

Greek into Arabic in Byzantine Antioch: ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s »Book of the Garden« (*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*)

It is well known that in the eighth to tenth centuries hundreds of Greek philosophical, medical, and scientific works were translated from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, mainly by Syriac-speaking Christians, in the Abbasid capital Baghdad¹. It is, however, virtually unknown that there was yet another, concurrent, and no less ambitious undertaking whereby Christian texts were translated from Greek, Syriac, and Coptic (and later from Latin and European vernaculars) into Arabic, for the use of Middle Eastern Christians – »Melkites«, »Jacobites«, »Nestorians«, and Copts – who were feeling increasingly more at home with Arabic than with their traditional liturgical languages².

The history of this translation movement remains to be written. What is clear – for instance, from the first volume of Georg Graf’s »Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur«, which catalogues these translations, and from the relevant sections of Joseph Nasrallah’s »Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l’Église melchite« – is that it was happening in several localities, at different time periods (though most intensely in the eighth to eleventh centuries), and in different ecclesiastical communities. Even after the eleventh century, translation activity continued, albeit at a slower pace, accelerating again in the seventeenth century. It can be argued that this »ecclesiastical« translation movement has continued without interruption to the present day³.

In this article, I shall focus on one of the most important – and the least studied – centres of this translation activity: the region of Antioch after the Byzantine re-conquest of the city in 969. I shall briefly discuss the most important Antiochene translators – Antonios, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā, Gregory, Kyr Chariton, Yānī ibn ad-Duks, Kyr Christopher ibn ad-Dawbalī (or ad-Duwaylī) and especially ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (all of them Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians or »Melkites«) – and will then focus on ‘Abdallāh ibn Faḍl’s still unpublished masterpiece »Book of the Garden« (*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*) as an example of a translation produced in that milieu.

Greek into Arabic in Byzantine Antioch

On 28 October 969, the brilliant military campaign of the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963-969) in northern Syria culminated in the re-conquest of the great city of Antioch-on-the-Orontes. This ancient Greek metropolis had been a prominent centre of Christianity from the first century AD – according to Acts 11:26, it is in Antioch that Christians first received the name »Christians«. Alongside Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, Antioch belonged to the »pentarchy« of the ancient patriarchates. The patriarchate of Antioch’s canonical territory stretched as far east as Central Asia. In the tenth century, Antiochian Orthodox catholicosates (dependent local churches governed by a catholicos on behalf of the patriarch of Antioch) were established in Baghdad and Romagyris (near modern Tashkent)⁴. It was only after the devastating Mamluk conquest of 1268 that the patriarchate of Antioch was forced to leave the city, ultimately relocating to Damascus, where it resides until the present day.

The Byzantine re-conquest of Antioch brought about a period of cultural revival for the Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christian community in that region⁵. Re-integrated with Byzantium for the first time since the Muslim conquest of the seventh century, the Arabic-speaking Orthodox of Antioch launched a massive attempt to translate their patristic heritage into Arabic. The translators Antonios, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, and others – all of them fully bilingual in Greek and Arabic – rendered into Arabic fundamental works of the Greek Church Fathers as well as contemporary Byzantine treatises. These Arabic translations had a profound impact on the subsequent history of Middle Eastern Christianity: they were read, copied, and cited extensively by Arabophone Christians of all denominations. Some of these Arabic translations, together with many original Arabic Christian works, were later translated into Ge’ez, thus influencing Christianity in Ethiopia.

1 Gutas, Greek Thought.

2 For an overview of the Christian communities in the Islamic world, see Griffith, Church 129-140. On the Arab Orthodox (or »Melkites«) see now Noble/Treiger, Orthodox Church.

3 Treiger, Graeco-Arabica.

4 Noble/Treiger, Orthodox Church 26 and 287 n. 113; Parry, Central Asia.

5 Todt, Region; Ciggaar/Metcalf, Antioch; Krivov, Arab. Todt’s Habilitation on Antioch in the Byzantine period will soon be published in the series Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik. For the significance of Antioch as a centre of cultural transfer see also Burnett, Antioch; for a comprehensive overview of Antioch see Todt/Vest, Syria 1, 109-663.

The Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement begins with Antonios, the abbot of the famous monastery of St Symeon the Stylite the Younger on the Wondrous Mountain (*Thaumaston Oros*) southwest of Antioch in the first half of the eleventh century⁶. Before relocating to Antioch and becoming abbot of the monastery of St Symeon, Antonios had been a monk at the great lavra of Mar Saba in Palestine. It is noteworthy that in the eighth to tenth centuries Mar Saba was a cutting-edge translation centre where patristic and hagiographical works were translated between four languages: Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian⁷. It is likely that Antonios received his initial training as a Graeco-Arabic translator at Mar Saba. The Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement thus carries on efforts of the earlier generations of translators, centred in Palestine. Antonios is best known for his Arabic translations of works of John of Damascus (the *Dialectica*, the »Exposition of the Orthodox Faith«, and six shorter treatises); however, he also translated other works, such as his near-contemporary Paul of Monemvasia's »Beneficial Tales«. None of his translations has yet been published, though some editions and studies are currently in preparation⁸.

Another important translator from Antioch is Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā (d. ca. 1030), who held the Byzantine honorific title of *protospatharios* (Ar. *ubrūṭusbaṭār*). He is most famous for his translation of select Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus (Arabic translations of Orations 29, 30, and 43 are specifically ascribed to him, and others may well be by him) as well as Dionysius the Areopagite's »On Good and Evil« (= »Divine Names«, chapter 4, §§18-35). To the extensive list of his translations, offered by Joseph Nasrallah, one can add the Arabic version of Basil the Great's »Homily on Cheesefare Sunday« (= Basil's second homily on Lent, CPG 2846)⁹; John Chrysostom's »Encomium to the Prophet Elijah« (= *In ss. Petrum et Heliam*, CPG 4513; Menologion for July 20th: Sinai ar. 407, fols 156^v-168^v; Sinai ar. 423, fols 578^r-587^v); Symeon Metaphrastes' »Encomium to St Luke« (Sinai ar. 482, fols 15^r-22^v);

and Symeon Metaphrastes' »Encomium to St John the Theologian« (Menologion for May 8th: Sinai ar. 405, fols 50^v-61^v). Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā is also the author of hagiographical works, of which only one – the life of the patriarch of Antioch Christopher (martyred in 967) – has survived¹⁰. Of Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā's translations, only the Arabic versions of some of Gregory of Nazianzus' »Orations« have been published¹¹.

Four other translators deserve mention: Gregory, the abbot of the monastery of the Theotokos in Dafnūnā (ancient Daphne) on the Black Mountain near Antioch (second half of the tenth century), Kyr Chariton, abbot of the monastery of the Theotokos Aršāyā, and two previously unknown translators: the deacon of the cathedral of Antioch Yānī ibn ad-Duks (i. e., John, son of the *doux* [of Antioch?]) and the deacon K[ī]r Iḥrīṣṭufūr (Kyr Christopher) ibn ad-Dawbalī (or ad-Duwaylī). Gregory translated several works from Syriac (rather than Greek) into Arabic: Pseudo-Severian of Gabala's »Homily on the Nativity« (CPG 4290), Pseudo-Isaac the Syrian's Response to Symeon (= Philoxenos of Mabbug's »Letter to Patrikios«¹²), and (it would seem) Maximos the Confessor's »Chapters on Love«¹³. Kyr Chariton translated into Arabic sections from Theodore the Stoudite's »Little Catechesis«. Of the deacon Yānī ibn ad-Duks, only one translation is known: Germanos of Constantinople's Homily on the »Sash of the Theotokos« (CPG 8013; BHG 1086); the Arabic translation is preserved in the Menologion for the month of August (August 31st). Deacon Christopher translated into Arabic an account of the placing of the robe of the Theotokos in Blachernae (the Arabic translation is preserved in the Menologion for July 2nd – Sinai ar. 407 [year 1334], fol. 1^v). None of these translations has been published¹⁴.

The most important participant in the Antiochene translation movement of Christian works is unquestionably the eleventh-century Arab Orthodox translator and theologian 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī. It is to his activity as a Graeco-Arabic translator that we shall now turn.

6 Nasrallah, *Histoire* 273-289. Earlier scholarship has incorrectly dated Antonios to the second half of the tenth century, a view based on a misreading of the colophon of Vat. ar. 436.

7 The Greek, Arabic, and Georgian translations of Isaac the Syrian, produced from the Syriac original in the first half of the ninth century, are among the most striking examples of the multilingual translation activity of the Sabaite monks. See Brock, *Syriac into Greek*; Patardize, *Isaac*. Only the Greek translation has so far been published: *Isaak o Syros, Logoi askētikoi*. See also Treiger, *Syro-Arabica*.

8 Over thirty years ago Mgr Michel Abras (currently the Melkite Catholic titular bishop of Myra) prepared a critical edition of the Arabic translation of John of Damascus' *Dialectica*, but it has remained unpublished. Father Joe Buhagiar-Bianco's critical edition of the Arabic version of the »Exposition of the Orthodox Faith« is forthcoming in the series TESOC (Textes et études sur l'Orient chrétien), published by CEDRAC (Centre de documentation et de recherches arabes chrétiennes) in Beirut. In 2016, Habib Ibrahim completed a PhD dissertation at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, entitled »Jean Damascène arabe: Édition critique des deux traités contre les Nestoriens«. For a preliminary analysis of Antonios' translation method, see Graf, *Übersetzungen*; Treiger, *Graeco-Arabica* 209-218; and Ibrahim's dissertation.

9 Graf, *Geschichte* 2,45-48; Nasrallah, *Histoire* 289-305; Nasrallah, *Auteurs* 75-82. The Arabic translation of Basil's »Homily on Cheesefare Sunday« is preserved in Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts A509, fols 19^v-24^v (explicitly

ascribed to Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā) and possibly Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 512, pp 547-563; cf. Fedwick, *Bibliotheca* 1088 and 1215; Nasrallah, *Dossier* 29.

10 Lamoreaux, *Ibrāhīm*; Noble/Treiger, *Orthodox Church* 26f.

11 Grégorios Nazianzēnos, *Discours* 24; Grégorios Nazianzēnos, *Versio I*; Grégorios Nazianzēnos, *Versio II*; Grégorios Nazianzēnos, *Versio III*; Grégorios Nazianzēnos, *Versio IV*. See also Tokay, *Continuity*; cf. her doctoral dissertation »Continuity and Transformation: *Theosis* in the Arabic Translation of Gregory Nazianzen's *Oration on Baptism (Oration 40)*« defended at Cardiff University in 2013.

12 This text is also preserved in Greek, in the Sabaitic Greek translation of Isaac. However, Gregory's translation seems to have been done directly from the original Syriac (specifically, from a Melkite Syriac version where the text was attributed to Isaac rather than to Philoxenos).

13 Damascus, *Orthodox Patriarchate* 162 (19th c.), no. 1 (entitled *المجبة الشريفة في الوصايا الانجيلية*).

14 Sergey Kim has prepared a critical edition of the Arabic version of Pseudo-Severian of Gabala's »Homily on the Nativity«, as part of his doctoral dissertation »Sévérien de Gabala dans les littératures arménienne et géorgienne«, defended at the Université Paris IV-Sorbonne in 2014. Joe Glynnias has prepared an edition of Yānī ibn ad-Duks' translation of Germanos, forthcoming in a collected volume co-edited by Barbara Roggema and myself.

‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī as a Translator

Unfortunately, we know little about ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s life. From his full name as given in the manuscripts we can deduce that he was a deacon (*šammās*) from Antioch and a grandson of a metropolitan bishop (*muṭrān*), whose name was also ‘Abdallāh. We know also that his Arabic translation of Basil’s *Hexaëmeron* and his own theological compilation »Joy of the Believer« (*Bahğat al-mu’min*) were completed in 1052, while his philosophical magnum opus »Book of Benefit« (*Kitāb al-manfa‘a*) was written between 1043 and 1052¹⁵. He was thus active around the year 1050.

Some of ‘Abdallāh’s works and translations were commissioned by various church officials and intellectuals: the »Exposition of the Orthodox Faith« (*Šarḥ al-amāna al-mustaqīma*) was commissioned by John, bishop of Manbiğ (Hierapolis or Mabbug in northern Syria), the translation of the Psalms by a certain Abū Zakariyā ibn Salāma, the translation of Isaac of Nineveh (made from the Sabaitic Greek version) by Nikephoros (Nikūfūr) Abū n-Naṣr ibn Buṭrus al-Qubuqlīs (i. e., *kouboukleisios*, or »chamberlain«, of the patriarch of Antioch), and the translation of John Chrysostom’s »Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew« by »master Abū l-Faḍl Salāma ibn al-Mu’arrağ, the deacon, *kouboukleisios*, and doctor«¹⁶.

‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl was fully proficient in both Greek and Arabic. The style of his Arabic works is impeccable, and it is known that he studied Arabic grammar with no less of an expert than the famous Arab poet and freethinker Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī (d. 1058), to whom he refers as his teacher (*šayḥ*)¹⁷.

Moving now to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s translations, even the list of them is daunting¹⁸.

1. The Psalms¹⁹;
2. Lectionaries from the Gospels, Epistles, and the Prophets;
3. John Chrysostom²⁰:
 - a. »Commentary on Genesis«;
 - b. »Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew«;
 - c. »Commentary on the Gospel of John«;
 - d. »Homilies on First Corinthians«;
 - e. »Commentary on Hebrews«;
 - f. »Commentary on Romans«;
 - g. Eighty-Seven Homilies (entitled *Mawā’iz šarīfa wa-alfāz muḥtašara laṭīfa li-fam aḍ-ḡahab*);
 - h. »Exhortation to Penitence«;

4. Basil the Great:
 - a. »Homilies on the Psalms«;
 - b. *Hexaëmeron*;
5. Gregory of Nyssa:
 - a. »On the Creation of Man«;
 - b. *Liber in Hexaëmeron* (entitled *Fī ḥulqat al-insān wa-šaraf ma‘ānīhi*);
 - c. »Commentary on the Song of Songs«;
6. Maximus the Confessor:
 - a. »Disputation with Pyrrhus«;
 - b. »Chapters on Love«²¹;
 - c. *Capita theologica et oeconomica*;
7. Andrew of Crete, »Encomium to St Nicholas«;
8. John of Damascus, *Libellus de recta fide* (entitled *Dustūr fī l-amāna al-mustaqīma*);
9. Isaac the Syrian:
 - a. »Thirty-Five Homilies on Ascetic Life« (entitled *Fī l-ḥayāt an-nuskīya*);
 - b. *Fī ru’ūs al-ma’rifa* (seems to render the Greek expression *kephalaia gnōstika*);
10. Pseudo-Sophronius, »Book of Proof on Establishing the [Correct] Faith« (*Kitāb al-burhān fī taḥbīt al-īmān*, a treatise in 28 chapters dealing with the first six Ecumenical Councils and various heresies and incorporating Pseudo-Leontius of Byzantium’s *De Sectis* [CPG 6823] and Sophronius of Jerusalem’s »Synodical Letter«);
11. Pseudo-Caesarius, »Centuries« (embedded in »Joy of the Believer«);

One recently discovered translation, not included under ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s name in any of the previous catalogues is:

12. John of Thessalonica’s »Encomium to St Demetrios« (CPG 7925; BHG 547h)²².

Its introduction indicates that the translation was commissioned by a certain Abū l-Faḍl ‘Isā ibn Idrīs (who is otherwise unknown). The translation is interspersed with ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s very intriguing commentary (*tafsīr*), which deals with anti-Pagan polemic.

In addition, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl translated into Arabic:

13. The Byzantine florilegium *Loci Communes*, giving it the title »Book of the Garden« (*Kitāb ar-rawḡa*).

15 Treiger, ‘Abdallāh. On ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s translation of Basil’s *Hexaëmeron*, see now Alexandre Roberts’ doctoral dissertation »Matter Redeemed: Alchemy and Exegesis from Antioch to Constantinople, 11th century«, defended at the University of California, Berkeley in 2015. Roberts’ monograph on ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl is forthcoming.

16 Sinai ar. 76, fol. 8^r.

17 Noble/Treiger, *Theology* 375 f.

18 For a list of manuscripts, see Graf, *Geschichte* 2,53-58; Nasrallah, *Histoire* 196-220; cf. Daiber, *Graeco-Arabica*.

19 ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s Arabic translation (more precisely, adaptation of an earlier translation) of the Psalms (made from the Septuagint) became by far the

most influential in the Christian Arab world. See Polosin/Serikov/Francuzov, *Psalter*.

20 Habib Ibrahim kindly informs me that some of the Arabic translations of John Chrysostom are in reality by Antonios and were misascribed to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl in the seventeenth century. His dissertation (see n. 8 above) has sorted this out.

21 It remains to be seen how different this translation is from Gregory’s Syro-Arabic translation of the same work (see n. 13 above).

22 Sinai ar. 350, fols 237^r-270^v; Sinai ar. 352, fols 98^r-114^v; cf. Graf, *Geschichte* 1,501. For the Greek original see Philippidis-Braat, *Enkomion*.

In the majority of studies devoted to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (including Graf’s »Geschichte« and Nasrallah’s »Histoire«), *Kitāb ar-rawḍa* is treated as though it were his own compilation, culled from a variety of Greek sources. It was only in 1986 that Michel van Esbroeck recognized that this is not the case and correctly identified *Kitāb ar-rawḍa* as an integral Arabic translation of the Byzantine florilegium *Loci Communes*²³. This florilegium belongs to the genre of the so-called »sacro-profane« florilegia, in that each chapter cites first the sacred authorities (the Bible – including the Septuagint’s »deuterocanonical« books – and the Church Fathers) and then sayings of (or attributed to) ancient Greek authors, including Thales, Pythagoras, Solon, Euripides, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Diogenes, Philo, Apollonius, Epicurus, Menander, and many others²⁴. ‘Abdallāh ibn Faḍl’s translation thus offers its Arab Christian readers some Greek Christian and philosophical material, focusing mostly on ethics, translated into Arabic outside of Baghdad and independently of the Abbasid translation movement.

The »Book of the Garden« begins with an artful introduction, which reads as follows²⁵.

بِسْمِ الْإِبْرَاهِيمِ وَالرُّوحِ الْقُدُسِ.²⁶
أما بعد حمد الله الجوهري العام ذي الأشخاص الثلاثة اب وابن روح قدس²⁷ الذي
انتشلنا²⁸ من ورطة²⁹ الضلالة³⁰ ورفعنا من وهدة العمياء تراوفا³¹ وقادنا إلى
الهداية تعطفًا بما هو حقيق³² به وخلق فانه لما كان تبارك وتعالى قد قال في انجيله
المقدس »من يعمل ويعلم، ذلك هو العظيم في ملكوت السما«³³ وكنا فاقدين لهذين
الامرئين وعارين³⁴ من هاتين الخلتين راينا ان نتشبت³⁵ (?) في الخطوة ببسير³⁶
منهما فشرعنا في استخراج عدة من المعاني التي تصبو³⁷ الى سماعها انفس اولي
النظر وتهدى الى التصفح لها هم³⁸ ذوي الخطر من اللغة اليونانية الى اللغة العربية.
وسمينا هذا الكتاب الجامع لها »كتاب الروضة« لما في ذلك من المناسبة والمشكلة
وجربنا في نقله مجرى من تقدم من النقلة في استعمال الزيادة والحذف والتقديم والتأخير
راغبين الى الله ذي³⁹ العزة والكمال والقدرة والجلال في حسن⁴⁰ الثواب
والخلاص من اليم العقاب والارشاد الى الصواب بمنه وطوله⁴¹ وجوده، فمن انتفع
منه واعطا او رادعا او امرا او زاجرا⁴² او راغبا⁴³ او راهبا بما يلتقطه من الفاظ
الاباء القديسين والفلاسفة الغابرين⁴⁴ فلا⁴⁵ يخلنا⁴⁶ من الذكر الرضي ان كنا في دار
الفناء او⁴⁷ الترحم السني ان كنا في ربع⁴⁸ البقاء اخذا بالاجمل ورجوعا الى
الافضل، فان الله يحب المحسنين وهو حسينا وعليه معتمدنا.

»In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.
First, let us glorify God, the universal substance with three individuals, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who has delivered us from the plight of misguidance, mercifully raised us up from the abyss of blindness, and generously led us to true guidance – with [words of glory] fitting and appropriate for Him. Now then, He (may He be blessed and exalted!) said in His holy Gospel, »whoever practices and teaches, this one is great in the kingdom of heaven« (cf. Matt 5:19). Since I lack these two things and am deprived of these two qualities, I decided that I should aspire to acquire at least a bit of each⁴⁹. Therefore, I began translating from Greek into Arabic select teachings that the souls of the intellectuals aspire to hear and the minds of the earnest desire to contemplate.

I have called this book, which weaves these [teachings] together, »The Book of the Garden«, this being a fitting and appropriate [title]. In this work of translation, I have followed the method of earlier translators, who would add and omit [material] as well as change the order [of exposition]. They asked God, who alone is mighty, perfect, powerful, and exalted, to grant them a good reward, deliver them from painful retribution, and guide them to the truth through His grace, forbearance, and generosity. If [the reader] benefits from [this book] – by finding encouragement or deterrent, command or restriction, desire or fear in the statements of the holy fathers and of the ancient philosophers assembled therein – let him not neglect to mention me with approval, if I am still in this passing world, or to pray most fervently that God have mercy [on my soul], if I have passed on to the abode of eternity. Let him adhere to what is most beautiful and revert to what is best. God loves those who do good works. He alone is sufficient for us, and in Him we trust«.

Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s casual remark that he has »followed the method of earlier translators« and, like them, has taken liberty to »add and omit [material] as well as change the order [of exposition]« (*az-ziyāda wa-l-ḥaḍf wa-t-taqdīm wa-t-ta’ḥīr*) confirms that he was well aware of earlier Graeco-Arabic

23 Van Esbroeck, Sentences. For a critical edition of the Greek original see Ps.-Maximus Confessor, *Loci communes*. The version translated by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl is »Max«, datable to between 650 and the tenth century (Ps.-Maximus Confessor, *Loci communes* xxix).

24 On Philonic quotations, see now Parker/Treiger, *Philo’s Odyssey* 136 f.

25 The text is edited on the basis of four manuscripts: S, V [the beginning missing], C, and P. (For the list of the manuscripts and the sigla, see below.) It is ‘Abdallāh ibn Faḍl’s habit to compose introductions to his theological works and translations. All these introductions deserve to be edited and studied – in ways analogous to what has been done for Syriac introductions in Riad, Preface.

26 بسم الله الحي الازلي || P الاله الواحد امين. add. S بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس السرمدى وبه نستعين. كتاب الروضة وهو الجامع لما في ذلك من المناسبة والمشكلة مما عني في تاليفه ونقله واستخرجه من اللغة اليونانية الى اللغة العربية الشماس الاجل الكاتب عبد الله C. ابن الفضل ابن عبد الله المطران الانطاكي ابي الفتح، نبح الله ضريحه ورمسه، امين

27 P. القدس || S C قدس

28 S C. انتشلنا || P انتشلنا

29 P. ورط || S C ورطة

30 S. الضلالة || CP الضلالة

31 S. تراوفا || CP تراوفا

CP. حفي || S حفي || emendation حقيق

P. السموات || S C السما

P. وعارين || S C وعارين

S. نتسبب || CP نتسببت

S. تبسير || CP تبسير

S. تصب || CP تصبوا || emendation تصبو

S. هممة || CP هم

P. نو || S C ذي

S. يرزقنا جزيل || V CP في حسن

om. P. || S C وطوله

S. زاجرا || V CP زاجرا

S. راغبا || V CP راغبا

S. العابدین || V CP الغابرين

CP. ولا || V S فلا

CP. يخلنا || V S يخلنا

S. CP. || و || V او

P. دار || S C ربع

49 In this sentence and throughout, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl uses the plural (»we«), but means the singular. I translate accordingly.

translations, whether philosophical and scientific, produced in Baghdad, or Christian, produced in Palestine and Antioch, and thought of himself as following in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors.

The table of contents of the »Book of the Garden« mirrors closely that of the Greek *Vorlage*, though 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl frequently abbreviates the titles.

1.	Περὶ βίου ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας	في الفضيلة وما قيل فيها	On Virtue and What Has Been Said Concerning It
2.	Περὶ φρονήσεως	في العقل والرأي	On Intelligence and Opinion
3.	Περὶ ἀγνείας καὶ σωφροσύνης	في العفة	On Chastity
4.	Περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ ἰσχύος	في النجدة	On Bravery
5.	Περὶ δικαιοσύνης	في العدل	On Justice
6.	Περὶ φίλων καὶ φιλαδελφίας	في الصديق	On Friend[ship]
7.	Περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης	في الرحمة	On Mercy
8.	Περὶ εὐεργεσίας καὶ χάριτος	في الإحسان	On Beneficence
9.	Περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας	في الرياسة	On Leadership
10.	Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ διαβολῆς	في الهجاء والمحل	On Defamation and Deceit
11.	Περὶ κολακείας	في الملق	On Flattery
12.	Περὶ πλούτου καὶ πενίας καὶ φιλαργυρίας	في الغنى والفقر	On Wealth and Poverty
13.	Περὶ αὐταρκειάς	في القناعة	On Self-Sufficiency
14.	Περὶ προσευχῆς	في الصلاة	On Prayer
15.	Περὶ διδαχῆς καὶ λόγων καὶ ὁμιλίας	في التعليم والقول	On Instruction and Speech
16.	Περὶ νουθεσίας	في الرعظ	On Admonition
17.	Περὶ παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ παιδῶν ἀνατροφῆς	في الأدب	On Education
18.	Περὶ εὐτυχίας καὶ δυστυχίας	في السعد والنحس	On Good Luck and Bad Luck
19.	Περὶ ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ	في الغضب	On Anger
20.	Περὶ σιωπῆς καὶ ἀπορρητῶν	في الصمت	On Silence
21.	Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ ἡσυχίας	في الإكبار والهدو	On Admiration and Tranquility
22.	Περὶ πλεονεξίας	في اقتنا الكثير	On Acquiring Many [Things]
23.	Περὶ τιμῆς γονέων καὶ φιλοτεκνίας	في كرامة الوالدين وحب الاولاد	On Honouring the Parents and Loving the Children
24.	Περὶ φόβου	في الخوف	On Fear
25.	Περὶ τῶν ταχέως μεταβαλλομένων καὶ περὶ μετάνοιās	في المنتقلين سرعة في التوبة	On Those Who Move Quickly towards Repentance
26.	Περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως	في الخطية والاعتراف	On Sin and Confession
27.	Περὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ γαστριμαργίας	في الشره	On Gluttony
28.	Περὶ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας	في الحزن	On Sorrow
29.	Περὶ ὕπνου	في النوم	On Sleep
30.	Περὶ μέθης	في السكر	On Drunkenness

31.	Περὶ παρρησίας καὶ τοῦ ἐλέγχειν	في الدالة والتوبيخ	On Boldness and Reproof
32.	Περὶ φιλοπονίας	في محبة التعب	On Industriousness [lit. Love of Toil]
33.	Περὶ ὄρκου	في اليمين	On Oath
34.	Περὶ κενοδοξίας	في المجد الفارغ	On Empty Praise
35.	Περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ ψεύδους	في الصدق والكذب	On Truthfulness and Lie
36.	Περὶ θανάτου	في الموت	On Death
37.	Περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου	في السلم والحرب	On Peace and War
38.	Περὶ ἐλπίδος	في الرجاء	On Hope
39.	Περὶ γυναικῶν	في النساء	On Women
40.	Περὶ ἀντιλογίας καὶ θρασυτήτος	في المجابوة والإقدام والخصومة	On Answering back, Audacity, and Quarrelsomeness
41.	Περὶ γήρωσ καὶ νεότητος	في الشيب والشباب	On Old Age and Youth
42.	Περὶ ὑπομονῆς καὶ μακροθυμίας	في الصبر وطول الروح	On Patience and Forbearance
43.	Περὶ ἐπαινοῦ	في المديح	On Praise
44.	Περὶ κάλλους	في الجمال	On Beauty
45.	Περὶ μελλούσης κρίσεως	في الدينونة العتيدة	On the Future Judgement
46.	Περὶ δόξης	في المجد	On Glory
47.	Περὶ γλωσσαλγίας	في الإقدام بالكلام الضار	On Employing Hurtful Speech
48.	Περὶ προνοίας	في السياسة // في الاهتمام See n. 1 to the table	On Providence
49.	Περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης	في اتضاع العزم	On Humble Disposition
50.	Περὶ ἰατρῶν	في الأطباء	On Physicians
51.	Περὶ πίστεως	في الأمانة	On Faith
52.	Περὶ μνήμης	في الذكر	On Memory
53.	Περὶ ψυχῆς	في النفس	On the Soul
54.	Περὶ φθόνου	في الحسد	On Envy
55.	Περὶ ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου	في الاختيار والاضطرار	On Choice and Compulsion
56.	Περὶ τοῦ «Γνώθι σαυτόν»	في «اعرف ذاتك»	On »Know Thyself«
57.	Περὶ χρηστότητας	في الصلاح	On Goodness
58.	Περὶ νόμου	في الشريعة	On [Religious] Law
59.	Περὶ λογικοῦ καὶ λογισμοῦ	في الفكر	On Thought
60.	Περὶ ἀφροσύνης	في الجهل	On Ignorance
61.	Περὶ ἀσωτίας	في التفريط	On Profligacy
62.	Περὶ συνθηείας καὶ ἔθους	في العادة والخلق	On Custom and Character

63.	Περὶ εὐγενείας καὶ δυσγενείας	في الحساب والإقراف See n. 2 to the table	On Noble and Ig- noble Descent
64.	Περὶ γέλωτος	في الضحك	On Laughter
65.	Περὶ ἐνυπνίων	في الخُلم	On Dreaming
66.	Περὶ ἀκακίας καὶ μνησικακίας	في عدم الشر وانتعاصه See n. 3 to the table	On Evilness and Rancour
67.	Περὶ βίου ἀνωμαλίας	في خُباط العالم	On the Insanity of the World

68.	Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι δεῖ τιμᾶν ἀρετὴν καὶ κολάζειν κακίαν	في أنه ينبغي ان نكرم الفضيلة ونخس بالرديلة	On That We Ought to Honour Virtue and Despise Vice
69.	Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι εὐκολος ἢ κακία καὶ δυσάρετος ἢ ἀρετὴ	في أن الرذيلة سهلة والفضيلة شاقة الملك	On That Vice Is Easy and Virtue Is Difficult to Attain
70.	Περὶ φιλαυτίας	في حب الذات	On Self-Love
71.	Περὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀεὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἄριστον	في ان الكثرة ليست دائما جيدة	On That Plenty Is Not Always Good

1 The first translation (في السياسة) appears in the table of contents of *Kitāb ar-rawḍa*; the second (في الاهتمام), in the title of the chapter itself. Both are possible translations of the Greek term πρόνοια («providence»).

2 This is a rare word. The original meaning of the word *muqrif* («disgusting») is, in fact, «born from a slave father»; hence *iqraf* can be understood as «ignoble descent», corresponding to the Greek δυσγένεια.

3 All the manuscripts seem to read ابغاضه or انتعاصه. It would seem that the correct form is انتعاصه means «rancour» and thus closely mirrors μνησικακία).

Below I offer a critical edition and English translation of one sample chapter from this work: Chapter 56. This chapter is devoted to the Delphic maxim «Know thyself» (Γνωθὶ σαυτόν; in Arabic: *i'rif nafsaka*). As all the other chapters, this chapter too consists of a compilation of sayings. The anonymous Byzantine compiler begins with a quotation from the Gospel, then moves to the «Apostle» (in this case St Paul's epistle to the Romans), then to the Old Testament books of wisdom (Ecclesiastes and Sirach). There follow several quotations from the Church Fathers: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Clement of Alexandria, and Didymus the Blind. After that, the florilegium shifts to its «profane» part. It includes quotations from the Greek comic poets Philemon (ca. 361-263 BC) and Antiphanes (ca. 408-334 BC), the orator Demosthenes (384-322 BC), the philosophers Thales, Heraclitus, and Chilon of Sparta (sixth century BC), and finally Xenophon.

The importance of these quotations, and of 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this Byzantine florilegium as a whole, lies in the fact that in eleventh-century Antioch there was an attempt, independent of the Baghdad Graeco-Arabic translation movement, to translate into Arabic some ancient Greek knowledge. Through this means, Arab Christians gained access to otherwise inaccessible Greek material. That this material proved extremely popular is indicated by the amount of the preserved manuscripts of the *Kitāb ar-rawḍa* – twelve manuscripts are known: eight currently in the Middle East, one in the Vatican, and two in Russia. Most importantly for

the Arab Christian audience, this ancient Greek material was set in parallel with the Christian Scriptures and the Church Fathers, thus providing a comprehensive and balanced guide to ethical life – in many ways analogous to Arab Muslim *adab* literature⁵⁰.

I will conclude with a couple of notes on 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's own commentary interspersed with the text. His first comment is essentially philosophical: he argues that the difficulty of knowing oneself lies in the fact that we are complex entities, composed of two contrary elements, body and soul. In order to truly know oneself, one has to study philosophy, which provides not only knowledge of the self, but also knowledge of God – the key to eternal «happiness» (*sa'āda*). The link between knowledge of the self and knowledge of God is attested in several Christian authors, including Clement of Alexandria⁵¹ and Basil the Great⁵². This theme appears prominently also in Muslim and medieval Jewish sources⁵³.

'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's second comment is quite intriguing in that it displays knowledge of Arabic grammar and, moreover, of Arabic grammatical terminology (there are, in fact, many such grammatical comments in the *Rawḍa*). In this comment, 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl indicates which of the different usages of the Arabic preposition or particle *lām* (vocalized *li-* or *la-*) he intended in the passage just translated; he also cites the eighth-century Arab grammarian al-Ḥalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. ca. 791) to the effect that there are thirty distinct usages of *lām*. It is as though 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl is commenting on his own skillful way of rendering Greek phrases into Arabic and

50 A particularly intriguing parallel is the hitherto unpublished tenth-century Sūfi compilation *Rawḍat al-'ulamā'* by az-Zandawaysī, in 98 chapters with similar subjects to 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's *Kitāb ar-rawḍa*. I thank Professor Gerhard Böwering for this reference.

51 Klemēs Alexandreias, Paedagogus 3.1, 235: Ἦν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, πάντων μέγιστον μαθημάτων τὸ γνῶναι αὐτόν· ἑαυτὸν γὰρ τις ἔαν γνῶ, Θεὸν εἴσεται, Θεὸν δὲ εἰδὼς ἐξομοιωθήσεται Θεῷ.

52 Basileios Kaisareias, Know Thyself 217B.

53 Altmann, Delphic; Mohamed, Knowledge 8-12.

is boasting of his expertise in Arabic grammar, probably quite uncommon in Arab Christian circles in Byzantine Antioch.

‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s *Kitāb ar-rawḍa* and the other translations produced by him and his colleagues provide a unique perspective on Arab Christian culture in Antioch under Byzantine rule. They are worthy of careful study in the same way that for several generations scholars have now been scrutinizing the Graeco-Arabic philosophical and scientific translations produced in Abbasid Baghdad. One may hope that the coming years will see critical editions of the relevant texts, with appropriate glossaries, similar to the editions of translations from the Abbasid period, as well as first critical studies of the Antiochene translation movement and of its impact on the Arabic-speaking Christian communities in the Middle East. Nothing of the sort exists at present. The social background of the Antiochene Graeco-Arabic translation movement would also need to be explored, so that the study of »Greek Thought, Arabic Culture« in Byzantine Antioch becomes an integral part of both Arabic and Byzantine Studies⁵⁴.

Edition and Translation of *Kitāb ar-rawḍa*, Chapter 56

As mentioned above, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s »Book of the Garden« (*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*) is extant in twelve manuscripts. I list them below in the chronological order (indicating, in bold face in brackets, the sigla of those I have consulted):

- 1 Sinai ar. 66 (year 1266), fols 260^r-375^v (breaks off in the middle of chapter 69) [S];
- 2 Sinai ar. 456 (13th century), fols 18^v-60^v (lacks the introduction and is truncated at the very end of chapter 71) [T];
- 3 Vat. ar. 111 (14th century), fols 99^r-160^r (beginning of the introduction missing) [V];
- 4 Sharfeh ar. 8/10 (year 1600), no. 7;
- 5 Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate 269 [old shelfmark 1706] (year 1723), no. 2 (includes chapters 9-53 and 64-71 only);

54 Cf. Treiger, Graeco-Arabica.

55 According to Cheikho’s catalogue, this manuscript »a été transcrit en 1881 sur une copie de la fin du XVIII^e siècle qui se trouve au couvent des Syriens Catholiques à Charfè (Liban)« (Cheikho, Catalogue 234). This information, repeated by both Graf and Nasrallah, is highly questionable. Though the manuscript is clearly a 19th-century one (the copyist and the paper are the same as those of Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 542 and 543, two 19th-century manuscripts of ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s works), the colophon is dated »May 8, 1281 to the Divine Incarnation« (*li-tamān ayyām min šahr iyār sanat alf wa-m’*) *ijaytayn wa-ihdā wa-ṭamānūn (!) li-t-tağassud al-ilāhī*, i.e. 1273 AD, if the so-called Melkite era of the Incarnation is used (see Samir, L’ère). The date »1881« is thus the result of Cheikho’s correcting 1281 to 1881. It would seem, rather, that the 19th-century copyist simply transcribed a 13th-century colophon from his *Vorlage* (as suggested in Bacha/Cheikho, ‘Abdallāh 945) or that he meant the *hiğrī* date (May 8, 1281 AH = 1865 AD). The assumption that this manuscript was copied from the Sharfeh one may also be erroneous and have its origin in the confusion between Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 544 and Buṭrus Effendi Tayyān’s manuscript (on which see n. 61 below), which indeed has similarities to the Sharfeh one (e.g., both begin with the discussion between Master and Disciple).

6 Cairo, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies 116 (year 1755), fols 3^r-83^v / pp V-171 [C];

7 Moscow, State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) 53 (year 1785), pp 2-165;

8 Zaḥla, Heirs of ‘Isā Iskandar al-Ma’lūf 1954 [Nasrallah’s catalogue 1] (year 1799), pp 240-321;

9 Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, B1225 (18th century), fols 1^v-79^r [P];

10 Joun, Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 173 (18th century) pp. 218-289;

11 Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 545 (year 1851) [R];

12 Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 544 (19th century) [Q]⁵⁵.

Two additional manuscripts in private collections are currently inaccessible (and probably lost):

13 Aleppo, Heirs of Greek Catholic priest Dimitri Nasrallah⁵⁶;

14 Beirut, Heirs of Buṭrus Effendi Tayyān (mid-18th century; probably copied from the Sharfeh manuscript)⁵⁷.

The edition offered below is based on the following seven manuscripts: S (fols 356^v-358^r); T (fols 52^v-53^r); V (fols 149^v-150^v); C (fols 70^r-71^v / pp 134-137); P (fols 63^v-65^r); R (fols 72^r-73^v / pp 141-144); Q (fols 70^r-72^r / pp 135-139)⁵⁸. Out of these, both S and T omit the entire »profane« section of the chapter (from Didymus’ saying onwards).

In the apparatus, I have tried to record even the most minute discrepancies between the manuscripts, so as to better establish the relationship between them, thus facilitating a future critical edition of this important work. In the preparation of the edition of chapter 56, it became obvious that (1) the oldest manuscript S has some idiosyncratic readings and is not as reliable as one would expect; (2) V and T are the most reliable witnesses (and T may have been copied from V⁵⁹); and (3) the four late manuscripts CPRQ, all of them of Syrian provenance, share certain mistakes (e.g., they attribute saying no. 9 to »Climacus« rather than Clement) and go back to a single hyparchetype – possibly an old manuscript once kept in the patriarchal library in Damascus (and presumably destroyed in the riots of 1860). When these four manuscripts agree, I refer to them collectively as Σ⁶⁰.

The Greek text (of the recension Maxl, in the manuscript *Vorlage* used by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl) is referenced as [Ψ].

56 Sbath, Fihris 49, no. 375.

57 According to Louis Cheikho’s handwritten note (preserved in Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 544, fol. 0^v), this manuscript was kept »at the nobleman Buṭrus’ residence« (*fi bayt al-wağīh Buṭrus*) in Beirut. It opened with questions and discussions between a Master and a Disciple; *Kitāb ar-rawḍa* occupied the very end of the manuscript (pp 468-511); the order of quotations was somewhat different than in the two other Beirut copies and was somewhat less complete. On another manuscript from Buṭrus Effendi Tayyān’s private collection see Samir, Évangiles 462f. and 518.

58 I have also consulted Cheikho’s edition of this chapter, based on manuscript Q (Cheikho, Chrestomathia 247-249). However, it contains many faulty readings (as a result of the editor using a late and unreliable manuscript as well as tacitly »correcting« the language) and is therefore untrustworthy.

59 See nn 70, 73, and 74 below.

60 It would seem that in a future critical edition, it would be sufficient to use only three manuscripts: S, V, and one of Σ (ideally, one of the 18th-century manuscripts, C and P, which are much superior to the 19th-century ones); the Sharfeh manuscript and the Damascus one may also provide useful readings.

It is virtually identical to the critical Greek text published by Sibylle Ihm. With only a few exceptions, specifically discussed in the apparatus, readings that agree with the critical Greek

text are systematically preferred to those that do not, for the obvious reason that they must reflect the translator's version of the text.

الباب السادس والخمسون: في «اعرف ذاتك»

- 1 قال الانجيل⁶¹: لماذا تبيصر القذى⁶² الذي⁶³ في عين اخيك والخشبية التي⁶⁴ في عينك لا تميز.
- 2 قال الرسول: من انت الذي تدين الغريب الذي هو عبد الله⁶⁵ نهض ام سقط⁶⁶, انه سينهض لان الرب قادر ان ينهضه.
- 3 67 سليمان⁶⁸: امش في طرق⁶⁹ قلبك غير⁷⁰ معيب⁷¹ واعرف ذاتك⁷² وان الله يقودك⁷³ الى الحكم على كل هذه.
- 4 قال سيراخ⁷⁴: تحفظ وتيقظ⁷⁵ جدا فانك تمش مع سقطتك.
- 5 76 باسيليوس: اذا عرفت ذاتك على الواجب فادك ذلك⁷⁷ الى⁷⁸ معرفة الله.
- 6 79 وقال: ليس شي اصعب من معرفة الانسان نفسه وذاته لان العين ليست فقط تنظر الى ما خارجا ولا تستعمل النظر الى ذاتها لكن وعقلنا يرون⁸⁰ بحد⁸¹ الى الجرم⁸² الغريب⁸³ وينبأ⁸⁴ في تعرف⁸⁵ المناقص⁸⁶ الخاصة⁸⁷.
- 7 قال الثالولوجس⁸⁸: اكتشف عن حالك كثيرا دون احوال⁸⁹ القربا⁹⁰ فانت في هذا الرابع⁹¹ واما في ذلك⁹² فاو لايك⁹³.
- 8 قال الذهبي الفم: ذلك الذي يعرف ذاته على التحقيق الذي لا يظن نفسه شيا.
- 9 94 اقليمس⁹⁵: ان اردت ان تعرف الله فتقدم⁹⁶ بمعرفة⁹⁷ ذاتك⁹⁸.

- 10 قال ديديمس: معرفة الانسان انه يجهل دليل على حكمته كما ان علمه بانه قد ظلم دليل على⁹⁹ العدل.
 - 11 قال فيليمين¹⁰⁰: اعرف هذا وهو انك انسان¹⁰¹ وتبقى دائما.
 - 12 102 انتفانوس¹⁰³: ايها الفاضل, ان تكن¹⁰⁴ مايتا فليكن عزمك عزم الاموات.
 - 13 105 ديمستانس¹⁰⁶: على ما ارى ان المستقبل غير ظاهر لكل الناس والاوقات الصغار تصير اسبابا لامور عظام, ولهذه الحال ينبغي ان تقتصد¹⁰⁷ في حسن الحال وتقدم¹⁰⁸ الروية بظهور المستقبل.
 - 14 109 ثاليس¹¹⁰: ما اصعب معرفة الانسان ذاته الا ان¹¹¹ ذلك سعادة لانه يعيش بحسب الطبيعة.
- شرح: انما¹¹² صعب على الانسان ان يعرف ذاته لهذا السبب وهو انه مركب من جزوين متضادين¹¹³ في الكيفية وذلك ان احدهما بسيط والآخر مركب وهذا معقول وذلك محسوس¹¹⁴ وهذا باق لا يزول وذلك فان¹¹⁵ يحول, ولا سبيل الى تعرف هذين على ما ينبغي الا بدرس¹¹⁶ جميع العلوم ولا يوصل الى¹¹⁷ ما لا تراه العيون الا باعظم مشقة. ومن قرا العلوم فقد تفلسف ومن تفلسف فقد عرف الله عز وجل بعض المعرفة ومن عرف¹¹⁹ الباري تقدس اسمه حسب الممكن فهو السعيد. والاشيا¹²⁰ التي تدل على ان الانسان قد علم¹²¹ حسب الطوق هي¹²²

61 S. الانجيل المقدس || VT [ψ] الانجيل

62 RQ. الفذا / T CP الفذا || V S القذى

63 CR. التي || VT PQ S الذي

64 VT. الذي || S S التي

65 S T S. الله || V [ψ] لله

66 T seems to be copied directly from V, where سقط and ام are written close together, as if in one word, and the ق can be mistaken for a ي. Though S agrees with the Greek text, στῆκει ἢ πίπτει, this could be an educated copyist's correction based on the well-known Gospel passage; I am therefore adopting ام سقط as the lectio difficilior.

67 no add. [ψ] V || add. S T S. قال

68 S. سليمان || VT S سليمان

69 S S || S S طرف || V S طرق

70 T. عنو / V sine punctis || S S غير

71 S. مغيب || VT S مغيب

72 R. ذلك || S VT CPQ ذاتك

73 Q. يقودك || S VT CPR [ψ] يقودك

74 P. سيراخ || VT CRQ S سيراخ

75 P. (1) تيقض || VT CRQ S وتيقظ

76 no add. [ψ] V Q || add. S T CPR. قال

77 VT. ذلك || S S ذلك

78 V. على || S T S [ψ] الى

79 This entire saying is omitted in T, as well as in Cheikho's edition.

80 P. يدنوا / Q يرونوا / V يرووا / S يرووا || CR يرو

81 S. بجدة || S V [ψ] بحد

82 S. الحرم / S الحرم || V [ψ] الجرم

83 Though all the manuscripts read الغريب, I am emending it to الغريب, which is 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's standard rendering of ἀλλότριος, as also in saying no. 2 above.

84 R. وتنباطى / V CPQ وتنباطا || S [ψ] وتنباطا

85 S. ذلك وتعرف || S V [ψ] تعرف

86 V. (ante corr.) S المناقص || S S [ψ] المناقص

87 CR. الخاصة || V PQ S الخاصة

88 T. الثالولوجس || S V S الثالولوجس

89 S. (1) احوال || VT احوال

90 no add. [ψ] VT || add. الطبيعية. S (supra lineam) S. This is an old marginal gloss, which goes back to 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's comment in chapter 23 that when the Gospel commands to »love your neighbour as yourself«, the »neighbour« (qarīb) is he who is »close in nature« (al-qarīb fi t-ṭabī'a), i. e., the »universal man« (al-in-sān al-kullī), meaning that one is obligated to love every fellow human being.

91 S. الريح or المريخ || Q الرانج / VT CPR [ψ] الرابع

92 S T S. ذلك || V S ذلك

93 S. فالوليك || VT S فالوليك

94 S T S. قال || add. [ψ] V || add. S T S.

95 S in C it seems that اقليمس was written first, then corrected to اقليمس.

96 VT. فاتقدم || S S فتقدم

97 S S. يعرفان || VT يعرف

98 Both S and T end the chapter here, omitting all the »profane« authors, as well as the saying by Didymus.

99 S. علم || V [ψ] على

100 Q. فليمين || V CPR فيليمين

101 V. انسانا || S انسان

102 no add. [ψ] V || add. S. قال

103 PR / ابيفانوس || (as in the Greek) انتفانوس (sine punctis), to be read as انتفانوس CQ. ابيفانوس

104 V. يكن || S [ψ] تكن

105 S. قال || add. [ψ] V || add. S.

106 P. ديمستانس / Q ديمستانس || V sine punctis ديمستانس

107 S. تقتصد || V تقتصد (the Greek is ambiguous).

108 CR (the Greek is ambiguous). Notice that P has a mixed version: تقتصد ... وتقدم

109 no add. [ψ] V || add. S. قال

110 V. بالنس || S باليس / (as in the Greek) ثاليس Reading

111 P seemingly crosses out the alif.

112 V. انه لما || S انما

113 V صورين متضادين || (etc.) احدهما بسيط والآخر مركب emendation (seems warranted by the reading of V, and the masculine form of what follows: صورتين متضادتين ||

114 V CPR || om. Q. وهذا معقول وذلك محسوس

115 R. فانه || PQ فاني || C V فان

116 Q. يدرس || V CPR بدرس

117 V. || om. S ما

118 V PQ. || om. CR لا

119 P. عرف || V CRQ عرف

120 S. وللاشيا || V والاشيا

121 S. علم باريه || (lectio difficilior) علم

122 V. وهي || CRQ هي

استعمال الفضائل والابتعاد من الرذائل، والسلم. وله معنى اخر غير هذا وهو ظاهر لا يحتاج الى¹²³ اباتة .
 15 كان ايراقطس¹²⁴ شابا وصار¹²⁵ احكم اهل زمانه فانه¹²⁶ علم انه ما يعلم شيا .
 16 سيل¹²⁷ خيلن : ما اصعب الامور؟ فقال: ان¹²⁸ يعرف الانسان ذاته، وهذا نافع في¹²⁹ وعظة¹³⁰ الشامخين الذين يجوزون مقدارهم

17 قال كسانوفن¹³¹: ذاك¹³² يُظنُّ عندي انه لا يعلم قوة نفسه الذي يجهل ذاته وهذا فليس بظاهر للناس وهو انهم يجوزون خيرات جمة لمعرفتهم ذواتهم وشرورا عدة لجهلم اياها . شرح: اللام التي في¹³³ «لمعرفتهم»¹³⁴ و «لجهلم» يسميها افضل النحاة سببية¹³⁵، واللامات على ما ذكر الخليل¹³⁶ ثلاثون¹³⁷ لاما .

Chapter 56: On «Know Thyself» (cf. Greek original in Ps.-Maximus Confessor, Loci communes 809-820)

(1) The Gospel said: «And why do you look at the speck in your brother's eye, but do not distinguish the plank in your own eye?» (Matt. 7:3, Luke 6:41).

(2) The Apostle said: «Who are you to judge a stranger who is a servant of God, whether he stands or falls. Indeed, he will stand, for the Lord is able to make him stand» (cf. Rom. 14:4).

(3) Solomon: «Walk in the ways of your heart without blame, and know yourself and that God will bring you into judgment for all these» (cf. Eccles. 11:9).

(4) Sirach said: «Take heed to yourself, and be very vigilant, for you walk [in danger of] your ruin» (Sir. 13:16).

(5) Basil: «Once you know yourself, of necessity this will lead you to the knowledge of God».

(6) He also said: «There is no more arduous thing for a person than to know himself and his essence, for it is not only the eye that looks at what is outside without attending to look at itself, but our intellect too gazes sharply at another's sin to them collectively¹³⁸ but is slow to apprise itself of its own defects».

(7) [Gregory] the Theologian said: «Expose frequently your own state rather than the state of others, for you are the one to benefit from it, while in the opposite case it is the others who will benefit».

(8) Chrysostom said: «Only one who does not think himself to be of any [worth] truly knows oneself».

(9) Clement: «If you wish to know God, get to know yourself first».

(10) Didymus said: «When a person knows that he is ignorant, this is a sign of his wisdom, just as if he knows that he has wronged [someone], this is a sign of his justice».

(11) Philemon said: «Know this: you are human, and you will remain [human] forever».

(12) Antiphanes: «O you excellent one, since you are mortal, let your resolution be the resolution of the dead».

(13) Demosthenes: «In my opinion, the future is hidden from all the people, and small moments can become an occasion for grievous matters. For this reason, we must be moderate in comfort (*husn al-hāl*) and think in advance about the appearance of the future».

(14) Thales: «How difficult it is for a person to know himself! Yet this is [true] happiness, for [only he who knows himself] lives in accord with nature».

[ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's] Commentary: It is for the following reason that it is difficult for a person to know himself: a person is combined of two qualitatively opposing forms, one of which is simple, and the other composite, one of which is intelligible, and the other sensible, one of which is incorruptible and abides for ever (*bāqin lā yazūl*), while the other is corruptible and passing (*fānin yaḥūl*). There is no other way to properly know these two [components] except through the study of all the sciences. That which eyes do not see cannot be attained except with the greatest difficulty. Whoever has studied the sciences has philosophized (*tafalsafa*). Whoever has philosophized has attained some knowledge of God (*ʿarafa llāha ʿazza wa-ḡalla baʿda l-maʿrifa*). Whoever knows the Creator, hallowed be His name, as far as is possible [to man], is the one who has attained happiness (*fa-huwa s-saʿīd*). The following bears witness to his having attained knowledge of the Creator to the degree that is possible [to man]: that he practices the virtues and abstains from the vices. That's all (*wa-s-salām*). There is another meaning to this [passage], but it is obvious enough and is in no need of clarification.

(15) Heraclitus was a young man, yet he became the wisest of all the people of his age because he recognized that he knew nothing.

(16) Chilon was asked: «What is the most difficult thing?» He answered: «To know oneself». This is useful in instructing the proud, who think too highly (?) of themselves.

123 الى V CPR || om. Q.

124 ايراقطس || ايراقطس V.

125 وكان ار || [ψ] V CRQ.

126 بانه || [ψ] V.

127 سلن || [ψ] V CRQ. (P has both the *hamza* and the two dots underneath).

128 انه || [ψ] V CRQ.

129 في V CPR || om. Q.

130 عظة || V PQ.

131 كسانوفن || V كسانوفن.

132 ذلك || V ذلك.

133 في V Q || om. CPR.

134 معرفتهم || معرفتهم V.

135 سببية || سببية P / سببية CR / سببية V.

136 الخليل || الخليل V PQ.

137 ثلاثين || ثلاثون R / ثلاثون CPQ.

138 The reading should clearly be *ḡurm*, «sin» (= Greek ἀμαρτία), rather than *ḡirm*, «body».

(17) Xenophon said: In my view, if a person does not know himself, he is ignorant of the power of his soul. The following is not apparent to people: that they obtain numerous good things on account of their knowledge of themselves (*li-maʿrifatihim ḡawātihim* < Gr. διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐψεῦσθαι ἑαυτῶν, »on account of being mistaken about themselves«).

[ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s] Commentary: The letter *lām* in *li-maʿrifatihim* and *li-ḡahlihim* is called by the most excellent grammarians »causal« (*sababīya*). Al-Ḥalīl [ibn Aḥmad] mentioned that there are thirty [different usages of] *lām*¹³⁹.

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139 I was unable to locate this statement in al-Ḥalīl’s *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. On the Arabic grammatical tradition’s interpretation of the functions of *lām* see Testen, Parallels. Ibn Hišām (d. 1360) in *Muḡnī l-Labīb* (Leipzig, MS or. 371, fol. 65^v), distinguishes between three major types of *lām*: ʿāmila li-l-ḡarr, ʿāmila li-l-ḡazm, and ḡayr ʿāmila (he argues against the Kūfan grammarians’ view that there is such a thing as *lām ʿāmila li-n-naṣb*). The first type is then subdivided into

twenty-two categories. The second type does not seem to be subdivided (fol. 70^v). The third type is subdivided into seven categories (fol. 72^v). Altogether, we do seem to have exactly thirty categories. See also az-Zaḡḡājī (d. ca. 949), *Kitāb al-lāmāt* and Ibn Fāris (d. 1004), *Kitāb al-lāmāt* – both mentioned and briefly analyzed by Testen.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Greek into Arabic in Byzantine Antioch:
'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's »Book of the Garden« (*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*)

This article focuses on one of the most important – and the least studied – centres of Christian Graeco-Arabic translation activity: the region of Antioch after the Byzantine reconquest of the city in 969. It discusses the most important Antiochene translators: Antonios, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā, Gregory, Kyr Chariton, Yānī ibn ad-Duks, Kyr Christopher ibn ad-Dawbalī (or ad-Duwaylī), and especially 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (all of them Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians or »Melkites«). Subsequently, it focuses on 'Abdallāh ibn Faḍl's still unpublished masterpiece »Book of the Garden« (*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*) – an Arabic translation of the Byzantine »sacro-profane« florilegium *Loci communes* (mis-ascribed to Maximus the Confessor) – as an example of a Graeco-Arabic translation produced in that milieu. The article includes a critical edition and an English translation of chapter 56 of the »Book of the Garden«, entitled »On ›Know Thyself‹«.

Aus dem Griechischen ins Arabische im byzantinischen Antiochien: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's »Buch des Gartens« (*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*)

Dieser Artikel konzentriert sich auf eines der wichtigsten – und am wenigsten erforschten – Zentren christlicher griechisch-arabischer Übersetzungstätigkeit: die Region von Antiochia nach der byzantinischen Rückeroberung der Stadt im Jahr 969. Es werden zunächst die wichtigsten antiochenischen Übersetzer besprochen: Antonios, Ibrahim ibn Yūḥannā, Gregor, Kyr Chariton, Yānī ibn ad-Duks, Kyr Christopher ibn ad-Dawbalī (oder ad-Duwaylī) und besonders 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, die alle arabisch sprechende orthodoxe Christen oder »Melkiten« waren. Anschließend wird das noch unveröffentlichte Meisterwerk 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's »*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*« in den Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung gestellt – eine arabische Übersetzung des byzantinischen »sacro-profanen« Florilegiums *Loci communes* (das fälschlicherweise Maximus Confessor zugeschrieben wird) – als ein herausragendes Beispiel einer griechisch-arabischen Übersetzung, die in diesem Umfeld entstehen konnte. Der Artikel enthält eine kritische Ausgabe und eine englische Übersetzung des Kapitels 56 des »*Kitāb ar-rawḍa*«, das den Titel »Über das ›Erkenne dich selbst‹« trägt.