstellend empfunden und fortgelassen haben».⁸⁴⁸

47.

I 6, 1167a 32-33

ὅταν δ' ἑκάτερος ἑαυτὸν βούληται, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις, στασιάζουσιν.

ἑκάτερος ἑαυτὸν] ἑκάτερος καὶ ἑαυτὸν K^b

EN Akasoy-Fidora 503.7-8, EN Ullmann 242

وإذا كان كل واحد منهما يريد ذاته أيضًا مثلما كان في أهل فوه نيقى شغبوا

post نيقى secl. عندما Ullmann

⁸⁴⁷ Most 2018a, 117.

⁸⁴⁸ EN Ullmann 234.

CONTEXT:

Aristotle generically refers to the characters in *The Phoenician Women* (οἱ ἐν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις) as a negative example of concord (ὁμόνοια), a feeling similar to friendship, pursued by the lawgiver, since friendship holds the city together (I 1, 1155a 22-28; cf. I 6, 1167a 22). In chapter I 6 we learn that two people or two parties to a dispute are defined as concordant if they have the same ideas about the important issues and interests of both, and so, as a result, they make the same choices. On the contrary, there is discord (στασιάζουσιν), when each of two persons wants power for himself, as the characters in *The Phoenician Women* did. The reference is to the dispute between Eteocles and Polynices for the government of Thebes, ending with the death of both, narrated in Euripides' tragedy.⁸⁴⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Testimonium.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The version follows the Greek, and, as noted by Arberry,⁸⁵⁰ the Arabic *aiḍan* translates the reading ἐκάτερος καὶ ἑαυτὸν attested in K.⁸⁵¹ The expression οἱ ἐν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις is rendered with *fī ahli* + transliteration which seems to be based on φοινίκη rather than on Φοίνισσα. Οἱ is not rendered.

48.

I 7, 1167b 25-27

[...] τοῖς δ' οὐκ εἶναι ἐπιμελές τὸ ἀνταποδοῦναι. Ἐπίχαρμος μὲν οὖν τάχ' ἂν φαίη ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ πονηροῦ θεωμένους, ἔοικε δ' ἀνθρωπικῶ·

EN Akasoy-Fidora 505.12-14, EN Ullmann 243-244

وأما الذين يهتمون بأن يكافوهم فخليق أن يقول فيهم أبيخرموس من أنهم يقولون بهذه الأقاويل بسبب أن

يكون يراهم إنسان شرير

بأنهم Ullmann من [?] أنهم من أنهم | Akasoy-Fidora يكافوهم Ullmann [يكافوهم 1

Akasoy-Fidora | بسبب] MS^{p.c.s.l.} Ullmann شبيه MS^{a.c.} يشبه corr. Dunlop (Akasoy-Fidora)

CONTEXT:

In the relationship between benefactor and beneficiary, it is the former who loves more the latter than vice versa, contrary to what might seem rational (παρὰ λόγον, 1167b 18-19). To account for this phenomenon Aristotle compares benefactor and beneficiary to creditor and debtor, adding a further explanation, which is more natural (φυσικώτερον εἶναι τὸ αἴτιον, 1167b 29) and rooted in human nature, namely that the benefactor loves the beneficiary as the artist

⁸⁴⁹ Frede 2020, 889-890.

⁸⁵⁰ EN Akasoy-Fidora 502 n. 123.

⁸⁵¹ See Schmidt, Ullmann 2012, 82.

loves his work (cf. 1167b 28sqq.). Returning to the debtor-creditor case, the benefactor is like a creditor who has the health of the debtor at heart because it is in his interest that the debtor continues to live on so he can be compensated for the debt and enjoy the gratitude of the latter (1167b 19-25). Hence «Epicharmus no doubt would say that they say these things because they are ‘looking at the seamy side’ [of life]; but all the same it appears to be not untrue to human nature»⁸⁵² (fr. 142 Kassel-Austin).

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Aristotle is the only source for this reference, thus it cannot be ascertained whether it is an explicit author’s literal or paraphrased quotation. Rackham points out that «Epicharmus doubtless wrote θάμενους».⁸⁵³

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic text reads: «As for those who are concerned to requite them, Epicharmus might say of them: “from the fact that they say these things, because a wicked man has seen them”».⁸⁵⁴ The rendering presents some problems both in the syntactic structure – the poetic reference is merged with the ending of the previous sentence (τοις δ’ οὐκ εἶναι ἐπιμελές τὸ ἀνταποδοῦναι) – and in the linguistic-grammatical interpretation – the translator takes θεωμένους with a passive meaning instead of a middle voice. The potentiality value of the expression τάχ’ ἄν + optative is rendered with *halīqun an*, a structure used by Uṣṭāt on several occasions in EN to render ἄν and optative (cf. EN Λ 1, 1172a 26 = 529.8; Λ 2, 1174a 1 = 539.4; Λ 4, 1175a 11 = 545.11; Λ 7, 1178a 2 = 563.1).⁸⁵⁵ The last phrase, ἔοικε δ’ ἀνθρωπικῶ, apparently is not translated, but the reading *ṣabīhun* that has been corrected into *bi-sabibi* by a later hand in the MS corresponds to ἔοικε.⁸⁵⁶

49.

I 9, 1169b 7-8

ἴθεν “ὅταν ὁ δαίμων εὖ διδῶ, τί δεῖ φίλων;”

EN Akasoy-Fidora 515.15-17

ومن ها هنا [...] ينبغي أن يكون إلى الأصدقاء

CONTEXT:

The question with which chapter I 9 opens, that is, whether a happy man needs friends or not, is followed by the formulation of a thesis – a happy man is self-sufficient and therefore does not need friends (1169b 4-6) – and its antithesis – «whereas the function of a friend, who is a second self, is to supply things we cannot procure for ourselves»⁸⁵⁷ (1169b 6-7). To support

⁸⁵² Rackham 1926, 545 (modified).

⁸⁵³ Rackham 1926, 545 n. a.

⁸⁵⁴ Dunlop’s translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 504.

⁸⁵⁵ See Ullmann 2011, 131.

⁸⁵⁶ See EN Ullmann 244.

⁸⁵⁷ English translation in Rackham 1926, 557.

the antithesis, Aristotle cites v. 667 of Euripides' *Orestes*, taken from the speech that Orestes addresses to Menelaus in the second episode, in an attempt to convince Menelaus to help him avenge the death of his father Agamemnon.⁸⁵⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden literal isolated quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic text is too damaged to evaluate the translation, although what remains of it (the rendering of δεῖ φίλων) seems far from its original meaning.

50.

I 10, 1170b 20-22

ἄρ' οὖν ὡς πλείστους φίλους ποιητέον, ἢ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ξενίας ἐμμελῶς εἰρήσθαι
δοκεῖ "μήτε πολύξεινος μήτ' ἄξεινος,"

EN Akasoy-Fidora 519.1-2

[...] أن يقال كما يقال في الضيافة فإنه كما يظن أنه [...] أكثر الضيافة للغرباء ولا ألاً تضيف البتة
غريباً كذلك ينبغي أن [...]

CONTEXT:

The quotation of part of v. 715 of Hesiod's *Works and Days* fits within the rhetorical question that opens chapter I 10, in which Aristotle wonders whether it is appropriate to make as many friends as possible or whether it is better to have neither too many nor too few, as is said about hospitality: «Neither with troops of guests nor yet with none».⁸⁵⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit anonymous isolated literal altered quotation, incomplete monostich. Aristotle adapts the syntactic and grammatical structure of Hesiod's text that reads: μηδὲ πολύξεινον μηδ' ἄξεινον καλέεσθαι.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

At 1170b 20 the text of the Arabic version resumes after a long gap due to the loss of a folio, but even the translation of this passage is partially illegible because of damage. Dunlop translates the Arabic as follows: «should it be said, as is said in regard to hospitality? For as it is thought that [...] with him who 'multiplies hospitality for strangers', and not that he should 'not entertain a single stranger', so should it be that [...]».⁸⁶⁰

⁸⁵⁸ Cf. Frede 2020, 904.

⁸⁵⁹ Rackham 1926, 565. Cf. Frede 2020, 915.

⁸⁶⁰ See EN Akasoy-Fidora 518.

51.

I 11, 1171b 18

ὄθεν τὸ “ἄλις ἐγὼ δυστυχῶν.”

EN Akasoy-Fidora 523.14-525.1

ومن ها هنا أقول إنه ينبغي الكفاف من التعزية عند سوء الحال

CONTEXT:

Aristotle discusses in this chapter whether one needs friends more in good fortune than in misfortune, and provides a number of indications on how one should behave in both situations. At 1171b 15sqq. the philosopher claims that one might think that we should be eager to call our friends to share our good fortune, while we should hesitate to call them in misfortune, since we have to share as little as possible of our woes. This is confirmed by the quotation «It is enough that I am unfortunate», taken from an unknown tragedy, as reported in the anonymous paraphrase (Heliod. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XIX 2, 207.21-23, Heylbut) and in Michael of Ephesus (Mich. *In Arist.* EN: CAG XX, 526.7-10, Heylbut),⁸⁶¹ corresponding to Adesp. F 76 Snell. It is, however, a tragic *topos*, as shown by the two loci paralleli S. *OT* 1061 (ἄλις νοσοῦσ' ἐγὼ) and *E. Or.* 240 (ἄλις ἔχω τοῦ δυστυχεῖν).⁸⁶²

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, monostich, preserved only by Aristotle.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic departs from the meaning of the original: «Hence I say that a sufficiency of consolation is necessary in misfortune».⁸⁶³ As observed by Arberry,⁸⁶⁴ *aqūlu* hints that the translator read λέγω instead of ἐγὼ, a variant that, however, is not attested in the extant Greek MSS. Ullmann speculates that perhaps the Arabic *'inda sū'ī l-ḥāli* is based on δυστυχῶν instead of δυστυχῶν, while the addition of *ta'ziya* in the periphrasis translating ἄλις is inferred from the context, since *ta'ziya* is used in the subsequent sentence for the Greek παρακλητέον⁸⁶⁵ (1171b 18 = EN Akasoy-Fidora 525.1).

52.

I 12, 1172a 13-14

ὄθεν “ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ' ἐσθλά.”

EN Akasoy-Fidora 527.5, EN Ullmann 254

>ومن هاهنا <الخيرات من الخير

⁸⁶¹ Both passages are translated in Konstan 2001, 113, 209.

⁸⁶² Cf. Frede 2020, 918-919.

⁸⁶³ Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 522.

⁸⁶⁴ EN Akasoy-Fidora 522 n. 221.

⁸⁶⁵ Schmidt, Ullmann 2012, 84.

<ومن هاهنا>] coni. Ullmann

CONTEXT:

This quotation closes the last chapter of Book Nine and expresses in gnomic form what Aristotle said on friendship (1171b 32-1172a 13). Friendship is about living together, and friends affect each other both negatively and positively. Consequently, being friends with a mean person is evil because both friends become worse by imitating each other, while friendship between two good people makes both better. This is corroborated by the quotation of the first part of Thgn. 35: «noble deeds from noble men».⁸⁶⁶

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated literal quotation, incomplete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The genitive ἐσθλῶν is interpreted as a neuter rather than a masculine: «good deeds are from the good». Ullmann's reconstruction (*wa-*)*min hāhunā* is based on the comparison with some loci paralleli where ὅθεν is translated in this way (EN 1155a 20 = EN Akasoy-Fidora 425.44; 1159a 5 = EN Akasoy-Fidora 451.3; 1161 b32 = EN Akasoy-Fidora 467.6; 1169b 7 = EN Akasoy-Fidora 515.15; 1171b 18 = EN Akasoy-Fidora 523.14; 1175a 21 = EN Akasoy-Fidora 547.3).⁸⁶⁷ The same reference is alluded to in I 9, 1170a 11-13, but the Arabic MS is lacunose in that passage.

53.

K 7, 1177b 31-33

οὐ χρὴ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παραινούντας ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὄντα οὐδὲ θνητὰ τὸν θνητόν, [...]

EN Akasoy-Fidora 561.12-14

فينبغي ألا تكون همم الإنسان إنسية وإن كان إنساناً كما يشير المشيرون بذلك ولا أن تكون هممه ميّنة

إذ هو ميّت [...]]

CONTEXT:

The entire chapter is aimed at showing that the most perfect form of happiness consists in contemplation, that is, in a life dedicated to theoretical activity. This way of living is defined as superior to the human mode and therefore divine (1177b 26sq.). Man, given his composite nature, can participate in it due to the fact that the intellect is something divine in comparison with man (θεῖον ὁ νοῦς πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπων, 1177b 30). Accordingly, Aristotle urges living according to the intellect and explicitly opposes (οὐ χρὴ δὲ) those who advise (κατὰ τοὺς παραινούντας) that one, being human, should think only of human things and that, being

⁸⁶⁶ Rackham 1926, 574. Cf. Frede 2020, 921.

⁸⁶⁷ See EN Ullmann 254 and Ullmann 2011, 411.

mortal, one should think of mortal things. Scholars recognise in this passage (Adesp. F76a Snell) and in the expression *κατὰ τοὺς παραινούντας* an allusion to a particularly common topos in tragedy (e.g., *A. Pers.* 749, 820; *S. Ant.* 455; *Tr.* 743; *E. Alc.* 799 and many others, such as the fr. 251 Kassel-Austin attested to in *Rh.* B 21, 1394b 25 = ref. 61, pp. 139-142).⁸⁶⁸

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic version follows the Greek. The translator renders (*ἄνθρωπον*) ὄντα with a concessive sense (*wa-in kāna [insanan]*) and builds a parallel with τὸν θνητόν which is expanded in Arabic as a causal syntagma (*id huwa mayyit*).

54.

K 10, 1179b 4-7

εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι αὐτάρκεις πρὸς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐπιεικεῖς, πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους δικαίως ἔφερον κατὰ τὸν Θεόγνιν, καὶ ἔδει ἂν τούτους πορίσασθαι.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 571.3-5, EN Ullmann 269

<و> لو لم يكن في الأقاويل كفاية <أن تصير الناس أفاضل > فيحقق ما كانت تحمل أثمان كثيرة وعظيمة في اكتسابها كما قال ثاوغونوس وأدرناس

[Akasoy-Fidora] أيمان | [Ullmann] <و> 1 | [Ullmann] <أن تصير الناس أفاضل > | [Ullmann] con. 2

Fidora أثمان tempt. Ullmann ثاوغونوس Akasoy-Fidora ثاوغونوس con. Ullmann 2

CONTEXT:

In the last chapter of the treatise the practical purpose of ethics is reaffirmed. A theoretical knowledge of every aspect of action and virtue is not sufficient, as this knowledge must be put into practice. Aristotle adds: «Now if the discourses were sufficient to make people virtuous, “large wages and many would they rightly achieve” according to Theognis, and one should provide such discourses». The quotation corresponds to Thgn. 434, but the adverb *δικαίως* is an addition by Aristotle. As Frede comments: «Mit diesem Vers (*Elegien* 1, 432–434), den auch Platon (*Men* 95e) zitiert, beschließt Theognis seine Erklärung, die Asklepiaden, also die Ärzte, hätten höchsten Lohn verdient, wenn sie Menschen überdies von ihrer Schlechtigkeit und ihren üblen Gedanken heilen könnten».⁸⁶⁹

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author’s isolated literal altered (addition of *δικαίως*) complete monostich, along with a testimonium.

⁸⁶⁸ See Frede 2020, 966-967.

⁸⁶⁹ Frede 2020, 979.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The Arabic text reported here follows Ullmann's reconstruction. As already noted by Arberry,⁸⁷⁰ the Arabic *law lam yakun* suggests that the translator read εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν instead of εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν. The sentence καὶ ἔδει ἂν τούτους πορίσασθαι is mistranslated and not fully rendered. Akasoy-Fidora⁸⁷¹ argued that the Arabic *fī iktisābihā* might come from ἐν (derived from a duplication and misreading of ἂν) τούτους πορίσασθαι, while the puzzling *wa-adarnās* may be a translation of καὶ followed by a defective transliteration of ἔδει ἂν. Though this is not fully convincing, I could not find a better explanation. The Arabic version results: «and if there was not enough in discourses <to make people virtuous>, rightly many great fees would be brought in obtaining them, as Theognis and *adarnās* [?] said».

55.

K 10, 1180a 26-29

ἐν δὲ ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων ἐξημέληται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ ζῆ ἕκαστος ὡς βούλεται, κυκλωπικῶς θεμιστεύων παίδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχου.

EN Akasoy-Fidora 575.5-7, EN Ullmann 270

وأما في أكثر المدن فقد ضيَّع النظر في مثل هذه ويحيا كل واحد كما يريد ويهتمّ كاهتمام كلارش بأولاده
وأمراته

Ullmann [كلارش 1 Akasoy-Fidora كلاوش

con. Akasoy-Fidora [وأمراته 2

Ullmann MS ومراته

CONTEXT:

To acquire and practice character virtues and thus become good, one needs an adequate education, which is guaranteed through good laws regulating a proper way of life. However, Aristotle notes at 1180a 24sq., only in a few states like Sparta «the lawgiver has paid attention to the nurture and exercises of the citizens», while «in most states such matters have been entirely neglected, and every man lives as he likes, in Cyclops fashion laying down the law for children and for spouse».⁸⁷² The latter is a quotation adapted from Hom. *Od.* 1 114-115. These verses are part of the initial description of the way of life of the Cyclops (a context to which Aristotle refers with the adverb *κυκλωπικῶς*), marked by coarseness, arrogance and rejection of associated life. In the absence of any form of social regulation, the father's absolute right prevails over the family unit.⁸⁷³

⁸⁷⁰ EN Akasoy-Fidora 570 n. 205.

⁸⁷¹ EN Akasoy-Fidora 570 n. 208.

⁸⁷² Rackham 1926, 635.

⁸⁷³ See Frede 2020, 981-982.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Hidden isolated paraphrastic quotation, incomplete distich. The quotation is adapted and accompanied by a testimonium. The adverb *κυκλωπικῶς* refers to the context (the landing in the land of the Cyclops and the presentation of their way of life, Hom. *Od.* ι 106sq.); the Homeric verb *θεμιστεύει* (v. 114) is included in the syntactic structure of Aristotle's speech in the participial form (*θεμιστεύων*). *Παίδων ἡδ' ἀλόχου* is the incipit of v. 115, which bears *ἀλόχων* instead of *ἀλόχου*.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation is correct: «In most cities consideration of things of this kind has been missed, and everyone lives as he wishes and cares for his children and his wife in the manner of the Cyclops».⁸⁷⁴ The only flaw is the transliteration *kulārš* for *κυκλωπικῶς*, which, as Ullmann points out, could be a corruption of *quklūbis* or *kuklūbis*.

2.3.5 *De virtutibus et vitiis* (VV)

Both extant Arabic versions of *De virtutibus et vitiis* (VV) are transmitted as the first part of a composite treatise attributed to Aristotle and edited by Kellermann Rost in 1965 (= VV Kellermann Rost). In this compilation the Arabic version of the VV is followed by a short central section consisting of what its editor titled the *Mesotes-Abschnitt*, namely an account of the virtues as just means and the respective vices by excess and defect, which has some correspondences with MM A 20, 1190b 9-A 33,1193b 20⁸⁷⁵, and the *Diairesis-Stück*, «eine Einteilung der Güter» analogous to MM A 2, 1183b 20-1184a 12 and A 3, 1184b 1-6⁸⁷⁶. The last part of the compilation is a translation of the *Divisiones aristoteleae* in a redaction very close to that transmitted by Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*.

Each of the two versions is transmitted by a single manuscript, MS Istanbul, Suleymaniye, Köprülü I 1608 and MS Tübingen, Staatsbibliothek, Petermann I 9⁸⁷⁷. The first MS bears the Arabic version of Theodore Abū Qurra (d. before 829), but it has not been possible to establish with certainty whether it is based on a Greek original or on an earlier Syriac version⁸⁷⁸. The Syriac-Arabic MS from Tübingen preserves the version Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) made from an earlier Syriac version, as explicitly stated in our testimony. The Syriac version used by Ibn al-Ṭayyib (and perhaps also by Abū Qurra) is partially available in a single MS studied by Sebastian Brock, who published the Syriac text of these fragments (corresponding to VV 1249a 31-1251a 16; DA 12, 13, 16, 27, 29) with an English translation⁸⁷⁹. Since the two Arabic codices reproduce the same sequence of texts and contents very closely, Kellermann Rost, followed

⁸⁷⁴ See Dunlop's translation in EN Akasoy-Fidora 574.

⁸⁷⁵ Due to the compendiary nature of the *Mesotes-Abschnitt*, poetry references in the original Greek (e.g., the Homeric quotation at 1191a 9) are not transferred into Arabic.

⁸⁷⁶ The middle section was studied in particular by Cacouros 1997; cf. also Cacouros 2003, 540-542.

⁸⁷⁷ The MSS have been described in Kellermann Rost 1965, 8-13. The MS Köprülü I 1608 has been examined in detail in Gutas 1975, 42-48 (cf. also Brafman 1985, 47-58).

⁸⁷⁸ Kellermann Rost 1965, 27, Cacouros 2003, 539.

⁸⁷⁹ Brock 2014.

by Cacouros, concluded that they attest to a compendium of Ethics assembled probably in the Hellenistic period, translated first into Syriac and then into Arabic^{88o}.

Aristotle's *De virtutibus et vitiis* is cited in the edition of *Aristotelis opera, ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri*, edidit Academia Regia Borussica, vol. 2, Berolini: Typis et Impensis Georgii Reimeri 1831 (repr. De Gruyter, Berlin 1960). In margin to the Greek text, the chapter's number and the numeration of Bekker's edition are given.

1.

7, 1251a 35-36

ὅθεν Εὐηγος περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει “ἦτις κερδαίνουσα οὐδὲν ὄμως ἀδικεῖ”.

VV Kellermann Rost 40.3-4: Abū Qurra

وقد أحسن اوابانين الشاعر إذ يقول إنّ ذا القذف جائر في غير منفعة

VV Kellermann Rost 60.2-3: Ibn al-Ṭayyib

وما أحسن ما قال فيها اوهنايوس إنّها الشيء المنتر الغير المملدّ

CONTEXT:

In chapter 7 of this brief treatise ἀδικία, «injustice», is divided into three types, ἀσέβεια («impiety»), πλεονεξία («greed»), ὕβρις («outrage»). The quotation of Evenius' pentameter (Even. fr. 7 West) comes after the definition of ὕβρις as «the unrighteousness that makes men procure pleasures for themselves while leading others into disgrace» (1251 a 34-35) and runs as follows: «She that wrongs others e'en when she gaineth nought»⁸⁸ⁱ.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Explicit author's isolated literal quotation, complete monostich.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

In rendering the introductory phrase ὅθεν Εὐηγος περὶ αὐτῆς λέγει both translators insert the verb *aḥsana*, which has no correspondents in Arabic. The verb, accompanied by a form of *qāla*, is usually employed to render the expression καλῶς or εὖ λέγειν (cf. *Rh.* refs. 31, 44) and this is the sense that we find here (Abū Qurra: «and Evenus the poet is right when he says»; Ibn al-Ṭayyib: «How nice is what Evenus says about this»). Therefore we can speculate that either the Greek *Vorlage* had one of the two adverbs, perhaps in place of ὅθεν – which, in fact, is not translated into Arabic – or that the addition comes from a diplography of the name Εὐηγος (=εὖ Εὐ-ηγος). The syntagma περὶ αὐτῆς is explicitly translated by Ibn al-Ṭayyib with *fiḥā*. Abū Qurra adds the epithet *al-šā'ir* after the transliteration of the proper noun. As for the quotation, both versions deviate from the original text, although Abū Qurra's is closer to the Greek than that of Ibn al-Ṭayyib. In Abū Qurra's version («the slanderer is unjust when he has no benefit») it should be noted that the feminine ἦτις κερδαίνουσα are replaced by the

^{88o} Kellermann Rost 1965, 27; Cacouros 2003, 540.

⁸⁸ⁱ English translation in Rackham 1935, 499. This passage is analysed in Année 2020, 200-201.

masculine *dū l-qadfi* and *ǧā'irun*. Ibn al-Ṭayyib, on the other hand, does not grasp the meaning of the Greek text and translates: «this is what is taken vehemently and without pleasure».

2.3.6 *Divisiones* (DA)

This brief text was transmitted into Syriac and Arabic as the third part of a compendium of ethics, edited by Kellermann Rost in 1965 (= DA Kellermann Rost)⁸⁸². As in the case of the VV two Arabic versions of the *Divisiones Aristoteleae* are preserved, the first having been prepared either from the Greek or from the Syriac by Theodore Abū Qurra, while the second was a Syriac-Arabic translation by Ibn al-Ṭayyib. The Eastern tradition of the DA has been recently studied by Tiziano Dorandi and Issam Marjani in 2017. Their survey revealed that the Greek *Vorlage* used for the Eastern translations was very close to the *Recensio Laertiana*, albeit interpolated and altered by translators and/or readers⁸⁸³. Hence I relied on Diogenes' text for the examination of the only poetic fragment it contains. The letter and number in the margin of the Greek text correspond to the book and chapter of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* in Tiziano Dorandi's edition *Diogenes Laertius, Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Cambridge 2013.

1.

Γ 81

ἀλλ' ὄϊον ἢ Πυλάδου πρὸς Ὀρέστην.

DA Kellermann Rost 38.22-23: Abū Qurra

كحبّ بلاديوس لارسطيس

DA Kellermann Rost 56.21: Ibn al-Ṭayyib

بمنزلة محبة فوليديس لارسطيس

CONTEXT:

The attitude of Pylades towards Orestes is cited as an example of ἡ ἐταιρική φιλία, social friendship, which, together with the natural and the hospitable ones, constitutes one of the three types of friendship identified in the second *διαίρεσις* of the *Recensio Laertiana*⁸⁸⁴. Their relationship is described in various tragedies concerning the Atridai.

REFERENCE FORM AND STRUCTURE:

Generic content reference.

⁸⁸² Cf. *supra* the introduction of the *De virtutibus et vitiis*. Cf. Brock 2014, 98-101 for the edition and English translation of the fragmentary Syriac version of the *Divisiones*.

⁸⁸³ Dorandi, Marjani 2017, 2, 7-11.

⁸⁸⁴ For an English translation of the passage see Mensch, Miller 2018, 167.

NOTES TO THE ARABIC VERSION:

The translation of the incidental phrase poses no problems. Worthy of note are the different transliterations of the name Πυλάδου (perhaps due to the use of a Syriac model by Ibn al-Ṭayyib and the use of a Greek model by Abū Qurra) and the different translations of οἶον, with *ka-* by Abū Qurra and *bi-manzila* by Ibn al-Ṭayyib.

2.4 Conclusive remarks⁸⁸⁵

Reconstructing a unified picture from a thorough analysis focused on linguistic detail such as the one conducted so far is neither an easy undertaking nor free from the risk of seeking homogeneous and homogenizing answers that might force the evidence of the data. What we can do, however, is draw attention to a few key issues that have emerged in the discussion of the fragments. First, it has been seen that references to poetry do not receive any special treatment at the act of translation, in the sense that they are translated as part of the context in which they are placed. Admittedly, the Arabic renderings of the quoted verses are all in prose, but the choice is not so surprising when compared to the solutions adopted by modern translators of poetry.

This first evidence could emerge only after such a large amount of documentation had been collected and analysed in detail as we have done here. Moreover, it constitutes an already extremely significant finding in itself, as it allows us to re-evaluate as unfounded the *communis opinio*, according to which the translators' ability to understand the Greek text wavered when faced with references to poetry, and that, in extreme cases, they went so far as to omit the reference. This view has naturally come to the fore because scholars have focused on examples that are unquestionably significant but do not constitute the norm, such as the case of the Arabic version of the *Poetics* or Ḥunayn's comment on Galen's quotation of Aristophanes' verse, discussed in Chapter 1. On the contrary, the range of solutions adopted by translators to render poetic fragments is extremely varied, both in terms of successful rendering and mistranslations, and requires case-by-case evaluation.

The typological classification that has structured our analysis can serve as a guideline for evaluating the translations of poetic fragments. Although it is difficult to identify absolute trends that unite the formal aspect of the reference and its outcome in Arabic, we can make some observations in this regard.

Whether one is looking at literal quotations of verses, testimonia or mentions, their identification by the translator, as well as any reader, is driven in many cases by certain stylistic features that are constant in Aristotle's prose. As they are mostly references inserted for illustrative purposes, in fact, they are often found within incidental sentences introduced by comparative conjunctions and adverbs such as οἶον (e.g., *Rh.* refs. 1, 6, 25, 30; *Phys.* refs. 3, 4; HA ref. 11; EN ref. 21, and many others) and ὥσπερ (e.g., *Rh.* refs. 12, 18, 22, 24; HA ref. 18; GA ref.

⁸⁸⁵ In this final part, we will constantly mention the fragments discussed in this chapter, referring only to the Aristotelian work from which they are taken and the number we have given them in the course of our analysis. The page numbers for each reference can be found in the Appendix 1, p. 351.

2; *Metaph.* ref. 7; EN refs. 6, 7, 13, and many others) or, in the case of explicit quotations, by a *verbum dicendi* (frequent is the solution ὅθεν...εἴρηται, e.g., *Rh.* refs. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 16, 17, 20, 26, 27; *Phys.* ref. 1; HA refs. 2, 8; GA ref. 4; *de An.* ref. 1; EN ref. 45, and many others). Furthermore, we can assume that the margins of the Greek MSS consulted by the translators bore signs indicating the presence of quotations in verse.

However, some of the short sentences that mark the presence of a quotation are sources of translation errors. In *Rh.* ref. 29, 32 and 50 Aristotle's words are merged with the quotation itself, as well as the quotation in *Rh.* ref. 97, which has been translated along with the commentary line that follows. In the Arabic rendering of *Rh.* ref. 153 we see a process contrary to that of *Rh.* refs. 29, 32 and 50: the verse opens with the phrase ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη, which the translator extracts from the quotation (where it is referred to a female character), translates as *ka-mā qāla (inna)* and attributes to *Awmīrūs* in the rendering of the introductory sentence (πλεῖστα δὲ τοιαῦτα λαβεῖν ἐξ Ὀμήρου ἔστιν).

Translation errors also concern pairs of serial quotations, especially when linked by the simple καί. In these cases, the translator does not realise that they are two distinct references and tries to render them as one conceptually cohesive text, as happened in *Rh.* refs. 16-17, 79-80, 110-111, 140-141 and EN refs. 34-35. Equally problematic are clusters of quotations, i.e., groups of more than two fragments, often of short length, in sequence and separated only by the conjunction καί. We can give three examples, where it should be considered that an additional factor of difficulty is the epic language, all being Homeric quotations. In EN refs. 13-16, the renderings of the first two verses are imprecise, the third verse is omitted and only the fourth quotation is translated correctly. The same applies to the inaccurate renderings of the serial quotations in *Rh.* refs. 129-133 (within a larger sequence extending to refs. 127-134) and *Rh.* refs. 135-140, where *Rh.* refs. 138 is omitted. Also in *Rh.* ref. 21 the short anonymous poetic quotation is merged with the context, which, in this case, consists of quotations of proverbs.

More generally, it can be observed that, perhaps contrary to what one would expect, the more precise the reference is, the easier it is for the translator to render it. Greater misinterpretations can be found instead in allusive and paraphrastic references, which require first-hand knowledge of Greek literature.

For example, the simple references to mythological characters in *Top.* ref. 1 and EN ref. 55 do not pose translation problems, unlike *Rh.* ref. 146, *Metaph.* ref. 6 and EN ref. 22, where mythical events well known to Greek readers but not to the Arabic translator are referred to allusively and therefore inaccurately rendered. Of course, mistranslations and misunderstandings are never triggered by single-origin factors, and in their evaluation several aspects must always be considered, i.e. content, formal and linguistic elements as well as the skills of each translator. For instance, the Arabic version of the *Rh.* contains the highest concentration of mistranslations of poetic references, but, as already mentioned, these are part of a larger number of passages misunderstood by the translator due to inexperience and lack of knowledge of the subject matter and of Greek culture.

Another revealing example comes from the comparison of *Metaph.* ref. 6 and *Cael.* ref. 1. Both passages revolve around the myth of Atlas, but the translation of the former is inaccurate, while that of the latter is correct. However, there are two substantial differences between the two references. On the one hand, the translator of *Metaph.* ref. 6 is Uṣṭāt, while *Cael.* ref. 1 is preserved in both Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq's and Ibn al-Ṭayyib's version. On the other hand, the

syntactic structure of the text of the *Metaph.* contains an ambiguity – two accusatives with two different functions, misunderstood by the translator – that the passage in the *Cael.* does not have.

Some testimonia concerning expressive features, such as the Homeric formulae in *Rh.* ref. 101 and 105, as well as the reference to comic language in EN ref. 20 or the mention of a metaphor in *Rh.* ref. 109, may result unclear, or even obscure, to a translator who does not have access to further sources that might help explain or contextualise these fragments. In contrast, simple mentions of the *Iliad* and Homer (undeniably the Greek poet best known to Arabic readers) as in *Top.* ref. 2, *Apo.* ref. 2, *Phys.* ref. 3 or *Metaph.* 8, 9, 10 are all interpreted correctly.

As far as quotations are concerned – regardless of the subcategory to which the quotation belongs –, we can recognise different types of misunderstandings, which are frequently triggered by morphological features, convoluted or suspended syntactic structures (in the case of incomplete quotations), lexical peculiarities of poetic language. There are, however, explicit author's (but also anonymous) and isolated quotations, characterised by a common lexicon and devoid of particular poetic expressions, which have been appropriately translated, as in HA ref. 7, 8, 9, *Metaph.* ref. 2, EN refs. 9, 18, 26, 40 (which is a hidden quotation) and *Rh.* refs. 15, 20, 33, 91, 127 and 145. In *Rh.* refs. 91, 127 and 145, the translator encounters even more problems in rendering the commentary lines of Aristotle (in refs. 91, 127) or the testimonium (classified as ref. 144, which contains ref. 145) full of cultural references.

The difficulty in rendering a poetic reference, it is worth reiterating, does not lie so much in the reference itself, in deciphering the poet's lines or the accounts on them given by Aristotle, but rather consists of guessing the implicit contents whose knowledge allows for a true understanding of the quotations as well as the possibility of contextualising them in the literary and cultural heritage for which they were conceived. It follows that the real obstacles to the rendering of these references are firstly the exegetical challenges of cultural translation, which, all in all, are reduced to a fairly limited number of cases given the brevity of the fragments, and, secondly, the asperities of the poetic language, that are particularly marked in archaic poetry. The aeolian forms used in the verses of Sappho (e.g., *Rh.* ref. 12) or the peculiarities of the Homeric language (e.g., the epic genitive in *Rh.* ref. 19) can make the poetic quotations impenetrable even to an expert translator, trained, nevertheless, on the prose of Aristotle and his commentators as well as of medical treatises, and perhaps familiar with the 9th and 10th cents. Greek spoken by the Byzantines. These difficulties are even more understandable if we consider that the verses of Homer and Sappho had begun to become obscure to the Greeks of the Hellenistic period, since it is precisely on these texts that the Alexandrian grammars first formed and then practiced the exegetical analysis and the textual criticism, that eventually gave rise to modern philology.

Finally, a significant fact should be noted. We can find several instances where the Arabic rendering deviates from the source text for a wide range of reasons – reformulations of the Greek (as in HA refs. 6 and 13, *Metaph.* ref. 7, *Rh.* ref. 152), additions (*Rh.* refs. 19 and 32, GA ref. 4, EN refs. 4 and 36, SE ref. 6 in Ibn Zur'a's version, *Rh.* refs. 136, 137, 160 and EN ref. 12, in some instances derived from marginalia), odd glosses to proper nouns (*Rh.* ref. 107; EN ref. 28), trivialisations of technical terms and realia (SE ref. 3, *Rh.* refs. 43, 134, 144, *Metaph.* ref. 3, EN ref. 6), mistranslations of various sorts – yet the two most invasive voluntary interventions in

translation, omissions and alterations for cultural adaptation purposes, are found only sporadically.

Omissions are rare, and often difficult to identify reliably, since some of them might be explained as results of textual lacunae or errors due to skips in transcription by a careless copyist rather than voluntary omissions of the text – without apparent reason – by the translator. Of course, the accessory character of incidental comparative phrases lends itself to phenomena either of total omission – when the entire phrase is missing from the Arabic version – or partial omission, as in some explicit author’s literal quotations, which in Arabic are abridged by preserving the mention of the author and the *verbum dicendi* preceded by a comparative adverb or conjunction but omitting the verses quoted or paraphrased by Aristotle. Indeed, many of the apparent omissions of poetic references are found in incidental comparative phrases, but there are also many contrary examples, i.e. cases in which although the reference is very short and circumscribed, inserted as an example and thus easy to remove, the translator includes it in the Arabic version (see, for instance, *Top.* ref. 2, *Phys.* ref. 3).

Total omissions concern HA ref. 2 (introduced by διὸ καί), EN ref. 3 (introduced by καθάπερ), EN ref. 15 and *Rh.* ref. 138 (both within a cluster of citations), and EN ref. 21 (introduced by οἶον).

As for partial omissions, the outcomes in the Arabic versions are more varied. In HA ref. 4 the quotation is introduced by καθάπερ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ὥς, that the translator renders as *ka-mā dakara Sīmūnīdis al-ḥakīm*, whereas *fī kitābihī* replaces the quotation itself. The following fragment, HA ref. 5, is also omitted but replaced by a vague phrase, *ka-mā dakara ba‘ḍ al-ḥukamā*, which hides any reference to poetry by removing even the name of the poet Stesichorus. In HA refs. 6, 17 and 18 we find similar outcomes, namely the structure *ka-mā* followed by a *verbum dicendi* and the transliteration of the poet’s name (accompanied by the epithets *al-šā‘ir* or *al-ḥakīm*), while the quoted verses are left out. Also in PA ref. 1 there is a partial omission with the indication of the author’s name (Homer), but instead of the quotation the translator writes *qawlan mitla hādā*, «[Homer the poet said in his poetry] something like this». Of the explicit and author’s quotation in *de An.* ref. 3 only the mention of Homer remains. Special cases of omission with partial rewriting can be found in the old version of SE ref. 6, where the incipit of the *Iliad* (μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά) is covered by *ka-dā wa-ka-dā*, and in EN ref. 25, where the translator replaces the quotation with a sentence that he might have inferred from the context or read in a gloss. Other apparent partial omissions are *Rh.* refs. 119 and 143. Other references are suspected not to be intentional omissions on the part of the translator, but rather gaps in the tradition, as in *Rh.* refs. 107, 116, 117, 118, 138, 144, 156, 158, 159, EN refs. 11 and 46, for which, however, no definitive answer can be found.

Deliberate alterations in the contents of the source text are almost entirely non-existent. As far as poetic references are concerned, in the Greek-Arabic translations there are no traces of editing operations as those highlighted by Alberto Rigolio for the 5th and 6th cents. Syriac translations of pagan literary texts such as Plutarch’s *De cohibenda ira* and *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate*, ps. Plutarch’s *De exercitatione*, Lucian’s *De calumnia* and Themistius’ *De amicitia* and *De virtute*.⁸⁸⁶ Unlike these Syriac versions, in the fragments we have examined the pagan text is not manipulated to meet the sensibility of a monotheistic reader, whether

⁸⁸⁶ Rigolio 2013 and 2016.

Christian (for the Syriac translations analysed by Rigolio) or Muslim (for the Arabic translations considered here), and unlike them the examples involving mythological figures (and polytheism), which I have deliberately included in my analysis as generic content references, are not censored but translated in their entirety. And again, unlike the Syriac versions examined by Rigolio, the mentions of poets or that of proper nouns in anecdotal accounts are not anonymised but saved in translation through transliteration.

We have found, however, episodic substitutions in references to gods and polytheism. For instance, in SE ref. 2 the reference to the divine contained in the adjective $\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ attributed to a man as Ἀχιλλεύς is obscured in all three versions that have come down to us, with *al-mamdūh* in Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī’s text, with *al-maḥmūd* in that of Ibn Zur‘a, and with *al-māğid* in the old version. In HA ref. 15 $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ is translated as *al-nās*, while in EN ref. 27 there are two references to the divine at a short distance ($\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ and $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\omicron$), and of these the first is omitted (perhaps due to a lacuna?) while the second is translated as *ilāh*. Occasionally the plural $\omicron\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$, «the gods», is replaced with the singular Allāh (e.g., *Rh.* ref. 158) and the names of Greek gods are covered by those of the corresponding planets (e.g., *Rh.* refs. 46, 109; *de An.* ref. 2; EN ref. 32) – strategy also adopted by Greek Christian and Byzantine authors –, but this procedure is by no means systematic. In fact, there are several occurrences where the reference to polytheism is maintained (e.g., *Rh.* ref. 69, 78, 80, EN ref. 30).

Beyond these cases, there are no rewritings of textual portions in passaging from one language to another to bridge religious and/or cultural distance. Eloquent evidence of this was offered by the analysis of *Phys.* Δ 13, 222a 22-26, b 11-12 = refs. 4, 5, in which we saw that the translator kept intact the mythological reference to the Trojan War, whereas the commentators (in this case, the Aristotelians of Bağdād) first left it out and then replaced it with the equivalent example of the Basūs war.

The number of parallels in later sources identified is very small and restricted to the following references: *Int.* ref. 1, *Rh.* refs. 16, 17, 21, 28 (but the connection between this reference and the passage of Ibn Wahb is not precise and probably based on an intermediate source), 60 (but the fragment quoted by Aristotle is also transmitted in the gnomological collection known as *Menandri Sententiae* which is the starting point of the Arabic transmission of the verse), *Phys.* refs. 2, 3, 4, 5, *Cael.* ref. 1, HA ref. 7, *Metaph.* refs. 3, 7, EN refs. 1 (also in this case the attestation of the quotation in other Arabic sources is due to its insertion in Greek gnomological sources that had an Arabic circulation), 2, 40. Already at first glance, therefore, it is clear that only a fraction of the 282 fragments analysed here attracted the attention of 9th- and 10th-century Arabic-speaking readers of Aristotle, while most did not have a real active reception that went beyond the threshold of passive translation. Of course, our survey cannot be considered complete and exhaustive, and, among others, the large corpora of Avicenna and Averroes are missing. These would certainly provide a richer and more encouraging picture, but we have preferred to exclude them from the present research and refer to an *ad hoc* investigation.

APPENDIX 1

The following table is a summary of the poetic references analysed in the previous chapter, providing Bekker's numbering, reference numbers in our analysis, the typology according to the classification presented at the beginning of Chapter 2 and the translator's name.

For the works we have dealt with (*De interpretatione, Posterior Analytics, Topics, Sophistical Refutations, Rhetoric, Physics, De caelo, Meteorologica, De anima, Historia animalium, De partibus animalium, De generatione animalium, Metaphysics, Ethica Nicomachea, De vitiis et virtutibus, Divisiones*) we have also indicated the poetic references that are not preserved in Arabic translation due to lacunae and that consequently have not been analyzed here.

Each reference's typology is described in a synthetic way through the following abbreviations:

- A = generic
- B = specific
- a¹ = content
- a² = expressive
- b¹ = mention
- b² = testimonium
- b³ = quotation
- C = explicit
- c¹ = author's
- c² = anonymous
- D = hidden
- E = serial
- F = isolated
- G = compendiarly
- H = paraphrastic
- I = literal
- i¹ = complete verse(s)
- i² = incomplete verse(s)

Bekker's numbering	Reference and page number in this analysis	Typology	Translator
<i>Int.</i> 11, 21a 25-28	<i>Int.</i> ref. 1, pp. 68-71	B b ¹	Ishāq
<i>APo.</i> B 7, 92b 31-32	<i>APo.</i> ref. 1, p. 72	B b ¹	Abū Bišr Mattā
<i>APo.</i> B 10, 93b 35-37	<i>APo.</i> ref. 2, pp. 72-74	B b ¹	Abū Bišr Mattā

<i>APo.</i> B 13, 97b 15-25	<i>APo.</i> ref. 3, pp. 74-75	A a ¹	Abū Bišr Mattā
<i>Top.</i> Γ 2, 117b 12-17, 19-25	<i>Top.</i> ref. 1 pp. 76-77	A a ¹	Abū Umtān al-Dimašqī
<i>Top.</i> Θ 1, 157a 14-17	<i>Top.</i> ref. 2, pp. 77-79	B b ²	Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Nāqid
SE 4, 166a36-38	SE refs. 1, 2, pp. 80-82	B b ³ D E I? B b ³ D E I?	Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī; ‘Īsā ibn Zur‘a; anonymous
SE 4, 166b 3-8	SE refs. 3, 4, pp. 82-84	B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ² B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ²	Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī; ‘Īsā ibn Zur‘a; anonymous
SE 10, 171a 9-11	SE ref. 5, p. 85	B b ²	Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī; ‘Īsā ibn Zur‘a; anonymous
SE 24, 180a 20-22	SE ref. 6, p. 85-88	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī; ‘Īsā ibn Zur‘a; anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 3, 1359a 3-5	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 1, pp. 92-93	B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 6, 1362b 35-36	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 2, pp. 93-94	B b ³ C c ² F I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 6, 1363a 5-7	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 3, 4, pp. 94-95	B b ³ C c ² E I i ² B b ³ C c ² E I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 6, 1363a 14-15	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 5, p. 95	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 6, 1363a 17-19	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 6, p. 95-96	A a ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 7, 1364a 27-28	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 7 pp. 96-97	B b ³ C c ² F I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 7, 1365a 11-15	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 8, pp. 97-98	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ² (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 7, 1365a 16	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 9, p. 98	B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 7, 1365a 23-27	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 10, pp. 99-100	B b ³ C c ² F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 7, 1365a 30	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 11, p. 100	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 9, 1367a 8-16	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 12, pp. 101-102	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 9, 1367b 18-21	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 13, 14, pp. 102-104	B b ³ C c ² E I i ² (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous

		$B b^3 C c^1 E I i^1$	
<i>Rh.</i> A 11, 1370a 10	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 15, p. 104	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 11, 1370b 3-6	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 16, 17, pp. 105-106	$B b^3 C c^2 E I i^1$ $B b^3 C c^2 E I i^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 11, 1370b 11-12	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 18, pp. 106-107	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 11, 1370b 28-29	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 19, pp. 107-108	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 11, 1371a 27-28	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 20, p. 108	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 11, 1371b 15-17	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 21, pp. 108-110	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 11, 1371b 31-34	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 22, p. 110	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 12, 1372b 32-33	<i>Rh.</i> ref. *23, p. 111	$A a^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 12, 1373a 3-4	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 24, p. 112	$B b^3 C c^2 F H$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 13, 1373b 9-13	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 25, pp. 112-113	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$ (which includes a $B b^2$)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 15, 1375a 33-b2	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 26, 27, pp. 113-114	$B b^3 C c^1 E I i^1$ $B b^3 C c^1 E I i^1$ (both include a $B b^2$)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 15, 1375b 28-34	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 28, 29, pp. 114-118	$B b^2$ $B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$ (which includes a $B b^2$)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> A 15, 1376a 3-7	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 30, pp. 118-199	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 2, 1378b 4-6	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 31, pp. 119-120	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 2, 1378b 31-34	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 32, 33, 120-121	$B b^3 C c^2 E I i^2$ $B b^3 C c^2 E I i^2$ (both include a $B b^2$)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 2, 1379a 4-6	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 34, 35, pp. 121-122	$B b^3 C c^2 E I i^1$ $B b^3 C c^2 E I i^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 2, 1379b 15	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 36, pp. 122-123	$B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 3, 1380a 25-26	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 37, p. 123	$B b^3 D F G$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 3, 1380b 22-25	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 38, p. 124	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^2$	Anonymous

		(which includes a B b ²)	
<i>Rh. B 3, 1380b 28-30</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 39, p. 125</i>	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 4, 1381b 16</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 40, pp. 125-126</i>	B b ³ D F I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 6, 1383b 18-19</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 41, pp. 126-127</i>	A a ¹ /a ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 6, 1384a 34</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 42, p. 127</i>	A a ¹ /a ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 6, 1384b 10</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 43, pp. 127-128</i>	A a ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 6, 1384b 15-16</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 44, pp. 128-129</i>	B b ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 6, 1385a 10-13</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 45, pp. 129-130</i>	B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 9, 1387a 32-34</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 46, pp. 130-131</i>	B b ³ C c ² F I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 10, 1388a 7-8</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 47, p. 131</i>	B b ³ C c ² F I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 10, 1388a 16-17</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 48, pp. 131-132</i>	B b ³ C c ² F I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 16, 1391a 8-12</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 49, pp. 132-133</i>	B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 19, 1392b 6-9</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 50, pp. 133-134</i>	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 20, 1393b 8-22</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 51, pp. 134-136</i>	B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 21, 1394a 28-b 6</i>	<i>Rh. refs. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, pp. 136-139</i>	B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 21, 1394b 11-26</i>	<i>Rh. refs. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, pp. 139-142</i>	B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ² B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 21, 1394b 30-32</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 62, pp. 142-143</i>	B b ³ C c ² F H	Anonymous
<i>Rh. B 21, 1394b 35-1395a 2</i>	<i>Rh. ref. 63, pp. 143-144</i>	B b ²	Anonymous

<i>Rh.</i> B 21, 1395a 12-18	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 64, 65, 66, pp. 144-145	$B b^3 C c^2 E I i^1$ $B b^3 C c^2 E I i^2$ $B b^3 C c^2 E I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 22, 1395b 29-30	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 67, p. 146	$B b^3 D F H$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 22, 1396a 13-14	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 68, pp. 146-147	$A a^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 22, 1396a 23-30; 1396b 10- 18	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 69, pp. 147-149	$A a^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1397a 12-18	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 70, 71, pp. 149-151	$B b^3 D E I i^1$ $B b^3 D E I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1397b 2- 6	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 72, pp. 151-153	$B b^3 C c^1 F G$ (made of I $i^1 + I i^2 + I i^1 + I i^1$)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1397b 20-24	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 73, 74, pp. 153-155	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^1$ $A a^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1398a 3- 4	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 75, pp. 155-156	$B b^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1398b 10-20	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 76, pp. 156-157	$B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1398b 27-29	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 77, pp. 157-158	$B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1398b 29-30	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 78, pp. 158-159	$B b^3 C c^1 F H$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1399a 1- 3	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 79, 80, pp. 159-160	$B b^2$ $B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1399a 14-17	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 81, p. 160	$B b^3 D F H$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1399b 22-31	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 82, 83, 84, pp. 160-163	$B b^3 C c^2 E I i^1$ $B b^3 C c^1 E I i^1$ $B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1400a 27-29	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 85, pp. 163-164	$B b^2 (?)$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1400b 10-15	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 86, pp. 164-165	$B b^3 C c^2 F G (?)$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1400b 17-18	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 87, pp. 165-166	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 23, 1400b 22-24	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 88, 89, pp. 166-167	$B b^3 C c^1 E I i^1$ $B b^3 C c^1 E I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 24, 1401a 15-18	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 90, pp. 167-168	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^2$ (which includes a B b^2)	Anonymous

<i>Rh.</i> B 24, 1401a 36-1401b 3	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 91, pp.168-169	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$ (which includes a B b^2)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 24, 1401b 16-19	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 92, pp.169-170	$A a^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 24, 1401b 20-23	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 93, pp.170-172	$A a^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 24, 1401b 35-1402a 1	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 94, p.172	$A a^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> B 24, 1402a 9- 13	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 95, pp.173-174	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 2, 1404b 25	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 96, p.174	$B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 2, 1405a 28- 30	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 97, pp.174-176	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 2, 1405a 32- 34	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 98, pp.176-177	$B b^3 C c^1 F H (?)$ (which includes a B b^2)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 2, 1405a 37- b 3	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 99, pp.177-178	$B b^3 C c^2 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 2, 1405b 6- 8	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 100, pp.178-179	$B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 2, 1405b 18- 20	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 101, pp.179-180	$B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 2, 1405b 21- 27	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 102, 103, pp.180-182	$B b^3 D F I i^2$ $B b^2$ which includes a $B b^3 C c^1 F I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 2, 1405b 30- 33	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 104, pp.182-183	$B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 3, 1406a 11- 14	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 105, pp.183-184	$B b^2$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 3, 1406b 11- 14	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 106, pp.184-185	$B b^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 3, 1406b 15- 19	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 107, pp.185-186	$A a^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 4, 1406b 20-24	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 108, pp.186-187	$B b^3 C c^2 F G$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 4, 1407a 17- 18	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 109, pp.187-189	$B b^3 C c^2, H$ or I	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 6, 1407b 32- 35	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 110, 111, pp.189-190	$B b^3 C c^2 E I i^2$ $B b^3 C c^2 E I i^1$	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 6, 1408a 1-4	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 112, pp.190-191	$B b^3 C c^1 F I i^2$	Anonymous

		(which includes a B b ²)	
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 6, 1408a 6-9	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 113, pp. 191-192	A a ² (?)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 7, 1408a 13-16	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 114, pp. 192-193	B b ² (?)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 7, 1408b 12-13	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 115, pp. 193-194	A a ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 8, 1409a 12-18	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 116, 117, 118, pp. 194-195	B b ³ D E I i ² B b ³ D E I i ¹ B b ³ D E I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 9, 1409b 9-12	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 119, pp. 195-197	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 9, 1409b 26-29	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 120, pp. 197-198	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 9, 1410a 29-31	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 121, 122, pp. 198-199	B b ³ D E I i ² B b ³ D E I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 9, 1410b 3-5	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 123, pp. 199-200	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 10, 1410b 14-15	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 124, pp. 200-201	B b ³ C c ² F I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 10, 1411a 18-20	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 125, p. 201	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 11, 1411b 26-27	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 126, p. 202	B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 11, 1411b 28-1412a 10	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, pp. 202-205	B b ³ D F I i ¹ B b ² B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ² B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ² B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 11, 1412a 23-24]	–	B b ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 11, 1412a 30-32]	–	B b ³ C c ² F I i ² (?)	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 11, 1412b 14-21]	–	B b ³ D F I i ² B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]

[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 11, 1412b 36-1413a 1]	–	B b ³ C c ² , H or I B b ³ C c ² F I i ² (?)	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 11, 1413a 6-14; 1413a 25-28]	–	B b ² A a ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 11, 1413a 31-35]	–	B b ³ C c ² F I i ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 12, 1413b 13-14]	–	B b ² B b ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 12, 1413b 25-29]	–	B b ² which includes a B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ² B b ² which includes a B b ³ C c ² F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 12, 1414a 2-3]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Rh.</i> Γ 14, 1415a 3-4]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 14, 1415a 7-22	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, pp. 205-207	B b ³ D F I i ² B b ³ D E I i ² B b ³ D E I i ² B b ³ D E I i ² B b ² B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 14, 1415b 18-21	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 141, 142, pp. 208-209	B b ³ D E I i ¹ B b ³ D E I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 14, 1415b 26-28	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 143, pp. 209-210	B b ³ C c ² F I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 15, 1416a 29-34	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 144, 145, pp. 210-211	B b ² B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 15, 1416b 1-4	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 146, pp. 212-213	B b ² or B b ³ G?	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 15, 1416b 12-15	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 147, p. 213	B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 16, 1416b 27-29	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 148, pp. 213-214	A a ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 16, 1417a 13-16	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 149, 150, 151, pp. 214-215	B b ² B b ² B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 16, 1417a 28-33	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 152, pp. 215-216	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Anonymous

<i>Rh.</i> Γ 16, 1417b 3-5	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 153, p. 217	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 16, 1417b 18-20	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 154, 155, pp. 218-219	B b ² or B b ³ G B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 17, 1418a 7-9	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 156, pp. 219-220	B b ³ D F I i ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 17, 1418a 35-38	<i>Rh.</i> ref. 157, pp. 220-221	A a ¹	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 17, 1418b 17-22	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 158, 159, pp. 221-222	B b ³ D E I i ¹ B b ³ D E I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Rh.</i> Γ 17, 1418b 27-33	<i>Rh.</i> refs. 160, 161, 162, pp. 222-224	B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ² (both include a B b ²) B b ²	Anonymous
<i>Phys.</i> B 2, 194a 30-33	<i>Phys.</i> ref. 1, pp. 226-227	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
<i>Phys.</i> Δ 1, 208b 29-33	<i>Phys.</i> ref. 2, pp. 227-229	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ² (which includes a B b ²)	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
<i>Phys.</i> Δ 12, 221b 32	<i>Phys.</i> ref. 3, pp. 229-230	B b ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
<i>Phys.</i> Δ 13, 222a 22-26, b 11-12	<i>Phys.</i> refs. 4, 5, pp. 230-232	A a ¹ A a ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
<i>Phys.</i> Δ 13, 222b 16-17	<i>Phys.</i> ref. 6, pp. 232-233	B b ¹ (?)	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
<i>Phys.</i> Z 9, 239b 14	<i>Phys.</i> ref. 7, p. 233	A a ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
<i>Cael.</i> B 1, 284a 18-23	<i>Cael.</i> ref. 1, pp. 235-239	A a ¹	Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq; Ibn al-Ṭayyib
<i>Cael.</i> Γ 1, 298b 24-29	<i>Cael.</i> ref. 2, pp. 239-240	B b ²	Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq; Ibn al-Ṭayyib
<i>Mete.</i> A 14, 351b 34-352a 3	<i>Mete.</i> ref. 1, pp. 242-243	B b ²	Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq
<i>Mete.</i> B 1, 353a 34-b 5	<i>Mete.</i> ref. 2, pp. 243-244	B b ²	Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq
HA Γ 3, 513b 26-28	HA ref. 1, pp. 245-246	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA Γ 12, 519a 19-20	HA ref. 2, p. 246	B b ³ C c ¹ F H	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA Γ 21, 522b 23-25	HA ref. 3, pp. 246-247	B b ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA E 8, 542b 7-10	HA ref. 4, pp. 247-248	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)

HA E 9, 542b 24-25	HA ref. 5, pp. 248-249	B b ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
[HA E 31, 557a 1-3]	–	B b ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
HA Z 6, 563 a 17-19	HA ref. 6, p. 249	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA Z 20, 574b 33-575a 1	HA ref. 7, p. 250	B b ³ C c ¹ F H	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA Z 21, 575b 4-7	HA refs. 8, 9, pp. 250-251	B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ² B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
[HA Z 28, 578a 32-b 2]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F H	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
HA H 4, 585 a 13-14	HA ref. 10, pp. 251-252	A a ¹	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA H 6, 585b 22-24	HA ref. 11, pp. 252-253	A a ¹	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA Θ 12, 597a 6-9	HA ref. *12, pp. 253-254	A a ¹	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA Θ 18, 601b 1-3	HA ref. 13, pp. 254-255	B b ² (B b ³ C c ¹ F G?)	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA Θ 28, 606a 18-20	HA ref. 14, pp. 255-256	B b ³ C c ¹ F G	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA I 12, 615b 9-10	HA ref. 15, pp. 256-257	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA I 32, 618b 25	HA ref. 16, pp. 257-258	B b ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA I 44, 629b 21-23	HA ref. 17, p. 258	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
HA I 49B, 633a 17-27	HA ref. 18, pp. 258-259	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
PA Γ 10, 673a 14-17	PA ref. 1, pp. 259-260	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
GA A 18, 724a 28-30	GA ref. 1, pp. 261-262	B b ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
GA B 1, 734a 18-20	GA ref. 2, p. 262	B b ² or B b ³ C c ¹ F G	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
GA E 4, 784b 19-23	GA ref. 3, pp. 262-264	A a ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
GA E 5, 785a 15-16	GA ref. 4, pp. 264-265	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	Anonymous (Uṣṭāt?)
<i>de An.</i> A 2, 404a 29-30	<i>de An.</i> ref. 1, pp. 266-268	B b ³ C c ¹ F, I i ² or H	Anonymous

<i>de An.</i> A 3, 406b 17-19	<i>de An.</i> ref. 2, pp. 268-269	B b ²	Anonymous
<i>de An.</i> Γ 3, 427a 25-26	<i>de An.</i> ref. 3, pp. 269-270	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	Anonymous
<i>Metaph.</i> α 1, 993b 15-16	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 1, pp. 275-276	B b ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn; Uṣṭāt
[<i>Metaph.</i> A 2, 982b 30-31]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Metaph.</i> A 2, 982b 34-983a 5]	–	A a ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Metaph.</i> A 3, 983b 27-33]	–	A a ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Metaph.</i> A 4, 984b 23-31]	–	B b ² which includes a B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
<i>Metaph.</i> A 8, 989a 10-11	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 2, pp. 276-277	B b ³ C c ¹ F G	Nazīf ibn Yumn
<i>Metaph.</i> B 4, 1000a 9-19	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 3, pp. 277-279	B b ²	Uṣṭāt
[<i>Metaph.</i> Γ 5, 1009b 28-31]	–	B b ² which includes aB b ³ C c ¹ F H	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Metaph.</i> Γ 5, 1010a 5-7]	–	B b ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
<i>Metaph.</i> Δ 5, 1015a 28-31	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 4, 5, pp. 279-280	B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹	Uṣṭāt
<i>Metaph.</i> Δ 23, 1023a 19-21	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 6, p. 280	A a ¹	Uṣṭāt
<i>Metaph.</i> Δ 24 1023a 32-33	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 7, pp. 281-282	B b ¹	Uṣṭāt
<i>Metaph.</i> Z 4, 1030a 8-9; 1030b 8-10; H 6, 1045a 12-14	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 8, 9, 10, pp. 282-283	B b ¹ B b ¹ B b ¹	Uṣṭāt
<i>Metaph.</i> Λ 5, 1071a 22	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 11, pp. 283-284	A a ¹	Abū Bišr Mattā; Uṣṭāt
<i>Metaph.</i> Λ 6, 1071b 26-28; 13, 1072a 7-8	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 12, pp. 284-286	A a ¹ A a ¹	Abū Bišr Mattā; Uṣṭāt
<i>Metaph.</i> Λ 10, 1076a 4	<i>Metaph.</i> ref. 14, pp. 286-287	B b ³ D F I i ¹	Anonymous
[<i>Metaph.</i> M 9, 1086a 17-18]	–	B b ³ D F I i ¹	[not extant in Arabic]
[<i>Metaph.</i> N 3, 1091a 7-9]	–	B b ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]

[<i>Metaph.</i> N 4, – 1091b 4-6]		B b ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Metaph.</i> N 6 – 1093a 15-18]		A a ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[<i>Metaph.</i> N 6 – 1093a 26-28]		B b ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
EN A 2, 1095b 7- 13	EN ref. 1, pp. 290-298	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
[EN A 9, 1099a – 25-28]		B b ³ C c ² F I i ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[EN A 10, 1100a – 7-9]		A a ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[EN A 11, 1100b – 21]		B b ³ D F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[EN A 11, 1101a 6- 8]		A a ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
EN B 5, 1106b 33- 35	EN ref. 2, pp. 298-299	B b ³ D F I i ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN B 9, 1109a 31- 32	EN ref. 3, pp. 299-300	B b ³ C c ² F I i ² (which includes a B b ²)	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN B 9, 1109b 9- 11	EN ref. 4, p. 300	B b ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Γ 1, 1110a 28- 29	EN ref. 5, pp. 301-302	A a ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Γ 2, 1111a 9-12	EN ref. 6, 7, pp. 302-303	B b ² B b ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Γ 5, 1113a 7-9	EN ref. 8, pp. 303-304	A a ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Γ 7, 1113b 14- 17	EN ref. 9, pp. 304-305	B b ³ C c ² F I i ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Γ 11, 1116a 21- 26	EN ref. 10, 11, pp. 306-307	B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹ B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Γ 11, 1116a 33- 35	EN ref. 12, pp. 307-308	B b ³ C c ² F I i ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Γ 11, 1116b 26- 30	EN ref. 13, 14, 15, 16, pp. 308-309	B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ² B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ² B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ² B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Γ 11, 1116b 35- 1117a 1	EN ref. 17, pp. 309-310	B b ³ D F G	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
[EN Γ 13, 1118a – 20-23]		B b ³ D F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]

EN Γ 13, 1118b 11	EN ref. 18, pp. 310-311	B b ³ C c ¹ F H	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Δ 2, 1121a 7	EN ref. 19, pp. 311-312	B b ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Δ 3, 1121b 27	EN ref. 20, p. 312	A a ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Δ 4, 1122a 27	EN ref. 21, p. 313	B b ³ D F I i ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN Δ 8, 1124b 15-16	EN ref. 22, pp. 313-314	B b ²	Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn
EN E 3, 1129b 27-30	EN ref. 23, 24, pp. 314-315	B b ³ D E H B b ³ C c ² E I i ¹	Uṣṭāt
EN E 8, 1132b 25-27	EN ref. 25, pp. 316-317	B b ³ C c ² F I i ¹	Uṣṭāt
EN E 11, 1136a 11-14	EN ref. 26, pp. 317-318	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Uṣṭāt
[EN E 11, 1136b 9-11]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[EN Z 2, 1139b 6-7]	–	A a ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[EN Z 2, 1139b 9-11]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[EN Z 4, 1140a 18-20]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[EN Z 7, 1141a 14-15]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
[EN Z 9, 1142a 2-6]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
EN H 1, 1145a 18-22	EN ref. 27, pp. 318-319	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Uṣṭāt
EN H 3, 1146a 19-21; EN H 10, 1151b 18-21	EN ref. 28, 29, pp. 319-321	B b ² B b ²	Uṣṭāt
EN H 6, 1148a 33-1148b 2	EN ref. 30, *31, pp. 322-323	A a ¹ A a ¹	Uṣṭāt
EN H 7, 1149b 14-17	EN ref. 32, 33, pp. 323-324	A a ² (or: B b ³ C c ² E I i ²) B b ³ C c ¹ E I i ¹ (both include a B b ²)	Uṣṭāt
EN H 8, 1150b 8-10	EN ref. 34, 35, pp. 324-325	B b ² B b ²	Uṣṭāt

EN H 9, 1151a 8-10	EN ref. 36, p. 326	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ² (which includes a B b ²)	Uṣṭāt
[EN H 11, 1152a 21-23]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
EN H 11, 1152a 31-33	EN ref. 37, pp. 326-327	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹	Uṣṭāt
EN H 14, 1153b 25-28	EN ref. 38, pp. 327-328	B b ³ D F I i ²	Uṣṭāt
EN H 15, 1154b 28-29	EN ref. 39, pp. 328-329	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ²	Uṣṭāt
EN Θ 1, 1155a 15-16	EN ref. 40, pp. 329-330	B b ³ D F I i ²	Uṣṭāt
EN Θ 2, 1155a 32-b 4	EN ref. 41, 42, 43, pp. 330-332	B b ³ C c ² E H B b ³ C c ² E H B b ³ C c ¹ E H	Uṣṭāt
EN Θ 12, 1160b 25-27	EN ref. 44, pp. 332-333	B b ²	Uṣṭāt
EN Θ 13, 1161a 14-15	EN ref. 45, p. 333	B b ²	Uṣṭāt
EN I 1, 1164a 26-27	EN ref. 46, pp. 333-334	B b ³ D F I i ²	Uṣṭāt
EN I 6, 1167a 32-33	EN ref. 47, pp. 334-335	B b ²	Uṣṭāt
EN I 7, 1167b 25-27	EN ref. 48, pp. 335-336	B b ³ C c ¹ F, I i ² or G	Uṣṭāt
EN I 9, 1169b 7-8	EN ref. 49, pp. 336-337	B b ³ D F I i ¹	Uṣṭāt
[EN I 9, 1170a 11]	–	B b ³ C c ¹ F H	[lacuna in the Arabic version]
EN I 10, 1170b 20-22	EN ref. 50, p. 337	B b ³ C c ² F I i ²	Uṣṭāt
EN I 11, 1171b 18	EN ref. 51, p. 338	B b ³ D F I i ¹ (?)	Uṣṭāt
EN I 12, 1172a 13-14	EN ref. 52, p. 338-339	B b ³ D F I i ²	Uṣṭāt
EN K 7, 1177b 31-33	EN ref. 53, pp. 339-340	A a ¹	Uṣṭāt
EN K 10, 1179b 4-7	EN ref. 54, pp. 340-341	B b ³ C c ¹ F I i ¹ (which includes a B b ²)	Uṣṭāt
EN K 10, 1180a 26-29	EN ref. 55, pp. 341-342	B b ³ D F H	Uṣṭāt

VV 7, 1251a 35-36	VV ref. 1, pp. 343-344	B b ³ C c' F I i'	Abū Qurra; Ibn al-Ṭayyib
DA Γ81 (extra Bekker)	DA ref. 1, pp. 344-345	A a'	Abū Qurra; Ibn al-Ṭayyib

LIVES AND SAYINGS OF GREEK POETS IN ARABIC GNOMOLOGIA AND FLORILEGIA

3.1 Preliminary and methodological remarks

The second main channel of transmission of Greek poetry into Arabic consists of gnomologia and florilegia. As will be seen, the label “Greek poetry” is somewhat artificial here and applied to very different material from that of the previous chapter. The Arabic collections belonging to the genre of wisdom literature, in fact, contain scanty references to Greek poets and their production, and quotations of verse are very rare. In the vast majority of cases, the entries dealing with Greek poets include short collections of sapiential sayings and facetious jokes, which taken together have the effect of transfiguring the poet into the sage par excellence or the champion of wittiness. In the most conspicuous collections and for the best-known poets, namely Homer and Solon (although for the latter due clarification is needed), the sayings are preceded by brief contextual information, often generic and largely anecdotal, focusing on certain exemplary aspects of their personality and partly deduced from the content of the sayings attributed to them.

Therefore, the aim of my investigation is to show what kind of image of Greek poets emerges from this typology of texts and how far they differ from those of the first channel of transmission.

Once again, I have isolated the references that constitute the object of the analysis proposed below based on my own scrutiny of primary sources, of which I have selected the most important for our purposes from those produced between the second half of the 9th cent. and the end of the 13th cent. that which have come down to us. By primary sources I mean those compilations that contain a number of sayings explicitly attributed to at least one Greek poet and/or collected in a paragraph dedicated to him. These sources are nine in total.

In addition to these, I have consulted other gnomological compilations (such as Ibn Abī ‘Awn’s *Kitāb al-aḡwiba l-muskita* and Ibn Durayd’s *Kitāb al-Muḡtanā*), as well as biographical dictionaries (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’* and Ibn al-Qifṭī’s *Ta’rīḥ al-ḥukamā’*), and works of *adab* and practical philosophy (e.g., al-Tawḥīdī’s *al-Baṣā’ir wa-l-daḥā’ir* and al-Tawḥīdī’s *Kitāb al-imtā’ wa-l-mu’ānasa*) which in turn draw on gnomological collections. The latter provide loci paralleli, in which Greek poets are only sporadically mentioned, while sayings are usually reported anonymously and interspersed with others. As a result, these works are not discussed in separate sections below, but are cited from time to time as Arabic parallels. The most frequently mentioned sources have been given acronyms,

which are listed in the table at the end of this paragraph, while those referred to occasionally or once only are cited in full.

As for the main sources, they constitute the organising criterion of my survey, similarly to what was done with the works of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* in Chapter 2. The sayings are discussed collection by collection, taken individually, from the earliest to the most recent. Since the dating of the compilations is often hypothetical, this chronology is meant to be indicative and, in some cases, conventional.¹ For instance, the *Ādāb al-falāsifa* by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (henceforth: ĀF), composed by 260/873 – the date of Ḥunayn’s death – has not been preserved in the author’s version, but partially incorporated and merged with material from other sources into a compilation probably dating back to the 11th- or 12th-cent. Yet, since the references to Greek poets we are dealing with here were already part of Ḥunayn’s collection – although nothing definitive can be said about this –, I have decided to treat it as a 9th cent. work. A similar argument, as will be seen, applies to the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, which we read indirectly through two later recensions.

The earliest compilations are the *Nawādir falsafīyya* of Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (henceforth: IsḤ), and the ĀF of his father Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq² – transmitted through the compilation also known as ĀF of al-Anṣārī –, both dating back to the decades at the turn of the 10th cent. These are followed by the *Kitāb al-sa’āda wa-l-is’ād* by Ps. al-‘Āmirī (henceforth: ‘Ām), whose dating remains problematic, but which can certainly be placed after the beginning of the 4th/10th cent. From the 11th cent. comes the largest number of collections: the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* by Ps. al-Siġistānī, survived through two later epitomes, the *Muḥtaṣar* of al-Sāwī (first half of the 12th cent.; henceforth: MuḥṢḤ) and the anonymous *Muntaḥab* (compiled between the end of the 12th and the first decades of the 13th; henceforth: MuntṢḤ), the *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya mina l-ḥikam al-yūnāniyya* by Ibn Hindū (henceforth: IH), and the *Muḥtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim* by al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik (henceforth: MF). The last two sources examined are the *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* by al-Šahrastānī (henceforth: Šhr), from the first half of the 12th cent., and the *Kitāb nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrah* by al-Šahrāzūrī (henceforth: Šhz), composed in the second half of the 13th cent.

Each of these nine collections will be introduced by a short paragraph illustrating its textual transmission, contents (with particular attention to those discussed here), and the tradition of studies conducted on it, in order to inform the reader not only on the type of source transmitting the sayings that are analysed, but also on the ways in which we can

¹ A useful illustration of the succession of the Arabic collections (although their mutual relationships need further study) can be found in Gutas 1975, 450 and D’Ancona 2004, 326.

² I introduce Isḥāq’s compilation before his father’s, though it was produced a generation later, following the reconstruction of Gutas 1994, 4951; Gutas 2017, 664-666. As will be discussed in more detail further on, the IsḤ attest to a first phase of the assimilation of gnomic lore into Arabic, in which the translators coincide with the compilers. However, Zakeri’s research has shown that the second part of this compilation (the *Nuqūš fuṣūṣ ḥawātīm al-falāsifa*) could be of Persian origin, which would weaken the thesis of the dependence of the IsḤ on a single source (i.e., the *Vorlage* on which the translation was based), but it cannot be ruled out that the title *Nawādir falsafīyya* (IsḤ) refers only to the first part and that the *Nuqūš* were merged later. The same cannot be said of the ĀF, since it is an assemblage of materials of different origins, certainly Greek and Persian, but the involvement of other linguistic traditions cannot be ruled out.

consult the Arabic text, i.e. whether it is preserved in one or more later compilations and what is the degree of reliability of the critical editions.

For each work, the sayings – and, if present, the doxo-biographical accounts – are discussed by author, as they are usually found in Arabic anthologies, and in the order in which they appear in the collection (minor adjustments to the arrangement of materials are noted each time).

The Arabic text of each narrative or saying is reported and followed by an English translation, in most cases offered here for the first time. Wherever it has been possible to identify one or more *loci paralleli* – for which only in rare cases can the relationships of dependence and influence be specified –, these are given after the English translation under the entries *Arabic Parallels*, *Greek Parallels* and *Syriac Parallels*. Scholars of Persian literature will probably be able to identify further analogies in sources I have not been able to consult, in addition to the Iranian material that has been translated into Arabic in the *Ġawāhir al-kilam wa-farā'id al-ḥikam* (*The Jewels of Speech and the Pearls of Wisdom*, henceforth: ĠawRay) by 'Alī ibn 'Ubayda l-Rayḥānī (d. 219/834), which has been edited, translated into English and studied by Mohsen Zakeri, and which is quoted several times in this analysis. The *Arabic Parallels* have already been referred to above and I will not dwell on further. For the identification of the *Syriac Parallels*, made only on a sample basis, I relied on Yury Arzhanov's recent edition of several compilations preserved in Syriac MSS and labelled by the editor as *Sayings of Greek Philosophers* (*SGP*). Most of these parallels have been detected for the sayings of the mixed section of the MF, for which Yury Arzhanov has assumed the derivation, albeit mediated, from a Syriac source. Similarly, the recognition of parallels in Greek sources has not been carried out systematically, and I have restricted myself to consulting only the most important compilations (such as the *Anthologium* of John Stobaeus, the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* and the *Corpus Parisinum*)³ as well as biographical works, such as *The Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius and the *Vita Solonis* by Plutarch or the *Vita Aesopi*. As will be often remarked in the footnotes, further *loci paralleli* are easily identifiable from the apparatus of the critical editions of the cited works.

It is worth noting that even when an Arabic saying bears the same attribution, syntactic structure and wording of a Greek equivalent, I have not used the label *Greek Sources*, which could have been misleading, and I have kept *Greek Parallels*, since such correspondences taken separately cannot be considered an indication of a dependence of the Arabic source on the Greek source, even assuming numerous intermediaries, but it is simply another attestation of the same saying. In light of this, I have always placed the entry *Greek Parallels*, as well as *Syriac Parallels*, after the entry *Arabic Parallels* – if present –, precisely in order to indicate that an Arabic saying may not be directly dependent on the Greek formulation through which it is read, since, in the current state of research, we do not know which Greek compilations and MSS, if extant, were translated and merged into Arabic wisdom literature and the role played by the Syriac tradition. Similarly, only for a limited number of *Arabic*

³ Of no Greek florilegium, but in general of none of the works that offers a parallel in Greek literature, I have given a description of the content, structure and textual tradition, because it is beyond the scope of the present research. Such descriptions have been offered by scholars who have dealt with Graeco-Arabic gnomological literature, notably Gutas 1975, 9-35 and Overwien 2005, 39-93.

Parallels can we speak of genuine derivation of material from an earlier collection. These cases will be pointed out throughout the discussion below.

In the analysis presented in this chapter, we will not lay out a typological taxonomy as structured as the one adopted in Chapter 2, where each passage was defined precisely to have a guideline in the contrastive examination of Greek and Arabic, allowing us to identify constants in the rendering of references. Such a taxonomy, applied here, would be purely an end in itself. However, for the sake of consistency, it is worth making a terminological clarification.

The textual fragments taken from the collections belong to two macro-categories. The first are short narrative modules concerning the poet, which include both information about his life, mostly of a curious and anecdotal nature, and more general statements affirming his authority, describing the peculiar characteristics of his identity or what makes him an exemplary figure to be included in the anthology. Obviously, such information is available only for the most important figures, and, in our case, it is limited exclusively to two poets, Homer and Solon. Homer is characterised in the Arabic sources as the quintessential Greek poet, as already mentioned in part, and as will be discussed at greater length in this chapter. Solon, on the other hand, is only sporadically referred to as a poet in Arabic sources, where he appears much more frequently as a legislator, an ancestor of Plato, and occasionally as one of the Seven Sages.

The second category of fragments consists of what we generically call sayings, a blanket term for short texts presented as the poet's *ipsissima verba*. These sayings take on different tones and functions – that is, they can be forms of popular wisdom and practical philosophy, with edifying purposes, or witty jokes that elicit laughter and amusement – and are articulated in different textual typologies. Without delving into the contemporary critical debate on the definition of these short textual forms and their various applications, I will restrict myself here to using a simplified classification, in the wake of other scholars who have undertaken similar investigations.⁴

⁴ On the definitions of the key terms of these short textual forms (the Greek γνώμη, ἀπόφθεγμα, χρεία, ἀπομνημόνευμα) many scholars have spent time in an attempt both to understand the ancient usage and semantic evolution of such terms and to crystallise a technical lexicon in the scholarly tradition, where they are often found instead employed with slight mismatches in classification. See for instance the detailed study in Stenger 2006, but also Overwien 2001 for the definition of γνώμη and Searby 2019 on a diachronic re-examination of the term chreia. I am following in principle the pattern adopted in Overwien 2005, 27-35, where useful bibliographical references can also be found, combined with that proposed by Searby 2007 (= CP), I 1-8. The entire structure of the survey conducted in this chapter takes its inspiration from Overwien's 2005 publication entitled *Die Sprüche des Kynikers Diogenes in der griechischen und arabischen Überlieferung*. It should also be borne in mind that different literary traditions (Greek, Arabic-Islamic, Persian, and possibly also Indian and Coptic) intersect in Arabic gnomological collections, each with its own textual forms. Therefore, to apply bindingly a terminology conceived by and for Greco-Roman literature would be reductive if not conceptually improper, since definitions would have to be adapted to cover original forms of other linguistic-literary traditions. An example that we will encounter in the course of our analysis are the maxims engraved in precious supports presumably of Persian origin, introduced in the Arabic gnomologia and also attributed to Greek sages, but of which no antecedents are known in Greek literature. In the light of these considerations, I have preferred to adopt a looser terminology.

We employ here *maxim* as a synonym for *sententia*, which translates the Greek γνώμη, to denote an utterance of ethical argument and universal scope. As explained by Searby, «maxims and gnomes are anonymous in themselves but are usually attributed to specific authors by means of a lemma».⁵ Since in Arabic gnomological literature the verb *qāla* (or similar) is often introduced to mark the beginning of a new saying, , sometimes, and sometimes not, accompanied by the author's name, we shall use here the term *maxim* to indicate also those sayings containing these elements.⁶ Other concise sayings dealing with non-ethical topics are defined here as *aphorisms*.⁷

The term *chreia* (mostly meant by scholars as a synonym for *apophthegm*) is instead used to indicate an utterance embedded in an anecdotal situation of context, or better said, «a saying attached to some person or character with at least a modicum of narrative».⁸

The term *anecdote* is employed here in a generic sense, closer to modern usage than to its ancient meaning (originally an equivalent of *chreia* and *apophthegm*). Once again, we follow the lead of Searby, who quotes the definition of anecdote from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, according to which it is «the narrative of a detached incident, or of a single event, told as being in itself interesting or striking».⁹ It follows that, understood in this way, the anecdote may or may not contain a saying, and the latter is not its distinctive feature.

Finally, some of the sections dealing with Solon include a particular type of saying, namely the laws ascribed to him.

Usually, sayings are grouped into the entry concerning an author (as we shall see, 'Ām is a separate case) and listed one after the other, sometimes introduced by the explicit mention of the name of the author, sometimes only by the forms of the verb *qāla*, while maxims can also be found with no introductory element at all. In rare cases, they are transmitted within longer textual fragments, which may be excerpts from letters (e.g., the quotations contained in the passages of the *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander* preserved in the ĀF and in the MuntṢĤ) or excerpts from dialogical works (such as the fragments of the *De Pomo* quoted in the MF).

Scholars have also carried out sophisticated investigations with the aim of discriminating the typologies of collections based on the kind of material they transmit, but in practice, the term *gnomologium* tends to be used indiscriminately to avoid excessive rigorism and constraining classifications. In reality, a *gnomologium* is a compilation that contains sayings exclusively, i.e. the short textual forms mentioned above. *Florilegia* (or *anthologia*) are compilations that mix sayings with longer textual forms, such as excerpts from letters, extracts

⁵ Similar definitions can be found in Searby 2007 (= CP), I 6-7 (the quotation is taken from p. 7); Pietruschka 2014; see also Searby 2019, 199 n. 5: «Basically a *gnōmē* is an impersonal maxim». See Overwien 2001, 99-102.

⁶ In fact, strictly speaking, they could be classified as *apophthegmata*, whose minimal form is precisely the formula «so-and-so said this» (Searby 2007 [= CP], I 3), where the elements surrounding the *verbum dicendi* provide indications of the narrative context. In Arabic sayings, the formula «*wa*-[So-and-so] *qāla*» has instead a pragmatic-stylistic function.

⁷ See Searby 2007 (= CP), I 4, 7.

⁸ Searby 2007 (= CP), I 2-5; Searby 2019, 199 n. 5. See the definitions given by Overwien 2005, 28.

⁹ Searby 2007 (= CP), I 2.

from narrative and dialogic works, and doxo-biographical materials.¹⁰ Commonly, we shall use the generic terms «compilation» and «collection» or «gnomological work», yet take this basic distinction into account.

Among the nine Arabic collections examined here, the IsḤ is a gnomologium (as well as, among those cited only for the parallels they provide, ID), while the ĀF, the MuḥṢḤ and the MuntṢḤ, the IH and the MF are florilegia. The remaining works – the ‘Ām, the Šhr and the Šhz – do not properly belong to the gnomological literature but draw on it in the parts that interest us. They could be called florilegia for the purposes of our analysis, because the ‘Ām is an anthology that also contains longer textual excerpts, while Šhr and Šhz contain extensive doxo-biographical sections. However, it is worth pointing out that the ‘Ām is properly a work of ethical-political philosophy, the Šhr a history of religions and philosophies, and the Šhz a history of philosophy, as will be further discussed below.

We mention the doxographical genre only briefly, as parallel and often complementary to the gnomological literature. It is only marginally part of our study, since the contents and aims of some works, such as those just mentioned, go beyond the boundaries of the categories conventionally recognised within wisdom literature, blending together gnomological, doxographical and other materials.¹¹

Moreover, among the doxographies proper, there are some that contain poetry references – where the philosopher whose thought is reported has appealed to the authority of a poet to reinforce his theory or the doxographer has identified an assonance between a poetic line and a philosophical doctrine –, for some of the Arabic doxographies are translations or adaptations of Greek sources.¹² These include the so-called *Aëtius Arabus*, from the title of Daiber’s 1980 publication – a revision of his 1968 doctoral thesis entitled *Die arabische Übersetzung der Placita philosophorum* – containing the critical edition of the Arabic text and a German translation. This is a 9th cent. Arabic version, commonly ascribed to the Melkite scholar Qusṭā ibn Lūqā,¹³ of ps. Plutarch’s *περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων φιλοσόφους φυσικῶν δογμάτων* or *Placita philosophorum*, a five-book compendium, dated to the 2nd cent. AD, of a lost doxography dealing with pre-Socratic physical doctrines, whose author has been identified as one Aëtius of the 1st cent. CE.¹⁴ As a continuous translation of a preserved Greek work, it offers

¹⁰ See Overwien 2005, 27-28, but see also Overwien 2001, 100-103 and the remarks made by Searby 2007 (= CP), I 6-7.

¹¹ See for instance Gutas 2017, 671. As is clear from consulting the contributions cited here in the introduction and then throughout the chapter, the same compilation can be counted either among the gnomologies or among the doxographies by different scholars or different publications by the same scholar, precisely because of the hybrid nature of most of the works examined.

¹² For an overview see Gutas 1994, 4954-4955; Daiber 1994; Gutas 2017, 670-672; Strohmaier 2020.

¹³ The question of authorship remains dubious, since we can rely solely on the testimony of Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*, while the MSS do not provide the name of the author. The attribution, though, seems to be confirmed by historical and linguistic evidence collected by Hans Daiber, see Daiber 1980, 3-15.

¹⁴ The author and the dating of the *Placita philosophorum* – whose ascription to Plutarch has been contested since the 17th cent. – are debated. A still reliable critical edition of the Greek text was provided in 1879 by Hermann Diels, in his *Doxographi graeci*, a milestone in the study of Ancient natural philosophy. Beside coining the term ‘doxography’ to refer to a specific literary genre concerning the physical branch of philosophy, Diels examines the Greek doxographical tradition and formulates the “Aëtius hypothesis”, for which see Diels 1879, 1-40; 45-69; 102-118; 178-233. In the past decades Diels’ theory and philological methods have been revised and

a type of material that lends itself to an analysis such as that carried out in the previous chapter on the Arabic versions of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* and which is not homogeneous with the testimonies collected in this chapter. Ps. Plutarch, in the course of his treatise, inserts actual quotations and poetic references, not unlike Aristotle and other Greek authors whose works have been translated into Arabic, and not maxims or anecdotes that are only rarely related to poetry. Accordingly the *Aëtius Arabus* has been excluded from my analysis, but, for the sake of completeness, there follows a list of the poetic references it contains: a Homeric quotation at I 3, 2, two anonymous quotations at I 3, 8, a quotation from Euripides at I 6, 7, a paraphrase of a line from Hesiod at I 6, 14, a quotation from Callimachus at I 7, 1, a quotation from Euripides at I 7, 2 and one from Callimachus at I 7, 3, an anonymous reference to Homer by mentioning Agamemnon at I 7, 10, a long anonymous double quotation of Euripides with testimony followed by a Homeric quotation at IV 12, 5-6, a reference to Euripides at V 19, 3.¹⁵ In addition, at the beginning of I 7, 1 we find mentioned Diagoras of Melos, a 5th century BC lyric poet, of whose verses only a few fragments survive. The author is best known as an atheist philosopher – a vexed question still much debated¹⁶ – and as such is mentioned in this passage. In fact, he is mentioned together with Theodore of Cyrene and Euhemerus of Tegea (= of Messina) among the philosophers (ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, translated into Arabic as *ba'd al-awwalīna*) who deny the existence of God.¹⁷

Another literary genre in contact and often in dialogue with gnomology are the *Specula principum* (*Mirror for princes*), manuals for rulers containing precepts, warnings and examples of good governance and exemplary behavior. Belonging to this sub-category of Arabic wisdom literature is the cycle of texts known as the *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*, which we will mention several times because some of the references to Greek poets it contains are also found in the compilations examined here. A complete list of the poetic references in the *Epistolary Novel* is given in Appendix 2 at the end of this chapter.

As we will reiterate later, isolated sections concerning a Greek poet or groups of sayings have already been analysed individually in the past either for their perfect correspondence with a Greek witness, or for their documentary importance, since they bear the translation of a lost work, or for other research interests. Specifically, Homer's place in Arabic gnomological literature has been closely examined by a number of scholars (especially Kraemer, Ullmann, Ġad'ān, 'Abbās), with particular attention to the attribution to Homer of a selection of the *Menandri sententiae* in Arabic translation. The latter is extant in some of the compilations

partially corrected by Jaap Mansfeld and David T. Runia, editors of the series *Aëtiana*, which hitherto comprises four volumes (1997; 2009; 2010; 2018) and will be brought to completion with the publication of a critical edition of Aëtius' *Placita*. Without denying the validity of Diels' reconstruction, the two scholars propose a rigorous reconsideration of some of his arguments; see Mansfeld, Runia 1997, 64-120; 319-332.

¹⁵ Below are the page references to the edition of the Arabic text (where references to Diels' edition in *Doxographi Graeci* are found in the margin): I 3, 2 = Daiber 1980, 96; I 3, 8 = Daiber 1980, 100.27-102.2; I 3, 8 = Daiber 1980, 102.15-17; I 6, 7 = Daiber 1980, 112.1-3; I 6, 14 = Daiber 1980, 114.4-7; I 7, 1 = Daiber 1980, 114.18-21; I 7, 2 = Daiber 1980, 114.23-28; I 7, 3 = Daiber 1980, 116.6-9; I 7, 10 = Daiber 1980, 118.11-14; IV 12, 5-6 = Daiber 1980, 200.26-202.10; V 19, 3 = Daiber 1980, 234.11-12. The two references to Hipponax at V 7,3 (Daiber 1980, 220.18-19) and V 7,7 (Daiber 1980, 222.5-6) are actually quotations from Hippon, mistaken with the poet Hipponax already in the Greek MSS, cf. Daiber 1980, 489, 491.

¹⁶ See the monography by Winiarczyk 2016, cf. pp. 35-41 where the author focuses on the Arabic tradition.

¹⁷ Daiber 1980, 114.16.

analysed below (MuḥṢḤ, MuntṢḤ, IH, Šhr, Šhz), in which it is found attributed to Homer – with the exception of IH where the sayings are anonymous –, perhaps, as Ullmann explains, due to the catalyst effect of Homer in his Arabic reception, where he becomes the highest – and sometimes only – representative of Greek poetry.¹⁸ Although this superimposition of Homer on Menander is characteristic of the Arabic tradition, Yury Arzhanov has collected sporadic parallel examples, including a MS attesting to the collection of texts known as the Syriac Menander¹⁹ where it is ascribed to Homer instead of Menander as happens in the rest of the textual transmission, and the double herms depicting the faces of Menander and Homer preserved in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme in Rome.²⁰ In addition to this first “Homeric” version of the Arabic *Menandri sententiae* (labelled Men ar I by Ullmann), there is a second translation (Men ar II), perhaps of the 10th cent., with a smaller number of sentences. This second version is preserved in the *codex unicus* MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ar. 147, where it is credited to Gregory of Nazianzus instead of Homer.²¹ Since all of these texts have already been isolated, edited and translated into German by Manfred Ullmann, and given the substantial bibliography already produced on the subject, I have omitted from the present analysis the Arabic sayings attributed to Homer that cover the *Menandri sententiae* and have limited myself to pointing out the references to Ullmann’s edition each time.

As systematically recalled by scholars, gnomological literature is characterised by entangled and peculiar transmission dynamics, which entail specific challenges concerning both textual criticism and the study of the collections’ contents and circulation. These difficulties are evidently due to certain intrinsic characteristics of this literary genre, to which must be added those related to the implications of the multilingual textual transmission behind the compilations we are dealing with.

What immediately stands out when reading these texts is the variety with which the same saying is attested in several sources, often adapted or altered in its formal structure and wording, and ascribed to different authorities. Attributing the same saying to one author rather than another is a common phenomenon already in the Greek tradition, that is the result of a number of factors, among which the most decisive is certainly the fact that when several sayings by the same person are listed one after the other, it is common practice to report the person’s name only in the introduction to the first saying in the sequence, and just the generic expressions ὁ αὐτός or τοῦ αὐτοῦ in the headings of the subsequent ones. And this phenomenon is not only typical of collections organised by author, but also of those

¹⁸ Ullmann 1961, 10-11 n. 5; see already Kraemer 1956a, 315-316.

¹⁹ The contents of the Syriac Menander are not related to those of the Arabic Menander, and its textual tradition has no direct relation to the Greek Μενάνδρου γνῶμαι. This Syriac collection of ethical sayings in most cases attributed to «Menander the sage» has been studied by Yury Arzhanov, who summarised the results of his research in Arzhanov 2019a, 81-84 (with bibliography).

²⁰ See Morgan 2007, 201-202; Arzhanov 2017a, 57-58; Arzhanov 2017b, 101. See also Nervegna 2013, 201-202, on some examples of the association of the figures of Homer and Menander already in the Classical tradition.

²¹ The Arabic version corresponds to a specific redaction of the *Menandri sententiae*, already ascribed to Gregory of Nazianzus in the Greek tradition, with the difference that the Arabic text bears some added verses from Gregory’s *Carmen morale* XXX. The latter has been translated into Arabic separately before the middle 11th cent. by an anonymous translator and appears in Ullmann’s edition with a German translation, the Greek original and a transliteration of an independent Syriac version made by Theodosius of Edessa in 804. See Ullmann 1961, 5; 62-63; 74-76; Pernigotti 2008, 13-14; 81-87. I have already discussed these topics in Zarantonello 2020b, 69-71.

structured according to a thematic principle, as can be easily verified by consulting the *Anthologium* of John Stobaeus. Consequently, if a copyist mistakenly omitted the first saying, the only one bearing the author's name, the whole anonymous list resulted to be implicitly ascribed to the first author mentioned above. Furthermore in the selection processes for the writing of new collections, sayings introduced by the generic formulas ὁ αὐτός or τοῦ αὐτοῦ were picked up and perhaps inserted in lists that were just as anonymous but attributed to another author. In the transmission of some of these sayings into Arabic, obscure transliterations of proper nouns may have contributed to the phenomenon of multiple attributions. Moreover, as Gutas remarks: «Sayings can be attributed just as easily to one author as to the next, given the difficulty of identifying any specific teaching or sentiment expressed in the sayings with a particular author. [...] gnomic sayings express general and wordily wisdom in memorable form, and any philosopher could have uttered any one of them».²²

As for differences in the wording and structure of a saying – being some attested both as maxims, single direct utterances, and as chreiai, answers to a question posed by an anonymous interlocutor –, they may be due either to the interpretive freedom of the compiler, or, in their Arabic reception, to the intervention of Arabic-speaking authors who, when transcribing a set of sayings or citing a specific one to be included in their work, tried to improve the redundant form of the language of translation.²³ Furthermore, given their compilatory nature, gnomologia and florilegia were produced by accumulation and cut-and-paste processes, combining different materials from disparate and only rarely cited sources. This implies first the proliferation of recensions and differences in extension and content even from one MS to another bearing the same compilation. The very identity of the author of such collections, already generally less marked in Antiquity and the Middle Ages than the identity of the modern author, is extremely blurred. As a result, many compilations are either anonymous (especially Greek ones) or falsely attributed to an authoritative name (as in the case of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* of Ps. al-Siğistani, but examples are innumerable).

Even more significantly, given the huge circulation these works enjoyed, widely read as forms of popular wisdom, they underwent processes of selection, integration and contamination with other collections due to the intervention of later readers, who aimed to enrich their own copies or adapt them to their needs. In addition, some groups of thematically homogeneous sayings or sections are preserved both as parts of a larger collection and as independently attested texts in MSS, such as the sayings on music contained both in the *ĀF* and also in a MS studied by Franz Rosenthal, to which we will return later.²⁴

Given all these phenomena, I will avoid using the label of «original» recension or version of a collection if it is transmitted indirectly through reworked witnesses or abridgments, because *an* original, defined as a text established and fixed by its author, may never have existed.

²² Gutas 2017, 663.

²³ Gutas 1994, 4950; Gutas 2017, 664.

²⁴ The problems inherent in this genre have been discussed in detail on numerous occasions. I will only mention those scholars who have dealt with Arabic compilations incorporating Greek (and other) materials: Gutas 1975, 4-10, 436-444; Gutas 1994, 4949-4950; Overwien 2005, 167-192; Petrushka 2014; Gutas 2017, 663-664.

Finally, as we shall see on a case-by-case basis, the difficulties posed by the sources themselves are increased by the means through which we consult them. The editions of Arabic works at our disposal are often judged imperfect or unsatisfactory by scholars, either because they are based on a limited number of preserved witnesses or because they have not been produced according to a *ratio edendi* and a method of investigation that can cope with the specific philological problems of gnomological literature. In fact, the editor of these kinds of works is called upon not only to examine the differences in the materials transmitted by the individual MSS of a given collection, but also to assess the existence of different recensions, whose relationships of anteriority and derivation must be established. In addition, he is obliged to examine indirect evidence, i.e. the *loci paralleli* offered by other gnomological sources that could potentially depend on or be influenced by the collection under examination, and attest to variants that are significant for the *constitutio textus*. In order to cope with the pitfalls of the gnomological genre and to make up for the problems of the editions published at that time (as well as the need to make yet unpublished collections accessible), in 1975 Dimitri Gutas had already proposed to establish a collective edition of the Arabic gnomologia and florilegia, a project that has not yet seen the light of day and that can only be completed by teamwork.²⁵ We certainly have more edited texts than in the 1970s, but many of the editions judged unsatisfactory are still the only ones available. It follows that the results that will emerge from my investigation, based on such limited textual portions and on the consultation of such editions, must be considered provisional and subject to revision in the light of new discoveries and publications.

²⁵ Gutas 1975, 438; see also Gutas 1982, 648 and n. 21.

List of Abbreviations

Arabic Sources

ĀF	Badawī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (ed.) 1985. Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq. <i>Ādāb al-falāsifa</i> . Kuwait: Manšūrat ma‘had al-Maḥṭūṭat al-‘arabiyya. (=Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, <i>Ādāb al-falāsifa</i> , in the homonymous compilation of al-Anṣārī).
‘Ām	Minovi, Mojtaba (ed.) 1957-1958. al-‘Āmirī. <i>Al-sa‘āda wa-l-is‘ād fi l-sīra al-insāniyya</i> . Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. – ‘Aṭiyya, Aḥmad ‘A. (ed.) 1991. <i>Al-Fikr al-siyāsī wa-l-aḥlāqī ‘inda l-‘Āmirī. Dirāsāt wa-taḥqīq Kitāb al-Sa‘āda wa-l-is‘ād fi l-sīra al-insāniyya</i> . Cairo: Dār al-Ṭaqāfa (= Ps. al-‘Āmirī [Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Abī Ḍarr?], <i>Kitāb al-sa‘āda wa-l-is‘ād</i>).
‘Awn	Yūsuf, Mayy A. (ed.) 1996. Ibn Abī ‘Awn. <i>Kitāb al-aḡwiba l-muskita</i> . Cairo: ‘Ayn li-l-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūṭ al-insāniyya wa-l-iḡtimā‘iyya.
ĠawRay	Zakeri, Moshen (ed. and trans.) 2007. <i>Persian Wisdom in Arabic Garb</i> . ‘Alī b. ‘Ubayda al-Rayḥānī (d. 219/834) and his <i>Jawāhir al-kilam wa-farā‘id al-ḥikam</i> . 2 Vols. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
IAU	Savage-Smith, Emily, Swain, Simon and van Gelder, Geert J. (eds. and trans.) 2020. <i>A Literary History of Medicine - The ‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’ of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah Online</i> . Ed. Leiden: Brill. < https://brill.com/view/db/lhom > (= Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, <i>‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’</i>)
ID	Mu‘id Khan, M. ‘Abdul (ed.) 1382/1963. Ibn Durayd. <i>Kitāb al-Muḡtanā</i> . 3rd Ed. Ḥaydarābād: Maḡlis dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif al-‘uṭmāniyya. – Rosenthal, Franz (ed.) 1958b. “Saying of the Ancients from Ibn Durayd’s <i>Kitāb al-Muḡtanā</i> (Concluded)”. In <i>Orientalia</i> N. S. 27.2, 150-183.
IH	al-Qabbānī al-Dimašqī, Muṣṭafā (ed.) 1318/1900. Ibn Hindū. <i>Al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya fi l-ḥikam al-Yūnāniyya</i> . Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Taraqī. – Ḥalifāt, Saḥbān (ed.) 1995. “Kitāb al-kalim al-rūḥāniyya mina l-ḥikam al-Yūnāniyya”. In S. Ḥalifāt (ed.), <i>Ibn Hindū: Siratuhū, āra‘uhū al-falsafiyya, mu‘allaḡātuhū, dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ</i> . Vol. 1. Amman: al-Ġam‘a l-urduniyya ‘Imādat al-baḥṭ al-‘ilmī, 252-480.
IsḤ	‘Abd Allāh, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (ed.) 1998. <i>Nawādir falsafiyya tarḡamahā Ishāq b. Ḥunayn</i> . In <i>Maḡallat ma‘had al-maḥṭūṭat al-‘arabiyya</i> 42.2, 72-106.
MF	Badawī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (ed.) 1958. al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik. <i>Muḡtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim</i> . Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos.
Misk	Badawī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (ed.) 1952. Miskawayh. <i>Al-Ḥikma al-ḥālida</i> . Cairo: Maktabat al-nahḡa l-miṣriyya (= Miskawayh, <i>Ġāwīdān-ḥīrad</i>).
MuḥṢḤ	al-Sawī 2013. <i>Mukhtaṣar Ṣiwan al-ḥikma</i> . SAWS edition https://ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/mss/viewer.html?viewColumns=sawsTexts%03AMSH.Mukh.sawsKaroi .

MuntŠH	Dunlop, Douglas M. (ed.) 1979. <i>The Muntakhab Šiwān al-Ḥikma of Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī. Arabic Text, Introduction and Indices</i> . The Hague/Paris/New York: Mouton Publishers (=Anonymous <i>Muntaḥab šiwān al-ḥikma</i>).
PQ	Gutas, Dimitri (ed. and trans.) 1975. <i>Greek wisdom literature in Arabic translation. A study of the Graeco-Arabic gnomologia</i> . New Haven: American Oriental Society. (= <i>Philosophical Quartet</i>)
Qiftī	Lippert, Julius (ed.) 1903. al-Qiftī. <i>Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'</i> . Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
Šhr	Cureton, William (ed.) 1842-1846. al-Šahrastānī. <i>Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal</i> . 2 vols. London: Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts. – Badrān, Muḥammad F. (ed.) 1366/1947-1375/1955. al-Šahrastānī. <i>Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal</i> . 2 vols. Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Azhar.
Šhz	Aḥmad, Sayyid Ḥ. (ed.) 1396/1976. al-Šahrāzūrī. <i>Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ fī ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā' wa-l-falāsifa</i> . 2 vols. Ḥaydarābād: Maṭba'at maḡlis dā'irat al-ma'ārif al-Uṭmāniyya. – Abū Šuwayrib, 'Abd al-Karīm (ed.) 1398/1988. al-Šahrāzūrī. <i>Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'</i> . <i>Nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ</i> . Tripoli: Ğam'iyat al-da'wah al-islāmiyya al-'ālamīyya.
TawB	al-Qāḍī, Wadād (ed.) 1408/1988. al-Tawḥīdī. <i>al-Bašā'ir wa-l-daḥā'ir</i> . 10 vols., Bayrūt: Dār Šādir.
TawI	Amīn, Aḥmad and Zayn, Aḥmad (eds.) (undated). <i>al-Tawḥīdī. Kitāb al-Imtā' wa-l-mu'ānasa</i> . Bayrūt: al-Maktaba l-'ašriyya.

Greek Sources

An. Ox.	Cramer John A. (ed.) 1835-1837. <i>Anecdota Graeca e codd. Manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium</i> . 4 vols. Oxonii: e typographeo academico.
Ant. Mel.	Migne, Jacques Paul (ed.) 1865. Antonius Melissa. <i>Loci Communes</i> . In <i>Sapientissimi et doctissimi Eustathii Thessalonicensis Metropolitanæ, opera quotcunque argumenti sunt ecclesiastici. Accedunt Antonii Monachi cognomento Melissa Loci communes ex sacris et profanis auctoribus collecti</i> . Patrologia Graeca vol. 136. Paris, cols. 765-1244.
AppGn.	Sternbach, Leo (ed.) 1893a. "Appendix gnomica". In <i>Photii patriarchae Opusculum paraeneticum. Appendix gnomica. Excerpta parisina</i> . Cracoviae: sumptibus Academiae litterarum, apud bibliopolam Societatis librariae polonicae (Spółka wydawnicza polska), 29-52.
AppVat. I	Sternbach, Leo (ed.) 1893b. " <i>Gnomologium Parisinum Ineditum. Appendix Vaticana</i> ". In <i>Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności Wydział Filologiczny</i> . Serya II. Tom. V. Cracoviae: Academia Litterarum.
CP	Searby, Denis M. (ed. and trans.) 2007. <i>The Corpus Parisinum. A Critical Edition of the Greek Text with Commentary and English Translation</i> . A

Medieval Anthology of Greek Texts from the Pre-Socratics to the Church Fathers, 600 B.C.-700 A.D. 2 vols. Lewiston/Queenston/ Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.

Diels-Kranz	See Chapter 2, pp. 61
DL	Dorandi, Tiziano (ed.) 2013. <i>Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
FB	Searby, Denis M. (ed.) 2013. <i>Florilegium Baroccianum. Apophthegmata et gnomae secundum alphabetum</i> . SAWS edition, https://ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/mss/viewer.html?viewColumns=greekLit:BarGr11.FB.saws OL .
Fl. Monac.	Meineke, August (ed.) 1857. “ <i>Florilegium Monacense</i> ”. In <i>Ioannis Stobaei Florilegium</i> . vol. 4. Lipsiae: B.G. Teubner, 267-290.
GB	Wachsmuth, Curt (ed.) 1882a. <i>Gnomologium Byzantinum ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου Ἰσοκράτους Ἐπικτήτου e variis codicum exemplis restitutum</i> . In: <i>Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien</i> . Berlin: Weidmann 1882, 162-216. Repr. Osnabrück: Biblio, 1971.
GV	Sternbach, Leo (ed.) 1887-1889. “ <i>Gnomologium Vaticanum e codice Vaticano Graeco 743</i> ”. In <i>Wiener Studien</i> 9 (1887), 175-206; 10 (1888), 1-49, 211-260; 11 (1889), 43-64, 192-242. Repr. in O. Gigon, F. Heinimann and O. Luschnat (eds.), <i>Texte und Kommentare. Band 2</i> . Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1963.
Max. Conf.	Combefis, François (ed.) 1865. Maximus Confessor. <i>Loci Communes</i> . In <i>Maximi Confessoris Opera Omnia. Patrologia Graeca</i> vol. 91. Paris, cols. 721-1018.
Stob.	Wachsmuth, Curt and Hense, Otto (eds.) 1884-1912. <i>Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium</i> . 5 vols. Berolini: Apud Weidmannos (2nd ed. 1958).
WA	Wachsmuth, Curt (ed.) 1882b. “ <i>Die Wiener Apophthegmen-Sammlung</i> ”. In <i>Festschrift zur Begrüssung der in Karsruhe vom 27.-30. September 1882 tagenden XXXVI. Philologen-Versammlung verfasst von den philologischen Collegen an der Heidelberger Universität</i> . Freiburg/Tübingen: Mohr, 1-36.

Syriac Sources

SGP	Arzhanov, Yury (ed. and trans.) 2019. <i>Syriac Sayings of Greek Philosophers. A Study in Syriac Gnomologia with Edition and Translation</i> . Lovanii: In aedibus Peeters.
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3.2 Analysis

3.2.1 The *Nawādir falsafīyya* by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn (IsḤ)

This short gnomologium occupies ff. 5r-10v of the MS Istanbul, Köprülü I 1608²⁶ and bears the title *Nawādir falsafīyya tarġamahā Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn*. It consists of two parts. The first is the *Nawādir falsafīyya* proper, i.e. a collection of wise sayings organised by author, while the second part is entitled *Nuqūṣ fuṣūṣ ḥawātīm al-falāsifa* (*Carvings on the Gems of the Signet Rings of Philosophers*) and contains 19 maxims attributed to Greek sages.

The Arabic text, accompanied by a brief introduction and a rich apparatus of loci paralleli, was published in 1998 by ‘Abd Allāh in the journal *Mağallat ma‘had al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya*, but remains little studied. As can be deduced from the title, the first part of the collection, rather than being an assemblage of materials from earlier anthologies, is itself a translation (*tarġamahā*) made by Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn, presumably from Greek. However, there are no indications on the part of the translator or implicit textual elements that would make it possible to establish which collection Ishāq based his translation on, nor whether (and if so, to what extent) the translator intervened in his Arabic version by selecting some sayings and omitting others and/or contaminating it with other collections. In any case, the compilation contains exclusively sayings attributed to Greek sages and, as noted by Gutas, may be placed at a relatively early stage of the reception of Greek gnomonic literature in Arabic, since, according to the title under which the text has come down to us, the translator of the source coincides with its compiler.²⁷ More complex is the question of the origin of the second part of the gnomologium, the *Nuqūṣ fuṣūṣ ḥawātīm al-falāsifa*, which has received adequate attention only recently thanks to Mosheri Zakeri. Examining this and the corresponding section in the ĀF by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, as preserved in the compilation made by al-Anṣārī, the scholar admits the difficulty, if not the impossibility, in establishing, at the current state of research, whether the *Nuqūṣ fuṣūṣ ḥawātīm al-falāsifa* is part of the original core of Ishāq’s compilation or whether it had been annexed later. More interestingly, Zakeri showed that some of these maxims are already found in the ĞawRay and observed that, as some scholars had already suggested before him, the practice of collecting wisdom sayings engraved in belts, necklaces and other supports has clear antecedents in Persian literature, whereas there are no similar examples in the Greek tradition.²⁸

Prior to the publication of the Arabic text by ‘Abd Allāh, some scholars had questioned the authenticity of Ishāq’s works, which they proposed to consider as a recension of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’s ĀF. This skepticism was supported by the compilatory nature of this literary genre – which lends itself to reworkings by both its author and readers producing a multiplication of versions –, by the similarity of the titles under which they are known and by the confusion created by the bibliographic sources, in which both works are mentioned under different titles. IAU in fact includes in the list of Ḥunayn’s works at the end of his biography the entry

²⁶ On this important document of Arabic gnomonic literature at the beginning of the 4th/10th cent. see *infra* 3.2.2, p. 397.

²⁷ Gutas 2017, 664-665.

²⁸ Zakeri 2020, but already mentioned in Zakeri 2004, 180-181; Zakeri 2007, I 62-64.

Kitāb Nawādir al-falāsifa wa-l-ḥukamā' wa-ādāb al-mu'allimīn al-qudamā' (*Anecdotes of the Philosophers and Sages and Teachings of the Ancient Masters*), while among Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn's writings we find a *Kitāb Ādāb al-falāsifa wa-nawādirihim* (*Teachings of the Philosophers and their Anecdotes*).²⁹ However, a comparison of the contents of the two collections as they have come down to us makes it clear that there are no real reasons not to consider the *Nawādir falsafyya* a work of Ishāq distinct from the ĀF of Ḥunayn. The former bears not only single sayings but entire sections (i.e. sayings attributed to a sage) which are absent in the latter, and with regard to the second part, the *Nuqūṣ fuṣūṣ ḥawātīm al-falāsifa*, featured in both collections, all 19 maxims of IsḤ are attested also in the recension of the ĀF that we read through al-Anṣārī, but with differences in their succession and attributions. It might be that Ishāq chose them from those contained in his father's anthology, but it cannot be ruled out that they were not included in Ḥunayn's recension of the ĀF and added later by al-Anṣārī.³⁰ In general, as we shall have occasion to say further on, establishing the mutual relationship between this collection of Ishāq and Ḥunayn's ĀF and whether Ishāq intervened in it or consulted it in drafting his own, are insoluble questions unless other testimonies emerge.

The IsḤ includes 2 sayings by Hesiod, 1 by Solon and 3 by Homer, all grouped by author and without any introductory biographical information, plus the maxim on Homer's gemstone, reported here as saying IsḤ Hom. 4, and two maxims on Solon's gemstone, which are grouped together as IsḤ Sol. 2, being two versions of the same saying. Almost all the sayings analysed below are also found in later sources, indicated in the *Arabic Parallels* section, for none of which, however, an explicit dependence on the IsḤ can be established.

3.2.1.1 Hesiod (*Aqwāl Isūrīs [Isūdīs?]*)³¹

1.

قال إسوريس يقال: إنَّ الإنسان خير في الطبقة الأولى إذا كان استخراجه للأمر الجميلة من تلقاء نفسه، ويقال: إنه خير في الطبقة الثانية إذا كان قابلاً للأمر الجميلة إذا عرفها.

Hesiod said: it is reported that man is good in the highest degree if he infers noble things from himself alone; it is reported that he is good in the second degree if he acquires noble things only if he already knows them.

For this saying see above, Chapter 2 (p. 294), EN ref. 1.

²⁹ The titles are reported in ch. 8.29.22 no. 87 (Ḥunayn) and 8.30.6 no. 14 (Ishāq) of the online edition of IAU.

³⁰ See the important considerations in this regard in Gutas 1975, 48-49. See also the hypotheses formulated in Zakeri 2004, 180-181; Zakeri 2007, I 61-64, Zakeri 2020, 286-287.

³¹ Abd Allāh 1998, 72.4-73.2.

2.

وقال: أما الطريق الذي يؤدي إلى الخير فطريق معور، فهو صعب المسالك متعب مفرق وليس يمكن كل أحد سلوكه ولا يمكن كلا من سلوكه. وأما الطريق الذي يؤدي إلى الشر فطريق سلس سهل المسالك غير متعب وسع يمكن كل أحد سلوكه وبلوغ آخره.

The road that leads to good is a bumpy road, it is difficult to walk on, tiring and fearsome, no one can walk on it and it does not allow anyone to walk on it. The road that leads to evil is smooth and easy to walk on, it is not tiring, it is wide, everyone can walk on it and reach its end.

3.2.1.2 Solon (*Aqwāl Sūlūn*)³²

1.

وقال سولون الحكيم لرجل غني: أمّا مالي فإنّه لا يمكن في وقت من الأوقات أن يصير لأحد غيري لكنّي إذا أعطيته إنساناً بقي من غير نقصان. وأمّا مالك فإنّه يصير لغيرك وإن أعطيته منه شيئاً نقص، ولا فرق بينه وبين الفصوص التي يلعب بها إذا كان تتقلّب جوانبها لكل واحد من الاثنين بالاتفاق.

Solon the wise said to a rich man: As for my wealth, it can never become someone's but mine, but if I gave it to a man it would remain without diminishing. On the other hand, your wealth is what (can) become someone else's, and if you grant a portion of it, it diminishes. There is no difference between it and the dice³³ with which one plays, when their faces are changed for each of the two (players) according to how they agreed.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

IH Sol. 11, MF Sol. 16.

في وقت من الأوقات | MF فلا | فإنه لا | IH غني عيّره بالفقر MF من الأغنياء | غني | abest IH MF | سولون الحكيم 1
[من غير | IH إن | إذا 2 | MF و | لكنني | MF من غير إرادتي | غيري | MF أن يصير في وقت من الأوقات | أن يصير
| IH MF | إذا 3 | MF من | منه | IH MF | أعطيت | أعطيته | MF فأما | وأما | IH عندي من غير MF عندي بلا
MF من اللاعبين | abest IH MF | من الاثنين | واحد | IH (Ḥalīfāt) | تنقلب | تتقلب | IH MF | كانت | كان

³² 'Abd Allāh 1998, 84.3-7.

³³ For the meaning of *faṣṣ*, pl. *fuṣūṣ*. as die see Lane 1863-1893, II 2458a and Rosenthal 1975b, *passim*.

2.

وعلى فصّ سولون: مَنْ ودَّكَ لشيءٍ زال بزواله. ومثله: على فصّ آخر: من آخاك لأمر صرمك لانقضائه.

On Solon's gemstone: Whoever befriends you for something disappears when it disappears. And similarly on another gemstone: Whoever fraternises with you over something leaves you when it passes away.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The first version of this saying corresponds to a maxim engraved on Apollonius' ring (*ḥātām*) in the section entitled *Nuqūš fuṣūṣ ḥawātīm al-falāsifa* of the *ĀF*,³⁴ while the second formulation – which is apparently anonymous and is referred to Solon only because it follows the previous one and repeats its contents – resembles the maxim on Diogenes' belt in the same section of the *ĀF*.³⁵

This maxim closes the paragraph on the life of Solon in *Šhz Sol. o.d versio B*:

وكان نقش خاتمه على ما حكاه أبو الموفق: من ودَّكَ لشيءٍ زال بزواله.

And according to what Abū l-Muwaffaq reports the carving on his ring was:
Whoever befriends you for something disappears when it disappears.

3.2.1.3. Homer (*Aqwāl Ūmīrūs*)³⁶

1.

قال أميروس لِنُ تنبل لذاتك واحلم تنبل ولا تكن معجبًا فتمتهن.

Homer said: Be gentle and you will be noble for yourself, be kind and you will be noble, and do not be proud or you will be despised.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying can be found in several sources, namely *Ām Hom. 8*, *IH Hom. 5*, *MF Hom. 26*, *MF Galen 3*³⁷ (= *IAU 5.1.35*), *Šhr Hom. 5*, *Šhz Hom. 19 versio A et B*. Among them *MF Hom. 26* and *Šhz Hom. 19 versio A et B* only cover its second part. The variants are:

Ām ... † و [لن تنبل لذاتك و | *Šhr Šhz 3 Galen 3 MF Hom. 26+Ām* وقال أميروس [قال أميروس
abest *MF Hom. 26 Šhz versio A et B* و [لن تنبل و *IH MF Galen 3* («be gentle and you will succeed»)

³⁴ Badawī 1985, 47.3. See also Zakeri 2020, 314 no. XX, where further Arabic parallels are listed.

³⁵ Badawī 1985, 45.15-16. See also Zakeri 2020, 305 no. V, where further Arabic parallels are listed.

³⁶ 'Abd Allāh 1998, 100.4-6 + 107.6.

³⁷ Badawī 1958, 293.8.

نبتك («you will be cherished») Šhr | تعز [تنبيل 2 | Šhr versio A | ? احلم an) 'Ām | احلم | Šhr | لن تنبل و
 IH فتمتهن [فتمتهن | Šhr versio A et B | تعجب | تكن معجبًا | Šhr versio B | تسد Šhr versio A |
 despicable»)

The saying, with the same wording of MF Galen 3 is reported in Usāma ibn Munqid's *Lubāb al-ādāb (The Kernels of Refinement)*,³⁸ where it is explicitly ascribed to Homer.

2.

وقال لابنه اقهر شهواتك فإنّ الفقير من انحط إلى شهواته.

He said to his son: Defeat your passions because the poor is the one who stoops to his own passions.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

'Ām Hom. 1, MF Hom. 25, Šhr Hom. 6, Šhz Hom. 18 versio A et B.

'Ām Šhr Šhz شهواتك [شهواتك | Šhr واقهر (Aṭiyya) 'Ām وقال أوميرس: يأبني [وقال لابنه اقهر
 versio A et B | MF Šhz versio A et B إليها [إلى شهواته | Šhz versio B | انحط [انحط |

The topos of the need to defeat one's passions, especially to assume positions of leadership, is widely attested. It is common to some of the loci paralleli identified by Zakeri for saying no. 32 in the ĞawRay,³⁹ but it is also one of the points of Aristotle's admonitions to Alexander in his *Waṣiyyat Aristū li-l-Iskandar bi-ḥaḍrat abīhi (Aristotle's testament to Alexander in the presence of his father)*, part of the *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*, and later on repeated in the corresponding section in Misk.⁴⁰

GREEK PARALLELS:

The saying resembles *Vita Aesopi* W 109.17-18, where it is included among the admonition that Aesop addresses to his adopted child: θυμου κράτει· αἰ γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς αἰτιὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ βλάπτειν, αἰ δὲ τὸ φρονεῖν αἰτιὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ πλουτεῖν. Besides this, the first part of the admonition is a maxim widely attested to in Greek: DL I, 70 (Chilon): θυμου κρατεῖν, Stob. III 1, 172 (= Diels-Kranz I 10, 3 Chilon), Stob. III 1, 173 (among the maxims of Sosiades, one of the Seven Sages), *Vita Aesopi* G 109.15-16. Cf. also DL I 92.7 (Cleoboulus) ἡδονῆς κρατεῖν.

³⁸ Arabic text in Šakir 1935, 257.2.

³⁹ See Zakeri 2007, II 28-32.

⁴⁰ The Arabic text of the *Epistolary Novel* can be read in Maróth 2006, 14.18 and Misk in Badawī 1952, 221.16.

3.

وقال ليكن فرحك فيما تدخرونه لأنفسكم لا بما تقنونه لغيركم.

He said: Let your joy consist in what you accumulate for yourself and not depend on what you acquire from others.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

In Šhr Hom. 49 a very similar saying is followed by a brief remark, maybe an addition of al-Šahrastānī himself:

قال: ليكن فرحك بما تدخره لنفسك دون ما تدخره لغيرك يعني بالمدخر لنفسه العلم والحكمة وبالمدخر لغيره المال.

He said: Let your joy derive from what you accumulate for yourself and not from what you accumulate for others. By accumulating for oneself he means knowledge and wisdom, by accumulating for others he means money.

4.

وعلى فصّ أومروس: مَنْ لم يملك عقله لم يملك غضبه.

On Homer's gemstone: He who does not control his mind does not control his anger.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

In the section entitled *Nuqūš fuṣūṣ ḥawātīm al-falāsifa* of the ĀF this maxim is engraved on the ring (*ḥātam*) of Fūrūḥūs.⁴¹ It also constitutes the first part of the saying no. 1605 of the *Ġawāhir al-kilam wa-farā'id al-ḥikam* (*The Jewels of Speech and the Pearls of Wisdom*) by al-Rayḥānī.⁴² It is also transmitted as MF Šāb 1.⁴³

⁴¹ Badawī 1985, 46.9. See also Zakeri 2020, 311 no. XIV, where further Arabic parallels are listed.

⁴² See Zakeri 2007, II 748, where further Arabic parallels are listed.

⁴³ Badawī 1958, 26.6.

3.2.2. The *Ādāb al-falāsifa* by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq in the compilation of al-Anṣārī (ĀF)

The *Ādāb al-falāsifa* is an anthology that includes both doxographical material and gnomological sections,⁴⁴ with a particularly intricate history, and of which some exegetical knots remain untied today, especially regarding its composition and the forms in which it has come down to us, not to mention the question of sources that is an issue common to all such compilations.⁴⁵

The importance of this work is often stressed by scholars of the Graeco-Arabic gnomological literature because of its antiquity (or at least that of its first recension) and because much of the material it transmits is found repeated in later compilations, of which the ĀF can rightly be considered one of the most significant sources, albeit in the stratified and convoluted forms typical of the textual transmission of this literary genre. This aspect will also emerge from the Arabic parallels collected in the analysis proposed here.

This florilegium became very popular also among non-Arab readers, since we also have access to an Ethiopian adaptation, an Arabic-Hebrew translation made by Judah ben Salomo al-Ḥarīzī (d. 1235), very close to al-Anṣārī's recension, which we will discuss shortly, and a Castilian version of the 13th cent. known as *Libro de los Buenos Proverbios*, for which, to date, establishing whether its source was an Arabic, Hebrew or Latin text has not been possible.⁴⁶

The title *Ādāb al-falāsifa* commonly refers to an extant compilation made by an otherwise unknown Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (11th-12th cents.?)⁴⁷ of a lost florilegium by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, known under the title of *Ādāb al-falāsifa* or *Nawādir al-falāsifa* depending on the sources. In fact, as recent research has shown, al-Anṣārī's compilation is not a simple abridgment of Ḥunayn's work but brings together various materials of which only part can be ascribed to Ḥunayn. Complicating the picture is the fact that to date we know of six testimonies⁴⁸ attesting to different recensions of Ḥunayn's collection (which we decided to call *Ādāb al-falāsifa* [= ĀF] to avoid confusion with his son's gnomologium seen above), including that of al-Anṣārī, but which have never been satisfactorily examined together.⁴⁹ A further obstacle to the study of the collection is the fact that the Arabic text remains accessible in a single edition, published by Badawī in 1985, based in fact on a single copy of al-Anṣārī's recension, and thus unreliable for reconstructing the text

⁴⁴ A useful table of contents is given in Overwien 2003, 97-99 (of al-Anṣārī's recension; see also Overwien 2005, 95-96), to be compared with Merkle 1921, 59-61 and Cottrell 2020d, 355, 371-375.

⁴⁵ The question has been addressed by Montserrat 1991, 77 (very briefly), Overwien 2003, 107-112 (who hypothesised a Syrian-Christian influence that requires further investigation; see also Griffith 2008, 148-160, who analysed the first part of the collection in the light of the interreligious dialogue of the time), and Zakeri in various contributions (1994, 2004, 2007, 2020) focusing on Persian-derived materials, to which we will return below.

⁴⁶ See Merkle 1921, 3, 11-15, 20-21; Zakeri 2004, 176, with bibliography.

⁴⁷ For the dating hypothesis see Zakeri 2004, 190 and Zakeri 2007, I 68.

⁴⁸ See Zakeri 2004, 177: the Tehran MS that he mentions in the text and the one he cites in n. 17 are actually the same; the error stems from the fact that Badawī 1985, 10 cites the MS with an incorrect shelf mark, see Cottrell 2020d, 347 n. 71. See also Merkle 1921, 4-6; Badawī 1985, 8-9; Cottrell 2020d, 345-355.

⁴⁹ See the synoptic tables in Merkle 1921, 59-61 to compare with Cottrell 2020d, 371-375.

of the ĀF as it has come down to us, not to mention the different drafting stages attested by the MS tradition.

All these elements together have generated a certain amount of confusion in the secondary literature, where Ḥunayn's ĀF is often referred to by different titles, sometimes overlapped with his son's *Nawādir falsafīyya* – whose mutual relations, as said above, are extremely difficult to assess –, or Ḥunayn's florilegium (which is lost and can only be reconstructed hypothetically) is not adequately distinguished from the ĀF compiled by al-Anṣārī (who selects and integrates Ḥunayn's ĀF).

Apart from the MSS that have come down to us, the most important evidence on the ĀF of Ḥunayn is provided by IAU. The latter not only mentions the title *Kitāb Nawādir al-falāsifa wa-l-ḥukamā' wa-ādāb al-mu'allimīn al-qudamā'* (*Anecdotes of the Philosophers and Sages and Teachings of the Ancient Masters*) in the list of Ḥunayn's writings,⁵⁰ but he also mentions the *Nawādir al-falāsifa* by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq when he quotes a few sayings of Greek sages, some of which are also found in the text of the ĀF that we read.⁵¹ Moreover, the MS Tehran, Tehran University, ar. 2165, which bears another recension of Ḥunayn's ĀF and was first studied by Emily Cottrell in 2020, gives in the colophon the author's name, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, and the title of the collection, namely *Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifa*.⁵² By contrast, the two most studied MSS of this compilation (MS Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenz, ár. 760 and MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ar. 651) attribute the work to al-Anṣārī without naming Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and only the Escorial MS bears the title *Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifa*.⁵³

Research conducted by Mohsen Zakeri since the 1990s has shed light on several aspects of the ĀF. First of all, the scholar argues that the materials collected by Ḥunayn include not only texts of Greek origin, but also many of Middle Persian derivation.⁵⁴ The most emblematic case is the chapter with the collection of sayings by Mahadarġīs, featured in al-Anṣārī's ĀF, and also appearing in other later florilegia such as the MuntṢḤ, the MF and the Šhz. Following the intuition of some scholars who had preceded him (Steinschneider, Plessner, Dunlop), Zakeri came to the conclusion that the sayings attributed to Mahadarġīs are extracts from a Persian book of maxims composed by the 6th cent. Zoroastrian priest Mihr Ādarġušnasp (corrupted into Mahadarġīs) and translated from Pahlavi into Arabic by 'Alī ibn 'Ubayda l-Rayḥānī (d. 219/834), whose version would later be consulted and used by Ḥunayn. What remains of Ḥunayn's selection is also all that remains of this work.⁵⁵ Similarly, by studying the *Ġawāhir al-kilam wa-farā'id al-ḥikam* (*The Jewels of Speech and the Pearls of Wisdom*), a collection of maxims by al-Rayḥānī, Zakeri identified textual parallels in the ĀF, particularly in the section

⁵⁰ The titles are reported in Ch. 8.29.22 no. 87 of the online edition of IAU.

⁵¹ See the concordances shown in Zakeri 2004, 179 n. 30 and Zakeri 2007, I 62 n. 76 (already in Merkle 1921, 7 n. 1, 2).

⁵² Cottrell 2020d, 345.

⁵³ Merkle 1921, 6; Zakeri 2004, 186; Zakeri 2007, I 67.

⁵⁴ In fact, what Ḥunayn's collection included and what was inserted by later compilers such as al-Anṣārī cannot be established with certainty. Gutas 2017, 666-667 has expressed some doubts as to whether materials of Persian origin were incorporated into the original core of the ĀF by Ḥunayn himself. According to IAU (Ch. 8.3.20 online edition), Ḥunayn also mastered Persian, besides Syriac, Arabic and Greek, but no direct translation by him from this language is extant.

⁵⁵ Zakeri 1994, 97-102; Zakeri 2007, I 141-144. See also Zakeri 2004, 174 and n. 6, 7.

known as *Nuqūš fuṣūṣ ḥawātim al-falāsifa* (*Carvings on the gems of the signet rings of philosophers*), which has a counterpart in Ishāq's *Nawādir falsafīyya* and for which, as for other sections, he assumed a Persian provenance.⁵⁶ Finally, as Gutas had already done before him, Zakeri examined in detail the contents of the ĀF and those of an indirect testimony, the well-known MS Istanbul, Köprülü I 1608, a precious *mağmu'a* of gnomic material both of Greek and Persian origin, including parts of the ĀF as well as the IsḤ, presumably compiled at the beginning of the 4th/10th cent. From the Köprülü MS it has been possible to isolate sections that come with reasonable confidence from the collection of Ḥunayn either because they are introduced by the title *Min nawādir wa-ādāb al-ḥukamā'* or because they are explicitly attributed to Ḥunayn (i ff. 11v-28v), and also to verify that it transmits parts missing from al-Anṣārī's recension. Finally, Zakeri has ventured the hypothesis that al-Anṣārī would have used the Köprülü MS as the main source for writing his own ĀF, making some adaptations to its material. However, this assumption requires further evidence to be proven.⁵⁷ From the description of the contents provided by Zakeri, and before him by Gutas, it emerges that this *mağmu'a* is also an important testimony for our purposes, since some of its sections include sayings of Greek poets which do not coincide with those transmitted by ĀF, of which a macroscopic example are the sayings by Homer on ff. 20v-21r, 28r-v.⁵⁸ Hence, a critical edition of this collection remains a major desideratum.

We now come to the limitations of the 1985 edition. First of all, Badawī does not examine some testimonies that were well known at the time, and furthermore he tacitly intervenes in the text by normalizing orthography and grammar. Above all, in his introduction he claims to have consulted two MSS (MS Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, ár. 760 and MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ar. 651),⁵⁹ but scholars tend to believe that he actually mainly or solely relied on the Escorial MS, since his edition lacks some sections that are only transmitted by the Munchen MS (as well as other copies he left out).⁶⁰

The most famous example is the set of sayings on music, attested in the Munchen MS, in MS London, British Library, Or. 8681, in the Köprülü MS and in the Hebrew version, but missing in the Escorial MS.⁶¹ For the purposes of our investigation, another regrettable omission should be noted – in this case to be attributed to the compiler al-Anṣārī rather than

⁵⁶ See Zakeri 2004, 180-185; Zakeri 2007, I 62-65; Zakeri 2020.

⁵⁷ Gutas 1975, 42-50 (see pp. 47-48 for references to previous studies on the MS, and pp. 49-50 for some observations on the ĀF); Zakeri 2004, 185-190; expanded in Zakeri 2007, I 65-70.

⁵⁸ Zakeri 2007, I 66 (see also p. 72). I am not sure that the name ḥṣyṣṣ, to whom a group of sayings is ascribed in the first part of the Köprülü MS (ff. 1v-4r; see Gutas 1975, 43; Zakeri 2004, 187), should be read as a corrupted transliteration of Homer, as Zakeri 2004, 187 suggested. The form ḥṣyṣṣ appears to be rather a transliteration of Hesiod, as already seen above.

⁵⁹ Badawī 1985, 10 mentions the Tehran MS (which he indicates with an incorrect shelf mark; see above), which he does not take into consideration deeming it a forgery. He also dedicates a paragraph in the introduction to the MS Istanbul, Köprülü I 1608 as an indirect testimony of the work (pp. 27-28).

⁶⁰ Merkle 1921, 5; Montserrat 1991, 75 n. 1; Overwien 2003, 96 n. 5; Zakeri 2004, 176-177; Zakeri 2007, I 59-60, 68.

⁶¹ Merkle 1921, 5; Zakeri 2004, 177; Zakeri 2007, I 59-61, 68. Rosenthal 1966 contains a study of a collection of sayings on music preserved in the MS Turkey, Manisa Library, 1705, where Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn is said to be the translator. By comparing the latter copy with the Munchen MS, the scholar discovered that this collection of sayings coincides with the corresponding text in ĀF. Unfortunately, the Arabic text remains unpublished.

to the editor Badawī –, namely that of the story of the poet Ibycus and the cranes. The various Greek and Arabic sources that report the story differ in detail but share the same plot: Ibycus was robbed and killed by thieves in an isolated place with no witnesses, but having seen cranes flying in the sky on the verge of death, he asked them to avenge him. When the thieves went to the city of Ibycus and saw the cranes, they jokingly called them «the avengers of Ibycus», thereby betraying themselves and admitting what they had done. Thus, they were condemned by Ibycus' fellow citizens. The story is not attested in either the Escorial or the Munchen MS and is therefore not included in Badawī's edition. But since it is preserved in the Hebrew and Castilian translations as well as by other Arabic MS of the ĀF (the abovementioned MS London, British Library, Or. 8681 and MS Tehran, Tehran University, ar. 2165), it was presumably left out by al-Anṣārī in drafting his compilation.⁶² Emily Cottrell's recent study of the Tehran MS includes a critical edition of this very segment and a paragraph of commentary.⁶³ As already noted by Rosenthal, the story of Ibycus and the cranes is also told in the 27th Night of the *Tawī*,⁶⁴ which, albeit in a stylistically reworked version, is very close to the text of the ĀF and may be derived from it.⁶⁵ With regard to the Greek *Vorlagen* of the tale, none of the sources that have come down to us can be identified as showing a literal correspondence with one of the Arabic versions. However, two highly interesting texts deserve mention because of their reception in the East. The first Greek source of the story is Plutarch's *De garrulitate* (509e-510a). No Arabic translation of this writing is attested, but it may have circulated in the East, at least partially, since a Syriac version of two other *Moralia* (*De cohibenda ira* and *De capienda ex inimici utilitate*) is preserved, while Arabic translations of the same are attested, along with other Plutarchian writings, but it has not yet come to light.⁶⁶ The second highly significant source is the *De natura hominis* of Nemesius of Emesa (42, 121), known through several Arabic versions, among which one may be ascribed to Ḥunayn – or to his son Ishāq –, and in which Ḥunayn could find a version of the text that he would later include in his ĀF. But since the critical edition of this Arabic version is not yet accessible, nothing definitive can be said about the relations of the texts and therefore I have not devoted an *ad hoc* section to this text here.⁶⁷

⁶² See Cottrell 2020d, 364-365.

⁶³ Cottrell 2020d, 364-368 (commentary), 378-380 (Ar.).

⁶⁴ Amīn, Zayn (undated), II 153.14-155.2 (Ar., including the interpretation given by al-Siġistānī, whom al-Tawḥīdī addresses as his source); Rosenthal 1975a, 258-259 (Eng., not complete); van Gelder 2012, 210-211.

⁶⁵ Rosenthal 1961, II n. 5; Cottrell 2020d, 366-367 (who identifies a further testimony which seems to rely on al-Tawḥīdī).

⁶⁶ The Syriac version of Ps. Plutarch's *De exercitatione* is also preserved. All three Syriac versions were edited in the 19th cent. and have recently been studied by Alberto Rigolio in a series of contributions (see a general introduction in Rigolio 2019). The Arabic versions are mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*: Flügel 1871-1872, I 254.7-8 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 177.8-9 (Ar.); Dodge 1970, 611 (Eng.); see Gutas 1975, 320-321 n.2 for an emendation to the printed text. Here Ibn al-Nadīm lists not only translations of the *De cohibenda ira* and *De capienda ex inimici utilitate*, but also a Syriac translation of the *De exercitatione* and a version of the *Book on the Soul* (see Rigolio 2019, 368-369). Fragments of the *De cohibenda ira* and *De capienda ex inimici utilitate* survive in Arabic florilegia, see MF = Badawī 1958, 319.15-322.5 (Ar.); Rosenthal 1975a, 142-144 (Eng., nos. 151-53). See also Gutas 1975, 320-322.

⁶⁷ However, a comparison of the Greek text of *De natura hominis* to the Arabic text of Ḥunayn shows that the former is shorter and less detailed than the latter. The Arabic *De natura hominis* has been edited in the unpublished doctoral dissertation by M. Haji-Athanasios entitled *La traité de Némésios d'Émèse De natura hominis dans la tradition arabe* (Paris, 1985), which I have not been able to consult. A new edition has been

As a result, the analysis below is very precarious, based as it is on an edition that reproduces only one testimony of the collection. New studies, and above all a new complete and philologically constructed edition of the florilegium, will make it possible to outline a different, and certainly more exhaustive, picture of the presence of Greek poets in the ĀF.

In the introductory pages of the work, Greek poets are explicitly counted among the authors of some of the maxims collected by Ḥunayn himself. Indeed, al-Anṣārī quotes the words of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, who is said to have included in his florilegium what he had translated (*naqaltu*) of the reports from poets and sages of the Greeks (*al-aḥbār ‘an šu‘arā’i l-yūnāniyyīna wa-ḥukamā’ihim*), and about the philosophers and the sages of the Rūm, i.e., the Byzantines, that is their *al-nawādir*, their *al-ādāb* and their *al-siyāsa*.⁶⁸

The following textual fragments from Badawī’s edition have been reported and analysed here: a section on Homer containing 9 sayings, a section on Solon containing 12 sayings plus an inscription on Solon’s ring from the collection of the *Nuqūṣ fuṣūṣ ḥawātīm al-falāsifa*⁶⁹ (catalogued here as Sol. 13), and a further saying (catalogued as Sol. 14) extracted from the mixed section entitled *su’ālāt al-falāsifa wa-aḡwibatuhum*.⁷⁰

Finally, I have reported the saying attributed to Hesiod transmitted in the section entitled *Rasā’il Aristāṭālīs ilā al-Iskandar*, which contains *excerpts* from the *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*.⁷¹

3.2.2.1 Sayings of Homer (*Ādāb Awwmīrus*)⁷²

1.

قال: الخط شيء أظهره العقل بواسطة هي القلم، فلما قابل النفس عشقته بالعنصر.

He said: Writing is something that the intellect shows by means of the pen, and when it stands before the soul it yearns for it to become its element.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhr Hom. 13

announced by S. Swain (Swain 2013a, 47 n. 18). For an overview see Samir 1986. Thus, the examination (with edition of the text) in Cottrell 2020d remains the most recent and comprehensive study of this passage. For further parallels see van Gelder 2012, 211 n. 13.

⁶⁸ Badawī 1985, 43.7-8. These words are commented on by Griffith 2008, 151.

⁶⁹ Badawī 1985, 45-47.

⁷⁰ Badawī 1985, 144-147.

⁷¹ Badawī 1985, 83-86. This section deserves to be studied separately and compared not only to the text edited by Maróth 2006, but also to similar fragments transmitted by MF (see Cottrell 2012). Within the ĀF, it comes before both the chapter on Homer and the chapter on Solon, but I have placed Hesiod’s quotation therein contained at the end of the analysis below.

⁷² Badawī 1985, 136.

إهي] abest Šhr⁷³

In the apparatus to their French translation of the saying in the Šhr, Jolivet and Monnot point out the similarity between this saying and the first saying that appears in the section on Euclid in the *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-nihal*, but already in MuntŞĤ 105 Euclides,⁷⁴ which reads:

الخط هندسة روحانية ظهرت بألة جسمانية.

Writing is a spiritual fabrication made visible by a bodily instrument.

2.

الغضب إذا كان السبب يُعرف، كان الرضا سهلاً يسيراً. وإذا كان بلا سبب، كان طلب الرضا صعباً مستعصياً، لأن المحال موجود في كل حال.

Anger, if its reason is known, achieves satisfaction easily and smoothly, but if it is without reason, the search for satisfaction is arduous and difficult, because the inconceivable can be found in any situation.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated almost identically in MF Hermes 64.⁷⁵

3.

مَنْ أضع الحزم مؤقتاً بالقدر، فقد تعجّل في نفسه وأمره.

He who loses his resolve by trusting in fate behaves rashly with regard to himself and what concerns him.

⁷³ Badrān prints الخط instead of الخط (which appears in Cureton's edition) and العلم instead of القلم (which appears in Cureton's edition), but in the light of the testimonies of ĀF and of the similar saying ascribed to Euclides (see *infra*), Cureton's readings of our saying, *al-ḥaṭṭ* and *al-qalam*, followed by Jolivet and Monnot and also here, appear more convincing, while those printed by Badrān, *al-ḥaẓẓ* and *al-'ilm*, can be disregarded as *lectiones faciliores*.

⁷⁴ The Arabic text of Šhr: Cureton 1846, II 307.3-4 = Badrān 1947-1955, II 122.17; for the Arabic text of MuntŞĤ: Dunlop 1979, 73.1514.

⁷⁵ Badawī 1958, 19.16-17.

4.

أعظم الضرر المستشير على طرف النجاح.

The greatest damage is suffered by those who seek advice at the height of their success.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying occurs, without the incipit (*aʿzam al-darar*) resulting in an altered sense, in MF Hermes 65.⁷⁶

5.

خير الدنيا حسرة، وشرها ندم.

The good of the earthly world is regret, while its evil is remorse.

6.

العاقل مَنْ عقل عن الذمّ لسانه.

Intelligent is he who holds his tongue when facing rebuke.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The same saying appears in MF Hom. 1 and in Šhz Hom. 1 versio A et B.

ante العاقل hab. قال MF Šhz versio A et B

Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of the saying no. 684 of the ĠawRay.⁷⁷

7.

المشورة راحة لك، وتعب على غيرك.

He said: Consultation is a relief for you and a burden for the other.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Other occurrences of the sayings are MF Hom. 2 and Šhz Hom. 2 versio A et B, with the following variants:

⁷⁶ Badawī 1958, 19.18.

⁷⁷ See Zakeri 2007, II 356.

ante المشورة hab. MF وقال MF و Šhz versio A et B | وتعجب]وتعجب MF

8.

العتاب حياة المودة.

Reproach is the life of affection.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Hom. 3, Šhz Hom. 3 versio A et B

ante العتاب hab. MF وقال MF و Šhz versio A et B

Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of the saying no. 1218 of the ĠawRay.⁷⁸

9.

هَبْ ما أنكرت لما عرفت.

Have respect for what you did not know when you learned it.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Other occurrences are MF Hom. 4 and Šhz Hom. 4 versio A et B, with the following variant:

ante هَبْ hab. MF وقال MF.

These words appear as the first part of a longer saying in MF, where it is ascribed to Hermes (no. 108),⁷⁹ and in the 26th Night of *TawI*.⁸⁰ The second part of the saying reads: وأغفر ما أغضبك (and forgive what made you angry when you found satisfaction).

3.2.2.2 Sayings of Solon (*Ādāb Sūlūn + alia*)⁸¹

1.

قال في القلم: القلم صغير الكمية، وقد فاق كل كبير في الكيفية. هو الذي لم يقع إلينا علم إلا وقد
وطئه حدّه، وجرت به شباهته ومملك زمامه. النخط بالقوة في كل إنسان، لكن لا يخرج إلا بالقلم من ذوي
الحكمة.

⁷⁸ See Zakeri 2007, II 598, see here for further loci paralleli.

⁷⁹ Badawī 1958, 22.14.

⁸⁰ Amīn, Zayn (undated), II 152.3-4.

⁸¹ Badawī 1985, 139-140 + 47.4-5, 144.12-13.

He said about the pen: The pen is of small seize, but it surpasses in quality any great thing. Knowledge does not reach us if its edge has not already touched it, its tip runs through it and holds its reins. Writing is in potentiality in all persons, but it is not realised except by means of the pen of the one who is endowed with wisdom.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Several parallels on this topic are listed by Zakeri in correspondence with no. 2573 of the ĠawRay.⁸²

2.

أمور الدين والدنيا تحت شيئين أحدهما تحت الآخر، وهما السيف والقلم. والسيف تحت القلم.

He said: Religious and worldly affairs are subject to two things, which in turn are subject to each other, namely the sword and the pen. And the sword is subject to the pen.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Sol. 8

Ante أمور hab. MF وقال | MF [الدين والدنيا] MF | والسيف تحت القلم | abest MF

3.

لا يضبط الكثير مَنْ لا يضبط نفسه الواحدة.

He said: He who is not in control of his soul alone cannot be in control of many things.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This is ascribed to Solon also in MF Sol. 9 and Šhz Sol. 149 versio A et B, as well as in IH 10 Plato,⁸³ and appears among Luqmān's sayings in MF,⁸⁴ with the following minor difference:

ante لا hab. IH MF Sol. MF Luqmān Šhz versio A et B | يضبط | يضبطنّ Šhz versio B

The saying, ascribed to *Sūlūn al-ḥakīm*, is also reported in Usāma ibn Munqid's *Lubāb al-ādāb*.⁸⁵

⁸² See Zakeri 2007, II 1106-1110.

⁸³ Ḥalifāt 1995, 312.2.

⁸⁴ Badawī 1958, 279.4.

⁸⁵ Edited in Šakir 1935, 237.15.

4.

إذا أحببت أن يدوم حبك لأحد، فأحسن أدبه.

If you want your love for someone to last, improve his manners.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Among Luqmān's sayings in MF we find the same maxim with minor differences:⁸⁶

ante MF أردت [أحببت] MF وقال إذا hab.

MF Sol. 17 is a similar saying reading:

وقال: إذا أردت أن يدوم أخوك فأحسن له أدبك وتجاوز عن زلله.

He said: If you wish your brother to remain, behave well toward him and overlook his mistake.

5.

الجزع أتعب من الصبر.

He said: Impatience is more tiring than patience.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This maxim is also found as MF Sol. 28 and in MF among Luqmān's sayings (where it is introduced by *wa-qāla*).⁸⁷ It is reported anonymously (but following a saying ascribed to Solon) in Usāma ibn Munqid's *Lubāb al-ādāb*.⁸⁸

Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of the saying no. 437 of the ĠawRay and collects further references.⁸⁹

6.

ينبغي للرئيس أن يبتدئ بتقويم نفسه قبل أن يسرع إليها في تقويم رعاياه، وإلا كان بمنزلة من رام أمر
استقامة ظلّ معوجّ قبل تقويم عوده الذي هو ظلّ له.

⁸⁶ Badawī 1958, 279.5.

⁸⁷ Badawī 1958, 279.6.

⁸⁸ See the edition Šākir 1935, 237.16.

⁸⁹ See Zakeri 2007, II 219.

The chief should start with correcting himself before he launches into correcting his subjects; otherwise, he would be like one who wants to straighten something whose shadow is crooked before correcting his stick which is casting the shadow.⁹⁰

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Sol. 29, PQ Plato 52⁹¹ MF Plato 83⁹² MF Luqmān⁹³

1 ante يتدئ [يسرع إليها | PQ MF Plato للملك [الرئيس | MF Sol. MF Plato MF Luqmān وقال hab. ينبغي

MF Sol. يشرع PQ MF Plato MF Luqmān | [في تقويم | MF Sol. بتقويم abest MF Sol. PQ MF Plato

MF Luqmān 2 [استقامة | MF Luqmān تقويم | ante قبل hab. من PQ MF Plato

7.

مَنْ قام مِنَ الملوِكِ بالحقِّ والعدلِ، مَلَكَ سرائِرَ رعايَاهُ. وَمَنْ قامَ مِنْهُمُ بالجورِ والقهرِ لم يملكِ إِلاَّ التَّصَنُّعَ مِنْهُمُ، وَكانتِ السرائِرُ تطلبُ مَنْ يملكُها.

Whoever stands among kings with honesty and righteousness reigns over the hearts of his subjects, while whoever stands among them with injustice and coercion reigns only in appearance, and their hearts seek whoever (may) rule them.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Sol. 27 MF Plato 143⁹⁴ MF Luqmān⁹⁵

1 ante من hab. وقال MF Sol. MF Plato MF Luqmān | بالحقِّ والعدلِ | MF Sol. MF Plato |

MF Sol. المملكةِ [السرائِرُ | abest MF Sol. MF Plato | مِنْهُمُ 2 MF Luqmān بالقهرِ والجورِ [بالجورِ والقهرِ

MF Plato سرائِرُهُم

⁹⁰ See also the English translation in Gutas 1975, 139.

⁹¹ As pointed out by Gutas 1975, 367, the saying attributed to Plato is reported in a still unpublished work known under the title *Taqwīm al-siyasa l-mulūkiyya* (but one of the MSS that preserve it bears the title *al-Alfāz li-Aflātūn al-ḥikmiyya*), for which see Gutas 1975, 377-380.

⁹² Badawī 1958, 140.2-4.

⁹³ Badawī 1958, 279.7-9.

⁹⁴ Badawī 1958, 149.18-19.

⁹⁵ Badawī 1958, 279.10-11.

8.

النفس الفاضلة ترتفع عن الفرح والحزن، لأنَّ الفرح إنَّما يعرض إذا نظرتُ إلى محاسن شيء من دون أن تنظر إلى ما فيه من المساوئ. والحزن أن مساوئ شيء دون شيء من محاسنه. والنفس الفاضلة تتأمل كَلْبِيَّة الشيء معًا في فضائله ووزائله في هذا العالم، فلا يَغْلِب عليها إحدى هاتين الخلتين.

Badawī⁹⁶ العلم. corr. [العالم]

The virtuous soul transcends joy and sorrow, because joy occurs when it looks only at the good aspects of a matter without looking at the bad aspects it contains. Sorrow [occurs when it looks at] the bad aspects of a matter to the exclusion of its good aspects. The virtuous soul considers the whole matter in its entirety, in its virtues and vices, in this world, so neither of these two dispositions overwhelms it.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Sol. 22, Šhz Sol. 156 versio A et B.

abest [من | Šhz versio A et B] الحزن والفرح [الفرح والحزن | MF Šhz versio A et B] وقال hab. النفس ante 1
أن مساوئ | MF Šhz versio A et B] مساوئه [أن تنظر إلى ما فيه من المساوئ 2
MF Šhz versio A
MF Šhz versio A
محاسنه [شيء من محاسنه | Šhz versio A et B] بأن ترى مساوئ شيء MF
فيتساوى MF فتنساوى فضائله ووزائله [في فضائله ووزائله | MF Šhz versio A et B] abest [معًا 3
MF Šhz versio B
الحالتين [الخلتين | Šhz versio A] أحد [إحدى | MF Šhz versio B] تغلب [يَغْلِب | Šhz versio A et B] فضائله ووزائله
MF Šhz versio A et B

With slight differences in the wording the saying also occurs in MuḥṢḤI Plato 4 and PQ Plato 11. Another version of the saying, ascribed to Socrates, is reported in the 17th Night of *TawI*.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ The word *‘ilm* makes no sense here and my correction is based on the variants recorded in Gutas 1975, 120 and 341.

⁹⁷ Arabic text in Amīn, Zayn (undated), II 47.6-10. See Gutas 1975, 341 for further references, in particular another occurrence in the *Taqwīm al-siyasa l-mulūkiyya* (which remains unedited) and in the 1900 Cairo edition of Ibn Hindū's *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya* by al-Qabbāni l-Dimašqī, which however is unreliable since it is based on a single, highly interpolated MS. In fact, in the new edition of the work (Ḥalifāt 1995), based on three earlier and more reliable MSS than the one used by al-Qabbāni, the saying does not appear among those of Plato. For more details on this see *infra*.

9.

ينبغي للمرء أن ينظر وجهه في المرآة: فإن كان حسنًا استقبح أن يضيف إليه فعلًا قبيحًا. وإن كان قبيحًا، استقبح أن يجمع بين قبيحين.

Man must look at his own face in the mirror: If it is beautiful, he thinks it is ugly to add an ugly deed to it; if it is ugly, he thinks it ugly to put two ugly things together.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

In the rest of the Arabic tradition this saying, with an almost identical wording, is found ascribed to Plato, in IH Plato 12,⁹⁸ MF Plato 234⁹⁹ and IAU Plato 36 (ch. 4.5.3). In MF it is also repeated among Luqmān's sayings.¹⁰⁰ The variants are:

1 ante ينبغي hab. IH MF Plato MF Luqmān | للرجل [للمرء] | ante وجهه hab. IH MF Luqmān

The saying, ascribed to Plato, is also paraphrased in the fourth section of the third treatise¹⁰¹ of the medico-philosophical controversy that took place in Cairo in 441/1049-1050 between 'Alī ibn Riḍwān (d. 453/1061) and al-Muḥtār ibn Buṭlān (d. ca. 458/1066). This polemical disputation is made up of five treatises (a first writing by Ibn Buṭlān, followed by a refutation treatise by Ibn Riḍwān, a reply by Ibn Buṭlān and two pamphlets by Ibn Riḍwān),¹⁰² transmitted altogether in a single MS (and separately in further copies as well as indirect testimonies)¹⁰³ and edited with an English translation by Joseph Schacht and Max Meyerhof in 1937.

GREEK PARALLELS:

The saying resembles Stob. III 1, 172.75-79: Ἐς τὸ ἔσοπτρον [ἔφη] ἐμβλέψαντα δεῖ, εἰ μὲν καλὸς φαίνη, καλὰ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸς, τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐλλιπέες διορθοῦσθαι τῇ καλοκαγαθίᾳ.

10.

أصعب ما في هذا العالم تقويم من لا يُحَصِّل.

The most difficult thing in this world is to correct those who do not accept it.

⁹⁸ Ḥalifāt 1995, 312.4-5, no. 12.

⁹⁹ Badawī 1958, 160.4-5.

¹⁰⁰ Badawī 1958, 279.12-13.

¹⁰¹ Schacht, Meyerhof 1973, 63.16-17 (Ar.), 98 (Eng.).

¹⁰² The quarrel is summarised in Schacht, Meyerhof 1973, 15-18.

¹⁰³ Schacht, Meyerhof 1973, 30-32.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Sol. 30 bears a slightly different wording:

وقال: ما في العالم أصعب من تقويم ما لا يتحصل.

He said: The most difficult thing to correct in this world is that which does not let itself to be corrected.

Zakeri lists it among the Arabic parallels of the saying no. 362 of the ĞawRay.¹⁰⁴

11.

إذا ضاقت حالك، فلا تستشر الإفلاس، فإنه ما يشير عليك بخير.

If your condition is oppressive, do not seek advice from [those in a condition of] destitution, for they will not advise you well.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Sol. 10, IH 14 Plato¹⁰⁵

abest [عليك | MF IH لا | ما | IH فاحذر مشورة [فلا تستشر | MF أحوالك | حالك | MF IH وقال إذا hab. ante

IH

12.

مثل موقع الصواب من العلماء مثل موقع الجهل من الأغبياء.

Good judgment for the learned occupies the same place as ignorance for the foolish.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The maxim is found in IH 13 Plato,¹⁰⁶ but with reversed terms (thus من الجهال مثل موقع الجهل (thus instead of من العلماء (من العلماء مثل موقع الجهل من الأغبياء instead of من العلماء

13.

وعلى خاتم سولون: مؤاخاة المُلُول بقدر حاجته.

¹⁰⁴ Zakeri 2007, II 180.

¹⁰⁵ Ḥalifāt 1995, 312.7.

¹⁰⁶ Ḥalifāt 1995, 312.6.

IH Sol. 14 (A ¹ +D)	وسئل ما أصعب الأشياء على الإنسان؟ وقال: أن يعرف الإنسان نفسه ويكتم سره.
MF Sol. 7 (A ¹ +D)	وسئل عن أصعب الأشياء على الإنسان؟ قال: أن يعرف نفسه ويكتم سره.
Šhr Sol. 10 (A+B)	وسئل أي شيء أصعب على الإنسان. قال: أن يعرف عيب نفسه وأن يمسك عمّا لا ينبغي أن يتكلم به.
Šhz Sol. 140 versio A et B (A ¹ +D / A + B)	وسئل: ما أصعب الأشياء على الإنسان؟ فقال: أن يعرف نفسه ويكتم سره – وفي نسخة أخرى: أن يعرف عيب نفسه وأن يمسك عمّا لا ينبغي له أن يتكلم به. Šhz versio B [يمسك]
Šhz Sol. 143 versio B (A ¹ +D+B)	وقال: أصعب الأشياء أن تعرف نفسك وتكتم سرك وتمسك عمّا لا ينبغي له أن يتكلم به.
ID LV (A ¹ +D)	(After Pythagoras) وقيل له: ما أصعب شيء على الإنسان؟ قال: أن يعرف نفسه ويكتم الأسرار.
MF Pythagoras 93 ¹⁰⁸ (A ¹ +D)	وقيل له: ما أصعب الأشياء على الإنسان؟ قال: أن يعرف نفسه ويكتم الأسرار.

As can be seen, answer A is most commonly attested in the variant A¹, i.e. without the word *‘ayb*. A¹ might have originated from A by omission of the latter term, but the opposite cannot be ruled out, i.e. that *‘ayb* is an addition of A generated from A¹ – of which it is not known whether it is a complete innovation of the Arabic tradition or if it derives from an unattested Greek version of the chreia, since only Greek testimonies of A¹ (which obviously echoes the Socratic motto) are extant.

Answers B and D have similar meaning but different wording and could be a paraphrase of each other. The four sayings IH Sol. 14, MF Sol. 7, ID LV and MF Pythagoras 93 are all very similar and differ primarily in the distribution of the variants *sirrahū/al-asrār*. IH Sol. 14 and MF Sol. 7 are identical (apart from the variation *mā/‘an*) and coincide in attribution, as do ID LV and MF Pythagoras 93 with each other (apart from the shift of the sing./plur. of *šay’*), so one could assume at least one common source for the first pair of sayings and one for the second pair.

The combination of answer A+B given by ĀF Sol. 14 is found in Šhr Sol. 10 and in the second answer given by Šhz Sol. 140 (and the Šhr itself could be the testimony of the *nusha uḥrā*, «other version» mentioned in the Šhz, since we know that it was one of its sources,¹⁰⁹ even though the Šhz could also have relied on the second part of MuḥṢḤ Sol. 3 = MuntṢḤ Sol. 11), while the first part of Šhz Sol. 140 coincides verbatim with IH Sol. 14 and MF Sol. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Badawī 1958, 70.11-12.

¹⁰⁹ For Šhr as source used by Šhz see *infra*.

The two sayings MuḥṢḤ Sol. 3 and MuntṢḤ Sol. 11 are identical and thus bear the text of the lost *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, and the same combination (A¹+D+B) is repeated with minimal textual variations in Ṣhz Sol. 143 versio B – and MuntṢḤ is one of the sources of Ṣhz –, among which the most significant is the passage from the third pers. sing. to the second pers. sing. (*ta'rifa nafsaka wa-taktuma sirraka wa-tumsika*).

Alongside these formulations, there is also a version E, found in IH Sol. 15, thus presented as an alternative form of IH Sol. 14, being quoted immediately after it. The text runs as follows:

وَسُئِلَ أَيْضًا: مَا أَصْعَبُ الْأَشْيَاءِ عَلَى الْإِنْسَانِ؟ فَقَالَ: أَنْ يَصْبِرَ عَلَى خِيْبَةِ مَنْ سَعِيهِ.

He was asked: What is the most difficult thing for man? He answered: To bear the failure of his own effort.

In addition to these variants of the saying focusing mainly on knowing oneself (or one's imperfection) and the ability to keep secrets, a version F is also preserved in the section entitled *su'ālāt al-falāsifa wa-aḡwibatuhum* of the ĀF where it is ascribed to a certain *Asānus* (probably to be corrected into *Asābus* as a transliteration of Aesop):¹¹⁰

سُئِلَ أَسَانَسٌ: أَيُّ شَيْءٍ أَصْعَبُ عَلَى النَّاسِ؟ فَقَالَ: الْعَافِيَةُ عَلَى أَكْثَرِهِمْ، لِأَنَّهَا لِأَنْفُسِهِمْ.

He was asked: What is the most difficult thing for men? He replied: For most of them it is health because they do it for themselves.

Finally, a further version (G) is preserved in Arabic translation, attested in sundry sources and generally attributed to Aristotle in both Greek and Arabic traditions. In this case, the answer to the question of what the most difficult thing is is silence (τὸ σιωπᾶν or σιωπή / *al-sukūt*), cf. ID XX; 'Awn 692; MuḥṢḤ Aristot.;¹¹¹ IH 140;¹¹² PQ Aristot. 18.¹¹³

Zakeri lists it among the Arabic parallels of saying no. 32 of the ĠawRay.¹¹⁴ The similarities between the latter and our saying are very close.

¹¹⁰ Badawī 1952, 144.2-3. The hypothesis concerning the proper noun is based on similar cases (see *infra* the discussions in MuḥṢḤ Pindar 3 and MF Hom. o.b) and on the saying that follows (Badawī 1952, 144.4-5) which reads: «Asāns was captured, and then a man who wanted to buy him questioned him about his body, and he replied: Do not examine my body but examine my mind». The anecdote is evidently derived from the episode in the *Vita Aesopi* dealing with the dialogue between Aesop and Xanthus. Other exchanges of jokes from this dialogue are preserved in Arabic sources among both Aesop's sayings and Homer's sayings (see *infra* and MF Hom o.b).

¹¹¹ Dunlop 1979, 44.777-778 (para. 55).

¹¹² Ḥalifāt 1995, I 337.4.

¹¹³ See Gutas 1975 (= PQ), 390 for other occurrences of the same saying by Aristotle.

¹¹⁴ See Zakeri 2007, II 28-32.

GREEK PARALLELS:¹¹⁵

The Arabic versions of the saying appear to be various combinations of as many distinct formulations in Greek:

Answer A¹ has the following antecedents: DL I, 36.6-7 (Thales): ἐρωτηθεὶς τί δύσκολον, ἔφη “τὸ ἑαυτὸν γινῶναι” = CP 6.85 (after Thales, as part of a longer chreia) = Fl. Monac. 204 (after Theocritus, as part of a longer chreia), Stob. III 21, 13 (Chilon) = Ant. Mel. 1188.16-18 (Diogenes), GV 456 (Bias), AppGn. 85 (Bias asked by Pittacus), AppVat. I 147.

For answer D (but conceptually close also to answer B) see GV 321 (Post Thales): ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνι διαφέρουσιν οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, ἔφη “ἐλπίσιν ἀγαθοῖς.” τί δύσκολον, “τὸ τὰ ἀπόρρητα σιωπῆσαι, καὶ σχολὴν εὖ διαθέσθαι, καὶ ἀδικούμενον δύνασθαι φέρειν.”, cf. DL I, 69.3-6 (Chilon), CP 6.46 (post Demetrius Phalereus), CP 6.215, GV 58 (Post Arist.), 554 (post Chilon), WA 157 (Chilon);

For version G see: CP 3.112: Ἀριστοτέλης ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος τί δυσκολώτατόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ; εἶπε· τὸ σιωπᾶν ἢ μὴ δεῖ λαλεῖν = Stob. III 41, 8; cf. Fl. Monac. 186 (Diogenes).

3.2.2.3. Hesiod’s saying in a fragment of the *Rasā’il Aristūṭālīs ilā al-Iskandar*¹¹⁶

وأنا أحبُّ لك أن تقتدي برأي اسويدس حيث يقول إنّ فعل الخير في الجملة أفضل من فعل الشرّ.

I want you to follow the opinion of Hesiod where he says: Doing good is altogether better than doing evil.¹¹⁷

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This quotation is part of a longer paragraph¹¹⁸ taken verbatim (except for the variant *bi-ra’y* instead of *bi-mašwara*) from the Epistle that «Aristotle wrote in response to the epistle [of Alexander], congratulating for the conquest of Persia» (*fa-kataba Aristūṭālīs ḡawāb al-kitāb wa-yuhanni’uhū bi-faṭḥ bilād Fāris*, as the introduction of the letter reads)¹¹⁹ sometimes referred to by scholars as the *Epistle on the Government of the Cities (Fī siyāsat al-mudun)*.¹²⁰ The letter is part of the cycle of texts conventionally called *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander* and has been edited separately and extensively studied since the late 19th cent., besides being accessible in a Latin translation by Lippert (1891), a French translation by Bielawski and Plezia (1970), and an English translation by Swain (2013). The main exegetical problems concern Aristotle’s authorship – a hypothesis that is now generally discarded –, its origin and context of composition, and the time, manner and degree of rework through which

¹¹⁵ For further loci paralleli see the apparatus in Searby’s edition of CP.

¹¹⁶ Badawī 1985, 84.19-85.1.

¹¹⁷ Swain 2013a, 205 (modified).

¹¹⁸ Badawī 1985, 84.15-85.2 equivalent to Maróth 2006, 99.9-10, 16-100.3 = Swain 2013a, 202 (15.3), 204 (16.1-3; Ar.).

¹¹⁹ Maróth 2006, 88.1 = Swain 2013a, 182.2 (Ar.).

¹²⁰ The alternative title is given in Swain 2013a, 182.1 (Ar.). For an overview on the problems raised by the letter and on the status quaestionis Swain 2013a, 108-122; see also the references given in Gutas 2009, 61.

3.2.3. The *Kitāb al-sa'āda wa-l-is'ād* by Ps. al-ʿĀmirī (ʿĀm)

Wise sayings ascribed to Homer, Solon and maybe Orpheus (but the reading of the name is uncertain) are preserved in the *Kitāb al-sa'āda wa-l-is'ād fi l-sīra l-insāniyya* (*On Happiness and its Causation in Human Life*), conventionally ascribed to Ps. al-ʿĀmirī. The question of authorship remains unresolved, since the *codex unicus*, MS Dublin, Chester Beatty 3702, bears the name of an otherwise unknown Abū l-Ḥasan ibn Abī Darr and Moğtaba Minovi's proposed identification of the latter with Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmirī has proved fragile and unfounded.¹²⁵ The work, composed after the first half of the 4th/10th cent., is not a gnomologium, but a compilation of ethical-political topics in the broad sense, organised in thematic chapters of varying length consisting of a succession of testimonies by Greek, Arab, and Persian authorities. A systematic and thorough investigation of the sources is still a desideratum,¹²⁶ but the fragments that interest us are plausibly traceable to the Greek-Arabic gnomological tradition. In addition to the facsimile edition published by Moğtaba Minovi in 1957-1958, a more recent edition appeared in 1991 by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿAṭiyya. Since Minovi's edition is still widely used in secondary literature, the page references of both editions are given in the footnotes.

3.2.3.1 Homer

- From the chapter «On the exhortation to virtue from the sayings of the wise men»¹²⁷

1. For this saying see IsḤ Hom. 2 (p. 384).
- 2.

ترك الذنب أيسر من طلب التوبة.

It is easier to overlook the error than to seek repentance.

- 3.

ليس العجيب ممن انظفت عنه الشهوات وهو فاضل، ولكن العجب ممن الشهوات تجاذبه وهو فاضل.

It is not a wonder that passions have little effect on the virtuous, but it is a wonder that passions attract the virtuous.

¹²⁵ The issue is summarised by Wakelnig 2006, 35-39, who traces the history of the studies, and in Wakelnig 2014, 41-42.

¹²⁶ Some sources have been reported in Arberry 1955b and 1955c; Ghorab 1972; Pohl 1997; Dunlop's *Introduction* in Akasoy, Fidora 2005 (= EN Akasoy, Fidora), 19-25; Ullmann 2012 (= EN Ullmann), 57-66; Vagelpohl 2008, 188-191; Wakelnig 2014, 42. A systematic study of the sources of the *Kitāb al-sa'āda* and in particular its relationship to gnomological literature remains to be carried out.

¹²⁷ Minovi 1957-1958, 86.11-14 = ʿAṭiyya 1991, 170.22-171.2.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Very close to this saying are an anonymous saying in the last section of the MF¹²⁸ and PQ Plato 33,¹²⁹ with the following variants:

MF | أن يكون PQ أن يصير [وهو | MF انقطعت PQ طفئت [انطفت | MF من [ممن 1 | PQ وقال hab. ليس ante MF | تحاربه [تجاذبه | MF من [ممن 2

- From the chapter «On modesty from the words of the sages»¹³⁰

4.

وقال أوميرس: الحياء مقدّمة كل خير والقحة مقدّمة كل شر.

MS Minovi [أوميرس corr. هوميروس 'Aṭiyya

Homer said: Modesty comes before all good and insolence before all evil.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

A slightly different formulation is found in Šhr Hom. 10:

وقال مقدّمة المحمودات الحياء ومقدّمة المذمومات القحة

A longer version of this saying is IH Hom. 7:

وقال: لكل أمر محمود مقدّمة، ومقدّمة كل المحمودات الحياء. ولكل أمر مذموم مقدّمة، ومقدّمة كل المذمومات القحة.

He said: For every praiseworthy matter there is a premise, and the premise of all praiseworthy matters is modesty. For every blameworthy matter there is a premise, and the premise of all blameworthy matters is insolence.

5.

وقال أوميرس: من استحيا من الله كانت سيرته متشاكلة في كل موضع لأن الله شاهد للعباد أين كانوا.

MS Minovi [أوميرس corr. هوميروس 'Aṭiyya

¹²⁸ Badawī 1958, 363.1-2.

¹²⁹ Gutas 1975, 355-356 lists further loci paralleli.

¹³⁰ Minovi 1957-1958, 105.10-15 = 'Aṭiyya 1991, 183.16-20.

Homer said: The life of one who is ashamed before God should be equal on every occasion because God is a witness to men (*lit.* His servants) wherever they are.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

A variant of this saying is ‘Ām Hom. 10, that runs as follows:

وقال أوميرس يجب أن يعلم كل أحد بأن الله مطلعًا حيث كان ومن عرف أنّ الله مطلعًا عليه حيث كان لم يختلف أفعاله بل كانت سيرته متشاكلة.

1 [أوميرس] MS Minovi هوميروس corr. ‘Aṭiyya

Homer said: Everyone should be aware that God observes him wherever he is, and whoever knows that God observes him wherever he is should not change his deeds but his life should remain the same.

6. (? : after Homer)

وقال أسرع الناس الى الفتنة اقلهم حياء من الفرار.

He said: The more men are inclined to discord, the less they are ashamed to flee.

7. (? : after Homer)

وقال حسبك من شر سماعه لقول كفاك ذلك عار.

He said: The evil of listening to him is sufficient for you to say that this shame is enough for you.

- From the chapter «On universal advice»¹³¹

8.

وقال أوميرس †...† واحكم تنبل ولا تكن معجبا فتمتنهن.

[تنبل | Aṭiyya in app. tempt. تواضع] †...† | Aṭiyya corr. هوميروس MS Minovi [أوميرس]

tempt. Aṭiyya (MS unreadable) تتبع tempt. Aṭiyya in app. تليل

This saying can be reconstructed from other loci paralleli, for which see IsḤ Hom. 1 (pp. 383-384).

¹³¹ Minovi 1957-1958, 171.1-2 = ‘Aṭiyya 1991, 225.3-4.

- From the chapter «Account of what comes from the exhortation to kindness and goodness»¹³²

9.

ويقول أوميرس: إنّه لا ينبغي للرئيس أن ينام الليل كله.

أوميرس] أوميروس corr. 'Atiyya

Homer said: The commander must not sleep all night.

GREEK PARALLELS:

This saying covers the verse Hom. *Il.* B 24, οὐ χρή παννύχιον εὔδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα, which is commonly discussed in the literature for scholastic use (*Progymnasmata*) as an example of γνώμη: Hermogenes *Progymn.* 4, Libanius *Progymn.* 4, Nicolaus *Progymn.* 26, Aphthonius *Progymn.* 7, and, together with v. *Il.* B 25, in Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos *Progymn.* 9.69-71 (ed. Glettner 1933). It also appears frequently in rhetorical literature as a chreia uttered by Alexander addressing Diogenes. This is found either in the simple form as reported by John of Sardis in his *Comm. in Aphth.* 3 (39.7-9 ed. Rabe) –which is actually part of a fragment from Sopatros' *Progymnasmata* reworked by John of Sardis –, reading οἶον Διογένους καθεύδοντος ἐπιστάς Ἀλέξανδρος εἶπεν “οὐ χρή παννύχιον εὔδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα” (also repeated with slight differences in Joannes Sard. *Comm. in Aphth.* 4 [41.4-7 and 48.15-16 ed. Rabe]), or in more articulate forms involving an exchange of lines between Alexander and Diogenes and including v. *Il.* B 25 (Theon *Progymn.* 205.12-17 [ed. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* vol. I], Joannes Sard. *Comm. in Aphth.* 41.8-11, Joannes Doxapatres *Prolegom. in Aphth.* 254.5-12 [ed. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci* vol. II]; Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.22.92).¹³³

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is also included in a longer chreia involving Alexander, transmitted in IH 393 Alexander:¹³⁴

¹³² Minovi 1957-1958, 310.7-8 = 'Atiyya 1991, 317.23.

¹³³ See Hock, O'Neil 1986, 86-87 (text and English trans. of Theon's *Progymnasmata*) and cf. the final catalogue at p. 314-315 (= no. 24); Hock, O'Neil 2002, 356-357 (text and English trans. of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos' *Progymnasmata*); Kennedy 2003, 17 (another English trans. of Theon's *Progymnasmata*), 77-78 (English trans. of Hermogenes' *Progymnasmata*), 99 (English trans. of Aphthonius' *Progymnasmata*), 143 (English trans. of Nicolaus' *Progymnasmata*); Gibson 2008, 88-89 (Greek text and English translation of Libanius' *Progymnasmata*) and n. 1; Hock 2012, 48-49, 52-53, 68-69 (text and English trans. of John of Sardis' *Comm. in Aphth.*) 180-181 (text and English trans. of Joannes Doxapatres' *Prolegom. in Aphth.*). See also Hock, O'Neil 2002, 24-26 (the analysis of a papyrus. P. Oslo III.177, containing the chreia), 110-111 (on the fragment from Sopatros' *Progymnasmata*).

¹³⁴ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 384.11-385.1.

وقيل له: بم نلتَ هذا المُلك العظيم على حداثة السن؟ قال: باستمالة الأعداء، وتعهد الأصدقاء. وكُنْتُ لا أُغفِلُ في عمري كله شعر أوميرس الشاعر، وقوله: لا ينبغي للرئيس أن ينام الليل كله.

He was asked: How did you achieve this great kingdom at such a young age?
He answered: By gaining favour with enemies and by keeping friends under control. Moreover, in all my life I have never neglected the poetry of the poet Homer and his saying: The commander must not sleep all night.

The chreia in its entirety cannot be compared to any precise Greek *Vorlage*, but the first part does resemble Ant. Mel. 1005.52-54: Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖος βασιλεὺς ἄριστος, ἔφη· Ὁ τοὺς φίλους δωρεαῖς συνέχων, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς δι' εὐεργεσιῶν φιλοποιούμενος, almost identical in GV 82 (here anonymous introduced by ὁ αὐτός), Wiener Apophth. 17, CP 3.415 *et al.*¹³⁵ Other Arabic sources contain this chreia of Alexander in a formulation that is closer to the Greek text of Ant. Mel. *et al.*, namely ID XIV, MF Alex. 33¹³⁶ and Alex. 59,¹³⁷ but none of them include the Homeric verse. It seems, therefore, that IH relied on a lost source, in which Alexander's chreia on dealing with enemies and friends to secure power was simplified – with the omission of (the rendering of) δωρεαῖς and δι' εὐεργεσιῶν – and merged with another chreia bearing the Homeric verse.

- From the chapter «On what the king must urge himself and his subject to concerning the knowledge of God»¹³⁸

10. For this saying see Ἄμ Hom. 5 (pp. 406-407).

3.2.3.2 Solon

- From the chapter «On modesty from the words of the sages»¹³⁹

1.

وقيل لسولن واضع السنن وهو والد افلاطون الحياء أحمد في الصبيان أم الخوف فقال الحياء لأنه يدل على عقل وأما الخوف فإنه يدل على جبن.

1 [لسولن] لصولون corr. Ḍṭiyya

¹³⁵ See Searby 2007 (= CP), II 647 and Rosenthal 1958a, 35 for further loci paralleli.

¹³⁶ Badawi 1958, 247.3-4.

¹³⁷ Badawi 1958, 251.11-12.

¹³⁸ Minovi 1957-1958, 341.15-342.1 = Ḍṭiyya 1991, 341.5-7.

¹³⁹ Minovi 1957-1958, 105.5-8 = Ḍṭiyya 1991, 183.12-14.

Solon the lawgiver, progenitor of Plato, said: If the Creator arranges things in the world according to what makes them prosper our joy and sorrow are superfluous.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying expresses the same meaning, with similar wording, of PQ Plato 32.¹⁴³

- From the chapter «What comes from scattered words on social relations»¹⁴⁴
 3. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 14 (pp. 400-403).
- From the chapter «What comes from scattered words on these topics (sc. amusement and leisure)»¹⁴⁵
 - 4.

قال سولن لابنه: لا تمايح أحدا فان المزاج لقاح الضغائن.

صولون [سولن] corr. 'Aṭiyya

He said to his son: Do not be witty toward someone, for joking is the seed of rancor.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This saying is also known in another form though several florilegia, the earliest attestation being what remains of the *Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma*, namely MuḥṢḤ Sol. 9:¹⁴⁶

وقال: دع المزاح فإنه لقاح الضغائن.

He said: Refrain from joking because it is the seed of rancour.

Other occurrences are IH Sol. 8, MF Sol. 11, Šhr Sol. 8, Šhz Sol. 150 versio A et B, TawB Faylasūf III 394, with the following variants:

فان المزاح [فإنه] | TawB قال فيلسوف لابنه MF Šhz versio A et B وقال لبعض تلامذته IH Šhr وقال لابنه [وقال Šhr

¹⁴³ The similarity between the two sayings is already referred to by Gutas 1975, 355.

¹⁴⁴ Minovi 1957-1958, 161.3-5 = 'Aṭiyya 1991, 218.16-17.

¹⁴⁵ The expression *fiḥā* refers to the previous chapter (*Fī l-mudā'aba wa-l-rāḥa*). Arabic text in Minovi 1957-1958, 162.1-2 = 'Aṭiyya 1991, 219.6.

¹⁴⁶ As pointed out by Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 268 n. 1, this chreia is also found in the Syriac version of the Story of Aḥiqar (III 86; French translation in Nau 1909, 182). However, they referred to the French translation of the Syriac text preserved in the MS Berlin, Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Sachau No. 336, edited in 1917 and 1936 in two unpublished theses, which I could not consult. The saying is not included in the earlier Syriac version edited by Harris 1898, see *infra* n. 457, p. 520.

- From the chapter «On universal advice»¹⁴⁷
 5. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 14 (pp. 400-403).

3.2.3.3. Orpheus (?)

The following two sayings are taken from the chapter «On anger from the words of other sages».¹⁴⁸ Their attribution to Orpheus is highly uncertain since the name introducing the first saying, *Awfyūs* (following Minovi, *Awrfīrs* as read by ‘Aṭīyya), might be a corruption either of *Arfyūs* or *Awrfyūs*, for Orpheus, or of *Awmīrūs* or *Awmīrs*, for Homer. The second saying, instead, is anonymous and appears to be authored by the same poet for the simple fact that it immediately follows the first saying.

1.

وقال أوفىوس: الغضب هو مرض النفس.

‘Aṭīyya أوفيرس MS Minovi [أوفىوس]

Orpheus (?) said: Anger is the disease of the soul.

2.

قال ومن نازع بالغضب فقد مكن خصمه من مصرعه.

He said: Whoever fights in anger grants his opponent his own death.

3.2.4. The *Šiwān al-ḥikma* by Ps. al-Siğistānī

The *Šiwān al-ḥikma* (*Depository of Wisdom*) is one of the most important and extensive Arabic florilegia, commonly ascribed to the philosopher Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad al-Siğistānī, also called al-Siğazī (d. ca. 374/985). The *Šiwān*, however, has not been preserved in the author’s recension, but has come to us through two later abridgments, entitled *Muḥtaṣar* (*Summary*, = MuḥṢḤ) and *Muntaḥab* (*Selection*, = MuntṢḤ).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Minovi 1957-1958, 172.1-2 = ‘Aṭīyya 1991, 225.18-19.

¹⁴⁸ Minovi 1957-1958, 125.12-14 = ‘Aṭīyya 1991, 196.17-18.

¹⁴⁹ The following texts are also part of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* cycle: the so-called *Philosophical Quartet* (= PQ), edited and studied by Gutas in his doctoral dissertation of 1975, being a selection of the sections on Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, written between 1060 and 1309; Zāhīr al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī’s *Tatimmat šiwān al-ḥikma* (*Supplement*), conceived as a continuation of the *Šiwān* containing 111 entries on Arabic authors; the *Itmām al-tatimma* (*Completion of the Supplement*), transmitted in the same MSS of the *Muntaḥab* and possibly produced by the same compiler, containing poems of Arabic authors; an abridgement of the *Šiwān*, the *Tatimma* and of the *Itmām* by Ġaḍānfar al-Tabrīzī (d. before 692/1293) preserved in a Leiden MS. For all these writings see Gutas 1975, Gutas 1982, 646-647; Cottrell 2004-2005b, 245, 254-255; Cottrell 2020c, 1769b-1770a. IAU

Both the dating and the authorship of the work are debated. The MuntŞĦ contains two internal chronological references that could delimit the period of composition of the collection on which it depends, i.e. 375/985-986, when al-‘Āmirī’s *Kitāb al-Amad ‘alā l-abad* was completed, as *terminus post quem*, and 421/1030, the date of Miskawayh’s death, who in the MuntŞĦ is said to be still alive, as *terminus ante quem*.¹⁵⁰ The attribution to al-Siġistānī is based solely on the account of the historian Ṣahīr al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169) in his *Tatimmat şiwān al-ḥikma (Supplement)*,¹⁵¹ but internal and external inconsistencies – first and foremost the fact that both the MuḥŞĦ and the MuntŞĦ include an entry on al-Siġistānī written in the third person, as well as biographies of al-Siġistānī’s pupils who were too young as philosophers to be given a section in the compilation – have led scholars, in the wake of Gimaret, first to doubt its authenticity and then to discard it altogether. Al-Qāḍī, who has analysed in detail the content of the two epitomes with particular attention to the sources used to compile the sections on the Islamic philosophers, has proposed attributing the work to Abū al-Qāsim al-Kātib, a pupil of al-‘Āmirī, close to both al-Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh, a hypothesis generally accepted by scholars.¹⁵²

The two epitomes through which we read the *Şiwān al-ḥikma* do not perfectly overlap with each other since the respective compilers were motivated by different aims pursued through different selection principles.

The MuḥŞĦ is authored by ‘Umar ibn Sahlān al-Sāwī (d. ca. 540/1145) and preserved in a single MS, edited by R. M. Kartanegara in his doctoral dissertation entitled *The “Mukhtaşar Şiwān al-ḥikma” of ‘Umar b. Sahlān al-Sāwī* (1996). Although the latter remains unpublished, the Arabic text has been revised by I. Dallaji in 2013 and digitised within the SAWS (*Sharing Ancient Wisdoms*) project. In selecting and examining the sayings of the Greek poets transmitted by the MuḥŞĦ I relied on the SAWS edition, available at: <https://ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/mss/viewer.html?viewColumns=sawsTexts%3AMSH.Mukh.sawsKaro1>.

The MuntŞĦ, on the other hand, is a more complete epitome than the MuḥŞĦ, written by an anonymous compiler presumably between 587/1191 – the date of Suhrawardī’s death mentioned as just happened in this second abridgment – and 639/1241 – when the older MS of the Arabic text was copied.¹⁵³ The work is preserved in various MSS and has been edited twice, by Badawī in 1974 and Dunlop in 1979. Although Dunlop’s edition is preferable to Badawī’s because philologically sounder, it is not free of errors and misprints.¹⁵⁴ The text printed by Dunlop was re-examined in 1984 by Daiber who published a long list of corrections¹⁵⁵ and then revised – disregarding Daiber’s corrections – in 2013 by I. Dallaji, whose

mentions a *Ta‘āliq ḥikmiyya* by al-Siġistānī, which scholars tend to consider a separate lost writing rather than an alternative title of the *Şiwān al-ḥikma*. As Dunlop has noted, the quotations from the *Ta‘āliq* on some Greek authors, reported by IAU, do not coincide with the corresponding sections in the *Şiwān* as we know it today. See Dunlop 1957, 84-85; Dunlop 1979, XIV, XXV.

¹⁵⁰ al-Qāḍī 1981, 115; Gutas 1982, 646 and n. 5.

¹⁵¹ Arabic text in Kurd ‘Alī 1946, 15.9.

¹⁵² The question is discussed in al-Qāḍī 1981, 98-119. See also Gutas 1982, 646 and Cottrell 2020a, 42a-b.

¹⁵³ Dunlop 1957, 84; Dunlop 1979, XXV; Gutas 1982, 647; see also al-Qāḍī 1981, 93.

¹⁵⁴ Gutas 1982, 645, 649-650 shows the shortcomings of Dunlop’s edition (as well as that of Badawī), and defines the two editions as complementary and suggests consulting them by comparing them with other parallel sources; see also Daiber 1984, 46-48.

¹⁵⁵ Daiber 1984, 48-67.

edition in the SAWS (*Sharing Ancient Wisdoms*) database is accessible online at: <https://ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/mss/viewer.html?viewColumns=sawsTexts%3AMSH.Mun.sawsDun01>.

My analysis is based on the SAWS edition compared with Daiber's corrections, but I also provide page and line numbers from Dunlop's edition, which remains a point of reference in the secondary literature.

The MuḥṢḤ occupies about one-third of the MuntṢḤ. Firstly, the initial paragraphs of the MuntṢḤ, which are missing from the MuḥṢḤ, are more strictly doxographical, since here the author traces a history of the birth and development of Greek philosophy and science.¹⁵⁶ The second part of the *Muntaḥab*, on the other hand, is the florilegium proper, a collection organised by author of sayings of 135 Greek sages, from Thales to John Philoponus, and of 33 sages from the Islamic world, from Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn to Abū Sulaymān al-Maḡdisī. The sayings by the most important sages, which are dealt with in broader sections, are preceded by brief biographical information, sometimes anecdotal, and elements of doxography. The MuḥṢḤ lacks the initial doxographical part and consists of 58 entries on Greek sages, from Thales to Fiqrāṭīs (maybe Iphicrates, or a corruption for Hermocrates)¹⁵⁷ and 13 on sages of Islam, from al-Kindī to Abū l-Nafīs. All the sages to whom an entry is devoted in the MuḥṢḤ are also attested in the MuntṢḤ, with the exception of the section on al-Fārābī, found only in the MuḥṢḤ and not in the MuntṢḤ.¹⁵⁸ As noted by al-Qāḍī, al-Sāwī's compilation strategy seems to be aimed at brevity, as well as at the search for material with a strong ethical content; so if one compares the MuḥṢḤ with the MuntṢḤ, it emerges that not only he has selected the shorter sayings and tended to leave out the longer ones, but he has also left out much of the doxo-biographical information attested in the MuntṢḤ as well as the sections that are already the shortest in the MuntṢḤ.¹⁵⁹

It follows that information on the content and structure of the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, in its author's drafting can be deduced from comparing the MuḥṢḤ to the MuntṢḤ by identifying common elements. However, when reading of the two epitomes aimed at reconstructing the physiognomy of the collection from which they are taken, one must be aware that both compilers did not limit themselves to just selecting and summarising from the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, but also added new materials from other sources.¹⁶⁰ The question of sources has been touched upon several times by scholars, partly by drawing attention to the sporadic explicit mentions of earlier authors and works (particularly in the MuntṢḤ) employed for the compilation, partly by examining specific portions of the text of one or the other collection, allowing to detect parallels with other doxographical and historiographical works of the 9th/10th cents., that can

¹⁵⁶ This part corresponds to paras. 1-26 in Dunlop 1979, 3-26.

¹⁵⁷ Corresponding to para. 190 in Dunlop 1979, 97.2062. The scholar proposes the name Iphicrates in apparatus, but in the list given in the introduction interprets *Fiqrāṭīs* as a transliteration of Hermocrates (p. XXXV).

¹⁵⁸ al-Qāḍī 1981, 94-95.

¹⁵⁹ al-Qāḍī 1981, 95-98.

¹⁶⁰ al-Qāḍī 1981, 89-93 (in which the scholar identifies the interpolations), 98; see also Gutas 1982, 647.

be counted among the sources for the *Şiwān al-ḥikma*.¹⁶¹ Of course, the issue is complicated by the typical problems of gnomic literature, by the fact that we do not read the *Şiwān al-ḥikma* in the author's recension but in two interpolated abridgments and that some of the possible sources isolated by scholars are preserved fragmentarily or again through later epitomes or in other forms of indirect tradition. Therefore, even if parallels with an earlier or later source are found, most often it is impossible to assess the nature of their relations and the degree of dependence, as will also emerge from the analysis proposed here.

Both collections include entries concerning Greek poets. In the MuḥŞĤ one finds in order of appearance Solon, Homer, Simonides and Pindar. In addition, there is an Homeric quotation in one of Aristotle's sayings (*infra* 3.2.4.a.3), taken, as we shall see, from the *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*. The latter has been placed in the following analysis immediately after Homer's sayings (3.2.4.a.2) for the sake of continuity, although in the MuḥŞĤ it appears in the entry on Aristotle and thus before all the sections on Greek poets.

In the MuntŞĤ, on the other hand, there are entries on Solon and Homer (two sections far larger than all the others dealing with Greek poets, not only in terms of the number of sayings but also because they are introduced by biographical information), Aristophanes, Euripides, Simonides, Theognis, Sophocles, Pindar, Hesiod and Menander. In fact, the paragraph on Simonides below groups together 6 sayings taken from two separate paragraphs of the MuntŞĤ. The first 5 make up para. 132 of Dunlop's edition entitled *Şimūnīdis*, while para. 200 is made up exclusively of saying no. 6 and is attributed to *Smānīdis al-mūsīqār*, covering presumably the Greek Σιμωνίδης ὁ μουσικός, but since no antecedent of the latter saying has been found in any of the Greek sources, it has not been possible to test this hypothesis nor put forward any other.

To these an entry occurring only in the MuntŞĤ «Socrates the poet» (*Suqrātīs al-şā'ir*) should be added, where the definition *al-şā'ir* seems to be a later addition generated by the second anecdote in the section, while *Suqrātīs* may be what remains of the transliteration of the name Isocrates as two out of the three sayings concern rhetoric.

Moreover, other sections of the MuntŞĤ contain references to Greek poets. A quotation from Homer is already found in the first paragraph of the introduction (taken from the Arabic translation of the *Placita philosophorum* by Quşā ibn Lūqā; *infra* 3.2.4.b.1). Homer is also mentioned a little further on, in the section concerning the origins of Greek philosophy with the advent of Thales, as the first poet of the Greeks (*infra* 3.2.4.b.2). The passage is followed by a brief description of the invention of the Greek alphabet, to which the poet Simonides is said to have contributed by introducing four new letters (*infra* 3.2.4.b.3). Further references to Homer occur in the entry on Socrates (*infra* 3.2.4.b.4), Alexander (*infra* 3.2.4.b.5), *Binsālīs* – where Solon is also mentioned – (*infra* 3.2.4.b.11) and Xenocrates (*infra* 3.2.4.b.15).

Finally, there remain some unrecognizable authors (such as the entry on the poet Socrates, *infra* 3.2.4.b.17) and names that are difficult to decipher. An example is the MuntŞĤ's entry on a certain *Musāwus*, which is Dunlop's correction of the transmitted *Mumsāwus*, *Mumsalūs*,

¹⁶¹ The question of sources has been addressed by Dunlop 1979, XV-XXII; al-Qāḍī 1981, 105-119; Gutas 1982, 649-650; Daiber 1984, 39-43 (Gutas and Daiber have compiled a detailed bibliography on the subject); see also Cottrell 2008, 548.

Mumsalawus.¹⁶² At first glance, the transliteration would appear to hide the name of the legendary poet Musaeus, but it is highly plausible that it is a distorted transliteration of the name Mnesitheus (Μνησιθεος), an Athenian physician of the 4th cent. BCE, for very similar corruptions of the transliteration of Μνησιθεος are found in another passage of the MuntṢḤ¹⁶³ and in the IAU.¹⁶⁴

3.2.4.a The *Muḥtaṣar ṣiwān al-ḥikma* by al-Sāwī (MuḥṢḤ)

3.2.4.a.1 Solon the sage (*Sūlun al-ḥakīm*)¹⁶⁵

1.

وسئل عن عمره، وقد كان أتت عليه سنون كثيرة، عن عمره، فقال: الوقت الذي أنا فيه.

When asked about his age – he had already lived many years – he said: The time in which I am living.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MuntṢḤ Sol. 2, Ṣhz Sol. 5 versio A et B (chreia form)

وقيل [وسئل، وقد كان أتت عليه سنون كثيرة، عن عمره | abest MuntṢḤ Ṣhz Sol. 5 versio A et B | وفي رواية أنه قال: ليلة واحدة. hab. فيه post Ṣhz versio A et B | كم عمرك؟ et B («In a[nother version of the] story he is said to have replied: One night only»)

In ‘Awn 740 a simpler version of this chreia is ascribed to an anonymous *Faylasūf*.¹⁶⁶ Another chreia bearing a similar answer is MuntṢḤ Asānus (= Aesop) 3, which reads:¹⁶⁷

وسئل وقد احتضِر: كم سنة عشت؟ فقال: هذا الوقت الذي اجيبكم فيه، فأما ما مضى فكأن لم يكن.

He was asked while he was dying: How many years have you lived? He answered: This time in which I am replying to you. As for what happened, it is as if it had not been.

2.

وسئل: بما نمتحن أنفسنا على الصبر؟ فقال لهم: أن تصبروا على مقارنة المرأة المهذارة.

¹⁶² Para. 161 in ed. Dunlop 1979, 90.1912-1919.

¹⁶³ Para. 23, Dunlop 1979, 17.304.

¹⁶⁴ Ch. 3.1 and 4.1.10.4 of the online edition.

¹⁶⁵ SAWS online edition para. 12.

¹⁶⁶ Yūsuf 1996, 122.5-6 (Ar.). See also Rosenthal 1991, 215 (= no. 76).

¹⁶⁷ Dunlop 1979, 92.1958-1959 (para. 171).

He was asked: How do we test our patience? He said to them: Bear patiently the union with the very talkative woman.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MuntṢḤ Sol. 10:

MuntṢḤ بماذا [بما

3. This saying is identical with MuntṢḤ Sol. 11, for which see ĀF Sol. 14 (pp. 400-403).

4.

وقال: إنّ الذي يطلب شيئاً ليست له نهاية فهو جاهلٌ، واليسار شيء لا نهاية له.

He said: he who seeks something that has no limit is ignorant and affluence is something that has no limit.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MuntṢḤ Sol. 14, IH Sol. 12, MF Sol. 23, Šhz Sol. 157 versio A et B:

[فهو | IH نهاية له | له نهاية 1 | Šhz versio A et B | ليس IH لا | ليست 1 | abest Šhz versio A et B | إنّ] abest MuntṢḤ hab. هو شيء ante | Šhz versio A et B | الله تبارك وتعالى [واليسار هو شيء | MF هو MuntṢḤ | abest IH | لا | MuntṢḤ MF Šhz | نهاية [نهاية له | MF Šhz versio A et B | ليست MuntṢḤ | شيء] abest IH | MF Šhz versio A et B

A further version of the saying is Šhz Sol. 144 versio A (et B collated in app.):

وقال: طالب ليسار الدنيا جاهل لأنه لا نهاية له.

[وقال] abest Šhz versio B | ثار [ليسار | Šhz versio B

He who seeks the riches of the world is ignorant because there is no end to it.¹⁶⁸

See TawB I 164, where an almost identical saying is ascribed to an anonymous Faylasūf. Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of saying no. 2562 of the ĠawRay.¹⁶⁹

5.

وقال: إذا هممت بالحسن فبادر به قبل فوت القدرة، وإذا هممت بالقبيح فبادر بمعاتبة النفس عليه.

¹⁶⁸ Eng. translation in Zakeri 2007, II 1097.

¹⁶⁹ See Zakeri 2007, II 1097-1100.

بمعاتبه] corr. معاتبه SAWS

He said: If you are keen on good, make haste to do it before your capacity (to do it) passes away, but if you aim to be vile, make haste to censure your soul in this regard.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MuntṢḤ Sol. 20, MuḥṢḤ Socrates 22:

MuḥṢḤ بالحسنة] بالحسن | Dunlop SAWS MuntṢḤ | هممت] هممت 1
Socrates | به] abest MuḥṢḤ Socrates | فوت] abest MuḥṢḤ Socrates

6.

وقال: الجاهل في خطائه أن يذمّ غيره، وفعل طالب الأدب أن يذمّ نفسه، والأديب لا يركب ما يذمّ عليه
لا نفسه ولا غيره.

SAWS خطابه] corr. خطائه 1

He said: The ignorant when he makes a mistake blames another, the act of one who aspires to good manners is to blame himself, the good-mannered does not commit what he would not blame himself or another for.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is attested in several sources with minor variants reported below:

ĀF Socrates 47 ¹⁷¹ = IH Sol. 1	وقال إن فعل الجاهل في خطئه أن يذمّ غيره، وفعل طالب الأدب أن لا يذمّ نفسه ولا غيره. IH خطائه] خطئه abest IH] إن 1
MuntṢḤ Sol. 21	وقال: فعل الجاهل في خطائه أن يذمّ غيره، وفعل طالب الأدب أن يذمّ نفسه، وفعل الأديب أن لا يذمّ نفسه ولا غيره، بل لا يركب ما يذمّ عليه.

¹⁷⁰ Daiber 1984, 58.

¹⁷¹ Badawī 1952, 66.2-3.

MF Sol. 2	وقال: فعل الجاهل أن يذمّ غيره، وفعل طالب الأدب أن يذمّ نفسه، وفعل الأديب أن لا يذمّ نفسه ولا غيره.
Šhr Sol. 5	وقال إن فعل الجاهل في خطائه أن يذمّ غيره، وفعل طالب الأدب أن يذمّ نفسه، وفعل الأديب أن لا يذمّ نفسه ولا غيره.
Šhz Sol. 2 versio A (= Šhz Sol. 137 versio B)	وقال: فعل الجاهل في خطائه أن يذمّ غيره، وفعل طالب الأدب أن يذمّ نفسه، وفعل الأديب أن لا يذمّ نفسه ولا غيره. 1 Aḥmad (versio A) [خطائه corr.] abest versio B [غيره، وفعل طالب الأدب أن يذمّ 2] del. Aḥmad (versio A)

As Daiber reports, the saying is also transmitted by the gnomologium preserved in MS Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2456, f. 107v 9-11, which draws materials from the *ĀF*.¹⁷²

7. For this saying see 'Ām Sol. 1 (pp. 409-410).

8.

وسئل عن الحرّ، فقال: من قلّت حاجته إلى الناس.

He was asked about the free man and answered: He whose need of men is negligible.

9. For this saying see 'Ām Sol. 4 (p. 411).

10.

وسئل أن يدخل بين صديقين فيصلح بينهما فامتنع. فسئل عن امتناعه فقال: الحكومة بين الأصدقاء تكسب العداوة، والحكومة بين الأعداء تحدث الصداقة.

He was asked to intervene between two friends and make them reconcile but he refused. When asked about his refusal, he replied: Settling a quarrel between friends creates enmity, while settling a quarrel between enemies creates friendship.

¹⁷² Daiber 1984, 58 (cf. 47 n. 66)

11.

وقال: يستعمل الكذب عند الضرورة كما يُستعمل الدواء.

He said: Lying should be used in necessity in the same way as medicine should be used.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 12 versio A et B

12.

وقال: أحسن ما عوشر به الملوك البشاشة وتخفيف المؤونة.

He said: The best thing that kings have done with their lives is to always smile and relieve annoyances.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Two later occurrences are: IH Sol. 13, Šhz Sol. 147 versio A et B. The same maxim is also found among the sayings of the ancients reported by Miskawayh at the end of his *al-Ḥikma al-ḥālida* (= Misk 17),¹⁷³ most of which, as in this case, are anonymous.

The variants are recorded below:

وقلة الخلاف hab. المؤونة post | Šhz versio B | المؤونة [المؤونة | Misk اثنان hab. الملوك post | Misk وقيل [وقال Šhz. versio A et B

Another version of the saying is MF Sol. 6:

وقال: أحسن ما قدرت أن تسيه الملوك حسن السياسة وتخفيف المؤونة

He said: The best thing that kings can do is to rule well and relieve annoyances.

13.

وقال: في العواقب يُستفاد علم التجارب.

He said: The knowledge that comes from experiences is gained in the results.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 19 versio A et B

¹⁷³ Badawī 1952, 346.9.

14.

من لم يتعظ بنفسه لم يتعظ بغيره، ومن يتعظ بما رأى في نفسه لم يتعظ بما رأى في غيره.

He who does not draw a lesson from himself does not draw it from someone else, and he who does not draw a lesson from what he has seen in himself does not draw it from what he has seen in someone else.

15.

كلّ علم آمنك من خوف مكروه فهو كنز من الكنوز.

Any knowledge that makes you safe from detestable fear is the treasure of treasures.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 17 versio A et B

ante كلّ hab. وقال. Šhz versio A et B

16.

وقيل له: متى يتقوّض الجور؟ فقال: إذا مضى من لم يُجَرَّ عليه منه مثل ما يمضي من يجار عليه.

He was asked: When will injustice be brought down? He answered: When he who does not suffer injustice spends his days in the same way as he who suffers injustice spends his days.

GREEK PARALLELS:

A similar saying in the Greek tradition is Stob. 4, 1, 77: Σόλων ἐρωτῶντος αὐτόν τινος πῶς ἂν μὴ γένοιτο ἀδίκημα εἶπεν· εἰ ὁμοίως ἀγανακτοῖεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν οἱ μὴ ἀδικούμενοι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις. It also occurs with the same wording in GV 501 and WA 117, and similar formulations can be found in DL I 59.7-8 and Plut. *Solon*. 18, 7.2-5 *et al.*

3.2.4.a.2 Homer the poet (*Awm̄irus al-šā'ir*)¹⁷⁴

○.

كان أرسطو لا يفارق تكأة ديوان أوميرس، ويستدلّ هو ومن تقدّمه ومن تأخّر عنه بشعره.

Aristotle could not part with the collection (*dīwān*) of Homer as his own support. He and either who came before or after him were guided by his poetry.

¹⁷⁴ SAWS online edition para. 13.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

These remarks are included in the longer introduction on Homer in MuntŞH Hom. o.a. See *infra* the discussion of the passage and the differences between the two compilations.

1.

إِنِّي لأعجب من الناس إذ يمكنهم الاقتداء بالله عزّ وجلّ فيدعون ذلك إلى الاقتداء بالبهائم.

I wonder at men, as they could follow the example of God Most High they give it up to follow the example of animals.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This saying is an abridged version of what is transmitted in MuntŞH Hom. o.d:

قال: إِنِّي لأعجب من الناس إذا كان يمكنهم الاقتداء بالله، عزّ وجلّ، فيدعون ذلك إلى الاقتداء بالبهائم. فقال له تلميذه: لعلّ هذا إنّما يكون لأنهم قدّروا أنّهم يموتون كما تموت البهائم. قال: فبهذا السبب يكثر تعجّبي منهم من قبل أنّهم يحسّون بأنهم لابسون بدنًا ميتًا ولا يحسّون أن في ذلك البدن نفسًا غير ميتة.

He said: I wonder at men! When they could follow the example of God Most High they give it up to follow the example of animals. A disciple of his answered him: Perhaps they do this because they think they will die as animals die. He said: If this is the reason, my astonishment at them is even greater than before: they feel that they are joined to a mortal body, but they do not feel that in this body there is an immortal soul.

Further parallels are IH Hom. 8,¹⁷⁵ consisting in the short version as preserved here in MuḥŞH Hom. 1, and Şhr Hom. 1, bearing the longer version as MuntŞH Hom. o.d. Both texts have been compared with MuntŞH Hom. o.d:

Şhr تعالى IH | abest IH | عزّ وجلّ | IH | إن مكنهم الله من الاقتداء به | إذا كان يمكنهم الاقتداء بالله | IH | وقال | قال 1
Şhr بهذا | فبهذا | Şhr | فقال له | قال | Şhr | قد رأوا | قدّروا | Şhr | قال | فقال 2
يحيسون 3 (2nd occurrence)]
يحيسون Şhr

A different version of the short saying is MF Hom. 20 (and Şhz Hom. 15 versio A et B collated in app.):

¹⁷⁵ In the *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya* this saying is accompanied by a remark by Ibn Hindū, who notes that: «among them to practice philosophy consists in following the example of God Most High, because you know the truth and therefore you do good», Ḥalifāt 1995, I 379.8-9 (after no. 374).

وقال: العجب ممّن يمكنه الاقتداء بالله سبحانه فيعدّل إلى الاقتداء بالبهائم – يعني العدل.

He said: I wonder at those who, although they can follow the example of God, be glorified, deviate to follow the example of animals – that is, those who are his equals.

Šhz versio A | الغول [العدل] | Šhz versio A [سبحانه] | سبحانه

2.

من يعلم أنّ الحياة لنا مستعبدة والموت مُعتق لا ينبغي أن يحبّ فعل شيء إذا عيّرك به غيرك غضبت.

Whoever knows that life enslaves us and death sets us free should not wish to do something for which, if someone blames you for it, you will be angry.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This saying seems to be the result of an accidental combination of two sayings attributed to Homer, both of which are attested in the Arabic gnomological tradition. In particular, the first part corresponds to MuntŞĤ Hom. o.e and Şhr Hom. 2 (also echoed in Şhz Sol. 20), while the second part is close to IH Hom. 4 (and to the parallels MF Hom. 21 and Şhz Hom. 16).

3.

الدنيا دار تجارة، فالويل لمن تزوّد منها الخسارة!

This world is a house of commerce; Woe to those who gather loss from it!

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This admonition recurs frequently among Homer's sayings in Arabic sources with the same wording. It is found in MuntŞĤ Hom. o.f, MF Hom. 31, Şhr Hom. 7, Şhz Hom. 23 versio A et B, with irrelevant variants:

[الخسارة | Şhr عنها | منها | Şhr والويل | فالويل] | MuntŞĤ MF Şhr Şhz versio A et B | وقال hab. الدنيا ante
Şhz versio B للخسارة

Another significant Arabic parallel is the maxim no. 2153 of the ĞawRay, which coincides verbatim with the first half of Homer's saying.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ See Zakeri 2007, II 950-951, where further Arabic passages in which the same topos is expressed are listed.

4.

وقال: لا ينبغي لصاحب الدنيا أن يكون في كلِّ حين على نحو واحد، ولكن ينبغي له أن يتلَوَّن فيما اختلف عليه من الحالات بالشجاعة والجبن، والرضا والسخط، والشدة واللين، وأن يضع ذلك مرّة بعد مرّة في مواضعه على قدر ما ينويه من الأمور.

He said: He who is attached to the worldly life must not behave in the same way at all times, but must change according to the situations that come his way, with courage and cowardice, with joy and annoyance, with strength and mildness, and should on each take the appropriate disposition in proportion to the events that happen to him.

5.

لا ينبغي لمن لم تكن رغبته إلا في خير الدنيا أن يعدّ صالحًا، ولا لمن لم يكن مجتهدًا في طلب الحكمة أن يعدّ مصيبيًا، ولا لمن لم يكن صبورًا أن يعدّ كاملاً، ولا لمن لم يكن متواضعًا سهلاً أن يعدّ كريماً، ولا لمن لم يكن طلق اليدين بالخير أن يكون حسيبًا، ولا لمن لم يكن لمامة العلماء مجتنبًا أن يعدّ حكيمًا عفيفًا، ولا لمن لم يكن ذا شوق إلى العلماء وذا رغبة إلى الحكماء أن يعدّ محبًا للحكمة، ولا لمن لم يكن شكورًا أن يعدّ عارفاً، ولا لمن لم يحمد الخير أن يعدّ للخير أهلاً.

He whose desire lies only in earthly good should not be considered a righteous person, he who is not zealous in the pursuit of wisdom should not be considered an upright person, he who is not patient should not be considered a perfect person, he who is not humble and simple should not be considered a noble person, he who is not generous in doing good is not to be regarded as a good person, he who avoids the reproach of the learned is not to be regarded as a virtuous sage, he who has neither a liking for the learned nor an inclination towards the wise is not to be regarded as a lover of wisdom, he who is not grateful is not to be regarded as a man devoted to knowledge, he who does not praise the good is not to be regarded as worthy of the good.

6.

ولا مَحْمَدة لفخور، ولا مودّة الذي كبير، ولا فقر على مقتصد، ولا خصب لكسلان، ولا حظّ في خير لمن حرم ثمرة الأدب، ولا برّ للحريص، ولا نعمة للشحيح، ولا إخوان للمخادع، ولا حفظ لسرّ السفهاء ولا مهابة لأهل البذاء، ولا شيء في الدنيا والآخرة لمن لا تفكّر له في الأمور، ولا مال أغبط عند العلماء وأرضى في أنفسهم من العقل والأدب.

There is no praise for the boastful, no affection for the brazen, no poverty for the thrifty, no prosperity for the slothful, no fortune to enjoy the good for those

who deny the fruit of education, no pity for the greedy, no welfare for the miser, no brethren for the swindler, there is no protection for the secret of the foolish, no fear for the one who commits obscenities, there is nothing in this world and in the other for the one who does not reflect on matters, there is no money to stir up envy in the learned or to make them more self-satisfied than intelligence and education.

7.

لا يصلح المولع بالكذب [لشيء حتى يصلح التعلب للذئب].

Whoever is prone to lying is of no use at all, any more than the fox is of no use to the wolf.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This maxim is also transmitted by the letter-treatise known as the *Epistolary Novel between Alexander and Aristotle*, which bears several poetic quotations. Among the texts that make up this cycle, the *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya* is certainly one of the most studied (immediately after the so-called *Epistle on the Government of the Cities*, mentioned above) not only because it is the work's longest letter, but especially because, starting from a contribution published in 1976, Mario Grignaschi, later followed by most scholars, recognised in it the original core of the *speculum principis* known under the title of *Kitāb al-Siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa* and alternatively *Sirr al-asrār*, which gained fame in the West, not without deep changes, as *Secretum secretorum*.¹⁷⁷ A major unresolved issue concerns the original form and language of this letter, a problem that affects, more generally, the entire cycle of texts that constitutes the *Epistolary Novel*, on which we have only the evidence provided by Ibn al-Nadīm. The latter reports that Sālim Abū l-‘Alā’, secretary to the Umayyad caliph Hišā ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 105-125/724-743) is said to have translated, or at least corrected, Aristotle's letters to Alexander.¹⁷⁸ However, neither the content or number of these letters nor the language of translation is specified, which has left room for the proliferation of very different attempts at reconstruction.¹⁷⁹ Without going into the details of the discussion, even if the *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya* derives from a remote Greek core, as has been assumed for the rest of the *Epistolary Novel*, there are undeniable and evident Persian components, so marked that some scholars have led to question the Greek origin of this single letter.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ In fact, the Arabic recensions of the *Sirr al-asrār* that have come down to us and the text of the *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya* share only a very limited number of textual segments (corresponding to the incipit of the *Sirr al-asrār*) and the question of the dependence of one on the other has not yet been exhaustively studied. See Grignaschi 1965-1966, 1967; Manzalaoui 1974; Grignaschi 1975 (who first edited the letter), 1976, 1982 (further contribution by Grignaschi on the topic are listed in Zonta 2003); the question has been summarised by Zonta 2003, van Bladel 2004, 154-158 and Maróth 2006, 5-6. For the *Sirr al-asrār*, see also Forster 2006, 11-47.

¹⁷⁸ Flügel 1871-1872, I 117.30 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 1/2, 365.4-5 (Ar.); Dodge 1970, 258 (Eng.).

¹⁷⁹ For an overview of the debates's main points see Gutas 2009, 63-67; Swain 2013a, 110-122; Cottrell 2016.

¹⁸⁰ See the observations by van Bladel 2004, Zakeri 2004, 188-189, who argues, without further explanation, that if Sālim Abū l-‘Alā’ is accepted as the translator of the letter then it must have been translated by the Pahlavi,

As for the Homeric saying, we have not been able to trace an antecedent in Greek literature, and further investigations should be made on its (and that of the other poetic references contained here) potential derivation from Persian or Syro-Christian wisdom literature. Its wording is the same as that transmitted here by the MuḥṢḤ but is introduced by the phrase *wa-qad aḥsana Amīrūs al-šā'ir ḥaytu yaqūlu*.¹⁸¹

With a slightly different wording the maxim is also preserved in IH Hom. 1:

قال أميرس: الكذاب لا يصلح لشيء حتى يصلح الثعلب للذئب.

Homer said: Lying is of no use at all, just as the fox is of no use to the wolf.

8.

قال: الحسد هو الذلّ العاجل، لأنّ الذي ينال صاحبه منه من المكروه أكثر ممّا ينال المحسود.

He said: Envy is the dishonor of the world of transience because the hatred that the envious person gets from it is greater than what the envied person gets.

[9-83]

The rest of the section concerning Homer consists of 75 sayings, which have already been analysed, edited and translated into German by Manfred Ullmann, one of the witnesses to the Arabic version of the *Menandri Sententiae* (called Men ar I by Ullmann). The sayings included in this section have been omitted from the present analysis and correspond to the following nos. in Ullmann's edition: 26-28, 7, 37-38, 49, 3, 63-64, 79, 83-85, 89, 91, 104, 101, 108, 120-123, 344, 147, 153, 164, 161, 172, 173, 177-178, 336, 185, 189, 202, 201, 206, 208-209, 220-221, 234-239, 243-247, 251-253, 258-260, 263-265, 345-346, 270, 275, 283, 285-286, 298, 348, 313, 325, 349, 350.¹⁸²

3.2.4.a.3 A saying by Homer quoted by Aristotle¹⁸³

إذا أنكرت على الحاكم شيئاً من أمرك خاصةً وكان مَرَضِيًّا عند الناس، فاستر ذلك واشهر غيره بحسن الحال والمعرفة. فإذا صار عند الناس مشهوراً مُغنياً لهم عن الأوّل فاصرع الأوّل بما لك عليه فيه من الحجّة الظاهرة القويّة. واستشهد بقول أميروس: من ظنّ أنّه يذهب على الناس مذهبه فقد جهل.

since he was supposedly a *mawlā* of Persian origin and no source names him as a translator from Greek. See also Grignaschi 1965-1966, 12-13.

¹⁸¹ Maróth 2006, 28.19-20. Grignaschi 1967, 257 (no. VII) gives a French translation of the fragment. The non-Greek origin of this quotation had already been noted by Kraemer 1956a, 291.

¹⁸² Ullmann 1961, 8. Further information on the Arabic *Menandri Sententiae* is provided below in MuntṢḤ Hom. o.g + [1-216].

¹⁸³ SAWS online edition para. 6 (no. 70).

If you challenge the ruler about something in your life in particular, but he has the approval of the people, then hide it and speak publicly about something else concerning the good of the state of affairs and knowledge. But if this thing becomes known to the people and causes them to want to get rid of the first citizen, then tear down the first citizen with the strong and manifest argument that you had against him in this regard. And quote Homer's saying: He who believes that his conduct should be followed by all men is ignorant.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying attributed to Homer does not sound Homeric and I have found no antecedents either in the *Iliad* or in the *Odyssey* that would match the Arabic text. However, a parallel is attested in the above-mentioned *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya*. The two textual fragments are undoubtedly related. In fact, in both cases, the Homeric saying is quoted by Aristotle and the context is civic-political. However, I am more inclined to hold that the two witnesses depend on a common source or that the author of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, on which the MuḥṢḤ depends, drew on an intermediate source that had already extracted the saying from the *Epistolary Novel* rather than believing in a direct dependence of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* (and therefore of the MuḥṢḤ) on the *Epistolary Novel*. The context in which the Homeric saying is applied is in fact quite different, since in the *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya* Aristotle quotes Homer's words after listing a series of recommendations on how to behave when making public appearances, without any analogy in content and wording with what is instead reported in the MuḥṢḤ. The saying is reproduced below as we read it in the *Epistolary Novel*:¹⁸⁴

واخفظ ما قال أوميروس الشاعر حيث يقول: مَنْ طمع أن يذهب على الناس مذهبه فقد جهل.

Keep in mind what Homer the poet said where he states: He who wishes his conduct to be followed by all men is an ignorant man.

3.2.4.a.4 Simonides (*Sīmūnīdris*)¹⁸⁵

1.

نظر إلى مُصارع يفتخر بـغلبته لمصروعه فقال: أتغلب من هو أقوى منك، أو من هو مثلك، أو من هو دونك؟ أمّا الأقوى فلا تقدر عليه، وأمّا المثل فتساويه، وأمّا من هو دونك فلا فخر في غلبته فكلّ إنسان يغلب من هو دونه.

When he saw a wrestler who was boasting about his victory over the man he had knocked down, he asked: Have you defeated someone who is stronger than

¹⁸⁴ Maróth 2006, 36.19-37.1. See French translation in Grignaschi 1967, 258 (no. IX).

¹⁸⁵ SAWS online edition para. 32.

you or someone like you or someone who is inferior to you? If he was stronger you would not have had the ability to do so, if he was similar you would be his equal, if he was inferior to you it would not be a boast to have defeated him for every man wins who is inferior to himself.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The MuḥṢḤ preserves a shortened version of an anecdote transmitted in the form of a brief dialogue in the MuntṢḤ Simon. 2, reported below, and in IH Simon. 4 (collated in app.):

ونظر الى مُصارع يفتخر بغلبته لمصروعه، فقال له: أتغلب من هو أقوى منك أو من هو مثلك، أو من هو دونك؟ فقال: من هو أقوى مني. فقال: كذبت. قال: فمن هو مثلي. فقال: كذبت، لو كان مثلك لتساويتما. قال: فمن هو دوني. قال: كل إنسان يغلب من هو دونه.

IH فكلّ [كلّ] 3 IH قال (2nd occurrence) فقال 2 abest IH [بغلبته لمصروعه] 1

When he saw a wrestler who was boasting about his victory over the man he had knocked down, he asked him: Have you defeated someone who is stronger than you or someone like you or someone who is inferior to you? He replied: Someone stronger than me. He said: You are lying. He said: Someone like me. He replied: You are lying – if he was like you, you would have been equal. He said: Someone inferior to me. He replied: every man wins who is inferior to himself.

3.2.4.a.5 Pindar (*Bindāris*)¹⁸⁶

1.

قيل له: أيّ شيء أعجب؟ قال: رفض التقيح قولاً وطلبه فعلاً، وتشوّق الجميل قولاً والهرب منه فعلاً.

He was asked: What is the most astonishing thing? He replied: The rejection of the ugly in word and the pursuit of it in deed, as well as the longing for the beautiful in word and the fleeing from it in deed.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This chreia is attested to also in MuntṢḤ Pindar 1 and IsḤ Plato 10,¹⁸⁷ where it bears the same content and wording but a different structure, i.e. in the form of a single saying and not

¹⁸⁶ SAWS online edition para. 51.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Abd Allāh 1998, 90.2-3.

as an answer to a question posed by an anonymous interlocutor. MuntṢḤ Pindar 1 reads (with IsḤ Plato 10 collated in app.):

قال: إنّي لأعجب من الذين يرفضون القبيح قولاً ويطلبونه فعلاً، ويتشوّقون الجميل قولاً ويهربون منه فعلاً
كما يهرب من القبيح.

abest IsḤ | قولاً | IsḤ وقال [قال 1

He said: I wonder at those who reject the ugly in word and seek it in deed, and desire the beautiful in word and shun it in deed as if fleeing from the ugly.

In addition, this saying is found in 3 passages of the MF – MF Pindar 3,¹⁸⁸ MF Pindar 6, MF Pindar 9,¹⁸⁹ – again as a single maxim and not as a chreia. Among them, the closest in form and structure to that in MuntṢḤ is MF Pindar 3, while MF Pindar 9 consists only of the first half of the saying.

Below are the variants of MF Pindar 3 and MF Pindar 9 compared to MuntṢḤ Pindar 1:

abest MF Pindar [ويتشوّقون... من القبيح | MF Pindar 9 وقال فننداروس أيضاً MF Pindar 3 وقال فنندارس [قال 1
MF Pindar 3 كهربهم [كما يهرب 2 MF Pindar 3 بالجميل [الجميل | MF Pindar 3 ويتشرفون [ويتشوّقون | 9
3 |

MF Pindar 6 offers a longer version of the saying (which is attested to also in Syriac):¹⁹⁰

وقال فيدوروس: إنني لأعجب كثيراً من أمور الناس الذين يبغضون الفواحش بكلامهم، ويسعون في طلبها
بأعمالهم، ويحبون الفواحش ويفرون منها كأنها هي الفواحش والسيئات! فما يدري الواصف كيف يصفهم:
إذ كانوا يحبون ما يبغضون، ويبغضون ما يحبون، ثم يصيرون بذلك إلى أن يعدّوا السيئات التي يعملون
حسناً، والحسنات التي لا يعملون سيئات!

Pindar said: I wonder greatly at those people who in words hate shameful acts, but in deeds strive to pursue it, who love shameful acts¹⁹¹ but shun them as if they were shameful and evil acts! How can one describe them, since they love what

¹⁸⁸ Badawī 1958, 303.9-10. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 129 (no. 55).

¹⁸⁹ Badawī 1958, 315.16-17. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 139 (no. 124).

¹⁹⁰ Badawī 1958, 306.14-18. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 132 (no. 75).

¹⁹¹ Rosenthal 1975a, 132 (Eng. from his German translation) renders here «good deeds» as if there were *al-ḥasanāt* instead of *al-fawāḥiṣ* as printed by Badawī. Although Rosenthal's translation makes more sense and could be confirmed by a survey of the MSS (which however falls outside the scope of the present investigation), we follow the Arabic text by Badawī, who does not provide any textual variant in the apparatus.

they hate and hate what they love, and then they end up considering the bad deeds they do as good, and the good deeds they do not do as bad!

SYRIAC PARALLELS:

SGP 109 (= Arzhanov 2019a, 282-283, where further parallels are listed).

2.

وقيل له: إنَّ فلاناً يحسن القول فيك، فقال: لا جرم لأكافئته على ذلك. فقيل له: بماذا؟ قال: بأنَّ أحقق قوله.

When he was informed that someone spoke well of him, he said: I will certainly reward him for that. He was asked: In what way? He replied: By making what he says come true.¹⁹²

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Pindar 4, TawB Faylasūf VII 547

قال [فقال] MF حسن [يحسن] TawB فلان [إنَّ فلاناً] TawB لفيلسوف MF لفنداريوس [له] TawB قيل [وقيل] 1 MF TawB قيل [فقيل] MF TawB abest MF TawB [على ذلك] TawB سأكافئه [لأكافئته] abest TawB [لا جرم] MF TawB | abest MF TawB [له]

A shorter version of the saying is preserved in: ‘Awn 742 (ascribed to a Faylasūf),¹⁹³ MuntŞĦ *Hāws* (?),¹⁹⁴ IH anonymous, in the section entitled *min amṭāl al-yūnāniyyīn*, no. 687.¹⁹⁵

3.

سئل: كم مقدار طعامك في اليوم؟ فقال: قدر ما يصحّ به حواسي للإدراك، ونفسي للفكر.

He was asked: What amount of food do you consume per day? He answered: In proportion to what my senses work well with for perceiving and my soul for thinking.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

As observed by al-Qāḍī, this saying is listed among those of *Asānus* (which could be a corrupted transliteration of Aesop) in the MuntŞĦ¹⁹⁶ – where the entry on Aesop follows that on Pindar –, while it is missing from the MuḥŞĦ. Consequently, it can be assumed that al-Sāwī, in selecting and copying material from his copy of the *Şiwān al-ḥikma*, forgot to

¹⁹² Rosenthal 1975a, 130 (slightly modified).

¹⁹³ Yūsuf 1996, 122.9 (Ar.). See also Rosenthal 1991, 215.

¹⁹⁴ Dunlop 1979, 85.1785-1786 (para. 137).

¹⁹⁵ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 470.1.

¹⁹⁶ Dunlop 1979, 92.1957-1958 (para. 171).

transcribe *Asānus* that served as the title of the section dedicated to him, and so wound up merging together the section on Pindar with the one on *Asānus/Aesop* that immediately followed, which are instead preserved separately in the MuntŞĤ.¹⁹⁷ This phenomenon is typical of the textual tradition of the gnomological genre and is at the origin of the attribution of the same saying to different authors in different collections or, as in our case, in different recensions of the same collection.

3.2.4.b The anonymous *Muntaḥab şiwān al-ḥikma* (MuntŞĤ)

3.2.4.b.1 A Homeric verse used by Thales¹⁹⁸

واستدلّ بقول أوميرس الشاعر حيث قال: إنّ أوقانوس كأنه عُمِلَ مُوَلَّدًا للكُلِّ.

He (sc. Thales) inferred [it] from a statement of Homer the poet where he claims that Ocean is like if he was made the progenitor of everything.

GREEK AND ARABIC SOURCES:

As already mentioned, the first pages of the MuntŞĤ trace a history of the origins of philosophy and science in Greece. The emergence of philosophy is closely linked to the name of Thales, who is said here to have been the first philosopher in Egypt (*huwa awwal man tafalsafa bi-miṣr*), who believed that the principle of generation was water.¹⁹⁹ The Homeric quotation has been inserted in the context of this account, since it provides evidence (as the verb *istadalla* indicates) of Thales's belief that «all things are derived from moisture» (*ḡamīc al-ašyā' mina l-ruṭūba*).²⁰⁰ These lines on Thales are introduced by a brief remark, probably by the compiler of the *Şiwān al-ḥikma*, where he generically refers to his source as *ba'ḍ al-kutub*,²⁰¹ the identification of which has been made possible by textual analysis. In fact, this initial section proved to be an assemblage of excerpts taken from Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's Arabic version of ps. Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*.²⁰² However, as noted by Daiber, the compiler of the *Şiwān* took material from his *Vorlage* not without introducing minor alterations in order to adapt the text to the target context.²⁰³ For example, the above-mentioned phrase that introduces Thales, *huwa awwal man tafalsafa bi-miṣr*, is actually the result of blending two distinct phrases in Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's version, namely «this man was the first to begin with philosophy» (*hāda l-raḡul awwal man ibtada'a bi-l-falsafa*) and «this man philosophised in Egypt» (*hāda l-*

¹⁹⁷ al-Qāḍī 1981, 94 n. 13.

¹⁹⁸ Dunlop 1979, 3.16-4.17 (para. 1).

¹⁹⁹ Dunlop 1979, 3.13-15.

²⁰⁰ Dunlop 1979, 3.16. I have discussed the use of the verb *istadalla* in this context (and in another passage of the MuntŞĤ) in a previous contribution, see Zarantonello 2020b, 74.

²⁰¹ Dunlop 1979, 3.13.

²⁰² See Daiber 1980, 81 (cf. 816-817); Gutas 1982, 649; Daiber 1984, 39-40.

²⁰³ Daiber 1980, 85.

rağul tafalsafa bi-miṣr).²⁰⁴ This phenomenon can also be observed for the Homeric quotation given above (which corresponds to verse *Il. E* 246) when compared with the form in which it reads in the Arabic version of the *Placita philosophorum* (I 3, 2), given below together with the original Greek text of ps. Plutarch:

وقد رأى أوميرس الشاعر هذا الرأي في الماء إذ يقول إن أوقانوس كأنه عُجِل مُولِّدًا للكلِّ.

διὰ τοῦτο καὶ "Ὅμηρος ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ὑποτίθεται περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος "Ὀκεανός ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται."

Worthy of note is Qusṭā's addition of the epithet *al-šā'ir* to the transliteration of the name Homer, an element that cannot be immediately inferred from the context, except from the metrical form of the quotation in Greek.²⁰⁵

3.2.4.b.2 Homer the first poet of the Greeks²⁰⁶

1 [...] ولم يكن قبل ذلك في بلاد يونان شيء من العلوم البرهانية، وإنما كانت حالهم كحال أمة العرب الجاهلية، ليس عندهم إلا علم اللغة وتأليف الأشعار والخطب والأمثال والرسائل، إلى أن نجم ثاليس بالفلسفة، وكذلك علم الحساب والهندسة والمساحة أخذوها عن المصريين، فأما وجود الشعر في أمة يونان فإنه ظهر فيهم قبل الفلسفة، وأبدعه أوميرس الشاعر، وهو عندهم بمنزلة امرئ القيس في العرب، وثاليس كان 5 بعد أوميرس بثلاثمائة واثنين وثمانين سنة، فمن كون ثاليس إلى ابتداء ملك بُختنصر ثمانية وعشرين سنة وأيام. وأمة اليونانيين نجمت بعد موسى، عليه السلام، وإن الشعر بدأ منهم قبل الفلسفة بمائتين من السنين. وأول فيلسوف كان منهم في سنة تسعمائة وإحدى وخمسين من وفاة موسى، عليه السلام. وهذا ما خبر به كورلِس في كتابه الذي ردّ فيه على يُليانِس فيما ناقض به الإنجيل. وذكر فرفورِيوس أن ثاليس ظهر في سنة ثلاث وعشرين ومائة من ملك بُختنصر.

Dunlop [بثمانين] corr. Stern²⁰⁷ 6 Dunlop SAWS [بثلاثمائة] corr. Dunlop SAWS 5

SAWS

²⁰⁴ Daiber 1980, 96.13, 15.

²⁰⁵ See Daiber 1980, 27.

²⁰⁶ Dunlop 1979, 10.179-11.187 (paras.13-14). The division into paragraphs chosen by Dunlop here may lead to some confusion; I followed the *divisio textus* proposed by Stern in his English translation (see next note) instead. I have dealt with this passage and its loci paralleli in Zarantonello 2020b, 75-80. Inevitably my discussion here overlaps with and partly repeats the contents of that article.

²⁰⁷ See Stern 1972, 460.15. Cottrell 2008, 549 follows Stern's emendation but interprets the term as a dual («two hundred») instead as a generic plural («hundreds») as Stern did in his English translation (see *infra*).

[...] Before that, there was no apodictic science known in Greece; they were like the pre-Islamic Arabs: they only had the knowledge of language, composition of poetry, speeches, proverbs, and letter-writing, until Thales brought forth philosophy. In the same way he took over from the Egyptians arithmetic, geometry, and geodesy. As regards the existence of poetry among the Greeks, it appeared among them before philosophy, and was invented by Homer the poet, who occupies among them the same rank as Imru' l-Qays amongst the Arabs. Thales lived 382 years after Homer, and from the lifetime of Thales till the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign there passed 28 years and some days. The Greek nation arose after the time of Moses, peace upon him; so that poetry started among them hundreds of years before philosophy. The first philosopher among them lived in the year 951 after the death of Moses, peace upon him. This is what is told by Cyril in his book in which he refuted Julian's attack on the Gospel. Porphyry says that Thales appeared in the year 123 from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.²⁰⁸

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Some lines of the passage are repeated almost verbatim in Šhr Hom. 52:

وقيل إن وجود الشعر في أمة يونان كان قبل الفلسفة وإنما أبدعه أوميروس وتاليس كان بعده بثلاثمائة
واثنتين وثمانين سنة. وأول فيلسوف كان منهم في سنة تسعمائة وإحدى وخمسين من وفاة موسى عليه
السلام. وهذا ما أخبر به كورفس في كتابه وذكر فورفوريوس أن تاليس ظهر في سنة ثلاث وعشرين ومائة من
ملك بختنصر.

It is said that the appearance of poetry among the Greeks came before philosophy and that Homer invented it, while Thales lived 382 years after him. The first philosopher among them lived in the year 951 after the death of Moses, peace upon him. This is what is told by Cyril in his book. Porphyry says that Thales appeared in the year 123 from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

Moreover, the chronological reference for Homer's life²⁰⁹ is also given in Šhz Hom. o.g versio A et B (versio B is collated in apparatus):

²⁰⁸ English translation in Stern 1972, 451 (slightly modified).

²⁰⁹ An even different indication for the dating of Homer is given in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (Flügel 1871-1872, I 287.6-7 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 270.15-16 [Ar.]; Dodge 1970, 676 [Eng.]) and in IAU (ch. 4.1.11.3 online edition), where Ishāq ibn Ḥunayn is referred to as the source of the information. Here Homer is mentioned along with two other unidentifiable Greek poets (whose transliterations vary between *Qāqls/Fāqls/Flqls* for the one and *Mārys/Mārqs/Mārfs/Hāris* for the other), and is said to have lived in the period of time between Hippocrates and Galen. See also 'Abbās 1993, 46.

وهو أول من أبدع الشعر في يونان، وظهر بعد موسى عليه السلام بتسعمائة وإحدى وخمسين سنة، وظهر
 ثاليس الملطي بعده بقريب من أربعمائة سنة والله أعلم.

1 [وظهر] abest Šhz versio B 2 [والله أعلم] abest Šhz versio B

He was the first to invent poetry among the Greeks, he appeared 951 years after Moses and Thales of Miletus appeared almost 400 years after him, and God knows.

The passage in the MuntŞĤ, and in the Šhr drawing from it, is remarkable in several respects. First, in the sketchy description of the origins of philosophy in Greece proposed here, we read that before philosophy the Greeks cultivated poetry and that its inventor was Homer. The same narrative is related in two other Arabic sources.²¹⁰ The first is the chronicle of Barhebraeus titled *Muĥtaşar ta`riĥ al-duwal* (*The Abridged Chronicle of the Dynasties*), which in the paragraph about David in the chapter concerning the kings of Israel reports: «[...] it is said that Thales of Miletus was the first philosopher among the Greeks and that poetry appeared among the Greek nation hundreds of years before philosophy and that it was invented by Homer. Cyril says in his book in which he refuted Julian's attack on the Gospel that Thales lived 28 years before the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Porphyry says that Thales appeared 123 years after Nebuchadnezzar».²¹¹ The other testimony can be read in the opening lines of the universal history from the time of Adam to 729/1329 composed by the Ayyūbid prince of Mamlūk Syria and scholar Abū l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) and entitled *al-Muĥtaşar fi ta`riĥ al-başar* (*A Short History of Mankind*), where it is stated: «Homer, the Greek poet, was alive 568 years after the death of Moses. This was the date when the Greeks became famous; before that they were unknown. They cultivated poetry and eloquence. Philosophy appeared among them at the time of Nebuchadnezzar. All this is taken from the book of Cyril the Greek in which he refuted Julian's attack on the Gospel».²¹²

Evidently all four texts derive from a common remote source, which is indicated in the reference to the book of Cyril where he refuted Julian's attack on the Gospel, i.e. the *Contra Iulianum* by Cyril of Alexandria in response to Julian the Apostate's *Contra Galileos*. In the MuntŞĤ, the Šhr and in Barhebraeus's *Abridged Chronicle* the date of Thales' birth is compared with the chronological reference given by Porphyry, but, since the source is not specified, scholars have questioned whether this might be the ἡ φιλόσοφος ἱστορία or another lost work.²¹³

As Samuel M. Stern has shown, the four texts derive from the lost *Ta`riĥ sinī al-`ālam* (*Chronology of the Years of the World*) by the 9th cent. scholar Abū `Īsā al-Munaġġim.²¹⁴ The

²¹⁰ In addition, one should mention as a parallel, with due distinction, the locus classicus of the *Kitāb al-ĥurūf* (chapters 114-146) by al-Fārābī: Mahdi 1969, 134-153 (Ar.), Khalidi 2005, 4-20 (Eng.). See remarks by Rudolph 2011, 307-311; echoed in Rudolph 2017, 597-598.

²¹¹ Şālihānī 1890, 51.2-8 (Ar.), Stern 1972, 444 (Eng.).

²¹² Fleischer 1831, 152.12-15 (Ar.), Stern 1972, 450-451 (Eng.).

²¹³ See the discussion on this point in Cottrell 2008 550-555.

²¹⁴ For the scattered biographical details that we know about him see: Thomas 2010; Berggren 2019.

Ta'riḥ sinī al-ālam, which was presumably a universal history starting with the death of Moses, is preserved only fragmentary through the excerpts transmitted by the MuntŞĤ and the *al-Muḥtaşar fī ta'riḥ al-başar* by Abū l-Fidā'. Stern speculated that al-Munağġim's work combined sources of various kinds, including Persian traditional historiography and Christian Greek chronographies, on which the quotation of the *Contra Iulianum* would also depend. For there are some textual elements – especially in the dating system –²¹⁵ that lead to the conclusion that al-Munağġim could only have read excerpts of this writing, as transmitted in one or more Arabic Christian chronographies at his disposal, that in turn pooled Greek and Syriac sources.²¹⁶ Also with regard to the question of the mutual relations between the four sources reporting the passage on Homer and their relation to the *Ta'riḥ sinī al-ālam*, one cannot but venture into the realm of hypotheses. The MuntŞĤ and the *al-Muḥtaşar fī ta'riḥ al-başar* are the main testimonies for the reconstruction of al-Munağġim's *Ta'riḥ*, and they probably depend on it directly.²¹⁷ As already stated and as will be pointed out below, this section of the Şhr displays many textual correspondences with the equivalent entry in the MuntŞĤ and it can be assumed that al-Şahrastānī quoted al-Munağġim's fragment from the MuntŞĤ.²¹⁸ As for Barhebraeus one cannot tell if he based himself on an intermediary or read Munağġim's *Ta'riḥ* directly.²¹⁹

Another interesting aspect that emerges from the passage as formulated in the MuntŞĤ, and that is significantly absent from the other sources cited above, is the comparison with Imru' l-Qays, the legendary first poet of the Arabs (d. ca. 550 CE). The compiler of the MuntŞĤ (or a later reader?) inserted the reference to Imru' l-Qays as a yardstick for assessing Homer's historical and literary pre-eminence among the Greeks, relating the unknown Greek poet to the well-known Arab poet. Such an equivalence can be read in two other testimonies: the first is Şhz Hom. o.a versio A et B (for which see *infra*) and the second is al-Bīrūnī's *al-Ātār al-bāqiyya 'an al-qurūn al-ḥāliyya* (*Chronology of the Ancient Nations*), where *Awmūrūs al-şā'ir* is said to be *ka-Imri' l-Qays*, «like Imru' l-Qays» for the Arabs.²²⁰

3.2.4.b.3 Simonides inventor of four letters of the alphabet²²¹

وفي ملك دارا بن أردشير عرف اليونانيون كتابتهم التي هي على أربعة وعشرين حرفاً، لأنه لم يكن لهم قبل ذلك إلا ستة عشر حرفاً. وذلك أن قدمس وايمون اللذين من مصر جاءا إلى مدينة أثيناس، وحملتا معهما ستة

²¹⁵ I will not dwell here on the analysis of the chronological references in these passages, a complex problem, partly due to the work of the compilers themselves (as noted by Stern 1972, 442 Cyril used a dating system based on the Olympics, whereas in the Arabic text the dates are based on the reigns of the Babylonian rulers) and partly due to the ease with which numerals became corrupted in the process of transcription and textual transmission. For these aspects see Stern 1972, 440-445; 465 n. 34, and more recently Cottrell 2008, 548-555.

²¹⁶ Stern 1972, 439, 443; Cottrell 2008, 550-552; see also Rosenthal 1968, 71; Di Branco 2017, 32-34.

²¹⁷ Stern 1972, 438-439.

²¹⁸ Stern 1972, 444; for the sources of Şhr see also *infra*.

²¹⁹ Stern 1972, 444; see also Cottrell 2008, 552-553.

²²⁰ Sachau 1878, 86.17-18 (Ar.) = Sachau 1879, 99 (Eng.). See also Kraemer 1956a, 285 n. 3.

²²¹ Dunlop 1979, 11.190-196 (para. 14). I have collated the text with the one published by Stern 1972, 461.3-11, especially for the discussion of the transliterations of the Greek Παλαμήδης.

عشر حرفاً، وهي التي كان اليونانيون يكتبون بها أولاً، وهذه تسمى حروف فونيقية. ومن بعد ذلك وجد
فالميدس أربعة أحرف أخرى، ومن بعد ذلك وجد سيمونوديس أربعة أحرف أخرى وإنما لم تثبت صورها لقلة
5 الفائدة فيه من لا يحسن الخطّ اليوناني. ويقال إنّ أول من وضع الكتابة أهل مصر ومن بعدهم أهل فونيقية،
وهي التي جاء بها أولاً قدمس إلى ما هناك. ثمّ من بعدهم اليونانيون.

corr. Dunlop [فالميدس 4 Stern وبعد [ومن بعد 3 Stern واغنور [وايمون 2
Stern عند hab. الفائدة فيه post 5 Stern فارس اوغس MSS باريس

In the reign of Darius (II) son of Artaxerxes (I) the Greeks learned their writing, which consists of twenty-four letters. In fact, before that they only had sixteen letters. Cadmus and Aymūn (= Agenor), from Egypt, came to the city of Athens and carried with them sixteen letters, which are those first used by the Greeks and are called Phoenician. Afterwards Fālamīḍs (= Palamedes) invented four other letters, and still later Simonides invented a further four letters. We have not noted their form due the lack of usefulness for those who do not master the Greek script. It is said that the first inventors of writing were the Egyptians, after them the Phoenicians; and it was this which was brought by Cadmus to there; after them the Greeks.

SYRIAC AND ARABIC PARALLELS:

The account concerning the invention of the Greek alphabet is part of the group of paragraphs at the beginning of the MuntṢḤ, which, according to Stern's reconstruction, reproduce a section of the lost chronicle of Abū 'Īsā al-Munaḡḡim (see above). In discussing these lines, the scholar identifies four parallel passages in both Syriac and Arabic sources, in which one finds the same content and many common details, yet, at the same time, some significant philological errors, the most conspicuous of which is the hendiadys «Cadmus and Agenor» which is probably a mistranslation of the patronymic Κάδμος Ἀγήνορος «Cadmus son of Agenor».²²² The examination of these elements led Stern to assume that all sources relied, albeit in a layered manner, on a common *Vorlage*.

The first and only Syriac source is Michael the Syrian's *Chronography* (*Maktbōnut* [or: *Maktab*] *Zabnē*), already mentioned in Chapter 1 (p. 35). As noted by Stern, the author breaks the account of the invention of the Greek alphabet down into three fragments, scattered in chapters V 1-3, in which events from the 16th year of Darius, corresponding to the beginning of the 6th millennium of creation are described. Chapter V 1 relates that «Cadmus and Agenor came from Sidon to Athens and brought the following 16 letters: A B Γ Δ E I K Λ M N O Π Σ T Y. Palamedes Nauplius of Argos invented 4 more, viz.: Ξ Θ Φ X; finally, Simonides invented a further four, viz. Z Ψ H Ω».²²³ Two details can already be observed. On the one hand, Michael

²²² Stern 1972, 464 n. 22.

²²³ Stern 1972, 445 (Eng.).

the Syrian provides information that is missing in the MuntṢḤ, as he specifies which were the original 16 letters, as well as the four Palamedes and Simonides each had come up with. On the other hand, unlike the MuntṢḤ, he does not say that the 16 were called Phoenician letters. Moreover, as will also be seen below, Michael's *Chronography* is the only source which says that Cadmus and Agenor came from Sidon, whereas the MuntṢḤ and other Arabic sources (however, al-Bīrūnī is vague on this point) report that they came from *Miṣr* (Egypt).²²⁴ The second fragment, inserted in chapter V 2, reads: «It is said that it was the Egyptians who first invented the alphabet, and the Phoenicians learned to write from them».²²⁵ This is perfectly identical to a sentence of the MuntṢḤ. The third fragment comes from chapter V 3 and relates that at the time of Cyrus' expedition narrated by Xenophon «the Athenians began to use 24 letters, while before they only used 16».²²⁶ The latter statement covers the first part of the account in the MuntṢḤ and is to be placed before the other two segments.

The second evidence is given by Agapius' *Kitāb al-ta'rīḥ* (*The Book of History*), commonly known as *Kitāb al-'unwān* (*The Book of the Title*).²²⁷ The Arabic text of Agapius coincides almost word by word with that of the MuntṢḤ, except for the adaptations whereby the author places the fragment in the context of his own work (e.g. the chronological reference to Darius at the beginning of the passage is replaced by a generic *wa-fi dālīka al-zamān*, since the Persian king is mentioned a few lines earlier in the *Kitāb al-'unwān*).²²⁸ There are, however, two significant differences. Agapius, like Michael the Syrian, also writes down the 16 original Greek letters and the 8 added later (although their lists do not coincide), but he also gives the transcription of the name of each Greek letter and the corresponding letter of the Arabic alphabet. Moreover, in correspondence with the sentence that in MuntṢḤ reads: «afterwards Fālamīds [a correction of the transmitted Fārīs by Dunlop, whereas Stern reads Fārs Awḡs] invented four other letters», Agapius's text bears: «afterwards Fārs Awḡs (= of Argos?) invented four other letters and Fālamīds, who is from the country of Argos, viz. Z Θ H X». This addition might be triggered by a repetition of the proper noun – in which Fārs is a corrupted form of Fālamīds and its variants – with the subsequent confusion produced by the obscure transliteration.²²⁹

The last two Arabic sources preserving the account on the origin of the Greek alphabet are more concise. Ibn al-Nadīm in the first section of the first chapter of his *Kitāb al-Fihrist* claims to have taken the information that writing was introduced among the Greeks by Cadmus and Agenor, who came from Egypt and brought with them 16 letters, from some history (*fi ba'd al-tawārīḥ*). The reference to Palamedes is left out and it is simply stated that someone later added four letters, and «then another, called Simonides, invented four letters, so that together they were 24. In those times appeared Socrates, according to Isaac the Monk».²³⁰ The latter

²²⁴ See also Stern 1972, 464 n. 24.

²²⁵ Chabot 1899-1910, IV 69b.2-4 (Syr.), I 109 (French); Stern 1972, 445 (Eng.).

²²⁶ Chabot 1899-1910, IV 70a.27-29 (Syr.), I 112 (French); Stern 1972, 445 (Eng.).

²²⁷ For this chronography see Chapter 1.

²²⁸ Cheikho 1912, 110.2-14 = Vasiliev 1915, 89.8-90.9 (Ar.); Stern 1972, 445 (Eng.). An Italian translation is given in Pirone 2013, 169-170.

²²⁹ See Stern 1972, 464 n. 25.

²³⁰ For the whole passage see Flügel 1871-1872, I 15.5-9 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 1/1, 35.11-36.2 (Ar.); Dodge 1970, 28 (Eng.); Stern 1972, 445-446 (Eng., the latter is reported earlier). For the chronological association between Socrates' death and the invention of the Greek alphabet, as read in the testimony given by al-Bīrūnī, Stern detects

addition by Ibn al-Nadīm has led Stern to suppose that the work of this unidentified Isaac the Monk is the source on which all our Arabic accounts depend (including the passage in the lost work of al-Munaḡḡim on which the MuntŞĤ relies), given their significant coincidence in content and wording. However, the hypothesis remains unproven without further evidence, as Stern himself has admitted.²³¹

Finally, al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb fī taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind min maqūla maqbūla fī l-'aql aw mardūla* (*Book of the Verification of What is Said About India*) provides a further version, consisting of a simplified paraphrasis of the passages read earlier with some additional details: «Āsidās (Hermes?)²³² formed 16 characters to perpetuate science about the time when the Israelites ruled over Egypt. Thereupon Cadmus and Agenor brought them to the Greeks. They added four new letters and began to use twenty letters. In the days when Socrates was poisoned, Simonides added four other letters, and so the Athenians at last had a complete alphabet of 24 letters. This happened at the time of Artaxerxes, son of Darius son of Artaxerxes son of Cyrus, according to the opinion of the chroniclers of the West».²³³

GREEK PARALLELS:

Focusing on the aspect that interests us, the narrative concerning Simonides' contribution to the formation of the Greek alphabet with the introduction of four letters (two long and two double) is reported in a number of classical sources, the most important of which are grouped as T 78 Poltera and are Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 738F 3-6, *An.Ox.* 4, 319.29-31, *An.Ox.* 4, 400.12-15, Plin. *Nat.* 7, 192. In addition, it is worth mentioning the evidence offered by *Schol. Dion. Thr.* (1,3, 35, 185 Hilgard), which is particularly significant from our point of view in light of the wide circulation of Dionysius Thrax's Τέχνη γραμματικῆ among the Syriac-speaking communities, of which a 6th-cent. adapted version is extant.²³⁴

As Stern notes, it is not possible to identify among the sources that have come down to us what might have been the antecedent to the Syriac and Arabic testimonies, but in general it can be said that: «A particular version of the history of the Greek alphabet was elaborated by the beginning of the Christian era and is reflected by Pliny in the first, and Plutarch in the second century. This version found its way into the chronicles, presumably first into those written in Greek, then also those written in Syriac; one such Syriac chronicle is reflected in the work of the late Syriac chronicler Michael. From the Christian chronicles in Greek and Syriac the account passed into Christian chronicles written in Arabic; of this type Agapius of Manbij is a representative. In this form the story became available to the Muslims, and was taken up

an antecedent in Jerome's *Chronicon* (an expanded Latin version of the chronological tables of Eusebius' *Chronicon*), where the reference to Socrates' death (Socrates uenenum bibit) occurs shortly after the note «Athenienses XXIII litteris uti coeperunt, cum antea XVI tantum litteras haberent» (199-200 F = Helm 1956, 117-118), see Stern 1972, 446.

²³¹ Stern 1972, 446 and n. 27.

²³² The suggestion of Stern 1972, 464 n. 26 that *Āsidās* might be a very damaged transliteration of the Greek Ἑρμῆς is worth considering because, although it is not paleographically supported, it is found in Greek (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 738F) and Latin sources (Plin. *Nat.* 7, 192, where Hermes becomes Mercury).

²³³ al-Bīrūnī 1958, 134.7-13 (Ar.) = Sachau 1910, I 172 (En.), cf. Stern 1972, 446, modified.

²³⁴ Already mentioned in Chapter 1 (p. 48). See Poltera 2008, 69-70 (where, however, the Syriac and Arabic traditions are not considered).

as early as the 3rd/9th century by Ibn al-Munajjim; later it was also propagated by writers who were not professional historians, such as Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Bīrūnī». ²³⁵

3.2.4.b.4 Homer in the entry on Socrates (*Suqrātīs al-ḥakīm*) ²³⁶

ثمّ لا قليل على الاطلاق ولا كثير، لأنّ كثير سقراط هو قليل هوفيقس وكثير هوفيقس هو قليل أوميرس الشاعر، وكثير أوميرس هو قليل ذنياطس ويقال إنّ كان آكل من رُئي من اليونانيين، فلفل في الدنيا، وقليل سقراط عنده كثير، والسلام.

There is neither absolute little nor absolute much; for what us much for Socrates is little for Hūfiqs and what is much for Hūfiqs is little for Homer the poet, and what is much for Homer is little for Dynatus, who is reputed to have been the Greeks' biggest eater in the world, and Socrates' little is much for him, peace [upon him]. ²³⁷

3.2.4.b.5 Homer in the entry on Alexander (*Al-Iskandar al-malik dū l-qarnayn*) ²³⁸

وقد قال أوميرس الشاعر: إنّ للحكمة خلاء موضع لتُرسخ في العقول وتفهم.

[للحكمة] MS C tempt. Dunlop in app. الحكمة Dunlop SAWS

Homer the poet said: Wisdom needs emptiness in a space to implant itself in minds and understanding.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Daiber points out that the Homeric quotation is also transmitted in the unpublished gnomologium of the MS Istanbul, Aya Soofya 4260. ²³⁹

In the MuntṢḤ the quotation is included in a section entitled *Ġawāb Aristūṭālīs fi-Filfūs al-malik wālid al-Iskandar* which reproduces verbatim one of the letters, similarly titled, from the *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*. The fragment has no counterpart in the Homeric poems and reads: ²⁴⁰

وقد قال أوميرس الشاعر: إنّ الحكمة تريد موضعًا خاليًا لتُرسخ في العقول وتفهم.

²³⁵ Stern 1972, 447.

²³⁶ Dunlop 1979, 35-572-574 (para. 40).

²³⁷ English translation in Alon 1995, 91 (no. 791), slightly modified.

²³⁸ Dunlop 1979, 50.943 (para. 66).

²³⁹ Daiber 1984, 57.

²⁴⁰ Maróth 2006, 9.3-4.

Homer the poet said: Wisdom requires a free space to implant itself in minds and understanding.

3.2.4.b.6 Solon (*Sūlun*)²⁴¹

○.

كان جد أفلاطون من قبل أمه، وهو الذي وضع نواميس أهل يونان وسنتهم وأحكامهم.

He was Plato's grandfather on his mother's side and is the one who laid down the laws of the Greek people, their rules and verdicts.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The brief presentation given here summarises two essential traits that characterise the figure of Solon in Arabic sources, especially gnomological collections (see 'Ām Sol. 1 and 2, MF Sol. o.a and o.c, Šhz Sol. o.a and o.c versio A et B), namely his kinship with Plato – of whom he is said here to be the grandfather, *ǧadd*, on his mother's side, but elsewhere his progenitor, *wālid* (on this respect see *infra* MF o.c) –, ²⁴² and the fact that he was a legislator of Athens. Solon is counted among the legislators of the Greeks also in al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb fi taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind*, where it is stated: «The ancient Greeks received their religious and civil laws from sages among them who were called to the work, and of whom their countrymen believed that they received divine help, like Solon, Draco, Pythagoras, Minos, and others». ²⁴³

1.

وسئل: لِمَ لم تفرض على من قتل أباه ما يجبه عليه؟ فقال: لأنني لم أعلم أن أحداً يقدم على ذلك.

He was asked: Why do not you prescribe to someone who has killed his own father what is due to him? He replied: For I know of no one who has dared to do so.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

IH Sol. 9, MF Sol. 15, Šhz Sol. 154 versio A et B:

عقابا [على | MF Šhz versio A et B | تذكر في سنتك [تفرض | IH Šhz versio A et B | لا] لم | IH | وقيل له [وسئل

IH MF Šhz versio A et B | ما يجبه عليه | IH الأب [أباه | IH لقاتل [من قتل | MF Šhz versio A et B | عقوبة IH

²⁴¹ Dunlop 1979, 66.1334-68.1364 (paras. 94-95).

²⁴² See also the Life of Plato in MF, where the same information is repeated and Solon is presented as a lawgiver: Badawī 1958, 126.8 (repeated then in IAU ch. 4.5.2 and Qifṭī 18.16)

²⁴³ al-Bīrūnī 1958, 80.3-5 (Ar.) = Sachau 1910, I 105 (En.).

He wrote sound rules and honourable laws, including: The wise man does not drink except without getting intoxicated.

GREEK PARALLELS:

I have not found any Greek fragment covering this text, but in DL I 57.4-5 Solon is said to have introduced sanctions against archons who were found drunk. In DL I 76.8-9 Pittacus as well is credited with the enactment of laws against intoxication, already mentioned in Arist. *Pol.* 1274b 18-23 and echoed in Plutarch's *Septem Sapientium Convivium* 155F.

5.

وإذا مات الملك أن لا يخرجوا إلى الأسواق ثلاثة أيام ولياليها في المدينة، وإذا توج الملك لم يخرجوا ثلثًا أيضًا، ويقبلون على لذاتهم ليظهر السرور بالملك في المدينة.

If the king dies, they shall not go out to the markets for three days and three nights in the city, and if the king is crowned, they shall not go out for three days and three nights either, and they shall devote themselves to their own pleasures so that they may show joy at the king's arrival in the city.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Another occurrence of this saying corresponds to Šhz Sol. 142 versio A et B:

وإذا مات ملك لا يخرج في السوق ويترك ثلاثة أيام، وإذا تولّى الملك كذلك، لا ليشغله بالذات فرحًا به، بل ليستقر القلوب على سلطنته.

abest [بل ليستقر القلوب على سلطنته 2] Šhz versio B [لا ليشغله 1] Šhz versio B

If a king dies, one shall not go out into the marketplace and leave for three days, and if a king comes into power, one shall do the same, so that he is not kept busy with pleasures and happy because of it, but that hearts are turned firmly towards his kingdom.

6.

ومن سنّته أن يستعمل الفارس في الحرب من لدن ثلاثين سنة الى ستين سنة، ثمّ يستعملونه بعد الستين في الحرس،

From his body of law: The knight is used in warfare from age 30 to 60, then after 60 he is used in the guardhouse.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Cf. Šhz Sol. 7 versio A (versio B collated in app.):

ومن سنته إذا فرضوا للفارس أن يعقدوا وقاره على فرسه، ويستعمل في الحرب من ثلاثين سنةً إلى ستين،
ثم بعده يستعمل في الحرس،

Šhz versio B | يتفقدوا [يعقدوا] سنته 1

From his body of law: If they decide that the dignity of the knight should be related to his horse, he is used in warfare from age 30 to 60, then after this he is used in the guardhouse.

7.

وأن ينادي المنادي كل يوم: لا تنكحوا كثيرًا فتنهدّ أبدانكم وتقصر أعماركم.

And let it be announced daily: Do not unite often because your bodies are corruptible and your lives are short.

8.

وإذا أذنب الرجل، أن يرفع إلى السلطان، فيثبت ذنوبه والشهر واليوم والسنة التي يُذنب فيها، ثم إذا رُفِع عليه شيء بعد ذلك، نُظِر في ذنوبه ومناقبه، فإن فضلت مناقبه على ذنوبه خُلِّي عنه، وإن نقصت عنها قُتِل.

If a man had committed a crime, [he prescribed] that he should be brought before the ruler and that his faults should be established as well as the month, the day and the year in which he had committed them, and that, if after this he was found guilty of another crime, his faults and his merits should be examined, and if his merits exceeded his faults he should be released, and if they were less he should be killed.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 8 versio A et B

في الشهر والسنة واليوم [والشهر واليوم والسنة] | Šhz versio B | فثبتت [فيثبت] | Šhz versio A et B | رُفِع [أن يرفع] 1
Šhz versio A et B | فإن [وإن] 2 | Šhz versio A et B | فيه [فيها] | Šhz versio A et B | الذي [التي] | Šhz versio A et B |
Šhz versio B | يقتل [قتل] | Šhz versio A et B | عنها [عنها] | Šhz versio B

9.

وقال: ليست فضيلة الرجل ما ادّعاه في نفسه، ولكن ما نسبه الناس إليه بما يظهر لهم من كرم طبعه.

He said: the virtue of man is not what he claims to himself but what men ascribe to him based on what he has shown them of the nobility of his natural disposition.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Sol. 12, Šhz Sol. 151 versio A et B

MF Šhz versio A et B | ادّعاها [ادّعاها] MF Šhz versio A et B | فضائل [فضيلة] MF Šhz versio A et B | ليس [ليست] MF Šhz versio A et B | بما [بما] MF Šhz versio A et B | نسبها [نسبه] MF Šhz versio A et B | لنفسه [في نفسه] MF Šhz versio A et B | منه [من كرم طبعه] MF Šhz versio A et B | يظهر [يظهر] MF Šhz versio A et B

10. For this saying see MuḥŞĤ Sol. 2 (pp. 416-417).

11. This saying is identical with MuḥŞĤ Sol. 3, for which see ĀF Sol. 14 (pp. 400-403).

12.

وسئل: أيّ شيء في غاية المفسدة للإنسان؟ قال: حبّ المال.

He was asked: What is the greatest cause of corruption for man? He answered: The love of money.

GREEK PARALLELS:

cf. Stob. III 16, 12 (Apollodorus Comicus): ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν κακῶν / εἴρηκας, ἐν φιλαργυρίᾳ γὰρ πάντ' ἔνι; cf. also DL VI 50.8-9 (Diogenes): τὴν φιλαργυρίαν εἶπε μητρόπολιν πάντων τῶν κακῶν (similar in GV 265 referred to Democritus and in Stob. III 10, 37 referred to Bion) and Ps.-Phoc., *Sententiae* 42: ἡ φιλοχρημοσύνη μήτηρ κακότητος ἀπάσης.²⁴⁵

ARABIC PARALLELS:

IH Sol. 16

IH فقال [قال] | اخلاق الناس [للإنسان] | يفسد [في غاية المفسدة] | ما الذي [أيّ شيء] | IH وقيل له [وسئل] | IH الدرهم [حبّ المال]

²⁴⁵ The saying, extremely common both in the Graeco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions, is also attested in various gnomological sources and in progymnasmata. For further references see van Der Horst 1978, 142-143; Hock, O'Neil 1986, 307 and the apparatus of GV 265. I could not find a formulation of this chreia with a *verbum rogandi*.

The Greek loci paralleli listed above (in particular DL, GV and Stob) are very close in content and wording to another group of Arabic sayings, including the maxim ID XXXIII (for which Rosenthal cites numerous Greek and Arabic loci paralleli):²⁴⁶

وقال الحبّ <للمال> وتد جميع الأشياء الرديئة وذلك أنّ جميع الأشياء الرديئة معلقة به.

He said: Love of money serves as a support for all evil things, because all evil things are connected with it.

13.

وقال: إذا أردت أن تعرف كيف الجزاء فاعرفه بمن يطيعك ويعصيك.

He said: If you wish to know how compensation takes place, know it both from those who obey you and those who resist you.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

A significant variant is attested in Šhz Sol. 9 versio A et B:

وقال: إذا أردت أن تعرف الحر فاعرفه فيمن يطيعك ويعصيك.

He said: If you wish to know the free man, then know him both from those who obey you and from those who resist you.

14. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Sol. 4 (p. 417).

15.

وسأله رجل: كيف لي بأن يقلّ خطائي؟ قال: لا تتعرض لعداوة الأشرار.

A man asked him: What shall I do to reduce my mistakes? He answered: Do not expose yourself to the hostility of the wicked ones.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

IH Sol. 10.

IH تعرض [تتعرض | IH فقال | قال | IH وقيل له [وسأله رجل

16.

وقال: ليكون صديقك من خالفك على الهوى وأعانك على الرأي.

²⁴⁶ Rosenthal 1958b, 171 (Ar.); see Rosenthal 1958a, 41 for the English translation and for parallels. The name of this maxim's author is not given – as in the two previous sayings, ID XXXI and XXXII – and the last sage to be mentioned is Anaxagoras, the protagonist of the anecdote that constitutes saying no. XXX.

He said: Let your friend be the one who opposes you in desire and supports you in thought.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 10 versio A et B

Šhz versio A et B | وأطاعك [وأعانك] Šhz versio B | في [على] 1

17.

وسئل عن الجواد فقال: من جاد بماله وصان نفسه عن المطامع، وكفّ يده عن مال غيره.

He was asked about the generous and said: (Generous is) he who lavishes his own money and keeps himself safe from greed, and withholds his own hand from the money of others.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

IH Sol. 2, MF Sol. 13, Šhz Sol. 152 versio A et B; TawB Faylasūf VIII 407, cf. MF Hermes 107²⁴⁷

abest IH MF Sol. 13 Šhz versio A et B | [وسئل عن

MF Hermes هو أن تجود بمالك، وتصون نفسك عن مال غيرك] من جاد... عن مال غيره | TawB من [عن] 3 | TawB

18.

وقال: مَنْ فعل خيرًا فليجتنب ما خالفه، وإلاّ دُعي شريرًا، لأنّ الخير والشرّ لا يتخالطان بل يتخابطان، ومحق الشرّ للخير أقرب من محق الخير للشرّ، لأنّهما في غاية التعاند والتباعد، تعاند بشهادة العقل وتباعد بتعدّر الجمع.

He said: He who does good should avoid that which is contrary to it otherwise he will be called wicked. For good and evil do not mix together but collide against each other, and it is more likely that evil cancels out good than good cancels out evil, because the two are at the apex of opposition and divergence, opposition because it is the intellect that attests to it and divergence because of the impossibility of their union.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The first part of the saying (وقال... شريرًا) is also found in MF Sol. 1, Šhr Sol. 2, Šhz Sol. 1 versio A (= Šhz Sol. 136 versio B) with almost the same wording:

²⁴⁷ Badawī 1958, 22.13.

[ما خالفه | Šhz versio B فليجتنب | فليجتنب | MF Šhz versio A et B صنع | فعل | Šhz versio A قال | وقال
MF Šhz versio A et B خلافه

19.

وقال: إنَّ أمور الدنيا حقّ وقضاء، فمن أسلف فليقبض، ومن قضى فقد وفى.

He said: Earthly matters are right and fulfilment of duty, and he who has advanced money must be repaid, and he who has repaid has fulfilled his debt.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The same saying occurs in Šhr Sol. 3.

Šhr من [ومن

20. For this saying see MuḥŞĤ Sol. 5 (pp. 417-418).

21. For this saying see MuḥŞĤ Sol. 6 (pp. 418-419).

22.

وقال لتلامذته: إذا انصبَّ الدهن وأريق الشراب وانكسر الاناء، فلا تغتمّ، بل قل: كما أن الأرباح لا تكون إلاّ فيما يباع ويشترى، كذلك مصيبة الفقدان لا تكون إلاّ في الموجودات، فهذا ثمن الغمّ والخسارة عندك، فإنّ لكلّ شيء ثمنًا، وليس شيء بالمجان.

Dunlop عنك²⁴⁸ (based on Badawī) coni. Daiber [عندك 2

He said to his pupils: If oil is spilled and wine is poured out and the vessel is broken, do not distress yourself but say: just as there is no profit except in what is sold and bought, so the misfortune of loss is only in the existing beings, and this is the price of distress and damage due to you, for everything has a price and nothing is free.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhr Sol. 6

[فهذا ثمن | Šhr يكون | تكون | Šhr الخسر | مصيبة الفقدان 2 | Šhr يكون | تكون | abest Šhr | لتلامذته 1

Šhr فائف | Šhr يجي | شيء | abest Šhr | شيء 3

²⁴⁸ Daiber 1984, 58.

23.

وسئل: ما الشيء الذي هو أهدّ من السيف؟ قال: لسان الرجل الرديء إذا كان فصيحًا.

He was asked: What is sharper than the sword? He answered: The tongue of the wicked man if he is eloquent.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This chreia is also found among Solon's sayings in MF Sol. 14, with the variants:

abest MF | إذا كان فصيحًا | MF السوء [الرديء] | abest MF [الشيء]

In Šhz Sol. 145 versio A et B the same saying is reproduced without the interrogative form:

وقال: الذي هو أهدّ من السيف لسان الرجل الفصيح.

Countless loci paralleli can be found in the list provided by Zakeri for the saying no. 439 of the ĠawRay.²⁴⁹

GREEK PARALLELS:

Ps. Phoc., *Sententiae* 124: ὄπλον τοι λόγος ἀνδρὶ τομώτερόν ἐστι σιδήρου; GV 219: Ὁ αὐτός (scil. Demosthenes) ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῖον μέγιστον ὄπλον εἶπε· λόγος. Cf. other formulations of this topos in Nicol. Prog. 22.12-14, ed. Felten and Anonym. Aphthonii Comment. II 19.6-7, ed. Walz (Aesop)²⁵⁰; Men. Mon. 621, ed. Pernigotti.

3.2.4.b.7 Homer (*Awm̄irus al-šā'ir*)²⁵¹

o.a.

1 ومن القدماء الكبار الذين يَرْتَبِّهُمُ أَفْلَاطُونُ وَأَرْسُطُوطَالِيسُ وَمَنْ يَجْرِي مَجْرَاهُمَا فِي أَعْلَى الْمَرَاتِبِ.
وكان أرسطوطاليس لا يفارق تكأته ديوان شعر أوميرس، ويُستدلُّ هو ومن تقدّمه وتأخّر عنه أبدًا بشعره، لما كان يجمعه مع الحذق في قول الشعر من إتقان المعرفة ومثانة الحكمة وجودة الرأي. فمن ذلك الاستدلال بقوله في عدّة مواضع: لا خير في كثرة الرؤساء، وفي هذا كفاية لمن تأمل رُبع هذه الكلمة واحتواءها على معانٍ جلييلة جعلها كلٌّ من تكلم في شيء من التوحيد من الفلاسفة والمتكلمين بعده قدوةً وعمدةً فيما أثبتوه من ذلك.

²⁴⁹ See Zakeri 2007, II 219-224.

²⁵⁰ Hock, O'Neil 1986, 301 (no. 2).

²⁵¹ Dunlop 1979, 68.1365-72.1478 (paras. 96-100).

He is among those whom Plato and Aristotle rated as the Ancient great authors and rivalled both of them in the highest rank. Aristotle could not part with the collection (*dīwān*) of Homer's poetry as his own support. He and either who came before or after him were always guided by his poetry. For he composed with expertise in the poetic expression thanks to the perfection of his erudition, the force of his wisdom and the excellence of his doctrine. This is demonstrated by his own words in many passages: "No good thing is a multitude of rulers", but that is enough for those who consider this utterance a benefit and believes it contains edifying notions. Each of those who discussed the matter of the *tawhīd* (unicity of God), be they philosophers or theologians who came after him, consider this discourse a model and supporting evidence of the *tawhīd*, that they prove on the basis of the former.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Segments of this section are preserved in MuḥṢḤ Hom. o (وكان أرسطوطاليس لا يفارق... بشعره) and Šhz Hom. o.d versio A et B (و<هو> من القدماء الكبار... لا خير في كثرة الرؤساء), with the following variants:

Šhz أفلاطون | أفلاطون | Šhz versio B | يحترمهم Šhz versio A | عدتهم [يرتببهم] Šhz versio A | وهو من [ومن] 1
 من العظماء [ومن يجري مجراها] | Šhz versio B | وأرسطو Šhz versio A | وأرسطو وغيرهما [وأرسطوطاليس] | Šhz versio A
 Šhz أرسطو [أرسطوطاليس] 2 | Šhz versio B | إعلاء [أعلى] | Šhz versio B | من العلماء العظماء Šhz versio A
 | Šhz versio A et B | ديوان شعر أوميرس | Šhz versio B | متكأه Šhz versio A | مكان [تكأته] | Šhz versio A et B
 [من] 4 | Šhz versio A et B | من [مع] 3 | abest MuḥṢḤ Šhz versio A et B | أبداً | abest MuḥṢḤ [شعر
 فمّن بديع قوله] | فمّن ذلك الاستدلال بقوله في عدّة مواضع | Šhz versio B | للمعرفة [المعرفة] | Šhz versio A et B | مع
 Šhz versio A et B | لا خير 4

Šhr Hom. o summarises and comments on the passage as follows:

وهو من كبار القدماء الذي يجريه أفلاطون وأرسطوطاليس في أعلى المراتب ويستدل بشعره لما كان يجمع فيه من إتقان المعرفة ومتانة الحكمة وجودة الرأي وجزالة اللفظ فمّن ذلك قوله لا خير في كثرة الرؤساء وهذه كلمة وجيزة تحنها معان شريفة لما في كثرة الرؤساء من الاختلاف الذي يأتي على حكمة الرئاسة بالإبطال ويستدل بها أيضا في التوحيد لما في كثرة الآلهة من المخالفات التي تكرر على حقيقة الإلهية بالإفساد وفي الحكمة لو كان أهل بلد كلهم رؤساء لما كان رئيس البتة ولو كان أهل بلد كلهم رعية لما كانت رعيته البتة.

He is among the great authors of the Ancients that Plato and Aristotle placed at the highest rank. One is guided by his poetry for he composed in it from the perfection of his erudition, the force of his wisdom, the excellence of his doctrine

and the purity of his expression, for instance, his saying “No good thing is a multitude of rulers”. This is a concise utterance that is filled with noble meanings, since the multitude of rulers brings about divergences that consume the wisdom of the leadership by annihilating it. From this one can also draw a proof of monotheism, because the multitude of deities brings about conflicts that affect the essence of the divine by corrupting it. And [from this one can also draw a proof] of wisdom: If all the inhabitants of a country were rulers, then there would be no rulers and if all the inhabitants of a country were subjects, then there would be no subjects.²⁵²

GREEK PARALLELS:

The passage is an assemblage of sundry elements, for which, if taken individually, one can identify antecedents in Greek literature. Firstly, the excellence of Homer’s poetry is certified by the judgement of two of the most significant Greek philosophers known to the Arabs, Aristotle and Plato, evaluated not only in artistic-literary terms, but, above all, in the quality of the content it conveys. The reference to Plato is curious if one bears in mind the philosopher’s censorship of poetry and Homer in well-known parts of the *Republic*, but it could be a reinterpretation – in a positive key and diametrically opposed to the original meaning – of some of the very words of this dialogue (*R.* 595c 1-3 e 598d 8-9, where Homer is defined as the leader of the tragic poets), or an echo of the words in the *Phaedo* 95a 1-2: Ὀμήρω θεῖω ποιητῇ. Aristotle’s interest in Homeric poetry, on the other hand, is evident from his works and emerges from the analysis presented in the previous chapter, but it is also corroborated by the fact that some sources ascribe to Aristotle a lost writing entitled Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά or τὰ Ὀμήρου προβλήματα.²⁵³ It is worth noting, then, the mention of a personal copy of the *dīwān šīr Awmīrus* which probably hides the trace of a reference to the so-called *Iliad of the casket*. As reported by several Greek and Latin authors, Aristotle had a copy of the *Iliad* (perhaps revised and edited by Aristotle himself), which he offered to Alexander – though he is not mentioned in the Arabic text – and that the latter kept inside a box, hence the title ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος (Plut. *Alex.* 26 and Strabo XIII 594).²⁵⁴

The verse cited as an example is highly significant in many respects, including its macroscopic Islamic reinterpretation, where some Homeric words are lent to the affirmation of the dogma of the *tawhīd*. These words constitute the first part of *Il.* B 204 (οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη), already encountered in the previous chapter since it is quoted by Aristotle in *Metaph.* Λ 10, 1076a 4 (= ref. 14 *Metaph.*), as well as in *Pol.* Δ 4, 1232a 13, of which, however, no Arabic translation is attested. The reinterpretation of this verse in a monotheistic key provided by Aristotle in *Metaph.* may have guided both the interpretation of Abū al-Qāsim al-Kātib, the presumed compiler of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, being he a young philosophy student of

²⁵² See also the French translation in Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 255.

²⁵³ See Pfeiffer 1968, 69; Sanz Morales 1994, 39-46. A similar title is listed among the works of Aristotle in IAU (online edition, ch. 4.6.13.2, no. 102) and in Qifī (ed. Lippert 1903, 48.6), namely the *Kitāb fi masā’il min ‘awiš šīr Awmīrus* (*Questions on the Obscure Verses in Homer’s Poetry*), which is said to be in ten parts.

²⁵⁴ See the fundamental discussion in Pfeiffer 1968, 71-72 and the reconstruction of the problem in Sanz Morales 1994, 22-39, with references to the ancient sources of this anecdote.

al-‘Āmirī, and of al-Šahrastānī, who relied on the textual tradition of the *Šiwān*.²⁵⁵ In any case, the verse in question is a very common quotation in Greek literature, so much so that it is repeated, mostly in its complete form and not truncated as quoted here and in the *Metaph.*, not only by Aristotle's commentators, but also in the scholastic production of the *Progymnasmata* as an example of compound maxim (Hermogenes *Progymn.* 4,²⁵⁶ Aphthonius *Progymn.* 7, John of Sardis *Comm. in Aphth.* 7, 14 [58.15, 17-18 ed. Rabe]), and in gnomological literature, such as in Stob. IV 6, 1.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, the Islamic reinterpretation we are observing here has a clear counterpart in the reuse of this verse by Christian authors. The latter saw in the Homeric words a model for the affirmation of the divine *μοναρχία* reflected in the earthly one, of which the most famous formulation remains Philo *Legatio ad Gaium* 149 (and *Conf. Ling.* 170), but further instances are Ps.-Justin *Cohortatio ad gentiles* 17D, Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum* VII 14, Theodoret *Graec. affect. curation* III 2.

o.b.

وسئل ذيوجانس: من أشعر اليونانيين؟ فقال: كلُّ أحد عند نفسه وعند الجماعة أوميرس .

post *con.* هو Daiber (based on Badawī)²⁵⁸

Diogenes was asked: «Who is the greatest poet among the Greeks?». He replied: «Each one is for himself, but for all he is Homer».

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The same chreia is found in IH no. 453 Diogenes²⁵⁹ with the following variants:

IH وأوميرس عند الجماعة [وعند الجماعة أوميرس | abest IH [ذيوجانس

GREEK PARALLELS:

The Arabic covers the Greek text as preserved in GV 454: Περσίνος ὁ ποιητῆς ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ἄριστός ἐστι ποιητῆς “παρ’ ἐαυτῶ μὲν ἕκαστος”, εἶπε, “παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ὀμηρος”.²⁶⁰

o.c.

وقد نقل اصطفن شيئاً من أشعاره من اللغة اليونانية الى اللغة العربية، ومعلوم أن أكثر رونق الشعر ومائه يُذهب عنه النقل، وجلّ معانيه يتداخله الخلل عند تغيير ديباجته، لكنني مع ذلك أتيتُ ببعضها لإفصاحها

²⁵⁵ Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 255 no. 1 are of this opinion. Kraemer 1956, 280 had already drawn attention to this reuse of Homeric verse to affirm the dogma of the *tawḥīd*.

²⁵⁶ Translated into English in Kennedy 2003, 78.

²⁵⁷ On the widespread use of this citation see also Swain 2013a, 39.

²⁵⁸ Daiber 1984, 58.

²⁵⁹ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 410.1-2. See Gutas 1993, 510 (= no. 500.1); Overwien 2005, 137.

²⁶⁰ This text has been compared with the list of corrections of Landmann 1964, 108.

مع ما تقدّم وصفه عن كلّ معنى دقيق وعلم غزير، وقدّمتُ على ذلك شيئاً من منشور كلامه على مجرى العادة في باب غيره من الحكماء، وختمتُ هذا الفصل المشتمل على ذكره بما أثبتته من بعض أشعاره.

Stephan has translated part of his poems from Greek into Arabic. It is known that poems lose most of their special splendor in translation and that the ideas expressed in them become largely corrupted when the artistic form of the poetry is altered.²⁶¹ But nevertheless, I have reported below some verses for their eloquence, according to what has been described before about every specific meaning and the profound wisdom. I have placed before these verses some extracts from his prose discourse to follow the practice I have used in other chapters on the sages. I have completed this section containing the account on him by recording some verses from his poems.

The passage has attracted the attention of scholars mainly because of the double statement made in the opening lines. Firstly, it offers a significant piece of documentary information, because it attests to a presumed partial translation of the Homeric poems by a certain Stephan, a selection from which is given at the end of the entry, as declared in the concluding line of this passage, and corresponding to MuntŞĦ Hom. 1-216. The mention of the translator Stephan is repeated, with additional details, a little further on in the same section, MuntŞĦ Hom. o.g. (see *infra* for the discussion of these aspects). Moreover, as already mentioned in Chapter 1, the comment by the compiler (possibly the author of the *Şiwān al-ĥikma* himself) on the shortcomings in translating poetry has intrigued scholars and is frequently referred to in secondary literature. Finally, the indication *wa-qaddamtū ‘alā dālīka šay’an min mantūri kalāmihī* («I have placed before these verses some extracts from his prose discourse») is transcribed from the *Şiwān al-ĥikma*, which must have contained a more conspicuous number of prose excerpts – namely wise and witty sayings – and not only the 3 given here (= Hom. o.d, o.e, o.f), which are the result of the selection of the compiler of the MuntŞĦ, as emerges from the comparison with the corresponding section in the MuĥŞĦ that contains 8 sayings (MuĥŞĦ Hom. 1-8), including those transmitted also by the MuntŞĦ.

o.d. For this saying see MuĥŞĦ Hom. 1 (pp. 422-423).

o.e.

وقال: من يعلم أن الحياة لنا مستعبدة والموت مُعتق، مُطلق؟

الحياة Dunlop SAWS [الحياة]

He said: Whoever knows that life enslaves us and death sets us free is a free man?

²⁶¹ This part has been translated into German by Rosenthal in *Das Fortleben der Antike in Islam*, but is also accessible in English in the English version of his study: Rosenthal 1975a, 18 (modified).

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The first part of this saying is also echoed in MuḥṢḤ Hom. 2 (for which see earlier). Šhr Hom. 2 has the same saying with the following addition:

post مُطلق hab. أثر الموت على الحياة. Šhr (The whole saying reading: «He said: he who knows that life enslaves us and death sets us free and liberates us will prefer death to life»)

The same saying is found in Šhz Hom. 30 versio B (= Šhz Sol. 20 versio A), where it is followed by a long commentary, which might be authored either by al-Šahrāzūrī himself or by his unknown source. Šhz Hom. 30 versio B reads (Šhz Sol. 20 versio A is collated in app.):

1 وقال: مَنْ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّ الْحَيَاةَ لَنَا مُسْتَعْبِدَةٌ وَالْمَوْتَ مُعْتَقٌ، أَثَرَ الْمَوْتِ عَلَى الْحَيَاةِ، وَ هَذَا كَلَامٌ نَفِيسٌ، وَهُوَ
خلاصة الفلسفة وثمره الحكمة، لأنك إذا علمت حكم هذه الحياة وشأنها وجميع ما هو علامة عليها علمت
أنها قيد وأن صاحبها مسجون، وأن الفكاك من هذه القيود والراحة من هذا السجن إنما هو بالموت الذي
هو التحول من حال إلى حال، و من مكان إلى مكان، وإنما استبشع هذا الاسم من لا درية له بالفلسفة ولا
5 خبرة له بالحكمة، وإنما يعرف ما يرى ويسمع دون ما يستبان ويعقل لا جرم إذا ذكر له الموت حال وجزع،
و انتفض وفرع، و لو كان للحمار مثل عقله لكان هذا العارض فيه أقوى، و لكان به أولى، ولولا نقص اللسان
لما حط نفسه إلى حال الحمار فيما لو لحقه لكان مثله، ومتى ارتفع هذا النقص رفع نفسه إلى حرم علوي،
شريف، مستنير، باق، دائم، وتطاول إليه وتشبه به، وأحد يهديه. وامتطى لما يكون مبلغًا له إلى محله ومُشرفًا
به على حاله، ولن يزول هذا النقص إلا عن واحد بعد واحد في دهر بعد دهر، فلا تعجب من إنكار من ينكر
قولنا في التهاون بالموت، فله شركاء ومعه قرناء، وإنما كلامي مع أهل العقل واليقظة والخير والجد والعزم، فأما
10 من قد ألهاه العز والمال والنعم والجاه والذهب والفضة والعقار والضيعة والسرية والغزل والصبابة والنظر والتحليل
والمدح واللعب فأنه عما نقوله ونسطره أعمى أصم، ميت مدعى حيًا، وغائب مدعى حاضرًا، مرجوم يُحسب
مغبوطًا.

10 versio دراية [دربة] abest versio A | الاسم 4 abest versio A [أثر الموت على الحياة] 1
جرم [حرم] 7 versio A («he shrinks») انقبض [انتفض] 6 («knowledge») A
وامنطى [وامتطى] | («he takes its path») versio A وأخذ يهديه [وأحد يهديه] 8 versio A
في 10 («his ascent») versio A ومراقته [ومُشرفًا به] | محلة [محله] versio A
versio A («land ownership») hab. والحررة. 11 post versio A من التهاون [التهاون]
[والتحليل] | («arrogance») versio A والبطر [والنظر] | («flirtation») versio A [والغزل]

1st occurrence) | مدّعى versio A (2nd occurrence) | مدّعى versio A | مدّعى versio A («avarice») والبخل
12 [والممدح] versio A («joking») | مدّعى

He said: Whoever knows that life enslaves us and death sets us free will prefer death to life.

This is a precious speech, the essence of philosophy and the fruit of wisdom, for if you know the rule of this life, its mode of being and all that characterises it, then you will know that it is a constraint and that he who is an agent of it is a prisoner, that liberation from these shackles and relief from this prison comes with death, which is the passage from one state to another, from one place to another, and that he who is unfamiliar with philosophy and has no experience of wisdom finds this name repugnant, and knows only what he sees and hears without being able to really know and understand it. No mistake is made if death is mentioned to him as a [transitory] state, but he becomes agitated, shudders, and frightened.

And if the donkey had an intellect similar to his own, this anomalous condition would be stronger in him and would be more suitable to him, and if it were not for the lack of language he would not be reduced to the condition of a donkey, in that if [the donkey] could reach [man] he would become like him. When this lack fades he ascends to something sacred, superior, noble, enlightened, enduring and eternal, aspires to it, imitates it, and it is something that guides him. So he strives to reach his destination and to ascend to that state, and this lack does not but little by little, in the course of time. Do not wonder at the disapproval of those who reject our discourse on imperturbability in front of death, because they have their associates and companions, whereas my words are shared by people endowed with intelligence, vivacity, kindness, seriousness, determination. As for those who have been distracted by power, money, prosperity, gold and silver, by real estate and land ownership and landed property, by high society, by flirtation and passionate love, by appearance, by trickery, praise and amusement, in regard to what we say and write they are blind, deaf, a dead man called alive, an absent man called present, a cursed man considered enviable.

o.f. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Hom. 3 (p. 423).

o.g. + [1-216]

وهذه بعض مقطعات من أشعار أوميرس التي تسمى بايمبوا فيها معانٍ حسنة وترتيبها على ترتيب حروف

اليونانيين، نقلها اصطفن الى العربية.

These are excerpts from Homer's poems, called iambs, which contain noble meanings and are arranged in Greek alphabetical order. Stephan translated them into Arabic.

These lines serve as an introduction to the collection of Homeric verses given below (MuntŞĤ Hom. 1-216), which I have not reported here since they have already been analysed, edited and translated into German by Manfred Ullmann. The reference to iambs and the alphabetical arrangement of the verses provided two decisive clues, combined with textual analysis, for the identification of the source of the fragments below. Ullmann, continuing the research of his teacher Jörg Kraemer, identified in these 216 verses – reduced to 213 sentences, being nearly all isolated monostichs except for three sayings that actually merge two monostichs each –, the most significant witness of the Arabic version known as *Men ar I* of the *Μενάνδρου γνῶμαι* (or *Menandri Sententiae*).²⁶² The latter are an alphabetically arranged collection of monostichs – predominantly iambic trimeters, but also other meters are attested as well as ametrical lines –, preserved in Greek through heterogeneous anonymous recensions, attributed to Menander at least since the 3rd cent. AD, but actually assembling fragments from different sources. By comparing these different recensions, produced by the intervention of readers and compilers of all ages due to the great fortune this collection had in the school system, scholars have isolated over 1000 monostichs that have come down to us. In addition to the exorbitant number of Greek testimonies of the *Menandri Sententiae*, translations into Coptic, Armenian, Arabic and Old Church Slavonic are also preserved.²⁶³ The importance of the MuntŞĤ in the reconstruction of the Arabic circulation of the *Menandri Sententiae* lies not only in the fact that it transmits the most complete version of *Men ar I* (much more than other sources of this version, namely MuĥŞĤ, IH, Šhr, Šhz), but also in the fact that it is the only source that gives the name of the translator. The Stephan mentioned here (but already in MuntŞĤ o.c) is in all probability Işţifān ibn Basīl (d. 245/860), a translator active in the 9th cent. and affiliated with the circle of Ĥunayn ibn Işĥāq, as first suggested to Kramer by Dunlop and then confirmed by Ullmann.²⁶⁴

For the sake of completeness following is a list of references to the monostichs transmitted in the final part of the section on Homer in the MuntŞĤ according to Ullmann's numbering: 1-3, 6, 12-15, 19-28, 36-41, 43, 46-47, 49-51, 53-56, 58-63, 65-80, 82, 88, 92, 97, 107-108, 110, 112, 114-118, 132-133, 135, 138-147, 149-150, 153-159, 162, 167, 169-170, 179-184, 186-188, 190, 193-200, 202-207, 210-214, 217-219, 221-233, 240-243, 248-250, 254-257, 264, 266-269, 271-274, 276-282, 284, 287-291, 293-297, 299-313, 316-317, 319-322, 324-334, 337-342.²⁶⁵

²⁶² Kramer 1956a, 307-309; Ullmann 1961, 8. I have already dealt with the Arabic reception of the *Menandri Sententiae* in Zarantonello 2020b, 68-71. See also Ġad'an 1971, 15-28 and 'Abbās 1993, 52-63 for a revision of studies by Kraemer and Ullmann and a purely literary-historical (and not philological as proposed by Kraemer and Ullmann) analysis of the Arabic version of the *Menandri Sententiae*.

²⁶³ For the Greek tradition of the *Menandri Sententiae* see Pernigotti 2008, 11-25; 44-45; 53-55.

²⁶⁴ Kraemer 1956a, 308 n. 1 and Ullmann 1961, 12-13.

²⁶⁵ See Ullmann 1961, 8.

3.2.4.b.8 Aristophanes (*Aristūfāns*)²⁶⁶

1.

قال: أمّا الغلبة بالكلام بلا أفعال، فليست بغلبة بل هزيمة، وأمّا الغلبة بالأفعال، وإن كانت بلا كلام فهي الغلبة.

He said: Victory through words without deeds is no victory, but defeat, while victory through deeds, even if without words, is victory.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The maxim is also found in MF Aristophanes 1,²⁶⁷ with the following variants:

بلا كلام MF بالكلام [بلا كلام | MF هي hab. بل post MF | فعال [أفعال | MF وقال أرسطوفانس] قال 1
MF غلبة بالحقيقة [الغلبة 2] ²⁶⁸?)

As Daiber reports, the saying is also transmitted by the gnomologium preserved in MS Istanbul AyaSofya 2456, f. 98v 17-19, which draws materials from the ĀF.

SYRIAC PARALLELS:

A similar but longer saying ascribed to Aristippus can be found in SGP 111 (= Arzhanov 2019a, 284-285).

2.

وسأله إنسان عن مسألة قبيحة، فسكت عنه ولم يجبه. فقال الرجل: ما لك لا تجيبني؟ فقال: إجابتي سكوت عمّا سألتني عنه.

A man questioned him about an unpleasant issue, but he remained silent and did not answer. When the man said: «What is the matter with you that you do not answer me?», he replied: «My answer is silence about what you have asked me».

GREEK PARALLELS:

CP 7.107 = Men. Mon. 307: ἡ σιωπή τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπόκρισις ἐστίν.

²⁶⁶ Dunlop 1979, 82.1715-1718 (para. 122).

²⁶⁷ Badawī 1958, 317.8-9. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 140 (no. 136).

²⁶⁸ As also suggested by Rosenthal 1975a, 275 n. 31.

3.2.4.b.9 Euripides (*Awribīdis*)²⁶⁹

1.

قال: أمّا اللسان فإنه قد يَحْلِف كاذبًا، وأمّا العقل فإنه لا يحلف كاذبًا.

He said: The tongue swears falsely, but the mind does not swear falsely.

GREEK PARALLELS:

Stob. *Ecl.* III, xxviii 1 (= Euripides, *Hippolytus* 612; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* Γ 15, 1416a 32 = ref. 140): ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

See MF Euripides 1, where the saying is followed by a brief note:

وقال أوريبيدس: أمّا اللسان فإنه قد يحلف كاذبًا؛ فأما العقل فإنه لا يحلف كاذبًا. وهذا المعنى هو المعنى في قولنا: إن الذي يحلف ويكذب: أمّا بلسانه فإنه قد يحلف ويكذب، وأمّا بعقله فإنه لا يحلف ولا يكذب. فأجتهد إذن أن يكون لسانك مطابقًا لعقلك.

Euripides said: The tongue swears falsely, but the mind does not swear falsely. This is the meaning of our statement: whoever swears and lies, if he does so with his tongue, he swears and lies, but if he does so with his mind, he does not swear and lie. Hence, endeavour to achieve harmony between your tongue and your mind.²⁷⁰

See also Arist. *Rh.* Γ 15, 1416a 32 = ref. 145.

2.

وقال: إنّ الحيوّة بغير الموسيقى وحشة.

He said: Life without music is desolation.

GREEK PARALLELS:

Stob. *Flor.* II, iv 6 (= Euripides, *Hercules* 676): μὴ ζῶην μετ' ἀμουσίας.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

ID XLI

ID لوحشة] وحشة

²⁶⁹ Dunlop 1979, 82.1723-1725 (para. 124).

²⁷⁰ Badawī 1958, 318.13-16. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 141 (no. 146), modified.

3.2.4.b.10 Simonides (*Simūnīdis/ Smānīdis al-mūsīqār*)²⁷¹

1.

نظر الى فتى سكيت، فقال: إنَّ السكوتَ إنّما هو للأصنام، وأمّا الناس فإنَّهم يتخاطبون.

He saw a taciturn young man and said: Being taciturn is proper to idols, while men converse.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

IH Simon. 2

فيتخاطبون [فإنَّهم يتخاطبون | IH يا هذا انما السكوت [إنَّ السكوتَ إنّما هو | IH طويل السكوت [سكيت | IH ونظر [نظر

IH

2. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Simon. 1 (pp. 427-428).

3.

وقال: لا ينبغي أن يقتصر الأصدقاء على حسن القول لكنّ على حسن الفعل.

Friends should not confine themselves to speaking well but to acting well.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

As Daiber reports, the saying is also transmitted by the gnomologium preserved in MS Istanbul AyaSofya 2456, f. 110v 13f., which draws materials from the ĀF.²⁷²

4.

وعابه إنسان بالبخر، فقال: لا تعجب من ذلك، أيها الرجل، إذ كان هذا البدن قد تعفنت فيه أشياء لا يدرك إحصاؤها.

When a man criticised him for his bad breath, he replied: Is no wonder, oh man, since in this body countless things have already decayed.

5.

وسئل عن أحرص الناس، فقال: من لا يطمع في أن ينجح أبداً.

When he was asked who is the greediest of men, he replied: He who does not aspire to be always successful.

²⁷¹ Dunlop 1979, 84. 1758-1765, 90.2112-2114 (para. 132 + para. 200).

²⁷² Daiber 1984, 60.

6.

اجتاز برجل يضرب لبنًا ويتغنى بصوتٍ له يُخطئ فيه، فحمل فرسه على لنبه، فكسره. فقال له اللبّان: لم أفسدت ما عملت؟ فقال: لأنك أفسدت ما عملت.

He passed a man who was beating bricks and singing one of his songs but in the wrong way. So the former mounted his horse on the bricks and broke them. The brick-maker asked him: Why have you ruined what I have done? He said: Because you have ruined what I have done.

3.2.4.b.11 Homer and Solon mentioned in a saying by *Binsālīs* (Psellos?)²⁷³

قال: إنّ الكسلان يختار ما يشبعه من الطعام على حكمة أفلاطون كلّها، ويختار ما يجنّنه من الشراب على شعر أوميرس كلّه، ويرفض نواميس سولن إذا كانت واضحة النواميس له ذاته، ويريد أن يتبعها النواميس وأصحابها.

He said: The sluggard prefers the food that satiates him to all the wisdom of Plato, prefers the drink that infuses him with madness to all the poetry of Homer, and rejects the laws of Solon because his lawgiver is his self, and he wishes the laws to follow it and be its companion.

SYRIAC PARALLELS:

A longer version of this fragment can be found in SGP 102 (= Arzhanov 2019a, 274-275, where it is ascribed to Psellos as well).

3.2.4.b.12 Theognis (*Tāwḡānis*)²⁷⁴

1.

قال: لا تسئل الله شيئًا هو لك، لأنّ الله تعالى يعطي كلّ إنسان ما يكفيه عن غير مسألة منه، ولكن أطلب ما ليس لك، وهو أن يقنعك بما لك.

He said: Do not ask God for something you already have because God Most High provides each man with what suffices him without being asked, but seek what you do not have, that is, what makes you satisfied with what you have.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

²⁷³ Dunlop 1979, 84.1772-1775 (para. 134). The identification with Psellos was proposed by Rosenthal 1975a, 37.

²⁷⁴ Dunlop 1979, 85.1794-1800 (para. 139).

The admonition is found in MF Theognis 1,²⁷⁵ with the following variants:

abest [تعالى | MF فإن [لأنّ | MF سبحانه وتعالى hab. الله post MF | تطلبين من [تستئل | MF وقال تاوغيس [قال 1
[بما | MF منه hab. أطلب post 2 MF ولكن | MF abest MF | عن غير مسئلة منه | MF أحد [إنسان | MF
ما MF

2.

ونظر إلى ميّت يُحَفَّر له، فقال: انظروا إلى حبيب ينقله أحبّاه إلى حبس الأبد.

He saw a dead person about to be buried and said: Look at a loved person transferred by his loved ones to the prison of eternity.

GREEK PARALLELS:

The topos is quite common, one of its famous formulations being Sophocles, *Antig.* 891-892: ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον, ὦ κατασκαφῆς / οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος.

3.

وقال لبعض من عزّاه من الملوك: إن كنتَ لترحّل الموت لمن كنتَ له محبًّا كارهًا، فلطال ما نزل بمن
كنتَ له مبغضًا قاليًا.

He said to one of the kings who had consoled him: If you were able to make death migrate for those who are your friends but whom you detest, how often would it strike those you hate and loathe!

4.

وقال: ليس العلم بمنزلة الطعام الذي يشبع منه اثنان وثلاثة ويعجز عن الكثير، بل كالنور الذي يضيء
للعيون الكثيرة بحالٍ واحدةٍ.

He said: Knowledge is not like food with which two or three people are satiated and cannot (sate) more, but it is like the light that illuminates many eyes at one time.

²⁷⁵ Badawī 1958, 319.1-3. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 141 (no. 147).

3.2.4.b.13 Sophocles (*Sūfuqlīs*)²⁷⁶

1.

قال: كما أن الحكمة لذيدة عند من يفهم ممّن يسمعها أو كلمة الجاهل بَشَعَة بغیضة، كذلك الفعل الجمیل یحبّه ذو الفهم، والفعل الرديء یستسمجه ویبغضه.

He said: As wisdom is pleasing to him who learns it from whom he has heard it, or [as] the word of the ignorant is [to him] repugnant and hateful, so he who is endowed with intelligence loves the good deed while he considers the bad deed despicable and detestable.

SYRIAC PARALLELS:

The first phrase echoes the beginning of a saying ascribed to Sophocles in the Syriac tradition: SGP 113 (= Arzhanov 2019a, 286-287).

2.

وقیل له: ما الفلاسفة؟ قال: هم الذين عند العقلاء كالآلهة وعند الجهّال كالناس.

He was asked: What are philosophers? He answered: Those who are like gods to the intelligent and like men to the ignorant.

3.2.4.b.14 Pindar (*Bindāris*)²⁷⁷

1. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Pindar 1 (pp. 428-429).

3.2.4.b.15 Xenocrates (*Ksānūqrātīs*)²⁷⁸

1.

لما قرأ شعر أوميرس وراه یذكر أنّ افسطس كان أعرج، وأنّ البخت كان أحول، قال إن كان البخت هو الذي یبرئنا، فلم لا یبرئ نفسه؟

When he read Homer's poem and saw the statement that Hephaestus was lame and that Fortune was cross-eyed, he said: If Fortune is the one who heals us, why does she not heal herself?

²⁷⁶ Dunlop 1979, 87.1845-1848 (para. 150).

²⁷⁷ Dunlop 1979, 92.1953-1955 (para. 170).

²⁷⁸ Dunlop 1979, 95.2017-2019 (para. 181).

3.2.4.b.16 Hesiod (*Aysīwudus*)²⁷⁹

1.

إسيودس قال: يُقال إنَّ الإنسانَ خير في الطبقة الأولى إذا كان استخراجَه للأُمور الجميلة بطبعه، من تلقاء نفسه، ويُقال إنَّه خير في الطبقة الثانية إذا كان قائلاً للأُمور الجميلة إذا عرفها.

[إسيودس 1] corr. Dunlop إسوريس codd. | من [من] coni. Daiber²⁸⁰

Hesiod said: it is reported that man is good in the highest degree if he infers noble things from himself alone, by his natural disposition; it is reported that he is good in the second degree if he speaks of noble things only if he already knows them.

For this saying see above, Chapter 2 (p. 294), EN ref. 1.

3.2.4.b.17 Socrates the poet (*Suqrātīs al-šā'ir*)²⁸¹

1.

قال: الخطيب يغرس الكلام في القلب، وغارسه الفكر، وقيمه العقل، وجسمه الحركة، وروحه المعنى، وحليته التقويم، وكماله الصواب، وجانيه اللسان، وحده البيان.

[العقل 1] corr. Daiber²⁸² Dunlop SAWS العتل

He said: The orator implants the word in the heart, that which implants it is thought, its guardian is the mind, its body is motion in the emission of breath and its spirit is meaning, its ornament is exactness, its perfection is correctness, that which harvests its fruit is the tongue, its limit is clearness of speech.

2.

وأسلم الاسكندر ابناً له اليه ليعلمه جودة الشعر. فدعا به بعد زمان لينشد بين يديه شعرا له. فأنشده الغلام فلم يرتضه الاسكندر، وقال له: لم يبلغ بَعْدُ هذا الغلام غاية ما كنت أريده من الشعر. فقال له: أيها الملك، دفعتَ اليّ مُهْرًا لا أستطيع أن أجعله قارحًا حتّى يبلغ به الزمان غايته، فاستحسن الاسكندر قوله.

²⁷⁹ Dunlop 1979, 96.2046-2048 (para. 186).

²⁸⁰ Daiber 1984, 62.

²⁸¹ Dunlop 1979, 97.2072-2078 (para. 192).

²⁸² Daiber 1984, 62.

Alexander entrusted him with one of his sons to teach him the excellence of poetry. After some time he summoned him to recite a poem before him. The boy recited it, but Alexander was not pleased and said to him: This boy has not yet attained the level of poetry I desired. He replied: Oh king, you have delivered to me a colt that I cannot make into a full-grown horse²⁸³ until time with him has reached its goal. Alexander approved his speech.

3.

وسئل: أيّ الناس أخطب؟ فقال: من حبس عليه حسن منطقته الناس.

He was asked: Which of men is the best orator? He answered: He who by the excellence of his eloquence can bind men to himself.

3.2.4.b.18 Menander (*Mānandrūs*)²⁸⁴

1.

قال: من يحلف بالأحلام جرى في ميدان الجهل واسع.

He said: Whoever swears on dreams runs into the boundless field of ignorance.

3.2.5. The *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya mina l-ḥikam al-yūnāniyya* by Ibn Hindū (IH)

This florilegium (*The spiritual sayings from the Greek maxims*) authored by physician and philosopher Ibn Hindū (d. 423/1032) contains sayings attributed exclusively to Greek sages, although some transliterated names remain to be deciphered and therefore some of the authors are still to be identified. The gnomic material is grouped by author,²⁸⁵ except for the three sections at the end of the compilation, of which the first contains anonymous sayings (*kalimāt mansuba ilā l-yūnāniyyīn lam yudkar qā'ilūhā*), the second entitled *wa-min amtāl l-yūnāniyyīn* includes both short fables and maxims, while the third bears the title *mimma nuqila min aš'ārihim*²⁸⁶ *ilā l-'arabiyya* (*From what has been translated from their poems into Arabic*) and contains translations of 47 monostichs by Menander, which have been edited and

²⁸³ See *qāriḥ* in Lane 1863-1893, II 2512a.

²⁸⁴ Dunlop 1979, 101.2156-2157 (para. 214).

²⁸⁵ A complete list is given in Overwien 2005, 135.

²⁸⁶ In this case I follow the text transmitted by one of the MSS consulted by Ḥalifāt, (the MS Istanbul Fātiḥ 4041, also consulted by Ullmann to prepare his edition of the *Menandri Sententiae*, see Ullmann 1961, 7 n. 2), as well as the text printed by al-Qabbānī, instead of the reading chosen by Ḥalifāt (*ašfār al-yūnāniyyīn*, «the books of the Greeks»).

translated into German by Manfred Ullmann in 1961.²⁸⁷ As noted by Ullmann, IH constitutes the earliest source of the first of the two extant Arabic versions of the *Menandri Sententiae* (Men ar I) and is apparently independent of the other sources of Men ar I, i.e. MuḥŞĤ, MuntŞĤ, Şhr, Şhz.²⁸⁸ The sayings included in this section have been omitted from the present analysis and correspond to the following nos. in Ullmann's edition: 2, 6, 7, 12, 29, 30, 31, 37, 42, 57, 58, 61, 68, 91, 99, 107, 177, 191, 192, 221, 243, 343, 301, 303, 307, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 323, 324, 330, 345, 45, 289, 157, 166, 168, 172, 347, 331, 333, 335, 337, 341, 342. The chapter closes with an anonymous 48th saying that is not part of the monostichs of Menander but is in fact a maxim commonly attributed to Aristotle.²⁸⁹

This compilation was first published in 1900 in Cairo by al-Qabbānī l-Dimaşqī, who reports having relied on a single MS from a protected library in Damascus.²⁹⁰ Al-Qabbānī's work, based on a single manuscript and not critically grounded, was replaced by a more recent edition contained in the comprehensive study by Ḥalīfāt entitled *Ibn Hindū: Sīratuhū, ārā'uhū al-falsafīyya, mu'allafātuhū, dirāsa wa-nuṣūṣ* that appeared in Amman in 1995. The scholar used three different MSS from the one used by al-Qabbānī in his work, whose limitations he highlighted in the preface to his own edition. Al-Qabbānī's text should be consulted with extreme caution for two reasons. First because it is based on a defective MS that is very different from the other three, and whose text has been interpolated in some places and is incomplete in others.²⁹¹ Secondly, because the text has been interpolated by al-Qabbānī himself, who added some sayings to the section on Plato that were not part of the collection and came from an anonymous gnomologium printed in Istanbul, an intervention he stated in the introduction but did not adequately report in the text or in the footnotes.²⁹² Finally, Ḥalīfāt's study stands out for the rigourousness with which he analyses both the potential relationships of dependence between the IH and the earlier compilations and any influence exerted by the IH on the later ones. In the light of a detailed contrastive examination of the sayings shared by the IH and the ĀF Ḥalīfāt came to the conclusion that Badawī's hypothesis of a direct dependence of the former on the latter cannot be proven.²⁹³ Instead, the most conspicuous similarities can be found between the IH and al-Āmirī's *al-Nask al-aqlī wa-l-taşawwuf al-millī (Intellectual Piety and Institutionalised Şūfism)*, preserved only fragmentarily

²⁸⁷ Ullmann 1961, 10-11.

²⁸⁸ Ullmann 1961, 7, 10-11.

²⁸⁹ See PQ Aristoteles 23 and Gutas 1975, 395-396 for further parallels.

²⁹⁰ al-Qabbānī 1900, 4.

²⁹¹ Several scholars have observed interpolations, omissions and confusion in the attribution of sayings, especially for the shorter entries dealing with lesser-known sages. See for example the review of Ullmann 1961 by Rosenthal 1963, 365. The observations by Rosenthal (who had consulted a further copy of IH, MS Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2452) have given rise to the belief that the two editions reflect two recensions of IH, one longer and one shorter (see Gutas 2017, 668-669). This assumption, however, needs to be verified since, to my knowledge, no one other than al-Qabbānī has consulted the MS he used – which is difficult to find given the vague information about it in his introduction –, all the more so because the differences between this copy and al-Qabbānī's edition based on it from the MSS used by Ḥalīfāt are suspected to be additions by a later reader and not original interventions by the author.

²⁹² The editor does not provide more precise information about his source, see al-Qabbānī 1900, 4. See also Ḥalīfāt 1995, 256.

²⁹³ Ḥalīfāt 1995, 270-287.

by indirect transmission, for which it is plausible to assume dependence on a common source (which is certainly not the *ĀF*).²⁹⁴ Similarly, no definite conclusion can be drawn from examining material common to the IH and later sources, such as Misk (which in fact, being contemporary, may predate the IH), the *Šhr*, the tradition of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, Ibn Ğulğul's *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-l-ḥukamā'* (*Generations of physicians and Wise Men*), the MF and IAU.²⁹⁵

For the examination of the *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya* I have relied on Ḥalifāt's edition, in which all sayings are numbered according to a continuous series that does not take into account the division into paragraphs by author. In my analysis I have disregarded Ḥalifāt's numbering, following instead the same method I have adopted in the study of other sources. Hence every group of sayings ascribed to a poet has its own numbering. However, when quoting sayings by other authors – not treated here – as parallels, I refer to Ḥalifāt's continuous numbering, and, in this case, I have placed the number before the name of the author to whom the saying is attributed.

The anthology contains a series of sayings attributed to the following Greek poets: Homer, Pindar, Solon, Simonides, and a certain *Lūğāṭs al-šā'ir* who could not be identified with certainty. The latter is credited with a single saying that in other Arabic sources is found attributed to Zosimus, while in the Greek tradition to Isocrates. *Lūğāṭs* might cover a distorted transliteration of Isocrates (where *-ğāṭs* stands for *-κρατης*), but if we assume that, also in this case, the saying has been attributed to Zosimus, it then becomes difficult to explain how the transition from one of the forms in which this name is normally transliterated (not without corruptions), (')*Risīmūs/Dīsīmūs*/(')*Rismūs/Dīsmūs*, to the form *Lūğāṭs* occurred.

Pindar's sayings reported below are actually taken from two separate sections with two different transliterations of the proper noun, one entitled *kalimāt Bindārīūs* and the other *kalimāt Findārs* (or: *Findars*, depending on the MSS).

Finally, a section of the IH containing only two sayings is entitled *kalimāt Ftābndrīs*, according to the MS 'A (MS Istanbul, *Süleymaniye* Kütüphanesi, As'ad Efendi 3774), or *kalimāt Māyndrs*, as transmitted by MSS W (MS Istanbul, *Süleymaniye* Kütüphanesi, Wahbī al-Bağdādī 1488B) and F (MS Istanbul, Fatih 4041), which Ḥalifāt proposes to correct into *Mīnāndr*, a transliteration of *Μένανδρος*.²⁹⁶ However, Ḥalifāt's conjecture is by no means certain, especially since the two sayings in this section correspond to nos. 1 and 3 of the section on Panaetius in the MuntŞH. In addition, it should be noted that also in the copies of the MuntŞH the transliteration of *Παναίτιος* is rather uncertain and fluctuates between *Bāyndūs* and *Tānīdūs* and the corresponding forms with the same spelling but without diacritical signs.²⁹⁷ Therefore I would be more inclined to believe that behind the *Ftābndrīs* and *Māyndrs* of the MSS of the IH lies a corruption due to a transliteration of Panaetius rather than Menander, and in the light of these considerations I have excluded these two fragments from my analysis.

²⁹⁴ Ḥalifāt 1995, 287-290.

²⁹⁵ Ḥalifāt 1995, 290-299.

²⁹⁶ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 433.4-434.1 (nos. 554-555).

²⁹⁷ See the apparatus in Dunlop 1979, 92. The sayings are reported at pp. 92.1961-1962 and 1963-1964.

3.2.5.1 Homer the poet (*kalimāt Awmīrus al-šā'ir*)²⁹⁸

1. For this saying see MuḥŞĦ Hom. 7 (pp. 425-426).

2.

وقال: الإنسان الخير أفضل من جميع الحيوان الذي على الأرض، والإنسان الشرير أخس من جميع
الحيوان الذي على الأرض.

He said: the good human being is better than all the animals that are on earth,
the evil human being is worse than all the animals that are on earth.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Hom. 27, Šhr Hom. 4, Šhz Hom. 20 versio A et B

ما MF Šhz versio A et B ما على الأرض من الحيوان [الحيوان الذي على الأرض | إن MF Šhr hab. وقال 1
ما [الحيوان الذي على الأرض 2 MF Šhr Šhz versio A et B وأوضع MF Šhr hab. أخس | post MF Šhr على الأرض
MF Šhr ما على الأرض MF Šhz versio A et B على الأرض من الحيوان

3.

وحكى أوميرس أن رجلاً من الفلاسفة كُسِرَ به في البحر، فقال: أيها الناس، اقتنوا ما إذا كُسِرَ بكم في
البحر سبح معكم، وإذا شُلِّحتم تبقى عليكم، وهي العلوم والفضائل.

Homer relates that when one of the philosophers was shipwrecked at sea, he
said: Oh people, procure that which, if you are shipwrecked at sea, swims with
you, and if you are stripped remains with you, and these are the sciences and
virtues.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

A slightly longer formulation of this saying is found in MF Hom. 23, and repeated, with
some variants, in Šhz Hom. 17 versio A et B:

وقال: إن رجلاً من الحكماء كُسِرَ به مركب في البحر، فوقع إلى ساحل جزيرة فعمل شكلاً هندسياً على
الأرض؛ فرآه قوم فمضوا به إلى ملك تلك الجزيرة. فوقع بأن يكتب إلى سائر البلدان: «أيها الناس! اقتنوا ما
إذا كسر بكم في البحر مركب سار معكم - وهي العلوم الصحيحة والأعمال الصالحة».

²⁹⁸ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 378-380 (nos. 367-376).

فوق | Šhz versio A | الملك الذي في [ملك 2
 Šhz versio A et B | المركب في البحر [في البحر مركب 3
 المركب في البحر [فإنعم عليه فكتب [بأن يكتب
 Šhz versio A et B | post معكم hab. معكم
 وإذا صلحتم بقي معكم Šhz versio A وإذا سلختم بقي معكم
 Šhz versio B

He said that one of the wise men was shipwrecked at sea, landed on the coast of an island and began to draw a geometrical figure on the ground. Some people saw him and took him to the king of that island, and it happened that he wrote to other countries: Oh people, procure that which, if you are shipwrecked at sea, may remain with you, that is to say, exact sciences and good deeds.

A more elaborate version of the narrative corresponds to MuntṢḤ 115 *Aristīs*²⁹⁹ (Dunlop 1979, 79.1661-80.1668).

This saying is also preserved in the form of an interrogative chreia in: ID XXII (after Aristotle); ‘Awn 694 ascribed to Aristotle, IH 143 Aristotle;³⁰⁰ MF Aristotle (Badawī 1958, 202.10-11).

GREEK PARALLELS:

The most significant antecedent is a long account of Aristippus’ shipwreck related in Galen’s *Protr.* 5.22-32, which ends with a maxim that is close to our saying: *κελεύειν αὐτοὺς ἔφη ταῦτα κτᾶσθαι τὰ κτήματα ἃ καὶ ναυαγήσαντι συνεκκολυμβήσει.* For the final maxim see also DL VI, 6.2-3 (Antisthenes): *τοιαῦτ’ ἔφη δεῖν ἐφόδια ποιεῖσθαι ἃ καὶ ναυαγήσαντι συγκολυμβήσει.* This anecdote did however find its way also in the gnomological literature and is attested in GV 23 (Aristippus): *Ἀρίστιππος, ὁ Κυρηναῖος φιλόσοφος, πλέων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐναυάγησεν καὶ ὑποληφθεὶς ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἡρωτήθη, τί μέλλει εἰς Κυρήνην ἐπανελθὼν λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ἔφη· τοιαῦτα ἐφόδια κτᾶσθαι, ἃ καὶ ναυαγοῦσι συνεκνήχεται,* but also in *Max. Conf.* 824D *et al.*³⁰¹

In his discussion of the text as transmitted by Ibn Abī ‘Awn, Rosenthal suggested that ID XXII, the fragment in Ibn Abī ‘Awn’s work, IH 143 Aristotle and MF Aristotle could all be derived from a translation of a Greek gnomologium, since both their formulation and structure are very to the chreia as transmitted in GV and related sources. On the other hand, the narrative pattern of IH Hom. 3, MuntṢḤ 115 *Aristīs* and MF Hom. 23 (and consequently Šhz Hom. 17, that is derived from the latter) suggests that their text derives from a translation (albeit paraphrased) of Galen’s passage.³⁰² It must be said, however, that a comparison between these texts and the Galenic passage reveals a certain structural similarity, but no textual correspondence that would allow us to say that they derive, albeit in a mediated form,

²⁹⁹ According to Dunlop 1979, XXXIV this might be a transliteration for Aristes, while Rosenthal 1958a, 38 (= Eng. translation of ID XXII with apparatus of loci paralleli) and Rosenthal 1991, 198 (= Eng. translation of Ibn ‘Awn 694 with apparatus of loci paralleli) interprets it as a rendering for Aristippus – probably corrupted – based on its close resemblance to the passage in Galen’s *Protr.* 5.22-32.

³⁰⁰ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 337.7-338.1.

³⁰¹ See the apparatus for further loci paralleli in the Graeco-Roman tradition.

³⁰² Rosenthal 1991, 198.

from a translation of Galen's text. It cannot be ruled out that one of the lost Greek anthologies contained a further version of the anecdote, in which the chreia was placed in a narrative context similar to the one found in Galen and in some Arabic collections, and from which the group of references IH Hom. 3, MuntŞH 115 *Aristis*, MF Hom. 23 and Şhz Hom. 17 is derived. It should be noted here that Rosenthal does not take into account another parallel offered by the classical tradition, namely Aesop's fable of the shipwreck of the poet Simonides, preserved in the Latin version of Phaedrus (Ph. IV 23 = no. 519 Perry), to which Iḥsān 'Abbās draws attention in his discussion of the saying attributed to Homer in the IH and MF.³⁰³

4.

وقال أوميرس: لا تفعل شيئاً إذا اعترِفَ به غضبت، فإنك إذا فعلته كنت أنت القاذف لنفسك.

Homer said: Do not do a thing, which, when it is acknowledged to you, you become angry, because when you have done it you become your own slanderer.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The same saying is found in MF Hom. 21 and Şhz Hom. 16 versio A et B, as well as in the 17th Night of *TawI*,³⁰⁴ with minor differences:

لا ينبغي لك أن تفعل MF ما ينبغي لك أن تفعل [لا تفعل | *TawI* أوميروس abest MF Şhz versio A et B] أوميرس
عيرك [اعترِف | *TawI* شيء MF Şhz versio A et B] ما [شيئاً | *TawI* لا ينبغي لك أن تؤثر علم MF Şhz versio A et B
فانك | Şhz versio A | غيرك MF Şhz versio B] إنسان غيرك hab. به post | *TawI* عيرت MF Şhz versio A et B
القاذف | abest MF] أنت | *TawI* MF Şhz versio A et B فعلت ذلك [فعلته | MF Şhz versio A et B لأنك
الشاتم MF Şhz versio A et B

5. For this saying see IsH Hom. 1 (pp. 383-384).

6.

وقال: ازرع الفضائل ترعك المحبة.

He said: Take care of the virtues and love will take care of you.

7. For this saying see 'Ām. Hom. 4 (p. 406).

8. For this saying see MuḥŞH Hom. 1 (pp. 422-423).³⁰⁵

9.

³⁰³ 'Abbās 1993, 65-67 (who also refers to a saying attributed to Diogenes in Arabic sources, for which see ID VI, which deals with a theme very similar to that of the saying that concerns us).

³⁰⁴ Amin, Zayn (undated), II 34.15-16.

³⁰⁵ This saying is followed by a comment by Ibn Hindū himself (for which see earlier) and then by a saying ascribed to Plato which I have omitted.

وقال أوميرس: الإنسان الذي يعلم كل شيء هو عند نفسه لا يعلم شيئاً.

Homer said: The man who knows everything is the one who, according to him, knows nothing.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Cf. Šhr Sol. 23

3.2.5.2 Pindar (*kalimāt Bindārīūs*)³⁰⁶

1.

قال: كما أن الجسد إذا فارقتة النفس فاح منه التتن في مناخر قابريه كذلك الجاهل الذي عدم الحكمة لا تخرج من فيه لفظة إلا كانت منه أذى وبتنا على سامعيها وكما أن الجسد لا يشعر بما يظهر منه من التتن لأنه ميت كذلك لا يحس الجاهل بتتن كلامه لأنه ميت التمييز

He said: Just as from the body, when the soul has left it, a stench emanates in the nostrils of those who bury it, so from the ignorant who lack wisdom nothing comes forth but an offensive and putrid utterance towards those who listen to it. And just as the body does not perceive the stench emanating from it because it is dead, so the ignorant person does not perceive the rottenness of his word because he is dead in his ability to discern.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

MF Pindar 7.³⁰⁷

MF | ومن دنا منه hab. قابريه post | MF يفرح | فاح | MF تفارقه | فارقته | MF حين | إذا | MF وقال فيدروس | قال 1
abest | منه 2 MF التي هو النفس الثانية. hab. الحكمة post | MF العديم من | الذي عدم | MF فكذلك | كذلك
MF لا يفصل بين الأمور | ميت التمييز | MF فكذلك | كذلك 3 MF

The saying is also transmitted, with some differences in the wording, as IsḤ Plato 8,³⁰⁸ TawB Faylasūf IV 288 and in incomplete form in Šhr al-Šayḥ al-yūnānī³⁰⁹ (the latter two collated in app.):

³⁰⁶ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 424-425 no. 530; 437 nos. 564-565.

³⁰⁷ Badawī 1958, 308.14-18. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 134 (no. 84).

³⁰⁸ ‘Abd Allāh 1998, 89.4-90.1.

³⁰⁹ Cureton 1842-1845, 334.19-335.1 = Badrān 1951-1955, II 153.14-15 (Ar.); Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 330 (French).

وقال: كما أن البدن الخالي من النفس تفوح منه رائحة النتن، كذلك النفس العديمة الأدب لا تحس نقصها بالكلام والأفعال، وكما أن نتن البدن الخالي من النفس ليس يحسه ذلك البدن كذلك نقص النفس العديمة الأدب ليس تحسه بل الأدباء

الخالية من [العديمة | Šhr نتن الجيفة [رائحة النتن | Šhr يفوح [تفوح | TawB قال فيلسوف [وقال 1
[وكما أن نتن... تحسه بل الأدباء 2 Šhr يحس [تحس | TawB abest Šhr | لا | Šhr
abest TawB [نقص | TawB بل الذي له حس hab. (2nd occurrence) البدن | post Šhr | abest TawB
TawB تحس [تحسه | TawB لا [ليس 3

He said: Just as the body, when deprived of the soul, spreads a smell of putrefaction, so the soul which lacks education does not perceive its own imperfection in words and deeds. Just as the body deprived of the soul does not perceive its own putrefaction, so only the educated can perceive the imperfection of the soul which lacks education.

SYRIAC PARALLELS:

The same saying is found ascribed to Pindar in SGP 122 (Arzhanov 2019a, 298-299).

2.

مدحه إنسان على زهده في الغنى فقال: ما حاجتي إلى شيء البخت يأتي به، واللؤم يحفظه، والعفة تبيده. ونقل ذلك على هذا الوجه أيضاً: وما حاجتي إلى المال الذي يعطيه البخت، ويحفظه اللؤم، ويهلكه السخاء.

When a man praised him for his renunciation of wealth he said: Why do I need something that luck brings, that meanness keeps, and that integrity causes to perish. He also related this in this way: What do I need money, which luck supplies, which meanness preserves, and generosity destroys.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

ĀF <...>rs (Pindar?),³¹⁰ MF Pindar 1³¹¹ (both bearing only the first version of the answer: (ومدح... تبيده)

³¹⁰ Badawī 1985, 147.3-4.

³¹¹ Badawī 1958, 298.10-11. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 125 (no. 17)

ĀF MF وما | ما | ĀF MF المال | الغنى | MF رجل لسداس ³¹²ĀF رجل > < رس | إنسان | ĀF MF ومدح | مدحه 1
| والنفقة | والعفة | ĀF MF

The first version of the answer is also included in a saying ascribed to a certain Theodorus preserved in the 17th Night of *Tawī*:³¹³

ومدح رجل ثيودوروس على زهده في المال، قال: وما حاجتي إلى شيء البخت يأتي به، واللؤم يحفظه،
والنفقة تبدد، إن قلَّ غلبك الهمُّ بتكثيره، وإن كثر تقسّمك في حفظه، يحسّدك من فاته ما عندك، ويخدعك
عنه من يطمع فيه منك.

When a man praised Theodoros for his renunciation of wealth he said: What do I need something that luck brings, that meanness preserves and that expenditure dissipates? If it is meagre you are overwhelmed with worry about increasing it, if it is considerable you are obsessed with trying to preserve it, you will be envied by those who have let slip what you have and you will be deceived by those who aspire to get it from you.

For the second version of the answer cf. also ID LIV (after Pythagoras), MuntṢḤ Pythagoras 1,³¹⁴ MF Pythagoras 92,³¹⁵ IAU Pythagoras no. 36.³¹⁶

GREEK PARALLELS:

The saying covers Stob. 4, 31c.87: Βίων ἔλεγε καταγέλαστους εἶναι τοὺς σπουδάζοντας περὶ πλούτον, ὃν τύχη μὲν παρέχει, ἀνελευθερία δὲ φυλάττει, χρηστότης δὲ ἀφαιρείται; cf. Max. Conf. 800 C.

3.

وقالوا لفندارس: ما الإنسان؟ قال: عطب العالم.

They asked Pindar: What is man? He answered: The ruin of the world.

³¹² Merkle 1921, 47 reads *Bindārus* and suggests Olympiodorus (cf. n. 36 and 38), but this transliteration usually covers the Greek Πίνδαρος. Rosenthal 1958a, 48 speculates that *Bindārus* may derive from a corrupt transliteration of the genitive Βίωνος that introduces the saying in Stob. IV 31c, 87.

³¹³ Amīn, Zayn (undated), II 45.10-13.

³¹⁴ Dunlop 1979, 30.1-2 (para. 31). Rosenthal 1958a, 48 finds a further parallel in ms. Aya Sofya 2460, ff. 1v-2r, which I have not consulted.

³¹⁵ Badawī (1958), 70.9-10.

³¹⁶ Chapter 4.3.5 of the online edition.

3.2.5.3 Solon (*kalimāt Sūlun*)³¹⁷

o.

أحد انبياء اليونان.

One of the prophets of the Greeks.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

A similar definition of Solon as prophet is found in Šhr Sol. o, that reads:

وكان عند الفلاسفة من الأنبياء العظام بعد هرمس وقبل سقراط وأجمعوا على تقديمه والقول بفضائله.

According to the philosophers he was one of the great prophets after Hermes and before Socrates and they agree to give him pre-eminence and affirm his virtues.

The inclusion of Solon among the prophets of the Greeks (*anbiyā' al-yūnān*) is not so uncommon and, indeed, has parallels in other Arabic sources. In the latter, Solon is always mentioned together with Hermes (the Greek double of the Egyptian god Thoth) and often also with Agathodaemon and other Greek sages worshipped by the Šābi'ans of Ḥarrān. These were a group of Hellenised polytheists from the Syrian city of Ḥarrān whose practices and beliefs are still a mystery, even though they are described in several Arabic sources from the 9th cent. onwards. The pagans of Ḥarrān are also mentioned in an earlier Syriac text of the late 6th/early 7th cent.³¹⁸ It is not possible to initiate a discussion here without running into simplistic speculations as to who the Šābi'ans of Ḥarrān were (whether adherents of a pagan religion or a philosophical school) and how the term Šābi'ans is to be understood (as opposed to or synonymous with *ḥanīf* to address the «pagans»). The reason is that this is a vexed question that has produced a sizable bibliography as well as conflicting theses and disagreement among scholars, and also because the Šābi'ans of Ḥarrān are mentioned by several Arabic authors (some of whom are quoted later) who show different understandings of this label.³¹⁹ Equally complex is the problem of the influence of Hermetism on the Šābi'ans of Ḥarrān, revolving around two main points. These are, on the one hand, the tradition that makes Hermes «the prophet of the pagans» (*nabī al-šābi'a* or *al-ḥunaḥā'*) and the prophet (*nabī*) of the Ḥarrānians, first attested by the Melkite bishop of Ḥarrān Theodore Abū Qurra (d.

³¹⁷ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 425-429 nos. 531-546.

³¹⁸ For this Syriac testimony see Brock 1983; see also van Bladel 2009, 83-85.

³¹⁹ Besides Daniil A. Chwolsohn's fundamental two-volume study *Die Sabier und der Sabismus* published in 1856 and the 1972 PhD dissertation by Jan Hjärpe entitled *Analyse critique des traditions arabes sur les Sabéens ḥarraniens*, I refer to the rich bibliography collected by Callatay, Halflants 2011, 36-37 n. 59. I would only add a recent monograph by Kevin van Bladel entitled *The Arabic Hermes* (2009), in which the relationship between Hermes and the Šābi'ans of Ḥarrān is discussed at pp. 64-118, with a review of some of the main theses put forward by scholars.

between 204/820 and 214/830),³²⁰ and, on the other hand, the fact that no Hermetic texts in Arabic translation are preserved. Evidently, the problem, implicitly touched upon in the sources we report further on through the mention of Hermes and Agathodaemon – who are the two main figures also in the Greek Hermetica –, is inextricably linked to the questions of the Arabic reception of Hermetism, as well as the peculiar connotation of the Arabic Hermes – a blend of Greek and Middle Persian Hermetism and of Islamic elements, since he is assimilated to the Qur’ānic prophet Idrīs, who in turn is superimposed on the biblical Enoch, to whom God or the angel Uriel revealed astrological knowledge – and the influence of Hermeticism on the beliefs of the Ṣābi’ans of Ḥarrān.³²¹ In view of the complexity of the subject, I will limit myself to reporting only the sources in which Solon is counted either among the prophets or among the wise men worshipped by the Ṣābi’ans of Ḥarrān.

The first section of Chapter Nine of Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist* opens with a long account of the *madāhib al-Ḥarrāniyya l-Kaldāniyyīn al-ma’rūfīn bi-l-Ṣābi’a*, «the doctrines of the Ḥarrānian Chaldeans known as Ṣābi’ans», explicitly taken from an autograph of a work by Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Saraḥsī (d. 286/899) – probably an allusion to his lost writing known as *Risāla fī waṣf madāhib al-Ṣābi’īn* –, in which he reports the words of his teacher al-Kindī. After listing their famous personalities (*mašhūrihim wa-a’lāmahum*), namely Urānī, Agathodaemon and Hermes, al-Saraḥsī adds: «Some of them mention Solon, grandfather of the philosopher Plato on his mother’s side».³²² It cannot be ruled out that the *falāsifa* from which al-Ṣahrastānī derived the account of Solon in the quoted passage are precisely al-Kindī and al-Saraḥsī, perhaps read through the mediation of Ibn al-Nadīm, rather than some unnamed Greek authority.

The same information contained in the *Fihrist* is reported in the *Kitāb al-Bad’ wa-l-ta’riḥ* (*The Creation and the Chronicle*), written by Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī in 966, in which Urānī, Agathodaemon, Hermes and Solon, grandfather of the philosopher Plato on his mother’s side are counted among the most famous prophets (*al-rusul...mašhūrahum*) of the Ḥarrānians.³²³ Al-Maqdisī thus repeats the same list found in the *Fihrist*.

Similarly, al-Bīrūnī in his *Ātār al-bāqīyya ‘an al-qurūn al-ḥālīyya* (*Chronology of the Ancient Nations*) describes some of the beliefs and practices of the Ḥarrānian Ṣābi’ans – specifying that they were the ones who remained pagan among the Greeks after the advent of Christianity – and relates that most of their prophets were Greek philosophers such as Hermes the Egyptian, Agathodaemon, Wālīs (probably the astrologer Vettius Valens), Pythagoras,

³²⁰ Discussed in detail in van Bladel 2009, 85-86.

³²¹ On these issues, see the classic 4-volume study by A.-J. Festugière *La Révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste* (1944-1954), but also the insightful investigation by G. Fowden presented in his work *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (1986) and the monography entitled *The Arabic Hermes* (2009) by K. van Bladel, who focuses on the aspect of the Arabic Hermes in the second part of his book (pp. 121-233), where a more comprehensive bibliography is collected.

³²² Flügel 1871-1872, I 318.20-21 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 358.6 (Ar.); see Rosenthal 1943, 43, Dodge 1970, 746 (Eng.). A detailed discussion of this passage and others related to it can be found in van Bladel 2009, 86-92; see also Rosenthal 1943, 41-51, and Biesterfeldt 2017, 229-230. On the name Urānī see Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 170 n.17 and van Bladel 2009, 188-193, both discussing proposals for identification made by previous scholars.

³²³ Huart 1899-1919, III 7.15-8.1 (Ar.) = III 9 (French). See also Huart 1899-1919, II 143.2-3 (Ar.) = II 131 (French), where the same list is repeated with the omission of Urānī. Here Agathodaemon, Hermes e Solon are said to be those to whom the Ḥarrānians trace their origins (*yantamūna ilā*).

Bābā and Sawār Plato's grandfather on his mother's side, and others.³²⁴ Given the latter remark and the similarity between the forms *S(a)wār* and *Sūlun* in Arabic script, this name can easily be a corruption for the Arabic rendering of the name Solon.

Finally, al-Šahrastānī also devotes a specific chapter to the Ḥarrānians, as a subgroup of the Šābi'ans, in the second part of his *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* (= Šhr). After mentioning four of their prophets, Agathodaemon, Hermes, an unidentified A'tātā and Urānī,³²⁵ al-Šahrastānī adds: «among them (*sc.* the Ḥarrānians) there are those who [claim to be] descended from Solon, grandfather of Plato on his mother's side, and claim that he was a prophet».³²⁶

In addition to these, there are other sources bearing similar lists, which do not include Solon but Homer. In the *al-Tanbīh wa-l-išrāf* (*Book of Admonition and Revision*) by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956) the name of Homer occurs among the prophets of the Šābi'ans. Here al-Mas'ūdī first mentions the Egyptian Šābi'ans and their prophets Hermes and Agathodaemon and then adds that the Ḥarrānians, being those who remain of the Šābi'ans, considered Agathodaemon, Hermes, Homer, Aratus – who is said to be the author of a book on the form of the celestial sphere and the stars (*kitāb šūrat al-falak wa-l-kawākib*, an allusion to his Φαινόμενα) –, Arūyāsīs/ Ariyāsīs / Oribasios (?),³²⁷ the first and second Urānī, and others, as their prophets.³²⁸

A source common to that used by al-Mas'ūdī must underlie a passage in epistle no. 52 of the encyclopedic work known as *Ras'ail Iḥwān al-šafā'*.³²⁹ This is a collection of 52 letters, supplemented by two compendia known as *al-Risāla l-ġāmi'a* (*The comprehensive epistle*) and *Risālat ġāmi'at al-ġāmi'a* (*The condensed comprehensive epistle*), were composed by the end of the 4th/10th cent. – but their dating is strongly debated –³³⁰ by a group of literary men active between Bašra and Baġdād. Letter no. 52, belonging to the fourth and last part of the collection, *On the legal and theological sciences (fī l-'ulūm al-nāmūsiyya wa-l-šar'iyya)*, deals with the quiddity of magic (*māhiyyat al-siḥr*) and what is related to it.³³¹ It is actually attested in two different versions – one a short and the other a long recension – that have been identified as such only recently by the editors of the epistle in the edition of the Oxford University Press in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, while in previous editions of the Arabic text (Bombay 1887-1889, Cairo 1928, Beirut 1957) the two versions are found

³²⁴ Sachau 1878, 205.20-21 (Ar.) = Sachau 1879, 187 (Eng.). On this passage see Gutas 1988, 43 and van Bladel 2009, 92. This list is repeated with some differences (but still including Sawār/Solon) in another passage of the same writing dealing with the Ḥarrānian Šābi'ans: Sachau 1878, 318.16 (Ar.) = Sachau 1879, 315 (Eng.).

³²⁵ I follow the interpretations of the distorted transliterations as preserved in the MSS proposed by the editors of the French translation (except for my correction of Arānī into Urānī) in Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 170 (see n. 17), cf. the forms given in the editions of the Arabic text: Cureton 1842-1845, 250.13 = Badrān 1951-1955, II 60.9-10.

³²⁶ Cureton 1842-1845, 250.14-15 = Badrān 1951-1955, II 60.11.

³²⁷ There is no agreement among scholars on what this name is supposed to be and there is a lack of in-depth research on the subject. The editor of the Arabic text de Goeje 1894, 161 n. p interprets the diverse readings given in the MSS as a transliteration of the Greek name Oribasios, while Green 1992, 115 and 173 chooses Aryasis following Chwolsohn 1856, II 379. Van Bladel 2009, 96 does not mention this name in commenting on this passage.

³²⁸ The edition of the Arabic text in de Goeje 1894, 161.16-162.1. See also the English translation in Green 1992, 115.

³²⁹ Callatāy, Halflants 2011, 43.

³³⁰ See *Hamdani* 2008.

³³¹ See the long and descriptive title in Callatāy, Halflants 2011, 5 (Ar.), 87 (Eng.).

juxtaposed to each other as two parts of a single text. The mention of Homer, the only reference to a Greek poet in the *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-ṣafā'*, occurs in the short version of the letter on magic (referred to by the editors as 52a),³³² and more precisely in chapter 6 which deals with magical practices among the Ṣābi'ans, the Ḥarrānians and the Ḥanīfs. These three terms, according to the *Iḥwān al-ṣafā'*, are synonymous and designate those who practice and are devoted to the art of talismans, a group of Greeks who derive the origins of this art from the Babylonians and Egyptians.³³³ At this point their ancient chiefs (*ru'asā' awa'ilihim*) are listed, namely Agathodaemon, Hermes, Homer and Aratus.³³⁴

Now, finding a justification in Greek sources for this connotation of Solon and Homer as prophetic figures or at least as wise men associated with Hermetism is not easy. Jolivet and Monnot have tried to link the definition of Solon as a prophet to some passages of Greek literature that allude to his divine inspiration, as well as to the title of divine legislator (θεσμοθέτην ἱερὸν) given to him in DL I 62 and his inclusion in the list of the Seven Sages, also known as divine men (θεῖοι ἄνδρες).³³⁵ We cannot exclude the possibility that the story of Solon's meeting with the learned Egyptian priests may have also played a role in the formation of the topos of Solon the prophet, and especially of its link with Greek Hermetism, which has its origins in Egypt. This story is reported in Pl. *Tim.* 20d-27b and later echoed in numerous sources, one of which may be the basis for the reference to Solon's journey to Egypt in MF Sol. o.c. Similar attempts at explaining the connection of Homer with Hermetism have been proposed by Marquet, who argues that «Les Ḥarrāniens, comme les Grecs de basse époque, croyaient sans doute aux significations ésotériques des vers homériques»,³³⁶ i.e. that they followed the allegorical reinterpretation of the Homeric poems, known especially in the form of Neoplatonic readings, of which perhaps the most famous example is Porphyry's *On the caves of the nymphs (De antro nympharum)*. Although Greek literature does in fact provide a great deal of evidence in this regard, I shall only underscore the most prominent examples.³³⁷ First of all, Proclus insists extensively on Homer's prophetic capacities, on the divine significance of his poetry and on the allegorical meanings it conceals in his *Commentary on*

³³² I will not dwell on questions of authenticity, authorship and the mutual relationship of the two versions of the letter on magic, all of which are touched upon in the introduction to the new critical edition with English translation by de Callatāy, Halflants 2011 (see pp. 1-10). The long version (no. 52b) has not yet been published in the Oxford University Press series in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies but can be found in earlier editions. As for the references to Greek poets, in addition to having personally consulted the work, I made use of the analysis conducted by Carmela Baffioni in 1994, and already cited in Chapter 2, in her *Frammenti e testimonianze di autori antichi nelle Epistole degli Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* (= Baffioni 1994b).

³³³ On the confusing stratification of elements in this passage see Callatāy, Halflants 2011, 41-44.

³³⁴ Callatāy, Halflants 2011, 45.3-5 (Ar.), 117 (Eng.). The mention of Homer actually came to light thanks to the conjecture by Marquet 1966, 36 n. 3, who proposed to correct the transmitted *Lūmihrus* into *Awmihrus*. It should be noted, however, that such a transliteration of the Greek name (with the interposed *hā'*) has no parallel in the sources we have examined.

³³⁵ See Jolivet, Monnot (1993), 251 n. 2.

³³⁶ Marquet 2006, 11, quoted in Callatāy, Halflants 2011, 118 n. 112.

³³⁷ See Simonini 1986, 90-91, who cites several notable passages, including those given further on (but the examples listed by Simonini should be carefully re-examined, as some are not so fitting, e.g. the reference to Aristides Quintilianus *De mus.* III 26). A similar trend is noticeable in Byzantine literature, in which Homer's verses are reused for divinatory purposes and in the practice of magic, as pointed out by Mavroudi 2020, 451-454 (with further bibliography).

Plato's Republic, discussing the apparent contradiction between Plato's criticism of Homer in this dialogue and the title of divine poet he assigns him in *Phaedo* 95a 1-2. (see *In Plat. Remp.* I 70.24-26, 72.1-74.9).³³⁸ But the split between the true philosophical meaning of Homeric poetry and its mythological garb is also expressed by Maximus of Tyre in the 26th oration of his corpus of *Dissertationes*.³³⁹

Another very significant tradition is the one that, since the Hellenistic period, makes Homer a disciple of the Chaldeans and a master of astronomy – thus analogous to the evidence of the *Iḥwān al-ṣafā'* –, of which some traces remain in the fragments of the *Ὀμηρικὰ* by Crates of Mallus, where the 2nd cent. BC grammarian discusses astronomical and geographical issues from Homeric verses, convinced that scientific concepts had already been formulated therein.³⁴⁰ Heraclitus, author of the *Allegoriae Homericae*, perhaps composed in the 1st cent. AD, celebrates the poet invoking him as ὁ μέγας οὐρανοῦ καὶ θεῶν ἱεροφάντης "Ὀμηρος, «Homer, great hierophant of the sky and the gods» (76, 1).³⁴¹

Thus, the transfiguration of Solon and Homer into prophets (as well as the other wise men listed in the Arabic sources, whom I have not dealt with here, such as Socrates,³⁴² mentioned in the *Šhr* next to Solon and Hermes) has its premises already in Greek literature, but it is not possible to establish a concrete link between any of the passages mentioned above and the narratives transmitted by the Arabic sources. One can reasonably assume that these traditions penetrated through the *voie diffuse* and were perhaps reworked in an autonomous and original way by Arabic authors. However, the problem cannot be answered definitively, since we know too little of what was translated into Arabic not only from Greek but also from linguistic traditions that had already made Greek traditions their own.

1. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Sol. 6 (pp. 418-419).
2. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Sol. 17 (p. 446).
3. For this saying see 'Ām Sol. 1 (pp. 409-410).
- 4.

وقال لتلامذته: احذروا ولا تكمل ليحذرکم من تكونون عليه فيطيعكم.

He said to his disciples: Beware of your rulers so that those who have duties to you may beware of you and obey you.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Another version can be found in *Šhz Sol.* 11 versio A et B with the following variants:

³³⁸ These passages have been translated into English in Baltzly, Finamore, Miles 2018, 180-183.

³³⁹ Translated into English in Trapp 1997, 214-222 (see also p. 150 for further references on the topic).

³⁴⁰ Bidez, Cumont 1938, I 247-248 (add. p. 36); Broggiato 2006; Broggiato 2001, xx-xxi; see for instance here F 21 and the related commentary at pp. 180-182.

³⁴¹ See the edition, accompanied by a French translation, of this paragraph in Buffière 1962, 82-83.

³⁴² See Alon 2006, 318, 321, 323-325, 332, who highlights the characteristics that make the Arabic Socrates a figure of the sage that is comparable to that of the prophet. On the Arabic Socrates see also Wakelnig 2019.

1.

سأله إنسان أن يمدحه بشعر على أن يجيزه بجائزة يضمنها له، فقال له: إن لي صندوقين أحدهما صندوق المال، فأنا أجده يحفظ ما يُوضع فيه، والآخر صندوق العِدات، وأنا أجده فارغًا أبدًا.

A man asked him to compose him an encomium in poetry and in return he would give him a reward as a guarantee. He replied: I have two boxes, one is the box of money and I find that it preserves what is placed in it, the other is the box of promises and I always find it empty.

GREEK PARALLELS:

This anecdote is transmitted through various sources, among which *Scholia in Aristoph. Pacem* 697b 15-17 and *Scholia in Theoc.* 16 arg. 8-13, while, in a shorter form, in Plut. *De curiositate* 520A 1-3 and Plut. *De sera numinis vindicta* 555F 4-6, and, in the chreia form, in GV 513 and Stob. III 10, 38. The latter, which is very close to the wording and structure of the saying in Arabic, reads: Σιμωνίδην παρακαλοῦντος τινὸς ἐγκώμιον ποιῆσαι καὶ χάριν ἔξειν λέγοντος, ἀργύριον δὲ μὴ διδόντος. “δύο” εἶπεν οὗτος “ἔχω κιβωτούς, τὴν μὲν χαρίτων, τὴν δὲ ἀργυρίου· καὶ πρὸς τὰς χρείας τὴν μὲν τῶν χαρίτων κενὴν εὐρίσκω, ὅταν ἀνοίξω, τὴν δὲ χρησίμην μόνην.”³⁴⁴

2. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Simon. 1 (p. 458).

3.

وقيل له: متى تمسك عن مديح قارون؟ فقال إذا أمسك قارون عن إحسانه.

He was asked: When will you refrain from praising Hiero³⁴⁵? He answered: When Hiero will refrain from doing good.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is found in ID LXIX³⁴⁶ and repeated in Šhz Hom. o.e. versio A et B, with the following variants:

Šhz versio A | مدح [مديح | ID فيل [وقيل
Šhz versio A et B | فلان ID ياروس [قارون (1st occurrence)
Šhz versio A et B | هو ID ياروس [قارون (2nd occurrence) | قال [فقال

4. For this saying, almost identical with MuntṢḤ Simon. 2, see MuḥṢḤ Simon. 1 (pp. 427-428).

³⁴⁴ The anecdote and the Greek sources are discussed in detail in Rawles 2018, 235-238.

³⁴⁵ The Arabic *Qārūn* seems to be a corrupted form of the transliteration of the Greek name *Yārūn* (see below the reading in ID LXIX).

³⁴⁶ The Arabic text is missing from the article by Rosenthal 1958b on which I relied for the other passages of ID, so in this case I consulted the edition by Mu‘id Khan 1963, 56.16-17.

5.

قيل له: ما أحسن ما يعبر ماناقراطيس شعر سيخولس؟ فقال: إن حفر بئر، بالقرب من قناة يجري فيها الماء، ليس بأمر صعب.

He was told: What is better than the way Menecrates expresses the poetry of Aeschylus? He answered: Digging a well near a canal through which water flows is not a difficult task.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

ID LXX bears the same reply as that in this saying, but the question is slightly different, and Menecrates is not mentioned (although the name might be missing due to a lacuna).³⁴⁷ MuḥṢḤ Apollonius 2 and MuntṢḤ Apollonius 3³⁴⁸ are identical to the saying in IH. The variants are as follows:

ماناقراطيس [ماناقراطيس | ID تفسير [يعبر | ID <...> [أحسن ما | MuḥṢḤ MuntṢḤ وقال له قائل [قيل له 1
قناة | ID بقرب [بالقرب | MuntṢḤ سحليوس MuḥṢḤ سيخولس ID سنجولس [سيخولس | MuḥṢḤ abest ID
corr. MuntṢḤ Daiber³⁴⁹ قناة MuntṢḤ Dunlop SAWS

3.2.5.5 Lūgāṭs (Isocrates?) the poet (*Lūgāṭs al-šā'ir*)³⁵⁰

قيل له: لِمَ صار الذي تُعلِّمه أشعر منك؟ فقال: لأنني كالمسن.

He was asked: Why does whoever you instruct become a better poet than you?
He replied: Because I am like a whetstone.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This chreia is found in other Arabic sources with a longer formulation and generally attributed to Zosimus, variously transliterated (ʿ)Rīsimūs/Dīsīmūs/(ʿ)Rīsmūs/Dīsmūs,³⁵¹ i.e. the Egyptian-born Hellenistic alchemist Zosimus of Panopolis (3rd-4th cents. CE).³⁵² The only exception is IH 296, where it falls among Socrates's sayings and runs as follows:³⁵³

³⁴⁷ Rosenthal 1958a, 53 = Rosenthal 1958b, 182 refers to another different version of the saying.

³⁴⁸ For the MuḥṢḤ see SAWS online edition par 28; for the MuntṢḤ see Dunlop 1979, 81.1703-1704.

³⁴⁹ Daiber 1984, 60.

³⁵⁰ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 440 no. 575.

³⁵¹ On the inconsistencies in the transliteration of the name Zosimus see Hallum 2008a, 37-38.

³⁵² See Hallum 2008b.

³⁵³ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 362.5-6. Hallum, who studied this anecdote referred to Zosimus in detail, was apparently unaware of this occurrence of the chreia ascribed to Socrates (see Hallum 2008a, 53 n. 74).

وقيل له: ما بال تلاميذك يقولون الشعر وأنت لا تقوله؟ فقال: أنا كالمسح الذي يجعل الحديد قاطعًا وهو

لا يقطع.

He was asked: Why is it that your disciples recite poetry while you do not recite it? He answered: I am like the whetstone, that makes iron sharp, but does not cut.

The other versions of the chreia attributed to Zosimus are transmitted by two writings by al-Ġāḥiẓ, the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*³⁵⁴ and the *Kitāb al-bayan wa-l-tanbyīn*,³⁵⁵ as well as by the MuntṢḤ (saying Zosimus 1).³⁵⁶ Although these two instances and the saying in the IH have minor differences in the wording, in all three sources Zosimus responds with a joke to those who asked him why he taught (*yu'allimu / tu'allimu*) poetry to others without composing it himself (*wa-anta lā tuqarriduhū*, according to MuntṢḤ Zosimus 1), or recite it (*wa-lā yaqūlu al-šī'ra*, in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*; *wa-lā yastaṭī'u qawlahū*, according to the *Kitāb al-bayan*). So he compares himself to a whetstone that sharpens but does not cut (*yašḥadu wa [or: fa]-lā yaqṭa'u*).

In the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* the chreia is part of a set of witty sayings by Zosimus the Greek (*nawādir dīsīmūs al-yūnāniyy*), and also in the MuntṢḤ, where it is preceded by a brief statement that «Zosimus was good at reciting poetry» (*wa-kāna ḥasana l-qawli li-l-šī'ri*),³⁵⁷ which sounds like a derivative note produced from our chreia. The report is only apparently in contradiction with the content of the saying itself, because if read together with the wording that the latter assumes in the MuntṢḤ – that is the use of the root *q-r-d* instead of *q-w-l* found in al-Ġāḥiẓ – the two elements assume a sort of internal coherence. As already observed by Hallum, Zosimus is presented here as a good teacher of poetry, and therefore, imagining an oral teaching, capable of reciting it, but not the original composer of the verses.³⁵⁸ A similar phenomenon of derivation occurred in the IH, where the definition *al-šā'ir* referring to Lūgāṭs probably resulted from the content of the only chreia composing this entry.

Finally, in the *Kitāb al-bayan wa-l-tanbyīn* the reference to Zosimus is included in the «Chapter on the fools» (*bāb al-nawkā*). Here too Zosimus is counted among the poets, as can be deduced from another passage in the *Kitāb al-bayan*, namely the short note inserted in the «Chapter on what is told about *al-maḥāšir* and *al-ʿuṣī* (i.e. lances and staffs)³⁵⁹ and others», in which al-Ġāḥiẓ anticipates dealing with the fools: «in the second part, within the chapters on stammering, barbarism [in speech], erring [in grammar] and carelessness, we shall discuss strange topics, in which we shall mention fools in a number of aspects, madmen of the Arabs, those about whom proverbs have been coined, anecdotes from their conversations and mad poets. I don't mean the likes of the madman (*maġnūn*) of the Banū ʿĀmir or the madman of

³⁵⁴ Hārūn 1938-1958, I 290.3-4.

³⁵⁵ Hārūn 1998, II 226.4-6.

³⁵⁶ Dunlop 1979, 98.2104-2105.

³⁵⁷ Dunlop 1979, 98.2104.

³⁵⁸ See the explanation given by Hallum 2008a, 52-53.

³⁵⁹ Used by the *ḥuṭabā'* while giving public speeches. See Pedersen 1997, 1110a.

the Banū Ġa'da. I mean those like Abū Ḥayya amongst the desert-dwellers, like Ġu'ayfirān amongst the city-dwellers and like Arīsimūs the Greek».³⁶⁰

As already noted by others,³⁶¹ the madman (*maġnūn*) of the Banū 'Āmir and that of the Banū Ġa'da are the same person (the latter being a subtribe of the Banū 'Āmir), namely the famous 1st/7th-cent. Qays ibn al-Mulawwah, better known as Maġnūn Laylā, Laylā's Madman, who became the symbol of the poet driven mad by love. Having to renounce his love for Laylā, who had been already betrothed to another man, Qays rejected food and associated life and retreated in the wild.³⁶² To this type of madness, excluded from the *Kitāb al-bayan*, al-Ġāḥiẓ contrasts madness as a mental disorder.³⁶³ In addition to Zosimus,³⁶⁴ this second category is represented by Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī (d. between 158/775 and 180/796), the author of Bedouin-style poems known for being an epileptic, a liar, and a coward,³⁶⁵ and by Abū l-Faḍl Ġu'ayfirān (fl. first half of the 3rd/9th cent.), also known as al-Muwaswas, «the madman», as he suffered from melancholy, a poet originally from Baġdād but also active in Sāmarrā'.³⁶⁶ Since Zosimus is mentioned after three poets, he seems to be implicitly considered as one himself. This seems to have been the interpretation of the Andalusian litterateur Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 328/940), who, at the beginning of the chapter of his *al-Iqd al-farīd* (*The unique necklace*), entitled *Šu'arā' al-maġanūn*, mentions *Rīsimūs* or *Rīsimūs al-yunāniyy* (depending on the MSS), along with Ġu'ayfirān, Abū Ḥayya al-Numayrī and others.³⁶⁷

GREEK PARALLELS:

An antecedent of this chreia is also found in Greek literature, where it is commonly attributed to Isocrates. IH 296 Socrates is very close to GV 356: ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν τοὺς ἄλλους διδάσκων λέγειν αὐτὸς σιωπᾶς; ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀκόνη αὐτῆ μὴ τέμνουσα τὰς μαχαίρας τμητικωτέρας ποιεῖ. The anecdote is actually already included in the Life of Isocrates in ps. Plutarch's *Vitae decem oratorum* 838E and is later echoed anonymously in Sextus Empiric. *Adversus Mathematicos* II, 19; but see also Ant. Mel. 992.32-35, where it is ascribed to Aristotle.³⁶⁸ The attribution of the chreia to Isocrates in Greek sources may justify its inclusion among the sayings of Socrates in IH, assuming a confusion Ἴσοκράτης > (Ἰ)σοκράτης > Σωκράτης, and the termination -οκράτης/-ωκράτης is recognizable in the Arabic *-ūġāts*. As Hallum rightly notes, all the Greek loci paralleli concern Isocrates or the rhetorical context in general – the emphasis is indeed on public speaking, λέγειν, to which corresponds the Arabic root *q-w-l* in IH 296 and in the two writings of al-Ġāḥiẓ –, while any reference to poetry is

³⁶⁰ Hārūn 1998, I 385.6-10 (Ar.) = Hallum 2008a, 40 (Eng., modified).

³⁶¹ Hārūn 1998, I 385 n. 2; Hallum 2008a, 41.

³⁶² Van Gelder 2017b, 151.

³⁶³ Cf. Hallum 2008a, 42, who follows the interpretation of von Grunebaum 1942, 284 n. 77 in equating this second category of *maġnūn* with the prankster type.

³⁶⁴ As Hallum reconstructed on a palaeographic basis, Zosimus' madness is also mentioned in the MuntṢḤ (Dunlop 1979, 98.2104). The paragraph on Zosimus opens with the phrase «he was one of the rich [*mūsari*] of the Greeks», but, as Hallum convincingly observes, *mūsari* comes from a corruption of the quasi-homograph *muwaswasī* (synonym with *maġnūn*, pl. *maġānūn*). See Hallum 2008a, 48-49.

³⁶⁵ Van Gelder 2017b, 165-166; Weipert 2021b.

³⁶⁶ Van Gelder 2017b, 156; Hallum 2008a, 41-42.

³⁶⁷ Amīn, al-Zayn, al-Abyārī 1949, Vol. 6, 164.17-18.

³⁶⁸ See further parallels in the apparatus given by Sternbach at p. 137 (= GV 356).

missing. The scholar also noted that classical literature actually offers an antecedent, Horace's *Ars Poetica* 304-306, which contains both the image of the whetstone and the reference to poetry: *Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum / reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi: / munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo*. There is no attested Arabic translation of this work, but since Horace would have relied on the teachings of the 3rd cent. BCE Greek literary critic Neoptolemus of Parium (which perhaps Horace read indirectly through Philodemos of Gadara, who discusses the theories of Neoptolemus in his *περὶ ποιημάτων*) for the composition of his *Ars Poetica*, it is possible that in a lost work of Neoptolemus the anecdote of Isocrates was associated with poetry, in a form similar to the one that circulated among Arabic-speaking readers and attested in our sources.³⁶⁹

3.2.6. The *Muḥtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim* by al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik (MF)

The *Muḥtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim* (*The Choicest Maxims and the Best Sayings*) is the only extant work authored by Abū l-Wafā' al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik (d. 480/1087?), an erudite and bibliophile from Damascus active at the Fatimid court in Cairo.³⁷⁰

Completed in 440/1048-1049, this moralizing compilation contains the biographies (consisting largely of anecdotes and doxographic elements) and wise sayings of twenty sages of the Greek, Semitic and Indo-Persian traditions, supplemented by two mixed sections, namely a chapter «assembling sayings by a number of philosophers, known by name, for none of whom sufficient material was found for them to be collected in a single chapter» – which has been entirely translated into German by Franz Rosenthal in his *Das Forleben der Antike im Islam* – and a chapter on «maxims whose authors are unknown and that have been collected in a single section».³⁷¹

The extreme popularity of the work is certified not only by the large amount of extant manuscripts,³⁷² but especially by the numerous Western translations that have been produced since the 13th cent., in particular an anonymous Spanish version (probably based on the Arabic text) entitled *Bocados de Oro*, produced in 1257 for the king Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252-1284), and a Spanish-into-Latin translation ascribed to Giovanni da Procida (d. 1298), known as *Liber philosophorum moralium antiquorum*, from which versions in several European languages were produced directly and indirectly from the early 15th cent. onwards.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ The question of Greek parallels has been discussed in detail by Hallum 2008a, 49-56.

³⁷⁰ Important considerations on the general inspiration of the work and its relation to the Fātimid context can be read in Cottrell 2010, 516-522.

³⁷¹ The list of sages and some general description of the contents of the compilation have been given by various scholars: Rosenthal 1960-1961, 135-136, Overwien 2005, 143, Cottrell 2020b, 1247a.

³⁷² A thorough description in Rosenthal 1960-1961, 139-143, see also 156-158. See also the presentation given in Badawī 1958, (17)-(22).

³⁷³ See further details and biographical references in Rosenthal 1960-1961, 132-134, 149-155 and Cottrell 2020b, 1248a-b. The versions are also discussed in the introduction to Badawī's edition: Badawī 1958, (22)-(67). I have not considered these translations in my analysis.

The Arabic text is accessible in Badawī's edition (Madrid 1377/1958, repr. Beirut 1980), established through the usual practice of providing the clearest and most uniform text possible by normalizing spelling and grammar to the detriment of fidelity to textual testimonies, as well as the conciseness of the critical apparatus that makes it impossible to assess the editor's interventions. This publication shortly preceded the edition prepared by Franz Rosenthal, who abandoned the project of printing his own work and collected some of the data that emerged from his research in the fundamental article *Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik. Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition*.

My analysis addresses the following parts of the compilation: 1) the chapter dealing with Homer (*Ādāb Awmīrūs al-šā'ir*), consisting of a short anecdotal introductory section and a list of 26 sayings, 2) the chapter on Solon's life (*Aḥbār Sūlūn al-ḥakīm*) and the following chapter on his sayings (*ḥikamuhū wa-ādābhū*), totalling 33, to which a saying contained in the mixed chapter must be added, 3) some sayings that are found scattered in the mixed chapter and attributed to Pindar, Simonides, Hesiod, Sophocles, Menander, Aristophanes, Euripides and Theognis, and we have here reported, translated and grouped by author. Both biographies of Homer and Solon – as well as the other main sages' dealt with in MF – are enriched by physical and physiognomic descriptions, an addition peculiar to this compilation, which might have been authored by al-Mubaššir himself based on his observation of some illuminated MSS with portraits of Greek sages.

In addition, mention should be made of the partial translation of *Carmen morale XXX* by Gregory of Nazianz contained in the section entitled *Ādāb Ġrīgūrūs al-mutakallim 'alā l-lāhūt*, which was studied and compared with other testimonies of the same version (including the corresponding section in the Šhz which depends on the MF) by Manfred Ullmann in his edition and German translation of this text.³⁷⁴

Another interesting excerpt for the purposes of our analysis and in continuity with the criteria adopted for the selection of references in the previous chapter is the mention of Achilles, Ajax and Heracles included in the life of Socrates (*Aḥbār Suqrāṭis al-zāhir*). The passage has already attracted the attention of scholars, since it is part of the narrative of Socrates' trial and conviction, which paraphrases some sections of Plato's *Phaedon* and *Critius*, but probably derives from various sources. Addressing Simmias, Socrates alludes to his own imminent death with the following consideration: «For although we are losing friends and companions who are noble, praiseworthy and virtuous, still, since we believe and are certain of the words you have just been hearing from me, we are going to other brethren, who are virtuous, noble and praiseworthy, among whom Achilles, Ajax and Heracles and all those who have gone before us who have been endowed with spiritual virtues».³⁷⁵ The text is quoted almost identically in the biographies of Socrates transmitted by Qifī and IAU, the latter explicitly mentioning the MF as its source.³⁷⁶ There is no doubt that the passage echoes *Phaedo* 36b 6-8 (εἰ μὲν μὴ ὤμην ἤξειν πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ θεοῦς ἄλλους σοφοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, ἔπειτα καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπους τετελευτηκότας ἀμείνους τῶν ἐνθάδε), but since the Greek heroes are not mentioned by Plato, the text in the MF must derive from another, presumably Greek, source.

³⁷⁴ Ullmann 1961, 74-80.

³⁷⁵ Badawī 1958, 88.14-17.

³⁷⁶ Qifī: ed. Lippert 1903, 202.20-203.3; IAU: online edition ch. 4.4.2.3. See also Alon 1995, 32 (no. 117).

As suggested by Rowson, this could be Proclus' lost *Commentary on the Phaedo*, the only writing related to Plato's *Phaedo* for which a translation is attested, since Ibn al-Nadīm informs us that it was translated into Syriac and then partially into Arabic by Ibn Zur'a.³⁷⁷

Going back to the fragments analysed here, even in the case of the MF, the question of sources is a difficult if not impossible issue to unravel. Scholars have urged a cautious reconsideration of the assumptions made by Badawī, who saw in the shared material and similar structure of this collection with the ĀF by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and the *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertius the evidence of a possible dependence of the MF on these two works (albeit mediated in some way in the case of Diogenes Laertius)³⁷⁸. In fact, these data do not say anything conclusive about the works consulted by al-Mubaššir, all the more so, as Rosenthal points out, if one considers that these are not the only potential sources of the MF and that it contains the same sayings, arranged in some cases in the same sequence, transmitted also from other collections, such as the two epitomes of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*.³⁷⁹ The compilation procedure of al-Mubaššir is too eclectic to be reconstructed in a work as stratified as the MF. This has been confirmed by Oliver Overwien, who in his examination of Diogenes' sayings in the MF has identified parallels not only in the ĀF, but also in the IH and, to a lesser extent, in the collections derived from the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, coming to the conclusion that al-Mubaššir may have used some *Vorlagen* common to the ĀF and the IH rather than depending on them and that he may have had a copy of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, when saying preserved both in the MuḥŞḤ and in the MuntŞḤ are also contained in the MF.³⁸⁰ The only way to disentangle the plurality and layering of sources used in the MF is through targeted studies of individual portions of the work. We can see the fruits of this approach not only in Rosenthal's 1937 article *Arabische Nachrichten über Zenon den Eleaten*, from which it emerged that fragments of the lost *History of Philosophy* by Porphyry (possibly through one or more intermediate Greek and/or Arabic sources) are preserved in the MF, and in Overwien's aforementioned study, but also in the investigations on the chapter dealing with Alexander the Great (carried out by Bruno Meissner in 1895 and recently resumed by Emily Cottrell)³⁸¹ – which preserves a version of the *Alexander Romance* close to the so-called α version of the Greek tradition –, as well as the research by Yury Arzhanov, who was able to identify several parallels between sayings contained in the Syriac compilations he edited under the title SGP and some parts of the MF,

³⁷⁷ Flügel 1871-1872, I 252.22-23 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 173.14-15 (Ar.); Dodge 1970, 608 (Eng.). See the valuable considerations of Rowson 1988, 29-40 (where he translates and examines two other loci paralleli in al-ʿAmirī's *Kitāb al-Amad ʿalā l-abad* and in the encyclopedia of the Iḥwān al-Şafāʿ which, however, do not mention or allude to the Greek heroes found instead in MF, Qiftī and IAU).

³⁷⁸ Badawī 1958, (2)-(4).

³⁷⁹ Rosenthal 1960-1961, 135-136.

³⁸⁰ Overwien 2005, 153-154. The same conclusion, but independently from Overwien, is reached by the editor of the IH Ḥalifāt: although some of the sayings of the IH are repeated in the MF, the textual correspondences are too limited to support the direct dependence of the latter on the former, in contrast to the numerous cases in which the MF transmits the same saying of the IH, yet with different wording and/or structure, or attributes the same saying to another sage. See Ḥalifāt 1995, 298-299.

³⁸¹ See Cottrell 2012 and the detailed bibliography.

including some of the poets' sayings contained in the mixed section and which will be noted here.³⁸²

The data emerging from the present analysis confirm what Rosenthal and Overwien have already observed: the MF shares some of the sayings of the IsḤ, ĀF, ʿĀm, IH, MuḥṢḤ and MuntṢḤ, but with the exception of the correspondence MF Hom. 1-4 = ĀF 6-9 (the parallel MF Sol. 8-9-10 = ĀF 2-3, 11 is even less conclusive) there are no cases in which a group of sayings in the MF coincides simultaneously in content, text, attribution and sequence with an earlier collection to suggest direct dependence on it. What we can do is to identify parallels and common sources with both older and later witnesses. For instance, the sayings MF Hom. 13-15 come from the same source used in the TawB, since in the latter we find the three sayings in the same sequence as in the MF, yet unattributed (as is frequently the case in the TawB).

Another interesting case concerns the confusion between Homer and Aesop: MF Hom. o.b and Hom. 24 are texts that in all other sources that have come down to us (both Greek and Arabic) are attributed to Aesop. The misattribution of these fragments to Homer – which cannot be explained as a simple graphic confusion between the various forms in which the two names were transliterated – must have occurred in a missing piece of the textual transmission or it may be an error by al-Mubaššir himself in consulting his source.

3.2.6.1 Homer (*Ādāb Awmīrūs al-šāʿir*)³⁸³

o.a.

وكان أقدم شعراء اليونانيين وأرفعهم منزلةً عندهم. وكان زمانه بعد زمان موسى عليه السلام بنحو خمسمائة وستين سنة. وله حِكْم كثيرة وقصائد حسنة جلييلة. وجميع شعرائهم الذين أتوا بعده على مثاله احتذوا: منه أخذوا وتعلّموا؛ وهو القدوة عندهم.

He was the earliest of the Greek poets and occupied the highest rank among them. He lived about 560 years after Moses, peace be upon him. He is credited with many sentences as well as fine and accomplished poems. All their poets who came after him followed his example, took from him and learned from him, being he a model for them.³⁸⁴

ARABIC PARALLELS:

These lines combine in a rather generic form elements attested in other sources. In particular, the opening sentence «He was the earliest of the Greek poets and occupied the highest rank among them» echoes the incipit of MuntṢḤ Hom. o.a (and the other loci paralleli reported in the analysis of that passage), but without the mention of Plato and Aristotle.

³⁸² See Arzhanov 2019a, 57-61. In 2013, prior to this publication, Arzhanov proposed a contrastive examination of some sayings on the soul contained in the mixed section of MF and those transmitted in Syriac in the MS Sinai Syriac 16.

³⁸³ Badawī 1958, 29.17-33.

³⁸⁴ The text has been translated into English in Mutfić 2018, 26.

Similarly, the final sentence, «All their poets who came after him followed his example, took from him and learned from him, being he a model for them», is a loose paraphrase of a similar utterance from the same passage MuntŞH Hom. o.a. The chronological reference, on the other hand, which places Homer 560 years after Moses, could be derived, albeit indirectly through one or more unidentifiable intermediaries, from the lost *Ta'riḥ sinī al-ālam* by Abū 'Isā al-Munağğim discussed above. One of the extant fragments of this work, transmitted by Abū l-Fidā's *al-Muḥtaşar fi ta'riḥ al-başar*, bears a similar statement, that «Homer was alive 568 years after the death of Moses»,³⁸⁵ assuming that the discrepancy 560/568 could have been due to the simple omission by a copyist of the numeral *wa-tamāniya*.

This passage of is repeated in Şhz Hom. o.a. versio A et B, but with significant differences:

وكان يجرى عندهم مجرى امرئ | post وأرفعهم منزلة عندهم Şhz versio A et B | وكان 1
 ومنه 2 | Şhz versio A خمسائة سنة وستين [سنة] | خمسائة وستين سنة |³⁸⁶ القيس في شعراء العرب
 Şhz versio A et B

o.b.

وأسر فأتى به المقسم ليبياع. فسأله بعض من أراد ابتياعه: من أين أنت؟ قال: من أبي وأمي. فقال له:
 أترى إن اشتريتك؟ قال له: بعد لم تشتريني؛ أمشيروا في ملك جعلتني؟ واشتره بعضهم فقال له: لأني شيء
 تصلح؟ فقال: للحرية. وأقام في الرق مدة، وعُتق بعد ذلك؛ وعاش عمراً طويلاً.

When he was caught, the divider [of goods] took him away to sell him. One of the men who wanted to buy it asked him: Where do you come from? He replied: From my father and mother. He said to him: Do you think I should buy you? He replied: You have not bought me yet, have you made me your financial advisor (*muşir ft l-milk*)? When one of them bought him, he asked him: What are you good for? He answered: To freedom. He remained in slavery for some time, but then he was freed. He lived a long life.³⁸⁷

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The anecdote, as well as the whole o.a-o.c section on Homer, is repeated with minor changes in Şhz Hom. o.b. versio A et B:

| فقال له | Şhz versio A et B | post ابتياعه hab. Şhz versio A | Şhz versio A | المغنم | المقسم | وأتى | فأتى 1
 اشتراني | أمشيروا في ملك جعلتني 2 | Şhz versio A et B | فقال | قال له | Şhz versio A et B | فقال | قال

³⁸⁵ Fleischer 1831, 152.12-13 (Ar.), Stern 1972, 450. This phrase is part of a passage quoted earlier within the discussion of MuntŞH 3.2.4.b.2. The text of Abū l-Fidā' and that of MF, although expressing a similar content, do not coincide verbatim, but this does not undermine the hypothesis of a common source given the well-known freedom with which MF draws on and reworks his sources.

³⁸⁶ For the comparison between Homer and Imru' al-Qays see above MuntŞH 3.2.4.b.2.

³⁸⁷ The text has been translated in Mutfić 2018, 27. This passage, and its Arabic and Greek parallels, have been partially discussed in 'Abbās 1993, 67-68.

[وَعْتَقَ 3 Šhz versio B فاشتراه | واشتراه Šhz versio A المالک [الذي خلقني وهو مولاي و [جعلني [عبدًا] وَاَعْتَقَ Šhz versio A

The anecdote contains three chreia, the second and third of which, taken separately, are also attested in other Arabic sources, where they are mostly attributed to Aesop, in accordance with the Greek tradition.

In particular, the second chreia is transmitted in ID XVII as well as in both epitomes of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, where the two occurrences coincide word for word. While in the MuḥṢḤ this saying constitutes the entire paragraph (no. 41) dealing with Aesop, in the MuntṢḤ³⁸⁸ it is followed by only one other chreia related to the first one. A comparison between the three passages shows that the phrase introduced by *yurīdu* and present only in ID XVII is an explanatory note added by the compiler:

ID XVII:

قال وأسر أسوسوس وأراد رجل شراء فقال له: أشتريك؟ فقال: كيف تشتريني وأكون عبدًا بعد ما اتخذتني وزيرًا؟ يريد: بعد ما شاورتني في ابتياعي.

MuḥṢḤ = MuntṢḤ:

أسر، فقال له رجل أراد شراء: تريد أن أشتريك؟ فقال: كيف تشتريني بعد أن اتخذتني وزيرًا؟

In the MuḥṢḤ, then, the same chreia appears again, anonymously and with a slightly different wording, in a mixed section entitled *kalimāt lam tunsab ilā ma'rūf min al-ḥukamā'*:³⁸⁹

وأسر حكيم فعرض للبيع؛ فقال له رجل أراد شراء: أأشتريك؟ فقال: كيف تشتريني فتستعبدني بعد أن اتخذتني وزيرًا.

SAWS شارء. corr. [شراء]

The third chreia is also seen in 'Awn 725 (anonymous) and in the mixed section of the MF (where is ascribed to Arisiḡāns = Archigenes?):³⁹⁰

سبي بعض الفلاسفة، فقال له رجل أراد شراء: لأي شيء تصلح؟ قال للحرية.

MF أرسيجانس [بعض الفلاسفة | MF و. hab. سبي ante

³⁸⁸ Dunlop 1979, 88.1850-1851 (para. 151).

³⁸⁹ SAWS online edition (no. 10).

³⁹⁰ Yūsuf 1996, 119.9-10 (Ar.) = Rosenthal 1991, 208 (Eng.); Badawī 1958, 297.8-9 (Ar.) = Rosenthal 1975a, 125 (no. 8; Eng.).

As can be seen, the three occurrences are textually identical except for minor adaptations in the incipit.

Two other chreiai set in the same context (a sage sold as a slave and questioned by his buyer about his origin or usefulness) are included in the mixed section of the MF. Of these, the first is attributed to a certain *Asānus* (probably Aesop), while the second is anonymous, but the answers given are incongruent with those attributed to Homer.³⁹¹

GREEK PARALLELS:

The short narrative on Homer's enslavement seems to paraphrase in a simplified form the dialogue contained in ch. 25-26 of the *Vita Aesopi* between the philosopher Xanthus and Aesop who had been sold as a slave to a merchant (ἔμπορος). In ch. 24 Xanthus had addressed other slaves (only one in recensio G, two in recensio W) with three questions: (σὺ) πόθεν εἶ; («Where do you come from?»), τί σου τὸ ὄνομα; / ὄνομα δέ σοι τί; («What is your name?») and τί (οὖν) οἶδας ποιεῖν; («What can you do?»). In ch. 25 Xanthus similarly asks Aesop where he comes from and what he knows how to do, to which the slave replies in a comical fashion. The question and answer in Arabic concerning the origin seems to be a reworking of *Vita Aesopi* G 25.6-9 (= W 25.5-6): “ποταπὸς εἶ;” [...] “ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐγεννήθης;” ὁ Αἴσωπος· “ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῆς μητρὸς μου”. The question that follows is instead a translation of *Vita Aesopi* G 26.1-3 (cf. W 26.1-2): ὁ Ξάνθος· “θέλεις ἀγοράσω σε;” ὁ Αἴσωπος· “τί γάρ; εἰ δι’ ἐννοίας σύμβουλόν <με> κεκτηῖσθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ”. The question «What are you good for?» clearly echoes the question that Xanthus asks Aesop in *Vita Aesopi* G 25.14 (= W 25.8), but while in Greek the answer is παντελῶς οὐδέν («Absolutely nothing»); in contrast to the other servants who had answered «Everything», the Arabic answer, «To freedom», follows another tradition, which is attested in Plut. *Apophthegmata Laconica* 234B, *Lacaenarum Apophthegmata* 242D, Stob. III 13, 58, GV 570, but also Joannes Sard. *Comm. in Aphth.* 4 [40.16-19 ed. Rabe]. In general, from gnomological and scholastic literature we have several chreiai in which a Laconian, who has been enslaved and put up for sale, answers questions of different kinds from a buyer, but none of these are linked to the tradition of the *Vita Aesopi*.³⁹²

O.C.

وكان معتدل القامة، حسن الصورة، أسمر اللون، عظيم الهامة، ضيق ما بين المنكبين، سريع المشية،
كثير التلفت؛ بوجهه آثار الجدري؛ مهذاراً، مولعاً بالسب لمن تقدمه، مزاحاً، مُداخلاً للرؤساء. مات وله من
العمر مائة سنة وثمانين سنين.

³⁹¹ Badawī 1958, 297. 6-7, 10-11. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 125 (nos. 7, 9).

³⁹² See Hock, O’Neil 1986, 329-330. Hock 2012, 52-53 provides the Greek text and English translation of John of Sardi’s passage.

He was of moderate stature, beautiful appearance and of brown complexion; he had a large head, narrow between his shoulders. He walked swiftly, and often looked around. On his face there were scars from smallpox. He joked a lot, but was also fond of insulting those who preceded him, and was funny. He frequented chieftains. He died at the age of one hundred and eight years.³⁹³

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Hom. o.c. versio A et B

مات وله | مزأحًا | مزأحًا | مهذارًا | مهذارًا | جدرى | الجدرى 2
 Šhz versio A سنة [مات] وله [مائة و] ثمانون سنة [من العمر مائة سنة وثمانين سنين
 B

The detail of Homer's dark complexion might be a further indication of the overlap between the Arabic interpretation of this Greek poet and the Hellenistic figure of Aesop. As a matter of fact, the opening lines of the *Vita Aesopi* contain a physical description of the Phrygian slave Aesop, who is said to be μέλας, «black», referred to his skin (*Vita Aesopi* W 1, 3 and *Vita Aesopi* G 1, 5). A parallel and more pronounced association exists between Aesop and Luqmān. The legend revolving around the latter underwent a profound evolution, that starting from his characterisation as the ideal sage of pre-Islamic Arabia – also mentioned in the Qur'ān – led to his identification with a black slave from Ethiopia or Nubia, as described in later sources. For instance, in the MF, Luqmān is introduced with the words *kāna Luqmān aswad al-lawn* and shortly afterwards *kāna Luqmān 'abdan aswad* (Badawī 1958, 260.2, 5-6). At the core of this association between the Greek-Hellenistic Aesop and the Arabic Luqmān there is the tradition of the *Story of Aḥiqar*, some elements of which are subsumed by both legendary figures. Moreover, Luqmān has been attributed at least since the 13th cent. an Arabic adaptation of the Syriac translation of some of Aesop's fables produced in the Christian milieu of Mamlūk Syria. However, the whole phenomenon concerning Aesop and Luqmān has yet to be fully investigated.³⁹⁴

In his Arabic reception, Homer has been at least partially associated with Aesop. This phenomenon cannot be attributed to a simple paleographical confusion of the transliterations of the Greek names nor is it limited to sharing some sayings – see IsḤ Hom. 2, MF Hom. o.b, MF Hom. 24, and IH Hom. 3, which may echo one of Aesop's fables – but involves intrinsic aspects of their legends, such as the detail highlighted here. Even more striking evidence is found in Ibn al-Qifṭī's *Ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'*. The entry on Homer opens with a brief introduction, after which the following anecdote is reported: «Anābū, the wag, said to him (sc. Homer): "Compose an invective against me and boast of your satire for I am not

³⁹³ English translation in Mutfić 2018, 26-27.

³⁹⁴ See Gutas 1981, 58; 'Abbās 1993, 71-96; Heller, Stillman 1986; Gutas 1996, 1289; Marzolph 2016 (entry *Fable* in *Encyclopaedia of Islam THREE*). The plurilingual tradition of the *Story of Aḥiqar* has recently been entirely re-examined in the collection of studies published in 2005 under the title *Il saggio Ahiqar* by Riccardo Contini and Cristiano Grottanelli. See also Rosenthal 1989, who edited and translated into English an Arabic collection of fifteen fables, eight of which he found an antecedent for in Aesop's fables. In the Graeco-Arabic gnomological tradition some Aesopic features and fables are also ascribed to Diogenes, see Overwien 2005, 426-431.

worthy of your praise”. He replied “I will never do that”. So he said: “Then I will go to the chiefs of the Greeks and I will tell them of your refusal”. Homer improvised the following speech for us: A dog was trying to fight a lion in the island of Cyprus, but the latter’s pride led him to refuse to do so. Thereupon the dog said to him: “I am going to inform the beasts of your weakness”. The lion answered him: “I would rather have the beasts insult me because I refused to fight you than defile my whiskers with your blood”». ³⁹⁵ A little further on we find the lemma on *ʿb-r-ḥ-s* – perhaps Ipparchus – *al-šāʿir*, presented as a skilful poet of the Greeks, who: «boasted to Homer about the profusion of his own poetry and the speed with which he composed it, while criticising him for the slowness of his composing and the paucity of his poetry. Then Homer pronounced the following speech: a sow in Antioch criticised a lioness for the long duration of her gestation and the scarcity of her offspring, while she boasted to her for the opposite. So the lioness said “you are right, I beget one cub after another but they are lions”». ³⁹⁶

1. For this saying – introduced by the expression *fa-min kalāmihī annahū qāla* which opens the gnomological section – see ĀF Hom. 6 (p. 392).
2. For this saying see ĀF Hom. 7 (pp. 392-393).
3. For this saying see ĀF Hom. 8 (p. 393).
4. For this saying see ĀF Hom. 9 (p. 393).
- 5.

وقال: قارنُ أهل الخير تكن منهم، وبأينُ أهل الشر تبين عنهم.

He said: Associate with good people and you will be one of them, keep away from evil people and you will be separated from them.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 5 versio A et B:

قارب Šhz versio A | قارن | و [وقال]

A similar admonition is echoed within Šhr Sol. 21.

6.

³⁹⁵ Qiftī 67.21-68.5.

³⁹⁶ Qiftī 70.3-7. The latter fable corresponds to no. 223 Perry. Both passages from the Qiftī are paraphrased in Tritton 1964, 157b. Another interesting witness is provided by the controversy held in Cairo in 441/1049-1050 between Ibn Riḍwān and Ibn Buṭlān (already mentioned in ĀF Sol. 8 and MF Hom. 43). In the section Four of the third treatise, Ibn Buṭlān apparently alludes to the polemic answers given by poets «in the form of fables of animals, two of which are ascribed to Homer» (English paraphrasis given in Shacht, Meyerhof 1937, 97, but missing in the Arabic text). However, since Shacht and Meyerhof’s edition is only partial, this passage cannot be read in the Arabic text, and we have to rely on their English paraphrased translation. Therefore, it is impossible to verify in detail the association of Homer with Aesop in this context and whether the two fables ascribed to Homer are those reported by Ibn al-Qiftī. See also ‘Abbās 1993, 65-70.

وقال: مَنْ أَكْثَرَ مِنْ شَيْءٍ عُرِفَ بِهِ.

He said: He who often does one thing is known for it.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 6 versio A et B.

و [وقال] و Šhz versio A et B

The same saying is listed in the last section of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq's ĀF, in the compilation of al-Anṣārī, among the maxims that the *falāsifa l-ǧinn* uttered before Solomon the son of David (no. 75 = Badawī 1985, 161.11). It is also found ascribed to the caliph 'Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb (r. 634-644) in the *Kitāb al-Muwaššā aw al-Zarf wa-l-Zurafā'* (*Book of Brocade or On Refinement and Refined People*) by Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq ibn Yahyā al-Waššā' (d. 325/936).³⁹⁷

7.

وقال: الكريم هو الذي فكره أبداً نحو الواجب؛ وإذا رأى الواجب فعله من قبل ورود المسألة التي توهمه.

He said: The magnanimous is one whose thoughts are always directed towards duty, and when he thinks of duty, he does so before the appearance of a matter that might discourage him.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 7 versio A et B.

هو [هو] Šhz versio A | المسألة [المسألة] Šhz versio B | تواتره [هو] Šhz versio B

8.

وقال: أصل الدهاء حسن اللقاء.

He said: The origin of cunning is the beauty of the encounter.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying corresponds to Šhz Hom. 8 versio A et B, which bears the following readings:

أفضل [أفضل] Šhz versio A et B | الدهاء [الدهاء] Šhz versio B

The outcome of Šhz versio B being: «He said: The best thing of this world is the beauty of the encounter».

³⁹⁷ Brünnow 1886, 12.20-21 (Ar.). On this work see also Klein 2018 (with a list of the editions and translations into modern languages at p. 1 n. 1).

Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of the saying no. 1281 of the ĠawRay.³⁹⁸

9.

وقال: إذا أمن الضمير رتع اللسان.

He said: When there is tranquillity in the inner self, the tongue revels.

10.

وقال: طول الجِدَّة يَمِيت الحَيْل.

He said: Novelty prolonged in time represses cunning.

الجِدَّة] an الجِدَّة ?

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 9 versio A et B.

الجِدَّة] الحدَّة Šhz versio A et B («wrath») | يَمِيت] تميت Šhz versio A et B

11.

وقال: الحيل فوائد الفكر.

He said: Stratagems are profits gained from thinking.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 10 versio A et B.

وقال و Šhz versio A et B

12.

وقال: الوجه ينبئ عما في الضمير.

He said: The face reveals what is in the inner self.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 11 versio A et B.

³⁹⁸ See Zakeri 2007, II 620.

Šhz versio A et B | عما في | وقال

Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of the saying no. 1059 of the ĞawRay.³⁹⁹

13.

وقال: عادة الصمت تُورثُ العيى.

He said: The practice of silence causes inability to speak.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is also found in TawB *al-Yūnāniyyūn* III 643 (within a list that also includes MF Hom. 14, 16, 18, 35-38) and repeated in Šhz Hom. 12 versio A et B.

وقال abest TawB | عيياً [العيى] | وقال

Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of saying no. 623 of the ĞawRay.⁴⁰⁰

14.

وقال: اللجاجة تسلب الرأي، والخفة تسلب البهاء.

He said: Stubbornness inhibits thought, while frivolity inhibits beauty.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Two other occurrences of this saying are TawB *al-Yūnāniyyūn* III 643 (where it follows the previous one) and Šhz Hom. 13 versio A et B.⁴⁰¹

وقال abest TawB

Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of saying no. 75 of the ĞawRay.⁴⁰²

15.

وقال: ختل الهوى تسويفه.

He said: Deceiving passion is delaying it.

³⁹⁹ See Zakeri 2007, II 517.

⁴⁰⁰ See Zakeri 2007, II 322-324.

⁴⁰¹ In this case I follow the reading in Shuwayrib's edition (p. 204.2) and not that given by Aḥmad (p. 229.7), who chooses the variant الحاجة (a *lectio faciliior*) versus اللجاجة (= our اللجاجة) reported in apparatus.

⁴⁰² See Zakeri 2007, II 51.

16.

وقال: صديق عدوك حربك.

He said: The friend of your enemy is your war.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This is also found in TawB *al-Yūnāniyyūn* III 643.

وقال] abest TawB

17.

وقال: اللحظ أدلّ على التمييز من اللفظ.

He said: The gaze is more revealing of the intention than the word.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 14 versio A et B.

الضمير] التمييز Šhz versio A et B

Zakeri includes it among the Arabic parallels of saying no. 2576 of the ĞawRay.⁴⁰³

18.

وقال: مَنْ مَلَّكَ التَّائِي مَلِكَ النَّدَمِ، وَالْحَزْمُ آةُ الظَّفْرِ.

He said: He who has deliberation has remorse, while resoluteness is the instrument of success.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The second part of this saying (والحزم آة الظفر) is part of TawB *al-Yūnāniyyūn* III 643.

19.

وقال: مَنْ لَمْ يَشْرَكَكَ فِي النِّعْمَةِ حَسَدَكَ عَلَيْهَا. وَقَدْ يَشْرَكَكَ فِي النِّعْمَةِ وَيَحْسُدُ.

He said: He who is not your companion in prosperity will envy you for it, and he may share in prosperity and still feel envy.

⁴⁰³ See Zakeri 2007, II 111-117 (our saying is reported at 116).

20. For this saying see MuḥŞĦ Hom. 1 (pp. 422-423).
 21. For this saying see IH Hom. 4 (p. 468).
 22.

وقال: اقتنوا الحسنات، فإنهن يذهبن السيئات.

He said: Achieve good deeds, because they eliminate the bad ones.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in MF Sol. 26.

23. For this saying see IH Hom. 3 (pp. 466-468).
 24.

وحكي عنه أنه كان يقول: كل الناس يحمل على كتفه مزادتين: واحدة في مقدمه، وأخرى في مؤخره.
 فالتى في المقدم ينظر بها سيئات غيره وعثراته، والتي في المؤخر لا ينظر بها إلا سيئات نفسه وعثراتها.

About him it is narrated that he said: every man carries on his shoulders two bags: one on the front and the other on the back. With the one on the front he examines the misdeeds and mistakes of others, with the one on the back he examines nothing but his own misdeeds and mistakes.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated almost identically in the chapter that gathers all the sayings of the Greek sages who do not have an *ad hoc* entry in the MF. The transliteration of the name of the author of the saying is clearly corrupted and reads *Arsūrs* in Badawī's edition. Rosenthal proposes to identify it with Aesop, based on the comparison with the Greek version of the saying (see *infra*), but *Arsūrs* appears rather close to the forms *Arsūrīs* and *Asūrīs* (or vocalised as *Isūryus*), already found in MF Hesiod 1 and IsĦ Hesiod 1 respectively as corruptions of the Greek Ἡσίοδος⁴⁰⁴. Therefore, I have catalogued this second occurrence of the saying as MF Hesiod 2,⁴⁰⁵ which bears the following variants:

[وأخرى | MF Hesiod على | في | MF Hesiod عنقه | كتفه | MF Hesiod وقال ارسورس | وحكي عنه أنه كان يقول 1
 MF Hesiod هي أن hab. ينظر 2 ante MF Hesiod على | (second occurrence) | في | MF Hesiod والأخرى
 MF Hesiod هي | لا ينظر بها إلا | abest MF Hesiod | بها | Hesiod

GREEK PARALLELS:

The saying is found in Greek sources ascribed to Aesop, the most important being Stob. III 23, 6: Αἴσωπος ἔφη δύο πήρας ἕκαστον ἡμῶν φέρειν, τὴν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τὴν δὲ ὀπίσθεν· καὶ εἰς μὲν

⁴⁰⁴ Both sayings are reported in chapter 2 in the context of the discussion of EN ref. 1 (pp. 294-295).

⁴⁰⁵ Badawī 1958, 300.3-5.

τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποτιθέναι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτήματα, εἰς δὲ τὴν ὀπισθεν τὰ ἑαυτῶν, διὸ οὐδὲ καθορώμεν αὐτά. Cf. Ant. Mel. 932.15-18, Max. Conf. 817C.

25. For this saying see IsĪ Hom. 2 (p. 384).
26. For this saying see IsĪ Hom. 1 (pp. 383-384).
27. For this saying see IH Hom. 2 (p. 466).
- 28.

وقال: الحكمة هي أن تدرك صورة العلم بالعمل.

He said: Wisdom is what takes the form of knowledge through practice.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This is repeated in Šhz Hom. 21 versio A et B

Even more interesting is the strong assonance between this saying and the definition of *ḥikma* given by Ibn Qutayba in his *Tafsīr ġarīb al-Qurʿān*:⁴⁰⁶

والحكمة العلم والعمل. لا يسمّى الرجل حكيماً حتى يجمعهما.

Wisdom is knowledge and action. No man can be called wise until he combines both.

29.

وقال: العمى خير من الجهل. قيل: وكيف ذاك؟ قال: لأن العمى يُخاف منه التردّي في هوة، والجهل يُخاف منه الوقوع في الهلاك.

He said: Blindness is better than ignorance. He was asked: How so? He answered: Because from blindness one fears to fall into the abyss, while from ignorance one fears to fall into destruction.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying, not in dialogic form and with some differences in the explanatory phrase introduced by *li-anna*, can also be read in Šhr Hom. 9:

أصعب [العمى يُخاف منه التردّي في هوة، والجهل يُخاف منه الوقوع في الهلاك | abest Šhr] قيل: وكيف ذاك؟ قال 1
Šhr («the most grievous thing to fear from blindness is to fall into a well and break your body for it, while from ignorance it is to fall into eternal destruction»)

⁴⁰⁶ Šaqr 1958, 32 no. 24. This passage is quoted in Gutas 1981, 52b (see pp. 51-54 for a more general discussion of the relation between *ḥikma* and experience in Arabic sources).

Another version of the saying can be found in the section entitled *su'ālāt al-falāsifa wa-ağwibatuhum* (*Questions to the philosophers and their answers*) of the ĀF – but due to a lacuna the name of the philosopher to whom it is attributed is illegible –⁴⁰⁷ and in MuntŞĤ Plotinus 2.

Zakeri inserts both versions, the one attributed to Homer and the one attributed to Plotinus, as parallels to saying no. 444 of the ĞawRay.⁴⁰⁸

30.

وُسئِلَ عَنْ مَرَاتِبِ الرِّجَالِ فَقَالَ: الرِّجَالُ ثَلَاثَةٌ: مُوسِمٌ بِخَيْرٍ، وَمُوسِمٌ بِشَرٍّ، وَغَافِلٌ لَا يَعْرِفُ بِخَيْرٍ وَلَا بِشَرٍّ.

When asked about the degrees of man he replied: Man is of three types: one characterised by good, one characterised by evil, and one indifferent who is known neither for good nor evil.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Şhz Hom. 22 versio A et B.

abest Şhz versio A | الرجال (second occurrence) هم Şhz versio A et B [مراتب]

31. For this saying see MuĥŞĤ Hom. 3 (p. 423).

32.

وقال: كثرة المفاوضة تمحق القدر.

He said: A great deal of negotiation removes destiny.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Şhz Hom. 24 versio A et B.

33.

وقال: صون النفس بعد بذلتها مروءة.

He said: To preserve one's soul after one has bestowed it is a noble act.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Şhz Hom. 25 versio A et B

بذلتها [بذلتها] Şhz versio A

⁴⁰⁷ Badawī 1952, 147.5-6.

⁴⁰⁸ See Zakeri 2007, II 225-226.

34.

إفراط الأُنس مقدّمة الجرأة.

Excessive affability is the premise of boldness.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated, with the significant omission of *al-uns*, in Šhz Hom. 26 versio A et B:

ante إفراط hab. وقال Šhz versio A et B | الأُنس] abest Šhz versio A et B

It is also listed among the words generically ascribed to *al-Yūnāniyyūn* in TawB III 643, where it is followed by MF Hom. 35.

35.

قوة العزم تنيل البغية.

The power of determination makes one achieve what one wants.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This is repeated in Šhz Hom. 27 versio A et B (merged with the following saying [= MF Hom. 36]):

نفس] العزم تنيل البغية Šhz versio A et B

This saying follows the previous one (MF Hom. 34) in TawB *al-Yūnāniyyūn* III 643, with the variant:

بنيل] تنيل TawB

36.

مَن ظفر بالجدّ التّدّ.

He who overcomes toil is pleased.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Hom. 27 versio A et B (merged with the previous saying [= MF Hom. 35])

Šhz versio B] بالجدّ العدّ] بالجدّ التّدّ

MF Hom. 36 is part of the aforementioned list ascribed to *al-Yūnāniyyūn* in TawB III 643, where this saying is completed by the words: «ومن ظفر به الجدّ تعب (and he who is overcome by toil is tired»).

37.

آلة الرياسة سعة الصدر.

Patience is the means to rule.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This maxim is listed among the sayings ascribed to *al-Yūnāniyyūn* in TawB III 643 and is repeated in Šhz Hom. 28 versio A et B with the following variant:

آلة [ألد] Šhz versio A

38.

خضوع اللفظ يُحلُّ الحقد.

Humility in speech dissolves rancor.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This maxim is listed among the sayings ascribed to *al-Yūnāniyyūn* in TawB III 643

39.

الخُلف يفتال المحاسن.

Disparity kills merits.

40.

مَنْ ابْتَدَأَ صَنِيعَةً قَدْ أَعْجَزَ عَنْ شُكْرِهَا.

He who starts a good deed is not able to be grateful for it.

41.

ورأى بيطارًا يكلم طبييًا، وكلّ واحد منهما مخطئ في كلامه، فقال: هذا يقول اقتلهم أنت وعليّ أن أقتل دوابهم.

He saw a veterinarian talking to a doctor, who were both wrong in their arguments, so he said: This one is saying “Kill them, then it will be my turn to kill their animals”.

42.

وقال: الدنيا دار من نال مراتبها لم يفرح، ومن فقد الرياسة فيها كان حقيراً.

He said: The earthly world is a place where those who have risen through its ranks are not happy, while those who have lost their position of leadership in it are despicable.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 29 versio A et B:

منها [فيها] Šhz versio A et B

More interestingly, the saying is found quoted and explicitly ascribed to Homer in the abovementioned letter by Aristotle to Alexander known as *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya*, where it bears the same wording as in MF Hom. 42 and is introduced by the phrase (addressed to Alexander) *wa-qad istahsantu qawl Amīrs al-šā‘ir ḥaytu yaqūlu*.⁴⁰⁹

43.

وقال: ليس شيء أدنى من الكذب، ولا خير في المرء إذا كان يكذب.

He said: Nothing is inferior to lying and there is no good in man when he lies.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

These words, explicitly ascribed to Homer, occur in the *Waṣīyyat Aristū li-l-Iskandar bi-ḥaḍrat abīhi* (*Aristotle’s Testament to Alexander in the presence of his father*), a collection of admonitions that appears in the cycle of texts known as *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*. Here the maxim is found at the end of a series of exhortations to keep away from lies and is introduced by the usual *wa-qad Awmīrūs al-šā‘ir*.⁴¹⁰ The same saying is repeated in the corresponding section of Misk.⁴¹¹ The variants are recorded below:

Misk الكذاب [إذا كان يكذب | Epistolary Novel كذاباً] يكذب | Epistolary Novel أدني [أدناً]

The same maxim ascribed to Homer is found in the polemical opening of the first treatise of the Medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Riḍwān and Ibn Buṭlān. Here the latter attacks his rival by accusing him of lying and appeals to the authority of Aristotle by citing, with some adaptations, the paragraph on lying in the *Waṣīyyat Aristū* that can be read both

⁴⁰⁹ Maróth 2006, 62.6-8 (Ar.). See French translation in Grignaschi 1967, 259 (no. XIII).

⁴¹⁰ Maróth 2006, 16.16-17. Grignaschi 1967, 257 (no. V) gives a French translation of the fragment.

⁴¹¹ Badawī 1952, 223.18-19.

through the *Epistolary Novel* and Misk.⁴¹² This paragraph contains the saying by Homer that is reported in the following formulation:⁴¹³

وقد قال أوميرس: ليس شيء أدني من الكذب، ولا خير في المرء إذا كان يكذب.

3.2.6.2 Solon (*Aḥbār Sūlūn al-ḥakīm + ḥikamuhū wa-ādābuhū*)⁴¹⁴

o.a.

خَلَّفَ سولون بن اكسيكاسطيديس الحكيم كتبًا كثيرة فيها علم الصالحات، مملوءة من المواعظ. وكان من أهل أثينا مدينة الحكماء في الزمان الأول التي انتقل المُلْك إليها. وهو واضع الشرائع لهم، التي نقض بها نواميس ذراقون المارق. ولم ينقض النواميس التي جاءتهم من فوينيكس. ووضع كتابًا فيه الأشعار المنشطة إلى مباشرة الحروب، يحرضهم به على قتال الأعداء الحاجة كانت إلى ذلك.

The sage Solon son of Execestides left many works dealing with the science of good deeds, full of teachings. He was one of the inhabitants of Athens, the city of the wise, at the time when for the first time the kingdom was transferred there. He was their lawgiver, and by his own laws abrogated the laws of Draco the renegade (*al-māriq*), while he did not abrogate the laws that had come to them from *Fūyniks*. He composed a book containing poems inciting them to wage wars, by which he urged them to fight their enemies when the need arose.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. o.a versio A et B

- 1 | Šhz versio A ترك [خَلَّفَ 1 | اكسيكاسطيديس] اكسيكاسطيديس Šhz versio B | كذا حلف Šhz versio A et B |
- 2 | Šhz versio B | وخو جدّ أفلاطون لأمه. hab. المواعظ Šhz versio A et B | مملوءة [أثينا 2 |
- 3 | Šhz versio A et B | الذي [التي | abest Šhz versio A et B | الأول] أثينا من Šhz versio A et B |
- Šhz versio A فويليكس Šhz versio A | فويليس [فوينيكس | دارقون Šhz versio A | دارقون [ذراقون Šhz versio B |
- 4 | Šhz versio A (del. Aḥmad) [به] [به | مناخرة Šhz versio B | مناخرة Šhz versio A | مناخرة [مباشرة 4 |

GREEK PARALLELS:

This short biographical information has correspondences in the main Greek sources on Solon. The mention of his father Execestides can be read in DL 1, 45.1, Plu. Sol. 1, 2.1, DS 9, 1.1 *et*

⁴¹² Maróth 2006, 16.13-17 = Badawī 1952, 223.14-19.

⁴¹³ Schacht, Meyerhof 1973, 36.17-18 (Ar.), 72 (Eng.).

⁴¹⁴ Badawī 1958, 34-39.

al., while the generic chronological reference «when for the first time the kingdom was transferred there» could be an allusion to the tyranny of Pisistratus, who was Solon's contemporary, for which see Plu. *Sol.* 32, 3. The most interesting aspect is the phrase concerning the promulgation of new laws and the repeal of Draconian laws that closely follows the Greek Arist. *Ath.* 7.1: τοῖς δὲ Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν; cf. Plu. *Sol.* 17.1. Clearly, *Fūynīks* is a transliteration not of the proper noun Φοῖνιξ (Phoenix), as Badawī suggested,⁴¹⁵ but of the adjective φονικός («murderous»). The epithet *al-māriq* is not supported by Greek sources and its origin is unknown. More than an author of poems inciting to war, Solon engaged in elegiac poetry. Perhaps the last passage bears a trace, with a free reinterpretation of the sources, of the anecdote also reported in *Rh.* A 15, 1375b 28-30 = ref. 28, according to which Solon used Homeric verses to intervene in the fight between Megarians and Athenians for the island of Salamis, but these similarities are very vague and difficult to prove.⁴¹⁶

o.b.⁴¹⁷

1 وكان سولون أحد الحكماء السبعة الذين كانوا في وقت واحد وهم: ثاليس، وسولون، وبيطاقوس، وباريانندروس، وخیلون، وقلاوبولوس، وبياس. وأنكر قوم بيطاقوس وباريانندروس وجعلوا مكانهما ايமானيدس الأقریطى وباريس الاسقوثي. وقيل إنهم تسعة وأضافوا إليهم أناخارسييس الذي من سقوثيا أيضاً وموسون الذي من خينيا. وإنما حسبوا سبعة وأسقط منهم الاثنان لما أذكره، وهو أن أحداً وقفوا بصياد فدفعوا إليه منقوشاً 5 ليُلقي شبكته في الماء فما أصد به بيختهم كان لهم. فأخذه منهم وطرح شبكته في الماء، فأصعد طرنبوذاً من ذهب. فأزَمَعَ الصياد على منعهم إياه واحتج عليهم بأنه إنما باعهم سمكة ولم يبيعهم طرنبوذاً من ذهب. فاحتجوا عليه أنه شَرَطَ على نفسه أن يطلع لهم بيختهم ما طلع لهم. فلما طالت المشاجرة اتفقوا على أن يتفاتا إلى الله سبحانه فما أمرهم أنفذوه. فأوحى إليهم أن ينطلقوا به إلى بعض الحكماء السبعة ويقبلوا حُكمه. فأتوا بالاطرنبوذ بدناً إلى ثاليس فوجه به إلى بياس الحكيم واحتجز بأن قال: هو أحكم مني. فبعثه 10 بياس إلى الحكيم الثالث، فأرسله الثالث إلى الرابع. فلم يزل كل واحد يرسله إلى الآخر حتى جاز على السبعة الحكماء. فردّه السابع إلى ثاليس. فأجاب بأن يُجعل في هيكل الإله عز وجل. فجعلوه في هيكل أفولون الذي بذالفس، فصارت سابعة الأطنبوذ للسبعة الحكماء الذين مرّ على أيديهم. وأمّا الآخرون الذين لم يتفقا معهم في هذا المعنى فأقرّوا بفضيلة ثاليس.

⁴¹⁵ Badawī 1958, 34 n. 6. Badawī's misinterpretation has already been noted by Cottrell 2008, 541 n. 73.

⁴¹⁶ The reconquest of Salamis from the Megareans thanks to Solon's contribution is mentioned in the Life of Plato transmitted in Qiftī 18.17.

⁴¹⁷ This section has been edited and translated into German also by Rosenthal 1937, 40-43, with which I have collated Badawī's text and whose readings not accepted in the text are marked «Rosenthal» in the apparatus.

[أصعد به | del. Abū Šuwayrib (versio B)] فما أصدته بختهم كان لهم. فأخذه منهم وطرح شبكته في الماء
 [فأصعد | Šhz versio A في بختهم] بختهم MSS Badawī Šhz versio A et B | أصدته Rosenthal
 Šhz versio A [فأز مع] فأز مع 6 Šhz versio B | طرنوبدًا coni. Rosenthal | طرنوبدًا [طرنوبدًا | Šhz versio A
 Šhz versio B | طرنوبدًا coni. Rosenthal | طرنوبدًا [طرنوبدًا | Šhz versio B | عليه ومنعهم] على منعهم |
 [طرنوبدًا | Šhz versio B | ما يطلع] يطلع | Šhz versio A et B | ما يطلع [طرنوبدًا | Šhz versio B | فاحتجوا 7
 Šhz versio A et B | عز وجل] سبحانه | Šhz versio A et B | يأتوا [يتفاتوا 8 abest Šhz versio A et B | لهم
 | Šhz versio A et B | أحد] بعض | abest Šhz versio A et B | به | Šhz versio B فلما Šhz versio A فكل ما [فما |
 B | 9 post حُكمه hab. Šhz versio A et B | بالطرنبود] بالطرنبود Šhz versio A | بالطرنبود Šhz versio B
 | وأخير (e Schaefer) coni. Rosenthal | واحتج] واحتج | Šhz versio B | بيلس Šhz versio A | بناس [بناس |
 Šhz versio A et B | بناس] بناس 10 Badawī فبعث Šhz versio A et B | فبعثه [Rosenthal Šhz versio A et B |
 Šhz versio A | الله تعالي Šhz versio A | لإله عز وجل 11 | Šhz versio A (del. Aḥmad) | [كل] [كل | Šhz versio B
 | ببلدة يراليس Badawī بدالفس [Badawī بدالفس | Šhz versio A et B | قولون] قولون 12 | أفولون Šhz versio B
 | Šhz versio A et B | سابقة (e Schaefer) coni. Rosenthal | سبعة] سبعة | Šhz versio B | بداليس Šhz versio A
 | السبعة Badawī السبعة [Rosenthal Šhz versio A et B | للسبعة | Šhz versio B | الطرنوبد Šhz versio A | الأطنوبد |
 | الذين (third occurrence) | Šhz versio A et B | الآخران 420 coni. Rosenthal | الآخرين [الآخرون | Šhz versio A et B | وأما |
 | Badawī يتفقوا | Rosenthal Šhz versio A et B | يتفقا 13 | Šhz versio A et B | اللذان [occurrence)
 | Badawī السن | Rosenthal Šhz versio A et B | ثالثيس | Rosenthal | فافردا [فأفردوا

The only other Arabic source in which Solon is listed as one of the Seven Sages is al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb fī taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind*.⁴²¹

GREEK PARALLELS:

This narrative is classified as T 119 Martina (= BNJ 260 F 5). The account concerning the seven sages and the golden tripod has precise textual correspondences with a shorter fragment of Book One of Porphyry's *History of Philosophy* transmitted through Cyril of Alexandria's *Against Emperor Julian* I 28. Rosenthal points to Porphyry's work, preserved only fragmentarily, as a potential source for the Arabic text.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ See the explanation of this emendation in Rosenthal 1937, 41, later discussed in Cottrell 2008, 542-543, in the light of whose considerations I have preferred to follow the reading of the MSS of MF, printed by Badawī.

⁴²¹ al-Bīrūnī 1958, 24.6 (Ar.) = Sachau 1910, I 33 (En.). References to other lists of the Seven (or fewer) Greek sages, often recalled collectively as the pillars of wisdom, (*asāṭin al-ḥikma*), are given in Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 14-16, but also in Rowson 1988, 204.

⁴²² Rosenthal 1937, 40-43, where this section is translated into German. The same passage can be read in the Italian version by F. Gabrieli in T 119 Martina.

O.C.

وذكر عن سولون أنه كان لسنًا لطيف الكلام، حتى كناه أهل أثينا: «المفرح». وسار إلى مصر ولبث بها حينًا، وسمع من الكهنة حكمًا كثيرة، وتعلم منهم أشياء غامضة. وكان يقول: إنه لا يزال المرء متعلمًا أبدًا. ومات بأرض عُربية هاريا في ولاية بسيسطراطوس. وكان جدًّا لأفلاطون الحكيم من جهة أمه. وكان أبيض أشقر، أزرق العينين، أقى الأنف، مستطيل اللحية، خفيف العارضين، خميص البطن، منحني الأكتاف، حلو المنطق، قوي اللسان، على ذراعه الأيمن خال كبير. مات وله سبع وسبعون سنة.

Solon was said to be eloquent and a brilliant orator, so much so that the people of Athens nicknamed him the Joyful. He travelled to Egypt, where he stayed for some time, listened to many words of wisdom (*or*: maxims) from the priests and learned obscure things from them. He said: One never stops learning. He died in a foreign land as an exile in the reign of Pisistratus. And he was the grandfather of the wise Plato on his mother's side. He had a pale complexion, blue eyes, an aquiline nose, a long and thin beard, a flat stomach, curved shoulders, he was passionate about logic, skilled in linguistic expression, and on his right arm was a large birthmark. He died at the age of 77.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. o.c versio A et B

Šhz versio B | ايباس Šhz versio A أثينس | أثيناس | كساه Šhz versio B | كناه | Šhz versio B | ليئًا | لسنًا 1
Šhz versio A et B | post سمع hab. فيها Šhz versio A et B | post كثيرة hab. جدًا Šhz
versio A et B | abest Šhz versio B | إنه | 3 | ومات | Šhz versio A et B | غربية | غربية | Šhz versio B
| وكان جدًّا لأفلاطون الحكيم من جهة | Šhz versio B | لسيسطراطوس | اسيسطراطوس | بسيسطراطوس | Šhz versio A
| abest Šhz versio B (cf. *supra* Sol. o.a) | ومات | 5 | وله | Šhz versio A et B | وسبعون | وثمانون | Šhz
versio A et B

GREEK PARALLEL:

The reference to Solon's trip to Egypt and his meeting with priests might be an allusion to Pl. *Tim.* 20d-27b (see also Aristot. *Ath. resp.* 11, 1.4-5, Plu. *Sol.* 26, 1, Plu. *Is. Os.* 354D 9-E4, and T 62-69 Martina). This information is followed by and connected with the saying «One never stops learning» (*innahū lā yazālu al-mar'a muta'alliman abadan*), which is consistent with the topos of Solon being a lover of wisdom and might cover the pentameter γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος (*or*: γηράσκειν αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος) reported by Plu. *Sol.* 2, 2 and 31, 7. As for death in a foreign land, DL I 62.6-7 tells us that Solon died in Cyprus at the age of 80 (and not 77 as stated in the MF and 87 as stated in the Šhz), while in Val. Max. V 3, Ext. 3 (T 36 Martina)

we read: «[...] qui Pisistrati tyrannidem primus vidit orientem, solus armis opprimi debere palam dicitare est ausus, senectutem Cypri **profugus exegit neque ei in patria**, de qua optime meruerat, **humari contigit**». The kinship between Solon and Plato is illustrated in Pl. *Chrm.* 155a, Procl. *ad Plat. Tim.* 20e (= T 27 Martina), DL III 1 (= T 29 Martina) *et al.* The physical description of Solon is a typical feature of MF, which has already been seen in the introductory section on Homer and is also found in the sections on other Greek authors.

1. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Sol. 18 (pp. 446-447).
2. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Sol. 6 (pp. 418-419).
- 3.

وقال: إذا حدثت لك فكرة سوء فادفعها عن نفسك ولا ترجع باللائمة على غيرك؛ ولكن لم رأيك بما أحدث عليك.

If an evil thought occurs to you, remove it from your soul and do not blame someone else, but blame your thought for the fact that it occurred to you.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhr Sol. 4

Šhr الكريم [ولكن لم | Šhr عرضت] حدثت

4. For this saying see ‘Ām Sol. 1 (pp. 409-410).
- 5.

وقال لابنه: إذا أردت أمرًا فلا يجمع به هواك؛ واستشر، فإنّ الرأي يصدق والمشورة ترشد.

Badawī بصدق corr. [يصدق]

He said to his son: If you desire something, your inclination must not prevail untamed over it. But seek advice, for reflection is truthful and consultation guides the way.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 4 versio A (= Šhz Sol. 139 versio B).

Šhz versio A بصدق [يصدق]

6. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Sol. 12 (pp. 428-429).
7. For this saying see IH Sol. 14 (= ĀF Sol. 14; pp. 400-403).
8. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 2 (p. 394).
9. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 3 (p. 394).
10. For this saying see ĀF Sol 11 (p. 399).
11. For this saying see ‘Ām Sol. 4 (p. 411).

12. For this saying see MuntŞH Sol. 9 (pp. 443-444).
13. For this saying see MuntŞH Sol. 17 (p. 446).
14. For this saying see MuntŞH Sol. 23 (p. 448).
15. For this saying see MuntŞH Sol. 1 (pp. 440-441).
16. For this saying see IsH Sol. 1 (p. 382).
17. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 4 (p. 395).
- 18.

وقال: ليس يخشى العاقل على صديقه لأنّه إن كان فاضلاً زانته صحبتته، وإن كان سفيهاً حمى جنبه
من السفهاء وارتاض باحتماله.

He said: He who is intelligent does not worry about his friend because if he is virtuous his companionship adorns him, while if he is a fool he protects his side from fools and puts his patience into practice.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Şhz Sol. 153 versio A et B

Şhz فاتته [زانته | Şhz versio B | العاقل على | Şhz versio B | بحر Şhz versio A | يخسر | يخشى 1
versio B | جنبه | Şhz versio A et B

19.

وقال: ما ينبغي أن تمدح أحداً بأكثر مما فيه، فإنّه يصدق عن نفسه، فيكون ما زدته إياه نقصاً لك.

You should not extol someone with greater praise than what is in him, because he will show the truth about himself and thus what you have increased to him will be decreased to you.

20.

وقال: الصبر حصن منيع، والعجلة مفسدة وقائدة إلى الندامة، والصدق ثمرة الكرم، والحرص فضل الشهوة.

He said: Patience is an impregnable fortress, haste is destructive and leads to regret, truthfulness is the fruit of generosity, and greed is excess of passion.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated identically in MF Socrates 280.⁴²³

⁴²³ Badawī 1958, 118.3-4 (Ar.); Alon 1995, 79 no. 585 (Eng.).

On the topos of greed as excess of passion see the texts (including the saying discussed here) listed by Zakeri as parallels of saying no. 2527 of the ĠawRay.⁴²⁴

21.

وسئل: كيف تتخذ الأصدقاء؟ فقال: أن يُكْرَمُوا إذا حضروا، ويُحَسَّنَ ذِكْرَهُمْ إذا غابوا.

He was asked: How should friends be chosen? He replied: [One should choose those who] prove to be high-minded when they are present and whose memory is beautiful when they are absent.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 155 versio A et B.

يتخذ [يتخذ] Šhz versio A

The chreia, ascribed to *Sūlun al-ḥakīm*, is also reported in Usāma ibn Munqid's *Lubāb al-ādāb*.⁴²⁵

22. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 8 (p. 397).

23. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Sol. 4 (and MuntṢḤ Sol. 14; p. 417).

24.

وأصيب بابنه فجعل يبكي. فقال له رجل: وما ينفع البكاء؟ قال: فمن هذا أبكي.

He was afflicted by the loss of his son and began to weep. A man asked him: What is the use of weeping? He answered: That is why I weep.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The chreia is repeated in Šhz Sol. 158 versio A et B

فقال [قال] Šhz versio A et B

GREEK PARALLELS:

The chreia is variously attested in Greek sources, among which DL I 63: ἐπειδὴ δακρύει τὸν παῖδα τελευτήσαντα, ὃν ἡμεῖς οὐ παρειλήφαμεν, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἀνύτεις,” εἰπεῖν, “δι’ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο δακρύω, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀνύτω.”. But the text that most closely resembles the Arabic version comes from Stob. 4, 54, 14: Σόλων ἀποβαλὼν υἱὸν ἔκλαυσεν· εἰπόντος δὲ τινος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς οὐδὲν προὔργου ποιεῖ κλαίων “δι’ αὐτὸ γάρ τοι τοῦτο” ἔφη “κλάω.”

⁴²⁴ See Zakeri 2007, II 1070-1071.

⁴²⁵ Šākir 1935, 447.3-4 (Ar.).

25.

وقال: رأيتُ الناس إذا أخذوا سارقًا أو زانيًا اجتمعوا عليه وتعجبوا منه واستنكروا له. ولعل ذلك الإنسان إنما وقفه ذلك الموقف من بينهم قلة رفقه بما صنع حتى اطلع عليه وأخذ؛ ولعل مع ذلك أولئك الذين يتعجبون من فضوح ذلك الإنسان كلهم يعمل أعمال الفضح علانيةً.

He said: I have seen that when men catch a thief or an adulterer they band together against him, they wonder at him and blame him. And perhaps that person was only stopped in that situation by them because of lack of care on his part for what he did until he was seen and caught. Perhaps, however, all those who wonder at the dishonorable deeds of that man commit dishonorable deeds openly.

26. For this saying see MF Hom. 22 (p. 495).
27. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 7 (p. 396).
28. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 5 (p. 395).
29. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 6 (pp. 395-396).
30. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 10 (p. 398-399).
- 31.

وقيل له: كيف يكون صلاح المدن؟ فقال: إذا عمل الرؤساء العظماء بالسنن والشرائع لم يجد من دونهم بدءًا من أن يسيروا بسيرتهم.

He was asked: How is the righteousness of cities achieved? He answered: If powerful leaders act in accordance with civic and religious laws, those who are inferior to them shall not shrink from behaving in accordance with their conduct.

GREEK PARALLELS:

This chreia might be compared to GV 443 (after Plato), which in turn is a reworking of the famous passage of Plato's *Republic V* 473 c-d: 'Ο αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν ἄριστα αἱ πόλεις οἰκοῖντο ἔφη. "εἰ φιλόσοφοι βασιλεύοιεν ἢ οἱ βασιλεῖς φιλοσοφοῖεν".⁴²⁶

32.

وسئل عن الأحداث كيف يحتال لهم حتى يتركوا نزعهم فقال: أن لا يزال منصوبًا بين أعينهم أناس من كبرائهم الذين يستحيون منهم ويجلونهم ويخافون أن يفتضحوا عندهم.

He was asked about young people and how to use guile on them so that they would abandon their impetuosity. He answered: Continue to place before their

⁴²⁶ Van Bladel 2009, 204 comments on this passage and gives further parallels.

eyes men greater than them, before whom they are ashamed, whom they esteem, and in whose presence they fear to be dishonoured.

33.

وكان لا يستحلُّ أن يدخِر أكثر من قوت يوم واحد.

He did not think it was fair to accumulate more food than was needed for one day.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 159 versio A et B.

34.

ف قيل له: إن الملك يُغضبك. فقال: وأيِّ ملك يحبُّ ملكاً هو أغنى منه.

He was told: The king hates you. He answered: And what king would love a king who is richer than he is?

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Šhz Sol. 160 versio A et B.

Šhz versio A قال [فقال | Šhz versio A et B وقيل [ف قيل

35.

وقال سولون: ما برمي بالحياة بحاملي على أن أدعو الموت إلى نفسي قبل أن يكون هو الذي يأتيني. وقال له زينون: فما إقامتك بعد الذي توقن به من الكرامة بعد الموت؟ قال سولون: أنا كحافظ الثغر: إن أقام أقام في غني، وإن قفل قفل إلى كرامة. قال زينون: ما موضع هذا المثل؟ قال سولون: أما المقيم فنفس الحكيم، وأما الثغر فيجسده، وأما الأعداء فأضداد النفس: من الشهوة والحرص والغضب وأما الغنى فقهرُ النفس هذه الأمور التي سَمَّيْتُ وذكرت لك ونفيه إياها. وأما الكرامة فما ترجع إليه نفس الحكيم من السرور في المعاد.

Solon said: My weariness of life does not induce me to summon death myself, before it comes to me. Zeno asked him: Why do you hesitate since you are sure of great honour after death? Solon replied: I am like a guard at a frontier region. If he stays at his post, he remains there in distress, and when he withdraws, honour awaits him. Zeno asked: what is the object of this simile? Zeno said: That which remains at its post is the soul of the sage, while the frontier region is his body. The

enemies are what is opposed to the soul, namely greed, desire and anger. The distress is the soul's conquest and banishment of these things that I named and mentioned to you. Honour is joy in the next world, to which the sage's soul withdraws.⁴²⁷

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This brief dialogue between Solon and Zeno is included in the mixed section of MF and is actually part of the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa* (known in the Latin West as *Liber de Pomo*), at least in the Arabic version attested to in the MS preserved in the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in Damascus consulted by Ḥayr Allāh in his 1919-1920 edition.⁴²⁸ The identification of Solon is not certain since the name is found transliterated in various forms, *Shuān* (in Ḥayr Allāh's edition) and *Sīlūn* (in MS Istanbul, Köprülü I 1608)⁴²⁹, while the form *Sūlūn* reported in the edition of the MF might be a tacit correction by Badawī himself. On the other hand, Jörg Kraemer, who studied the text in 1956 and focused on this passage of the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*, proposed to read *Sīlūn* (and consequently the alternatives *S-l-w-ā-n/Sūlūn*) as *Milūn* > Melon, a character of Plutarch's dialogue entitled *De genio Socratis*, of which however there is no trace in the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa* and which is unlikely to have been consulted by its author.⁴³⁰ In any case, many questions remain about the origins and composition of this work pending a critical edition and a detailed study of the text.⁴³¹

3.2.6.3. Pindar

1. For this saying see IH Pindar 2 (pp. 470-471).

⁴²⁷ Badawī 1958, 310. 8-16. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 135 (part of no. 92), modified. See also Margoliouth 1892, 234.

⁴²⁸ Arabic edition in Ḥayr Allāh 1919-1920, 480.15-27.

⁴²⁹ Partially edited in Kraemer 1956b (see p. 497).

⁴³⁰ Kraemer 1956b, 501 n. 4.

⁴³¹ The work consists of a dialogue in which a dying sage (in some versions Socrates and in others Aristotle), inspired by the scent of an apple, exhorts his disciples to pursue knowledge and not be afraid of death, which is the occasion for the immortal soul's liberation from the body. Evidently, the core of the work is a reworking of Plato's *Phaedo*, but the sources of the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*, its author, and the language it was originally written in (whether in Greek, as stated in the prologues of the Arabic-Hebrew and Hebrew-Latin versions, or in Arabic) are still unclear. Of the Arabic text, 6 MSS that preserve different recensions of the writing are known (listed in Gutas (and Kotzia) 2017, 658-659), the most conspicuous difference being, as stated above, that in one part of the tradition the protagonist of the dialogue is Socrates, as in the *Phaedo*, and in the rest it is Aristotle. In addition to the already mentioned 1919-1920 edition of Ḥayr Allāh, based on a single MS, in 1965 al-Naššār and al-Širbīnī published an edition based on another copy, which I have not been able to consult (in this regard, see the comment by van Bladel 2009, 176-177 n. 48). Some external elements – references to the *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa* by other Arabic authors – led scholars to date the first Arabic version (either its composition or its translation from a Greek original) between the 9th and 10th cent. (see van Bladel 2009, 179-180; Kotzia 2017, 675), although it is not possible to determine at the present stage of research how the preserved recensions depend on this version, that does not seem to have survived to date. In addition to the Arabic testimonies, we can rely on a 13th cent. Persian version, a 1235 Arabic-Hebrew translation and a 1255 Hebrew-Latin translation. For an overview of the work and its main problems see Kraemer 1956b, Bielawski 1974, Gutas 1986, 31, 36 n. 61, van Bladel 2009, 175-180, Kotzia 2017 (with a comprehensive bibliography).

2.

وقال بندارس: ما كان وفرغ لا يمكن أن تردّه إلى ما لم يكن لا أن كان حدوثه بالعدل ولا أن لم يكن، وإنما يمكننا مداواته، لا بأن نذكره، ولكن بأن ننساه.

Pindar said: What has been and is over cannot be restored to what is not, whether it happened justly or not. However, we can cure it, not by remembering it but by forgetting it.⁴³²

GREEK PARALLELS:

As suggested by Rosenthal, this might be an echo of Pindar, *Ol.* II 15-17.

3. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Pindar 1 (= MuntṢḤ Pindar 1; pp. 428-430).

4. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Pindar 2 (p. 430).

5.

قال فيدوروس: إذا النفس طرحت عنها ثقل الفواحش ونفت الهموم المعوّقة عن الخيرات فلن يعيا لسانها أن يفيض على السامعين ويسقيهم من ينابيع العذوبة والصفاء التي هي الحكمة، غير أنها لا تعدم ما تهب، ولا ينقصها ما تعطى: فهي تحكم الجهال وتغذو الأطفال. وكلما قسمت مالها ورهبتة ازدادت إترابًا وإثراءً.

Pindar said: When the soul discards the burden of shameful deeds and banishes the cares which prevent the doing of good deeds, its tongue will surely be in a position to captivate listeners and let them drink of the pure and sweet fountains of wisdom, and never will it happen to it that it has nothing or too little to give. It makes fools wise and nourishes children. Each time it distributes its wealth and gives it away, it becomes ever more and more.⁴³³

SYRIAC PARALLELS:

A parallel can be found in SGP 86 (ascribed to Menander, = Arzhanov 2019a, 258-259).

6. This saying is a longer version of MF Pindar 3, for which see MuḥṢḤ Pindar 1 (= MuntṢḤ Pindar 1; pp. 428-430).

7. For this saying see IH Pindar 1 (pp. 469-470).

8.

وقال فيدروس: كل أهل الدنيا في جرب. فأحق من قصد له المحارب أقرب أعدائه إليه.

⁴³² Badawī 1958, 302. 11-12. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 128-129 (no. 48). I follow Rosenthal who keeps *يكن لا أن كان حدوثه بالعدل ولا أن لم يكن* in the text, which Badawī instead deleted.

⁴³³ Badawī 1958, 305.3-7. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 130-131 (no. 67).

Pindar said: Every inhabitant of this world is at war, and the most appropriate man for the warrior to attack is the closest among his enemies.⁴³⁴

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This saying, like MF Sol. 34, which is placed a few lines above it in the mixed section, is taken from the abovementioned *Kitāb al-Tuffāḥa*, where, instead of *ilayhī*, we read *ay humūm sadrihī*, «i.e. the concerns of his chest».⁴³⁵ From the comparison with this text, in which the saying is attributed to Pindar, it can be reasonably argued that *Fīdrūs* is not a transliteration of Φαῖδρος (Phaedrus), but a corruption of Fī(n)darūs, a transliteration of Πίνδαρος (Pindar).

9. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Pindar 1 (= MuntṢḤ Pindar 1; pp. 428-430).

3.2.6.4. Simonides

1. (?)

وقال طيمونديوس: مَنْ يَقْدِرُ قَدْرَ أَمْوَالِ النَّفْسِ الَّتِي لَا تَمُوتُ وَلَا تَنْضُبُ وَلَا يَأْخُذُ مِنْهَا بِالْكِرْهِ، وَلَكِنِهَا تَجُودُ بِمَا لَهَا عَلَيَّ مِنْ بَدَالِهَا ثُمَّ تَكُونُ مِنْ جَادَتِ لَهُ عَلَيَّ إِحْدَى مِنْزِلَتَيْنِ: إِمَّا أَنْ تَخْصِبَ بِمَوَاهِبِهَا، وَإِمَّا أَنْ يَزْدَهِيَ عَلَيْهَا بِمَا لَهَا.

Timonides said: Who can assess the amount of the wealth of the soul, which is immortal and cannot be robbed, from which nothing can ever be taken away against its will, since it always generously bestows of its wealth on everyone to whom it sees fit to give something. He who enjoys its generosity then finds himself in one of the two conditions: either he thrives on its gifts or he despises it and its wealth.⁴³⁶

SYRIAC PARALLELS:

This saying resembles SGP 87 (= Arzhanov 2019a, 258-259, where it is ascribed to Timonides, which, according to the scholar, might cover the Greek Simonides and refer to the poet of Ceos).

2.

ولام إنسان سيمونيدس على إسلافه لرجل سوء مالا، فقال: لم أسلف الإنسان، إنما أسلفت الحاجة.

When someone blamed Simonides for having lent money to an evil person, he said: I did not lend it to the man but to the need.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ Badawī 1958, 311.9-10. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 136 (part of no. 97), modified.

⁴³⁵ Arabic edition in Ḥayr Allāh 1919-1920, 481.12-13. See also Margoliouth 1892, 235 (English translation of the 13th cent. Persian version).

⁴³⁶ Badawī 1958, 305.8-11. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 131 (n. 68).

⁴³⁷ Badawī 1958, 316.12-13. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 140 (no. 128).

GREEK PARALLELS:

This saying resembles a chreia ascribed to Aristoteles in the Greek tradition, namely Stob. III 37, 31: Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος αἰτηθεὶς ποτε ἔρανον ὑπὸ μοχθηροῦ καὶ παρασχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐπελάβετό τις αὐτοῦ ὅτι τοιοῦτω ἔδωκεν, οὐ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔφη ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ. Cf. DL V 17.3-5 and 21.1-3; GV 139 *et al.*

3. (? : after Simonides)

وقال: يجب أن يكرم الأخيار في حياتهم ويترحم عليهم بعد موتهم.

He said: One must honor the good in their lifetime and pray for them after their death.⁴³⁸

GREEK PARALLELS:

This saying is very close to GV 268: Εὐριπίδης ὁ τῶν τραγωδιῶν ποιητῆς εἶπεν ὅτι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας δεῖ ζῶντας μὲν τιμᾶσθαι, τελευτήσαντας δὲ ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι.

3.2.6.5. Hesiod

1.

وقال إرسوريس: يقال للإنسان إنه خير في الطبقة الأولى إذا كان استخراجاً للأشياء الجميلة بطبعه، من تلقاء نفسه، ويقال إنه خير في الطبقة الثانية إذا كان قابلاً للأشياء الجميلة إذا عرفها من غيره.

Hesiod said: it is reported that man is good in the highest degree if he infers noble things from himself alone, by his natural disposition; it is reported that he is good in the second degree if he acquires noble things only if he has already learned them from others.

For this saying see above, Chapter 2 (p. 295), EN ref. 1

2. (Aesop?) For this saying see MF Hom. 24 (pp. 495-496).

3.

وقال ايسويوس: القضاء والطلب مثل النفس والجسم كل واحد منهما بصاحبه، وذلك أن القضاء يحتاج إلى طلب، فمن ظن أنه يكون بلا طلب أو القضاء فقد ظن عجزاً. وما يجري من ذلك فإنما يكون في حين ما من الزمان.

⁴³⁸ Badawī 1958, 316.14. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 140 (no. 129).

Hesiod said: Conclusion and investigation are comparable to the soul and the body. Both are linked with one another. namely, conclusion requires investigation. The assumption that it can exist without investigation or that investigation can exist without it rests on weak grounds. Such a thing can occur, but it happens only very rarely.⁴³⁹

3.2.6.6. Sophocles

1.

وقال سوفقليس: ليس ينبغي أن تعدّ نفسك من الناس ما دام الرأي يفسد رأيك أو تتبع شهواتك.

Sophocles said: You may not count yourself among human beings as long as the thinking ruins your thinking, and you follow your desires.⁴⁴⁰

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This is repeated in MF Sophocles 7,⁴⁴¹ with the following differences:

MF Sophocles 7 وأنت مُتَّبِع لشهواتك الرديئة [أو تتبع شهواتك | MF Sophocles 7 الغيظ [الرأي

2.

وقال سوفقليس: تقدم بالحيلة قبل نزول الأمر، فإنه إذا نزل ضاقت الحيل وطاشت العقول.

Sophocles said: Use guile before anything happens, for when it has happened, guile is limited, and minds are confused.⁴⁴²

3.

وقال سوفقليس: من حصلت له قدرة مع سلطان فهو شبه السكران إذا لم يكن فيه عقل ينكر الجميل وينقبض عن العدل والإحسان، ويتباهى في الصلف والعجب، ويركب قبائح الأمور. فإذا عاد إلى الفاقة وصحا من الشكر علم أنه كان زائلا عن الاعتدال، وخارجا عن الحق والإنصاف، ويتبين له ما كان عليه من حال السكر.

Sophocles said: He who achieves power together with authority is like a drunkard if he has no intelligence. He despises beauty, avoids justice, is extremely boastful and vain and does the ugliest things. When he becomes poor and sober

⁴³⁹ Badawī 1958, 316.8-11. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 139-140 (no. 127).

⁴⁴⁰ Badawī 1958, 302.9-10. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 128 (no. 47), modified.

⁴⁴¹ Badawī 1958, 318.10-11 (= no. 144 in Rosenthal 1975a, 141).

⁴⁴² Badawī 1958, 312.10-11. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 136 (no. 101), modified.

again, he knows he was intemperate and had abandoned truth and justice, and he is clearly aware what his intoxication meant.⁴⁴³

4. (? : after Sophocles)

وقال: من نظر ببصر نافذ وقلب ذكيّ وقصّر عن الشهوات فاز.

Badawī قصّر عن الشهوات وفاز⁴⁴⁴ Rosenthal [وقصّر عن الشهوات فاز

He said: He who looks with a sharp eye and a pure heart and gets rid of desires is successful.⁴⁴⁵

5. (? : after Sophocles)

وقال: سبيل الملك العاقل الحازم أن لا يغتر باستقامة الأمور له وتأتيها على يديه وقلة الخوارج وعليه – فيصرف همته أجناده وقواده وأعوانه ويمنعهم أرزاقهم لقلّة حاجته إليهم ويسئ السياسة ويبدل الجور في رعيته ثقة منه بما هو عليه من السلامة، فلا يأمن ما يبغته من الحوادث فيخذلوه ويصلوا عليه. ومع ذلك إنه متى سلك ذلك قصرت مدته واندرست مملكته.

He said: An intelligent and energetic ruler is accustomed not to be deceived by the fact that everything is in order and progressing favourably under his leadership and that there are few rebels. Otherwise, he would no longer be concerned for his soldiers, officers and aides, whom he would not pay because he has so little need of them, Furthermore, in reliance on the prosperity of his subjects, he would follow a bad policy and treat his subjects unjustly. Thereby he would become defenseless should something unexpected happen. All would desert him and turn against him. Besides, such behavior prevents him from lasting long and causes his realm to disintegrate.⁴⁴⁶

6.

وقال سوفقليس: إن أخرت بصديقك صار عدوك، وإن أخرت بعدوك صار صديقك.

Sophocles said: If you punish your friend, he becomes your enemy, and if you punish your enemy, he becomes your friend.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴³ Badawī 1958, 312.19-313.4. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 137 (no. 104).

⁴⁴⁴ Rosenthal 1975a, 275 n. 25.

⁴⁴⁵ Badawī 1958, 313.5. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 137 (no. 105).

⁴⁴⁶ Badawī 1958, 313.6-10. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 137 (no. 106).

⁴⁴⁷ Badawī 1958, 315.9-10. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 139 (no. 121).

7. For this saying see MF Sophocles 1 (p. 515).
8. (?; after Sophocles)

وقال: من طلب أكثر من حاجته شُغل عن منفعتة.

He said: Whoever strives for more than he needs gets distracted from that which is of use to him.⁴⁴⁸

9.

وقال سوفقليس: إن الذي [لا] يعلم أن ليس له إلا حياة طبيعية فقط فهو شقي، وذلك أنه شبيه بالظل السريع الزوال والنبات السريع الجفوف، ويقاؤه على الأرض بقاء يسير فيسير سيرة البهائم. فأما الذي يعلم أن له مع ذلك حياة نفسانية وأنه مائت وهو باق على الأبد فهو يقتدى في أفعاله بالله عز وجل ولا يفعل إلا الحسنات.

[لا] an delev.⁴⁴⁹ لا Badawī

Sophocles said: Whoever does [not] know that he has only a natural life is unhappy. That is because he is like the shadow that swiftly vanishes, like the plant that withers quickly. He remains on earth for only a short while and lives like the wild beasts. Yet who knows that he has a life of the soul as well, that he is immortal and remains forever imitates God the Almighty in his actions and does only what is good.⁴⁵⁰

3.2.6.7. Menander

1.

وقال منندرس: كثرة الأشغال مذهلة عن وجود اللذات.

Menander said: Abundant occupation distracts from the existence of pleasure.⁴⁵¹

2. (?; after Menander)

وقيل له: متى أثرت فيك الحكمة؟ فقال: مذ بدأت أحقر نفسي.

⁴⁴⁸ Badawī 1958, 318.12. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 141 (no. 145).

⁴⁴⁹ As noted in Rosenthal 1975a, 275 n. 32 the negative makes no sense here. For this reason he translates the incipit of the saying as «whoever thinks».

⁴⁵⁰ Badawī 1958, 319.10-14. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 142 (no. 150), modified.

⁴⁵¹ Badawī 1958, 316.15. English translation in Rosenthal 1975a, 140 (no. 130).

It was asked to him: When did wisdom appear in you? He answered: Since I began to despise myself.⁴⁵²

GREEK PARALLELS:

A Greek version of this saying is found in Stob. III 21, 8: Δημῶναξ ἐρωτηθεὶς πότε ἤρξατο φιλοσοφεῖν, 'ὄτε καταγιγνώσκειν' ἔφη 'ἐμαυτοῦ ἠρξάμην'.

- 3.2.6.8. Aristophanes
1. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Aristophanes 1 (p. 456).
- 3.2.6.9. Euripides
1. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Euripides 1 (p. 457).
- 3.2.6.10. Theognis
1. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Theognis 1 (pp. 459-460).

3.2.7. The *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* by al-Šahrastānī (Šhr)

Some sayings attributed to Solon and Homer are also found in the second part of the *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* (*Book of Religions and Sects*) composed in 521/1127-1128 by theologian and historian of religions Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad al-Šahrastānī (d. 548/1153).⁴⁵³ After an initial part addressed to the adherents of scriptural religions (*arbāb al-dīyānāt wa-l-milal*) – including Muslims and the so-called people of the Book –, the rest of this encyclopedia of religions and intellectual groupings focuses on the adepts of arbitrary doctrines (*ahl al-ahwā' wa-l-niḥal*), namely Šābians, *falāsifa* (meaning here Greek sages in general), Arabs of the *ǧāhiliyya* and Indians. The chapters on Solon and Homer are inserted in the subsection of the chapter on the *falāsifa* entitled *al-Ḥukamā' al-uṣūl*, «the original philosophers» (but also the variant *Ḥukamā' al-uṣūl*, «the philosophers of the principles», is attested).⁴⁵⁴ Nothing specific can be said about the sources that Šhr consulted when compiling the two chapters that interest us and, similarly to what has been stated in the previous paragraphs in the wake of prior studies of gnomonic literature, caution should be our watchword. First of all, we can observe that a fair amount of the references listed below have no parallel in other Arabic sources and for many of them it has not been possible to trace a Greek antecedent. The greatest number of concordances occurs with the MuntṢḤ and it is likely, as argued by scholars, that Šhr had access to a non-epitomised recension of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, since it transmits sayings that have been preserved independently in both the MuḥṢḤ and the MuntṢḤ. Other parallels are found especially with IsḤ and IH, but there is no evidence to suggest that Šhr used them as sources, at least as far as the sayings of Solon and Homer are concerned. On the other hand, it

⁴⁵² Badawī 1958, 316.16. English translation in Rosenthal 1975, 140 (no. 131), modified.

⁴⁵³ For an overview see the *Introduction* in Gimaret, Monnot 1986 and in Jolivet, Monnot 1993; Thomas 2011, 550-551

⁴⁵⁴ On this aspect see Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 18, 233 n. 1.

cannot be ruled out that the sayings shared by IsḤ and Šhr, and by IH and Šhr, may derive from common *Vorlagen*.⁴⁵⁵

3.2.7.1 Solon (*ḥikam Sūlūn al-šā'ir*)⁴⁵⁶

o. The introductory line on Solon, where he is presented as a prophet (after the qualification as poet given in the title), is discussed in IH Sol. o (pp. 480-484).

1. For this saying see IH Sol. 5 (p. 477).
2. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Sol. 18 (pp. 446-447).
3. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Sol. 19 (p. 447).
4. For this saying see MF Sol. 3 (p. 506).
5. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Sol. 6 (pp. 418-419).
6. For this saying see MuntṢḤ Sol. 22 (p. 447).
7. For this saying see 'Ām Sol. 1 (pp. 409-410).
8. This saying is similar to MuḥṢḤ Sol. 9, for which see 'Ām Sol. 4 (p. 411).
- 9.

وسأله رجل فقال: هل تري أن أتزوج أم أدع؟ قال: أيّ الأمرين فعلت ندمت عليه.

A man questioned him and asked him: Do you think I should marry or should I abstain? He answered: Whether you do one or the other, you will regret it.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is also found in Šhz Sol. 13 versio A et B with the readings:

Šhz versio A | لا [أدع] | Šhz versio A et B | بالزواج [أتزوج] | Šhz versio A et B | ليشير عليه [فقال: هل تري أن
et B | قال] | Šhz versio A et B | abest [عليه] | Šhz versio A et B | أيّ الأمرين [فقال] | Šhz versio A et B

GREEK PARALLELS:

A similar chreia is ascribed to Socrates in Stob. IV 22b, 59: Σωκράτης ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνες μεταμέλονται τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἶπεν “οἱ γήμαντες”. C falso Fl. Monac. 11: γαμεῖν μέλλε, μὴ γάμει δέ· γαμήσας γὰρ μεταμεληθήσῃ.

10. For this saying see ĀF Sol. 14 (pp. 400-403).
- 11.

وراي رجلا عشر فقال له تعثر برجلك خير من تعثر بلسانك.

⁴⁵⁵ On the issue of sources, see Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 30-36.

⁴⁵⁶ Cureton 1846, II 297.19-299.11 = Badrān 1947-1955, II 111.14-113.17.

He saw a man stumbling and said to him: It is better that you stumble over your foot than over your tongue.

GREEK PARALLELS:

The saying translates a Greek chreia attested in various sources: DL VII 26 (Zeno of Citium): ἔλεγέ τε κρείττον εἶναι τοῖς ποσὶν ὀλισθεῖν ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ; GV 382 (after Crates the Cynic [of Thebes]); cf. GV 483 (Socrates), Max. Conf. 940C (Socrates), FB 82.

SYRIAC PARALLELS:

The same saying is attested in the Syriac Story of Aḥiqar, preserved through various recensions, the earliest of which was edited by Harris in 1898, where the saying corresponds to no. 53.⁴⁵⁷

12.

وسئل ما الكرم فقال النزاهة عن المساوي.

He was asked: What is nobility? He answered: abstaining from evil deeds.

13.

وقيل ما الحياة قال التمسك بأمر الله تعالى.

He was asked: What is life? He answered: to adhere to the commandment of God Most High.

14.

وسئل ما النوم فقال النوم موتة خفيفة والموت نومة طويلة.

He was asked about sleep and said: sleep is a light death and death is a long sleep.

⁴⁵⁷ Harris 1898, 46.1-3 (Syr.); Pennacchietti 2005, 204 (It.) and n. 4 where he mentions an Ethiopic fragment of the Romance preserving the same maxim. For an overview of the Syriac versions see Contini's introduction in Pennacchietti 2005, 193-196 and Arzhanov 2019a, 73. Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 268 n. 1 had already pointed out the Syriac parallel but referring to Nau 1909, 173, 176 (= III 63 and III 71), which is the French translation of the Syriac text preserved in the MS Berlin, Preussischen Staatsbibliothek, Sachau No. 336 (edited in 1917 and 1936 in two unpublished theses). The version transmitted by this codex is «alquanto più estesa e in gran parte integrate mediante retroversione da una traduzione araba», as explained by Contini in Pennacchietti 2005, 193.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This saying is frequently attested in Arabic gnomologies: MuntṢḤ Pythagoras 21,⁴⁵⁸ PQ Pythagoras 28,⁴⁵⁹ IH 349 Socrates,⁴⁶⁰ MF Socrates 214.⁴⁶¹ The variant readings are:

abest MF | [وسئل ما النوم
موت خفيف | موتة خفيفة | فقال [وقال
نوم طويل | نومة طويلة | موت خفيف
IH MF

Different versions of this saying can be read in MF Zeno 3⁴⁶² and Šhz Zeno 5 and 7 versio A et B?⁴⁶³ On the same topos see also the anonymous chreia in ‘Awn 769.

GREEK PARALLELS:

The Arabic text has an antecedent in GV 446: ὁ αὐτὸς ἔφησε τὸν μὲν ὕπνον ὀλιγοχρόνιον θάνατον, τὸν δὲ θάνατον πολυχρόνιον ὕπνον (cf. Plato, Apolog. 40c-d *et al.*).

15.

وقال ليكن اختيارك من الاشياء جديدها ومن الاخوان اقدمهم.

He said: Let your choice between things fall on the new ones and between brethren on the older ones.

16.

وقال انفع العلم ما اصابته الفكرة واقله نفعا ما قلته بلسانك.

Badrān قته [قلته

He said: The most useful knowledge is what thought achieves, the least useful is what you utter with your tongue.

17.

وقال ينبغي أن يكون المرء حسن الشكل في صغره وعفيفاً عند إدراكه وعدلاً في شبابه وذا رأي في كهولته
وحافظاً للسنن عند الفناء حتى لا يلحقه الندامة.

⁴⁵⁸ Dunlop 1979, 31.492-493 (para. 33).

⁴⁵⁹ Gutas 1975, 76.7-8.

⁴⁶⁰ Ḥalifāt 1995, I 374.7.

⁴⁶¹ Badawī 1958, 111.12 (Ar.). See Alon 1995, 48 no. 153 (Eng.).

⁴⁶² Badawī 1958, 43.7.

⁴⁶³ Aḥmad 1976, I 249.3-4 and 6 = Abū Šuwayrib 1988, 216.2 and 5.

He said: man should have a beautiful figure in his childhood, be temperate in his puberty, just in his youth, of sound judgment in his maturity, and a preserver of the traditions when close to death so that remorse does not overtake him.⁴⁶⁴

ARABIC PARALLELS:

Similar versions of this saying are MuntṢḤ Pythagoras 20⁴⁶⁵ and PQ Pythagoras 7,⁴⁶⁶ with the following variants:

1 MuntṢḤ | PQ للمرء أن يكون [أن يكون المرء | MuntṢḤ وكان من سيرته أن يقول PQ وكان يقول كثيرا ما [وقال 1
PQ تلحقه [يلحقه | MuntṢḤ لئلا [حتى لا | MuntṢḤ كبره ووقت فئائه [الفناء 2 PQ بلوغه [إدراكه
MuntṢḤ | post الندامة hab. بعد الموت PQ MuntṢḤ

18.

وقال ينبغي للشباب ان يستعد لشيخوخته مثل ما يستعد الإنسان للشتاء من البرد الذي يهجم عليه.

He said: The young man must prepare for his old age as man prepares for winter against the cold that assails him.

19.

وقال يابني احفظ الأمانة تحفظك وصنها حتى تصان.

He said: My son, take care of loyalty and it will take care of you, preserve it to be preserved.

20.

وقال جوعوا الي الحكمة واعطشوا الي عبادة الله قبل ان يأتيكم المانع منها.

He said: Be hungry for wisdom and be thirsty for devotion to God before that which precludes you from doing so comes upon you.

21.

وقال لتلمذته لا تكرموا الجاهل فيستخف بكم ولا تتصلوا بالأشرار فتعدوا فيهم ولا تعتمدوا الغني إن كنتم
تلمذة الصدق ولا تهملوا أمر انفسكم في أيامكم ولياليكم ولا تستخفوا بالمساكين في جميع أوقاتكم.

⁴⁶⁴ See also Gutas' English translation of the parallel in PQ: Gutas 1975, 67 and his long discussion of the three occurrences of this saying in Arabic and its possible origin at 227-231.

⁴⁶⁵ Dunlop 1979, 30.473-475 (para. 31).

⁴⁶⁶ Gutas 1975, 66.1-4.

Cureton من [أمر 2 Cureton بالأشرف [بالأشرف 1

He said to his disciples: Do not honor the ignorant for they will despise you, do not come into contact with wicked people for you will be counted among them, do not aim at wealth if you are disciples of the truth, do not neglect of caring for your souls by day and by night, do not despise poor people at any time.

GREEK PARALLELS:

For the Arabic *wa-lā tattaṣilū bi-l-ašrār* cf. DL I 60: μή κακοῖς ὀμίλει (= 10 b 14 Diels-Kranz), Stob. III 1, 172.29.

22.

وكتب اليه بعض الحكماء يستوصفه امر عالمي العقل والحس فقال أما عالم العقل فدار ثبات وثواب واما عالم الحس فدار بوار وغرور.

A wise man wrote to him to consult him on the question of the two worlds, that of intellect and that of sensory perception. He said: The world of intellect is the house of steadiness and reward, the world of sensory perception is the house of ruin and illusion.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

On the same topos see the texts listed by Zakeri as parallels of saying no. 2153 of the ĠawRay.⁴⁶⁷

23.

وسئل ما فضل علمك على علم غيرك قال معرفتي بان علمي قليل.

He was asked: In what respect is your knowledge superior to the knowledge of others? He answered: In the fact that I know that my knowledge is meagre.

24.

وقال اخلاق محمودة وجدتها في الناس الا انها انما توجد في قليل صديق يحب صديقه غائبا كمحبته حاضرا وكريم يكرم الفقراء كما يكرم الاغنياء ومقر بعيوبه إذا ذكر ذاك يوم نعيمه في يوم يؤسه ويوم يؤسه في يوم نعيمه وحافظا لسانه عند غضبه.

He said: Praiseworthy behaviours, which I have found in men, though they are found in a few of them, are: a friend who loves his absent friend as he loves him when he is present; a nobleman who honours the poor as he honours the rich; a

⁴⁶⁷ See Zakeri 2007, II 950-951.

man who admits his faults when he remembers them; a man who remembers the day of his prosperity in the day of his misery and the day of his misery in the day of his prosperity; a man who restrains his tongue in the moment of wrath.

3.2.7.2 Homer (*ḥikam Awmīrūs al-šā'ir*)⁴⁶⁸

After a short introductory paragraph (= Šhr Hom. o), the collection of sayings is introduced by the expression *wa-min ḥikamihī*.

- o. For the introduction on Homer see MuntŞH Hom. o.a (pp. 448-451).
1. For this saying see MuntŞH Hom. o.d (= MuḥŞH Hom. 1; pp. 422-423).
2. For this saying see MuntŞH Hom. o.e (pp. 452-454).
- 3.

وقال العقل نحوان: طبيعي وتجريبي، وهما مثل الماء والأرض وكما أن النار تذيب كل صامت وتخلصه وتمكن من العمل فيه، كذلك العقل يذيب الأمور ويخلصها ويفصلها ويعدها للعمل. ومن لم يكن لهذين النحوين فيه موضع فإن خير أموره له قصر العمر.

He said: Intellect is of two kinds, either natural or derived from experience, which are like water and earth. As fire consumes all that is inanimate, purifies it and enables it to be worked, so the intellect consumes matters, clarifies and divides them, and prepares them to be worked. The best of the things to him who leaves no room for these two types of intellect is to have a short life.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This aphorism is included within a longer saying in a later source, Šhz Hom. 31 versio B (= Sol. 21 versio A). The phrases covered both in the Šhr and in the Šhz coincide in content, structure and wording, with minor alterations that could be stylistic choices made by the writer (e.g. *mitla* in the Šhr corresponds to *bi-manzila* in the Šhz) rather than indicating dependence on two different translations. The Šhz text middle section, which is missing in the Šhr, could be an explanatory addition by al-Šahrazūrī. The text (in versio B, while versio A is collated in app.) reads:⁴⁶⁹

وقال: العقل نحوان: طبيعي وتجريبي، وهما في التعاون بمنزلة الماء والأرض للنبات والأثمار، ومن لم يحسن تدبير هذين النحوين من عقل الطبيعة والتجربة واستعمالهما والاستعانة بهما في أموره لم يكمل في العلم والأدب والحكمة والعمل الصالح، وكما أن النار تذيب الصامت وتخلصه وتمكن من العمل فيه،

⁴⁶⁸ Cureton 1846, II 299.12-302.7 = Badrān 1947-1955, II 113.18-116.21.

⁴⁶⁹ As pointed out by Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 256 n. 4 this saying is closely related to another saying attributed to Theophrastus, see Badrān 1947-1955, II 157.3-6 (Ar.) = Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 336 no. 6 (French). These could easily be two reworkings of the same saying.

فكذلك العقل يخلص الأمور ويفصلها، ومن لم يكن لهذين النحويين من العقل فيه موضع فإن خير أموره قصر العمر.

1 [وهما] versio A 2 ante التجربة hab. عقل versio A 3 [وكما] versio A |
[وتخلصه] conieci versio A بخاضة versio B | [وتمكن] versio A 4 [فكذلك]
[لهذين] versio B | ويفصلها] conieci versio A وكذا versio B |
conieci versio A له هذان versio B

He said: Intellect is of two kinds, either natural or derived from experience, and both act in cooperation, as water and earth [cooperate] for plants and fruit. Whoever does not manage well these two kinds of intellect, that of nature and that of experience, does not make use of them and does not resort to them in his own affairs will not be perfect in science, literature, wisdom and acting well. As fire consumes that which is inanimate, purifies it and enables it to be worked, so the intellect clarifies matters and defines them. The best of the things to him who leaves no room for these two types of intellect is to have a short life.

4. For this saying see IH Hom. 2 (p. 464).
5. For this saying see IsḤ Hom. 1 (pp. 383-384).
6. For this saying see IsḤ Hom. 2 (p. 384).⁴⁷⁰
7. For this saying see MuḥṢḤ Hom. 3 (p. 423).
- 8.

وقال الأمراض ثلاثة أشياء الزيادة والنقصان في الطبائع الأربعة وما تهيجه الأحران فشفاء الرائد والناقص في الطبائع الأدوية وشفاء ما تهيجه الأحران كلام الحكماء والإخوان.

He said: Diseases consist of three things: excess and defect in the four natures, and what is provoked by pains. The healing of those who have an excess and defect in the natures lies in the remedies, while the healing of that which is provoked by pains lies in the word of wise men and of brethren.

9. For this saying see MF Hom. 29 (pp. 496-497).
10. For this saying see 'Ām. Hom. 4 (p. 406).
- 11.

⁴⁷⁰ Since this saying is not introduced by a *verbum dicendi* it immediately follows the previous saying in Badrān's edition and is translated as a part of saying no. 5 by Jolivet and Monnot.

وقال إيراقليطس إن أوميروس الشاعر لما رأى تضاد الموجودات دون فلك القمر قال يا ليت هلك التضاد من هذا العالم ومن الناس والسادة يعني النجوم واختلاف طبائعها وأراد بذلك أن يبطل التضاد والاختلاف حتى يكون هذا العالم المتحرك المنتقل داخلاً في العالم الساكن الدائم الباقي.

Heraclitus said that the poet Homer, when he saw the contrast among the beings below the sphere of the Moon, said: Oh may God cancel the contrast from this world, from men and lords! By this last word he means the stars and the difference of their natures, and he desires that contrast and difference be abolished so that this world that is in motion and moving may participate in the world that is at rest, perpetual and permanent.

GREEK PARALLELS:

The first part of the passage follows Arist. EE H 1, 1235a 25-27 (but here Homer is not explicitly mentioned): καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ ποιήσαντι “ὥς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο” (= 22 A 22 Diels-Kranz). The Homeric verse is *Il.* Σ 107.

The rest of the passage, as observed by Jolivet and Monnot, might be a note added by al-Šahrastānī himself.⁴⁷¹

12.

ومن مذهبه أن بهرام واقع الزهرة فتولدت من بينهما طبيعة هذا العالم. وقال إن الزهرة علة التوحد والاجتماع وبهرام علة التفرق والاختلاف والتوحد ضد التفرق فلذلك صارت الطبيعة ضدًا تركب وتنقص وتوحد وتفرق.

1 post بهرام add. *Badrān abest Cureton*⁴⁷² يعني الريح

From his teaching: Barhām united with Venus and from their union the nature of this world was generated. And he says that Venus is the cause of union and conjunction, while Barhām is the cause of separation and difference. Being united is the opposite of separation, therefore nature has contrariety in it, it assembles, reduces, unites and divides.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

The saying is repeated in Šhz Hom. 32 versio B = Šhz Sol. 22 versio A

1 [ومن مذهبه أن 1] Šhz versio A et B | [من بينهما] Šhz versio A et B | [إن] abest Šhz versio A et B | [تركب] Šhz versio B | [وكذلك] Šhz versio B | [الاختلاف] abest Šhz versio A et B | [توحد وتفرق] Šhz versio A et B

⁴⁷¹ Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 257 n. 11.

⁴⁷² See Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 257 n. 12, where they point out that *ya'nī l-rīh*, «that is the wind», might be the erroneous transcription of a gloss reading *ya'nī l-mirrīh*, «that is Mars», being Barhām the Persian name for this planet. The gloss is missing in the Šhz.

B | وتفريق | Šhz versio B | وينقص | Šhz versio A | وتوحد | Šhz versio B | وتنقص | وتفريق | Šhz versio B

13. For this saying see ĀF Hom 1 (pp. 390-391).

[14-48]

The previous section ends with the phrase *hāḍihi ḥikamuhū*, «these are his maxims», followed by the words that introduce this second part, which read: *wa-ammā muqatta‘ātu aš‘ārihi fa-minhā*, «among the extracts from his poems are: [...]». What comes next are 35 sayings, which have already been analysed, edited and translated into German by Manfred Ullmann. This section, in fact, is one of the witnesses to the Arabic version known as “Men ar I” of the *Menandri Sententiae*. The classical philologist August Nauck first drew attention to them in 1859. Based on a German translation of the Arabic text made by Theodor Haarbrücker, he was able to match some of the Arabic sayings in this section of the Šhr to its equivalent Greek monostich. Nauck’s study was later taken up by Jörg Kraemer, who extended his research to other Arabic anthologies, identifying other collections of the *Μενάνδρου γνῶμαι* in Arabic translation contained in the entries on Homer of the MuntŠḤ and Šhz.⁴⁷³ The research was completed by Manfred Ullmann and was incorporated into his critical edition of 1961. The sayings included in this section have been omitted from our analysis and correspond to the following nos. in Ullmann’s edition: 1-5, 8, 11, 17, 21, 27, 48, 63, 6491, 104, 105, 122, 130, 154, 160, 162, 166, 168, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 215, 216, 258, 261, 262, 292, 325.

49. For this saying see IsḤ Hom. 3 (p. 385).

50.

وقال: الكرم يحمل ثلاثة عناقيد: عنقود الالنداذ وعنقود السكر وعنقود الشتم.

Ullmann (see *infra*) | الشكر Cureton Badrān | الشتم Ullmann (see *infra*) | السكر

الشيم Cureton Badrān

The vine bears three bunches: the bunch of pleasure, the bunch of intoxication, the bunch of abuse.

ARABIC PARALLELS:

This maxim occurs as one of Anacharsis’ sayings in the following sources: ID XXVIII (Anacharsis), IH 624 (Anacharsis), MuntŠḤ Anacharsis 2,⁴⁷⁴ MF Ḥarūsīs = Anacharsis,⁴⁷⁵ with the following variants:

⁴⁷³ Kraemer 1956a, 302-316; Kramer 1957, 517-518 and Ullmann 1961, 1.

⁴⁷⁴ Dunlop 1979, para. 183, 95.2028-2029; cf. Daiber 1984, 62.

⁴⁷⁵ Badawī 1958, 300.6-7.

الكرمة MF [الكرم | IH تحمل الكرمة [الكرم يحمل | IH قال [وقال | MF خروسييس ID انوخرسييس hab. وقال post
 IH الاول منها عنقود MuntṢḤ ID الاول عنقود [عنقود 1 | MF يخرج MuntṢḤ ID تحمل [يحمل | MuntṢḤ ID
 MF | عنقود منها MuntṢḤ ID الثاني عنقود [عنقود 2 | MF | لذة [الالتذاذ | MF عنقود منها
 ID سفه [الشمم | MF عنقود منها MuntṢḤ ID الثالث عنقود [عنقود 3 | MF سكرة MuntṢḤ ID سكر [السكر
 MF سفاهة MuntṢḤ ID

By comparing it to the parallel loci from other Arabic sources, I have corrected the text printed by the editors Cureton and Badrān, and thus accepted the readings already proposed by Ullmann in the introduction to his critical edition of the Arabic *Menandri Sententiae*⁴⁷⁶ and implicitly by Jolivet and Monnot in their French translation.⁴⁷⁷ The readings by Cureton and Badrān seem to be trivialisation errors, perhaps triggered by the ambiguity of *karm*, «vine», which is homographic with *karam*, «magnanimity», more commonly found in the *Kitāb al-milal*. Partly conditioned by the context, the graphic errors *sukr / sakra* > *šukr* («gratitude») and *šatm* > *šiyam* («innate qualities») presumably have originated thus. However, it might be that this ambiguity *karm/ karam* did indeed contribute to the popularity of the saying.

GREEK PARALLELS:

DL I, 103.5-6 (Anacharsis): οὗτος τὴν ἄμπελον εἶπε τρεῖς φέρειν βρότους· τὸν πρῶτον ἡδονῆς· τὸν δεύτερον μέθης· τὸν τρίτον ἀηδίας. Stob. III 18, 25 (Anacharsis): Ἀνάχαρσις ἔφη, κίρναμένου κρατῆρος ἐφεστίου, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ὑγείας πίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡδονῆς, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ὕβρεως, τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον μανίας. Cf. GB 235; Max. Conf. 885A, Ant. Mel. 916.18-19, 920.27-28; *Vita Aesopi* W 68.4-6; *Vita Aesopi* G 68.8-12.⁴⁷⁸

51.

خير أمور العالم الحسي أوساطها، وخير أمور العالم العقلي أفضلها.

The best things in the sensible world are those in the middle, the best things in the intelligible world are the higher ones.

52. For the last part of the chapter on Homer, which is not a saying but a brief chronological note, see the section *Homer the first poet of the Greeks* (3.2.4.b.2, pp. 432-435) from the MuntṢḤ (= para. 13 ed. Dunlop).

⁴⁷⁶ Ullmann 1961, 7.

⁴⁷⁷ See Jolivet, Monnot 1993, 259.

⁴⁷⁸ For further loci paralleli see the apparatus in Rosenthal 1958a, 40 (English trans. of ID XXVIII).

3.2.8. The *Kitāb nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ* by al-Šahrāzūrī (Šhz)

Among the works of Iṣrāqī philosopher Šams al-Dīn al-Šahrāzūrī (d. between 1288 and 1304) is the *Kitāb nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ fi ta'riḥ al-ḥukamā'* (*Promenade of Souls and Garden of Rejoicings in the History of the Sages*), a history of philosophy in the broadest sense, which after an historical-geographic introductory section, is divided into two parts, one on the Ancients – of the Greek, Egyptian, Persian and Biblical traditions – and the other on the Moderns of the Islamic era. Both parts are made up of chapters, each one focused on a single author (40 chapters in the section on the Ancients and 90 in the section on the Moderns), whose life, works, doctrine and sapiential sayings are reported.⁴⁷⁹ Our research includes two chapters in the section on the Ancients, the first on Homer and the second on Solon. Both chapters consist of an initial, mostly anecdotal, doxo-biographical part, entitled *Aḥbār Awmīrus al-šā'ir* (or: *Aḥbār Awmīrus al-šā'ir wa-šay' min ḥikamihi wa-ādābihī*, according to ed. Abū Šuwayrib) and *Aḥbār Sūlūn al-šā'ir wāḍi' šarā'i' atīnis* respectively, here analysed and numbered with 0 followed by a letter of the alphabet corresponding to the paragraphs into which the text has been divided, and a second part that collects all the sayings (*Ādāb Awmīrus al-šā'ir e Ādāb Sūlūn*).

Despite a large number of MSS having come down to us and despite the work having been edited three times, at the current stage of research, our knowledge of both the text itself and the composition and transmission of the work is absolutely unsatisfactory. Firstly, none of the three editions (Aḥmad 1976, Abū Šuwayrib 1988, Abū Rayyān 1993) starts from an actual *recensio codicum*, all of them are based on a very limited number of testimonies and only one edition, that of Aḥmad, is equipped with an apparatus that allows us to reconstruct the variants and that can be considered in some way critical. Secondly, it emerged, only twenty years after the publication of the most recent edition and thanks to Emily Cottrell's research, that the work is preserved in two recensions, a shorter one (completed as early as 665/1266-1267),⁴⁸⁰ that is attested in the MSS used by Aḥmad and can be reconstructed from his edition (although the MS on which the edition is based – MS Hyderabad, Āṣafiyya 686 – shows traces of having been rewritten), and a longer one that can be read in the editions by Abū Šuwayrib and Abū Rayyān.⁴⁸¹

Since the most complete study on this work has never been published – i.e. the 2004 PhD thesis by Emily Cottrell entitled *Le Kitāb nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ de Šams al-Dīn al-Šahrāzūrī: Composition et Sources* – there remains a great desideratum for an extensive inquiry on the textual tradition and a critical edition based on an exhaustive examination of the testimonies that have come down to us, which is an absolute prerequisite for an adequate contrastive analysis of the two recensions. As can be inferred from the framework outlined so

⁴⁷⁹ For an overview see Cottrell 2004-2005a; Cottrell 2004-2005b, 225-228 (a comprehensive list of the chapters in the Šhz is given here at pp. 239, 241-243); Cottrell 2020c, 1769b.

⁴⁸⁰ This information is given in the MS Istanbul, *Süleymaniye* Küttüphanesi, As'ad Efendi 3804, for which see Cottrell 2004-2005b, 227, 231-232; Cottrell 2020c, 1768b.

⁴⁸¹ On these issues, see the important studies by Emily Cottrell: Cottrell 2004-2005a, 384; Cottrell 2004-2005b, *passim*, in particular 235-238, 258.

far, and even more so from Cottrell's studies, the information and materials at our disposal make it difficult, if not impossible, to say anything with certainty about the text of the Šhz, so the results of this analysis will probably have to be revised in the light of new publications. The study and translation of poetic references have been carried out on Aḥmad's edition, which represents the short recension (here named recensio A) and on Abū Šuwayrib's edition, a source for the long recension (here named recensio B), while I was unable to consult Abū Rayyān's edition. A comparison of the two editions shows that as far as the chapters on Solon and Homer are concerned, the two recensions share the same material (with the exception of Sol. o.d and Sol. 143), i.e. they do not differ in the number and content of the sayings, and it is difficult to detect textual differences in the wording of a single saying such as to suggest an author's variant. The divergences – which I marked in bold – are in most cases readings that may have been generated in textual transmission (reader's or copyist's errors, mostly trivialisation phenomena) and then improperly selected by the editor.⁴⁸² However, it is not within the scope of this research to establish a critical text of the Šhz, all the more so because I have not consulted the work's MSS and because Abū Rayyān's edition lacks a critical apparatus. More concrete observations, however, can be made about the sayings' arrangement and the sources. It is clear that the chapter on Homer is heavily dependent on the corresponding chapter in the MF, since not only nearly all the sayings reported in the Šhz are preserved in the MF, but they are also placed in the same sequence. The few references that the Šhz does not share with the MF (Šhz Hom. o.f-g) could derive from a more complete MS of the MF than those that have come down to us or originate from another source (as in the case of Hom. o.d which has a parallel in MuntŞĤ Hom. o.a). The conspicuous difference from the MF, and also a distinguishing feature of versions A and B of the Šhz, is the concluding part of the chapter on Homer in recensio B: the sayings Hom. 30-145 in recensio B are missing in recensio A, where they are postponed as Sol. 20-135. Most of the sayings in this group correspond to the Arabic translation of the *Menandri Sententiae* studied by Ullmann, who relied on two MSS of the Šhz that differ from those used by all three editors, but which, at least for this section, agree with recensio B where the whole block appears among the sayings by Homer. Rather than an editing by the author, this difference between the two texts seems to be a confusion produced by the misplacement of single folios in a MS on which the copies used by Aḥmad depend, all the more so because the attribution of all the sayings pertaining to this block to Solon (i.e., the *Menandri Sententiae*) constitutes a unicum of Šhz recensio A. A similar phenomenon, which, however, cannot be so easily explained by the hypothesis of a misplacement of a folio, since we are dealing with a reduced number of lines of text, is that the sayings Sol. 1-4 of recensio A are found as Sol. 136-137 in recensio B.

For the composition of the chapter on Solon, al-Šahrazūrī must have relied on various sources, the main ones being the MF and the *Šiwān al-ḥikma*, with which he shares the largest number of sayings, and which scholars have pointed out as having been among the most heavily consulted collections for the compilation of the Šhz.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸² See for instance Šhz Hom. 30 versio B = Šhz Sol. 20 versio A and the remarks in Cottrell 2004-2005b, 258-259.

⁴⁸³ On the sources used by Šhz see Cottrell 2004-2005a, 284-285; Cottrell 2004-2005b, 225-226, 236-258; Cottrell 2010, 536, 546-547.

3.2.8.1 Homer (*Aḥbār Awmīrus al-šā'ir* + *Ādāb Awmīrus al-šā'ir*)⁴⁸⁴

	Versio A (ed. Aḥmad) minor	Versio B (ed. Abū Šuwayrib)
o.a.	This part repeats MF Hom. o.a (pp. 485-486) with the addition of: وكان يجرى عندهم مجرى امرئ القيس في شعراء العرب. By them he occupies the rank that Imru' l-Qays occupies among Arab poets. ARABIC PARALLELS: The equivalence between Homer and Imru' l-Qays is investigated in MuntŞĤ 3.2.4.b.2 (pp. 432-435).	
o.b.	This part repeats MF Hom. o.b (p. 486-488).	=
o.c.	This part repeats MF Hom. o.c (pp. 488-490).	=
o.d.	This part repeats MuntŞĤ Hom. o.a (pp. 457-459).	=
o.e.	For this saying IH Simon. 3 (p. 478).	=
o.f.	وقيل له: تكذب في شعرك، فقال: يُراد بالشعر الكلام [الحسن]، وأما الصدق فهو عند الأنبياء.	وقيل له: تكذب في شعرك، فقال: يُراد بالشعر الكلام الحسن، وأما الصدق فعند الأنبياء.
	He was told: You lie in your poetry. He replied: By poetry is meant the beautiful speech, while the truth belongs to the prophets. ARABIC PARALLELS: A longer version of this chreia, where it is not Homer himself who is speaking but Satyrus referring to him, can be read in ID LXXI and in IH 602 Satyrus (with IH's minor differences reported in apparatus). ⁴⁸⁵ سخطورس المغني قيل له: إن أميروس يكذب في شعره، فقال: إنما يُطَلَّبُ من الشعراء الكلام الحسن اللذيذ، فأما الصدق فإنما يُطَلَّبُ من الأنبياء.	

⁴⁸⁴ Aḥmad 1976, I 227.4-230.14 = Abū Šuwayrib 1988, 202.12-208.22.

⁴⁸⁵ English translation in Rosenthal 1958a, 53. The Arabic text is missing from the article of Rosenthal 1958b on which I relied for the other passages of ID, so I consulted the text printed in Mu'īd Khan 1963, 56.20-22. For the saying in IH, see Ḥalifāt 1995, I 447.4.6. The transliteration of the proper noun in IH, *Saṭīḥūs*, is not far from that of ID *Saḥīṭūs*, and we may assume that they are the corrupted forms of the same Greek name, Σάτυρος, as Rosenthal already did in his English translation of ID. The editor of IH, Ḥalifāt, interpreted the reading of the MSS (*Saṭīḥūs*) as a corrupted transliteration of Πιτταχός, one of the Seven Sages, and in fact he prints *Bitākūs* instead of the transmitted *Saṭīḥūs*, but his conjecture has no textual basis.

When it was pointed out to the singer Satyrus that Homer lied in his poetry, he remarked: Poets can be expected to express themselves in an elegant and pleasant manner, but the truth one should expect only from prophets.

الذي يُطَلَّبُ من الشاعر إنما [إنما يُطَلَّبُ من الشعراء | IH كثيراً] [في شعره | IH كلمات سطيخوس] [سخطورس المغني 1
IH هو 2 post الأنبياء hab. عليهم السلام. IH

The topos of poetry as lie is widespread, an example being the proverb reported by Aristotle in *Metaph. A* 2, 983a 3-4: πολλά ψεύδονται αἰδοί, but it is frequently associated with Plato's censorship in the *Republic*. In connection to this, an interesting parallel is preserved in the lives of Plato transmitted by Arabic biographers, among which the most complete account is given by Qiftī. The latter relates that in his youth Plato had a marked inclination towards poetry until he met Socrates, who blamed poetry and poets with the following words: «Poetry is but a product of the imagination that portrays a false image of the world; seeking the truth is a more noble aim».⁴⁸⁶

o.g.	For this saying see MuntŞH 3.2.4.b.2 (pp. 432-435).	=
1.	For this saying see MF Hom. 1 (= ĀF Hom. 6, p. 392).	=
2.	For this saying see MF Hom. 2 (= ĀF Hom. 7, pp. 392-393).	=
3.	For this saying see MF Hom. 3 (= ĀF Hom. 8, p. 393).	=
4.	For this saying see MF Hom. 4 (= ĀF Hom. 9, p. 393).	=
5.	For this saying see MF Hom. 5 (p. 490).	=
6.	For this saying see MF Hom. 6 (pp. 490-491).	=
7.	For this saying see MF Hom. 7 (p. 491).	=
8.	For this saying see MF Hom. 8 (pp. 491-492).	=
9.	For this saying see MF Hom. 10 (p. 492).	=
10.	For this saying see MF Hom. 11 (p. 492).	=
11.	For this saying see MF Hom. 12 (pp. 492-493).	=
12.	For this saying see MF Hom. 13 (p. 493).	=
13.	For this saying see MF Hom. 14 (p. 493).	=

⁴⁸⁶ Qiftī 17.12-13 (Ar.); the English translation comes from n. 12 of the IAU ch. 4.5.2 online edition. See also Alon 1995, 25 (no. 88). Besides IAU ch. 4.5.2, see also the allusion to the same account on Socrates' condemnation of poetry in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*: Flügel 1871-1872, I 245.30 = Sayyid 2009, vol. 2/1, 155.1-2 (Ar.); Dodge 1970, 608 (Eng.).

14.	For this saying see MF Hom. 17 (p. 494).	=
15.	For this saying see MF Hom. 20 (= MuḥŞĦ Hom. 1, pp. 422-423).	=
16.	For this saying see MF Hom. 21 (= IH Hom. 4, p. 468).	=
17.	For this saying see MF Hom. 23 (= IH Hom. 3, pp. 466-468).	=
18.	For this saying see MF Hom. 25 (= IsĦ Hom. 2, p. 384).	=
19.	For this saying see MF Hom. 26 (= IsĦ Hom. 1, p. 383-384).	=
20.	For this saying see MF Hom. 27 (= IH Hom. 2, p. 466).	=
21.	For this saying see MF Hom. 28 (p. 496).	=
22.	For this saying see MF Hom. 30 (p. 497).	=
23.	For this saying see MF Hom. 31 (= MuḥŞĦ Hom. 3, p. 423).	=
24.	For this saying see MF Hom. 32 (p. 497).	=
25.	For this saying see MF Hom. 33 (p. 497)	=
26.	For this saying see MF Hom. 34 (p. 498).	=
27.	For this saying see MF Hom. 35+36 (p. 498).	=
28.	For this saying see MF Hom. 37 (p. 499).	=
29.	For this saying see MF Hom. 42 (p. 500).	=
30.	–	This saying is almost identical with Šhr Hom. 2 with the addition of a long commentary presumably by Šhz itself. The text and translation of this passage are given in the context of the discussion of the parallel MuntŞĦ Hom. o.e (pp. 452-454). In Šhz versio A (ed. Aḥmad) the whole passage occurs as Sol. 20.
31.	–	For this saying see Šhr Hom. 3 (pp. 524-525). In Šhz versio A (ed. Aḥmad) the whole passage occurs as Sol. 21.
32.	–	For this saying see Šhr Hom. 12 (pp. 526-527). In Šhz versio A (ed. Aḥmad) the whole passage occurs as Sol. 22.
[33-145]	–	The final section of the chapter on Homer is introduced by the expression «these are some excerpts of his poetry» (<i>hādihi muqaṭṭa'āt šī'rihī</i>) and consists of 113 sentences that Manfred Ullmann, based on the research of his teacher Jörg Kraemer, has analysed and

	identified as Arabic translations of as many <i>Menandri Sententiae</i> . In Šhz versio A (ed. Aḥmad) they are placed in the chapter on Solon's sayings, where they are introduced by <i>hādihi qita'āt šī'rihī</i> (= Šhz Sol. 23-235 versio A). Below are the numbers corresponding to Ullmann's edition (Men ar I): 3-4, 7-16, 18-19, 24-25, 27-29/30, 32-38, 42/43-44, 50, 52-54, 57, 59-71, 73-74, 76, 78, 81-82, 84-87, 89-111, 113-116, 119-122, 124-129, 131-134, 136-137, 143, 148, 150-152, 154, 156, 160, 163-166. ⁴⁸⁷
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3.2.8.2 Solon (*Aḥbār Sūlūn al-šā'ir wāḍi' šarā'i' atānis* + *Ādāb Sūlūn*)⁴⁸⁸

	Versio A (ed. Aḥmad) minor	Versio B (ed. Abū Šuwayrib)
o.a.- o.c.	The whole doxo-biographical section on Solon (<i>Aḥbār Sūlūn al-šā'ir wāḍi' šarā'i' atānis</i>) repeats, in the same disposition, the corresponding section on Solon in MF Sol. o.a-o.c, (pp. 501-506).	=
o.d.	–	For this saying see IsḤ Sol. 2 (p. 383).
1.	For this saying see MF Sol. 1 (= MuntṢḤ Sol. 18, pp. 446-447). It corresponds to Šhz Sol. 136 in versio B.	–
2.	For this saying see MF Sol. 2 (= MuḥṢḤ Sol. 6, pp. 418-419). It corresponds to Šhz Sol. 137 in versio B.	–
3.	For this saying see MF Sol. 4 (= 'Ām Sol. 1, pp. 409-410). It corresponds to Šhz Sol. 138 in versio B.	–
4.	For this saying see MF Sol. 5 (p. 506). It corresponds to Šhz Sol. 139 in versio B.	–
5.	For this saying see MuntṢḤ Sol. 2 (=MuḥṢḤ Sol. 1, p. 416).	=
6.	For this saying see MuntṢḤ Sol. 3 (p. 441).	=

⁴⁸⁷ See Ullmann 1961, 8-10; this group of monostichs had already been investigated by Kraemer 1956a, 302-306. At the time, the work of Šhz was still unpublished and Ullmann based his edition on the MSS Leiden, Or. 1488 and Berlin Landberg 430, Ahlwardt 10056, neither of which were used in the three editions of Šhz. A comparison between Ullmann's text and the other editions reveals some variants, such as for sayings nos. 154 and 156 in Ullmann's edition.

⁴⁸⁸ Aḥmad 1976, I 231.1-245.3 = Abū Šuwayrib 1988, 207.1-213.15.

7.	For this saying see MuntŞĤ Sol. 6 (pp. 442-443).	=
8.	For this saying see MuntŞĤ Sol. 8 (p. 443).	=
9.	For this saying see MuntŞĤ Sol. 13 (p. 445).	=
10.	For this saying see MuntŞĤ Sol. 16 (pp. 445-446).	=
11.	For this saying see IH Sol. 4 (pp. 476-477).	=
12.	For this saying see MuĥŞĤ Sol. 11 (p. 420).	=
13.	For this saying see Şhr Sol. 9 (p. 519).	=
14.	وقال: من أراد أن يكون حكيماً فليعرف كيف الصناعة الفكرية، حتى يعرف صواب طريقة الفكرة ومذهب سلوكها إلى علم الأمور، فإذا عُرف ذلك أبصره من أين تثبت الأمور، و من أين لا تثبت، وإذا وصل إلى هذه المرتبة حصلت له صناعة الصناعات العلمية، فهو في علمه بصواب طريقة الفكرة يحتاج إلى النظر في أوائل الصناعات حتى يستجمع عنده الأوائل، ويعرفها، ثم يقوى بالفكرة و يستنبط بما ظهر ما خفي وعنده صواب طريقة السلوك بالتفكير، فغاية الحكيم معرفة صناعة الصناعات كما ذكرنا، وينبغي للناظر في الصناعات التي تقدّمت الحكماء في نظمها ورسمها أن يكون نظره فيها بحذق طريقة القياس المصيب لا بمعرفة تلك الأشياء بأنفسها، فاعرف هذه الطريقة.	وقال: من أراد أن يكون حكيماً فليعرف كيف الصناعة الفكرية، حتى يعرف صواب طريق الفكرة ومذهب سلوكها إلى علم الأمور، فإذا عُرف ذلك أبصر من أين تثبت الأمور، و من أين لا تثبت، وإذا وصل إلى هذه المرتبة حصلت له صناعة الصناعات العلمية، حتى يستجمع عنده الأوائل، ويعرفها، ثم هو يقوى بالفكرة و يستنبط بما ظهر ما خفي وعنده صواب طريقة السلوك بالتفكير، فغاية الحكيم معرفة صناعة الصناعات كما ذكرنا، وينبغي للناظر في الصناعات التي تقدّمت الحكماء في نظمها ورسمها أن يكون نظره فيها بحذق طريقة القياس المصيب لا بمعرفة تلك الأشياء بأنفسها، فاعرف هذه الطريقة.
	فهو في علمه العلمية del. Abū Şuwayrib 5 post بصواب طريقة الفكرة يحتاج إلى النظر في أوائل الصناعات	
<p>He said: Whoever wishes to be wise must know what the speculative art is like, so that he may know the correct speculative method and the teaching to be followed in learning things, because once known, this will show him whence things are and are not demonstrated, and if he reaches this level he will come into possession of the scientific art among the arts. So he, by learning the correct speculative method needs to look into the principles of the arts until he has gathered the principles in himself and is familiar with them, after which he becomes strong through reasoning, through what is visible discovers the hidden and acquires knowledge of the correct way to proceed through reflection. So the goal of the wise man is to know the art of the arts as we have said, and whoever examines the arts that the wise have previously arranged and outlined must examine them by skillfully using the correct syllogistic method and not by knowledge of these things in (<i>or: for</i>) themselves. Thus he will learn this method.</p>		

15.	وقال: العالم مصنوع على أن يمدَّ بعضه بعضًا، ويستمدَّ بعضه من بعض، والغاية المطلوبة في ذلك البقاء الدائم.	=
He said: The world is created in such a way that one part of it extends the other and that one part of it derives from the other, and the goal sought in this is eternal existence.		
16.	وقال: ليس بين الخالق والمخلوق فصل بالزمان، إنما هو في العلة والمعلول، وعلّة سبب الموت في العالم بقاء.	وقال: ليس بين الخالق والمخلوق فصل بالزمان، إنّما هو في العلة والمعلول، وعلّة سبب الموت في العالم بقاء الكلّ.
He said: Between the Creator and the creature there is no separation in time, but there is in cause and effect, and a cause that is motive for death in the world is the permanence of the whole.		
17.	For this saying see MuḥŞĤ Sol. 15 (p. 421).	=
18.	وقال: كل صانع ينبيئ عن نفسه بالعلل العقلية فهو المستحقّ لنسبة تلك الصناعة إليه، ولكل صناعة صانع فيلسوف.	= Abū Şuwayrib ينفي [ينبيئ 1] corr.
He said: Every artisan who inquires into rational causes deserves to be credited with that art, and the artisan of every art is a philosopher.		
19.	For this saying see MuḥŞĤ Sol. 13 (p. 420).	=
20.	This saying corresponds to Šhz Hom. 30 of versio B.	–
21.	This saying corresponds to Šhz Hom. 31 of versio B.	–
22.	This saying corresponds to Šhz Hom. 32 of versio B.	–
[23-135]	This section containing 133 sayings corresponds to Šhz Hom. 33-145 of versio B.	–
136.	–	For this saying see MF Sol. 1 (= MuntŞĤ Sol. 18, pp. 446-447). It corresponds to Šhz Sol. 1 in versio A.
137.	–	For this saying see MF Sol. 2 (= MuḥŞĤ Sol. 6, pp. 418-419). It corresponds to Šhz Sol. 2 in versio A.
138.	–	For this saying see MF Sol. 4 (= ‘Ām Sol. 1, pp. 409-410). It corresponds to Šhz Sol. 3 in versio A.
139.	–	For this saying see MF Sol. 5 (p. 506). It corresponds to Šhz Sol. 4 in versio A.
140.	For this saying see Šhr Sol. 10 and ĀF Sol. 14 (pp. 400-403).	=

141.	For this saying see MuntŞĤ Sol. 4 (pp. 441-442).	=
142.	For this saying see MuntŞĤ Sol. 5 (p. 442).	=
143.	–	For this saying see MuntŞĤ Sol. 11 (ĀF Sol. 14; pp. 400-403).
144.	For this saying see MuĥŞĤ Sol. 4 (and MuntŞĤ Sol. 14; p. 417).	=
145.	For this saying see MuntŞĤ Sol. 23 (p. 448).	=
146.	وقال: إن أنفع الأمور وأقرها لأعينهم القناعة والرضا، وأشقىها عليهم وأنصبها الشره والسخط؛ فإن أفضل ما يصيب الإنسان السرور الذي هو ثمرة كل فائدة تصل إليه، وإنما يكون نيل السرور بالقناعة والخير والرضا وكل الحزن بالشره والسخط، ولا يجتمع القناعة والسخط ولا السرور والحزن.	وقال: أنفع الأمور وأقرها لأعينهم القناعة والرضى، وأشقىها عليهم وأمضىها الشدة والسخط؛ فإن أفضل ما يصيبه الإنسان السرور الذي هو ثمرة كل فائدة تصل إليه، وإنما يكون نيل السرور والسخط ولا السرور والحزن. القناعة والسخط والرضا وكل الحزن بالشره والسخط، ولا 4 [يجتمع القناعة del. Abū Şuwayrib
	He said: The most useful and the happiest of things for them is contentment and satisfaction, while the most difficult and the most tiring for them is greed and discontent, because the best thing that can happen to a person is the pleasure that is the fruit of every benefit that has come to him. However, pleasure is achieved by means of contentment, good and satisfaction and all suffering by means of greed and discontent, and neither contentment and greed nor pleasure and suffering can be put together.	He said: The most useful and the happiest of things for them is contentment and satisfaction, while the most difficult and the most painful for them is misfortune and discontent, because the best thing that can happen to a person is the pleasure that is the fruit of every benefit that has come to him. However, pleasure is achieved by means of contentment, good and satisfaction and all suffering by means of greed and discontent, and neither contentment and greed nor pleasure and suffering can be put together.
147.	For this saying see MuĥŞĤ Sol. 12 (p. 420).	=
148.	وقال: المالك للشيء هو المسلّط عليه، فمن أراد أن يكون حرّاً فلا يهو ما ليس له وليهرب منه، وإلا صار له عبداً.	=
	He said: Since the thing becomes the master of its possessor, he who wishes to be free should not strive for what he does not have nor should he run away from it otherwise he will become its slave.	
149.	For this saying see MF Sol. 9 (= ĀF Sol. 3, p. 394).	=
150.	For this saying see MF Sol. 11 (= Ām Sol. 4, p. 411).	=
151.	For this saying see MF Sol. 12 (= MuntŞĤ Sol. 9, pp. 443-444).	=

152.	For this saying see MF Sol. 13 (= MuntŞH Sol. 17, p. 446).	=
153.	For this saying see MF Sol. 18 (p. 507).	=
154.	For this saying see MF Sol. 15 (= MuntŞH Sol. 1, pp. 440-441).	=
155.	For this saying see MF Sol. 21 (p. 508).	=
156.	For this saying see MF Sol. 22 (= ĀF Sol. 8, p. 397).	=
157.	For this saying see MF Sol. 23 (=MuḥŞH Sol. 4, p. 417).	=
158.	For this saying see MF Sol. 24 (p. 508).	=
159.	For this saying see MF Sol. 33 (p. 510).	=
160.	For this saying see MF Sol. 34 (p. 510).	=

3.3 Conclusive remarks

The survey conducted here has revealed a decisive component of the Arabic reception of Greek poetry that complements that outlined in the previous chapter. What we have seen are two distinct branches of the tradition, consisting of different textual materials and different types of fruition. Whereas in Chapter 2 we dealt with the indirect and fragmentary transmission of authentic Greek poetry through the mediation of the Arabic Aristotle, which mirrors, however adapted in the process of translation, the Greek Aristotle, here we have discussed spurious textual fragments transmitted in compilations where they are listed one after the other, without context, potentially reworked by the translator and/or compiler and whose Greek origin is in some cases doubtful or unverifiable. Moreover, the Arabic *Corpus Aristotelicum* (as well as other philosophical treatises or medical and scientific literature that has been translated) was mostly read within philosophical circles and elite groups of scholars. On the contrary, anthologies of gnomological and doxo-biographical content offered preparatory or complementary materials for scholars wishing to undertake the study of philosophy, but they were also enjoyed by a wider readership of non-specialists, looking for concise statements of popular philosophy or amusing texts.⁴⁸⁹

This is true first and foremost for the Greek tradition, where sayings and compilations are attested in a bewildering variety of recensions, countless papyri and MSS that reflect not only their extreme popularity, but, above all – and this was crucial for their success – their application in the educational system. The effectiveness of the brevity of the gnomic or apophthegmatic formulation and the edifying or entertaining content fulfilled a dual purpose, namely facilitating linguistic learning, through memorisation and transcription, while, at the same time, providing a moral education. Thus, collections of this kind were soon being used

⁴⁸⁹ D’Ancona 2004, 305-306.

in school contexts (of which the *Menandri Sententiae*, one of the most commonly used texts in elementary schooling, is a classic example), and individual sayings would become standard examples in the literature of the *Progymnasmata*.⁴⁹⁰ The latter must have played an important role in ensuring the widespread dissemination of certain textual fragments and even their survival in Arabic compilations, as seen, for instance, in ‘Am Hom. 9 and its parallels (revolving around the verse Hom. *Il.* B 24) and MuntŞĤ Hom. 0 and its parallels (containing *Il.* B 204), which are among the very rare cases where a saying attributed to a Greek poet corresponds to a verse in his poems. Other related and highly significant instances were discussed in detail in Chapter 2, namely the gnomic verses of Hesiod *Op.* 293-295, contained in IsĤ Hesiod 1 = MuntŞĤ Hesiod 1 = MF Hesiod 1 and others.

The case of Hom. *Il.* B 204 allows us to reflect on another fundamental point, namely what had been the elements that had determined the success of some of the Greek wisdom material in Arabic and the selection principle that had been used in translating and inserting this material in Arabic compilations. As noted by many scholars (especially Kraemer, Gutas, and Overwien), Greek wisdom literature found fertile ground in the Arabic readership that already had a background of the tradition of pre-Islamic gnomic poetry and the centuries-old tradition of the *ahadit*, as well as collections of short textual forms of popular wisdom consisting of maxims and witty sayings. Thus, in many of the Greek dicta that later passed into Arabic, translators and readers had recognised universal truths, moral precepts in harmony with those of Islam, and brilliant jokes attributed to authoritative sages.⁴⁹¹ This process is portrayed in some pages of the compilation of Ibn Hindū in which it is the author himself who comments on certain sayings and points out their similarity to Arabic maxims or to verses by Arabic poets.⁴⁹² Even the tradition that makes Homer the Imru’ al-Qays of the Greeks (discussed in MuntŞĤ 3.2.4.b.2) is close to these implicit analogies, it being a clear example of adaptation through assimilation of the foreign element to the indigenous.

In this chapter, my intention was to show another side of the Arabic reception of Greek poets and the materials that have been ascribed to them, while I did not directly address the major issue of the mutual relations between Arabic collections and their sources, including those from other linguistic traditions. This is, first of all, because the dominant lines of research of both classical philologists and orientalists in recent decades have set aside the *Quellenforschung* of individual collections – at least by using the same methods applied to other kinds of texts – as impractical, if not sterile, preferring instead examinations of a typological and content-based nature, aimed at outlining the most recurring themes and forms in sayings attributed to a single author, or at examining the structure of a compilation as a whole,⁴⁹³ or even at conducting more articulate analyses employing the new tools of digital philology. Nevertheless, based on the textual parallels that emerged from our survey, we may

⁴⁹⁰ The literature on the subject is extensive and has already been cited in part in the course of the discussion. See Cribiore 1996, Morgan 1998, Cribiore 2001, Kennedy 2003, Morgan 2007, Morgan 2013; Nervegna 2013.

⁴⁹¹ Kraemer 1956a, 309-312; Strohmaier 1971, 463; Overwien 2005, 203-209; Gutas 1994, 4949; Gutas 1981. See also the remarks and the case in point presented by ‘Abbās 1993, 55.

⁴⁹² The instances are quite numerous and should be analysed separately. For an example, see Ĥalifāt 1995, I 398.2-3 (no. 426). Another famous case is the so-called *al-Risāla l-Ĥātimiyya* in which al-Ĥātīmī (d. 388/998) compared some sayings ascribed to Aristotle to some of al-Mutanabbī’s verses.

⁴⁹³ See Overwien 2005, 16-18.

draw some considerations, albeit very modest and in some cases approximate, on the relations among the sources. We shall focus on the most conspicuous textual cores, namely the sayings attributed to Homer and Solon. Only for these two Greek poets, in fact, there is an entry in all the compilations we have dealt with (leaving aside the particular case of the ‘Ām arranged by thematic chapters) and only their sayings among those analysed here show sufficient mutual parallels on which to base a philological examination. As far as Homer’s sayings are concerned, we can put forward the following hypotheses. As already established by Ullmann for the *Menandri Sententiae* the IH seems to represent an independent branch of the tradition. Most of the 9 sayings attributed to Homer are not attested in sources older than the IH (IH Hom. 2, 3, 4, 9) and one (IH Hom. 6) is attested only in the IH. The textual fragments in the MF show a concrete parallel with the ĀF, but since this is a limited case (MF Hom. 1-4 and ĀF Hom. 6-9), it can at best be interpreted as a sign that the MF relied on a source containing some of the material of the ĀF. Evidently the MF also drew on another lost source, at least for the sayings MF Hom. 5-19 and 32-42, which are not attested in any other of the collections examined (except for the Šhz, which depends on the MF). The Šhz used the MF as a primary, though not exclusive, source, since they share a large number of fragments, but the Šhz also shows similarities with the Šhr, with regard to certain references that the latter drew from the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* tradition. Since none of these similarities entail precise textual correspondences, we can speculate that the Šhz may have used a more complete version of the Šhr or the same source as the Šhr (which seems to depend both on the MuntŞĤ and on another source bearing the sayings of IsĤ), perhaps a copy of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* or a more complete witness of the MuntŞĤ than the one we read. As far as Solon is concerned, we can assume that here too the MF fits into the same branch of the tradition of the ĀF, but it also has sayings in common (sometimes with variants that make one suspect rewritings by the compiler or contamination with other sources) with those of the tradition of *Šiwān al-ḥikma* and with the IH. The 11 parallels the latter has with the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* suggest that he may have had access to at least one of its sources. In the same branch of the tradition of *Šiwān al-ḥikma* also fits the Šhr, which – in addition to presumably having used the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* or an epitome thereof – must have relied on a lost source for sayings 11-24. Finally, the Šhz seems to have drawn from the MF but also from the tradition of the *Šiwān al-ḥikma* (probably through a later source).

It must be borne in mind, however, that the corpus of texts assembled here remains relatively small. Indeed, the excerpts from the collections we have investigated are at best limited to one or two sections of the work, corresponding to less than 10% of the whole text (e.g., in MF we have analysed the chapters on Homer and Solon, and some fragments of the mixed section, but the complete compilation consists of 22 chapters) and at worst meagre fragments, such as those scattered within the ‘Ām. More concrete statements on the mutual relations between textual portions and collections can only be made after a new philological effort in producing comprehensive and solid editions.

On the other hand, I have analysed the fragments by following the criterion of chronology provided by the collections that preserve them to show the antiquity of attestation of some sayings, the enormous success a few of them have achieved, and the interaction between multiple textual and linguistic traditions. As Zakeri has written recently: «It is a unique characteristic of the popular maxims that, not only their wordings, but also their attribution

changes freely from source to source. [...] The unrestricted re-assignment of authorities has gone to such an extreme extent that any attempt at verification of the “originator” in this milieu seems naïve and futile. Aphorisms are of great antiquity, timeless and international. They travel freely from one land to another and are constantly reshaped, reformulated and updated. *Few can be assigned specifically to a person or a culture.* The best that can be done against the insurmountable complexity in this area of Muslim literary-cultural goods is to try to reach at least at a chronological order of their usage». ⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ Zakeri 2020, 299 (the italics are mine).

APPENDIX 2

This appendix has the simple purpose of collecting the sayings attributed to Greek poets contained in the so-called *Epistolary Novel between Aristotle and Alexander*, a collection of fictitious letters attributed to Aristotle, Alexander and Philip and brief narratives, which have been translated, or at least corrected, by Sālim Abū l-‘Alā’ in the first half of the 8th cent. Some stylistic elements and the precise references to events in Greek history, to names of persons and places suggest that the original core of the Epistolary Novel is Greek, and some scholars have argued that it might have been a product of the Late Antique Rhetoric. However, the corpus of texts that has come down to us presents a composite character. In fact, scholars have not only recognised in it features peculiar to Greek-Latin epistolography, but have also identified frequent references to Hermes and elements of possible hermetic derivation; traces of its circulation in Syriac-speaking Christian communities (the reference to the Maronites, which according to Grignaschi constitutes an allusion to the 517 massacre of the monks of the Saint Maron convent by the Jacobites;¹ various Syriac forms in the transliteration of proper names); an Iranian influence, especially on the letter entitled *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya* – e sul *Sirr al-asrār* –, a hypothesis that seems to be confirmed by the textual evidence collected by van Bladel in 2004; strategies for adapting the text, especially on the lexical level, for a Muslim readership. However, there is strong disagreement in the scholarly community on the interpretation of these elements. The reconstruction of the context(s) in which the Epistolary Novel was written, its intended use and the audience for which it was intended, its phases of circulation, the text on which the preserved Arabic version is based (an earlier Syriac version?) and the degree of re-elaboration it underwent before crystallising in the form in which it has come down to us are still unsolved problems, as demonstrated by the very different hypotheses formulated by scholars who have dealt with it. A detailed examination of these exegetical issues and a review of the history of studies is beyond the scope of our research, so I refer to the main studies on the subject, cited in Chapter 3, parr. 3.2.2.3; 3.2.4.a.2, MuḥṢḤ Hom. 7; par. 3.2.4.a.3; 3.2.4.b.5; 3.2.6.1, MF Hom. 42 and Hom. 43, and their bibliographies.

The 23 sayings attributed to Greek poets (almost all of them to Homer) listed here have been extracted from the texts that make up the *Epistolary Novel* with the exclusion of the *de Mundo*, already discussed at the beginning of Chapter 2. We have decided to include these fragments in an appendix because, on the one hand, they are part of the references to Greek poetry transmitted through the *Aristoteles Arabus*, but, on the other hand, the content of most of them – and the very nature of the *Epistolary Novel*, which falls into the genre of *specula principum* – makes them very close to gnomological literature. Indeed, some of them are also attested in the collections examined in Chapter 3 and in sources that draw on them.

All 23 fragments are spurious. The Greek origin of some of them is evident and indisputable (e.g., no. 19, 22 and 23); others express such general moral precepts and truths that it is impossible to establish their origin (e.g., 4, 5 and 6); others include similarities with the animal

¹ Maróth 2006, 23.9-10 (Ar.). Grignaschi 1967, 248 considered unconvincing by Maróth 2006, 75-76. See Swain 2013a, 113.

world (e.g., 7 and 11) which echo folkloric material common to various ancient linguistic traditions; in some it is possible to discern a reworking by the Arabic translator/compiler (see the vocabulary used in fragments no. 2 and 8).

- From the letter with which Aristotle responds to Philip about Alexander's education²

1.

وقد قال أوميروس الشاعر: إنّ الحكمة تريد موضعًا خاليًا لترسّخ في العقول وتفهم.

We have already discussed this passage in Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4.b.5.

- From the *Waṣīyyat Aristū li-l-Iskandar bi-ḥaḍrat abīhi* (Aristotle's Testament to Alexander in the presence of his father)³

2.

Aristotle advises Alexander to first correct himself (substituting virtues for his vices) before correcting his subjects, since there is a relationship of mutual influence between the former and the latter, although the ruler's position of power makes him more capable of correcting or corrupting his subjects. Then he quotes Homer:

وقد قال أوميروس الشاعر إنّ الأئمة يُصلحون بفضلهم رعيتهم، ولا يُصلح الأئمة مؤتمّ

Already Homer said that leaders (*a'imma*) correct through their superiority their subjects, but a follower does not correct leaders.

This saying, as the other contained in the *Waṣīyyat Aristū*, is reported by Miskawayh in the corresponding section in his *al-Hikma al-ḥālida*, with a slightly different wording:⁴

وقد قال أوميرس الشاعر إنّ الأئمة يُصلحون المؤتمين بفضل قوتهم، فأما الأئمة فلا يُصلحها مؤتمّ

3.

After introducing the contrast between the earthly world and the afterlife, Aristotle adds a saying from Homer:

وقد قال أوميرس الشاعر: كلّ ضدّ مخالف ضده ولا خير في شيء يزول ويذهب

² Our saying (= no. 1) corresponds to Maróth 2006, 9.3-4.

³ The sayings are found in Maróth 2006, 14.1-2 (= no. 2); 14.5-6 (= no. 3); 14.10-12 (= no. 4); 16.16-17 (= no. 5).

⁴ Badawī 1952, 220.20-21.

The poet Homer said: Every opposite is the contrary of its opposite, and there is no good in that which vanishes and passes away.

This saying is also repeated verbatim by Miskawayh in the corresponding section in his *al-Ḥikma al-ḥālida*.⁵

4.

After advising to seek wealth in moderation – because those who are not moderate cannot be made rich by money however abundant it may be –, Aristotle quotes a saying from Homer that sounds very similar to what he just said:

وقد قال أوميرس الشاعر: لا مال يكفي عند ترك القناعة ولا خير في المرء إذا لم يكن قانعًا

The poet Homer said: There is no money that is enough for those who have abandoned moderation, and there is no good in man if he is not content.

This saying is also repeated verbatim by Miskawayh in the corresponding section in his *al-Ḥikma al-ḥālida*, with some variants:⁶

ante hab. إذا لم Misk | قانعًا | Misk فنوعًا

5.

وقد قال أوميرس الشاعر: ليس شيء أدني من الكذب، ولا خير في المرء إذا كان كذابًا.

We have already discussed this saying in Chapter 3, par. 3.2.6.1, MF Hom. 43.

- From the letter entitled *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya*⁷

6.

After discussing generosity and magnanimity in general terms, Aristotle adds that they are an even greater adornment for a king and quotes a saying ascribed to Homer:

وقد أحسن أوميروس الشاعر حيث يقول: لا ينال المراتب السنيّة بخيل ولا يرتقي على الدرجة العليا إلا

كريم

⁵ Badawī 1952, 221.3-4.

⁶ Badawī 1952, 221.9-10.

⁷ Our sayings are found in Maróth 2006, 27.18-28.1 (= no. 6); 28.19-20 (= no. 7); 36.5-6 (= no. 8); 36.19-37.1 (= no. 9); 41.14-16 (= no. 10); 49.3-4 (= no. 11); 53.18-54.3 (= no. 11); 62.6-8 (= no. 12); 66.4-5 (= no. 13); 68.4-6 (= no. 14).

Homer the poet is right where he tells: An avaricious man does not reach the high rank and only a generous man ascends to the sublime degree.

This saying is repeated in at least two other Arabic sources.⁸ It is in fact cited by Qudāma ibn Ġa‘far (d. 337/948) when he discusses liberality and generosity in the ninth chapter of Book Five of his *Kitāb al-ḥarāğ wa-şinā‘at al-kitāba* (*The Book of the Land-Tax and the Craft of Writing*), where the author evidently draws on the opening pages of the *al-Siyāsa l-‘āmmiyya*.⁹ Esso poi compare in the *Adab al-ṭabīb* (*The Conduct of the Physician*) by the 9th cent. physician Işhāq ibn ‘Alī al-Ruhāwī, who reports some wise sayings by Homer: «Homer, the poet, said: An avaricious man does not reach the high rank and only a generous man ascends to the sublime degree. Have affection toward relatives and love good people. Be kind toward strangers for these are the acts of well-mannered freemen. Happiness is not love of generosity, being diffuse in speaking, enjoying pleasures, the delight that comes with power, and winning a fight. This is because their repetition and perseverance urges the soul. But, bearing distress and [using] the power of the soul in time of misfortune, and being satisfied with the quality, all of these, are part of happiness and courage».¹⁰

7.

وقد أحسن أوميروس الشاعر حيث يقول: لا يصلح المولع بالكذب لشيء حتى يصلح التعلب للذئب

We have already discussed this saying in Chapter 3, 3.2.4.a.2, MuḥŞH Hom. 7.

8.

Regarding the behaviour to be adopted by the ruler Aristotle writes – with a distinctly Islamic vocabulary:

وقد أحسن أوميروس الشاعر حيث يقول: ما أبغض شيخًا زانيًا وفقيرًا فاجرًا

The poet Homer is right where he says: How hateful is an old man (*şayḥ*) who is adulterous and a jurispudent (*faqīh*) who is immoral.

⁸ This saying and the one that follows it are also included in some of the still inedited recensions of the *Sirr al-asrār*, as can be inferred from the English translation by Fulton (Steele, Fulton 1920,182), but are not extant in the Arabic version printed by Badawī in 1954. Both the text on which Fulton’s translation is based and that published by Badawī contain a spurious quotation attributed to Homer: «to the illustrious Homer [is attributed] a wonderful saying on drinking wine where he said: What a marvel he is who drinks wine of grapes and eats bread of wheat and meat of lamb» (Badawī 1954, 102.15-17; see Steele, Fulton 1920, 207-208).

⁹ al-Zubaydī 1981, 443.14-16.

¹⁰ ‘Asīrī 1992, 57.1-6 (Ar.); Levey 1967, 24a (Engl.; modified). Homer is also mentioned in ‘Asīrī 1992, 217.21 (Ar.); Levey 1967, 72b (Engl.).

9.

واحفظ ما قال أوميروس الشاعر حيث يقول: من طمع أن يذهب على الناس مذهبه فقد جهل

We have already discussed this saying in Chapter 3, par. 3.2.4.a.3.

10.

This saying is included in the section of the letter known as *Ḥuṭbat Aflātūn* (*Plato's speech*). After giving a series of precepts of life, Plato invites the reader not to toil in the pursuit of earthly goods – in particular not to vainly accumulate gold and silver –, which are identified with matter, and exhorts the reader to cultivate philosophy instead, because knowledge is a property of form which is placed at the beginning of creation. In fact, form is superior to matter because it is through the action of form that the Creator brings matter to completion.¹¹ In this regard he adds:

وَحَقًّا أَقُولُ: يَا قَوْمِ إِنَّ أُمَيْرِسَ الشَّاعِرِ مَصِيبٌ فِي قَوْلِهِ فِي اللَّغْزِ: إِنَّ الْهَيُولِيَّ مِثَالُ الْأُنْثَى، وَالصُّورَةُ مِثَالُ الذَّكَرِ

Truly I say, oh men, that the poet Homer was right in saying about the enigma:¹² Matter resembles the feminine and form resembles the masculine.

This saying, like the entire *Ḥuṭbat Aflātūn*, is repeated by al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik in his *Muḥtār al-ḥikam*.¹³

11.

Among Aristotle's advice to Alexander is the following:

كُنْ عَلَى مَا وَصَفَ أُمَيْرِسُ أَسَدًا عِنْدَ الْحَرَكَةِ، جَمَلًا عِنْدَ السُّكُونِ، كَالنَّمْرِ الَّذِي لَا يَنَامُ وَقْتُ جُوعِهِ وَلَا يَسْهَرُ وَقْتُ شَبْعِهِ

Be, as Homer wrote, a lion in movement, a camel in rest, like the tiger that sleeps when hungry and is alert when full.

¹¹ I am paraphrasing Maróth 2006, 41.6-14.

¹² The word *luǧz* does not make much sense here, but it may cover the Greek παραβολή or παράδειγμα – and, in fact, the quotation revolves around the word *mitāl*, which usually translated both Greek terms. If this is the case, the use of *luǧz* might be a Syriacism, i.e., confusion due to the ambiguity of the Syriac term *peletā*, which means both «comparison» and «enigma» as we have seen in Chapter 2 (ref. *Top.* 2). Grignaschi's translation of *luǧz* with «métaphore» is quite free (Grignaschi 1967, 258, no. X).

¹³ Badawī 1958, 130.10-11.

12.

This part of the letter enumerates the components of Darius' misgovernment. Among the accusations that are made against him, there are the killings perpetrated continuously against his own subjects, a crime with which he causes the debasement of his own power. For this reason, he is said to be similar to the man described by Homer:

فهو كما قال أوميروس الشاعر: في الدم سيفه لا يرفع وأمواله تنفذ وخراجه مع هذا ثقیل وخزائنه خراب
ومَن يشكره قليل

He is as the poet Homer said: His sword, bathed in blood, is not freed from it. His wealth is squandered, even though his tributes are oppressive, his treasures are destroyed and those who thank him are few.

13.

وقد استحسنت قول أوميروس الشاعر حيث يقول: الدنيا دار من نال مراتبها لم يفرح، ومَن فقد الرياسة
فيها كان حقيراً.

This saying has already been presented in Chapter 3, par. 3.2.6, MF Hom. 42.

14.

In the section on how to counter the Turks, the latter are described in strongly negative terms, also through the words of Homer:

وهم كما قال أوميروس الشاعر: سيدهم مُسَوِّدٌ ونذلهم غال في النذالة

They are like what the poet Homer said: Their lord is black¹⁴ and the abject among them exceed in abjection.

15.

In describing the Arabs Aristotle uses the words of the *šā'ir al-rūm* (but some of the MSS bear the name *Awmīrs* before this syntagma):

كما قال شاعر الروم: فازوا بالفخر وعلا كعبهم بالكرم وزان ذلك صبرهم على طلبته

As the poet of the Greeks said: They won honour, their glory exalted their nobility and their constancy in seeking it adorned this.

¹⁴ Grignaschi interprets *musawwad* in this way (Grignaschi 1967, 259 no. XIV), but the participle can also mean «is made chief». There is an obvious play on words between the two forms of the root *s-w-d*.

- From the letter Alexander wrote to Aristotle when he conquered Persia asking him for a treatise on managing royal power¹⁵

16.

Once Alexander conquered Persia, he decided to punish the promoters of the murder of their king Darius by appealing to a verse by Homer:

وذكرت قول أوميرس الشاعر: لا وفاء لمن لم يحفظ المعروف، ولا خير فيمن ضيع سيده

I recalled the line of the poet Homer: There is no loyalty for those who do not preserve the memory of the benefit, there is no goodness in those who destroy their lord.

17.

After remarking the need to receive advice on how to exercise power over his subjects and to reform the state in the best way possible, Alexander mentions Homer:

فقد قال أوميرس الشاعر: كل من سنّ خيراً بقي ذكره ولا خير فيمن يسنّ الشرّ

Homer the poet said: Of anyone who legislates something good remains the memory, there is no goodness in those who legislate evil.

This fragment and the entire passage in which it is contained are cited by Qudāma ibn Ġa'far in the eleventh chapter of Book Five of his *Kitāb al-ḥarāğ wa-şinā'at al-kitāba*.¹⁶

- From the letter that «Aristotle wrote in response to the previous epistle by Alexander, congratulating for the conquest of Persia, also known as the *Epistle on the Government of the Cities* (*Fī siyāsāt al-mudun*)¹⁷

¹⁵ See Maróth 2006, 85.4-5. This letter bears the title *al-Siyāsa l-'āmmiyya* but should not be confused with the more famous homonymous letter written by Aristotle to Alexander within the same cycle of texts. Our sayings are found in Maróth 2006, 86.15-16 (no. 16) and 87.8-9 (no. 17). It also contains an anecdote about Lysander and Eteonicus (Maróth 2006, 86.18-87.2) in which Solon is quickly mentioned, a reference echoed in the subsequent letter of reply, which is entitled *Fī siyāsāt al-mudun*; Maróth 2006, 100.16 = Swain 2013a, 206, par. 17.3). The anecdote about Lysander and Eteonicus has been translated in Stern 1968, 19-20. The story is repeated in Qudāma ibn Ġa'far's *Kitāb al-ḥarāğ* (al-Zubaydi 1981, 474.14-475.1), where Solon's name is corrupted into *Swān*.

¹⁶ al-Zubaydi 1981, 475.8-9. The transliteration of Homer has been corrupted into the form *Admīws*.

¹⁷ Maróth 2006, 88.1 = Swain 2013a, 182.2. We have already discussed this letter and the long tradition of studies on it in Chapter 3 par. 3.2.2.3. Our sayings are found in Maróth 2006, 93.8-11 = Swain 2013a, 190, par. 7.3 (no. 18); Maróth 2006, 97.13-15 = Swain 2013a, 200, par. 12.8 (no. 19); Maróth 2006, 99.6-8 = Swain 2013a, 202, par. 15.2 (no. 20); Maróth 2006, 99.19-100.1 = Swain 2013a, 204, par. 16.2 (no. 21).

18.

Among the various pieces of advice on good governance, Aristotle recommends Alexander to follow justice to the highest degree and in doing so to respect the laws, and quotes Pindar's words:

وخليق أن يكون قول فنديروس أيضًا شبيهاً بهذا حيث يقول إنَّ السَّنة تؤول بالأمر كلِّها إلى العدل وهي
التي تحقّق الحقّ ولها قوّة كقوّة

Maróth قوّة Swain] كقوّة

In keeping with this is the comparable saying of Pindar, who says: In all affairs law results in justice. It is this which establishes the truth, and it enjoys the same power as its power.¹⁸

Swain has suggested that this saying might echo the words ascribed to Pindar in Pl. *Gorgias* 484B: νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων.¹⁹

19.

In dissuading Alexander from behaving like a tyrant, Aristotle associates the latter with the figure of the master (*al-mawlā*) and the king with that of the father (*al-ab*) and quotes in this connection what Homer says about the model of kingship par excellence, namely Zeus:

وقد ذكر هذا الباب أوميروس الشاعر في شعره حيث يقول: إنَّ زأوس أب للأعلين والأسفلين. ولم يقل
إنّه لهم ربّ أو مولى.

The poet Homer mentioned this theme in his poem by saying: Zeus is father to the greater and the lesser. He did not say that he is their lord or master.²⁰

The quotation closely resembles the Homeric expression πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, referred to Zeus, already mentioned in Chapter 2, EN ref. 44.²¹

20.

According to Aristotle, man must know how to manage his anger, so that it is not taken to excess – as happens in animals – nor is attenuated too much, as happens in young people. In this regard, Homer is quoted:

¹⁸ Engl. translation in Swain 2013a, 191.

¹⁹ Swain 2013a, 119. See also Bielawski, Pleiza 1970, 112.

²⁰ Engl. translation in Swain 2013a, 201.

²¹ See also Bielawski, Pleiza 1970, 139.

وقد أخبر أوميروس الشاعر أيضًا بدم إفراط الغضب والحدة والمحك حيث يقول: إن سقر وحدها هي
التي لا يقنعها شيء أبدًا

The poet Homer again announced his condemnation of hasty anger, temper, and quarrelling by saying: The Fire of Hell alone nothing ever can satisfy.²²

Bielawski and Plezia pointed out a parallel in a passage of Themistius' *Or.* 7, Περὶ τῶν ἡτυχηκότων ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος (98CD), in which the writer reminds that according to Homer also gods bend (alluding, through the adjectives *τρεπτός* and *παραρρητός*, to vv. *Il.* I 497 and 526) except for Hades, who is defined as *ἀμείλικτον καὶ ἀδάμαστον*, «pitiless and inflexible».²³

21.

وأنا أحب لك أن تقتدي بمشورة أسيوذس حيث يقول: إن فعل الخير في الجملة أفضل من فعل الشرّ

Maróth استوذيس [أسيوذس] كما [وأنا

This saying has already been discussed in Chapter 3, 3.2.2.3.

• From the letter that Aristotle wrote to Alexander congratulating him on the conquest of Ḥorāsān²⁴

22.

Aristotle praises the excellence of the feat just accomplished by Alexander as comparable to the marvellous feats described by the Egyptians (*al-qibṭiyyūn*), and adds:

وإنه لينبغي أن يقول فيها كما قال أوميرس في صائع منطقة هرقلس إنه لو لم يكن صنع شيئًا قطّ سواها
لكفاه بصنعتها شرفًا إذ أورد على الناس مثل تلك الصنعة

One must speak of these matters in the same way as Homer did about the maker of Heracles' belt: If he had done nothing else, the glory (obtained) from his work of art would have been enough for him, because he provided men with a work of art such as this one.

²² Swain 2013a, 203.

²³ Bielawski, Plezia 1970, 150.

²⁴ Our sayings are found in Maróth 2006, 106.14-107.3 (= no. 22); 107.5-6 (= no. 23).

23.

Shortly after the previous reference, Aristotle inserts another quotation, this time from Euripides, playing on the metaphor of the leap (*al-watba*), which metaphorically expresses the daring feat, and which, as will be explained later, represents the overcoming of a limit:²⁵

وممّا يصلح أن يُتمثّل به في ذلك أيضًا قول اوريفيدس: إن كان ينبغي لأحد أن يشب مثل هذه الوثبة

فليشب

In this regard, it is also worth quoting as an example the saying of Euripides: If one has to do a daring deed like this, let him do it.

²⁵ Maróth 2006, 107.7.

CONCLUSION

Poetry is one of the parts of Greek literature that had less prominence within the translation movement, and, more generally, within the phenomenon of reception of foreign knowledge that characterised the 'Abbāsīd era. The marginalisation of Greek poetry in the interests of the translators and even more so of the patrons, as well as of the Arabic-speaking intellectuals who benefited from Greek or Syriac-into-Arabic versions, is a curious phenomenon. It does not lend itself to an unequivocal interpretation and can only be assessed objectively – and above all without ideological preconceptions – by carefully examining the possible reasons that may have led to it. These include the limited practical applicability of the works of poetry, the translation challenges posed by the peculiarities of poetic language and style, the strong anchoring of a large part of the poetic heritage to the cultural context of origin. Of these problems the troubled Arabic reception of the *Poetics* and of classical theatre is a glaring but not isolated example.

Among the translations produced between the second half of the 8th cent. and the end of the 10th, only very few concern works in verse, which are: the *Golden Verses* by Pythagoras, a selection of the *Menandri Sententiae*, the *Pentateuch* by Dorotheus of Sidon, the verse recipe for Theriac by Andromachus and perhaps the *Phenomena* by Aratus of Soli. As can be seen from this short list, what has been translated into Arabic are mainly those verses that could offer useful moral teachings and precepts of life (such as the *Golden Verses* and the *Menandri Sententiae*) or poems of medical and scientific content, which were read together with prose treatises on related subjects. Missing from the list are the great works of ancient Greek poetry as we commonly understand them, for which no complete translations are preserved or attested, with the sole exception of Homer's poems. Both Syriac and Arabic intellectuals show a keen interest in Homer and his verses – in proportion to their treatment of other poets, though not comparable to the reception of the great Greek authorities such as Aristotle, Socrates or Galen – and a certain awareness of his status as the father of Greek poetry. Barhebraeus mentions a mysterious 8th cent. Syriac version of Homer's two books on the capture of Ilion – which could refer to a partial translation of Homeric poems or to the translation of mythological material, not necessarily in verse – and some authors show a fairly thorough knowledge of some verses and elements of the *Iliad* and some episodes of the Trojan cycle. As for the Arabic reception, the *Muntaḥab šiwān al-ḥikma* attests to a version of some Homeric verses, which are none other than the *Menandri Sententiae*, falsely attributed to the most famous of Greek poets among the readers of the Islamic world. To this must be added a handful of testimonies showing an episodic or superficial knowledge of Greek poetic heritage, such as: the references from the *Kitāb al-unwān* by Agapius of Hierapolis – probably taken from Byzantine chronicles and sources also used by Michael the Syrian –; the anecdote reported by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a that Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq was able to recite Homer's verses by heart; some glosses aimed at explaining literary references that Ḥunayn used to include in his own translations and in those made under his guidance by his collaborators; the recurrent topos of Homer as Greek poet par excellence – sometimes compared with the primacy of Imru' l-Qays among the Arabs –; la narrative of Pisistratus' collection of Homer's verses related by Quṣṭā

ibn Lūqā in his reply to Ibn al-Munaḡḡim's *al-Burhān*; the description of the capture of Troy in al-Iskāfī's *Kitāb lutf al-tadbīr fī siyāsāt al-mulūk*.

Apart from these few significant cases, the Arabic reception of pagan Greek poetry consists of scattered fragments transmitted indirectly, of which two macro-categories can be distinguished. The first type of fragments consists of references and quotations included in works of philosophy, medicine and science that have been translated into Arabic. Given the large number and variety of sources that pertain to this field of investigation, I decided to focus my analysis on the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, and in particular on works that preserve poetic references and of which an Arabic version accessible in a printed edition is extant. The *Poetics* has been excluded from our examination, given the specific problems posed by the Arabic reception of this text and the constant references to Greek poetry it contains, which would have made the type of analysis we have conducted here unfeasible. Thus, in Chapter 2, we dealt with the following treatises: *De interpretatione*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, *Sophistical Refutations*, *Rhetoric*, *Physics*, *De caelo*, *Meteorologica*, *De anima*, *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, *De generatione animalium*, *Metaphysics*, *Ethica Nicomachea*, *De vitiis et virtutibus*, *Divisiones*. We conducted a type of survey of these sources that had never been done before and isolated 281 poetic references, which have been examined individually. The analysis of each fragment was divided into three sections. The first, called *context*, provides a summary presentation of the Aristotelian passage in which the reference is inserted as well as a brief description of the content and source of the poetic reference itself. The second section is *reference form and structure*, which consists of a brief description of the reference typology according to a strict classification. The last level of the analysis is the section entitled *notes on the Arabic version*, in which we have examined the morphological, syntactic and lexical peculiarities of the Arabic text compared with the Greek original.

Such a structured analysis has made it possible to collect a large number of data that have an important documentary value but may appear chaotic. However, they constitute useful preparatory material for more refined investigations and an irreplaceable basis for further research on the Arabic reception of Greek poetry fragments, which has so far been anchored in a few observations based on a very limited sample of sources. Our research has shown that translators adopt a wide range of solutions in rendering poetic references, in many cases dictated by the textual context conveying the fragments, the implicit references to Greek culture they contain (thus, translating a literal quotation is in many cases easier than translating a generic reference) and the skills of the individual translator. One of the greatest difficulties is certainly the comprehension of some grammatical and semantic features of poetic language, a fact that is not surprising if one considers that Homer' and Sappho's language was already sometimes obscure to a Greek reader of the Hellenistic period. In general, however, omissions are rare and most of them might be explained as results of textual lacunae or scribal errors, while alterations of the source text are almost entirely non-existent.

For some of the poetic references transmitted by the *Aristoteles Arabus* it was possible to trace further attestations in later sources (quoted in the section entitled *further comments on the Arabic tradition*). This survey was conducted on a sample basis, on works composed before the beginning of the 11th century, programmatically excluding the large corpora of Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd. In these testimonies we observed the re-use by Arabic authors of some Aristotelian examples from Greek poetry, as well as cases of adaptation – a strategy later used

more frequently by Ibn Rušd in his middle and long commentaries on Aristotle's writings –, including the replacement of a reference to the Trojan War with the Basūs war in a commentary on a passage of the *Physics* from the Aristotelian school of Bağdād.

The second macrocategory of references to Greek poetry that have been transmitted into Arabic was studied in Chapter 3, devoted to doxo-gnomological literature. Nine sources were examined, including gnomology, florilegia and other works containing doxo-gnomological materials, which are: the *Nawādir falsafīyya*, the *Ādāb al-falāsifa* by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq contained in the compilation by al-Anṣārī, the *Kitāb al-sa'āda wa-l-is'ād* by Ps. al-ʿĀmirī; the *Muḥtaṣar* and the *Muntaḥab Ṣiwān al-ḥikma*; the *al-Kalim al-rūḥāniyya mina l-ḥikam al-yūnāniyya* by Ibn Hindū; the *Muḥtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim* by al-Mubaššir ibn Fātik; the *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* by al-Šahrastānī and the *Kitāb nuzhat al-arwāḥ wa-rawḍat al-afrāḥ* by al-Šahrāzūrī. From these, over 400 fragments have been extracted, including sayings attributed to Greek poets and anecdotes about them. Needless to say, Homer takes the lion's share, followed by Solon, who is the second most quoted Greek poet, but mostly presented as a legislator and almost never as a writer of verse. In almost all cases, these are false attributions, spurious sayings expressing universal truths, moral precepts, life advice or witticisms, attributed to Greek authorities, including poets such as Homer, Solon, Pindar, Hesiod, Simonides and so on.

The sayings and anecdotes contained in these collections were compared with each other and with further loci paralleli from other Arabic, Greek and Syriac sources – aware that the interaction with the Persian tradition should not be underestimated and that a comparative study including also sources of Iranian origin could reveal further interesting data. Thus, we have been able to discern a dense network of relations among the gnomological sources, often too tangled to be reconstructed in its constituent elements. Observing the particular success of some fragments, dictated by the universality of the truths they convey, one gets the impression that some of them had an immense circulation in the Near East and the Mediterranean as part of sapiential and folkloric material, shared and freely adapted by different cultures and linguistic traditions. Although most of the material analysed in this chapter is spurious, it contributes significantly to our understanding of the Arabic reception not of Greek poetry, but rather of its poets, as well as the idea that an Arabic-speaking reader might have formed about the Greek poetic heritage from the evidence transmitted by the doxo-gnomological works. These sources in fact reveal a series of topoi that substantially define the Arabic reception of certain Greek authors, such as: the overlap between Homer and Aesop; the connotation of Solon as a prophet, parallel to the description of Homer as a prophet of the Šābi'ans and an adept of the art of talismans and magic; the excellence of Homer and his poetry; the association between Homer and Imru' l-Qays; Simonides as a musician renowned for his wit.

Although these two channels run mostly on parallel tracks it is possible to recognise points of tangency, among which the most explicit and significant is certainly offered by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's remark on his translation of EN A 2, 1095b 7-13 = ref. 1, containing a quotation from Hes. *Op.* 293-297. Here the translator states that, by comparing Aristotle's quotation of Hesiod's verses with another source – an obscure «man's book» (*kitāb al-raḡul*) –, he noticed that the two texts do not coincide. Consequently, he suspected that Aristotle abbreviated the original wording, but since Aristotle's quotation is complete, Isḥāq had probably based his

translation on an incomplete MS. The translator does not give us any clue about the second source he consulted. One would think that he had a Greek copy of Hesiod's poem at his disposal, but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. On the contrary, it seems plausible to me that Iṣḥāq was referring here to a gnomological source, perhaps the same one used and translated – in full or partially – for the compilation of his *Nawādir falsafiyya*. It is no coincidence that the first saying that appears in Iṣḥāq's gnomology is attributed to Hesiod and is precisely this group of verses (in particular, vv. 293-295) from the *Works and Days*, where, however, they are translated somewhat differently than in the locus parallelus of EN A 2, 1095b 7-13. These verses, with their distinctly gnomonic content, enjoyed extreme popularity in both Greek and Arabic gnomological literature. If the *kitāb al-rağul* consulted by Iṣḥāq was indeed an anonymous Greek gnomology, in this singular testimony the figure of the translator and that of the compiler would coincide.

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ABSTRACT – Il presente studio indaga le dinamiche di ricezione della poesia greca pagana in lingua araba durante l'epoca 'abbāsīde, nel contesto del cosiddetto movimento di traduzione e della tradizione filosofico-letteraria che si sviluppò a partire da esso. Questo specifico fenomeno di ricezione è avvenuto sia per via di traduzione passiva di testi greci in siriano e in arabo sia attraverso un'assimilazione più libera di frammenti testuali e motivi narrativi, ma ha avuto, in generale, una portata piuttosto limitata. La poesia greca sembra essere stata ai margini degli interessi degli intellettuali arabofoni di epoca 'abbāsīde – traduttori, committenti ed eruditi che si servivano delle versioni arabe per i loro studi – e, infatti, non si conservano né sono attestate traduzioni integrali di opere di poesia greca (ad eccezione di alcuni poemi di argomento scientifico o moralistico-filosofico, come una selezione delle *Menandri Sententiae* attribuita a Omero nella tradizione araba). Dunque, la trasmissione di questa parte della letteratura greca è avvenuta per lo più per via indiretta, attraverso frammenti sparsi provenienti da fonti eterogenee. Queste possono essere ricondotte a due macrocategorie che corrispondono a due canali di trasmissione principali. La prima macrocategoria è costituita dai riferimenti poetici contenuti in trattati filosofici, medici e scientifici tradotti in arabo. Data la vastità di questo campo di indagine ci siamo concentrati sull'esame delle versioni arabe del *Corpus Aristotelicum*. L'analisi testuale di 280 frammenti poetici trasmessi attraverso l'Arisotele arabo ha mostrato che le difficoltà principali nella loro resa risiedono nelle specificità della lingua poetica e nell'allusività al contesto culturale per il quale il testo era stato concepito. Rarissimi sono i casi di omissione e di alterazione volontaria da parte dei traduttori, mentre strategie di adattamento si trovano attestate più di frequente nelle opere di autori arabi che hanno attinto a queste versioni. Il secondo canale di trasmissione è la letteratura dosso-gnomologica, cioè compilazioni di aneddoti e detti che mescolano materiali di diversa origine, non solo greca e arabo-islamica. Da queste fonti sono stati isolati, e confrontati con loci paralleli, oltre 400 frammenti attribuiti a poeti greci. Quasi tutte le testimonianze sono spurie ma contribuiscono in maniera significativa a comprendere alcune caratteristiche essenziali della ricezione araba non tanto della poesia greca, ma piuttosto dei suoi poeti. Oltre a questi corpora di testi, sono state esaminate importanti fonti documentarie che attestino una conoscenza e una trasmissione, almeno parzialmente orale, di elementi narrativi e topoi letterari.

ABSTRACT – This study investigates the dynamics of reception of pagan Greek poetry in Arabic during the ‘Abbāsid era, in the context of the so-called translation movement and the philosophical-literary tradition that developed from it. This specific phenomenon of reception took place either through passive translation of Greek texts into Syriac and Arabic or through a freer assimilation of textual fragments and narrative motifs, but it had, in general, a rather limited scope. Greek poetry seems to have been at the margins of the interests of Arabic-speaking intellectuals of the ‘Abbāsid period - translators, patrons and scholars who used Arabic versions for their studies - and, in fact, no full translations of works of Greek poetry are preserved or attested (with the exception of a few poems on scientific or moralistic-philosophical subjects, such as a selection of the *Menandri Sententiae* attributed to Homer in the Arabic tradition). Thus, the transmission of this part of Greek literature took place mostly indirectly, through scattered fragments from heterogeneous sources. These can be reduced to two macro-categories corresponding to two main channels of transmission. The first macrocategory consists of poetic references contained in philosophical, medical and scientific treatises translated into Arabic. Given the vastness of this field of investigation, we have concentrated on examining the Arabic versions of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*. The textual analysis of 280 poetic fragments transmitted through the Arabic Arisotele showed that the main difficulties in their rendering lie in the specificities of the poetic language and the allusiveness to the cultural context for which the text was intended. Cases of omission and deliberate alteration by translators are very rare, while adaptation strategies are more frequently found in the works of Arabic authors who have drawn on these versions. The second channel of transmission is the doxo-gnomological literature, i.e., compilations of anecdotes and sayings mixing materials of different origins, not only Greek and Arabic-Islamic. From these sources, over 400 fragments ascribed to Greek poets have been isolated and compared with loci paralleli. Almost all of them are spurious, but they contribute significantly to our understanding of the Arabic reception not of Greek poetry, but rather of its poets. In addition to these corpora of texts, important documentary sources attesting to an at least partially oral knowledge and transmission of narrative elements and literary topoi were examined.