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Matter Redeemed: Alchemy and Exegesis from Antioch to Constantinople, 11th century

Author
Roberts, Alexandre Mattos

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Matter Redeemed: Alchemy and Exegesis from Antioch to Constantinople, 11th century

by

Alexandre Mattos Roberts

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Committee in charge:

Professor Maria Mavroudi, Chair

Professor Susanna Elm

Professor Asad Ahmed

Professor Michael Cooperson

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines how scholars in eleventh-century Constantinople and Antioch (under Byzantine rule, 969-1084) understood matter and its transformation. It argues that matter, a concept inherited from ancient philosophy, continued to be a fertile and malleable idea-complex endowed with cultural and religious meaning in medieval thought-worlds of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The first three chapters form a case study on the unpublished Arabic translations of late antique Christian texts by the 11th-century Byzantine Orthodox deacon ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl of Antioch (fl. *c.*1052). They proceed by increasing specificity: **chapter 1** surveys Ibn al-Faḍl's Greek-to-Arabic translations; **chapter 2** turns to one of these translations, of a famous and highly influential commentary on the first chapter of the Book of Genesis by Basil of Caesarea (*c.*330–?379), his *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*; and **chapter 3** reads Ibn al-Faḍl's marginalia to his translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*. Together, they provide insight into a culturally Byzantine milieu in which the primary language of communication was Arabic, exploring how intellectuals in that context understood matter, where this understanding came from, and why it resonated in this city at the edge of the empire.

A second case study, on Byzantine alchemy, is the subject of **chapter 4**, which focuses on the earliest extant Greek alchemical manuscript (10th/11th century). It argues that this manuscript can be a rich source not only for ancient alchemy but also for its Byzantine reception and appreciation. Just as translation reshapes and repackages an ancient work for new contexts, so too this manuscript's transmission and compilation sheds light on how alchemical texts ranging in date from late antiquity (and perhaps earlier) to the ninth century (and perhaps later) were read, understood, and repurposed in the middle Byzantine period in the empire's capital.

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The chance to study I owe to my parents. For her perspicacity and perspective, especially great is my gratitude to Maya.

Introduction

The nature of the material world and its potential to be transformed were of great religious, philosophical and scientific importance in Byzantium and the Middle East. This dissertation examines how scholars in Constantinople and Antioch (under Byzantine rule, 969–1084) grappled with theories about matter and its transformation.

Discourse on matter extends far into Greek antiquity,[1] and the medieval Mediterranean and Middle East inherited that tradition. But authors writing in Greek, Syriac, Arabic and other languages were not mere glossators or imitators of their predecessors. They wrote about matter for their own purposes. Their work was affected by a wide range of doctrinal positions, Jewish, Christian, Muslim, or other, whose details were often up for negotiation and renegotiation — though usually in the name of tradition.

Their activities took place at a time of momentous political and social change. The Arab conquests of the seventh century had taken away a significant portion of the Eastern Roman (i.e., Byzantine) empire, and some of its most productive provinces in North Africa, Egypt, and Syria. In the eighth century, a reorganized Byzantine military and administrative system (and accidents of human geography)[2] preserved the Byzantine state even as the Sasanian empire collapsed. Limited datable evidence survives from the eighth century, which has usually been seen as a 'dark age' (brought on, in older narratives, by Iconoclasm, an important political and religious controversy of the eighth and first half of the ninth century, although it is still an open question how much this view is due to the propaganda of the anti-Iconoclast parties who won out in 843 and wished to portray Iconoclast emperors as having a detrimental effect on all aspects of life, including learning).[3] Byzantine armies began to campaign successfully against external powers in the ninth and early tenth century. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Byzantine military expansion continued, as the empire gained the upper hand against Muslim rulers to the east and Bulgarians kings to the west. This was especially the case during the reigns of Nikephoros II Phokas

[1] Ernan McMullin, *The Concept of Matter in Greek and Medieval philosophy* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), esp. 1–123; A.A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics*, 2nd ed. (1974; Berkeley: UC Press, 1986), esp. 2.*iv–v*, 4.IV.*ii–iii*; Richard Sorabji, *Matter, Space and Motion: Theories in Antiquity and Their Sequel* (London: Duckworth, 1988); Cristina Viano, ed., *L'alchimie et ses racines philosophiques: la tradition grecque et la tradition arabe*, Histoire des doctrines de l'Antiquité classique 32 (Paris: Vrin, 2005), esp. part I.

[2] Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism* (Cambridge UP, 2012), 1–2.

[3] Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680–850): the sources. An annotated survey* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era,* c.*680–850: a history* (Cambridge UP, 2011). On the possibility and extent of continuity in Byzantine education, see Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X^e siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1971), ch. 4; and Ihor Ševčenko, review of ibid., *AHR* 79, no. 5 (1974), 1531–5. See also Warren Treadgold, "The Revival of Byzantine Learning and the Revival of the Byzantine State," *AHR* 84, no. 5 (1979): 1245–1266.

(963–9), John I Tzimiskes (969–76), and Basil II (976–1025). In this era, territories in Southern Italy, the Balkans, the Mediterranean islands (most notably Crete, conquered by an army led by Nikephoros Phokas in 961), Northern Syria and Mesopotamia fell again under Byzantine control (most significantly Antioch-on-the-Orontes, which remained in Byzantine hands from 969 to 1084).[4] With this military expansion came economic expansion: after a period of Byzantine economic contraction in the late sixth and seventh century, the ninth and tenth centuries saw a recovery, followed by accelerated economic expansion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[5]

From the mid-tenth to the early eleventh century, in this context of growing wealth and imperial expansion, there is increased evidence of attention to classical and late antique texts and the cultivation of Attic Greek style. For its classicizing taste, this cultural movement is often referred to as a 'renaissance': the 'Macedonian Renaissance,' named for the ruling dynasty whose founder (Basil I, r. 867–886) hailed from Macedonia. Perhaps its most salient feature — and certainly the feature which has received most attention — was what Paul Lemerle dubbed 'encyclopedism': that is, the effort to systematize and arrange knowledge about administration, literature, history, law, hagiography, and other subjects.[6] Central to this "first Byzantine humanism" was the scholar-emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (nominally r. 913–959, actually only after 944), along with the works transmitted under his name on administration, court ceremonial, and history.[7]

This collecting and assimilating activity is part of what set the stage for the eleventh-century Byzantine engagement with a wide range of Byzantium's cultural heritage — what Lemerle called "the second Byzantine humanism."[8] The bureaucrat, imperial counsellor, and philosopher Michael Psellos (d. 1078 or afterwards),[9] his acquaintances, and his pupils loom large in this narrative of secular culture, and they have been seen to represent a mid-eleventh-century era in which there were opportunities for middling-elite men to rise, largely through education, to bureaucratic, ecclesiastical and imperial advisory positions, to form a "government of philosophers."[10] Much work on individual authors as well as prosopographical studies are needed before we can have a full appreciation of the social changes wrought by the wealth of empire and the business of administering new provinces and their effect on intellectual activities.[11] Part of this picture must also include the role of monasteries, whether in the environs of Antioch, on Mount Athos, in

[4]For a detailed narrative, see George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1957), §3–4. See also Alexander Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, 2 vols., in collaboration with Lee F. Sherry, Christine Angelidi (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation Institute for Byzantine Research, 1999–2006), vol. 2, pp. 1–5.

[5]Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (Cambridge UP, 1989); Angeliki E. Laiou and Cécile Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge UP, 2007).

[6]Lemerle, *Premier*, ch. 10; see also Ševčenko, review of ibid.; and Kazhdan, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan et al. (Oxford UP, 2005), s.v. "Encyclopedism" (hereafter cited as *ODB*).

[7]Along with Lemerle, see Alexander Kazhdan and Anthony Cutler, ibid., s.v. "Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos." For the historical works, see Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographiae quae Theophanis continuati nomine fertur liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur*, ed. and trans. Ihor Ševčenko (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2011), the critical edition of the *Vita Basilii*, an encomiastic account of Basil I's life and reign written on behalf of Constantine VII to glorify his dynasty; see in particular the Introduction by Cyril Mango, pp. 3*–13* (the work's authorship by a "ghost-writer," as Ševčenko argued, is discussed on p. 13*).

[8]Lemerle, *Premier*, 305.

[9]On the date of Psellos's death, see Stratis Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos: rhetoric and authorship in Byzantium* (Cambridge UP, 2013), 13 n. 26.

[10]Ostrogorsky, *History*, 289–91; Paul Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977), study IV: "'Le gouvernement des philosophes': l'enseignement, les écoles, la culture."

[11]Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 9 (Paris: Sorbonne,

other provincial settings, or in Constantinople itself, such as the powerful Stoudios Monastery, in fostering new generations of scholars.[12]

In their new eastern territories, Byzantine administrators encountered Byzantine-Orthodox but also Syrian and Armenian Miaphysite Christians (local and new immigrants), Muslims, and others.[13] This burst of encounters in the late tenth and early eleventh century invites us to consider the intellectuals who found themselves in new contexts. Important cities like Antioch passed into the hands of new masters determined to change the status quo, and scholars took advantage of changes by traveling to the centers of nascent power and patronage. Even without changing hands, Constantinople was transformed by the influx of peoples, wealth and ideas which came with military success in southern Italy, the Balkans, northern Syria and Mesopotamia, and strategic maritime possessions like Crete. Prayers were said for the Fatimid caliph (at least at times in the late tenth and early eleventh century) in Constantinople's mosque.[14] How did intellectuals react to these new contexts? What did they do with the texts and peers who came their way?

This dissertation investigates a portion of this Eastern Mediterranean world from the point of view of one idea-complex inherited from antiquity: matter. It focuses on two cities within the Byzantine empire, Antioch-on-the-Orontes (in Syria, present-day Turkey) and Constantinople. Within these two cities, it concentrates on a single author (chapters 1–3) and a single manuscript (chapter 4), respectively. Nevertheless, its implicit scope is wider, for it seeks to challenge the notion that by the tenth and eleventh century, Byzantium and the Middle East were worlds apart, whose diplomatic ties and translations of texts were exceptions to a rule of isolation. In doing so this dissertation is intended to contribute to a growing body of research on ideas and intellectuals moving in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East.[15]

1990); Catherine Holmes, *Basil II and the governance of Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005).

[12]For example, the Stoudite Niketas Stethatos played no small role in Byzantine culture of his day, a role which has yet to be worked out in any sort of comprehensive way. For an example, see Frederick Lauritzen, "Psello discepolo di Stetato," *BZ* 101, no. 2 (2008): 715–25.

[13]Gilbert Dagron, "Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantin à la fin du Xe et au XIe siècles: l'immigration syrienne," *TM* 6 (1976): 177–216; Gérard Dédéyan, "L'immigration armenienne en Cappadoce au XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 45 (1975): 41–117; Nina G. Garsoïan, "The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire," in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 53–124.

[14]Stephen W. Reinert, "The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations," in Ahrweiler and Laiou, *Studies on the Internal Diaspora*, 136–140. On the buildings in Constantinople used by Muslims for prayer and their ideological importance, see Glaire D. Anderson, "Islamic spaces and diplomacy in Constantinople (tenth to thirteenth centuries C.E.)," *Medieval Encounters* 15, no. 1 (2009): 86–113, where Reinert's article is referenced.

[15]The Greek-Arabic translation movement of the 8th- to 10th-century Baghdad is well known: Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: the Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ʿAbbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998). But other patterns of intellectual exchange, contact, and overlap have been studied recently as well; see for example Hélène Condylis-Bassoukos, *Stéphanitès kai Ichnélatès, traduction grecque (XIe siècle) du livre Kalīla wa-Dimna d'Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (VIIIe siècle): Étude lexicologique et littéraire* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997); Maria Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: the Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); "Greek Language and Education under Early Islam," in *Islamic Cultures, Islamic Contexts: Essays in Honor of Professor Patricia Crone*, ed. Behnam Sadeghi et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2014); "Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages: Searching for the Classical Tradition," *Speculum* 90, no. 1 (2015): 28–59. For Syriac-speaking intellectuals, see Jack Tannous, "Syria between Byzantium and Islam: Making Incommensurables Speak" (PhD, Princeton, 2010).

Matter's history

I will not attempt here to do justice to the long and complex history of how the term 'matter' (ὕλη, *hayūlā*, *mādda*) was understood in ancient and late antique philosophy.[16] Instead I offer here only a few remarks to orient a reader unfamiliar with the subject.

In the Greek tradition, 'matter' typically refers to the underlying substrate in which shapes inhere, the 'stuff' out of which visible objects are sculpted.[17] If visible objects embody a shape, how do they relate to the abstracted, 'immaterial' shapes we can imagine in our minds? Isn't the circle I imagine more truly a circle than any circle I may trace out on a piece of paper, however excellent my protractor? Plato proposed that such 'forms' (εἴδη) exist independently of visible objects and are of a higher ontological status: the forms are more truly real than the objects we see with our eyes.[18] Aristotle developed the concept of 'matter' (ὕλη) in part as a way of articulating how such 'forms' or 'shapes' subsist, persist, and change in the visible world. For Aristotle, matter is a relative concept: everything can be matter to something else. By contrast Plato's 'receptacle' (ὑποδοχή), identified by Aristotle and the later tradition with matter or space, contains all forms.[19] It is not clear, however, that Plato's ontology included any concept corresponding to Aristotle's (or anyone else's) 'matter.'[20] Hellenistic philosophers (Stoics, Epicureans, Skeptics) used the term but often combined it with an atomism foreign to Aristotle's system.

Late antique Platonists made much of the distinction between matter and the immaterial. For example, Plotinos (d. 270 CE),[21] sought to incorporate it into his theory of a hierarchy of Intellects who mediate between the One and the visible world. He even went so far as to argue for a substrate of intelligible objects (II.4.2–5), 'intelligible matter' (νοητικὴ ὕλη), a concept he later abandoned.[22] Late antique philosophers in these later traditions synthesized Aristotle's and Plato's diverging notions, as Haas puts it, into "a unique and formless prime matter" (πρώτη ὕλη).[23]

These notions of matter were foundational to fourth- and fifth-century Christian thinkers such

[16]Important accounts of this history include Clemens Bäumker, *Das Problem der Materie in der griechischen Philosophie: eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1890); Dietrich Joachim Schulz, *Das Problem der Materie in Platons «Timaios»*, Abhandlungen zur Philosophie, Psychologie und Pädagogik 31 (Bonn: H. Bouvier & Co., 1966); Heinz Happ, *Hyle: Studien zum aristotelischen Materie-Begriff* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971); Sorabji, *MSM*.

[17]For a concise overview of ancient and late antique concepts of matter, see Frans A.J. de Haas, *John Philoponus' New Definition of Prime Matter: Aspects of Its Background in Neoplatonism and the Ancient Commentary Tradition*, Philosophia antiqua 69 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), introduction.

[18]See the entries in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* on Aristotle (http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle/) and Plato (http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/plato/), accessed 11 March 2015.

[19]In this I follow Haas's formulation: Haas, *John Philoponus' New Definition*, xi. See Perdikouri's discussion: Eleni Perdikouri, *Plotin. Traité 12: II, 4. Introduction, traduction, commentaires et notes* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2014), 33–37.

[20]Schulz argues that we should not assume that Plato must have had *some* concept of 'matter,' for example by asking whether Plato means 'space' or 'matter' when he says ὑποδοχή: Schulz, *Das Problem der Materie*, 13.

[21]*SEP*, s.v. "Plotinus" (http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/plotinus/), accessed 12 March 2015. For Plotinos in Arabic, see F. Dieterici, ed. and trans., *Die sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles* (Leipzig, 1883); Plotinos, *Iflūṭīn ʿind al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍa al-ʿArabīya, 1966); Fritz W. Zimmermann, "The Origins of the so-called Theology of Aristotle," in *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages: The Theology and Other Texts*, ed. Jill Kraye, W.F. Ryan, and C.B. Schmitt (London: Warburg Institute, 1986), discussed in Everett K. Rowson, "The Theology of Aristotle and Some Other Pseudo-Aristotelian Texts Reconsidered," *JAOS* 112, no. 3 (1992): 478–484; Peter Adamson, *The Arabic Plotinus: a philosophical study of the Theology of Aristotle* (London: Duckworth, 2002)

[22]See Perdikouri, *Plotin: Traité 12*, 29–33, and her commentary *ad locum*.

[23]Haas, *John Philoponus' New Definition*, xii.

as Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzos, John Chrysostom. In turn, their writings were to become the basis of the medieval (and modern) articulation of Christianity's salvific promise.[24]

The early Church Fathers did not have the last word on matter and the immaterial. Pagan and Christian Platonists and commentators on Aristotle continued the tradition of investigating this binary. This tradition shaped the highly influential late fifth-/early sixth-century works circulating under the name of Dionysios the Areopagite, a contemporary and disciple of the Christian apostle Paul.[25] This Dionysian Corpus lent authority to a Platonic conception of the Christian universe and the place of humankind within it. The contrast between material and immaterial plays an important role throughout. The Dionysian Corpus was influential in the Byzantine world[26] and was translated into Syriac in the sixth century[27] and into Arabic at the beginning of the eleventh.[28]

Debates surrounding matter persisted. John Philoponos (d. *c.*570), a Christian Platonist of Alexandria, sought to refute pagan Platonists' doctrine of matter's eternality, for they believed that matter had always existed, with no beginning. (Christians typically stressed that God created the world "in the beginning" not by fashioning and giving order to a pre-existing matter but by creating the matter itself from nothing.) Philoponos demonstrated the incompatibility of pagan proofs in favor of the world's eternality with Aristotle's notion of infinity (which Philoponos and his pagan interlocutors both accepted).[29]

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[24]For the shared intellectual universe of major and politically important fourth-century Christian and pagan thinkers, see Susanna Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2012).

[25]ps.-Dionysios the Areopagite, *Corpus Dionysiacum I. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, De divinis nominibus*, ed. Beate Regina Suchla, Patristische Texte und Studien 33 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990) (hereafter cited as Corp.Dion. I); ps.-Dionysios the Areopagite, *Corpus Dionysiacum II. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae*, 2nd ed., ed. Günter Heil and Adolf Martin Ritter, Patristische Texte und Studien 67 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012) (hereafter cited as Corp.Dion. II).

[26]e.g., Theodoros Alexopoulos, "Areopagitic influence and neoplatonic (Plotinian) echoes in Photius' Amphilochia: question 180," *BZ* 107, no. 1 (2014): 1–36. See also chapter 1, p. 11, n. 3.

[27]A Syriac translation of the Corpus Dionysiacum was produced in the 6th century by the Miaphysite priest Sergius of Reshaina (Reš ʿAynā; Raʾs al-ʿAyn; Theodosiopolis); Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn: Marcus & Webers Verlag, 1922), 168 (§26c). For Reshaina, see *The Syriac Gazateer*, http://syriaca.org/place/172, accessed 9 March 2015.

[28]The entire Dionysian Corpus was translated into Arabic *from the original Greek* in Damascus at the beginning of the 11th century, in 1009, by one Ibn Saḥqūq [or Ibn Saḥqūn, as Treiger has recently noted as the correct form of the name: Alexander Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3 (2015): 193, n. 21], at the behest of the physician Ibn al-Yabrūdī, a Jacobite; other translations of some of the texts within the corpus exist as well: Alexander Treiger, "New Evidence on the Arabic Versions of the Corpus Dionysiacum," *Le Muséon* 118 (2005): 219–240. This Arabic translation has been partially edited: Alexander Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *Mystical Theology*, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," *Le Muséon* 120 (2007): 365–393; Cécile Bonmariage and Sébastien Moureau, "*Corpus Dionysiacum Arabicum*: Étude, édition critique et traduction des *Noms Divins* IV, §1–9. Partie I," *Le Muséon* 124, nos. 1–2 (2011): 181–227; and "…Partie II," *Le Muséon* 124, nos. 3–4 (2011): 419–459. I thank Maria Mavroudi for bringing to my attention Treiger's work on the Arabic Dionysian Corpus, now cited (along with Bonmariage and Moureau's partial edition) in Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek," 50 n. 103.

[29]Richard Sorabji, "Infinity and the Creation," in *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, 2nd ed., ed. Richard Sorabji (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2010), 207–220; *SEP* s.v. "John Philoponus," http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/philoponus/ (accessed 11 March 2015).

Concepts of matter and the immaterial — and not only Peripatetic and Platonic ones[30] — were at the basis of pagan, Jewish, Christian, and eventually Muslim notions of transcendence and approaching the divine.[31] Even long after the late antique networks of elite, philosophical, charismatic paganism in places like Rome, Alexandria, Apameia, Asia Minor, and Athens had vanished,[32] Christian (and other monotheistic) concerns about these debates remained. Monastic practice early on emphasized not only the withdrawal from social ties but also the reorientation of the soul away from things of the material world, training it instead on the eternal immaterial world 'above,' where the saints dwelt with Christ and the Mother of God. The flesh of the human body became a dead weight, chaining the soul to matter. Plotinos had left the distinct impression of not being quite at home in his own skin.[33] Following the advice of Saint Paul, Christian ascetics aimed to "deaden" their bodies.[34] Yet Christian thinkers were also aware of the tension between the transcendence of the material world and the Scriptural fact of *bodily* resurrection.[35] This meant that, in parallel to the rejection of the material world, there was an effort to transform part of it, the human body, to redeem it, to make it, somehow, divine.[36]

Historiography

This dissertation's two case studies are chosen from two disciplinary domains ('religion' and 'science') and two parts of the empire (Antioch, a city on the eastern edge of the empire, and Constantinople, the Byzantine capital). This places it in dialogue with several overlapping (but in practice often separately pursued) fields of modern scholarship.

Christian Arabic literature

The first case study focuses on the Arabic translations of late antique Christian texts by the eleventh-century Byzantine Orthodox Christian deacon ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl of Antioch (fl. *c.*1052),

[30]For example, the Stoic concept of 'sympathy' exerted an important influence as well: Katerina Ierodiakonou, "The Greek Concept of *Sympatheia* and Its Byzantine Appropriation in Michael Psellos," in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva: La pomme d'or, 2006), 97–117.

[31]Medieval Byzantine and Middle Eastern understandings of the material world drew heavily upon ancient currents of thought. One difficulty this causes is that the same notions can be given entirely different packaging, thus obscuring their similarities and interrelation. On the other hand, texts which aim to portray themselves as very traditional may actually be quite novel. It is thus no easy task to situate a given text vis-à-vis ancient cultural traditions, even when it is obvious that they do relate to one or more such tradition *somehow*.

[32]Garth Fowden, "The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society," *JHS* 102 (1982): 33–59; Edward Jay Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (UC Press, 2006); Edward Jay Watts, *Riot in Alexandria: Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Pagan and Christian Communities* (UC Press, 2010).

[33]Porphyry, *Life of Plotinos*, 1.

[34]"Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry" (Colossians 3:5, KJV).

[35]e.g., 1 Cor 15:12–54. Cf. *ODB*, s.v. "Resurrection."

[36]Christ's Transfiguration at Mount Tabor, for example, served as a textual locus for discussing the 'deification' of human flesh in the Greek tradition beginning around the 8th century: John Anthony McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), 117–119. This is not to say that the tension between rejecting the material world and seeking to transform part of it (the body) was entirely new with Christianity; on the contrary, this tension is already present in Plato's works (see John M. Dillon, "Rejecting the Body, Refining the Body: Some Remarks on the Development of Platonist Asceticism," in *Asceticism*, ed. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis [Oxford UP, 1995]). The doctrine of bodily resurrection ensured the persistence of this tension, adding urgency to the resolution of ascetic ambivalence.

in particular his translation of Basil of Caesarea's highly influential homilies on the six-day Genesis creation narrative.[37] This places it within Arab-Christian Studies, a field of scholarship focused primarily on the church history and doctrine of Arabic-speaking Christians, part of a broader project to understand the literary heritage of 'Oriental Christians.'

Scholars of Christian authors writing in Arabic are particularly indebted to two multi-volume works. The first is Georg Graf's (1875–1955) *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (History of Christian-Arabic Literature).[38] In five volumes, Graf surveys authors from around the eighth to the nineteenth century. He lists their original works, Arabic translations of Christian texts (including anonymous translations), and the manuscripts containing these texts. Founded upon the efforts of manuscript cataloguers (Graf himself produced catalogues of manuscripts in Middle Eastern collections), this reference work remains an invaluable resource.[39] Graf, a Catholic priest from Swabia,[40] intended his approach to the Christian communities of the Middle East to be above all objective.[41] The second work is Joseph Nasrallah's (1911–1993) *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle* (History of the Literary Movement in the Melkite Church from the 5th to the 20th Century).[42] Whereas Graf's work had included Chalcedonian, Miaphysite, 'Nestorian,' and Maronite authors (of whom the last disagreed with Byzantine Christians in the middle ages over the question of Christ's will, or wills) writing in Arabic, Nasrallah — a Melkite-Catholic priest from Syria[43] — limited himself to Arabic-speaking Chalcedonian Christians ('Melkites'). The project's chronological scope made it extremely ambitious, and life's brevity prevented him from completing it. With the help of Rachid Haddad and other colleagues,

[37]Throughout, I spell the Arabic name عبدالله as ʿAbdallāh, as is conventional in modern studies of Christian Arabic literature; likewise, I write 'ibn' (not 'b.') for both بن and ابن.

[38]Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols., Studi e Testi, 118, 133, 146, 147, 172 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1953). For a concise assessment of this work, Graf's contribution, and a list of Graf's works, see Samir Khalil Samir, "Georg Graf (1875-1955), sa bibliographie et son rôle dans le renouveau des études arabes chrétiennes," *Oriens Christianus* 84 (2000): 77–100.

[39]Georg Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, Studi e Testi 63 (Vatican City, 1934). His "Katalog christlich-arabischer Handschriften in Jerusalem" (= KCAHJ) was published in *Oriens Christianus*, n.s., vols. 4–8: part I: 4 (1914) 88–120, 312–338; II: 5 (1915) 132–6; III.[1]: 5 (1915) 293–314; III.[2]: 6 (1916) 126–47, 317–22; III.[3]: 7–8 (1918) 133–146.

[40]An account of his life can be found in Hubert Kaufhold, "Georg Graf – schwäbische Heimat und Christlicher Orient," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen an der Donau* 107 (2006): 63–88. Kaufhold first delivered this paper as a lecture in Dillingen (a town over from Donaualtheim) on the fiftieth anniversary of Graf's death; his focus is accordingly on Graf's local roots. See also Samir, "Georg Graf."

[41]In his inaugural lecture at the University of Munich he began by announcing that "the purpose and type of my lectures will be neither polemic nor propaganda, neither polemic against the divided churches, nor propaganda in the sense of active uniting and working for Union; the aim of my presentation is rather to be: purely scientific, objective description of historical and literary facts" — quoted by Kaufhold, "Georg Graf – schwäbische Heimat und Christlicher Orient," 88: "Mit Nachdruck möchte ich aber zum Vorhinein festgestellt haben (und ich lege darauf besonderes Gewicht), daß der Zweck und die Art meiner Vorlesungen weder Polemik noch Propaganda sein werden, weder Polemik gegen die getrennten Kirchen, noch Propaganda im Sinne der für die Union tätigen Vereinigungen und Werke, das Ziel meiner Darbietungen soll vielmehr sein: rein wissenschaftliche objektive Darstellung der geschichtlichen und literarischen Tatsachen."

[42]Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle* (Louvain: Peeters, 1979–1996).

[43]Brief accounts of Nasrallah's life and work can be found in Pierre Canivet and Rachid Haddad, "Nécrologie: Joseph Nasrallah," *Syria* 72, nos. 1–2 (1995): 267–269; and Pierre Canivet, "Monseigneur Joseph Nasrallah. Sa vie – son œuvre," in *Mémorial Monseigneur Joseph Nasrallah*, ed. Pierre Canivet and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais (Damascus: Institut Français du Proche-Orient, 2006), 1–4.

he assembled the materials for volume II.1, published posthumously.[44] His dossier of notes for volume I, on the pre-Islamic period, has not been published, to my knowledge. The result is a history in three 'volumes' (II, III, and IV) each bound in two separate parts, together covering the period 634–1800.[45] Nasrallah saw his multi-volume history as a project to tell the story of his own Catholic-Melkite church — a history which included the medieval Byzantine-Orthodox.[46]

Building off of these foundations, scholars of Christian Arabic have made progress in editing and studying 'theological,' dogmatic, polemical, hagiographical, and other texts.[47] Historians of philosophy in Arabic have noted the many contributions of Christians in philosophical circles. Still, the relationship between their philosophical and dogmatic concerns has in many cases remained less understood.[48] This is partly due to the lack of study of some of the most significant signs of Christian engagement, in Arabic, with a corpus of late antique Christian texts which demonstrate deep engagement with the ancient philosophical heritage: Greek patristics.[49]

In the case of Ibn al-Faḍl, the Christian-Arab author studied in this dissertation, we know that he engaged with and quoted philosophical works, from Plato and Aristotle to Galen, Proklos and Philoponos.[50] We have also long known that he translated many patristic (and hence 'religious') works into Arabic. But what do these activities have to do with one another? Recent work on his theological treatises by Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger has shown that he was a sophisticated thinker who put his understanding of philosophical concepts to work in his approach to writing about God.[51] One of the aims of this dissertation is to further investigate how

[44]See Canivet, "Monseigneur Joseph Nasrallah," 4.

[45]In addition to the pre-Islamic period, Nasrallah had also intended to publish a third part to volume IV, which would have carried the narrative up to the twentieth century; see Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. IV.1, p. 6.

[46]Canivet and Haddad, "Nécrologie: Joseph Nasrallah"; Canivet, "Monseigneur Joseph Nasrallah."

[47]See David Thomas and Alex Mallett, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations: a Bibliographical History* (Leiden: Brill, 2009–); Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, eds., *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700: An Anthology of Sources* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois UP, 2014), 339–349 ("A Bibliographical Guide to Arab Orthodox Christianity"); Alexander Treiger, "A Unified Bibliography on Christian Arabic (2000–2012)" (September 2012), https://www.academia.edu/1971015/A_Unified_Bibliography_on_Christian_Arabic_2000-2012_.

[48]To the extent that they are philosophically-minded, these Christians are usually treated as 'Islamicate' — belonging to the cultural and intellectual, if not the religious, traditions of the elite Muslim rulers of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, etc. But can we really believe that contacts with speakers of Greek, Georgian, Armenian, and Syriac marginal to their philosophical preoccupations even while they were central to their ecclesiastical and dogmatic preoccupations? To put it another way, did elite 'Islamicate' Christians operate in two separate, parallel worlds, one Muslim-philosophical, the other Christian-'theological'?

[49]For the neglect of Greek-to-Arabic translation of patristic texts, and a proposal for how to proceed, see Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica." This article became available too late for me to incorporate its insights into chapters 1–3 of this dissertation.

[50]Floris Sepmeijer, "The Book of Splendor of the Believer by ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Faḍl," *Parole de l'Orient* 16 (1990–1): 115–120; Marwan Rashed, "The Problem of the Composition of the Heavens (529–1610): a new fragment of Philoponus and its readers," in *Philosophy, Science and Exegesis in Greek, Arabic and Latin Commentaries*, 2 vols. (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2004), 2:35–58; Rita Rached, "Les notions de rûh (esprit) et de nafs (âme) chez ʿAbd Allâh Ibn al-Fadl al-Hakîm al-Antakî, théologien melchite du XIe siècle," in *L'Orient chrétien dans l'Empire musulman: Hommage au professeur Gérard Troupeau*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Urvoy and Geneviève Gobillot (Versailles: Éditions de Paris, 2005), 165–197; Elvira Wakelnig, "The Other Arabic Version of Proclus' *De Aeternitate mundi*. The Surviving First Eight Arguments," *Oriens* 40 (2012): 51–95; Elvira Wakelnig, "Al-Anṭākī's use of the lost Arabic version of Philoponus' *Contra Proclum*," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 23, no. 2 (2013): 291–317.

[51]Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his Discourse on the Holy Trinity," *Le Muséon* 124 (2011): 371–417; Samuel Noble, "The Doctrine of God's Unity according to ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," *Parole de l'Orient* 37 (2012): 291–301.

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation activities related to his interest in philosophy, and how he drew on both Arabic-language discourse and the *contemporary* Byzantine tradition to produce and comment on his translations.[52]

In his proposal for a project to update the information but also the scholarly conceit of Graf's *Geschichte*, Samir Khalil Samir articulated the need for holistic approaches to Christian authors writing in Arabic:

> it is known that medieval thought is global, and that science was not compartmentalized as is the case today. How then to present the 'Christian' work of a Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, or a Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, [...] without examining and presenting the ensemble of his work, including medical, scientific or philosophical? It is necessary, when one studies one of these Arabic Christian authors, to study him in his totality. Not because there is an Arabic 'Christian' medicine or mathematics, but because a given author and even a given theological work cannot be truly understood without recourse to the author's other works, those which we call 'profane.' [...][53]

My first case study is not a comprehensive examination of Ibn al-Faḍl's work by any means, but I intend it as a contribution to the project of understanding medieval thinkers in their full cultural and intellectual context. Even an author like Ibn al-Faḍl who did not, as far as we know, write works of medicine or mathematics, can only be understood with reference to the 'profane.'

Byzantine alchemy

The second case study of this dissertation is the earliest extant Greek alchemical manuscript, *Marcianus graecus* 299 (10th/11th century). This offers a window onto 11th-century Byzantine intellectual concerns that has been almost entirely neglected by modern scholars of Greek alchemy, concerned with *ancient* science, but also by Byzantinists, who have only recently begun to study *science*.[54] This case study seeks to open up discussion of the *Marcianus* as evidence of *middle*

[52]Noble has shown that Ibn al-Faḍl often "engaged with the thought of various Christian theologians writing in Arabic, most often Nestorians or Jacobites": ibid., 299. Noble suggests that this might lead us to reconsider the view "that the movement of translating the Greek patristic heritage into Arabic which took place in Antioch in the tenth and eleventh centuries was to some degree intended as an intellectual integration of Melkite Christians into the mainstream of Orthodox Christian discourse in the Byzantine Empire parallel to their political integration after the reconquest." On the other hand, Greek-speaking Byzantines themselves were not averse to drawing on the theology of non-Chalcedonian Arabic authors, as when the Byzantine Patriarch of Constantinople Michael Keroularios asked the 'Nestorian' Christian Ibn Buṭlān to write a treatise on the Eucharist while the latter was in Constantinople in 1054 (for which see Maria Mavroudi, "Licit and Illicit Divination: Empress Zoe and the Icon of Christ Antiphonetes," in *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean-Michel Spieser and Veronique Dasen, Micrologus' Library 60 [Florence, 2014]; I am grateful to Maria Mavroudi for sharing this article with me long before it was published; now see also Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek," 51).

[53]Samir, "Georg Graf," 81: "Graf a volontairement laissé de côté la littérature profane des chrétiens, pour de justes motifs. / Mais l'on sait que la pensée médiévale est globale, et que la science n'était pas compartimentée, comme c'est le cas de nos jours. Comment donc presenter l'œuvre «chrétienne» d'un Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥâq, ou d'un Qusṭâ Ibn Lûqâ, ou d'un Yaḥyâ Ibn 'Adī, ou d'un 'Abdallâh Ibn al-Ṭayyib ou d'un Elie de Nisibe, etc., sans examiner et présenter l'ensemble de son œuvre, y compris celle médicale, scientifique ou philosophique? / Il faut nécessairement, quand on étudie un de ces auteurs arabes chrétiens, l'étudier dans sa totalité. Non parce qu'il existe une médecine ou une mathématique arabe «chrétienne», mais parce que tel penseur et même telle œuvre théologique ne se comprend vraiment qu'en ayant recours aux autres œuvres de cet auteur, celles que nous appelons «profanes». Peut-on étudier sérieusement un auteur de la Nahḍah abbasside (ou celle du XIXe siècle) sans examiner toute sa pensee?"

[54]Magdalino and Mavroudi, *Occult Sciences*.

Byzantine interest in alchemy.[55] The specific historiography of alchemy — including the towering figure of the French chemist, politician, and historian of alchemy Marcelin Berthelot (d. 1907)[56] — will be mentioned in chapter 4. That chapter seeks to situate alchemy within the wider world of eleventh-century Byzantine culture.

Chapters 1–3 study an Arabic-speaking Christian deacon, translator, and author working on the periphery of the Byzantine empire. Chapter 4 studies a Byzantine alchemical book. In both cases, the driving question is why authors and readers cared about the theories about matter. My approach throughout owes much to the recent work on commentaries and glosses in post-classical Islamic philosophy which has shown the richness of pre-modern commentaries as a source not only for the history of ideas but also intellectual culture. For among Christians of Byzantium and the Near East too, communities of scholars in teacher-student relationships wrote commentaries in dialogue with a whole range of texts not explicitly cited. By examining this intertextuality we can begin to understand the processes by which old ideas were repurposed and new positions articulated.[57]

[55] I envision this as a first step towards contextualizing Byzantine alchemy within the contemporary Byzantine and Arabic physics traditions (Peripatetic and otherwise) and Arabic alchemy. On Byzantine philosophy in general, see Basile Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1959); Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1977); Katerina Ierodiakonou, ed., *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources* (Oxford UP, 2002); Börje Bydén and Katerina Ierodiakonou, eds., *The Many Faces of Byzantine Philosophy* (Athens: The Norwegian Institute at Athens, 2012).

[56] See Reino Virtanen, *Marcelin Berthelot: A Study of a Scientist's Public Role* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1965).

[57] Asad Q. Ahmed, "Post-Classical Philosophical Commentaries/Glosses: Innovation in the Margins," *Oriens* 41 (2013): 317–348. For an orientation in the world of post-classical (post-1300) Islamic thought and a sense of the exciting possibilities for its study, I am indebted to Asad Ahmed, Robert Wisnovsky, and the other participants in *The* Ḥāshiya *and Islamic Intellectual History*, a conference at the University of California, Berkeley, 12–14 October 2012; now published in the same volume of *Oriens*.

Chapter 1

The Translation Program of a Christian Deacon of Byzantine Antioch

Educated Byzantines in the tenth and eleventh centuries had at their disposal a vast Greek literary heritage. Scholars of Classical Antiquity have long since recognized this implicitly, mining Byzantine manuscripts — most dating from the ninth century or later — for texts of pre-Christian Hellenism, and combing Byzantine works by Christian authors for 'fragments' of classical texts now lost, whether they fell victim to the Fourth Crusade and other violent episodes, or succumbed to the more ordinary vicissitudes of time — such as worms, mold, theft, neglect — brought on by interruptions in the funding and institutional continuity of libraries.[1] Paul Lemerle, Nigel Wilson, and others have paid close attention to the evidence of middle Byzantine 'secular' literature itself, rich in allusions to classical and patristic literature alike, and the specific educational curricula which Byzantines of various social strata might hope to follow.[2] Meanwhile, the deep engagement of ecclesiastical and monastic authors (who were not infrequently the beneficiaries of a secular education) with the Greek Christian literary heritage — especially celebrated (and highly educated) Church Fathers like John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzos, Maximos the Confessor, and pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite — is well known.[3] Middle Byzantine texts are full of quotations, allusions, vocabulary and concepts which indicate the intimate familiarity of their authors with their intellectual forebears. Most extant middle Byzantine manuscripts by far contain such 'Patristic' works.

Much less understood is how these various strands of the Byzantine heritage were woven together and jointly adapted and interpreted by medieval authors. The intellectual activities of aristocrats, bureaucrats, churchmen and monks could all be directed towards different ends, but there was considerable overlap between them as well — to say nothing of the basic assumptions and worldview they all shared. Byzantine imperial libraries could be stocked with saints' lives,

[1] For the impact of the Fourth Crusade, see Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 259–66.

[2] Lemerle, *Premier*; Nigel Guy Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London: Duckworth, 1983).

[3] The importance of the Dionysian Corpus in middle Byzantine intellectual culture has been less studied and has probably been underemphasized, for example by Alexander Kazhdan and Barry Baldwin's statement that Dionysios "was less popular in Byz(antium), however, than among the Syrians and esp. in the West…": *ODB*, s.v. "Dionysios the Areopagite, Pseudo," 629–30, at 630. The Byzantine diplomatic gift to Louis the Pious of a manuscript containing the Dionysian Corpus in 827 — which they cite — should probably be interpreted as an imperial attempt to project abroad a highly esteemed component of the Greek Christian literature to which the Byzantines were heir. The Greek manuscript tradition (for which see Corp.Dion. I, introduction) attests to a strong interest in the text in the tenth and eleventh centuries; by my count, there are about 37 manuscripts of the full corpus dating from before 1106 CE.

patriarchal libraries with ancient orators and philosophers alongside Church Fathers, and monastic libraries with pagan classics.[4] Scholars themselves were surely familiar with a similar range of literature.

The first three chapters of this dissertation aim to elucidate the eleventh-century reception of the Greek heritage by studying the literary output of the Byzantine Orthodox Christian deacon ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl of Antioch (fl. *c.*1052). In particular, they will focus on his translations of the Greek patristic and late antique literary heritage *from Greek into Arabic*, as the works regularly specify. An Arabic-speaker living in a Byzantine province distant from the imperial capital at Constantinople may seem an odd choice for studying Byzantine culture. But Antioch was no mere province — and Ibn al-Faḍl was no outlier of Byzantine culture.

The strategically and ideologically crucial city of Antioch spent over a century under Byzantine rule in the tenth and eleventh centuries (969–1084).[5] During this time, the Byzantine imperial and ecclesiastical apparatus invested considerably in establishing a firm presence in this patriarchal see, negotiating with the local Chalcedonian-Orthodox elite for control over the appointment of the patriarch and lower church officials, carrying out a mixture of policies regarding non-Chalcedonian Christian communities,[6] and fostering the many Chalcedonian monasteries around Antioch.[7] On the periphery, Antioch nonetheless played an important role in Byzantine cultural and political life.

The intellectual milieu of Antioch under Byzantine rule (969–1084) has been almost entirely unstudied. Klaus-Peter Todt provides the basic groundwork for a chronology of Byzantine administration and relations between the patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch during this period,[8] and a recent increase in archaeological studies of medieval Antioch make it possible to begin to gain a sense of the city's place in the region.[9] The work of Vassa Kontouma on the

[4]As a later example, the intellectuals Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Gregoras were readers at the library of the Chora Monastery in Constantinople (*ODB*, s.v. "Chora Monastery," 428–30, at 429), renovated by Metochites in the early fourteenth century, along with Maximos Planoudes (ibid., s.v. "Planoudes, Maximos," 1681–2), who in addition to being a monk was the tutor of aristocrats, a philologist, translator from Latin into Greek, and editor of a collection of Hellenistic epigrams, the *Anthologia Planudea*, which modern editors have used, along with the *Anthologia Palatina*, to reconstruct the 'Greek Anthology' of Kephalas (on which see Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993]).

[5]For the importance of Byzantine Antioch and its almost total neglect, see Mavroudi, "Greek Language," n. 29; Maria Mavroudi, "Occult Sciences and Society in Byzantium: Considerations for Future Research," in Magdalino and Mavroudi, *Occult Sciences*, 52–3.

[6]Dagron, "Minorités"; Dédéyan, "Immigration armenienne."

[7]On the monasteries, see for example Wachtang Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, CSCO Subsidia 48 (Louvain: Peeters, 1976); Wachtang Djobadze, *Archeological investigations in the region west of Antioch on-the-Orontes*, with contributions by M. Hendy, N. Lowick, C. Mango, D.M. Metcalf and H. Seyrig (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner Verlag, 1986).

[8]Klaus-Peter Todt, "Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (969-1084)," *BZ* 91, no. 1 (2001): 239–267. This article is based on the author's much more detailed Habilitationsschrift, *Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969-1204)*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998), which I have not yet been able to consult. See also V. Grumel, "Le patriarcat et les patriarches d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine (969-1084)," *Echos d'Orient* 33 (1934): 129–147. For an account of this period in its broader chronological context, see Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας (Alexandria, 1951); I thank Maria Mavroudi for bringing this book to my attention.

[9]The excavation reports, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, 5 vols. (Princeton UP, 1934–72), focus on the earlier period, although they include some inscriptions and other information from the tenth and eleventh centuries. For a sketch of Antioch's urban transformations, see Hugh Kennedy, "Antioch: from Byzantium to Islam and back again," in *The*

hagiographical dossier of John of Damascus and its re-workings and additions under John III, Patriarch of Antioch in the early eleventh century has shown that there is much to be gained from exploring the cultural orientations and activities of Byzantine Antioch.[10]

Ibn al-Faḍl cannot represent all of eleventh-century Antioch or Byzantine ecclesiastical culture. A deacon of the Chalcedonian-Orthodox church of Antioch under Byzantine rule, he belonged to an institution which held a privileged position in Byzantine ideology, in comparison with the region's rival religious institutions — even as it jostled to maintain a degree of independence from both the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople. But as particular as his position was, Ibn al-Faḍl was very much Byzantine. He spoke two or three languages in a multilingual empire, with inhabitants who spoke Greek, Latin, Georgian, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic, Turkic, and Slavic languages, among others. He was educated in Greek Patristic literature, but he also studied (Muslim) Arabic literature and cultivated a high Arabic literary style. Byzantine authors often use words meaning 'from outside' (ἔξωθεν, θύραθεν) to refer to 'secular' fields of study 'external' to Christianity, in contrast to 'our' (that is, Christian) sciences.[11] Like other Byzantine intellectuals, Ibn al-Faḍl grappled with the problem of how to draw upon Hellenic thought (seen as external) without compromising his own intellectual tradition.

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation program, analyzed in the present chapter, is one lens through which to see the whole Byzantine tradition as it stood in mid-eleventh-century Antioch. His selection of texts to translate (even if Ibn al-Faḍl surely translated more than we yet realize in the current state of research on manuscripts of his translations), was nevertheless part of a concerted agenda, whether his or that of his patrons (or both). These texts were meant to be read by others, in Arabic.

A closer look at some of his translations will also allow us to ask in particular which late antique (and ancient) concepts of matter and its transformation continued to be part and parcel of the heritage which elite eleventh-century Byzantine Christians — and particularly those active within the church and monastic environments — had at their disposal. This will be the focus of the final part of this chapter and the two subsequent chapters. This inquiry has much to tell us about Antioch, of course, but also the Byzantine world as a whole.[12]

This first chapter provides an overview of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation program, situating it in the Byzantine political, ecclesiastical and monastic milieu of mid-eleventh-century Antioch in which it was carried out, at the behest of powerful ecclesiastical patrons. It will begin with

City in Late Antiquity, ed. John Rich (New York: Routledge, 1992), 181–198. For examples of more recent work, see Jesse Casana and Tony Wilkinson, "Settlement and Landscapes in the Amuq Region," in *The Amuq Valley regional projects. Volume 1: surveys in the plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995-2002*, ed. Kutlu Aslihan Yener, Oriental Institute Publication 131 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 25–65; Asa Eger, "(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch: Urban Transformation from the Early Islamic to Crusader Periods," *DOP* 67 (2013): 95–134.

[10]Vassa Kontouma, "Jean III d'Antioche (996-1021) et la *Vie de Jean Damascène* (BHG 884)," *REB* 68 (2010): 127–147. I owe this reference to Maria Mavroudi.

[11]When Niketas Stethatos describes Symeon the (New) Theologian's failure to acquire secular learning as a child, he refers to this knowledge which Symeon avoided as both παιδείας τῆς θύραθεν and τῆς ἔξωθεν… παιδείας: Niketas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian*, ed. and trans. Richard P.H. Greenfield (Harvard UP, 2013), §2.2 (hereafter cited as Nik.Steth.*V.Sym.*). This was part of an ongoing discussion in Byzantium about how to reconcile Christianity and secular learning; cf. Jakov N. Ljubarskij, "The Fall of an Intellectual: the Intellectual and Moral Atmosphere in Eleventh-Century Byzantium," in *Byzantine studies: essays on the Slavic world and the eleventh century*, ed. Speros Vryonis (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1992), 178; see also Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*.

[12]This is particularly apparent in chapter 2's discussion of the Greek manuscript tradition of Basil of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron* (see esp. n. 116 on page 105).

what little we know about Ibn al-Faḍl's life, education, and the context of his work (§I). It will then survey the texts he translated (§II) and discuss what might have motivated Ibn al-Faḍl's translation program, based on the translator's own testimony about his purpose and the parallel scholarly activity among Georgians of his time (§III). The last section will then consider the place of matter in the translation program (§IV).

I A Sage and Deacon of Antioch

Antioch-on-the-Orontes had fallen to the Arabs in the seventh century. But in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Byzantine empire embarked on a wave of military expansion, into Southern Italy, the Balkans, the Mediterranean islands,[13] Armenia, the Black Sea region, and Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. Antioch was a crowning achievement of the reconquest, taken by a Byzantine army in 969.[14] It was a strategic trading hub and producer of silk, as well as an ideologically crucial city for medieval Christianity, as one of five bishoprics with the rank of a patriarchate. It remained under Byzantine control for over a century, until it fell to the Seljuk Turks in 1084 — and 14 years later to the Crusaders. Under Byzantine rule, the city and its hinterland flourished.[15]

The imperial government exerted careful control over Antioch, even appointing churchmen from Constantinople to occupy Antioch's prestigious patriarchal see. Nonetheless, Antioch maintained close informal ties with the lands of Muslim Syria/Palestine, Egypt and Iraq. It received Christian visitors from throughout the Near East, and Muslims too. Trade with Aleppo (under Muslim rule) was encouraged.[16]

Ibn al-Faḍl worked in this milieu, serving in the hierarchy of an assertive Byzantine institution, the Antiochian church. He was a major figure in Antioch's Greek-Arabic translation movement, which focused on late antique *Christian* texts.[17]

Ibn al-Faḍl's modern biographers are forced to infer much from a few words.[18] The only date we possess from his life is 1051–2, the year in which he is said to have completed two of his translations, according to manuscripts of those works.[19] One of the richer sources for his life is his name as it appears in an early thirteenth-century manuscript containing a work of his: "The most exalted sheikh and most noble deacon Ibn [read: Abū] al-Fatḥ ʿAbdallāh the Melkite (*malakī*) of Antioch, son of al-Faḍl, son of ʿAbdallāh the metropolitan."[20]

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[13]Most notably Crete, conquered by an army led by Nikephoros Phokas in 961.

[14]For a detailed narrative, see Ostrogorsky, *History*, §3–4.

[15]Eger, "(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch," 103–5.

[16]Eger, "(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch," 103.

[17]Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1–2; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. III.1.

[18]The most up-to-date account is Alexander Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," in Thomas and Mallett, *Christian-Muslim Relations*, 3:89–113.

[19]Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 193.

[20]Ibid., vol. 3.1, pp. 191–2: الشيخ الاجلّ والشمّاس الانبل ابن (!) الفتح عبد الله الانطاكي الملّكي بن الفضل بن عبد الله المطران. This appears in the colophon to Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis* in Jerusalem, Holy Sepulcher, ar. 35 (1227 CE), f. 440 (transcribed in full in Kleopas M. Koikylides, Κατάλογος ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης [Jerusalem, 1901], 40). The phrase which Koikylides and Nasrallah read as ابن الفتح could, in the manuscript, also be read as ابي الفتح, such that the scribal error would be grammatical rather than factual. I thank Maria Mavroudi for the chance to consult a reproduction of this manuscript in her possession.

He is a "sheikh" by virtue of his great learning.[21] "Ibn al-Fatḥ" is a simple copying error for "Abū l-Fatḥ," a *kunya* which other manuscripts give him, and which Nasrallah understands, quite reasonably, to be an "honorific *laqab*," or title.[22] Elsewhere he is called "learned" (*fāḍil*).[23] He is explicitly identified as a 'Melkite' (*malakī*) — that is, an "imperial" Christian in communion with the Byzantine church — and an Antiochian (*Anṭākī*), if not by birth, at least by residence. His grandfather, we can infer, was a metropolitan bishop.[24] He was prominent in the later Arab Christian tradition. Makarios III ibn al-Zaʿīm, the Chalcedonian Orthodox patriarch of Antioch (1647–72), was especially full of praise for the eleventh-century deacon.[25]

Alexander Treiger has observed that marginalia in Ibn al-Faḍl's *Book of the Garden* (a translation of the *Loci communes*, as will be discussed below) say that he was educated in Greek and Arabic literature by Simʿān al-ʾymsyqn (?) ibn al-Sabnakhī (?) and "Abū l-ʿAlāʾ," respectively.[26] One manuscript which I consulted containing this work (Vat. ar. 111, 14th century) spells the name somewhat differently: Shimʿān al-ʾbmysqn ibn al-Shanīḥī.[27] Whoever this Symeon was, the way Ibn al-Faḍl refers to him is indicative of how he studied Greek with this teacher. After a quotation ascribed to "the Theologian" (Gregory of Nazianzos), Ibn al-Faḍl writes:

> This excerpt appears in the eulogy which he composed on Saint Basil.[28] I myself

[21]Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 192; Paul Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Antākī et le commentaire de l'Évangile de Saint Jean," *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009): 96.

[22]Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 192. He is called Abū l-Fatḥ, for example, in the attribution of his *Refutation of astrologers* (*al-Radd ʿalā l-munajjimīn*): Georg Graf, "Die Widerlegung der Astrologen von ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl," *Orientalia*, n.s., 6 (1937): 340.

[23]In a Jerusalem manuscript; see n. 215 on page 43. I thank Asad Ahmed for pointing out this sense of the word.

[24]Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 89. Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, 192, suggests the alternative possibility that *al-Muṭrān* is a family name derived from an earlier ancestor who bore the title. One might have expected in that case for there to be an *ibn* before *al-muṭrān*, although it must be admitted that Nasrallah's example, the Muṭrān family of Baalbek, does not have that feature. Meanwhile, Atiya is almost certainly mistaken in calling Ibn al-Faḍl an Archbishop: Aziz S. Atiya, "St. John Damascene: Survey of the Unpublished Arabic Versions of his Works in Sinai," in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. George Makdisi (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 77. Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh," 96, raises the possibility that Ibn al-Faḍl's *father* was a bishop but cites no evidence. Perhaps he was thinking of the way Ibn al-Faḍl's name appears in a manuscript cited by Georg Graf, "Christlich-arabisches," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 95 (1913): 186 n. 7 (who does not say *which* manuscript): "Ibn al-Faḍl ibn al-Maṭrân" — which does not, however, even suggest that our Ibn al-Faḍl is both the son of 'al-Faḍl' and of a metropolitan.

[25]On Makarios ibn al-Zaʿīm, see Juliette Rassi, "Le «Livre de l'abeille» (al-Naḥlah) de Macaire ibn al-Zaʿīm, témoin de l'échange des cultures," *Parole de l'Orient* 32 (2007): 211–257. For his many words of praise for Ibn al-Faḍl, see Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, 191 n. 1 (continued on the following page).

[26]Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 89.

[27]*ʾymsyqn* and *ʾbmysqn* essentially differ only in switching the position of the *s* and the *y*: *-sy-* versus *-ys-*. It seems at least possible (though not very plausible) that Shanīḥī is a toponymic referring to the Shīḥa, "[a] village near Cyrrhus" in Northern Syria known from Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-buldān*, cited by Thomas A. Carlson, "Shīḥa," *The Syriac Gazetteer*, http://syriaca.org/place/1503.html (entry published 30 June 2014); this would require a simple scribal error in the *Book of the Garden.* Cyrrhus is "[a]n ancient and medieval city 70 km north of Aleppo": Thomas A. Carlson and David A. Michelson, "Cyrrhus," *The Syriac Gazateer*, http://syriaca.org/place/65.html (entry published June 30, 2014). His title *al-ʾbmysqn* seems likely to be a Greek ecclesiastical term, perhaps beginning in *ἀπο-* or *ἐπι-* and ending in *-μισκων* or the like. I have found no 'Symeon' in the PmbZ (27451–547) who matches the description and with a place name which would seem to fit. My searches in Yāqūt al-Rūmī's *Muʿjam al-Buldān* turned up nothing looking like سبنخ/سبنخة, except perhaps Sabaj and al-Sabakha.

[28]"Saint": reading القديس for القديسين. Ibn al-Faḍl seems to be referring to Gregory of Nazianzos, *or.* 43 (Εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἐπίσκοπον Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἐπιτάφιος).

> read it all in Greek to[29] my master [*sayyidī*, here his teacher] Shimʿān al-ʾbmysqn ibn al-Shanīḥī, the cherished and holy one, may God have mercy upon him, and he explained to me this passage along with everything else that he explained.[30]

Ibn al-Faḍl's emphasis on the fact that he read the text *in Greek* suggests that this was not his native language. His description could be construed to imply that Ibn al-Faḍl read the collection of sayings in question with this teacher; if this is the case, then it would be an instance of his translating a text taught to him by a Greek-speaking (Byzantine) teacher.

As for his Arabic teacher "Abū l-ʿAlāʾ," Noble and Treiger observe that he may well be the famous blind poet al-Maʿarrī (973–1057), who lived near Antioch in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān.[31] As Noble and Treiger mention, Abū l-ʿAlāʾ is said to have visited Antioch as a young man. I might add that he also visited a monastery near Latakia (even closer to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān), where he learned philosophy from a monk, exposing him to "doubts" which he was unprepared to counter, according to Ibn al-Qifṭī.[32]

Despite the paucity of evidence about Ibn al-Faḍl, his writings (and particularly his translations) must have been important during his lifetime since some of them at least had been commissioned by contemporaries. Several of his works clarify who prompted or patronized their composition:[33] John, bishop of Manbij (*Sharḥ al-amāna al-mustaqīma*);[34] Abū Zakarīyā ibn Salāma[35] (translation of the Psalter); Nīkūfūr[36] Abū l-Naṣr ibn Buṭrus al-Qubuqlīs (translation of Isaac of Nineveh's *al-Ḥayāt al-Nuskīya*). "Al-Qubuqlīs" is a transliteration of the Greek ecclesiastical title *koubouklеisios*, the "chamberlain of the patriarch of Antioch."[37] This was a very high office in which the patriarch took a personal interest, as is indicated by the displeasure which Peter, patriarch of Antioch (1052–1056), expressed in a letter to Michael Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople, when the latter conferred the title of *koubouklеisios* upon a deacon of Antioch (under

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[29] *qara'tuhā… ʿalā*: this is a technical term which refers to the student's reading a text which has been studied and learned back to the teacher, in order for him to approve the student's knowledge of the text.

[30] Vat. ar. 111, ff. 142^{r-v}: شرح: هذا الفصل يرد في المرثية التي صنّفها في القديس{-ين} باسيليوس، وقرأتها أنا كلّها باليوناني على سيدي شمعان الابميسقن بن الشنيحي النفيس والقديس يرحمه الله، وفسّر لي هذا الموضع في جملة ما فسّره، و هو أن الفضائل الممدوحة من شأنها أن تحتذف (؟) الكل إليها، فهي تزيد بذلك، وقد اختلف الناس (١٤٢ ب) في تفسير هذا الموضع.

[31] For the possibility and further evidence, see: Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 375–6; Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 89.

[32] Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāh*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo/Beirut, 1986), vol. 1, p. 84. The monastery of Latakia was the Monastery of the Shroud, Dayr al-Fārūs. As the editor Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm notes, this was "among the monasteries of the Byzantines" (من ديارات الروم). Ibn al-ʿAdīm insists that Abū l-ʿAlāʾ would not have sought out libraries there or in Antioch: see P. Smoor, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2005), s.v. "al-Maʿarrī" (hereafter cited as *EI*^{2}).

[33] Summarized by Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 90.

[34] Cf. Ramy Wannous, "Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl: Exposition of the Orthodox Faith," *Parole de l'Orient* 32 (2007): 262–4.

[35] Or: Zakharīyā *and* Yūḥannā ibn Salāma; see Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 90.

[36] Nasrallah does not give this part of his name, but Treiger does: Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 90. In any case, 'Nīkūfūr' is a transliteration of the Greek name of which 'Abū l-Naṣr' is (as noted by Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 58) the translation: Νικηφόρος.

[37] As far as I know, Treiger was the first to point out the meaning of this term (Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 90). Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 193, appears to have been unaware of it, to judge from his transliteration, "al-Qabqalīs." This transliteration is from Graf (Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 58), who glosses it as "Καυκαλίς" (the name for, "an umbelliferous plant," according to LSJ, specifically *Tordylium apulum*); this is of course nonsense. The office of *koubouklеisios* was not exclusive to Antioch (*ODB*, s.v. "Koubouklеisios").

Peter's jurisdiction), one Christodoulos Hagiostephanites.[38] What can we know about these people?[39] As individuals, we will know little about them unless they can in the future be identified with otherwise known figures.[40] But from their names and titles we can infer that Ibn al-Faḍl corresponded with at least two high-ranking Chalcedonian Christians in the area. Manbij-Mabbug-Hierapolis, northeast of Aleppo, was a metropolitan see,[41] making the bishop of Manbij a very high-ranking member of the hierarchy under Antioch's jurisdiction (though not under Byzantine control). The *koubouklеisios* was a very high-ranking official within Antioch's patriarchal administration itself. This would suggest a close connection between the priorities of the Patriarchate of Antioch and Ibn al-Faḍl's translation activities.

Ibn al-Faḍl's translations were very popular among the Arabic-speaking Chalcedonian communities, and also in the Coptic church. The thirteenth-century Coptic Orthodox (Miaphysite) scholar Ibn al-ʿAssāl speculates that the tenth-century Damascene Chalcedonian bishop of Cairo Theophilos ibn Tawfīl — who (on Ibn al-ʿAssāl's testimony) translated the Gospels from Greek into Arabic before 438 AH (1046f CE) — was a literary model for Ibn al-Faḍl. The claim appears in Ibn al-ʿAssāl's philological introduction to a standard Arabic Gospel text he has prepared. After laying out the *sigla* he will use to refer to various Arabic Gospel translations (made from Greek, Coptic and Syriac originals), he describes these exemplars in more detail. About the Arabic translation from the Greek, he says:

> As for the Greek (*Rūmī*), I had two complete copies, one of them in two columns, Greek and Arabic, copied (*manqūla*) from the translation of Theophilos (Tāwfīlus) ibn Tawfīl, the Teacher, the Damascene, bishop of Miṣr [Cairo]. He was skilled in the Arabic language, and I think that Ibn al-Faḍl imitated him in his exposition (*īrād*). He placed the Arabic language in the margin in his translation [i.e., in the bilingual text of which the Arabic was his translation?]. Its[42] date is 438 [AH]. The other (copy) is Arabic only, the translation of the aforementioned (Theophilos); its date is 591 [= 1194f CE].[43]

Theophilos ibn Tawfīl and Ibn al-Faḍl both appear here as well-known translators, and while Ibn al-ʿAssāl praises Theophilos, his testimony reflects well on Ibn al-Faḍl too, in that it suggests that

[38] V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and Jean Darrouzès, eds., *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, 2 vols. (Paris: Socii Assumptionistae Chalcedonenses, 1932-79), fasc. 3, nos. 860–61 (hereafter cited as *RegPatr*); cited by *ODB*, s.v. "Koubouleisios." The timing might make it tempting to identify this *koubouklеisios* with our Qubuqlīs, but the latter's Arabic name would suggest something more like Νικηφόρος τοῦ Πέτρου ὁ κουβουκλείσιος.

[39] Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 193 laments that we can know nothing about them — "[m]alheureusement nous ne pouvons donner aucune indication historique sur ces personnages" — but this is in part because he is asking them to help date Ibn al-Faḍl's life with more precision; perhaps they can aid us in other ways.

[40] This may be facilitated by the publication of the 3. Abteilung of the PmbZ.

[41] *ODB*, s.v. "Hierapolis in Syria."

[42] Most likely the *copy*'s date — though it could also be the translation's date; the latter is MacDonald's understanding, to judge from his translation: "He has put the Arabic on the margin of his translation, which is dated A. H. 438."

[43] Duncan B. MacDonald, "Ibn al-ʿAssāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels," in *Estudios de erudición oriental: Homenaje á D. Francisco Codera* (Zaragoza, 1904), 377; cited by Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 51: فأما الرومي فحضرني نسختان كاملتان، إحداهما جدولان رومي وعربي، منقولة من ترجمة تاوفيلس بن توفيل المعلم الدمشقي أسقف مصر، وله خبرة باللغة العربية، وأظنّ أنّ ابن الفضل اقتدى به في إيراده، وحشى اللغة العربية في ترجمته، وتاريخها سنة ثمان وثلثين وأربع مائة للهجرة، والأخرى عربي فقط ترجمة المذكور أيضا، وتاريخها سنة إحدى وتسعين وخمس مائة. My translation is based on MacDonald's (at p. 385).

Ibn al-Faḍl's translations at least approach the quality of Theophilos's. By the thirteenth century Ibn al-Faḍl was a well-known translator of Greek texts into Arabic even outside the Chalcedonian community.

Whether Ibn al-Faḍl had the means to devote his leisure to his intellectual labors, or, as is quite likely, was compensated for his efforts in this world, he was clearly moving in circles of the highest-ranking churchmen in and around Antioch, whose agenda his translation program must at least partially reflect. If he was the student of the famous (Sunni Muslim) Arab poet Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (a supposition which seems plausible to me but remains unconfirmed), he may have known other elite Muslims, as well as 'Nestorian' Christians such as Ibn al-Ṭayyib and Ibn Buṭlān, the latter of whom retired to a monastery near Antioch.[44]

II The Translations

In addition to his original works, Ibn al-Faḍl is the author of a number of subsequently popular translations of Greek scriptural and patristic works into Arabic (table 1).[45] These works taken together give us a glimpse of an eleventh-century Byzantine Christian educational curriculum, for we can be sure that most if not all of what Ibn al-Faḍl translated would have been important works in the ecclesiastical circles in Antioch, and perhaps elsewhere, which formed him. But they are only a selection of the Greek works taught and studied at the time. This is partly because Ibn al-Faḍl's known translations are almost certainly an incomplete list, especially since his translations could and often did circulate anonymously.[46] A closer look at Ibn al-Faḍl's known translations should nevertheless give us some idea of the contours of his Greek-Arabic translation program, revealing what the ecclesiastical elite of Antioch found relevant and expedient in the Greek tradition of which they were heirs.

Many of the works of which Ibn al-Faḍl produced Arabic versions had already been translated into Arabic. Ibn al-Faḍl's re-translations *from the Greek* suggests both an esteem among Chalcedonian Christians in general for the authority of the original Greek texts and a Constantinopolitan agenda to stress the importance of those Greek texts in particular. We may also wonder to what extent this practice of re-translation represented not only the attempt to produce more correct or faithful translations but also reflected the fashion in middle Byzantine culture for *metaphrasis*, or new, high-style versions of old texts written in a lower style. As we shall see in the next chapter, Ibn al-Faḍl's style as a translator reflects this 'metaphrastic' impulse.

Patristic works — the writings of the Fathers and Saints whose adoption and veneration defined and constituted the ecclesiastical communities tied in some way to the Byzantine Church

[44]Ibn al-Faḍl may have known the Nestorian philosopher Ibn al-Ṭayyib, another Antiochene (who, however, spent much of his career in Baghdad): Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 376. Ibn al-Ṭayyib's student Ibn Buṭlān knew Abū l-ʿAlāʾ well and may have been at the poet's side during his final hours: ibid., 376 n. 21.

[45]Ibid., 377–8, list his translations and works concisely in one place. See also Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 52–64; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 191–229; Louis Cheikho, *Kitāb al-makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya li-katabat al-naṣrānīya / Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens* (Beirut, [1924]), 142–4, 240; Constantin Bacha and Louis Cheikho, "ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," *al-Mashriq* 9 (1906): 944–953. In what follows, I will mention each of the works Ibn al-Faḍl translated, omitting none which Noble and Treiger list. I will not list all the known manuscripts of his translations; for these, the reader is still referred to the surveys by Graf and Nasrallah.

[46]e.g., Sinai Porph. ar. 138 (1278 CE) containing Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*, long cycle (Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 53); Cairo CP 240 containing Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Gospel of John* 1–48 and Cairo CP 504 (1846 CE) with numbers 1–47 (Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 55).

— form the bulk of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations. Among these, John Chrysostom's (d. 407) homiletic corpus is by far the best represented, followed by two of the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil of Caesarea (*c.*330–?379) and his brother Gregory of Nyssa (*c.*335–394 or thereafter).[47] These fourth-century champions of what became Nicene orthodoxy enjoyed enormous popularity in the middle Byzantine period (and still today). These Church Fathers were influential not only in the Chalcedonian but in all Christian traditions. The later authors such as Maximos the Confessor and John of Damascus were most influential within the Chalcedonian Orthodox tradition because they wrote within that tradition. By the eleventh century, they were all part of the Byzantine literary canon. As the figures in table 1 indicate, many of these texts are extremely well attested in the contemporary Greek manuscript tradition. In the following survey, I will briefly discuss the nature of each text translated.

Psalter

The Psalter was one of the foundational texts of a Byzantine education. Just as early memorization of the Quran was a standard marker of a Muslim boy's precocious talent (the historian al-Ṭabarī says that he managed the feat by age seven),[48] getting the Psalter by heart was an early sign of a saint's brilliance.[49] Likewise, the lectionaries which Ibn al-Faḍl translated with selections from the Prophets, the Pauline Epistles and the Gospels might have played a role in education, perhaps in private study. Both the Psalter and the Lectionaries had a major public role as part of a shared Byzantine Christian culture, as part of the devotional rites of the liturgy.

Basil of Caesarea

Ibn al-Faḍl translated two sets of homilies by Basil of Caesarea: the *Homilies on the Psalms*[50] and the *Homilies on the Hexaemeron.*[51]

[47]John's life: Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (Utrecht, Brussels: Het Spectrum, 1950–1960), 424–8. Basil's life: ibid., vol. 3, pp. 204–7; Philip Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1994), who includes an updated discussion of the date of Basil's death and the composition of his *Hexaemeron* (pp. 360–3) — of which the conclusion is that while the argument for the revised death date of 377 (which would rule out a date of 378 for the *Hexaemeron*) has some merit, we cannot know for certain one way or the other. Gregory of Nyssa's life: Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, pp. 254–5.

[48]C. E. Bosworth, "al-Ṭabarī, Abū DJaʿfar Muḥammad b. DJarīr b. Yazīd," in *EI*², 10:s.v. "11".

[49]e.g., the *Life* of Sabas the Younger written by Orestes, patriarch of Jerusalem from 986 to 1006 (see *ODB*, s.v. "John III") narrates: "After the child had been born, when he reached the age of education, his parents determined that he should frequent schoolteachers and be occupied in the divine lessons. And after not much time had passed, by a nature well suited for learning, he had thoroughly learned the utterances of David [the Psalms]" (ἐπεὶ δὲ τεχθεὶς ὁ παῖς εἰς ὥραν ἦκε παιδείας, εἰς διδασκάλους φοιτᾶν αὐτὸν οἱ τεκόντες ἔγνωσαν καὶ τοῖς θείοις ἐνασχολεῖσθαι μαθήμασι. χρόνου δέ τινος οὐ πολλοῦ διαρρεύσαντος, φύσει πρὸς τὸ μανθάνειν ἐπιτηδείως ἐχούσῃ, τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἐξέμαθε λόγια); I. Cozza-Luzi, ed., *Historia et laudes ss. Sabae et Macarii* (Rome, 1893), 7; cited by Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiographical Database*, http://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography-database, Key 29,572 (accessed 29 July 2013).

[50]Ὁμιλία εἰς πρῶτον Ψαλμόν (etc.): CPG 2836 (13 homilies thought to be authentic); PG 29.209–494; Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 218. Among the *dubia* attributed to Basil is a homily on Psalm 125 (CPG 2910); there are also two spurious homilies attributed to him on Psalms 28 (CPG 2920) and 132 (CPG 2921).

[51]Ὁμιλίαι θ′ εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον: CPG 2835; PG 29.3–208 (9 homilies); reproduced with some changes by Basil of Caesarea, *Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron [par] Basile de Césarée*, 2nd ed., ed. and trans. Stanislas Giet (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968) (hereafter cited as Bas.*Hex.* Giet); critical edition: Basil of Caesarea, *Basilius von Caesarea. Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, ed. Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and Stig Y. Rudberg (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997) (hereafter cited as Bas.*Hex.* MR). English translation: Basil of Caesarea, *Letters and select works*, trans. Blomfield Jackson, NPNF, 2nd ser., 8 (*c.*1894), 51–107 (hereafter cited as NPNF Basil).

#	Author	Work	CPG	N/T	trans. date	11th-c. mss.
1		Psalms/Lectionaries		1/2		
2	Basil of Caesarea	Homilies on the Psalms	2836	4.1		55
3	*idem*	Homilies on the Hexaemeron	2835	4.2	1051f	32
4	Gregory of Nyssa	On Making Man	3154	5.1		25
5	*idem*	Apologia on the Hexaemeron	3153	5.2		8
6	*idem*	Homilies on the Song of Songs	3158	5.3		3
7	John Chrysostom	Homilies on Genesis	4409	3.1	< Sep. 1052	171
8	*idem*	Homilies on Matthew	4424	3.2		206
9	*idem*	Homilies on John	4425	3.3		81
10	*idem*	Homilies on First Corinthians	4428	3.4		17
11	*idem*	Homilies on Hebrews	4440	3.5		18
12	*idem*	Homilies on Romans	4427	3.6		22
13	*idem*	Collection of 87 Homilies	?	3.7		
14	*idem*	Exhortation to Penitence	?	3.8		
15	Sophronios	Synodical Letter (adaptation)	7635	10		4
16	Maximos Confessor	Disputation with Pyrrhos	7698	6.1		4
17	*idem*	Chapters on Love	7693	6.2		30
18	*idem*	Gnostic Chapters	7694	6.3		9
19	Isaac of Nineveh	35 Homilies on the Ascetic Life	7868.1?	9.1		
20	*idem*	Fī ruʾūs al-maʿrifa		9.2		
21	Andrew of Crete	Encomium to St. Nicholas	8187	7		16
22	John of Damascus	Libellus on Correct Thought	8046	8		0
23	Pseudo-Maximos	Loci communes	7718	11		81
24	Pseudo-Kaisarios	Questions and Answers	7482	12	1051f	25

Table 1: Works translated by Ibn al-Faḍl. Based on Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 377–8. Under 'N/T' is a cross-reference to their list. I have assigned each a number ('#'). In the last column is an estimate of the number of extant Greek manuscripts dating to around the 11th century and containing each work. These estimates are based on searches on "Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grecs," http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/ (February 2015) for each *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* number, restricted to 10th/11th-, 11th-, and 11th/12th-century manuscripts, and controlled for duplicates (i.e., multiple entries for the same manuscript). This is only an estimate, but it provides a sense of the orders of magnitude involved.

Basil's *Homilies on the Psalms* are a guide to improving the soul — not in a systematic way, but rather in bits and pieces by drawing lessons from a selection of individual psalms. For "a psalm is the serenity of souls," writes Basil, "the author of peace calming the tumult and swell of thoughts."[52] The audience for these homilies includes ordinary people: "a psalm," continues Basil,

> is a refuge from demons, a means of inducing help from the angels, a weapon in fears by night, a rest from toils by day, a safeguard for infants, an adornment for those in their prime, a consolation for elders, a most fitting ornament for women. It colonizes deserts; it teaches the marketplaces moderation; it is the elementary exposition of beginners, the improvement of those advancing, the solid support of the perfect, the voice of the Church.[53]

[52]"Ψαλμὸς γαλήνη ψυχῶν, βραβευτὴς εἰρήνης, τὸ θορυβοῦν καὶ κυμαῖνον τῶν λογισμῶν καταστέλλων," *In Ps.* 1 §2 = PG 29.212C. Here λογισμῶν implies "evil thoughts or desire" (Lampe s.v., 2c).

[53]*In Ps.* 1 §2; trans. based on Basil of Caesarea, *Saint Basil, Exegetic Homilies*, trans. Agnes Clare Way, Fathers of the Church 46 (Catholic University of America Press, 1963), 152–3 (hereafter cited as Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way): "Ψαλμὸς

For students, for those who frequent markets, for those who spend their days in manual labor[54] — for such as these does Basil intend his homilies, not merely the elite biblical scholar.[55] By translating this work, Ibn al-Faḍl made available an accessible guide to improving the self, built upon a text which Christians with any education at all were expected to know well.

Gregory of Nyssa

Ibn al-Faḍl is known to have translated Gregory of Nyssa's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.[56] He is also probably responsible for the Arabic translations of Gregory's *On Making Man* (a.k.a. *De hominis opificio*)[57] and *Apology on the Hexaemeron* (a.k.a. *Liber in Hexaemeron*).[58] The latter two works supplemented the *Homilies on the Hexaemeron* by Gregory's brother Basil: *On Making Man* discussed the sixth day of creation, which had not received proper attention in Basil's *Hexaemeron*, while the *Apology on the Hexaemeron* is presented as a defense of Basil's work, even as it departs from Basil's literalist approach. Greek manuscripts containing Basil's *Hexaemeron* usually contain these two supplementary works by Gregory of Nyssa as well. Likewise, Arabic manuscripts containing Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* tend to be accompanied by Arabic translations of the two supplementary works. This 'Hexaemeron Corpus' will be discussed further in the following chapter.

In fifteen homilies, Gregory explicates *Song of Solomon* 1:1–6:8. The theme running through the whole commentary is articulated near the beginning of the first homily: the text is to be read as referring to the wedding between God and the human soul[59] — a model of transcendence and salvation with a long tradition before and after Gregory. This influential Christian model of salvation and transcendence was not new with Gregory of Nyssa. While Origen and his allegorical school of exegesis are an important influence upon Gregory, which he acknowledges,[60] the latter downplays Origen's view that the bride is the Church. Instead, Gregory's bride of God is in the first place the soul.

δαιμόνων φυγαδευτήριον, τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων βοηθείας ἐπαγωγή· ὅπλον ἐν φόβοις νυκτερινοῖς, ἀνάπαυσις κόπων ἡμερινῶν· νηπίοις ἀσφάλεια, ἀκμάζουσιν ἐγκαλλώπισμα, πρεσβυτέροις παρηγορία, γυναιξὶ κόσμος ἁρμοδιώτατος. Τὰς ἐρημίας οἰκίζει, τὰς ἀγορὰς σωφρονίζει· εἰσαγομένοις στοιχείωσις, προκοπτόντων αὔξησις, τελειουμένων στήριγμα, Ἐκκλησίας φωνή."

[54]Cf. *In Ps.* 1 §5: "Today you have cultivated the earth, tomorrow another will do so, and after him another"; trans. Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way, 159.

[55]Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 218: The homilies' "purpose is to edify, and to provide a moral application rather than an exegetical interpretation of the text."

[56]Ἐξήγησις ἀκριβὴς εἰς τὸ ᾆσμα τῶν ᾀσμάτων: CPG 3158; PG 44.755–1120; Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 266; critical edition: Gregory of Nyssa, *In canticum canticorum Gregorii Nysseni*, ed. Hermann Langerbeck (Leiden: Brill, 1960) (hereafter cited as G.Nyss.*In cant.* Lang.). Riedel deems it likely that Gregory's death prevented him from completing his exegesis as intended (PG 44.764C): Wilhelm Riedel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüdischen Gemeinde und der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1898), 66.

[57]Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου: CPG 3154; PG 44.125–256; Gregory of Nyssa, *Sancti Patris Nostri Gregorii Nysseni Basilii Magni fratris quae supersunt omnia*, ed. George H. Forbes, 2 vols. (Burntisland, 1855–1861), vol. 1, pp. 102–319 (hereafter cited as G.Nyss.*opera* Forbes); Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 263. English trans. by H. A. Wilson: Gregory of Nyssa, *Selected writings and letters of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa*, trans. William Moore and Henry Austin Wilson, NPNF, 2nd ser., 5 (*c.*1892), 387–427 (hereafter cited as NPNF GNyss).

[58]Ἀπολογία περὶ τῆς Ἑξαημέρου: CPG 3153; PG 44.61–124; G.Nyss.*opera* Forbes, vol. 1, pp. 1–95; critical edition: Gregory of Nyssa, *In hexaemeron*, ed. Hubertus R. Drobner, Gregorii Nysseni opera omnia IV.1 (Leiden: Brill, 2009) (hereafter cited as G.Nyss.*In hex.* Drob.). Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 264.

[59]See n. 385 on page 68; see also ibid., vol. 3, p. 266.

[60]PG 44.764B, cited by Riedel, *Auslegung*, 67.

Ibn al-Faḍl also translated Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* (*De hominis opificio*), as part of his translation and commentary of the Hexaemeron Corpus, which will be discussed further below. This work of Gregory is on the Genesis narrative of the sixth day of creation, when man was created. It is one of the principal works in which Gregory of Nyssa articulates his understanding of "likeness to God" (ὁμοίωσις τῷ θεῷ), a concept of major importance in late antique Platonism, Christian and pagan alike.[61] This likeness is what lends humanity its special place in the cosmos, and recovering this original similarity to God is salvation. Much of Gregory's explication dwells on human physiology and a philosophical theory of the human being.[62]

The work begins by placing man's creation in the context of the world's creation; man is the pinnacle of the visible world (§1–3). The entire human being, soul and body, were made to rule the world (§4), for man is a likeness of God (§5). Various aspects of the human body are evaluated. Why does man lack the natural equipment of claw, fang, wing, and so on? So that he focuses his attention on harnessing the power of other animals (§7). The upright human body corresponds to an elevated nature and the possibility of contemplating intellectual rather than corporeal things (§8–9). The text then considers the mind, its connection with the senses, its invisible inscrutability in accordance with *its* being a likeness of God, and the question of where in the body the mind resides and how it relates to matter are each considered (§10–12). Dreams and sleep receive considerable attention (§13). At this point Gregory returns to the question of where the mind is located, concluding that it pervades the entire body (§14). This is a fact difficult to grasp, since it would be wrong to say that an incorporeal thing is *contained* within a body; instead it is ineffably associated with the body such that when the body ceases, so does the mind (§15). The text then discusses further the significance that man was made "in God's image and likeness," which leads him to the question of why there are male and female (§16), and how humans would have multiplied had they remained without sin in Paradise — answer: however angels multiply (§17). Passions and the question of appetites in Paradise (§18–20) lead to a first discussion of the resurrection (§21–22). The end of time is a logical necessity if one admits a beginning (§23). Matter is not co-eternal with God (§24). Gregory now discusses resurrection and objections to it in considerable depth, especially the question of how the matter of bodies which have decayed or been entirely dissolved can be put back together again (§25–27). If a carnivorous fish, say, devours a man's body and then is caught and eaten by a fisherman (§26.1), still God knows where all the pieces of the first man's body are (§26.2), and the soul recognizes all the parts which belong to it (§27.2), so that they come back together like quicksilver poured out in the dust (§27.6).[63] Souls are created simultaneously with bodies, and the transmigration of

[61]For this concept in Gregory of Nyssa (in contradistinction to Gregory of Nazianzos), see Susanna Elm, "Priest and Prophet: Gregory of Nazianzus's Concept of Christian Leadership as Theosis," in *Priests and Prophets among Pagans, Jews and Christians*, ed. Beata Dignas, Robert Parker, and Guy G. Stroumsa (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 169, 180, as well as the references cited there, especially Hubert Merki, *Homoiōsis theō. Von der platonischen Angleichung an Gott zur Gottähnlichkeit bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Paulusverlag, 1952).

[62]Cf. Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 263: "Though the *De opificio* consists in the main of an anthropological and physiological explanation of Genesis 1, 26, the theological point of view is by no means neglected, as he indicates right at the beginning: 'The scope of our proposed enquiry is not small: it is second to none of the wonders of the world, — perhaps even greater than any of those known to us, because no other existing thing, save the human creation, has been made like God.'"

[63]A very metallurgical analogy. This whole discussion makes it quite clear why the Christian doctrine of the resurrection would impel Christian intellectuals to think carefully about the nature of matter and what occurs when it is transformed. In §27.5, Gregory argues that the stable, unchanging part of the soul which is a likeness to God is

souls is absurd (§28–29). Finally, the work concludes with the working of the human body, with the heading "A rather medical consideration on the making of our bodies in brief" (§30).[64]

Throughout, the body's materiality is a central concept. As Ladner puts it is his study of this treatise, the underlying question for Gregory is

> why, if man was created according to the image and likeness of God and at the same time was made a spiritual-corporeal compound, should his God-given bodily condition be an occasion for so much suffering and evil? The relationship of the material body to the immortal spirit and the position of the soul and mind between the two were… principal problems of Gregory of Nyssa's philosophical anthropology…[65]

In this way, Gregory's influential work stressed the need to take seriously the human body's role — and its material makeup — in Christian spiritual progress and salvation.

Excursus on the Hexaemeron Corpus: Basil and Gregory

Three texts just mentioned frequently circulated together in the Greek manuscript tradition, providing a detailed exegesis of the Genesis creation narrative: (1) Basil's nine *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*, covering all but the last day of creation; (2) Gregory's *On Making Man*, on the last day of creation; and (3) Gregory's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*, on the first five days. Together, these may be referred to as the (Normal) Hexaemeron Corpus.

The Greek manuscript tradition of these works, which was exhaustively studied by Mendieta and Rudberg, attests to three groupings of text:[66]

1. *Small Hexaemeron Corpus*: Basil's *Hexaemeron* (9 homilies); two homilies on the sixth day of creation, attributed to Basil (though sometimes to his brother Gregory);[67] and the *On Paradise* also attributed to Basil.

like a sealing stamp which stamps all particles of the body so that it recognizes them — an implicit response, it would seem, to the problem of particles with multiple owners, since it would allow some of the body's matter to belong to the soul while other particles temporarily incorporated in the body (deriving from the fish who ate a man) could belong to another human body. (The problem only involves different *human* owners of a given particle.) This would be consistent with Gregory's claim that at the resurrection, the body's matter is transformed and made so light that it rises up in the air (§22.6).

[64]"Θεωρία τις ἰατρικωτέρα περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν κατασκευῆς δι' ὀλίγων": G.Nyss.*opera* Forbes, vol. 1, p. 292.

[65]Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Philosophical Anthropology of Saint Gregory of Nyssa," *DOP* 12 (1958): 62.

[66]Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and Stig Y. Rudberg, *Basile de Césarée: la tradition manuscrite directe des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron: étude philologique*, TU 123 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), 3 (hereafter cited as M/R, *Basile*).

[67]Sometimes called Homilies 10 and 11; ed. PG 30.9–72 and (?ps.-)Basil of Caesarea, *Sur l'origine de l'homme. Hom. X et XI de l'Hexaéméron [par] Basile de Césarée*, ed. and trans. Alexis Smets and Michel van Esbroeck (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1970) (hereafter cited as Bas.*Hex. X–XI* S./v.E.). On the sixth day of creation, they are at best of doubtful authenticity (Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 217), though arguments for Basil's authorship have been recently proposed by Bas.*Hex. X–XI* S./v.E., introduction. M/R, *Basile*, 3, reject their argument for Basil's authorship, but Rousseau, *Basil*, 363, leans towards accepting it. They are not included in Ibn al-Faḍl's text, which explains in the preface that Gregory undertook the task of finishing his brother's work after the latter's death, at the urging of Peter, their other brother (Paris ar. 134, ff. 1^{v}–2^{r}) — precisely because Basil had not commented on the sixth day of creation, a rationale which would rule out the existence of Homilies 10 and 11. Since Ibn al-Faḍl did not translate them, the question of their authenticity should not preoccupy us further. — Cf. their absence from the Armenian version: Robert W. Thomson, *Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology: a study of the Armenian Version of Saint Basil's* Hexaemeron *and its Influence on Medieval Armenian Views about the Cosmos*, CSCO 646 (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), 19.

2. *Normal Hexaemeron Corpus*: Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1–9; Gregory, *On Making Man*; Gregory, *Apology on the Hexaemeron.*

3. *Large Hexaemeron Corpus*, containing all of these texts: the Small Corpus, followed by the second two works in the Normal Corpus.

It is the second of these, the Normal Corpus, which Ibn al-Faḍl appears to have translated. (I will therefore refer to it simply as the 'Hexaemeron Corpus' with no further descriptor.)

Ibn al-Faḍl certainly produced a translation of the first work of this 'corpus,' Basil's *Hexaemeron.* To the translation, Ibn al-Faḍl added his own comments and glosses, although the distribution of these scholia throughout the text is uneven, at least as they are preserved in the manuscripts I have consulted. It is not quite so 'loose' a translation as it has sometimes been made out to be, although it is certainly not a strictly literal one.[68] This translation and Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia to it are the subject of the next two chapters. As for Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* and *Apology on the Hexaemeron*, Ibn al-Faḍl probably translated them as well. As I will discuss at more length in the following chapter, a *Hexaemeron* translation is explicitly ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl in at least three manuscripts, and all three of these manuscripts *also* contain the other two texts, but without an explicit ascription at the beginning or end of the texts. At the same time these *same* translations of Gregory of Nyssa's two works also appear in manuscripts containing a *different* translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron.* This does not rule out Ibn al-Faḍl's authorship of the translations, and as we shall see in the next chapter, their style is similar to Ibn al-Faḍl's *Hexaemeron* translation. Given this uncertainty, it is best to keep the entire Hexaemeron Corpus in mind.

At least in Greek, the three texts already circulated with one another by the eleventh century, to judge from Medieta and Rudberg's descriptions of the earlier *Hexaemeron* manuscripts.[69] Gregory clearly intended his two works to be associated with his brother's *Hexaemeron* from the beginning. Gregory's preface to his *On Making Man*, addressed to another brother Peter, announces his intention to add to their brother's work, as a "gift" to Peter.[70] With appropriate humility,[71] Gregory concedes that only Basil, "our common father and teacher," who was truly "formed in the Creator's image,"[72] could be worthy to "contemplate God's creation" and help others understand it.[73] But as Basil's student, Gregory will do his best, despite the magnitude of the

[68]Hans Daiber, "Graeco-Arabica Christiana: The Christian Scholar ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl (11th c. AD) as Transmitter of Greek Works," in *Islamic Philosophy, Science, Culture, and Religion: Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas*, ed. David Reisman and Felicitas Opwis (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 7, calls Ibn al-Faḍl's work a "free rendering" of the original texts. Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 56, calls it a "kompilatorische Uebersetzung der 9 Homilien des Basilius des Grossen… und der Ergänzungen dazu von Gregor von Nyssa… vermehrt mit zahlreichen eigenen Glossen." For a close study of passages of the translation itself, see ch. 2, §IV, pp. 113ff.

[69]M/R, *Basile*, *passim.*

[70]PG 44.125A–B. See also Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 263

[71]Gregory's gift, this "discourse," is "like a poor cloak woven not without effort from our beggarly intellect" (125B: Τὸ δὲ δῶρον λόγος ἐστὶν, οἷον ἱμάτιόν τι πενιχρὸν ἐκ τῆς πτωχῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας οὐκ ἀπόνως ἐξυφασμένον). Ladner, "Philosophical Anthropology," 66, argues on the basis of this passage's opening words that Gregory intended the text as a "discourse" rather than "a work of biblical exegesis in the strict sense."

[72]Here we already see Gregory's stress on man as a likeness of God.

[73]125B: Μόνος γὰρ ἀξίως τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ κατενόησεν, ὁ κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθεὶς ὄντως, καὶ ἐν εἰκόνι τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν ψυχὴν μεμορφωμένος Βασίλειος, ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν πατὴρ καὶ διδάσκαλος, ὃς τὴν ὑψηλὴν τοῦ παντὸς διακόσμησιν εὔληπτον τοῖς πολλοῖς διὰ τῆς ἰδίας θεωρίας ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀληθινῇ σοφίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ συστάντα κόσμον γνώριμον τοῖς διὰ τῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῦ τῇ θεωρίᾳ προσαγομένοις ποιήσας.

task,[74] dividing his discourse into chapters for clarity and ease of reference.[75] Likewise, Gregory's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*, which returns to the five days prior to man's creation, was meant to supplement Basil's *Hexaemeron*, ostensibly by defending it, although his readings are not always in agreement with his brother's.[76]

About half of the Hexaemeron Corpus is taken up by Basil's text and the other half by Gregory's two works (which take up a third and sixth of the total, respectively).[77] Even if Gregory and Basil have conflicting exegetical tendencies, the three texts form a cohesive, detailed commentary on the first chapter of Genesis.

Basil's nine *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*, a series of homilies delivered during Lent before 370, is an extended commentary on Genesis 1:1–26.[78] Self-consciously rejecting an allegorical interpretation of the six days of creation, Basil builds upon the foundation of the Mosaic verses the edifice of his emphatically Christian vision of the natural world, for which his beams and pillars are the works of Aristotle, Plato and the Stoic Poseidonios.[79] Nevertheless, both Manichaean and "Hellenic" blueprints are ruled out as inherently flawed and contradicted by the letter and spirit of Scriptures, especially as regards a material origin of the universe.[80] Plotinos too makes his way into Basil's vision, though never acknowledged.[81] Even though he insists that "faith" and the word of God should always trump rational speculation, Basil's explication of the Genesis creation narrative engages at some length with previous cosmological theories.[82] Nor does he always reject them; he most often adopts one or another theory as the most likely in the manner of a philosopher more than that of one who shuns philosophy.[83] With his periodic show of refusing to stoop to debating, he portrays himself as different from the theorists he mocks.[84] Though it is easy to place the *Hexaemeron* under the heading of 'theological literature,' it might be better to think of it as a work of cosmology organized as an orally delivered scriptural commentary.[85] For in this work Basil argues for specific theories about the architecture of the universe. Basil's *Hexaemeron* built upon an existing exegetical tradition focusing on the creation narrative, especially Philo of Alexandria's *De opificio mundi*. Basil's own exegesis was to have a major and lasting impact not

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[74]125C–128A.

[75]128B: Σαφηνείας δὲ χάριν καλῶς ἔχειν ᾠήθην, ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων σοι προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν ἔχοις πάσης τῆς πραγματείας ἐν ὀλίγῳ τῶν καθέκαστον ἐπιχειρημάτων εἰδέναι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν.

[76]See John F. Callahan, "Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocian Cosmology," *DOP* 12 (1958): 31, 44 n. 63, 47.

[77]As a rough estimate, I count the approximate number of columns each text (and its Latin translation with notes) fills in Migne's *Patrologia graeca*: Basil: 204 (51%); Gregory, *On Making Man*: 131 (33%); *Apology on the Hexaemeron*: 63 (16%).

[78]See Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 216.

[79]A precedent for writing on the creation of the world in high literary Greek may be found in the *De opificio mundi* (Περὶ τῆς τοῦ κατὰ Μωυσέα κοσμοποιίας) by Philo of Alexandria (d. *c.*50 CE). See *Der Neue Pauly* (Stuttgart: Metzler), s.v. "Philo [12]" (hereafter cited as *NP*).

[80]See chapter 2; and Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 217.

[81]Ibid. See also Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile et l'hellénisme: étude sur la rencontre de la pensée chrétienne avec la sagesse antique dans l'Hexaméron de Basile le Grand* (Paris, 1934); cited by Quasten.

[82]For the power of faith, see the end of Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.10 = 25A = MR 18_{10-11}: "…at any rate let the simplicity of faith be stronger than rational demonstration" (τό γε ἁπλοῦν τῆς πίστεως ἰσχυρότερον ἔστω τῶν λογικῶν ἀποδείξεων).

[83]For Basil's system for interpreting the natural world — or the lack thereof — see Bas.*Hex.* Giet, 129 n. 2.

[84]e.g., 1.11 = 28A = MR 19_{23-24}: "If we try to speak about these things now, we will fall into prattle similar to them" (Περὶ ὧν νῦν λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτοῖς ἀδολεσχίαν ἐμπεσούμεθα). For Basil's claim that he avoids speculating beyond what he can know, and the somewhat arbitrary nature of where he draws the line, see Giet 211 n. 3, who notes that Basil seeks to define some of these limits in his *Moralia* (PG 31.716D–717A).

[85]Cf. Callahan, "Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocian Cosmology," 31.

only on 'hexaemeral' exegesis in the Greek and other 'eastern' traditions but also in the Latin West, often mediated by Augustine of Hippo and Ambrose of Milan.[86]

Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* (called in Arabic *Fī khilqat al-insān fī l-yawm al-sādis*)[87] picks up where Basil leaves off, where God creates man in his own image (Gen 1:27). It is, as mentioned in the previous section, a "systematic anthropological treatise" which centers around man's creation "according to the image and likeness of God" on the one hand and as both a body and a soul on the other, seeking to explain why bad things apparently result from the human body.[88] Like Basil's work, it is at once a scriptural commentary and a philosophical discourse: it is a discourse in dialogue with earlier and contemporary philosophers for which scripture is at once a crucial rhetorical ingredient, a constraint upon speculation, and a court of final appeal (albeit one which may pronounce ambiguous decisions). While its focus is on working out a coherent 'anthropology', Gregory's work is part of the same broader cosmological project, for man's creation is the motivation for the world's existence.

The third and shortest work in the Hexaemeron Corpus is Gregory's *Apology on the Hexaemeron* (called *Iḥtijāj al-qiddīs Ighrighūriyus… ʿan al-khalīqa fī l-sitta al-ayyām* [*sic*]).[89] In it Gregory sets as his task an explication of Basil's *Hexaemeron* and a defense against its detractors. It is not a series of homilies (like Basil's work) nor divided into chapters (like *On Making Man*) but rather proceeds through its subject matter in one unbroken text. Gregory does more than defend his brother's reading, often choosing his favorite interpretation where Basil had offered several, sometimes even seeming to oppose Basil's reading, and generally preferring less literal, more "philosophical" interpretations, as Callahan puts it.[90]

Since both Basil and Gregory are steeped in philosophical vocabulary, we should make this distinction between Basil and Gregory more precise. Take for instance the question of what is beyond the heavens. Basil sees the world above the firmament as distinct in its brightness but fundamentally continuous with our own world, only separated from us by a material barrier, while Gregory posits a world 'up there' which is absolutely divided from ours, the intelligible world; it is only 'up there' in a figurative sense, since it is not located in space but rather transcends it.[91] It would seem here that the difference between the two is not how 'philosophical' they are, but in how they view the relation between the mundane and the celestial, the material and the spiritual. Perhaps we could say that Basil tends to seek 'naturalizing' explanations, in the sense that he wishes to explain what might seem obscure or strange in terms of naturally observed phenomena and literally interpreted scriptural passages, while Gregory tends towards explanations which seek out what is *hidden* behind observation and the literal meaning of a text — much like other late antique Platonists.

What these three works taken together represent, then, is a cosmological exposition which proceeds in stages culminating in the creation of man, and then turns back to consider the first five days in light of the most noble of God's creatures. The ensemble, carrying all the authority of

[86]Frank Egleston Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature: a study of the Greek and Latin commentaries on Genesis* (University of Chicago Press, 1912).

[87]Paris ar. 134, f. 103^{r}.

[88]Ladner, "Philosophical Anthropology," 61–2, quote at 61. See also Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 263.

[89]Paris ar. 134, f. 171^{v}.

[90]Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 263. Callahan, "Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocian Cosmology," 33: "Basil's freedom, however, is not so great as that of Gregory, who follows a more moderate course between the literal and the allegorical, and who seeks a more specifically philosophical meaning in the Scriptural account."

[91]e.g., ibid., 47.

the Cappadocian Fathers, conjured before the eleventh-century reader the cold, calm moment of creation, raising and answering many of the questions which might occur to one curious about what lies beyond the sky and how the world came to be. This corpus, as we shall see in the next two chapters, was to become a 'focus text' for future commentators writing on cosmology.[92]

John Chrysostom

A large proportion of the works which Ibn al-Faḍl is known to have translated were by John Chrysostom. Of these, most were exegetical homilies: Chrysostom's homilies on Genesis, the Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of John, First Corinthians, Hebrews, and Romans.[93]

There is limited evidence in favor of the hypothesis that the selection of 87 homilies by John Chrysostom in Arabic translation, transmitted under the Arabic title *Sublime exhortations and fine expressions by Chrysostom* (*Mawāʿiẓ sharīfa wa-alfāẓ laṭīfa li-Fam al-dhahab*), was made or

[92]I adopt the vocabulary of Asad Ahmed, who refers to the texts glossed and commented in a given commentary tradition as 'focus texts' (Arabic *matn*); a commentary can also become a focus text itself (as with Basil's *Hexaemeron*). For the dynamics of such commentary traditions, including the *ḥāshiya* as *matn*, see Ahmed, "Post-Classical."

[93]Genesis: CPG 4409; PG 53–54 (67 homilies); Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 434; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 53; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 196–197. In addition to the manuscripts mentioned by Graf and Nasrallah, a manuscript in Groningen may also contain Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*: Adriana Drint, "An Arabic Version of John Chrysostom's Commentary on Genesis," in *All those nations: cultural encounters within and with the Near East*, ed. H. L. J. Vanstiphout (1999), 43–49. According to Graf, Ibn al-Faḍl translated the *long series* of 67 homilies on Genesis (called *Homiliae in Genesim* in the PG); these homilies cover the first book of Moses in its entirety (PG 53 and 54:383–580); see Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 434. This long series is not to be confused with the *short series* of 9 homilies on Genesis by the same author (called *Sermones in Genesim* in the PG), covering Genesis 1–3 (PG 54.581–630).

Matthew: CPG 4424; PG 57–58 (90 homilies); Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, pp. 437–9; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 54; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 197–198. Unlike most of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations, this one has been published: *Tafsīr bishārat al-fāḍil Mattā rasūl Yasūʿ al-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1884–5 (vol. 1: homilies 1–40; vol. 2: homilies 41–90);

John: CPG 4425; PG 59 (88 homilies); Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, pp. 439–40; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 54–5; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 198–201. This translation too has been published (though again I have not been able to see the edition): ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Faḍl, *Kitāb Tafsīr Injīl al-qiddīs Yūḥannā al-bashīr al-thāwlūghūs li-l-qiddīs Yūḥannā al-Dhahabī al-Famm, akhrajahu min al-lugha al-yūnānīya ilā al-lugha al-ʿarabīya ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī*, 1st ed., ed. Yūsuf Mahannā al-Ḥaddād, with the assistance of Ioannis Papadopoulos (Beirut, 1863) (hereafter cited as AbF, J.Chrys.*on John*, Ḥaddād). Several subsequent revisions appeared, of which the third edition was printed in Cairo in 1885 under the title *Tafsīr bishārat al-fāḍil Yūḥannā rasūl Yasūʿ al-Masīḥ* (2 volumes); see Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh," 103. Féghali (ibid., 101–111), examines Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this commentary, especially homilies 1 and 2, on the basis of the 1863 edition (as he notes on p. 103).

First Corinthians: CPG 4428; PG 61 (44 homilies); Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, pp. 445–6; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 56; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 201. Graf expresses uncertainty regarding the ascription of this translation to Ibn al-Faḍl: "Unsicher bleibt noch die Zuweisung der Uebersetzung der Homilien des Johannes Chrysostomus zu I Kor an ʿAbdallāh in Sbath Fihris 398." Nasrallah, who had access to other manuscripts, lists this as one of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations. Noble and Treiger list it as one of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations: Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 377.

Hebrews: CPG 4440; PG 63.9–236 (34 homilies); Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, pp. 450–1; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 55–6; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 201–2. A reproduction of Sinai ar. 303, containing Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this work, can be found online (http://www.e-corpus.org/notices/99983/gallery/1033499). Aleppo Salem ar. 172 (= Sbath 971; 19th century) ascribes the translation to Ibn al-Faḍl; see Francisco del Río Sánchez, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem (Alep, Syrie)* (Stuttgart: Reichert, 2008), 95.

Romans: CPG 4427; PG 59.13–184 (32 homilies); Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, pp. 442–5; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 202–3. Graf does not mention this as one of Ibn al-Faḍl's works. Nasrallah does, and he also mentions the possibility that Ibn al-Faḍl is the translator of Chrysostom's commentary on Ephesians contained in Sinai ar. 299 (13th century).

translated by Ibn al-Faḍl. Bacha speaks of the author of this collection of 87 homilies as "a Melkite writer who does not give us his name."[94] But Cheikho was inclined to ascribe it to Ibn al-Faḍl; he does not make his reasoning explicit, but he was probably influenced by what he describes as the "elegant preface" preceding the collection (at least in the manuscript he was describing, Beirut BO 473, 17th century). Such prefaces are a common feature of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations and original works.[95] However, none of the manuscripts known to Graf or Nasrallah seems to have ascribed the work to Ibn al-Faḍl, and neither of them takes the step of attributing it to him.[96] Whoever produced it, this collection was popular and used in the liturgy in Arabic-speaking Chalcedonian-Orthodox communities; a separate recension (it is not clear which recension is the earlier one) found use in Coptic communities as well.[97] The recension which was used in Chalcedonian circles (which Graf calls "the Melkite redaction") was published, in a stylistically "polished" form, in 1874.[98] Until the text contained in the manuscripts is subjected to further philological study (ideally in comparison with Ibn al-Faḍl's translations of the homilies from which the excerpts are taken), we cannot say more of its authorship.

The Arabic translation of an *Exhortation to Penitence* by Chrysostom (probably along with two other texts) is attributed to Ibn al-Faḍl in at least one manuscript.[99] A manuscript in Florence contains an Arabic text in the Syriac script which is described as Chrysostom's *Exhortation to Penitence*, along with a *Homily on Compunction of the Heart, to Demetrios*, and a second homily on penitence; my understanding from Assemani's catalog entry is that not only the first but all three were translated by Ibn al-Faḍl. [100] These texts will need to be compared to the Greek texts from which they may derive in order to be identified. In any case, the titles certainly suggest their theme: penitence. This suggests their importance for spiritual exercises, since penitence is a staple of the monastic regimen.

Ibn al-Faḍl's abundant translations of works by John Chrysostom (d. 407) in particular show just how central Byzantine tastes were to the Antiochian Chalcedonian milieu. The brilliant or-

[94]Constantin Bacha, "S. Jean Chrysostome dans la littérature arabe," in *Chrysostomika: Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo* (Rome: Libreria Pustet, 1908), 179.

[95]Louis Cheikho, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits historique de la Bibliothèque Orientale de l'Université St.-Joseph* ([1913–29]), 290 (no. 473).

[96]Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 341; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 203. Noble and Treiger include it in their list of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations, since their aim is simply to provide an overview of the picture given by previous bibliographical studies, primarily Graf's and Nasrallah's; the latter includes the collection as a possible work of Ibn al-Faḍl's.

[97]Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, pp. 340–341.

[98]John Chrysostom, *Kitāb mawāʿiẓ al-jalīl fī l-qiddīsīn Yūḥannā fam al-dhahab*, ed. Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, 87 homilies (Beirut, 1874). The title page notes that the book's "expression was polished by the pen of the thrice-blessed sheikh Nāṣīf al-Yāzigī [an important nineteenth-century littérateur]…" (قد نُقّحت عبارتهُ بقلم المثلث الرحمة الشيخ ناصيف اليازجي العلّامة الشهير).

[99]Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 377; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 203.

[100]Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, or. 99^{c} = Assemani no. 76: Stephanus Evodius Assemani, *Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium catalogus* (Florence, 1742), 130: "[1] Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi Oratio Exhortatoria ad Poenitentiam, Arabica, cui subiungitur: [2] Homilia de Compunctione cordis ad Demetrium; [3] Homilia II. de Poenitentia: quas una cum reliquis S. Ioanis Chrysostomi Operibus, e Graeco in Arabicum sermonem transtulit Abdalla Ben-Alp[h]adl, Diaconus Melchita, qui saeculo Christi circiter undecimo in Syria claruit. Exstant Latine, & Graece impressae Londini MDXC. per Ioannem Harmarum, & Parisiis anno MDCIX. per Frontonem Ducaeum." Assemani then adds that it also contains "S. Ephraem Syri Sermo Paraeneticus de patientia, & compunctione…" I read his entry to mean that all three works by Chrysostom — the *Exhortatory Oration on Penitence*, the *Homily on Compunction of the Heart to Demetrius*, and the Second Homily on Penitence" — were translated by Ibn al-Faḍl. Nasrallah also mentions the possibility that Ibn al-Faḍl is the translator of Chrysostom's homily on Easter (*HMLEM*, 3.1:203).

ator of Antioch and onetime patriarch of Constantinople was extraordinarily popular in Byzantine culture.[101] While the works of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa are well-attested in eleventh-century manuscripts, Chrysostom's homilies are *phenomenally* well-attested. As of 1907, the manuscript tradition of Chrysostom's homilies was reckoned to include 1917 manuscripts, including 512 dated to the eleventh century.[102] Given the overall survival of Greek manuscripts, in which manuscripts from the eleventh century and earlier are much, much less likely to survive than those dating to the twelfth century and later ones, it is particularly significant that over a quarter of the extant manuscripts of Chrysostom's homilies are from the eleventh century. This may be in part due to the production and use of such books in monastic centers with institutional continuity from the eleventh century to the present (especially monasteries and patriarchates), but it also indicates that this was a period in which Chrysostom's homilies were copied and studied with particular intensity. These exegetical homilies were regularly read during Lent and Easter in monasteries throughout the Byzantine empire.[103] These homilies make up the bulk of the Chrysostom works which Ibn al-Faḍl translated, a clear sign that contemporary Byzantine culture was a major factor behind his translation program.

Chrysostom's commentaries are often lyrical and consistently put his dazzling oratory on display. Photios (d. after 893)[104] read the *Homilies on Genesis* (of which he counted 61, rather than 67) with some pleasure, even if he considered them inferior to the Antiochian's other homilies, on account of their humble language.[105] Chrysostom's beautiful words also afford his reader the opportunity to consider doctrinal and philosophical problems — while being absolved of any philosophical guilt, for Chrysostom insists on an absolute distinction between his (and so his reader's) contemplations and the speculations of the pagan philosophers.[106]

The homilies on Genesis, of which at least 180 manuscripts were known to be extant in 1907,[107] present a complete exegesis of the first book of Moses. Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this work is one of the few that we can even begin to date: it was carried out no later than September 1052, since Ibn al-Faḍl refers to it in question 83 of his *Joy of the Believer* (dated to September 1051–September 1052).[108] The 90 homilies on Matthew read the first gospel carefully, condemning Manichaean positions at opportune moments, and insisting, against the Arian doctrine, that the Son is equal to the Father.[109] This commentary was, like that on Genesis, extremely popular in Greek, with

[101]See Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, pp. 424–32.

[102]Chrysostomus Baur, *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses oeuvres dans l'histoire littéraire* (Louvain, 1907), 29; cited by Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 431.

[103]Ibid., vol. 3, p. 433.

[104]*ODB*, s.v. "Photios."

[105]Photios, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 172, Photios, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, ed. René Henry, 9 vols., index by Jacques Schamp (Paris: Les Belles Lettres / Budé, 1959–1991), vol. 2, 169_{22-30} (hereafter cited as Phot.*Bibl.*Henry) (cited by Chrysostomus Baur, "Chrysostomus in Genesim," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 108 [1927]: 230): "Ἡ δὲ φράσις αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς συνήθους σαφηνείας καὶ καθαρότητος καὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ εὔρουν ἐνδείκνυται, τὸ πολύχουν τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν παραδειγμάτων προσφυεστάτην εὐπορίαν συνυποφαίνουσα. Ἠλάττωται δὲ ὅμως τῆς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι φράσεως ἐπὶ τὸ ταπεινότερον ἀπενηνεγμένη, ὅσον τῶν εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον ἑρμηνειῶν καὶ ἔτι τῶν εἰς τὸν ψαλτῆρα ὑπομνημάτων ἡ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ὑπολείπεται."

[106]e.g., at the beginning of his second homily on John (quoted with discussion of Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic version by Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh," 108–9).

[107]Baur, *S. Jean Chryososstome*, 29; cited by Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 431.

[108]Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh," 100.

[109]Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 437.

174 extant manuscripts known in 1907.[110] The 88 homilies on John, which are much shorter than those on Matthew, are perhaps more polemically charged, striking out against Arian attempts to read passages in the Gospel of John as support for their heteroousian/anomoian position, that the Son's substance is not that of the Father, nor even *like* that of the father.[111] The homilies on First Corinthians continue to attest to the 'sectarian milieu' in which Chrysostom preached — and so to the sectarian concerns of anyone interested in these homilies — with attacks against the anomoians.[112] Of Chrysostom's commentaries on the Pauline corpus, Ibn al-Faḍl also translated the homilies on Hebrews and the homilies on Romans. The latter are, according to Quasten, "by far the most outstanding patristic commentary on this Epistle [Romans] and the finest of all Chrysostom's works."[113] Chrysostom's impassioned enthusiasm for the Apostle to the Gentiles resounds throughout; the city of Rome, he says, is not glorious for its gold or columns but rather because of "these pillars of the Church," Peter and Paul.[114]

Chrysostom's books of homilies are voluminous and rich in detailed discussions of a wide range of concepts, ideas and doctrinal positions which Chrysostom himself was instrumental in establishing. The possible reasons for continued eleventh-century interest in the hundreds of pages of these works are far more than can be discussed here. They might include the use of the homilies in liturgy, their doctrinal positions (which became authoritative for subsequent doctrinal debates), the life they breathed into the Christian scriptures, and their exemplary rhetoric.

Sophronios

Sophronios (b. *c.*560, Damascus; d. ?638, Jerusalem),[115] a disciple of John Moschos and the patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638) who negotiated the city's surrender in 638 to the caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (al-Fārūq, r. 634–644), was firmly committed to the Chalcedonian Christology.[116] When he became patriarch of Jerusalem, he promulgated a *Synodical Letter* affirming Chalcedonian, Dyothelete doctrinal positions.[117] Ibn al-Faḍl produced an Arabic adaptation of Sophronios's *Synodical Letter*. This text, entitled *The Book of Proof on the Confirmation of Faith* (*Kitāb al-Burhān fī tathbīt al-īmān*), has until now been thought to be the translation of a spurious work falsely attributed to Sophronios.[118] A comparison of the Arabic text to Sophronios's *Synodical Letter*,

[110]Baur, *S. Jean Chryososotome*, 30; cited by Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 431.

[111]Ibid., vol. 3, p. 439. Cf. Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh," 101–2.

[112]Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, p. 445.

[113]Ibid., vol. 3, p. 442.

[114]Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 442–4.

[115]*ODB*, s.v. "Sophronios"; for doubts about the date of Sophronios's death, see Phil Booth, *Crisis of Empire: Doctrine and Dissent at the End of Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2013); cited by Nick Marinides on the NASCAS listserv, 10 July 2013.

[116]See *ODB*, s.v. "Sophronios."

[117]CPG 7635; PG 87.3148–3200 (= Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* [Florence, 1759–], vol. 11, pp. 461–510 [hereafter cited as Mansi]); critical edition (as part of the Acts of the Quinisext Council, a.k.a. Council of Constantinople in Trullo, held in 692 under Justinian II in Constantinople, where the letter was read): *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. Rudolf Riedinger, 2 vols., Series secunda (1984–), vol. 2.1, pp. 410–494 (hereafter cited as *ACO* ser. sec.); English translation (with Riedinger's text on facing pages): Pauline Allen, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-century Heresy: the* Synodical Letter *and Other Documents* (Oxford UP, 2009), 65–157.

[118]Graf calls the Arabic a work "of unknown origin," noting the ascription to Sophronios: Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 57. Nasrallah holds essentially the same opinion on the matter, although he does list it under the heading "Œuvres de Saint Sophrone": Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 207. Noble and Treiger call it a work by "Pseudo-Sophronius":

however, shows that the Arabic consists of excerpts adapted and translated from the *Synodical Letter*.[119] The heading for the Arabic version reads:

> Book/Letter (*kitāb*) of Proof on the Confirmation of Faith, by Saint Sophronios, given the honorific 'Mouth of Christ,' which he sent to Rome, on the faith of the Six Holy Councils — and he mentioned six councils only because he departed from this world before the seventh council took place. The deacon ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Muṭrān al-Anṭākī translated it (*tarjamahu*) from Greek into Arabic, to seek the recompense and reward; it is twenty-eight chapters.[120]

"Christian Arabic Theology," 378.

[119]The *Synodical Letter* discusses the same list of topics as Graf describes when speaking of the *Kitāb al-Burhān fī tathbīt al-īmān*: the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Councils, and Heresies. This led me to consult the Arabic text in Vat. Sbath 44 (17th century) and Vat. Sbath 291 (1727 CE); a comparison with the Greek makes clear that the Arabic is a translation of excerpts from the Greek — or excerpts from an Arabic translation of the whole letter. (I have not yet been able to consult the earliest manuscript of the Arabic translation known to me, Jerusalem, Holy Sepulcher, ar. 12 [12th/13th century], ff. 118^{r}–157^{r}; cited by Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 57; contents described in Graf, KCAHJ III.1, 300–301.) These excerpts are framed differently from how Sophronios frames his letter: whereas Sophronios provides a lengthy proem about why he is writing the letter, the Arabic version by Ibn al-Faḍl opens with a brief introduction on the Ecumenical Councils: "The first chapter on the prescriptions which the Holy Councils prescribed. Every Christian must confess by his heart and his mouth that the Six Holy Councils which assembled from the inhabited parts [i.e., the *oikoumene*] — I mean those in Nicaea and Constantinople, which are four, and the one which took place in Ephesus, first in Chalcedon, as was arranged (?) — established (*thabbatat*) and implemented (*ḥaqqaqat*) faith in this way; and this is a commentary on them [the councils]" (الباب الأول في الرسوم التي رسمتها المجامع المقدسة. ينبغي لكل مسيحي أن يعترف بقلبه وبفمه أن المجامع الستة المقدسة التي التأمت من الجهات المسكونة، أعني ما كان منها بنيقية والقسطنطينية، وهي أربعة، وما صار في أفسيس أولاً في خلكيدونية، كما قد رتب، ثبتت وحققت الأمانة على هذه الصفة، وهذا شرحها). Now with a rubricated word, the manuscript seems to indicate the beginning of Sophronios's words (ff. 83^{r-v}, translation of *Synodical Letter* 2.2.1): "I believe in one God, father, ruler of the universe (*ḍābiṭ al-kull*), universally without beginning, pre-eternal (*azalī*), creator of what is seen and what is not seen; and in one lord Jesus Christ, son of the only God, born from him pre-eternally in isolation from accidents (*ʿawāriḍ*) and affections (*infiʿālāt* ∼ πάθη), of whom no beginning (*mabdaʾ*) is known but his father alone [*either in the Arabic translation or simply in my transcription of it, there is a gap here corresponding to the Greek*: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ (read: οὐδὲν)] ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχοντα], light ?from light, true god from true god, equal to his father in substance and pre-eternity (*azalīya*); and in a Holy Spirit, proceeding pre-eternally from the Father, also known as being true light and (true) god and equal to the Father and the Son in anterior-eternity (*qidam*) and substance, and nature, and divinity" (أؤمن بإله واحد أبٌ ضابط الكل، لا مبدأ له بالكلية، أزلي صانع لما يرى وما لا يرى؛ وبربٍ واحدٍ يسوع المسيح، ⟨٨٣ ب⟩ ابن الله الوحيد، المولود منه، ولادةً أزلية، بمعزل عن العوارض، والانفعالات، الذي لا يعرف له مبدأ، إلا أبوه فقط، نور اخر (؟) نور، إله حقيقي، من إله حقيقي، مساوي (كذا) لأبيه في الجوهر والأزلية؛ وبروح قدس، المنبعث من الأب انبعاثاً أزلياً، المعروف أيضاً بأنه نور وإله حقيقي، ومساوي (كذا) للأب والابن في القدم والجوهر، والطبيعة، واللاهوت). What follows next is the beginning of *Synodical Letter* 2.2.2, incipit: "Trinity equal in substance and honor" (f. 83^{v}: ثالوث متساوي (كذا) في الجوهر والكرامة). This section is not so straightforward, since there appears to be a discussion inserted here from *Synodical Letter* 2.2.4 (وربوبية واحدة من غير اختلاط، ولا امتزاج، يشوبان الوجوه والاقانيم الثلاثة، حتى تصير وجهاً واحداً، ويكون ʼالأبʽ هو الابن والروح القدس، كما اعتقد صابليوس المنافق، لأنني أؤمن بثالوث في وحدة...). But then chapter 2 (الباب الثاني: في تجسد الواحد من الثالوث القدوس وسياسته وهو ابن الله), corresponding to *Synodical Letter* 2.3, begins with text corresponding to 2.3.1 (f. 85^{v}): أؤمن بأن ربنا يسوع المسيح أحد الثالوث الطاهر القدوس وهو الإله الكلمة ابن الأب الوحيد المولود منه قبل كل الدهور والأزمان، من غير عارض وانفعال لتحننه ورحمته ورافته (كذا) على هفواتنا نحن معشر الانام، وتنازل إلينا نحن الخاملون بإيثاره، وعن رأي الله والده، وإرادةً من الروح القدس الإلهية... Occasionally there are scholia ascribed explicitly to Ibn al-Faḍl. The overview of the Ecumenical Councils (ff. 89^{r}–93^{v}) seems at first glance like a loose adaptation. Further study is needed to determine the exact relation between Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic version and the Greek original and whether there were any intermediary versions.

[120]Vat. Sbath 44, f. 81^{v}: كتاب البرهان في تثبيت الإيمان لأبينا القديس سفرنيوس (كذا) المكنى بفمّ المسيح، أرسله إلى رومية في أمانة المجامع الستة

Photios read the *Synodical Letter*, along with the dossier of patristic excerpts which followed it.[121] Of the letter, he observes that it is "full of piety but frequently innovates in its words, like a foal proud of its leaps," but offers a most precise exposition (ἐξακριβοῖ) of orthodoxy and "displays uncommon knowledge of the holy doctrines."[122] What interested Photios most, to judge from the remainder of his comments on the letter, was the list of heretics which it condemns. The last of these whom he notes is Jacob the Syrian (of Serug), "from whom the community (σύστημα) of the Acephalous heretics derive their name [i.e., Jacobites]."[123] This appears on the face of it to be a reference to how the Miaphysites (frequently called Akephaloi, or the 'headless,' by the Byzantine Orthodox) referred to themselves, that is, as Jacobites. Indeed, we find Michael of Tanis, a Coptic Miaphysite Christian, referring to "the Jacobite Orthodox" (*al-yaʿāqibah al-urtuduksīyīn*).[124] This interest in drawing the connection between Jacob of Serug and the 'Akephaloi' appears to be Photios's, since as Henry points out, this link is absent from the *Synodical Letter* itself.[125] Finally, Photios notes that Sophronios asks that Pope Honorius of Rome supplement and correct the letter if anything is amiss.[126] In sum, Photios was interested in the letter, despite its style, as a succinct starting point for discussing not only doctrine but also questions of ecclesiastical authority (both in the form of heretics condemned and deference to the bishop of Rome) and the *de facto* divisions within the Church (for he sees Jacob of Serug not only as a heretic, but as the eponym of a continuing ecclesiastical community).

As has already been noted, the Byzantine ecclesiastical and imperial adminstrative apparatus came into uncomfortably close contact in the tenth and eleventh centuries with the Miaphysite-Syriac (a.k.a. Jacobite) church hierarchy active in cities and monastic centers in the eastern reconquered territories.[127] Sophronios's *Synodical Letter* allowed for a concise articulation of what set these bishops, priests, and monks apart from the Byzantine hierarchy. The version that Ibn al-Faḍl translated, by highlighting the six Ecumenical Councils — of which Miaphysites only accept the first three — is even better suited for this purpose.

Maximos Confessor

Sophronios's student Maximos the Confessor (580–662) is one of the most important theologians in the Chalcedonian-Dyothelete Orthodox tradition.[128] Not only did he subscribe to the

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المقدسة. وإنما ذكر ستة مجامع لأنه انتقل من هذا العالم قبل أن يصير المجامع (كذا) السابع. ترجمه من اللغة اليونانية إلى العربية الشماس عبد الله ابن الفضل ابن عبد الله المطران الأنطاكي، لطلب الأجر والثواب. وهو ثمانية وعشرون باب. The same title is repeated on f. 83^{r}, except that there the words سفرونيوس and المجمع السابع are spelled correctly.

[121]Reviewed in his *Bibliotheca*, codex 231; Phot.*Bibl.*Henry, vol. 5, pp. 64–65.

[122]Ibid., vol. 5, p. 64: "Αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστολὴ πλήρης μέν ἐστιν εὐσεβείας, ἐννεωτερίζει δὲ πολλαχοῦ τοῖς ῥήμασι, καθάπερ τις πῶλος ἐπιγαυρούμενος τοῖς σκιρτήμασι. Πλὴν τήν τε ὀρθόδοξον ὡς μάλιστα γνώμην ἐξακριβοῖ, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν δογμάτων οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν μάθησιν ἐπιδείκνυται."

[123]Ibid., vol. 5, p. 65: "…συναναθεματίζεται ὁ Σῦρος Ἰάκωβος, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸ τῶν Ἀκεφάλων αἱρετικῶν εἵλκυσε σύστημα."

[124]Michael of Tanis, *apud* Severus ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church / Taʾrīkh baṭārikat al-Kanīsah al-Miṣrīyah*, ed. Yassā ʿAbd al-Masīḥ and O.H.E. Burmester (Cairo, 1943–), vol. 2, p. 142.

[125]Phot.*Bibl.*Henry, vol. 5, 65 n. 2.

[126]Lines 28–34.

[127]Dagron, "Minorités."

[128]For Maximos's life and works, see Andrew Louth, "Maximus the Confessor," in *Patrology: the Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (750)*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, trans. Adrian Walford (2006), 135–53.

doctrine of two natures inextricably bound, and yet distinct, in Christ, but he also fought vehemently against any attempt to find middle ground between this and the Miaphysite view, most notably the proposal that Christ's natures are two but his will is one, known as Monotheletism.[129] Monotheletes came to hold him in contempt, as attested by a defamatory Life of Maximos written in Syriac in the seventh/eighth century at the latest.[130]

As a young man, Maximos was engaged at the imperial court in Constantinople, before he gave up his political career to become a monk nearby. In 626 he fled the Sasanian invasion into Asia Minor, settling in North Africa. It was there that he took up his vocal opposition to Heraclius's Monothelete edict of 638, the *Ekthesis*, which sought to sidestep the question of whether Christ's activity (ἐνέργεια) was one or two while declaring his will one.[131] Maximos's stance, supported by Pope Martin at the Lateran Council of 649, eventually led to Maximos's arrest, exile, and subsequent condemnation for heresy, for which his tongue and right hand were severed. He died in 662, exiled to Lazika, by the Black Sea.[132] By insisting that Christ partook not only of human *nature* but also of human will, Maximos had staked out positions on the relation of human and divine (if God partook of human nature and experience, then humans can aspire to partake of the divine) and the relation of human reason to the rest of the human (hence his emphasis on the *whole* human's participation in mystical union with God).[133]

Maximos is the author of works ranging from philosophically sophisticated treatises on the nature of God and human beings to more accessible articulations of doctrine and spiritual instruction.[134] The works translated by Ibn al-Faḍl fall in the latter category: the *Disputation with Pyrrhos*,[135] the *Chapters on Love* (a.k.a. *De caritate*),[136] and the *Gnostic Chapters* (a.k.a. *Capita theologica et oeconomica*).[137]

[129]Maximos's objections to Monotheletism centered around the implications it would have for a theory of the human being. He believed that the will attached not to the person but to the nature, so that someone with both a human and divine nature must have both a human and a divine will, for human nature without the human will, would hardly be human nature at all; Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine*, 86–7.

[130]Sebastian Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," *Analecta Bollandiana* 91 (1973): 299–346. The Vita is preserved in a single manuscript, BM Add. 7192, ff. 72^{v}–78^{v}, in the second part, which is "in a seventh/eighth century hand"; Brock, "Early Syriac Life," 300. It is entitled *The story of impious Maximos of Palestine, who blasphemed against his Creator and whose tongue was cut out* (*taš'iṯo d'al Maksimos raši'o dmen Palesṭini dgadef 'al boruyeh weṯfseq lešoneh*); ibid., 302; trans. based on Brock's at p. 314.

[131]Louth, "Maximus," 135. The text of the *Ekthesis* is reprinted with an English translation by Allen, *Sophronius*, 208–217. The Monothelete position is articulated at p. 214f. See also *ODB*, s.v. "Ekthesis."

[132]Louth, "Maximus," 136.

[133]Ibid. See also *ODB*, s.v. "Maximos the Confessor"; Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine*, 82.

[134]Louth contrasts such works with those which put on display the complexity of Maximos's approach to the nature of human and divine: *Maximus the Confessor*, Early Christian Fathers (London: Routledge, 1996), 1.

[135]CPG 7698; PG 91.288–353 (Combefis); Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 372; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 206. For an analysis of the text's contents, as well as a re-edition and French translation of the text, see M. Doucet, "Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus" (PhD diss., Montreal, 1972). English translation: Maximos the Confessor, *The disputation with Pyrrhus of our father among the saints Maximus the Confessor*, trans. Joseph P. Farrell (South Canaan, Pennsylvania: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1990) (hereafter cited as Max.*Pyrrh.* Farr.).

[136]Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀγάπης: CPG 7693; PG 90.960–1080; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 207. Critical edition: Maximos the Confessor, *Massimo Confessore: Capitoli sulla carità*, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, Verba seniorum 3 (Rome, 1963) (hereafter cited as Max.*de car.* C.-G.), whose text I use. English translation: Maximos the Confessor, *Maximus Confessor, Selected Writings*, trans. G.C. Berthold, Classics of Western Spirituality (London, 1985), 35–98 (hereafter cited as Max. Berth.).

[137]Κεφάλαια γνωστικά (so in PG; cf. Hans Urs von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie: das Weltbild Maximus' des Beken-*

The *Disputation*, which Ibn al-Faḍl translated with the title *A debate between Pyrrhos patriarch of Constantinople and Saint Maximos the Confessor*,[138] is a dialogue on whether Christ has one or two wills (or activities). It presents arguments in favor of the two-will position in the accessible format of a dialogue narrating Maximos's debate in North Africa with the Monothelete patriarch of Constantinople Pyrrhos after he was deposed in 645. Maximos's refutation of the one-will position eventually convinces even Pyrrhos, who admits he was wrong.[139] This debate would have been of clear doctrinal importance to the eleventh-century Byzantine orthodox church, since it focuses on a doctrine which distinguished the Byzantine church not only from contemporary Monotheletes but also from the influential community of Syrian Miaphysites. For the Miaphysite position that Christ's nature is one, human and divine natures combined in one, precludes the possibility of Christ having two separate wills, a doctrine predicated on two natures. Monotheletes were naturally hostile towards Maximos as well;[140] in the eleventh century, the Maronites continued to hold a Monothelete doctrine.

The other two works Ibn al-Faḍl translated are collections of *kephalaia*, or short 'chapters,' succinct distillations of spiritual instruction varying in length from a single line to a paragraph. These works of Maximos were highly influential in (Chalcedonian) Orthodox monasticism and were part of a Christian genre first cultivated by Evagrius of Pontus (whose works often circulated under others' names because of his condemnation as a heretic at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553), who modeled his *kephalaia* on earlier Greek wisdom literature and collections of sayings.[141] Even the title of the *Gnostic Chapters* (*Kephalaia gnōstika*), is identical with that of one of Evagrius's works.[142] In what follows, I will discuss at some length the nature of these 'chapters' of Maximos which Ibn al-Faḍl translated. Because these are pivotal texts in the Chalcedonian-Orthodox ascetic tradition which shaped how matter and the human body were understood, it is worth dwelling on them here.

First, the *Chapters on Love*. The work consists of a preface followed by four sets of 100 chapters each (whence each is called a 'century,' ἑκατοντάς), most of them quite short (several lines), on the theme of love (ἀγάπη). While occasionally making reference to Chalcedonian theological positions such as the "homoousian Trinity,"[143] these chapters focus not on what the community should believe but rather on how the individual wishing to live a spiritual life of love should go about it.[144] Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic version circulated under the title *Book on Love, which is the most*

ners, 2nd ed. [Einsiedeln: Johannes-Verlag, 1961], 486): CPG 7694; PG 90.1084–1173. There is apparently a new critical edition being prepared by C. de Vocht (cited by CPG Suppl. p. 437) but if it has since appeared, I have been unable to find it. My citations refer to the PG text. English translation in: Max. Berth. Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 487–643, presents an extended argument for the work's authenticity, on the basis of how it was compiled, its contents, and its sources, systematically investigated. See also Louth, "Maximus," 141–2.

[138]Nasrallah gives the Arabic title (in Latin transliteration) as: مناظرة بين بِرُّس بطريرك القسطنطينية والقدّيس مكسيمس المعترف.

[139]Louth, "Maximus," 136.

[140]In the Syriac Life of Maximos, written by a Maronite, we can sense the author's exasperation with the "impious" Maximos who believed that everything about Christ was "double" (*ʿfifo*) except his hypostasis; §9, Brock, "Early Syriac Life," 306, trans. 316.

[141]Paul Géhin, "Les collections de *Kephalaia* monastiques: naissance et succès d'un genre entre création, plagiat et florilège," in *Theologica minora: the minor genres of Byzantine theological literature*, ed. Antonio Rigo, Pavel Ermilov, and Michele Trizio (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), esp. 2, 8–12.

[142]Ibid., 3.

[143]4.77_{1-2}: ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος.

[144]Louth notes that Maximos's "sources [for this work] are largely Evagrian, though unlike Evagrius Maximus

noble and exalted of the commandments, or similar.[145]

Stressing that the thoughts are not his own, Maximos explains in the preface that he has plucked ideas from the works of "the Holy Fathers" and phrased them concisely as an aid to memorization.[146] He then concludes by saying that the chapters are difficult to understand fully and should be read with an "uncomplicated mind" (ἀπεριέργοις ἐννοίας); the one who reads only to find fault with Maximos "will never receive any profit from anywhere" (οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον οὐδαμόθεν οὐδέποτε).[147] The chapters themselves draw on a wide variety of patristic writers as advertised.[148] They are approachable but leave Maximos's ideal simple-hearted reader with much to contemplate.[149]

The text is arranged roughly by spiritual progress. The first 'century' defines love early on in negative terms. Esteem for the body before the soul and God's creation before him is "idolatry," and whoever turns his mind from love of God is an idolater.[150] But faith alone is not enough to earn salvation, "for even demons believe" in God and fear him; one must love him as well.[151] From there, the text elaborates on how to free oneself from passions and come to know God: "Not from his substance (οὐσία) do we know God, but from his mighty work (μεγαλουργίας) and Providence for the beings; for through these things, as if through mirrors, do we contemplate his boundless goodness and wisdom and power."[152]

The second 'century' focuses on the demons and passions which keep one chained "to material

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makes it clear that the whole human being, including the body and the irrational parts of the soul, is involved in the loving union with God that is the goal of the Christian life. Maximus also draws on Dionysius [the Areopagite], especially when he considers the final union with God": Louth, "Maximus," 138. Cf. Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 410.

[145]Arabic title (in Latin transcription) from Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 207: كتاب في المحبة التي هي أشرف الوصايا وأجلّها. Nasrallah also lists two other titles sometimes given to the text: في المحبة الشريفة وفي الوصايا الإنجيلية and رأس الأربعمائة. In Vat. Sbath 176, the title is كتاب أنشأه أبينا (كذا) النبيل في القديسين مكسيموس البار، في المحبة التي هي أشرف الوصايا وأجلها، وبعث به إلى القديس إلبيديوس، وهو أربعمائة رأس متقدمة، ومائتي رأس أخيرة. As this title suggests, there are an additional 200 chapters included at the end of the manuscript; these are Maximos's *Gnostic Chapters*.

[146]Max.*de car.* C.-G., 48_{6-10} = 960A: "These things are not the harvest of my own intellect; but rather I went through the discourses of the holy Fathers and from there selected the meaning leading to the subject [i.e., he made selections relevant to love], and most summarily brought together many things in a few words, so that they might become easy to take in because of their memorableness; these I send to your holiness…" (οὐδὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἐμῆς εἰσὶ γεώργια διανοίας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων διελθὼν λόγους κἀκεῖθεν τὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν συντείνοντα νοῦν ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις πολλὰ κεφαλαιωδέστερον συναγαγὼν, ἵνα εὐσύνοπτα γένωνται διὰ τὸ εὐμνημόνευτον, ἀπέστειλα τῇ σῇ ὁσιότητι…). Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (Vat. Sbath 176, 1^{v}–2^{r}): إن هذا ليست غلّة معقولنا، لكنّها ألفاظ الآباء ⟨٢ أ⟩ القدماء، لمّا مددتُ عقلي انتخبتها واخترتها، وجمعت هذه الرؤوس الكثيرة بإيجاز واختصار، ليستحسن نظمها واقتضاء ذكرها، وأنفذتها إلى طهارتك أيها البار، فأنا أسأل أن تقرأها بمعرفة حسنة… On Maximos's method of compiling such chapters to be "artfully interlocking," see Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 485.

[147]Max.*de car.* C.-G., 48_{19-24} = 960B, 961A; trans. Max. Berth., 35.

[148]e.g. the 5th-century Alexandrian exegete Ammonius's commentary on Matthew, which survives in fragments, is quoted verbatim at §4.96 (quoted from PG 85.1389C, *ad locum* Mt 27:46; cited by Lampe s.v. ἐγκατάλειψις B.2.e). Likewise, Dionysios the Areopagite is explicitly cited at §3.5 for the argument that evils are simply deprivation — or "deprivations" (στερήσεις) — of the good.

[149]Louth calls the work "the most attractive of Maximus' ascetical writings" ("Maximus," 138); Balthasar calls it "[d]ieses liebenswürdigste und leichteste aller Werke des Bekenners" (*Kosmische Liturgie*, 408).

[150]1.7–8.

[151]1.39, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 62: "καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια πιστεύουσι καὶ φρίσσουσι" (James 2:19).

[152]1.96, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 86: "Οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκομεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς μεγαλουργίας αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας τῶν ὄντων· διὰ τούτων γὰρ ὡς δι' ἐσόπτρων τὴν ἄπειρον ἀγαθότητα καὶ σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν κατανοοῦμεν."

things" (τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς ὑλικοῖς).[153] To be "perfect in love" (ὁ τέλειος ἐν ἀγάπῃ), one must tear down the boundary between the self and others,[154] thus defeating self-love (φιλαυτία), "the mother of passions."[155] The 'century' offers advice to the one seeking this difficult transformation of the self, such as what to do "when you see your mind occupied pleasurably with material things."[156] The reader is taught to exercise control over the passions.

Such exercises pave the way for the third 'century,' which encourages the reader to question what was taken for granted in earlier stages when passions reigned. Things (food, procreation, glory and money) are not evil in themselves, but rather their abuse (gluttony, fornication, vainglory and greed), caused by mental negligence.[157] For evil itself, as Dionysios says, is merely deprivation of the good.[158] The 'century' goes on to consider God's knowledge of himself and of "what is generated by him" (τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότα), describing his mode of knowing as different from that by which angels ("the holy powers," αἱ ἅγιαι δυνάμεις) know him and his creation.[159] The category of "rational and intellectual substance" (ἡ λογικὴ καὶ νοερὰ οὐσία) is carved up along the lines of Aristotelian dichotomies: into (1) angelic and (2) human; the angelic substance may in turn be (1a) holy or (1b) sinful, while the human substance may be (2a) pious or (2b) impious.[160]

In this way, the reader is invited to lift his[161] thoughts beyond the material world — "bodies composed of opposites" (σώματα ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνεστῶτα), that is, of the elements "earth, air, fire, water" — to contemplate that which is "rational and intellectual and capable of receiving opposites, like virtue and evil and wisdom and ignorance," being "incorporeal and immaterial."[162] At the same time, the chapters continue to circle back to the problem of sin, but now the discussion is more abstracted and generalized; where previously sins were individually combatted, the text now offers advice on how to preserve a state of near or total sinlessness. The one without passion for worldly things loves silence, it proclaims, as the one who loves no human thing "loves all men"; gnosis of God and divine things comes to the one who is sinless in deeds and thoughts.[163] There is, as another chapter relates, a causal chain of sins, leading from "self-love" to

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[153]2.3.

[154]2.30 = 993B.

[155]2.8, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 92: "Ὁ τὴν μητέρα τῶν παθῶν ἀποβαλῶν φιλαυτίαν…"

[156]2.51, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 118: "Ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸν νοῦν σου τοῖς ὑλικοῖς ἡδέως ἐνασχολούμενον…"

[157]3.4, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 144: "Οὐ τὰ βρώματα κακά, ἀλλ' ἡ γαστριμαργία· οὐδὲ ἡ παιδοποιία, ἀλλ' ἡ πορνεία· οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα, ἀλλ' ἡ φιλαργυρία· οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα, ἀλλ' ἡ κενοδοξία. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι κακόν, εἰ μὴ ἡ παράχρησις, ἥτις ἐπισυμβαίνει ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ ἀμελείας περὶ τὴν φυσικὴν γεωργίαν."

[158]3.5. Basil's discussion in the *Hexaemeron* likewise uses the Dionysian term στερήσεις in this context (although of course Basil wrote before pseudo-Dionysios).

[159]3.21–2. For the history of the notion that the same term when applied to different beings can mean the same things but have a different force, see Alexander Treiger, "Avicenna's Notion of Transcendental Modulation of Existence (*taškīk al-wuǧūd, analogia entis*) and Its Greek and Arabic Sources," in Reisman and Opwis, *Islamic… Gutas [Festschrift]*, 327–363.

[160]3.26, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 154: "Πᾶσα ἡ λογικὴ καὶ νοερὰ οὐσία διῄρηται εἰς δύο, τουτέστιν εἰς τὴν ἀγγελικὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν. Καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀγγελικὴ φύσις διῄρηται πάλιν εἰς δύο καθολικὰς γνώμας τε καὶ ἀγέλας, ἁγίας τε καὶ ἐναγεῖς, τουτέστιν εἰς ἁγίας δυνάμεις καὶ ἀκαθάρτους δαίμονας. Καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη διῄρηται εἰς γνώμας μόνον καθολικὰς δύο, εὐσεβεῖς λέγω καὶ ἀσεβεῖς."

[161]There are occasional signs that the text is addressed to men in particular, such as §4.49 (Max.*de car.* C.-G., 214), which begins: "Πρὸς ἅπερ τὰ πάθη κεκτήμεθα πράγματά εἰσι ταῦτα, οἷον γυνή, χρήματα, δόξα καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς." Likewise, 4.50.

[162]3.30, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 158: "…τὰ μέν εἰσι λογικὰ καὶ νοερὰ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δεκτικά, οἷον ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας καὶ γνώσεως καὶ ἀγνωσίας· τὰ δὲ… Καὶ τὰ μέν εἰσι ἀσώματα πάντη καὶ ἄϋλα…"

[163]3.37, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 160: "Ἀγαπᾷ ἡσυχίαν ὁ μὴ πάσχων πρὸς τὰ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ἀγαπᾷ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ

"the three most general thoughts of desire": gluttony, avarice and vainglory, which in turn give rise to further sins.[164] By averting such chain reactions, the soul and mind can become perfect. This perfection is expressed now in positive terms which echo the negative with which the first century began: the perfect soul has turned all its "affective faculty" towards God, and the perfect mind has transcended knowledge "through true faith," to know the unknowable.[165] Just as a rejection of passions leads to detachment from the pettiness of a material existence, so too can the mind itself be set free from the constraints of this world.

Such a mind exists in a state of awe and amazement.[166] The fourth 'century' concerns this state and the philosophical considerations which provoke and justify it, seeking to lay out guidelines for the meaning of transcendence. All that the corporeal shares with the incorporeal is that both may be contemplated by the mind; as for speech/reason and action, these belong strictly to the incorporeal.[167] Such contemplations are interrupted by the warning that to have "perfect love" and "deep knowledge of God's Providence," one must bear hardship with patience and not "sever oneself from the love of spiritual brothers."[168] The chapters repeatedly stress the maintenance of the state of perfection and of "perfect love" and the dangers of turning towards the material and worldly.[169] The final 'century' builds slowly to the final purpose of self-perfection, communion with God. "Love for God is wont to give the mind wings (to fly) towards divine communion,"[170] and "the way to gnosis is dispassion (*ἀπάθεια*) and humility, without which no one will see the Lord."[171] The latter half of the fourth 'century' is then a dénouement which links the mystic's goal to the radical warmth of universal Christian love. True knowledge gives rise to, and requires, love.[172] Love for all men is more than hating none of them.[173] It is Christ's will that you love even the blasphemer.[174] Maximos ends his collection with a scriptural aphorism of whose meaning the entire text is an elaboration: "*God is love* [1 John 4:8]. Glory be to him forever. Amen."[175]

In this way, Maximos constructs a way for the seeker, a path for the one ignited by a thirst for God.[176] In the final chapter of the first 'century,' which cites two great late antique writers,

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μηδὲν ἀγαπῶν ἀνθρώπινον καὶ γνῶσιν ἔχει Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων ὁ μὴ σκανδαλιζόμενος εἴς τινα εἴτε διὰ παραπτώματα εἴτε διὰ λογισμοὺς ἐξ ὑπονοίας."

[164]3.56.

[165]3.98 (Max.*de car.* C.-G., 190): "Ψυχή ἐστι τελεία, ἧς ἡ παθητικὴ δύναμις νένευκεν ὁλοτελῶς πρὸς Θεόν"; 3.99 (Max.*de car.* C.-G., 190): "Νοῦς ἐστι τέλειος, ὁ διὰ πίστεως ἀληθοῦς τὸν ὑπεράγνωστον ὑπεραγνώστως ὑπερεγνωκὼς..."

[166]4.1.

[167]4.12, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 198: "Ἡ μὲν ἀσώματος οὐσία καὶ λέγουσα καὶ πράττουσα καὶ θεωρουμένη τοῦ εὖ εἶναι μεταδίδωσιν· ἡ δὲ σωματική, θεωρουμένη μόνον."

[168]4.16, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 200: "Οὔπω ἔχει τελείαν τὴν ἀγάπην οὐδὲ τῆς θείας προνοίας κατὰ βάθος τὴν γνῶσιν ὁ ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ μὴ μακροθυμῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι λυπηροῖς, ἀλλ' ἀποκόπτων ἑαυτὸν τῆς τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀγάπης."

[169]e.g., 4.39, 41, 54, 65, 81.

[170]4.40, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 210: "Ἡ μὲν εἰς Θεὸν ἀγάπη εἰς τὴν θείαν ὁμιλίαν ἀεὶ φιλεῖ πτερῶσαι τὸν νοῦν· ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸν πλησίον ἀεὶ καλὰ λογίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ παρασκευάζει." The wings which love gives to the mind echo a similar conceit in the *Phaedrus* (e.g., Pl.*Phdr.*249c4–6: "διὸ δὴ δικαίως μόνη πτεροῦται ἡ τοῦ φιλοσόφου διάνοια· πρὸς γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἀεί ἐστιν μνήμῃ κατὰ δύναμιν, πρὸς οἷσπερ θεὸς ὢν θεῖός ἐστιν").

[171]4.58, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 218: "Ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσίν ἐστιν ἀπάθεια καὶ ταπείνωσις, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν Κύριον."

[172]4.59–62.

[173]4.82, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 230: "Σπούδασον ὅσον δύνασαι πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἀγαπῆσαι· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὔπω δύνασαι, κἂν μηδένα μισήσῃς. Οὐ δύνασαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, εἰ μὴ τῶν τοῦ κόσμου πραγμάτων καταφρονήσῃς."

[174]4.83–4.

[175]4.100, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 238: "...«ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν». Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν."

[176]In sum: (1) awareness of one's passions and connection to material things, (2) liberation from self-love and

Gregory of Nazianzos and Dionysios the Areopagite, the ideal mystic is described in terms that were to become familiar in Sufi accounts of the quest for God. He is "burning with longing" and can "find no relief" from the astounding infinity which God alone can comprehend.[177]

Who is this seeker? There are indications throughout that the text is addressed to a monastic audience. Many passages refer to the challenges of getting along with and helping one's "brothers."[178] Others seem to speak to the specific challenges that a monk faces.[179] Occasionally, the text refers specifically to a monk (μοναχός), as when it tells the reader what a true monk is (2.54), and once the reader is addressed directly as a monk (2.63: μοναχέ).[180]

And all this Ibn al-Faḍl translated into Arabic. He thus made available a guide to contemplative practice built upon the Christian heritage. Learning to speak directly and frankly to God (*parrhesia*), keeping the mind trained upon "frankness towards God" (τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν παρρησίας),[181] cultivating "amorous frankness" (παρρησίας ἀγαπητικῆς),[182] the reader could learn to be like the martyrs who boldly declared their faith, like the bishops who openly advocated before emperors what was best for their cities, but also like the philosophers who told the powerful not what they

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the demons chaining one to this world, (3) contemplation of higher, immaterial, incorporeal things, and (4a) the encounter with God, an experience which finally gives way to (4b) love for all mankind.

[177] 1.100, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 88: "The one who has come to be in God seeks the Words/rational forces [λόγους; cf. LSJ s.v., III.7.c] of his essence first, burning with longing, but he finds no relief from the things concerning him [God?]; for this is impracticable and impossible for every created nature alike. But he is given relief from the things which are about/around him [God?], by which I mean what concerns eternity, infinity, and boundlessness, goodness, wisdom and the power to create, provide for and judge the beings (τῶν ὄντων). And this thing which can be apprehended by him [God] alone is infinity; and even knowing nothing is to know beyond the mind, as the theologians (οἱ θεολόγοι ἄνδρες) Gregory and Dionysios have somewhere said" (Ἐν δὲ Θεῷ γενόμενος, τοὺς περὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ πρῶτον λόγους ζητεῖ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πόθου φλεγόμενος, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ παραμυθίαν εὑρίσκει· ἀμήχανον γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνένδεκτον πάσῃ γενετῇ φύσει ἐξ ἴσου. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν παραμυθεῖται, λέγω δὴ τῶν περὶ ἀϊδιότητος, ἀπειρίας τε καὶ ἀοριστίας, ἀγαθότητός τε καὶ σοφίας καὶ δυνάμεως δημιουργικῆς τε καὶ προνοητικῆς καὶ κριτικῆς τῶν ὄντων. Καὶ τοῦτο πάντῃ καταληπτὸν αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἡ ἀπειρία· καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ μηδὲν γινώσκειν, ὑπὲρ νοῦν γινώσκειν, ὥς που οἱ θεολόγοι ἄνδρες εἰρήκασι Γρηγόριός τε καὶ Διονύσιος). Cf. the Sufi concepts of *ʿishq* and *maḥabba*.

[178] The first 'century' for example reminds the reader that it is bad to "bear a grudge against one's brother" (1.56), or to "slander a brother" or "condemn" him (1.57). The fourth and last 'century' contains a whole series of abstract injunctions about how to relate to one's brothers (4.19–32): "the evil which separates you from your brother is not to be found in your brother but in you" (4.19: Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ, μήποτε ἡ χωρίζουσά σε ἐκ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ κακία οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ' ἔν σοι εὑρίσκεται); if you contravene "the commandment of love," you will be "a son of Gehenna" (4.20); envy and suspicion disrupt love (4.21); if something should come between you and your "brother," "do not be conquered by hatred, but rather conquer hatred in love" (4.22: Συνέβη σοι πειρασμὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἡ λύπη εἰς μῖσός σε ἤγαγε· μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μίσους, ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τὸ μῖσος); and so on. §4.26 specifically refers to the brother in question as a "spiritual brother" (πνευματικὸν ἀδελφὸν).

[179] For example, the fantasies which §2.68 suggests the reader will have (of food, of women, etc.) are reminiscent of the apparitions which monks face in ascetic literature, such as in the *Life* of Saint Anthony, in which the devil reminds Anthony of rich food and seeks to tempt him by taking on the shape of a woman (§5). Combatting demons (2.71) is one of a monk's main occupations.

[180] Cf. Louth, "Maximus," 137, who notes that Maximos's 'centuries' of chapters "have their roots in monastic catechesis." Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 408 calls the work "ein praktischer Mönchsspiegel mit theologischen Hintergründen."

[181] 1.50: Τὸ τηνικαῦτα ὁ νοῦς τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν παρρησίας ἐκπίπτει, ὁπηνίκα πονηροῖς ἢ ῥυπαροῖς λογισμοῖς συνόμιλος γένηται.

[182] 4.32: Μὴ λόγοις δι' αἰνιγμάτων τὸν ἀδελφὸν κεντήσῃς, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ὅμοια παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀντιδεχόμενος τὴν τῆς ἀγάπης διάθεσιν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπελάσῃς· ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀγαπητικῆς ὕπαγε ἔλεγξον αὐτόν, ἵνα τὰς αἰτίας τῆς λύπης λύσας ταραχῆς καὶ λύπης ἀμφοτέρους ἀπαλλάξῃς.

wanted to hear but the truth.[183]

The eleventh-century Antiochian audience for an Arabic translation of Maximos's *Chapters on Love*, as in other times and places, would have been those with a desire to "philosophize" as a Christian,[184] to live a model life, to contemplate the hidden meaning behind the material curtain of this world, and to become like, or become, God. In the Antiochian setting such persons were mostly monks and perhaps churchmen and laymen who sought, in some way, to model their lives on those of monks.[185] Translating the text in the major monastic center of Antioch made perfect sense.

The case with the *Gnostic Chapters* is quite similar. These *kephalaia* are organized in two 'centuries.' Like the *Chapters on Love*, these two 'centuries' focus on a particular aspect of the ascetic's quest: approaching divinity. All human beings are equally endowed with a "rational soul" made in the creator's image, but only some will seek and be granted insight and intimacy with God, being "judged worthy to lie with the Logos-Bridegroom in the inner chamber of the mysteries"; others may be jealous because they wish to be wise only for the sake of receiving praise.[186] This work is for those who seek to bring the soul closer to the One upon whom it was

[183]Peter Brown, *Power and persuasion in late antiquity: towards a Christian empire*, The Curti lectures 1988 (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 61–2, 77–8: late antique elites lost their "freedom of speech, the *parrhésia* that was the true legacy of the city-state"; it became restricted to certain figures, like the philosopher, "a well-chosen spokesman" of the elite. In the late fourth century, this role was taken over largely by bishops: "Acting, frequently, in alliance with monks, bishops could display a form of *parrhésia* that was better calculated to sway the will of the emperor and of his servants than was the discreet lobbying of the men of *paideia*. For they claimed to speak for the populations of troubled cities at a time of mounting crisis." (Cf. the late antique rabbinic concept of "speaking out to God," which Michal Bar-Asher Siegal, "Shared Worlds: Rabbinic and Monastic Literature," *Harvard Theological Review* 105 (2012): 453–4, compares with Peter Brown's argument about *parrhesia* and with Momigliano's notion that monks should have *parrhesia* before God.) Later, in the 9th century, Theodore of Stoudios was responsible for linking *parrhesia* closely with martyrdom in his letters to a secret network of iconodules, giving it the sense of openly declaring the Orthodox faith (although how openly that was meant to be could vary) and bravely facing the martyrdom that might result from doing so; Peter Hatlie, "The Politics of Salvation: Theodore of Stoudios on Martyrdom (*Martyrion*) and Speaking out (*Parrhesia*)," *DOP* 50 (1996): 263–287.

[184]Cf. *Chapters on Love* 4.47, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 212: "Εν τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις ὁ χριστιανὸς φιλοσοφεῖ· ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς, ἐν τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ ἐν τῇ πίστει. Καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐντολαὶ τῶν παθῶν τὸν νοῦν χωρίζουσι· τὰ δὲ δόγματα εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων αὐτὸν εἰσάγουσιν· ἡ δὲ πίστις, εἰς τὴν θεωρίαν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος."

[185]Monks and laymen were closely connected in Byzantine society. In Maximos's day, in the seventh century, the urban monks of Constantinople had such frequent contact with "the outside world" (laymen) that many writers were anxious as to the sincerity of such urban monks in abandoning the world: Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850* (Cambridge UP, 2007), 233–48. Monks continued to be closely linked to the rest of Byzantine society, maintaining personal ties to the laymen from whose numbers they had been recruited, whether lower, middle or upper class: ibid., ch. 7. In the middle Byzantine period as well, laymen and monks were certainly not "castes" apart from one another: Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995), 90. Laymen often adopted monastic aims and practices and had monks as spiritual advisers: ibid., 74, 92–94. The emperor Nikephoros Phokas practiced asceticism, longed to be a monk, and had close ties to monks who served as his spiritual advisers: Gustave Léon Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle, Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1890), 312–14. Laymen influenced monasteries through pious donations (Morris, *Monks*, ch. 5) and legislation (Nikephoros Phokas, for example, issued a Novel allowing donations only to *lavra*s, to the exclusion of cenobitic monasteries; ibid., 198). There must have been a similarly complex relationship between monasteries and lay institutions in Byzantine Antioch.

[186]1.11–21; trans. Max. Berth., 130–132 (modified). Rational souls are all created equal (§1.11): "Οὐκ ἔστι ψυχὴ λογικὴ κατ' οὐσίαν ψυχῆς λογικῆς τιμιωτέρα. Πᾶσαν γὰρ ψυχὴν κατ' εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργῶν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς ὁ Θεός, αὐτοκίνητον εἰς τὸ εἶναι παράγει· ἑκάστη δὲ κατὰ πρόθεσιν, ἢ τὴν τιμὴν ἐπιλέγεται, ἢ τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἑκοῦσα διὰ τῶν ἔργων προσίεται." Intimacy with God: §1.16, trans. Max. Berth., 131: "ἐν τῷ ταμιείῳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἀξιοῦται τῷ νυμφίῳ Λόγῳ

modeled.

The text distinguishes between two spiritual stages, roughly corresponding to the English terms 'ascetic' and 'mystic,' both of whom might be called 'renunciants': "Sense-perception accompanies the ascetic (πρακτικῷ) who succeeds in the virtues with difficulty. Freedom from sense-perception (ἀναισθησία) accompanies the gnostic (γνωστικῷ) who has drawn his mind (νοῦν) away from the flesh and the world and towards God."[187] Crucially, the distinction hinges upon "sense-perception" (αἴσθησις), which should be understood as the perception of the material world by means of the sense organs. Becoming "blind" (τυφλούς) to everything other than God is the only way to receive wisdom from him.[188] The text explicitly and persistently promotes the pursuit of the secret wisdom obscured by workaday knowledge. It defines two types of knowledge (*gnōsis*): passively acquired knowledge versus knowledge "active in actuality, which brings… true understanding of beings through experience."[189] To seek the latter is to seek true illumination (*phōtizein*/*kataphōtizein*).[190]

The text includes considerable time- and number-symbolism as well. The first days of creation symbolize steps on the mystical to true knowledge: "According to Scripture, the sixth day brings in the completion of beings subject to nature. The seventh limits the movement of temporal distinctiveness. The eighth indicates the manner of existence above nature and time."[191] The numbers 5, 7, 8, 10 and their sum, 30, are each assigned a meaning, as are Pilate, Herod, and the Jews of the Gospels.[192]

These two centuries of true knowledge offered much to an eleventh-century reader concerned with the body, the soul, the location of the transcendent world and its relation to our own, and how the soul could approach God. The ascent is conceived as a grueling, even violent struggle to "slay the bodily passions" and "destroy the passionate thoughts of the soul."[193] One must be trained "manfully to engage in the divine struggles according to practical philosophy [i.e., ascetic discipline]" in order to dispel the passions and so "go over" to the calm stillness of "contemplative gnostic philosophy" (which is to say, a philosophy of true knowledge, not the philosophy of those sometimes referred to by modern scholars by the capitalized name of 'Gnostics').[194] Body, soul and mind come to be in harmony with virtue, the Spirit and the Logos.[195] This is as close as one

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συγκοιτασθῆναι."

[187]1.99; trans. Max. Berth., 146f (modified): "Αἴσθησις μὲν ἔπεται τῷ πρακτικῷ διὰ πόνον κατορθοῦντι τὰς ἀρετάς· ἀναισθησία δὲ τῷ γνωστικῷ τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ κόσμου συστείλαντι πρὸς Θεόν." For the term 'renunciant' and its relation to 'ascetic' and 'mystic,' see Leah Kinberg, "What is Meant by *Zuhd*," *Studia Islamica* 61 (1985): 27–44.

[188]2.9; trans. Max. Berth., 149.

[189]1.22; trans. Max. Berth., 152 (modified): "ἡ δὲ κατ' ἐνέργειαν πρακτικὴ αὐτὴν ἀληθῆ διὰ τῆς πείρας τῶν ὄντων κομίζουσα τὴν κατάληψιν."

[190]1.30–5; trans. Max. Berth., 133–5.

[191]1.51; trans. Max. Berth., 137.

[192]1.79; 1.71–6.

[193]2.97; trans. Max. Berth., 169 (modified): "Δεῖ μὴ μόνον ἡμᾶς εἶναι παθῶν σωματικῶν φονευτάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐμπαθῶν λογισμῶν ὀλετῆρας."

[194]2.94: "'Εως ὅτου κατὰ τὴν πρακτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀνδρικῶς τοὺς θείους διεξέρχεταί τις ἀγῶνας· τὸν διὰ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐξελθόντα παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰς τὸν κόσμον, παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατέχει Λόγον. 'Επειδὰν δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν πρὸς τὰ πάθη παλαισμάτων ἀφέμενος, ὡς νικητὴ παθῶν καὶ δαιμόνων ἀποφανθεὶς, πρὸς τὴν διὰ θεωρίας γνωστικὴν μετέλθῃ φιλοσοφίαν, συγχωρεῖ τῷ Λόγῳ μυστικῶς ἀφεῖναι πάλιν τὸν κόσμον, καὶ πορευθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα. […]"

[195]2.100; trans. Max. Berth., 170 (modified): "The one who has joined the body to the soul through virtue and gnosis has become a lyre and a flute and a temple. A lyre, firstly, because he beautifully maintains the harmony of the virtues; next, a flute because through the divine experiences he receives the Spirit's inspiration; finally, a temple

can come to true knowledge of all things. And yet:

> So long as one is in the present time of this life even if he be perfect in his earthly state both in action and in contemplation, he still has gnosis, prophecy, and the pledge of the Holy Spirit only in part, but not in their fullness. He has yet to come at the end of the ages to the perfect rest which reveals face to face to those who are worthy the truth as it is in itself.[196]

Even the most holy person in this life will only have partial knowledge until encountering "the truth," an epithet of Christ.[197] But, as this *kephalaion* implies, his partial knowledge will include some measure of prophecy. It is fairly common in hagiographical literature to find saints accurately predicting the future, a gift which could earn them considerable attention.[198] Here we have an articulation of how the contemplative might acquire this gift as an incidental consequence of his spiritual ascent and approximation to the divine model (even if true foreknowledge belongs to God alone).[199]

Isaac of Nineveh

Ibn al-Faḍl translated two parts of the oeuvre of Isaac the Syrian (7th/?8th c.). Sources for the life of Isaac of Nineveh place his origins in a region called Beth Qaṭrāyē, possibly to be identified with Qaṭar. He was made bishop of Niniveh sometime between 660 and 680 CE and was quite old when he died.[200] In the Syriac tradition, his works are divided into two (or three) 'halves,' or parts. The 'first part' is often referred to as the *Ascetic Homilies*.[201] The 'second part' was thought lost except for fragments, but the discovery of a complete manuscript allowed Sebastian Brock to

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because through the purity of his mind he has become the dwelling place of the Logos" (Ὁ δι' ἀρετῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἁρμοσάμενος τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, γέγονε κιθάρα θεοῦ καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ ναός. Κιθάρα μὲν, ὡς καλῶς φυλάξας τὴν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἁρμονίαν· αὐλὸς δὲ, ὡς διὰ τῶν θείων θεωρημάτων εἰσδεχόμενος τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος ἔμπνευσιν· ναὸς δὲ, ὡς διὰ τὴν κατὰ νοῦ καθαρότητα, τοῦ Λόγου γεγονὼς κατοικητήριον).

[196]2.87; trans. Max. Berth., 166: "Ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον τίς ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ, κἂν τέλειός ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε κατάστασιν, καὶ πράξει καὶ θεωρίᾳ, τὴν ἐκ μέρους ἔχει καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ προφητείαν καὶ ἀρραβῶνα Πνεύματος ἁγίου· ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ πλήρωμα· ἐλευσόμενός ποτε μετὰ τὴν τῶν αἰώνων περαίωσιν εἰς τὴν τελείαν λῆξιν, τὴν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον τοῖς ἀξίοις δεικνῦσαν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἑστῶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν."

[197]John 14:6: "Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδός, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἡ ζωή." Cf. the later Sufi name for God, *al-ḥaqq*.

[198]For example, Saint Luke of Stiris in Phokis (d. 953) predicted the Byzantine conquest of Crete "about twenty years" before it took place, according to his Vita (PG 111.469A). The fulfillment of this prophecy in 961 ensured steady imperial interest in him and later his cult. The Monastery of Hosios Loukas bears the imprint of imperial patronage; it has been argued that the Katholikon of the monastery may have been built to commemorate the victory itself (Carolyn L Connor, "Hosios Loukas as a Victory Church," *GRBS* 33, no. 3 [1992]: 293–308).

[199]For God's exclusive possession of foreknowledge (in the sense of perfect knowledge of the future), see Hildebrand Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, OCA 114 (Rome: Pontificium institutum orientalium studiorum, 1937), 216. I thank Maria Mavroudi for the reference.

[200]Élie Khalifé-Hachem, "Isaac de Ninive," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, ed. Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera, and J. de Guibert, vol. 7 (Paris, 1971), 2041–2. Cf. Andrew Louth, "Isaac of Nineveh," in di Berardino, *Patrology*, 225–6: born 7th c., present-day Qatar; appointed bishop of Nineveh in *c.*676; abdicated after five months (evidently by choice); died an old man.

[201]Isaac of Nineveh, *De perfectione religiosa*, ed. Paul Bedjan (Paris; Leipzig: O. Harrossowitz, 1909) (hereafter cited as Isaac, I, Bedjan), reprinted as *The ascetical homilies of Mar Isaac of Nineveh* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007). English translation: Isaac of Nineveh, *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh. Translated from Bedjan's Syriac text with an introduction and registers*, trans. A. J. Wensinck (Amsterdam, 1923) (hereafter cited as Isaac, I, Wens.).

publish an edition of chapters 4 through 41 of it — that is, all but chapters 1–3.[202] An edition of the remaining chapters is in preparation.[203] The 'third part' has been edited by Sabino Chialà.[204]

Although Isaac the Syrian, or Isaac of Nineveh, was a 'Nestorian' author, he was firmly a part of the Byzantine heritage, having been appropriated in the ninth century, when Patrikios and Abramios, monks at the Monastery of Saint Sabas, translated the 'first part,' made up of 82 'ascetic homilies,' into Greek.[205] In Latin Isaac's popularity rested in part on a mistaken identification of him with an Isaac whom Gregory the Great mentions, but Patrikios and Abramios seem to have been well aware whose work they were translating.[206] Isaac's homilies have been important in the Greek monastic tradition ever since. Gregory Palamas included Isaac among the very few authors it is worth one's time to read. Indeed, already in Ibn al-Faḍl's lifetime, Paul Evergetinos (d. 1054) included Isaac's writings in his florilegium, the *Collection of the inspired words and teachings of the theophoric Fathers*, known as the *Evergetinon*.[207] In this light, Ibn al-Faḍl's choice of Isaac seems in impeccable Byzantine taste.[208]

There are at least two works of Isaac translated separately by Ibn al-Faḍl: (1) *35 Homilies*, in some manuscripts entitled "the book of Mār Isaac *On the Ascetic Life*," and which Ibn al-Faḍl says he translated from Greek, not from Syriac;[209] and (2) further homilies given the title *Fī ruʾūs al-maʿrifa*.[210] The *35 Homilies*, being translated from the Greek, must be a selection from the 'first part.'

Noble and Treiger suggest that the Arabic title of the second work, *Fī ruʾūs al-maʿrifa*, literally *Concerning the heads of knowledge* derives from the phrase κεφάλαια γνωστικά, "gnostic chapters"[211] (a recurring title in the Evagrian tradition and, as we have seen, the title of one of Maximos's works).[212] I see no reason to doubt this suggestion, especially since Ibn al-Faḍl's trans-

[202]Isaac of Nineveh, *Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian). 'The Second Part', chapters IV–XLI*, ed. Sebastian Brock, 2 vols., CSCO, 554–555 (Louvain: Peeters, 1995) (hereafter cited as Isaac, II.4–40, Brock).

[203]By P. Bettiolo; see Isaac, II.4–40, Brock, vol. 1, introduction.

[204]Isaac of Nineveh, *Isacco di Ninive: Terza collezione*, ed. and trans. Sabino Chialà, 2 vols., CSCO, 637–8 (Louvain: Peeters, 2011) (hereafter cited as Isaac, III, Chialà).

[205]Louth, "Isaac of Nineveh," 226: "it is through the *First Part* that Isaac achieved ecumenical renown." A critical edition of this Greek translation, taking account of the Syriac, was recently published: Isaac of Nineveh, Ἀββᾶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ Σύρου. Λόγοι ἀσκητικοί. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοσι, ed. Marcel Pirard (Mount Athos: Holy Monastery of Iviron, 2012) (hereafter cited as Isaac *log.asket.* Pirard).

[206]Irénée Hausherr, "Dogme et spiritualité orientale," in *Études de Spiritualité orientale*, OCA 183 (Rome, 1969), 154–5.

[207]Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων καὶ διδασκαλιῶν τῶν θεοφόρων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων (edited Venice, 1783); ibid., 157; F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., "Evergetinos, Paul," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd rev. ed. (Oxford UP, 2005).

[208]The Syrian Miaphysites too adopted him and sometimes merged him with a Miaphysite Isaac: Hausherr, "Dogme," 161–4.

[209]كتاب مار اسحاق في الحياة النسكية; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 210, where in n. 89 several other titles given in manuscripts are cited. Cf. Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 378. For Ibn al-Faḍl's statement that he translated it from Greek, see Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, 210 n. 87; Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 90.

[210]Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 211. Nasrallah notes that these two works appear as the third and fourth parts, respectively, of an Arabic collection of Isaac's works compiled sometime within the 11th–13th centuries: ibid., vol. 3.1, p. 210.

[211]The Greek word for chapter, like the Latin from which English 'chapter' is derived, is related to the word for 'head.'

[212]Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 378.

lation of Maximos's *Chapters on Love* refers to the *kephalaia* as "heads" (*ruʾūs*) as well.[213] This in turn may help us identify which part of Isaac's oeuvre is translated in Ibn al-Faḍl's *Fī ruʾūs al-maʿrifa*, for the first four chapters of Isaac's 'second part' (*pālgūtā d-tartēn*) are known in the Syriac tradition as *Rīše d-īdaʿtā*, quite literally the same thing as *ruʾūs al-maʿrifa*: "Heads/*kephalaia* of knowledge."[214] It seems likely then that *Fī ruʾūs al-maʿrifa* is a translation of the 'second part,' chapters 1–4. Since the 'second part' is not known to have been translated into Greek, this translation would most likely have been from the Syriac. Further study of the texts themselves will be required to evaluate this hypothesis.

Additionally, a work by Isaac (which is not clear to me) translated by Ibn al-Faḍl appears in an ascetic-pietist Arabic florilegium preserved in a Jerusalem manuscript, which also contains Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of 35 of the ascetic homilies (a.k.a. *On the ascetic life*).[215]

Andrew of Crete

Ibn al-Faḍl translated the *Encomium for Saint Nicholas*[216] by Andrew of Crete (b. *c.*660 in Damascus, died 740 in Lesbos).[217] An edition of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this work is being prepared by Sam Noble.[218] The text begins with a prefatory encomium by Ibn al-Faḍl himself which is then followed by his translation of Andrew's encomium. Ibn al-Faḍl's preface appears under the heading: "An epistle which the peerless philosopher ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbdallāh composed specifically for (*maqṣūratan ʿalā*) his translation (*naqlihi*) from Greek into Arabic of the encomium[219] for Saint Nicholas, may his prayers be with us. Amen."[220] After the preface, Andrew's encomium then appears under the heading:

> Encomium of Saint Andrew, chief of the bishops of Crete, for our father, great among the saints, Nicholas, (worker) of many signs and miracles, which ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbdallāh translated (*tarjamahu*) from Greek into Arabic, (thereby) coming closer to God and the precious saint, asking for his intercession, may God grant forgiveness to the one who says (of Ibn al-Faḍl) 'God have mercy on him!' Amen.[221]

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[213] See n. 146 on page 35.

[214] Isaac, II.4–40, Brock, vol. 1, p. XI.

[215] Jerusalem, Holy Sepulcher, ar. 24 (1565 CE); Koikylides, Κατ., 28; cited Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, 211f. The manuscript's title is: *A book by the blessed fathers Antonios, Arsenios, John Klimakos, Isaac and Philoxenos the Syrians, and others* (كتاب للآباء الأبرار أنطونيوس أرسينيوس ويوحنا اقليمقس وإسحق وفيلوكسينس السوريين وغيرهم). According to Koikylides, Κατ., 32, text no. 68 of that manuscript is مختصر كتاب القديس مار اسحق بركاته وصلاته تعيننا in 35 *bāb*s; it begins, "The learned translator [of this book], the deacon ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, said…" (قال المترجم الفاضل الشماس عبد الله بن الفضل). For a detailed discussion of the possible contents of this collection, see Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 211–213.

[216] CPG 8187, BHG 1362; PG 97.1192–1205; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 209. Edition: Gustav Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos: Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und untersuchungen*, 2 vols. (Teubner, 1913–1917), vol. 1, pp. 419–28.

[217] *ODB*, s.v. "Andrew of Crete."

[218] I am grateful to Sam Noble for providing me with his unpublished edition: Samuel Noble, "Saint Nicholas" (edition of Ibn al-Faḍl's preface to and translation of Andrew of Crete's *Encomium to Saint Nicholas*).

[219] Reading *madīḥ al-qiddīs* instead of *madīḥ li-l-qiddīs*.

[220] Ibid., ¶2: رسالة أنشأها الفيلسوف الأوحد عبد الله ابن الفضل بن عبد الله مقصورة على نقله من اللغة اليونانية إلى اللغة العربية مديح للقديس نيقولاوس صلاته معنا آمين. Perhaps for مديح للقديس we should read مديح القديس.

[221] Ibid., ¶4: مديح القديس أندراوس رئيس أساقفة اقريطش لأبينا المعظم في القديسين نيقولاوس ذي الآيات والمعجزات، ترجمه من اللغة اليونانية إلى اللغة العربية عبد الله ابن الفضل بن عبد الله، تقرّباً إلى الله والقديس النفيس، واستشفاعاً به، غفر الله لمن ترحّم عليه، آمين.

This last line gives the impression of having been added by a scribe copying the text soon after Ibn al-Faḍl's death.

Other texts translated by Ibn al-Faḍl attest to an interest in orthodoxy which is less literal, less a prescription of specific beliefs than an aura associated with the Orthodox Church, which Arabic-speaking Byzantine Christians sought to cultivate. The great Saint Nicholas (of Sion and of Myra — by the tenth century already the two saints had become one) was already immensely popular by the eleventh century.[222] He (along with his encomiast Andrew of Crete) provided a model of Christian episcopal leadership.

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of an encomium for Nicholas by Andrew of Crete indicates not only interest in Saint Nicholas, but may also have to do with an interest in Andrew of Crete himself and the generation which witnessed the momentous Arab conquests of the seventh century. Andrew (b. *c.*660, Damascus; d. 740, Lesbos) spent his youth as a monk in Jerusalem until in 685 he traveled to Constantinople, as one of the envoys declaring Jerusalem's support for the anti-Monothelete council which had taken place there in 680–1 (at which Maximos had been posthumously vindicated). After completing his official duties, Andrew stayed on, became a deacon and was appointed to an administrative post. After about 15 years in the capital, he was made archbishop of Gortyna, Crete, where he became a patron of "charitable institutions" and of a church dedicated to the Virgin. He died on the isle of Lesbos on the way back to his see after a visit to Constantinople, which he had undertaken to seek help for Crete, which found itself threatened by Arab invaders and afflicted by famine.[223]

His life alone might have been reason enough for eleventh-century interest in Andrew among Byzantine churchmen of Antioch. He had ties with Antioch's two neighboring patriarchates, Jerusalem and Constantinople. He was a model monk, who traveled from Syria to the capital to preach orthodoxy to the powerful. As a deacon, he had been a true 'servant' (διάκονος) of those in need. And but for a moment of doctrinal weakness (as a Byzantine Christian might see it), Andrew had been the ideal bishop, caring for his flock and petitioning the emperor on their behalf in the face of Muslim aggression (a familiar complaint for an institution which, while under Arab-Muslim rule, had been in doctrinal agreement with the Byzantine enemy).[224] His struggles against Arab invaders made him a convenient symbol Crete's Byzantine past in the decades after the celebrated Byzantine conquest of Crete in 961. An interest in the immediately pre-Islamic Byzantine leaders may likewise be indicated by the Arabic translation of songs praising the Virgin for liberating Constantinople from Chosroes in the time of Heraclius, bound with Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of the Psalms in a Florence manuscript.[225] Andrew's popularity in the eleventh cen-

[222] *ODB*, s.v. "Nicholas of Sion"; *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion*, ed. and trans. Ihor Ševčenko and Nancy P. Ševčenko (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984).

[223] For this whole narrative, see Basilio Studer, "Andrew of Crete," in di Berardino, *Patrology*, 161–3.

[224] 'Melkite' Chalcedonians under Muslim rule typically played down their ties to Constantinople. Hostility from Muslims was not the rule, but rare bursts of violence could strike Christians (though not only Chalcedonians) in reaction to Byzantine military action: Yaḥyā of Antioch describes that when Leo the Domestikos marched to Damascus (*al-Shām*) and killed many of its inhabitants in 348/959f, the masses in Egypt reacted to the news (which arrived on the Sunday three days before the end of Muḥarram 349 = 25 March 960) by sacking a Melkite church and a "Jacobite" (i.e., Coptic) church; Yaḥyā of Antioch, "Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Saʿïd d'Antioche [I]," ed. Ignace Kratchkovsky and A.A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis* 18, 23 (1924, 1932): 81–2 = 779–80 (hereafter cited as Yaḥyā I).

[225] Especially if this translation should turn out to be the work of Ibn al-Faḍl himself; Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, or. 396 (= 607 = Pizzi 178); see Assemani, *Bibliothecae Med. Laur. et Palat.*, no. 34, where these songs are referred to as "*Cantus decem in laudem Deiparae Virginis Mariae, ab Eugenio Philosopho Constantinopolitano* editi, dum

tury also must have stemmed from the liturgical poetry he composed, especially the Penitential Canon, which became a permanent part of the Byzantine rite.[226] He also wrote homilies (about 50 are ascribed to him), including encomia of saints. His encomium for Saint Nicholas is one of them.

Why this text? The specific choice suggests an interest in Nicholas himself, born out of a desire to promote the saint, his cult, and his virtuous example.

Nicholas was an episcopal saint. A tenth-century representation of Nicholas in the Leo Bible, a manuscript commissioned in Constantinople by the holder of the lofty Byzantine imperial post of treasurer (*sakellarios*), shows him standing, head uncovered, clothed in white vestments including a bishop's *omophorion*, holding a Bible in his left hand and blessing with his right (figure 1).[227] Similar iconography is found in provincial churches, as in the eleventh-century wall painting of Saint Nicholas from the Church of Episkopoi in Evrytania.[228] The *Life* of Nicholas (of Sion) has various titles in the manuscripts, but they all tend to emphasize Nicholas's ecclesiastical rank.[229] His most prominent miracles were his intervention on behalf of three officials falsely condemned by the emperor Constantine, his successful appeal for tax exemption for the city of Myra (!) and his rescue of a ship sailing through a storm; he also amassed an impressive list of healing miracles.[230] It is not difficult to see how such a saint would have appealed to the Patriarchate of Antioch, with its complex relationship to the imperial center. Having long defined itself while under Muslim rule as the 'imperial' (*malakī*) church in opposition to 'Nestorians' and Syrian and Armenian Miaphysites, the Chalcedonian community in Antioch now had the chance to prove

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eadem Sanctissima Dei Genitrix urbem Constantinopolis, arctissima exercitus Chosrois, Persarum Regis, obsidione oppressam, quae contigit sub Heraclio Imperatore, anno Christi DCXXV. adparens, fusis fugatisque hostibus, liberavit."

[226]Studer, "Andrew of Crete," 162.

[227]The 'Leo Bible,' Vat. Reg. gr. 1, f. 1^{r}; for a reproduction of this miniature, see Cyril Mango, "The date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance'," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 4 (1969): Plate III; or Niccolò Del Re and Maria Chiara Celletti, "Nicola (Niccolò), vescovo di Mira, santo," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 13 vols. (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1961–1970), 925. Mango summarizes the evidence of the manuscript as follows: "the manuscript was commissioned by Leo, patrician, praepositus and sakellarios, and donated by him to a monastery of St. Nicholas that had been founded by his deceased brother, Constantine the protospatharios. The abbot of the monastery was named Makar": Mango, "The date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1," 122. Mango tentatively dates the manuscript's production "after 940," on the basis of his identification of the patron, Leo *sakellarios*, with a Leo holding the same post addressed twice in the epistolary corpus of the anonymous professor: ibid., 126. In describing the iconography, I draw on Celletti's general remarks on Nicholas-iconography in the East (Del Re and Celletti, "Nicola," 941) and those of A. Kazhdan and N. P. Ševčenko, *ODB*, s.v. "Nicholas of Myra." On the *omophorion* as the exclusive prerogative of a bishop, see ibid., s.v. "Omophorion."

[228]Now in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, BXM 1363. The wall paintings from the Church of Episkopoi were moved to Athens to avoid their destruction from permanent flooding caused by a dam.

[229]Greek *Life* of Nicholas of Sion: ed. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 1:3–55. The manuscripts which Anrich used to edit the text attest to its currency in the 10th and 11th centuries: Sinai 525 (= S, 10th c.); Jerusalem Sabas monastery 18 (= H, 10th c.); Vat. gr. 821 (= V, 11th c.). The title which Anrich prints reads, "Life and conduct of our holy father Nicholas the archimandrite." This is a reconstruction from titles which call him an archimandrite, an archbishop, and a bishop, leading Anrich to add, in angle brackets, a phrase which appears in none of the manuscripts: "…who became [head] of the holy [monastery of] Sion and bishop of the city of the Pinarians." Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου ἀρχιμανδρίτου ⟨γεναμένου τῆς ἁγίας Σιὼν καὶ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Πιναρέων πόλεως⟩. Anrich considers V's reading to be closest to the original: Βίος Νικολάου [ἀρχιμανδρίτου, erased] ἀρχιεπισκόπου γεναμένου τῆς Μυρέων πόλεως. S mentions only the title of bishop (ἐπισκόπου), while H reads simply Βίος Νικολάου Μύρων τῆς Λυκίας. The title of the Old Slavonic translation calls him an archbishop.

[230]Ibid. Anrich also published in the same volume many of the miracle collections. See *ODB*, s.v. "Nicholas of Myra" and ibid., s.v. "Nicholas of Sion."

its loyalty to a distant imperial center which was eager to impose its policies and prelates upon the reconquered patriarchate. For churchmen performing this balancing act, Nicholas, with his ability to stand up to coercive imperial authority, would have been an appealing patron.

Andrew of Crete's *Encomium* praises the saint as someone who in times of need can get things done. Andrew calls Nicholas a light shining in dark corners, accomplished in "practical philosophy."[231] He is like the Old Testament prophets (Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, Joseph, Moses, David) in his justice, self-sacrifice, otherworldliness, his perseverance in rooting out heresy, his teaching, and his dissuasion of others from sin. Fighting heresy and impiety is particularly emphasized: like Job, he endures in the face of the heretics' attacks; like David, he fights with spiritual arms, driving off the "wolves" from "the rational (*logikē*) flock of Christ." He is likewise a successor to the Disciples of Christ.[232] Nicholas is also a farmer, a master-builder, and a soldier, fulfilling each of these roles spiritually. He fights heretics and helps the needy. Finally, his close proximity to God is emphasized, both in his role as teacher — "O Father, interpreter of the Word and guide to secret things"[233] — and as someone with the intimacy to speak frankly (παρρησία) with God.[234] Andrew then addresses his audience declaring that they should celebrate this holy man:

> We do this, giving up taking pleasure at length in all worldly pomp and festivity and deceptive ornamentations, however much the games of Hellenic sharp-wittedness simulate evil-spirited (κακοδαίμονα) deceit, and however much the games of confusion below are aroused by fleshly things.[235]

The text which Ibn al-Faḍl translated, then, stresses this famous saint's exemplarity as an active, effective leader who fights heresy — a pressing concern for eleventh-century Chalcedonian Christians in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia where they were *not* the only Christians around[236] — and "speaks frankly" (*parrhēsia*) with the powerful (perhaps the emperor as well as God) and protects his flock.[237]

It should be stressed that Nicholas was a very Byzantine choice. The cult of Saint Nicholas was prominent in Constantinople from at least the sixth century onward, and it remained so through the eleventh century and beyond.[238] The emperor Justinian renovated a church at

[231]§1 = PG 97.1193.

[232]§2. The flock: "τῆς λογικῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνης," 1196C. Disciples: 1196D–1197A.

[233]1201C: "ὦ Πάτερ ὑποφῆτα τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων ὑφηγητὰ διδάσκαλε." Cf. Psellos's use of the word ἄρρητος, for which see Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi, "Introduction," in *Occult Sciences*, 15–20.

[234]§3: "τῆς αὐγηέσσης πρὸς θεὸν παρρησίας." Cf. Brottier's discussion of John Chrysostom's use of the term παρρησία: John Chrysostom, *Sermons sur la Genèse*, ed. and trans. Laurence Brottier (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998), 373–4.

[235]§4 = 1204C: "Ποιοῦμεν δὲ τοῦτο, πάσῃ μὲν κοσμικῇ πομπῇ τε καὶ πανηγύρει, καὶ ἀπατηλοῖς καλλωπίσμασι μακρὰν χαίρειν ἀφέμενοι ὅσα τε τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγχινοίας τὴν κακοδαίμονα πλάνην ἐπιμορφάζεται, καὶ ὅσα τῆς κάτω συγχύσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐπιπλάστου σαρκίνοις ἐξήρθη παίγνια." In Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (ed. Noble, "Saint Nicholas"), this reads: وإنّما نكون بصورة من قد صنع هذا إذا ما نحن طرحنا المهازي العالمية والمجامع الردية والجمال المزخرف والتحسين الملفق وكل ما كان من الناس له مناسبة مع الضلال الحنيفي وخَرَف الصابئين وكل لعب داعـ{ـي} إلى الانحطاط الجسدي.

[236]Dagron, "Minorités."

[237]He also builds a church. This was perhaps relevant to Antiochian Chalcedonians as well, as Byzantine rule brought not only the lifting of restrictions on church-building but also considerable imperial investment in such construction activity: Eger, "(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch," 103–105.

[238]The fame of Saint Nicholas was as long-lasting in the east as in the west. A seventeenth-century Greek manuscript of Pseudo-Kaisarios's *Erotapokriseis* (translated in part by Ibn al-Faḍl) contains a nine-line encomium of Saint

Figure 1: Saint Nicholas of Myra in the 'Leo Bible,' Vat. Reg. gr. 1, f. 3^{r} (10th century). Image reproduced from Canart, *La Bible du patrice Léon*, Plate VI.

Blachernae, dedicating it to Priskos and Nicholas (which Nicholas is not specified); by the mid seventh century, it was known as the church of Saint Nicholas alone.[239] It seems that Nicholas's feast was also celebrated in Hagia Sophia.[240] In the time of Anna Komnene, there was, right by Hagia Sophia, a church to Saint Nicholas, called the "refuge" (προσφύγιον) because it served as a sanctuary for those fleeing the law. It had by then the appearance of considerable age, since the *Patria* place its construction in the time of Justinian.[241] In the ninth century, the emperor Basil I dedicated a chapel lavishly built within his palace to Christ, the Virgin, Elijah, Saint Nicholas and the archangels Michael and Gabriel, as Skylitzes tells.[242] Another church for Saint Nicholas (it is not specified whether he is 'of Myra'), in the monastery 'of the leaded (?church)' (τοῦ Μολιβώτου) outside the Golden Gate, was a prominent site of imperial patronage in the eleventh century, and Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–67) was buried there.[243] Nor were Arab Christians of the Byzantine rite the only non-Greeks to seek to make this Byzantine saint their own: from a miracle collection contained in eleventh-century manuscripts, a church "of the great archpriest Nicholas" at the monastery "of the Georgian(s)" (τῶν Ἰβήρων/τῶν Ἰβήρου) in Constantinople is known.[244]

Promoting Nicholas in Antioch meant promoting a highly popular Byzantine bishop-saint who represented episcopal power so great that it could exercise oversight over imperial excess. Such a model would have been suitable for many Byzantine sees, to be sure, but certainly quite suitable to Antioch's Patriarchate as well. The miniature in the Leo Bible, in which an imperial official and an abbot kneel before the bishop Nicholas, might incidentally reflect how many a bishop would have liked to imagine his relations with other holders of worldly power.

John of Damascus

Ibn al-Faḍl also translated a brief creed, or statement of orthodox doctrine, the *Libellus on Correct Thought* (a.k.a. *Libellus de recta sententia*)[245] by John of Damascus (b. *c.*650; d. *c.*750 or before 754).[246] It is a compact confession of doctrine as well as a statement of obedience to conciliar

Nicholas of Myra; Rudolf Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage*, ByzArch 12 (1969), 16. The text, as Riedinger notes, does not appear in the BHG, nor in Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*. It reads, according to Riedinger's transcription: "…μακαρίζομέν σε: + ὁ θεῖος ναός σου Μύρα βλύζει, σοφέ, καὶ τρυφῶσιν οἱ πιστοὶ κατὰ πάντοτε καὶ δοξάζουσίν σε χαίροντες…": "…we bless you. Your divine church (?of) Myra gushes forth, O wise one, and the faithful always rejoice and joyously honor you…"

[239]R. Janin, "Les églises byzantines: St. Nicholas à Constantinople," *Echos d'Orient*, 1932, 405–6.

[240]Ibid., 407, who draws this information from synaxaria, without specifying a time frame for when the feast came to be celebrated there.

[241]Ibid., 408; *ODB*, s.v. "Patria of Constantinople."

[242]R. Janin, "Églises…Nicholas," 414.

[243]Ibid., 412. Janin suggests that the name might have derived from siding on the church made of lead: Raymond Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1953–1981), vol. 3, p. 373.

[244]R. Janin, "Églises…Nicholas," 414–15.

[245]Λιβέλλος περὶ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος: PG 94.1421–32 (Lequien); CPG 8046, where the Latin title given is *De recta sententia liber*. It is also known as *Libellus de recta fide*. This should not be confused with another work by John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei* (CPG 8043), called *De fide orthodoxa* in the Latin version. An Arabic translation of this latter work was carried out by Antonius in the 10th century at the latest: Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 43; Bonifaz Kotter, *Die Überlieferung der Pege Gnoseos des Hl. Johannes von Damaskos*, Studia patristica et byzantina 5 (Ettal, 1959), 217f; Atiya, "St. John Damascene," 77; Joseph Nasrallah, *S. Jean de Damas. Son époque, sa vie, son oeuvre* (Harissa, 1950), 181f. Cf. Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 209. Ibn al-Faḍl used extracts from Antonius's translation of the *Expositio fidei*/*De fide orthodoxa* in his *Kitāb Bahjat al-mu'min* (see p. 54 above); Kotter, *Überlieferung*, 217.

[246]Basilio Studer, "John of Damascus," in di Berardino, *Patrology*, 228.

canons, John's bishop, to whom it is addressed, and to Saint Basil (probably a reference to his monastic *Rules*). It begins with a short and humble preface, followed by a first-person confession of belief in: (§1) God, the trinity (and the interrelation of its constituents), creation and God's attributes; (§2) the Son, his incarnation for human salvation, his consubstantiality with both the Father and with humans (anti-heteroousian, i.e., anti-Arian), his two natures (anti-'monophysite') but single hypostasis (anti-'Nestorian'), since otherwise the trinity would be a quadrinity; why all this must be; (§3) both natures coexist in the Son, who has two wills (anti-'monothelete') and two activities (anti-'monenergist') — with an explanation of why this must be so — and the Son's perfection despite his human will and activity; (§4) two wills, two activities (reiterated), that the Son "performed divine acts (ἐνήργει τὰ θεῖα) and, *theandrically* (θεανδρικῶς),[247] human acts (τὰ ἀνθρώπινα)," that God became man (ἀνδρισθείς),[248] as is clear from the episode in which Peter tells Jesus that he is the messiah and Son of God [Matthew 16:13–18];[249] (§5) that there are three hypostases of the Divinity, as the Trisagion hymn says. John further rejects "the addition of the empty-minded Peter the Fuller" and (§6) Origen's doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, metempsychosis and "the portentous restoration,"[250] while (§7) accepting "the six holy councils." He methodically names those condemned by each council, then ends with an oath: (§8) "I swear… to be of such a mind," and not to have anything to do with those who believe otherwise, especially Maronites;[251] not to accept "clerical bigamy"; "to obey the most holy and catholic and apostolic Church of our Christ-loving metropolis of Damascus, and in all things to obey and follow Your Holiness, and not to accept any of the Manichaeans cast out by Your Holiness," and to follow "the holy canons of the holy apostles, the holy synods, and the holy and God-revealing Basil."

Ibn al-Faḍl translated this concise confession of orthodoxy and obedience under the title *Dustūr fī l-amāna al-mustaqīma*, a literal translation of the Greek title.[252] He thus made available to Arabic readers a basic template for right belief which would steer them away from the errors which might lead one to fall away from Nicaean, Chalcedonian and other conciliar doctrine. Obedience to Basil (of Caesarea) most likely refers to the monastic *Rules* which Basil wrote and which were widely used in the Orthodox world, especially since John of Damascus was a monk, a fact stressed in manuscripts of his work.[253]

A "brief" confession of faith follows Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of the *Libellus* in some manu-

[247]A Dionysian term, especially when applied to *energeia* (Dion.Ar.*ep*.4 = PG 3.1072C; cited by Lampe s.v. θεανδρικός 2). The term is also used by Gregory of Nyssa and Pseudo-Kaisarios; in addition to Lampe, see Pauline Allen, "Pseudo-Caesarius," in di Berardino, *Patrology*, 99.

[248]Lampe s.v., 1, cites the present passage (including John Damascene's definition of the term).

[249]§4 = 1429B.

[250]1432A. John of Damascus refers here to Origen's theory, as Leontios of Byzantium (d. *c.*543) describes it, that: "when the body is punished the soul is gradually purified and thus is restored to its former rank, and… that the demons and angels are also restored" (κολαζομένου… τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μικρὸν καθαίρεται ἡ ψυχή, καὶ οὕτως ἀποκαθίσταται εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν, καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας δὲ καὶ ἀγγέλους λέγει ἀποκαθίστασθαι); *de sectis* 10.6 = PG 86.1265C; cited by Lampe s.v. ἀποκαθίστασις B.3.

[251]1432C: Μαρωνίταις.

[252]Not all Greek manuscripts have this title; see the "Admonitio" at PG 94.1421. On the translation: Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 57–8; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 208–9. Although Sbath asserts that Ibn al-Faḍl is the translator of John Damascene's other works, Nasrallah rightly expresses caution about following this unsubstantiated assertion, especially since manuscripts other than Sbath's, at least, attribute the translation of John's other works to Antonius.

[253]*ODB*, s.v. "Basil the Great"; Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, 212ff. It is also possible, though in my view less likely, that it is a reference to the liturgy attributed to Saint Basil; see ibid., vol. 3, pp. 226–8; Robert Taft, *ODB*, s.v. "Liturgy."

scripts.[254] Graf states that Ibn al-Faḍl is named as the *translator* of this text but that no author is mentioned, and Nasrallah offers the tentative suggestion that Ibn al-Faḍl himself compiled the text.[255] But the testimony of Vat. ar. 79 itself (the only manuscript to which Graf refers and one which Nasrallah mentions as well) should leave little doubt, for it opens: "In the name of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Very Brief Creed. It is sound for the one from among the Orthodox who has no knowledge at all. ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Muṭrān extracted it from the words of the Holy Fathers and translated it into the Arabic language."[256] In other words, Ibn al-Faḍl constructed this brief creed from Patristic excerpts and translated them (presumably from Greek) into Arabic. The rest of the text reads, in its entirety:[257]

بارك أيّها السيد. أؤمن بإلاه واحد ضابط الكل أزلي لا مبدأ له بالكلّيّة، صانع الكل ممّا يُرى وما لا يرا (كذا) ، معلوم في ثلاثية الأقانيم، أعني أباً وابناً وروحاً قدوساً، وبرئاسة واحدةٍ ا⟨ل⟩ـلاهوت الواحد، وملك واحد، وسلطان واحد، وقوة واحدة، وفعل واحد، وإرادته واحدة وطبيعته واحدة. وأؤمن بربنا وإلاهنا إيسوع المسيح، أحد الثالوث القدوس الطاهر، كلمة الله الأب وابنه الوحيد الذي قبل الدهور، وأعترف أنّه لأجل رحمته التي لا توصف لهفوتنا البشرية بإيثاره طوعاً وإرادة الله والده ومسره الروح القدس الإلهية تجسد خلواً من زرع من والده الله الكلّيّة القدس ⟨٣٢٦ أ⟩ مريم البتول، وصار بعينه إنساناً كاملاً، كما أنه إلاه بالطبع كاملٌ قنوماً واحداً مركّباً من طبيعتين، وهو طبيعتان وله فعلان طبيعيّان وإ⟨را⟩دتان طبيعيتان. وأقبل المجامع الستة القدوسة الجارية في العالم وأؤثر وأرتضي بكل ما جددوه وأفرزوا بعد كل خلاف ثار على بيعة المسيح إلاهنا الطاهر. هذا كله أعتقد وإيّاه أحفظ، ومع هذا (كذا) الأمانة المستقيمة المرضية لله تعالى، أؤمّل وأضرع أن أمثل لدى منبر المسيح تعالى في يوم الدينونة وأحظى بخلاصةٍ بجوده الذي له يليق المجد والإكرام والسجود مع أبيه الذي لا مبدأ له وروحه الكلي القدس والمحيي، الآن، دائماً، وإلى آباد الدهور، آمين. نجوت (؟).

O Lord, bless. I believe in one god, master of the universe (*al-kull*), eternal, with no beginning at all, maker of the universe, see and unseen, known in the triplicity of the hypostases, I mean a father, a son, and a holy spirit, and with one rulership the one godhead, and one king, and one might, and one power, and one activity (*fiʿl* ∼ ἐνέργεια); his will is one, and his nature is one. And I believe in our lord and god Jesus Christ, one of the chaste holy trinity, the word of God the Father and his only son, who is before the ages; and I confess that on account of his compassion, which is indescribable, towards our human lapse, by his love (*īthār*), voluntarily, and by the will of God his father and the joy (*masarra*) of the divine Holy Spirit, he was incarnated (*tajassada*) without seed from his father God (in) the All-Holy One (*al-kullīya al-qudus* ∼ ἡ Παναγία), Mary, the Virgin, and he became in himself a complete man, just as he is a complete god by nature, one hypostasis composed of two natures, being two natures and having two natural activities and two natural wills. And I accept the seven holy councils which took place in this world, and I love and cherish all they added and clarified after each controversy which erupted against the church of Christ our chaste god. I believe all this and memorize it, and with this correct

[254] I use the text in Vat. ar. 79 (1223 CE), ff. 325^{v}–326^{r}.

[255] Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 58; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 208.

[256] Vat. ar. 79, f. 325^{v}: بسم الله الأب والابن والروح القدس. الأمانة ⟨ال⟩ـمختصرة جدّاً. تصلح لمن لا در به له بالعلم من الأرثذكسيين، استخرجها من كلام الآباء القديسين عبد الله بن الفضل بن عبد الله المطران وترجمها إلى اللغة العربية.

[257] Vat. ar. 79, ff. 325^{v}–326^{r}. There follow three further lines: يا ساكن النور كن وبي منتما / يا مثلث القدس كن وبي مهتما / امين. The reverse of this second page (i.e., f. 326^{v}) contains a brief *Greek* verse written in Greek characters.

> creed, pleasing to God Almighty, I hope and beseech that I may stand before the pulpit (*minbar*) of Christ Almighty on the day of judgment (*daynūna*) and obtain salvation by his goodness to which are appropriate majesty and honoring and worship along with his father, who has no beginning, and his holy and live-giving universal spirit, now and forever, and until the eternities of the ages. Amen. May I be saved (?).

This text was produced by Ibn al-Faḍl, as the title notes, for the ignorant among the Orthodox (by which he means of course Chalcedonian Christians). It stands in contrast to much of the rest of his translation program, perhaps being closest in its audience to his translation of the Psalter. This, if anything, was a text for pastoral purposes — placing his translations of more sophisticated texts in relief: most of his translation program, in other words, cannot be considered merely pastoral, as Nasrallah, for one, seems to imply.[258] Even his translation of John of Damascus's creed was at a register too high to expect the Arabic-speaking Christian flock of Antioch's churches to study and too long for them to memorize.

But of course there is no such thing as 'merely pastoral'; this document promoted the specifically Chalcedonian vision of orthodoxy espoused by the Byzantine hierarchy — again, in contrast to Miaphysite, Monothelete, and other doctrinal positions which were held and cultivated in the Eastern territories of the Byzantine empire.

Pseudo-Maximos

The ecclesiastical concern with orthodoxy — in Byzantium as elsewhere — rarely meant a total rejection of 'profane' culture. The collection of sayings and quotations known as the *Loci communes* (a.k.a. *Capita theologica*),[259] pseudonymously ascribed to Maximos the Confessor, is a good example of the synthesis between pagan and Christian culture in the sphere of wisdom. This 'sacro-profane' florilegium draws prominently on both Christian and pagan authors, such as 'Socrates' and Plato.

Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic translation of the *Loci communes* situate his translation program in this Byzantine pattern of adapting the Hellenic pagan past to the Christian present. The known manuscripts of the translation call it the *Book of the Garden* (*Kitāb al-Rawḍa*) and make no mention of Maximos. The translation is anonymous in some manuscripts, while one manuscript says that Ibn al-Faḍl translated it from Greek.[260] Graf, unaware of the Greek original, took this to mean that Ibn al-Faḍl was the translator *and* compiler of the sayings; van Esbroeck seems to have been the first to identify it as a translation of a preexisting compilation, that is, of the *Loci communes*, in an article published in 1986.[261]

The Greek version of the text has only recently received a modern critical edition.[262] The earliest printed version appeared in 1546, when Conrad Gesner (b. 1516 in Zurich, d. 1565 in

[258]Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, p. 194.

[259]CPG 7718; critical edition: ps.-Maximos the Confessor, *Ps.-Maximus Confessor. Erste kritische Edition einer Redaktion des sacro-profanen Florilegiums Loci communes*, ed. Sibylle Ihm (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001) (hereafter cited as *Loc.comm.* Ihm). See also *ODB*, s.v. "Florilegium." The most up-to-date discussions of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this text are: Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 378 n. 26; Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 100–103.

[260]Beirut BO 545 (1851 CE), according to Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 63.

[261]Michel van Esbroeck, "Les sentences morales des philosophes grecs dans les traditions orientales," in *L'Eredità classica nelle lingue orientali*, ed. Massimiliano Pavan and Umberto Cozzoli (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1986), 13–16; cited by Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," 378 n. 26.

[262]*Loc.comm.* Ihm. Searby, *Gnomon* 75:222–5, considers this edition incomplete since it privileges the latest of the three redactions (MaxU) and thus, while containing much material on the two earlier redactions (MaxI and MaxII),

Basel) printed a volume in Zurich which included four texts; the first two were the *Loci communes* and Maximos's *Chapters on Love.*[263] The book's title begins: *In the present book are the following: The Memorials, from different books of ours* [i.e., Christian] *and those from outside* [i.e., pagan], *three volumes. Maximos's chapters on perfect love and other virtues, 4 centuries.*[264] The edition by Combefis published in Paris in 1675 and reprinted by Migne in 1865 bears the title *Abba Maximos the Philosopher and Martyr's Theological Chapters, or Selections from Different Books of ours and from outside.*[265] These editions draw from various collections and do not represent how the *Loci communes* circulated in medieval manuscripts.[266] Fortunately, Ihm chose to edit the text, which greatly simplifies the task of studying its eleventh-century reception in Greek as well as Arabic.

The manuscripts of the Greek *Loci communes* can be grouped into three redactions: (1) the short version, which most manuscripts have (MaxI), (2) a longer version (MaxII), and (3) a redaction based on the longer version, though somewhat shorter and rearranged (MaxU). Some manuscripts contain a mix of these redactions.[267] Manuscripts of the first two redactions (MaxI and MaxII) bear titles which emphasize that sayings of both Christians and Hellenes (pagans) are included, as Gesner's edition does.[268] The third redaction (MaxU) was used for the Slavic translation of the collection, and according to Ihm had the most influence on the subsequent tradition,[269] hence her decision to produce in the first place an edition of MaxU.[270]

MaxI and MaxII share a lost common source ('Ur-Max'), as Ihm argues,[271] while MaxU is based on MaxII. With this stemma in mind, Ihm argues for the following dating: Ur-Max was compiled after the mid sixth century (the date of the latest text included in both MaxI and MaxII) but before the end of the ninth century, which is the *terminus post quem* for MaxII (which contains a citation

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it fails to provide a complete critical edition of MaxI, which is contained in most manuscripts (*Loc.comm.* Ihm, I). It is, in any case, a tremendous improvement upon its predecessors. — Ihm's edition says almost nothing about the Arabic translation of the *Loci communes*, although she does cite van Esbroeck, "Les sentences," as Noble and Treiger noted ("Christian Arabic Theology," 378 n. 26).

[263]It is clear today that the work was not in fact by Maximos, but early modern editors had some reason to consider it his work since some Greek manuscripts attribute it to him, although most are anonymous, and one ascribes it to Basil of Caesarea; *Loc.comm.* Ihm, II.

[264]Ibid., intro.4.1.1 (p. C): Ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ βίβλῳ ἔνεστι τάδε. Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἐκ διαφόρων τῶν τε καθ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τῶν θύραθεν βιβλίων τόμοι τρεῖς. Μαξίμου κεφαλαίων περὶ τελείας ἀγάπης καὶ ἄλλων ἀρετῶν Ἑκατοντάδες δ.

[265]Text printed at PG 91.719–1018. Title: Ἀββὰ Μαξίμου Φιλοσόφου καὶ Μάρτυρος Κεφάλαια θεολογικὰ ἤτοι Ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ Διαφόρων Βιβλίων τῶν τε καθ' Ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν Θύραθεν.

[266]Remarking on the uselessness of such editions — which were made from whatever manuscript was available to the editor, supplemented with sayings from similar compilations and sometimes shortened by the removal of sayings already published elsewhere — for the purposes of reconstructing the history of gnomonological compilations, Dimitri Gutas in 1975 suggested that rather than edit the *Loci communes* and the compilation by 'Antonius,' the *Melissa*, we should simply edit their shared sources, the *Corpus Parisinus* and the *Sacra parallela.* The later collections would hardly be missed, he adds, since their anonymity (i.e., *pseudo*nymity) means "there would be no concomitant loss of the 'personality' of the compiler as reflected in his method of compilation." See Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: a study of the Graeco-Arabic gnomologia* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1975), 27–8, quote at 28. Gutas was of course writing from the standpoint of recovering the earliest versions of individual sayings and retracing their steps through wisdom compilations. For one interested in the Byzantine reception of wisdom literature, even pseudonymous and anonymous compilations can be of great interest.

[267]*Loc.comm.* Ihm, I. The 'U' in 'MaxU' stands for "Umstellung."

[268]*Loc.comm.* Ihm, II.

[269]"Nachwirkung"; ibid.

[270]A decision which Searby criticized; see n. 262

[271]See Searby, review of ibid., 223, who finds Ihm's argument plausible but withholds final judgment until the appearance of "a complete edition of MaxI."

from Photios), and thus for MaxU as well. *Termini ante quos* for the redactions are determined by the oldest manuscripts containing MaxI (Paris Coislin gr. 371, 10th century) and MaxII (Vat. gr. 739, 11th century) and the oldest manuscript containing a florilegium based on MaxU (Vat. Ross. ar. 736, 10th/early 11th century). By contrast, Jeffreys and Kazhdan considered the compilation a tenth-century work.[272] Given the current state of knowledge about Ibn al-Faḍl's *Book of the Garden*, the compilation in some form could have seen anywhere from 100 to 350 years of life (around 650–900 CE) before Ibn al-Faḍl translated it into Arabic. But the 10th- and 11th-century Greek manuscripts show us that Ibn al-Faḍl's motivation for translating this florilegium might again be that it was being read, copied, and used in Byzantium.

The *Loci communes* bears some resemblance to the collections of sayings compiled by Maximos the Confessor: like Maximos's authentic *kephalaia* in the Evagrian tradition, the *Loci communes* seeks to edify its readers by short, memorable 'chapters' on a given theme. Occasionally the selections in Maximos's compilations even sound like they could come from a gnomonology like the *Loci communes*, such as the apophthegmatic "Many are we who speak, few who do," from the *Chapters on Love*,[273] which sits well beside: "Let every man be quick to listen and slow to speak," from the *Loci communes*.[274]

There are also considerable differences. In the *Loci communes*, each *kephalaion* is attributed to an author. Where Maximos's collections are programmatic, leading their readers on through progressive spiritual stages, the *Loci communes* allows its reader to consult specific topics of interest, for it is organized thematically. Beginning with "virtue and wickedness" (α′ περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας) it then moves through various virtues (β′–η′) and "sovereignty and power" (θ′ περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας), then to other themes like "wealth and poverty and avarice" (ιβ′ περὶ πλούτους καὶ πενίας καὶ φιλαργυρίας), on to "education and philosophy and childrearing" (ιζ′ περὶ παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ παίδων ἀνατροφῆς), "silence and secrets" (κ′ περὶ σιωπῆς καὶ ἀπορρήτων), sin (κς′), sleep (κθ′), drunkenness (λ′ περὶ μέθης), *parrhesia* and disputation (λα′ περὶ παρρησίας καὶ τοῦ ἐλέγχειν), truth and falsehood (λε′), beauty (λζ′), "judgement to come" (λη′ περὶ μελλούσης κρίσεως), providence (μα′), physicians (μγ′), the soul (μς′), the command 'know thyself' (μθ′ περὶ τοῦ γνῶθι σαυτόν) and so forth, down to death (ξε′), hope (ξζ′), women (ξη′), old age and youth (ο′), ending with "endurance and patience" (οα′ ὑπομονῆς καὶ μακροθυμίας).

While Maximos's collections draw primarily upon patristic works, pagan philosophers and other writers provide the bulk of the sayings of the *Loci communes*. This does not mean that the latter is inattentive to the distinction between Christians and Hellenes, for each chapter is carefully arranged in the following order: New Testament, Old Testament, Church Fathers, and only then the non-Christian Hellenic authors.[275] This organization has an apologetic weight similar to the placement of Nonnos's *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* and Gregory of Nazianzos's epigrams at the beginning of the 10th-century *Anthologia Palatina*, or the tendency in classical Arabic literature to open treatises, books and chapters with Quranic and then Prophetic quotations, even when it seems clear that the book's main purpose lies *after* them. Their inclusion is an authori-

[272] *ODB*, s.v. "Florilegium."

[273] *Chapters on Love* 4.85, Max.*de car.* C.-G., 232: "Πολλοί ἐσμεν οἱ λέγοντες, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ ποιοῦντες…"

[274] *Loc.comm.* Ihm, 20.2/2 (James 1:19): "Ἔστω πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ βραδὺς εἰς τὸ λαλῆσαι."

[275] Ibid., I. For quotations from Philo (and pseudo-Philo) in particular, see Emily Parker and Alexander Treiger, "Philo's Odyssey into the Medieval Jewish World: Neglected Evidence from Arab Christian Literature," *Dionysius* 30 (2012): 136–8. Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of the *Gnostic Centuries* is another avenue for Philo's ideas (albeit unattributed) to enter Arabic; see Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 516–17, 585, 586, 587.

tative moral anchor to which the subsequent *kephalaia* (whose authors may be morally suspect) may be compared.

Where the Arabic translations of Maximos's collections indicate an interest in spiritual development and ascetic and mystical practice, the *Book of the Garden* signals a desire to drink at the font of Greek wisdom — but in a handy 'book of quotations' which extracts wise sayings from their potentially subversive contexts (or rather, since the Socrates, say, of wisdom literature is not at all the same as Plato's Socrates, we should say that the pagan philosopher himself has been extracted from his own life and times to live eternally suspended as a gnomonological talking head). Topics may be practical questions of daily life — physicians[276] (§43), secrets (§20) — or spirituality — the soul (§46), 'know thyself' (§49).

Ibn al-Faḍl, by translating this text, probably meant for an audience of nonspecialists who wished to improve themselves and their lives,[277] made clear that parts of the ancient Greek pagan past provided valuable wisdom which was an important part of a Christian formation. This is not so remarkable in itself, but again it allows us to move away from a sense that the pagan heritage and the ecclesiastical present were entirely at odds with one another in middle Byzantine culture. The implications of such a stance were clear to the medieval reader; one scribe who wished to avoid them cut the number of pagan sayings dramatically when he copied Ibn al-Faḍl's *Book of the Garden*.[278] Just as the scriptural and patristic selections legitimated a compilation of pagan sayings, so too the association of pagan philosophers and Christian philosophers made a statement about 'true philosophy.' For the good and virtuous life was what one learned, at least in its elementary form, from philosophers.

Pseudo-Kaisarios

As part of his book of answers to 365 questions, *The Joy of the Believer* (*Kitāb Bahjat al-mu'min*), Ibn al-Faḍl translated 100 selected questions (and their answers) from the *Questions and Answers* (Ἐρωταποκρίσεις) of Pseudo-Kaisarios (often spelled 'Caesarius'), making them numbers 101–200 of his 365 questions.[279] The Greek original, though ascribed to Gregory of Nazianzos's brother Kaisarios (d. 369),[280] was probably composed in the mid sixth century.[281]

The questions deal with a range of theological, meteorological and astronomical topics and include polemics "against Jews, Arians and Origenists"[282] and discussions of Christ's ignorance and natures.[283] Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of Pseudo-Kaisarios is fairly loose, compared with the

[276]It should be noted, however, that the section on physicians is not entirely 'practical': the Biblical and Patristic quotations include metaphors about medicine and salvation; in this light the subsequent 'profane' quotations criticizing and mocking bad physicians could be read as a comment on those who falsely promise salvation.

[277]Cf. Jeffreys and Kazhdan (*ODB*, s.v. "Florilegium"), who write that such sacro-profane florilegia "were directed toward an educated public of both clergy and laity."

[278]At least one manuscript, Sinai ar. 66 (1266 CE), omits most of the selections from pagan authors (especially from chapter 26 onward, where pagan sayings are "practically eliminated"), while Vat. ar. 111 keeps most of them; van Esbroeck, "Les sentences," 14.

[279]Riedinger, *PsKÜV*, 63.

[280]*ODB*, s.v. "Kaisarios, Pseudo-."

[281]CPG 7482; PG 38.851–1190; Allen, "Ps.-Caesarius," 99. Critical edition: Ps.-Kaisarios, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Die Erotapokriseis*, ed. Rudolf Riedinger (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1989) (hereafter cited as Kais.*Erotap.* Ried.).

[282]*ODB*, s.v. "Kaisarios, Pseudo-"; Allen, "Ps.-Caesarius," 100.

[283]Baldwin and Talbot, *ODB*, s.v. "Kaisarios, Pseudo-," call him a "Monophysite"; Allen, "Ps.-Caesarius," 100, says that he "expressly avoids both the formula of one nature and that of two natures."

strict Old Slavic translation.[284] On one occasion he (or possibly the Greek original from which he translated) omits a line in the original which equivocates on the question of whether the Magi-star may represent a city, perhaps, as Riedinger notes, because it smacks too much of an objectionable astrology.[285]

Other

There are further a number of works whose attribution to Ibn al-Faḍl is difficult to confirm, since it rests entirely on the word of Paul Sbath, who does not cite manuscripts.[286] Two of these unconfirmed works are particularly relevant to the question of matter: Athenagoras's *On the resurrection of the dead*[287] and the dialogue by Gregory of Nyssa *On the soul and resurrection.*[288] Should Ibn al-Faḍl turn out to have translated these works into Arabic, they would give further evidence of an interest in understanding the details of how body and soul related to one another and making sense of the resurrection of something so fleshly and material as the body.[289]

III Motivation and Purpose of the Translation Program

Why did Ibn al-Faḍl translate these texts? In this section, I will briefly consider the evidence of Ibn al-Faḍl's own testimony on the matter and the parallel translation program among the Georgians.

Ibn al-Faḍl's declared purpose in his preface to Pseudo-Kaisarios

Ibn al-Faḍl frequently added prefaces to his translations, some shorter and some longer. Until editions of his translations exist, it will be difficult to carry out a comprehensive review of his own account of his translation activities. Nevertheless, considering a single such preface should give us an idea. His preface to Pseudo-Kaisarios's *Questions and Answers* goes into particular depth. Riedinger summarizes this Arabic preface and offers a German translation of part of it[290] in his study of the Pseudo-Kaisarios manuscript tradition.[291] I present the full text below, drawing it from Vat. Sbath 45 (1662f CE).[292] This manuscript contains only the 100 questions from Pseudo-Kaisarios, not the rest of the *Joy of the Believer*, indicating that these questions of Pseudo-Kaisarios

[284]Kais.*Erotap.* Ried., X; Riedinger asserts this on the basis of his collation — with the help of others who knew the languages — of the Greek with the translations.

[285]Riedinger, *PsKÜV*, 66 (where several other changes are listed); the passage is §106$_{39-40}$ = Kais.*Erotap.* Ried., 81.

[286]See Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 214–15, for Sbath's claim; Nasrallah lists the following works: Athenagoras (2nd c. CE), *De resurrectione mortuum*; Didymos the Blind (d. 398), *De trinitate*; Epiphanios of Cyprus (d. 403), *Panarion*; Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), *Contra Julianum imperatorem*; Gregory of Nyssa, *Macrinia = De anima et resurrectione dialogus*; Gregory of Nazianzos, five treatises on the Son and the Holy Spirit.

[287]Περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν. PG 6.973–1024.

[288]Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος Τὰ Μακρίνια. PG 46.11–160.

[289]For several other works which he may (or may not) have translated, see Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 215–16.

[290]¶3 in my text presented below.

[291]Riedinger, *PsKÜV*, 63–4.

[292] There is a colophon at the end of Vat. Sbath 45, f. 67^{v} (in different ink and smaller — though similar, so possibly same — hand), which dates the manuscript to Anno Mundi 7171, or 1662 CE: تم بيد أحقر عباد الله تعالى يوحنا رعد(؟) باسم قسيس بن ميخائيل بن حاج، فرج الله في سنة سبع (كذا) آلاف مائة واحد وسبعين لآدم. Then the hand which made other marginal notes (including the one on f. 16^{v} about ḥawāshī) notes here: "Note that the book was old and is here defective" (اعلم أن الكتاب كان قديم وهنا ناقص). Then to the right of the text in the margin, upside down, another hand has written: "This book

could and did circulate separately (possibly even in Ibn al-Faḍl's own lifetime). Its rubricated title (following the *basmalah* in ordinary ink) contains a date of translation:

> In the name of God, the one, the eternal (*abadī*), the pre-eternal (*azalī*), the pre- and post-eternal (*sarmadī*); from him do we seek aid. Beginning of the one hundred questions by Saint Kaisarios, brother of the exalted Saint Gregory; ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī translated it from the Greek language into the language of the Arabs (*aʿrāb*), to seek reward and recompense, may God sanctify his soul. And that was in the fourth of the group of years [= fourth indiction] in the year six thousand and five hundred and sixty [= 1051f CE].[293]

Ibn al-Faḍl's preface to the work reads (with rubricated words represented here in boldface; I have assigned each question a number, for ease of reference):[294]

> إنني لما رأيت جماعة من المسيحيين الآن قد توفروا على تفهم مصنفات البرّانيين الضال{ـيـ}ـين، وأفنوا الزمان في المناظرات في معناها، وجعلوا إذا بَهُمَ التسايُل[1] منها فهم يتفاوضون تارةً من الأدب، وتارةً من غيره من العلوم، حتى ترى النهشل[2] منهم فضلاً عن الغُرانِق[3] يسـ⟨ـأ⟩ل غيره طالباً بِعَنَتِه وخاطباً الفتك به، فيقول: (١) ما الفرق بين الأعضب والأصلم، (٢) وما هو العدد المسمى جماعاً والعدد الدوري والعدد المعروف باتينا (؟)، (٣) وأيما هي الكيفيات الأولى، وأيما هي الثواني، (٤) وما الفرق بين الهيولى والموضوع، (٥) وكم هي علل الحركة المكانية، (٦) ولم كانت المبادئ أربعة، (٧) وما السبب الداعي إلى أن كان البردي ذا زبيرة(؟) وحب السفرجل ذا الزوجة، (٨) ولم إذا أخذ فرع من شجرة وغرس أجدب، (٩) وما هو الخط المستقيم، (١٠) وكم هي أصناف الخطوط، (١١) وما هو الحبيب (؟) ولم كانت الزوايا ثلثاً، (١٢) وكيف يُستخرج الجذر[4] والكعب، (١٣) ولم (ط، ٢أ) كان الجوهر جنسـ⟨ـاً⟩ واحد⟨اً⟩ والأعراض تسعة، (١٤) ولم كانت الفصول على ثلثة أقسام، (١٥) وأيما هي المقدمات البرهانية، (١٦) ولم لم يقترن السور بالمحمول، (١٧) وكم لوازم البرهان، (١٨) وكم أصناف الذاتي، (١٩) ولم كانت أشكال القياس ثلثة، (٢٠) ولم تبعتْ النتيجة أخس المقدّمات، وما شاكل هذه السؤالات، وهي كثيرة جدّاً وإنّما أوردنا منها ما أوردنا على سبيل المثال.
>
> وتجري بينهم الخصائم، وتشتعل فيهم نار الموجدة والإعجاب، فلا يتف⟨ـا⟩وض مجلسهم إلّا عمّا لا يستحسنه ذو الألباب الصافية والخلال العالية، غير ناظرين[5] إلى ما يداوون به عقولهم المريضة، ولا مكترثين بما يجلو{ا} صدا ألبابهم المظلمة، ويعيدها إلى مضارعة التشبه الكريم والسامي العظيم، ويلمع لها الفوز والسعادة والنجاح والغبطة، أعني بأنْ يتطلّعوا في الكتب الإلهيّة، المصنّفات الروحانية، وما نطقوا به الآباء القدّيسون والرجال المتألّهون، ويستنيروا بضياوها[6] ويُجروا أمورَهم بين

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is intended for the priest Raʿd (?). May anyone who conceals it from him be excommunicated from the mouth of the Seven Councils, and from the mouth of the Patriarch *kyr* Makarios [III Zaʿīm of Antioch], and from the mouth of every worthy priest. He produced it in the year of Adam 7178 [= 1669f CE]" (هذا الكتاب برسم الخوري رعد(؟) فكلمن أخفاه عنه يكون محروم من فم السبع مجامع ومن فم البطريرك كير مكاريوس ومن فم كل كاهن محق حرره سنة ٧١٧٨ لآدم). The date means that the Patriarch Makarios in question must be Makarios III Zaʿīm, patron of scholarly activity and a Greek-Arabic translator himself, who was at this time on one of his two trips to Russia, which took place 1652–1659 and 1664–1671: Joseph Nasrallah, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire du patriarcat melchite d'Antioche* (Jerusalem, 1965), 107.

[293]Vat. Sbath 45, f. 1ᵛ: بسم الله الواحد الأبدي الأزلي السرمدي وبه نستعين. ابتداء المائة سؤال للقديس كاساريوس وهو أخي القديس الجليل غريغوريوس، ترجمه من اللغة اليونانية إلى لغة الأعراب عبد الله ابن الفضل الأنطاكي لطلب الأجر والثواب، قدس الله روحه، وذلك في التاريخ الرابع من جملة السنين في عام ستة الآف وخمسمائة وستين.

[294]Vat. Sbath 45 (= ط), ff. 1ᵛ–3ʳ.

[1]التسايُل: أي: التساؤل [2]النهشل: فوقه شرح: الشيخ [3]الغُرانِق: فوقه شرح: الشاب [4]الجذر: في الأصل: الجذر [5]غير ناظرين: في الأصل: غيرنا ضـ⟨ـا⟩رين [6]بضياوها: أي: بضيائِها

أوامرها وزواجرها، بل متعكفين على ما تقدمنا بذكره ممّا لا يعود بطائل يعوّل عليه، ولا يثمر ثمراً يلتفت إليه، ولا يزيل عن العقل الأَمَهَ[1]، ولا يحثّهُ على العبادة لله تعالى والزهد في العالم، وإن كانت العلوم لا تخلو من فائدة، غير زاكنين أنّ هذه المفاوضات تحسن بالنافع إلى حدٍّ ما مع ملازمة البيعة المقدّسة، والعمل بمفترض الشريعة الإلهية الضوية[2] (ط، ٢ب)، وبالجملة كما رسم القديس باسيليوس، وكما تسير الآباء المتألّهون، لا أن يفنى الزمان فيها، وهذا شيء لا يدفعهُ عاقل[3] بل بالخرف جاهل[4].

ووقع في كتاب نفيس يوناني يتضمن سؤالات عدّة روحانية نافعة للنفس **سألها قسطنتيوس وثاوخاريسطس وأندراوس و[[ا]]غريغوريوس ودمنس وإيسيدرس ولانتيوس صاحب الديوان، للقديس الجليل كاساريوس أخي أبينا المعظم في القديسين [[ا]]غريغوريوس المتكلم في اللاهوت حين كان يعلّم في القسطنطينية** وذلك أنه أقام يفيد العلم بها مدّة عشرين سنة. وجدلت غاية الجدل بذلك، لم أتمالك دون أن شرعت في ترجمته إلى اللغة العربية لأسباب ثلثة: الأوّل منها أنه صادر عن هذا الرجُل المتألّه، والثاني أنّه في أمور نافعة للنفس، والثالث ليشتغل به خِراف المسيح تعالى عن الولع بما لا يجدي كثير نفع[5] بل ربّما آلَ إلى غاية الضَّرَر.

فأنا أسأل السيد المسيح جلّ وعزّ، وإن كنتُ غرير المآثم وافر الجرائم، أن يمدّ لي بمعونته وينير عيني ⟨و⟩قلبي المظلمتين بالذنوب، ويؤهّلَني لهذا الأمر الجليل الشريف النبيل، ويـ{ـو}قيني الزلل في القول والعمل برحمته، إنّه وليّ ذلك والقادر عليه. ويجب أن تعلم أننا قد نقلنا من هذا الكتاب ما أمكن إذ[6] كان الخلَل قد أَلَمَ به (ط، ٣أ) والعَوَز[7].

I have seen a group of Christians today who have gone to any length to comprehend the works of erring outsiders (*barrānīyīn* ∼ οἱ θύραθεν). They have wasted time in debates concerning their meaning, and when the inquiry from (these debates?) becomes obscure (?) they've started to parley sometimes with literature (? *adab*) and sometimes with another of the sciences, until you see the old man (*nahshal*) from among them, let alone the young (*ghurāniq*),[295] querying another, seeking to give him grief and preaching his destruction, saying: [1] What is the difference between the slit (*aʿḍab*)[296] and the severed (*aṣlam*)?[297] [2] What is the number called an 'aggregate' (*jammāʿ*) and the 'circular number' and the number known as '*?ātīnā*'?[298]

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[295]This word connotes 'young men'; *Lisān*, s.v. *ghurnūq*: الغُرْنُوق: الناعِم المُنتَشِر من النَّبات. أَبو حنيفة: الغُرْنُوق نَبْت ينبُت في أُصول العَوْسَجِ وهو الغُرَانِق أَيضاً؛ قال ابن ميّادة: ولا زال يُسْقَى سِدْرُه وغُرانِقُه والغُرْنُوقُ والغِرْنَوقُ والغِرْنَيْقُ والغِرْنِيقُ والغِرْناق والغُمرانِق والغَرَوْنَق، كله: الأَبيض الشاب الناعم الجميل؛ قال: إِذْ أَنْت غِرْناقُ الشَّباب مَيّالْ، ذُو دَأْيَتَيْنِ يَنْفَحان السِّرْبالْ استعار الدَّأْيَتَين للرجل، وإِنما هما للناقة والجَمَل.

[296]*aʿḍab*: may refer to a domesticated animal whose ear has been slit.

[297]*aṣlam*: one whose ear or nose has been severed.

[298]The 'circular number' (*al-ʿadad al-dawrī*) is how Thābit ibn Qurra's translation of Nikomachos of Gerasa's Ἀριθμητικὴ Εἰσαγωγή renders the term *ἀποκαταστατικοὶ ἀριθμοί*, 'recurrent numbers' (*Glossarium Græco-Arabicum*, http://telota.bbaw.de/glossga/glossary.php?id=194705, accessed 19 April 2015), which are (natural) numbers whose final digit is the same raised to any (natural-number) power (e.g., 5, whose powers $5^2 = 25$, $5^3 = 125$, etc., all end in 5); see LSJ s.v. *ἀποκαταστατικός* I. (A suggestion from Asad Ahmed led me to this result.) Nikomachos notes that they are also called 'spherical' numbers: Nikomachos of Gerasa, Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή / *Nicomachi Geraseni Pythagorei Introductionis arithmeticae libri II*, ed. Richard Gottfried Hoche (Leipzig: Teubner, 1866), 111_{7-8}. In Thābit's translation (Thābit ibn Qurra, *Kitāb al-madkhal ilā ʿilm al-ʿadad / Ṯābit ibn Qurra's arabische Übersetzung der* Ἀριθμητικὴ Εἰσαγωγή *des Nikomachos von Gerasa*, ed. Wilhelm Kutsch [Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, [1959]], 87), the relevant passage reads: فهذا الصنف من الأعداد المكعّبة يُسمّى الأعداد الكرية ويسمى أيضا الأعداد الدَّورية.

[1]الأَمَهَ: صحّحته؛ في الأصل: الامهُ ط [2]الضوية: أي: الضَّوِيئة [3]عاقل: في الأصل: عاقلٍ [4]جاهل: فيالأصل: جاهلٍ [5]كثير نفع: ط؛ وقد صحّحه يد آخر باضافة تنوينين: كثيراً نفعً (كذا) [6]إذ: اذ[[ا]] ط [7]والعَوَز: والعوُز ط؛ ففي اللسان: «والعَوَزُ، بالفتح: العُدْمُ وسوءُ الحال»، وفي القاموس: «العَوْزُ: حَبُّ العِنَبِ»، وايضا: «وعُوزٌ، بالضم: اسمٌ»

[3] Which are the primary qualities, and which the secondary? [4] What is the difference between prime matter (*hayūlā*) and substrate (*mawḍūʿ*)? [5] How many are the causes of locational motion? [6] Why are the principles (*mabādiʾ* ∼ ἀρχαί) four? [7] What is the cause which leads *burdī/bardī* [*burdī* can refer to a type of date, *bardī* to papyrus][299] to have a *zabīra* (?) and the quince seed to have a 'wife'? [8] When the branch of a tree is taken and planted, why is it barren? [9] What is a straight line? [10] How many are the kinds of lines? [11] What is the *ḥbyb*(?) and why are [its] angles three? [12] How does one calculate the root and the cube [of a number]? [13] Why is substance (*jawhar*) a single genus while the accidents are nine? [14] Why are the *fuṣūl* divided into three divisions? [15] Whatever are the demonstrative premisses? [16] Why isn't the quantifier combined with the predicate?[300] [17] How many are the requirements of demonstration? [18] How many are the kinds of the essential [sc. ?accident]? [19] Why are the syllogistic figures three? [20] Why does the result follow the weakest (*akhass*) of the premisses? — and questions resembling these, of which there are very many; of them we only listed what we listed for the sake of example. Quarrels break out between them, and the fire of passion and wonderment is kindled among them, so that when they meet they only confer[301] about subjects which those of pure minds (*al-albāb al-ṣāfiya*) and lofty dispositions do not find suitable, paying no attention to what they might use to treat their diseased minds (*ʿuqūl*), indifferent to what the voice[302] of their oppressed hearts (*albāb*) reveals, (to what) would return (their hearts) to the similarity of noble resemblance [∼ ὁμοίωσις?] and sublime, (and) great; and would make victory, happiness, success, and beatitude shine for them — I mean for them to consider attentively the divine books, the spiritual compositions, and the utterances of the holy fathers and divine men (*mutaʾallihūn* ∼ θεῖοι),[303] and to be illuminated by the glow of (these books), and to run their affairs between the commandments and chastisements (of the books). Rather they cling to the things we just mentioned, which bring no reliable advantage (*mimmā lā yaʿūdu bi-ṭāʾilin yuʿawwalu ʿalayhi*), nor bear any noteworthy fruit, nor remove forgetfulness (*amah*)[304] from the mind, nor incite it [i.e., the mind] to worship of God Almighty and renunciation (*zuhd*) in the world (*ʿālam*) — even if the sciences are not devoid of usefulness — not thinking that these discussions (*mufāwaḍāt*) are beneficial to a point (when combined) with adherence to the holy Church and doing what is enjoined by the luminous divine law (*sharīʿa*), and in general as Saint Basil prescribed and as the divine fathers behaved, not to waste time on them [i.e., the discussions]. This is something which the intelligent man does not reject, but only the

[299] *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *brd* (والبُرْدِيُّ، بالضم: من جيد التمر يشبه البَرْنِيَّ... والبَرْدِيُّ، بالفتح: نبت معروف واحدته بَرْدِيَّةٌ...).

[300] That is, why are quantifiers applied to the subject and not the predicate? (I thank Asad Ahmed for clarifying the meaning of this question.) Avicenna defines the quantifier (*sūr*) as "an utterance that indicates the measure of the quantification, such as 'every,' 'none,' 'some,' and 'not all'": Ibn Sīnā, *Avicenna's Deliverance: Logic*, trans. Asad Q. Ahmed (Oxford UP, 2011), 18 = §38.

[301] Reading يتفاوض for يتفوض.

[302] Or 'thirst,' or 'echo'?

[303] The Arabic participle *mutaʾallih*, more explicitly than the Greek adjective θεῖοι, implies a *process* of deification (θέωσις).

[304] *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *ʾmh*: وقرأ ابن عباس: وادَّكَرَ بعد أَمَهٍ، قال: والأَمَهُ النسيانُ. ويقال: قد أَمِهَ، بالكسر، يَأْمَهُ أَمَهاً، هذا الصحيح بفتح الميم

ignorant one in his feeble-mindedness.

I came across a precious Greek book containing numerous spiritual questions useful to the soul,[305] **which Constantius,[306] Theocharistos, Andrew, Gregory, Domnos, Isidore, and Leontios the *episekretos*[307] asked the exalted Saint Kaisarios, brother of our Father, great among saints, Gregory the Theologian,[308] when he was teaching in Constantinople**, for he lived there offering knowledge for twenty years. And I expended extreme efforts on it and could not refrain myself from embarking on translating it into the Arabic language for three reasons: first, that it comes from this divine man; second, that it is on matters useful to the soul; and third, so that the sheep of Christ Almighty (*al-masīḥ taʿālā*) would occupy themselves with it rather than craving that which does not provide much benefit but rather often leads to extreme harm.

I ask the lord Christ Majestic and Great (*jalla wa-ʿazza*),[309] even if I am tempted by sins and abundant in offenses, to make me fit for this exalted, illustrious, and noble task, and protect me from slipping in speech and in deed by his mercy; he is surely the possessor of that and capable of it. You should know that we translated as much of this book possible, since it suffered from imperfection and defectiveness.

Ibn al-Faḍl here makes at least some of his motives very clear. Christians who engage with 'profane' learning ask all kinds of questions deriving from this contact with non-Christian (in the first place pagan) philosophy[310] They bother others with such questions — about arithmetic, grammar, botany, metaphysics (including how to define *hayūlā* ∼ ὕλη, or prime matter), geometry, and logic[311] — and debate them endlessly with each other. Such discussions distract Christians from what would truly improve them as human beings: scripture, and the writings the church fathers, who are becoming, or have become, divine (*muta'allihūn*). On the other hand, Ibn al-Faḍl does acknowledge that "the sciences are not devoid of usefulness," but they are only "beneficial to a point," and only when combined with obedience to the church and divine law, and self-

[305]Here Riedinger (Riedinger, *PsKÜV*, 63–4) adds (presumably from the manuscript he was using): "whose number is 100 questions."

[306]This reading of the name agrees with the Greek: Κωνσταντίου. Riedinger's apparatus, however, notes that the Arabic version reads "Konstantinos" (Kais.*Erotap.* Ried., 9). This may have resulted from a manuscript's mis-dotting (or a modern scholar's misreading) of the name as قسطنتنوس (instead of قسطنتينوس).

[307]*ṣāḥib al-dīwān.* In fact, it is Kaisarios who is the *episekretos* according to the title of the Greek text. The error was helped along by the Greek word order, in which Leontios's name appears at the end of a list (in the genitive) followed by Kaisarios's name (in the dative): "…Λεοντίου ἐπισηκρήτῳ Καισαρίῳ…" All that one would need to do to assign the title of *episekretos* to Leontios would be to read it as a genitive instead of a dative. In fact, this is precisely the reading of codex P = Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, 161 (9th/10th c.; see Riedinger, *PsKÜV*, 31): ἐπϊσηκρήτου (Kais.*Erotap.* Ried., 9). This suggests a possible affinity between Ibn al-Faḍl's translation and the manuscript family to which codex P belongs. The title *episekretos* appears to be an invention of the pseudonymous author: Riedinger, *PsKÜV*; cited by István Perczel, "Finding a place for the *Erotapokriseis* of Pseudo-Caesarius: a new document of sixth-century Palestinian Origenism," *ARAM* 18–19 (2006–07): 59.

[308]The Arabic omits a further phrase in the Greek: "…holy bishop of Nazianzos" (τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπισκόπου Ναζιανζοῦ [*sic*], Kais.*Erotap.* Ried., 9).

[309]Reversing the usual Muslim formula *ʿazza wa-jalla.*

[310]Riedinger glosses the "erring outsiders" as Muslims.

[311]Cf. Riedinger, *PsKÜV*, 63.

comportment according to the models provided by holy men.[312] And so when he encountered this book that asks and answers *useful* (rather than pointless) questions he studied it carefully and translated it into Arabic. He did so because of (1) the text's (pseudonymous) author, (2) its utility for the soul, and (3) to give Christians better questions and answers to which to apply themselves.

The first motive should remind us just how important the authorship of patristic texts was — of course that is what made them 'patristic.' A work written by a saint could be trusted in a way that other texts could not. The saints taken together sketched out the contours of the collective church, in this case the Byzantine church.

The second and third motive go together: translating this text allowed Christians to apply their mental energy to something useful, that would benefit them. This was part of a long and ongoing debate over the value of the classical tradition in middle Byzantine culture. On the one hand, it was studied and taught; on the other, there are signs that some monks and churchmen sought to suppress aspects of non-Christian learning (the trial of John Italos, for instance, is adduced in this connection). But this impulse was nuanced: as Ibn al-Faḍl states clearly, knowledge from the 'outside' is not bad *per se* but rather risks being harmful to those who do not approach it in the proper frame of mind. Such attitudes towards pagan or other non-Christian learning were prevalent and persistent in late antique Christian culture and lived on throughout the Byzantine period; similar attitudes existed among elite Muslims as well. Ibn al-Faḍl translated the *Questions and Answers*, attributed to Kaisarios, on dogmatic but also natural philosophical questions as part of an attempt to encourage the proper approach to knowledge about the world.

Contemporary Georgian translations

Many of the texts which Ibn al-Faḍl translated had already been translated into a number of other languages, especially Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian. Ideally, one would study the history of such translations of every one of the texts Ibn al-Faḍl translated. In the next chapter, I will attempt this for one of those texts, Basil's *Hexaemeron*,[313] but for the present contextualization of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation program as a whole, I will focus on comparing it to late-tenth- and eleventh-century *Georgian* translation activity. In particular I will consider the prolific and better-documented translations of three Georgian scholars: Euthymios of the Holy Mountain (d. 1028), George of the Holy Mountain (d. 1065), and Epʿrem Mcire (d. around the end of 11th century).

These roughly contemporary Georgian translators are likely to be a relevant comparison to Ibn al-Faḍl for a number of reasons. First, they were Chalcedonian Christians working within the Byzantine empire, but often on its peripheries, much like Ibn al-Faḍl and his fellow Arabic-speaking Chalcedonian Christians of Antioch. Second, some of their Georgian translation and literary production took place in Antioch and its hinterland at precisely the same time, in one case with the patronage of the Patriarchate, such that it is quite likely that Ibn al-Faḍl's circle overlapped with that of Georgian translators. Third, parts of Georgia had recently been annexed by Emperor Basil II around the year 1000,[314] much as Antioch had been conquered decades earlier. This placed Chalcedonian Christian elites — in communion with the Byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchy — in a privileged position vis-à-vis the Byzantine imperial center, even as they had

[312]Cf. Peter Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* 2 (1983): 1–25.

[313]See chapter 2, §I.

[314]*ODB*, s.v. "David of Taykʿ/Tao," "Iberia," "Taykʿ/Tao"; Michael Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, Studi e Testi 185 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955), 183.

their own cultural heritage and political interests to defend, leading to a close but at times tense relationship with Constantinople.

Euthymios of the Holy Mountain (Mtʿacʾmideli, a.k.a. the Iberian; d. 1028) was the second abbot (1005–1019) of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, after his father John Varazvače (a.k.a. the Iberian, abbot 980–1005).[315] Euthymios translated many works from Greek into Georgian. A Life of this pair, father and son, was written in Georgian around 1045 by George of the Holy Mountain (Mtʿacʾmideli/Hagiorites; d. 1065), a translator in his own right. This Life includes a list of Euthymios's translations, preceded by an account of why Euthymios translated.[316] For this reason it is possible to draw up a more comprehensive list of his translations than for Ibn al-Faḍl.

George of the Holy Mountain (1009–1065), a Georgian born in Trialeti, was a student in Constantinople. In 1034, he became a monk on Mount Athos; about ten years later he was abbot of the Iviron Monastery. He traveled "back to Georgia, to the Black Mountain, and to Jerusalem."[317] He had close ties with a hermit of the Black Mountain also named George, who encouraged his Greek-Georgian translations.[318]

Epʿrem (d. end of 11th century) was the son of a wealthy Georgian who cooperated with the Byzantines after the annexation of Taykʿ in 1027 and took up residence in Constantinople. Epʿrem went to Antioch, probably after 1057, and settled on the Black Mountain. There he was in close contact with educated Greeks. The Patriarch of Antioch himself granted Epʿrem access to the excellent library of the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Younger, where he became acquainted with Nikon of the Black Mountain and the Michael who wrote the Arabic Life of John of Damascus, a work which Epʿrem would translate.[319] He also came to know a circle of Georgian scholars, including George of the Holy Mountain. He was abbot of the Kastana Monastery in 1091 and had died by 1103.[320]

The translations of Euthymios and George overlap considerably with those of Ibn al-Faḍl. Those of Epʿrem do not, but it is still valuable to consider him as well. For comparison, I will first present a concise summary of their translation activities, arranged in approximate chronological order by the author's lifetime (with cross-references to Tarchnišvili's presentation for those works which Ibn al-Faḍl translated, in the form of a Roman and an Arabic numeral).[321]

Euthymios was a prolific translator. The Psalter,[322] Apocalypse of John,[323] and the four Gospels[324] are not named in lists of Euthymios's translations, but evidence from tenth- and eleventh-century

[315] *ODB*, s.v. "Iveron Monastery."

[316] ibid., s.v. "Euthymios the Iberian," with references; see also ibid., s.v. "George Mtʿacʾmindeli." For the Life, I rely upon the Latin translation in Paul Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," *Analecta Bollandiana* 36–37 (1917–19 [1922]): 5–68. The list and its prefatory narrative appear in §24–25, Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," 33–36.

[317] *ODB*, s.v. "George Mtʿacʾmindeli."

[318] Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 155.

[319] Ibid., 183. On this milieu see also Kontouma, "Jean III d'Antioche (996-1021) et la *Vie de Jean Damascène* (BHG 884)," 144.

[320] Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 183–4.

[321] In this summary, I depend on ibid., 131–154, 161–174, where detailed discussion with references (arranged by genre, rather than by author) may be found.

[322] I.3.

[323] I.1.

[324] I.2 — a revision of previous translations.

manuscripts suggests that he translated them.[325] He translated a number of Apocryphal acts.[326] He produced Georgian versions of works by Andrew of Caesarea (563–614),[327] Basil of Caesarea,[328] Gregory of Nyssa,[329] Gregory of Nazianzos,[330] John Chrysostom,[331] Maximos the Confessor,[332] Pope Gregory I,[333] Abbot Zosimos (6th century),[334] Abbot Dorotheus (6th century),[335] John of the Ladder,[336] Makarios the Egyptian,[337] John of Damascus,[338] Michael Synkellos,[339] Ephrem

[325]It is not clear to me what evidence there is in favor of his authorship of the Psalter translation, manuscript or otherwise; for the Psalter, Tarchnišvili refers to Džanašvili's book "Das georgische Schriftum" (*Kʿartʿuli Mcʾerloba*, Tbilisi 1900), which remains, however, inaccessible to me: see Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 132 n. 1.

[326]The Legend of Abgar (II.1), Acts of John the Evangelist (II.3), Acts of Peters (II.4), Acts of Andrew (II.5), and the *Pearls* (II.6 — "a compilation of Apocrypha"; cf. VI.5).

[327]*Commentary on the Apocalypse of John* (III.1 — translated 975–977 CE). See *ODB*, s.v. "Andrew, archbishop of Caesarea."

[328]*Homilies on the Psalms* (III.4, translated before 1014);*Apocalypse of Melchisedech* (III.7 — possibly from a work by Basil); *Moralia*, translation organized in 53 chapters (V.18.a); "Homily on the sevenfold revenge of Cain" (V.18.b); 21 homilies (VI.6). Euthymios's translation of the *Homilies on the Psalms* include homilies on the following Psalms: 1, 7, 14, 28, 29, 32, 33, 37, 44, 45, 48, 59, 61, 114, 115: Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 137. The homilies on Psalms 37 and 115, Tarchnišvili notes, are considered to be spuriously attributed to Basil: ibid., 137 n. 5.

[329]*On the Our Father* (III.6.a); *The Life of the Holy Prophet Moses* (III.6.b = CPG 3159); "Considerations about the Soul and Resurrection with his Sister Macrina" (IV.4 = CPG 3149); "On the beginning of Lent" (V.19.a); "On virginity and the divine transformation" (V.19.b); *On the life of his sister Macrina* (VI.2.a); *Encomium to Basil the Great* (VI.2.b = CPG 3185?); *On fasting* (VI.2.c).

[330]*On the words of the holy Gospel: Jesus elected fishermen, so that they might proclaim justice and truth* (III.8) and twenty-four other works by Gregory of Nazianzos (translated 983–991 CE), which I will not list here (IV.1.a–c; V.1.a–b; VI.1.a–q): see Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 139.

[331]*Homilies on the Gospel of John* (III.2, translated 980 CE at the latest); *Commentary [= Homilies] on the Gospel of Matthew* (III.3, translated near the end of the life of Euthymios's father John); homilies on Paul's letters to the Galatians, Thessalonians, and Romans, or perhaps excerpts therefrom (III.5 — Ibn al-Faḍl translated the homilies on Romans); excerpts from John Chrysostom's homilies on Paul's letters to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Hebrews, to Timothy, along with 2 John, Judas, and Peter (III.5 — Ibn al-Faḍl translated the homilies on Hebrews).

[332]*Quaestiones ad Thalassium* (III.9.a — CPG 7688; PG 90.244–785); an *erotapokrisis* entitled "Evangelical words which the holy fathers excerpted from the writings of Maximos" (III.9.b); a discussion of difficult words in Gregory of Nazianzos's homily on the Nativity (III.9.c) (Tarchnišvili notes that this is the text at PG 91.1039–60 [where it is entitled *De variis difficilibus locis sanctorum Dionysii et Gregorii ad Thomam virum sanctum*]); the *Disputation with Pyrrhos* (IV.2.a); "«15 Capita» (theologica)" (IV.2.b — which I interpret as a partial translation of the *Gnostic Chapters* a.k.a. *Capita theologica et oeconomica*, although it is possible that it is an excerpt from the *Loci communes* of Pseudo-Maximos, sometimes called the *Capita theologica*); "Considerations about the Passions to Father Thalassios" (V.2.a); 97 "Spiritual Teachings" (V.2.b — probably all but three of one of Maximos's various 'centuries'); *erotapokrisis* entitled "From the teachings of Maximus the Confessor, who was honored by the Sixth Ecumenical Council" (V.2.c); "From the teachings of our Holy Father Maximos the Confessor" (V.2.d); "Lecture to servant of God Sergios the magistros" (V.2.e); pseudo-Maximos, *Glorification and Exaltation…of the Panagia…* (II.2).

[333]*Dialogues*, translated from Greek (V.3).

[334]V.4.

[335]V.5.a–c.

[336]V.6 — had already been translated in 983.

[337]V.7

[338]"On Belief" (IV.3.a — excerpts from *Pēgē gnōseōs* and other works by the same author), "Of Christ's Two Natures" (IV.3.b); "On the birth of the Virgin" (VI.3).

[339]*Symbolum*, included (without attribution) in Euthymios's Life of Maximus the Confessor (IV.5).

the Syrian,[340] Isaac 'the Hermit',[341] Andrew of Crete,[342] and Symeon of Mesopotamia.[343] He also produced Georgian translations of excerpts from Andrew of Crete, Theodore of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Isaiah the Priest, Neilos the Hermit, Mark the Hermit, Cassian the Roman, an anonymous work addressed to a monk of the Thebaid concerning how one should occupy oneself in one's cell, and a *Book of Saintly Men* (= Ἀνδρῶν ἁγίων βίβλος).[344] In addition to these, Euthymios translated texts of hagiography, liturgy, and canon law.[345]

Of these works translated by Euthymios, quite a number are among Ibn al-Faḍl's translations as well, in particular: the Psalter; Basil of Caesarea's *Homilies on the Psalms*; John Chrysostom's homilies on John, Matthew, Romans, and Hebrews (Euthymios translated excerpts from Chrysostom's homilies on Hebrews, but Ibn al-Faḍl translated them in full); Maximos the Confessor's *Disputation with Pyrrhos*; and Andrew of Crete's *Encomium to Saint Nicholas*. Furthermore, several of the 'capita' and 'excerpts' from Maximos's works which Tarchnišvili mentions may also be related to the two sets of *kephalaia*, or 'chapters,' which Ibn al-Faḍl translated. The text by John of Damascus given the title "On Belief" and apparently excerpted from the Damascene's works may (or may not) include the creed which Ibn al-Faḍl translated, the *Libellus on Correct Thought*. If Isaac 'the Hermit' is Isaac of Nineveh, then the "ascetic lectures in 42 chapters," as Tarchnišvili describes them, may be a selection from the 'First Part' of Isaac's works.[346] Overall, the overlap is striking. The common decision to translate Basil's *Homilies on the Psalms* and Chrysostom's works could have been coincidental, given the abundance of eleventh-century Greek manuscripts containing them. But Maximos's *Disputation with Pyrrhos* and Andrew of Crete's *Encomium to Saint Nicholas* are less well attested in contemporary manuscripts. In such cases, the overlap would seem to point to a closer connection between Euthymios's translation activities on Mount Athos and Ibn al-Faḍl's in Antioch.

With George of the Holy Mountain, such a connection becomes more plausible, given his close ties to Antioch and long stays there. George produced Georgian versions of the Psalter, the Gospels, and the Acts and Letters of the Apostles,[347] as well as two Apocryphal texts.[348] He produced translations of Ignatios of Antioch, letters (both authentic and inauthentic);[349] Basil of Caearea's *Homilies on the Hexaemeron* (revised translation) and *Letter to the noblewoman Simolikia*;[350] Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* (revised translation),[351] *Homilies on the Song of*

[340]Five works (V.8.a–e): "To the monk and Abbot John" (a); "To the monk Neophytos" (b); "On the salvation of ascetics" (c); "Friday prayers" (d); "Admonition to himself and confession" (e).

[341]Tarchnišvili describes the work as "ascetic lectures in 42 chapters" (V.9).

[342]*Encomium to Saint Nicholas* (VI.4 — translated by Ibn al-Faḍl).

[343]"Homilies on Death" (V.20).

[344]V.10–17, 21.

[345]Hagiography: VII.1.a–v, VII.2.a–g. Liturgy: VIII.1–7. Canon law: IX.1–4.

[346]If this identification should be correct, there would be a discrepancy between the 42 sections in Euthymios's version and the 35 in Ibn al-Faḍl's. This difference of 7 could possibly be related to the 8-homily discrepancy between the Eastern and Western recensions of the Syriac version of Isaac's 'First Part'; see Hilarion Alfeyev, *The Spiritual World of Isaac the Syrian* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 2000), 29.

[347]I.1–3 — all revised translations.

[348]The Legend of Abgar (II.1, different version from what Euthymios translated) and an account of Jesus's resurrection, etc., narrated by Joseph of Arimathaea (II.2).

[349]IV.8.

[350]III.1 and IV.9, respectively.

[351]III.2. Tarchnišvili notes that George "also edited a new redaction of the same work" under the title "That which the description of the Hexaemeron, which Saint Basil the Great had already written, was missing because he had left

Songs,[352] and *Encomium to Saint Theodore*;[353] John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*;[354] Sophronios's *Homilies on the Annunciation*;[355] a homily by John of Damascus;[356] Theodore the Stoudite's 57 Lenten homilies (translated in 1042 CE);[357] a Symbolon (or creed) by Photios;[358] several other creeds;[359] *Questions and Answers* ascribed to Athanasios and discussing church councils;[360] and *On Virginity* also ascribed to Athanasios and opening with a creedal statement.[361] He also translated the anonymous *Explications of the Hypomnemata*,[362] as well as liturgical and hagiographical works.[363]

Several of these were also translated by Ibn al-Faḍl into Arabic (at roughly the same time): Basil's *Hexaemeron*, Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* (usually transmitted along with the former), Gregory of Nyssa's *Homilies on the Song of Songs*, and Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*. The last of these works is extremely well attested in extant eleventh-century Greek manuscripts, but the other three are somewhat less so, especially Gregory's *Homilies on the Song of Songs*.

Given our fragmentary knowledge of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations (since we do not have lists of his translations, as we do for Euthymios and George), the overlap could be even more than what is apparent. For example, hagiography is absent from our list of Ibn al-Faḍl's known translations (Andrew of Crete's *Encomium for Saint Nicholas* is about a saint but is not hagiographical in genre), but hagiographical literature is often transmitted without the name of its author or translator. Without lists for Euthymios and George, would we have known that they translated so much hagiography? Other translations may wait unrecognized in manuscripts or may simply not survive. Again, there are a number of the known translations of Euthymios and George which seem to be no longer extant.[364]

The translation activities of Epʿrem Mcire overlap much less with Ibn al-Faḍl's, although the authors and genres of the texts he translated were much the same. He translated, *inter alia*, the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil of Caesarea's *Asketikon*, John Chrysostom's homilies on Paul's epistles, Theodoret of Cyrrhus's *History*, John of Damascus's *Spring of Knowledge*, and the

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the genesis of humankind incomplete Gregory correctly and with divine beauty brought to completion": Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 164. Might one or the other of these recensions include Gregory's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*? It is as a final chapter of *On Making Man* that the Arabic version of the *Apology* circulated; see chapter 2.

[352]III.3. Ends at ch. 6, verse 8.

[353]VI.3.

[354]III.5.

[355]VI.2.

[356]IV.7.

[357]VI.1.

[358]IV.6. Tarchnišvili notes that this text is similar to "the 5th chapter" of Photios's letter to Pope Nicholas I, beginning "So glaube ich und bekenne die katholische Kirche," by which I take him to be referring to PG 102.592A (Οὕτω φρονῶν καὶ διομολογῶν ἀπαρατρέπτως τὴν ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ τε καὶ ἀποστολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐφιδρυμένην τε καὶ κηρυσσομένην πίστιν…).

[359]Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (IV.1); Creed of Gregory the Wonderworker (IV.2, PG 10); Athanasian Creed (IV.3).

[360]IV.4. A Greek version is contained in the "Synodalbibliothek zu Moskau," no. 317.

[361]IV.5.

[362]III.4, on Matthew 5–7.

[363]Liturgy: V.1–13. Hagiography: VII.1–5.

[364]For example, no manuscript containing Euthymios's translation of John Chrysostom's homilies on Paul's letters to the Galatians, Thessalonians, and Romans was known to Tarchnišvili, who notes however that the translations in question may actually be translations of *excerpts*, which do survive; see Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 137–8.

Dionysian Corpus.[365] As someone active in Antioch and its monasteries and with close ties to the Patriarchate, however, Epʿrem must have known many of the same people and places as Ibn al-Faḍl. It seems quite likely that they had met. The various names of teachers, mentors, and patrons whom Tarchnišvili mentions[366] give the overall impression of a milieu in which those with Epʿrem's literary and linguistic ability were encouraged and given the resources to work. The Patriarch of Antioch, as well as this circle of Georgians all promoted and participated in a shared agenda to reproduce and engage with the Byzantine ecclesiastical curriculum in Georgian.

Tarchnišvili's description of Epʿrem's translation style sounds quite a lot like Ibn al-Faḍl's (which will be discussed in the following chapter):

> Epʿrem created his own method of translation, which became the permanent model in the subsequent period. For he represented the view that the translation of a work must be complete, with no gaps, exact, and faithful, but not slavish. At the same time, the spirit and independence of the language into which the translation was carried out needed to be preserved, lest it be inferior in beauty and euphony to the original text.[367]

He would employ many lexica at once to arrive at the precise meaning of a Greek word, only then seeking out the best way to express it in Georgian.[368] Occasionally he would transliterate untranslatable words[369] — a practice different, as we shall see, from Ibn al-Faḍl's, whose usual practice was to coin a new term and then explain it in a scholion, usually only employing transliteration in the scholion. Epʿrem too included scholia on difficult words.[370]

Many of the works translated by these Georgian translators had already been translated into Georgian previously. They must have been aware of the previous translations, often used them, and even at times indicate their debt to previous translators explicitly. In a colophon to his translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, George acknowledges his predecessors with the words "May God also bless the first translations; they have been extremely beneficial to me."[371] George, we are told, prepared his translation of the Psalter by carefully collating various Greek and Georgian versions.[372] Epʿrem was criticized for attempting to improve translations or retranslate works already translated by Euthymios and George.[373] This all suggests we should understand the translations in question as doing more than simply making a text accessible to Georgians. They were part of a continuing scholarly and educational tradition which emphasized the original Greek texts by periodically returning to them.

The translations they produced were not only meant to be accurate, but beautiful as well. Tarchnišvili stresses Euthymios's "wondrous style of writing" as a major part of his legacy:

[365] *ODB*, s.v. "Epʿrem Mcire." Epʿrem's translation of the Dionysian Corpus into Georgian not all that many decades after it was translated into Arabic is discussed by Mavroudi, "Licit and Illicit Divination: Empress Zoe and the Icon of Christ Antiphonetes," 435–6.

[366] Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 183–4.

[367] Ibid., 184.

[368] Ibid.

[369] Ibid.

[370] Ibid., 197.

[371] Ibid., 164.

[372] Ibid., 161.

[373] Ibid., 185.

> Never had a Georgian spoken and written as he: What clarity of thought, how transparent the veil of his language! Reading Euthymios's writings one has the impression of standing before a meadow full of flowers, bathed in a gleaming light. Euthymios was right when he said of himself: 'Everything I write turns to light.' It is no wonder that this language was regarded as a supernatural gift. This is why one learnt his writings by heart, as with the Bible. The powerfully eloquent Epʿrem Mcire did so, and many other Georgians after him.[374]

Tarchnišvili reports that Georgians believed that the Mother of God, who had been a missionary in Georgia according to Georgian tradition, had given Euthymios the gift of the Georgian tongue.[375]

This context allows us to imagine Ibn al-Faḍl's translations, and the characteristics of his translations (balancing style and accuracy, texts often previously translated, and as a rule popular in contemporary Byzantine culture), in a much wider context. This context included not only fellow Arab Christians, but a wider sphere of Chalcedonian-Orthodox churchmen and monks, patrons and fellow translators. The overall picture points to a major role for the Patriarch of Antioch.

IV Matter in an Antiochian Curriculum

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation program provides an opportunity to consider the place of matter in the middle Byzantine ecclesiastical curriculum being promoted in eleventh-century Antioch. The corpus of his translations is large, and so for the present, what follows are only a few indications. These will provide a background for investigating attitudes towards concepts and theories of matter in the eleventh century.

Gregory of Nyssa

Gregory's preface to his *Homilies on the Song of Songs* provides an introduction to the standard dichotomies material/immaterial and corporeal/incorporeal. As he presents his exegesis of the Song of Songs, it is meant to "cleanse" the scriptural focus-text "of its obvious literal sense" so that "the philosophy hidden in the words may be brought to light."[376] This is for the benefit not of his addressee, the impassive and pure Olympias, "but rather that some direction may be given to more fleshly folk for the sake of the spiritual and immaterial condition of their souls."[377] Flesh (*sarx*) is contrasted with spirit (*pneuma*), a contrast which is prevalent in the apostle Paul's understanding of the law, as in Romans 7:14 ("For we know that the law is spiritual, but I am fleshly…"), to which Gregory refers in this same preface.[378] Gregory (and of course he is not alone in this) associates the "immaterial" with the spiritual, and so matter with the flesh. 'Matter' is not simply any substrate

[374]Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 154.

[375]Ibid.

[376]G.Nyss.*In cant.* Lang., 3–4; trans. Gregory of Nyssa, *Homilies on the Song of Songs*, trans. Richard A. Norris Jr. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 3: "ὥστε διὰ τῆς καταλλήλου θεωρίας φανερωθῆναι τὴν ἐγκεκρυμμένην τοῖς ῥητοῖς φιλοσοφίαν τῆς προχείρου κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἐμφάσεως ἐν ταῖς ἀκηράτοις ἐννοίαις κεκαθαρμένην."

[377]Langerbeck 4; trans. Norris 3 (modified): "ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧτε τοῖς σαρκωδεστέροις χειραγωγίαν τινὰ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πνευματικήν τε καὶ ἄϋλον τῆς ψυχῆς κατάστασιν."

[378]Οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστιν· ἐγὼ δὲ σάρκινός εἰμι…

in which forms or accidents inhere but rather the stuff of which this world and human bodies are made. The mind can be oriented towards this material world, towards flesh, or away from it (so Gregory implies in the beginning of his first homily when he refers to "passionate and carnal thought").[379]

Most of his preface is spent justifying his allegorical method of exegesis. Citing various passages from Paul's letters, Gregory infers that "one ought not in every instance to remain with the letter […], but to go over (*metabainein*) to an understanding that concerns the immaterial and intelligible, so that more corporeal notions (*ennoiai*) may be transformed into mind (*nous*) and intellect (*dianoia*) when the more fleshly surface-meaning (*emphasis*) of the words has been shaken off like dust [cf. Matthew 10:14]."[380] Here 'immaterial' is paired with 'intelligible,' an association prevalent in ancient and late antique philosophy, especially Platonic, and implying the opposition intelligible/material. At the same time, thoughts themselves may be 'corporeal' as suggested by Gregory's reference to "notions," or things appearing in the mind, which are "corporeal." Their "transformation" into pure "mind and intellect" presupposes that such thoughts are not pure intellection to begin with, but rather implanted somehow in the body itself. Some thoughts are hence material, whereas others, it would seem, are abstracted from all material substrate. This is akin, for example, to Plotinos's understanding of a gradient of increasing abstraction from matter.[381]

At the same time, not all matter, it would seem, is to be viewed negatively. Indeed, Gregory refers to the Transfiguration (Metamorphosis) as a model for how the reader or listener should transform him- or herself in preparation to read the erotic poetry of the Song of Songs. One must (following Paul) "doff the old human," that is, one's old self, "like a filthy garment, with its deeds and lusts," and don "the luminous raiment of the Lord, such as he revealed in his Transfiguration (*metamorphōsis*)," or even don Christ himself like a robe, becoming transfigured along with him (*συμμεταμορφωθέντες*) "towards the impassible and the more divine."[382] Is this transfigured flesh intended literally, or as a metaphor? Gregory does not say, but he seems to consider this luminous clothing to be intelligible rather than material: "Enter the inviolate bridal chamber dressed in the white robes of pure and undefiled thoughts," writes Gregory. "If any bear a passionate and carnal thought (*logismos*) and lack that garment of conscience (*syneidēsis*) that is proper dress for the divine wedding feast, let such persons not be imprisoned by their own thoughts and drag the undefiled words of the Bridegroom and Bride down to the level of brutish, irrational passions…"[383] These robes are made of thoughts, or understanding (*noēmata*). But their opposite is not material

[379]Langerbeck 15; trans. Norris 15 (modified): "*ἐμπαθῆ καὶ σαρκώδη λογισμὸν…*"

[380]Langerbeck 6–7; trans. Norris 5 (modified): "*τὸ μὴ δεῖν πάντως παραμένειν τῷ γράμματι […] ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν ἄϋλόν τε καὶ νοητὴν θεωρίαν, ὥστε τὰς σωματικωτέρας ἐννοίας μεταβληθῆναι πρὸς νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν κόνεως δίκην τῆς σαρκωδεστέρας ἐμφάσεως τῶν λεγομένων ἐκτιναχθείσης.*"

[381]Plotinos struggled with the notion of intelligibles devoid of a substrate, whence he posited 'intelligible matter' which would be the substrate for intelligibles, a concept he eventually abandoned. See Pavlos Kalligas, ed. and trans., Πλωτίνου Εννεάς Δευτέρα (Athens: Κέντρον Εκδόσεως Έργων Ελλήνων Συγγραφέων, 1997); Perdikouri, *Plotin: Traité 12*.

[382]Langerbeck 14–15; trans. Norris 15 (modified): "*τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ὥσπερ τι περιβόλαιον ῥυπαρὸν ἀπεδύσασθε σὺν ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φωτεινὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἱμάτια, οἷα ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους μεταμορφώσεως ἔδειξε*"; "*…πρὸς τὸ ἀπαθές τε καὶ θειότερον.*"

[383]Langerbeck 15; trans. Norris 15 (modified): "*ὑμεῖς ἐντὸς γένεσθε τοῦ ἀκηράτου νυμφῶνος λευχειμονοῦντες τοῖς καθαροῖς τε καὶ ἀμολύντοις νοήμασιν. μή τις ἐμπαθῆ καὶ σαρκώδη λογισμὸν ἐπαγόμενος καὶ μὴ ἔχων πρέπον τῷ θείῳ γάμῳ τὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἔνδυμα συνδεθῇ τοῖς ἰδίοις νοήμασι, τὰς ἀκηράτους τοῦ νυμφίου τε καὶ τῆς νύμφης φωνὰς εἰς κτηνώδη καὶ ἄλογα καθέλκων πάθη.*"

robes, precisely, but rather the animal passions (which inhere in flesh). In this way, the question of what will happen to the human flesh itself, how it is to be transformed as at the Transfiguration, is left open as Gregory shifts to a focus on the *mental* state in which one must be to grasp the import of the Song of Songs.

Finally, in this same opening passage to his first homily, Gregory succinctly expresses the lens through which he reads the entire Song of Songs,[384] and he does so in terms of the corporeal/spiritual dichotomy: "For by what is written there, the soul is in a certain manner led as a bride toward an incorporeal and spiritual and undefiled marriage with God."[385] This is a marriage which takes place, as he stresses, outside the realm of body (and matter) altogether.[386]

The precise role of matter in this view of salvation, or of human transformation, is not made explicit. On the one hand, matter should be transformed as it was on Mount Tabor, but on the other hand, it would seem that the less the material component of a human being (the body) and the 'material' thoughts which inhere in it interfere with the process of spiritual improvement, the better.

Basil

Such tensions appear in Basil's writings as well. Basil's *Homilies on the Psalms* include discussions of the body and its relation to the soul. Indeed, Basil compares the entire Psalter to a living body: the first verse of the first psalm (Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν, "Happy the man that did not walk by the counsel of the impious")[387] is the heart of the Psalter, just as "in the generation of animals, the heart, which is made first by nature, takes from nature the structure which is analogous to the animal which is to be."[388] This description of the body, and in particular the notion that at an early stage of development the heart already contains the animal's nature, derives at least in part from the Aristotelian tradition.[389] In Greek, the heart was often considered the seat of the soul, both by philosophers and by the authors of magical spells.[390] For Basil the heart is the body's physical template.

This anatomical interest is complemented by an emphasis on the human body as the dwelling-place of the soul. When confronted with Psalm 28, the "psalm of David on the exodus from the tent,"[391] we are not to understand by "tent," explains Basil, "the dwelling composed of this soulless matter (τῆς ἀψύχου ταύτης ὕλης)," nor by "exodus from the tent" should we understand "withdrawing from the temple." Instead, the tents are our bodies, and exodus from them is "withdrawal from

[384]As already mentioned above: see p. 21.

[385]Langerbeck 15; trans. Norris 15: "διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα γεγραμμένων νυμφοστολεῖται τρόπον τινὰ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀσώματόν τε καὶ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἀμόλυντον τοῦ θεοῦ συζυγίαν."

[386]For the early Christian conception of the soul's salvific union with Christ as a marriage and its role in early Christian liturgy, see Gerasimos P. Pagoulatos, *Tracing the Bridegroom in Dura* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008).

[387]Trans.Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, *A New English translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford UP, 2007), 548 (hereafter cited as *NETS*).

[388]*In Ps.* 1 §3 = PG 29.213D: "Καὶ ἐν τῇ γενέσει τῶν ζώων ἡ καρδία πρώτη καταβληθεῖσα παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, ἀναλογοῦσαν τῷ μέλλοντι συνίστασθαι ζώῳ τὴν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως λαμβάνει καταβολήν."

[389]See Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way, 154 n. 4, citing Aristotle, *On the Parts of Animals* 666a: "For no sooner is the embryo formed, than its heart is seen in motion as though it were a living creature, and this before any of the other parts, it being, as thus shown, the starting-point of their nature in all animals that have blood."

[390]Gregory A. Smith, "The Myth of the Vaginal Soul," *GRBS* 44 (2004): 206–13.

[391]ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαβὶδ ἐξοδίου σκηνῆς.

this life."[392] Calling the material of a dwelling "soulless" implies that not all matter is soulless, such that the material world can be divided into matter in which soul dwells and that from which it is absent. Unlike the tent, the body is not made of "soulless matter"; it is, Basil implies, *ensouled* matter. This makes it of consequence, which in turn suggests a role for some kinds of matter beyond simply being transcended.

This is not the only place in the homilies where matter appears. While some references to it are incidental[393] or metaphorical,[394] other passages convey a concrete sense of what matter connotes, and how the material relates to the immaterial. Commenting on the verse "And man when he was in honor did not understand" (Psalm 48:13), he explains that the human being was made in God's image but "has fallen a little below the dignity of the angels because of his union with the earthly body. In fact, [God] made man from the earth…"[395] Being made out of matter lowers man's rank in the hierarchy of being. But not too far, for God "placed in man some share of His own grace, in order that he might recognize likeness through likeness." This is why "he is honored above the heavens, above the sun, above the dances (χορείας) of the stars."[396] Implicitly, Basil here opposes the notion that the heavenly bodies are lofty beings, or even gods. To say, in an age when the cult Sol Invictus was flourishing, that man is nobler than the sun is no trivial remark — nor perhaps in the eleventh century, when Ibn al-Faḍl himself felt the need to write a short refutation of astrology.[397] But Basil insists upon it, stressing both the material composition and soullessness of the heavenly bodies:

> For what part of the heavens is said to be an image of God Most High? What sort of image of the Creator does the sun preserve? Or the moon? Or the rest of the stars [i.e., heavenly bodies]? For they are soulless and material, and have only acquired discernable bodies, in which no intelligence exists, nor freely chosen movements, nor freedom of will; rather they (the bodies) are slaves of imposed necessity, according to which they revolve in precisely the same way always around the same things.[398]

[392] *In Ps.* 28 §1 = PG 29.281B: οὔτε σκηνὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀψύχου ταύτης ὕλης συμπηγνύμενον οἴκημα, οὔτε ἔξοδος σκηνῆς ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀναχώρησις, ἀλλὰ σκηνὴ μὲν ἡμῖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο… Ἔξόδιον δὲ σκηνῆς ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἀναχώρησις…

[393] *In Ps.* 61 §4 = 477.26 (τὴν νοσοποιὸν ὕλην refers to a disease-causing substance which needs to be purged from the body by vomiting); 477.42 (τὰς ὕλας refers to 'materials' like wool, meat and precious metals, which sellers may incorrectly weigh in order to swindle their customers).

[394] *In Ps.* 1 §6 = 225.30: sinful ways adhere to a soul like fire to "flammable material" (εὐκαταπρήστου ὕλης). *In Ps.* 7 §7 = 248.9–15: souls burn like wood/flammable matter: God's "arrows were made for those burning, just as fire was made by the creator for the burning matter. For not because of the adamant [a legendary stone] which is not melted by fire were they created, but because of wood consumed by fire; so also the arrows of God were made by him for the souls which are easily set on fire, whose material is customarily even quite suitable for destruction" (Τὰ βέλη αὐτοῦ τοῖς καιομένοις ἐξειργάσατο. Ὥσπερ τὸ πῦρ τῇ καιομένῃ ὕλῃ παρὰ τοῦ κτίσαντος ἐξειργάσθη· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸν ἀδάμαντα ἐκτίσθη τὸν μὴ τηκόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ξύλα τὰ κατακαιόμενα· οὕτω καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ βέλη ταῖς εὐκαταπρήστοις ψυχαῖς, ὧν πολὺ τὸ ὑλικὸν καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀφανισμὸν ἐπιτήδειον συνείλεκται, παρ' αὐτοῦ κατειργάσθη).

[395] *In Ps.* 48 §8; trans. Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way, 324.

[396] *In Ps.* 48 §8; trans. based on Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way, 325.

[397] Graf, "Widerlegung."

[398] *In Ps.* 48 §8 = 449C: "τίς γὰρ τῶν οὐρανῶν εἰκὼν εἴρηται τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; ποίαν δὲ ἥλιος εἰκόνα σώζει τοῦ κτίσαντος; τί ἡ σελήνη; τί οἱ λοιποὶ ἀστέρες; ἄψυχα μὲν καὶ ὑλικὰ, διαφανῆ δὲ μόνον τὰ σώματα κεκτημένοι, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ διάνοια, οὐ προαιρετικαὶ κινήσεις, οὐκ αὐτεξουσιότητος ἐλευθερία· ἀλλὰ δοῦλά ἐστι τῆς ἐπικειμένης ἀνάγκης, καθ' ἣν ἀπαραλλάκτως ἀεὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀναστρέφεται." It should be noted that ἄψυχος can very well mean simply "lifeless" (LSJ s.v.), but in this context, Basil makes clear that being ἄψυχος implies an absence of faculties associated with the ψυχή: intelligence, intention, free will. Perhaps even the LSJ's example from the *Timaeus*, in which Plato

Both man and the heavenly bodies are degraded by being made of matter, but man's advantage is that he is more than a body, having an immaterial soul as well, by virtue of which he acquires intelligence and free will. Without souls, the heavenly bodies — which may seem splendid and noble, presiding over earthly events from their celestial thrones — are nothing but dumb matter, as proven by their constant motion, never changed by a contrary intention.

But matter can also connote the change and corruption which it does for Aristotle and his commentators. When speaking of Psalm 59, Basil says that it, like the other psalms, is addressed to "us," the Christians who grasp its oracular meaning. He continues:

> But the psalm was also written for inscription on a monument; that is to say, let listening to it be not incidental, nor let them, once you have inscribed them with memory in your own mind, be confounded and destroyed, like things written on perishable matter which receive swift destruction. Rather bear them engraved upon your soul — which is to say, established unmoved and stable in your memory for all time.[399]

With these words Basil compares two media for recording words: matter and memory. The unspecified material object, which might be papyrus or parchment or wax or stone, will always decay. This is presumably because of its very materiality, since Basil refers to the material medium simply as "perishable matter" (τῇ εὐφθάρτῳ ὕλῃ), as if whatever material medium were chosen would be just as perishable. The soul and memory are not so. As long as one is vigilant to preserve words once recorded in the mind, they will remain "for all time." Whereas the materiality of the heavenly bodies was associated with their soulless constancy, the materiality of paper and stone is impugned for its inevitable change and decay. The human soul holds the possibility of the scripture's eternal preservation, but this is not achieved without effort. Perhaps like a magnetic hard drive in the basement of a self-styled 'library of the future,' the soul must be actively imprinted again and again with the divine data, lest the magnetization which holds the data fade until what it carried is forgotten.[400]

This close association of matter with change and the corresponding notion of the immutability of the immaterial is complicated yet again in Basil's reading of Psalm 44. He glosses the phrase "those who shall be changed" as "men," who change constantly: "Neither in body nor in mind are we the same, but our body is in perpetual flux and disintegration…"[401] Angels are quite different, for they "do not admit any change."[402] As for humans, "we change in our body, as has been shown,

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calls statues ἄψυχοι θεοί, should be translated as "soulless gods."

[399] *In Ps.* 59 §2 = 464C: "Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς στηλογραφίαν γέγραπται ὁ ψαλμός· τουτέστι, μὴ πάρεργος ἔστω αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀκρόασις· μηδὲ, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐν τῇ εὐφθάρτῳ ὕλῃ γραφόμενα ταχὺν λαμβάνει τὸν ἀφανισμὸν, οὕτως ἐν τῇ σεαυτοῦ διανοίᾳ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐγχαράξας τῇ μνήμῃ, εἶτα συγχωρήσῃς αὐτὰ συγχυθῆναι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι· ἀλλ' ἔχε ἐνεστηλιτευμένα σου τῇ ψυχῇ· τουτέστιν ἀκίνητα καὶ πάγια εἰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐνιδρυμένα τῇ μνήμῃ."

[400] On the other hand, Basil makes no mention of such repetitive imprinting upon the soul, so it may be that he simply imagines two kinds of imprinting which the soul can receive, one careless and easily lost, the other emphatic and permanent. The latter then would correspond to the result of intensive memorization which, once carried out, will not fade — at least for a lifetime.

[401] *In Ps.* 44 §1; trans. Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way, 275.

[402] *In Ps.* 44 §1 = 388C; trans. Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way, 276: "Οὐ γὰρ ἄγγελοι ἐπιδέχονται τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν." On the apparent inconsistency in Basil's theory of angels as expressed here, see Brooks Otis, "Cappadocian Thought as a Coherent System," *DOP* 12 (1958): 111.

and in our soul and in the inner man, always shifting our thoughts with the circumstances."[403] Here it is not only the material body which is inconstant and in flux, but the human soul (and mind, as it would seem) as well. This is presumably not because Basil held some sort of belief in the material soul. But a reader striving for logical consistency could be forgiven for wondering whether he did.

Like late antique Platonists such as Plotinos, Basil in these passages associates matter with badness, or at least dishonor, for it is what lowered man beneath the rank of the immaterial angels.[404] And like them he considered the material world changeable and perishable. Indeed, late antique commentators on Aristotle looked to matter to explain how change was even possible. These were standard views in Basil's day. But perhaps because matter is not here Basil's primary subject, and because he writes for an audience of the uninitiated, his psalm commentary presupposes what we may deem a 'common-sense' understanding of matter, in which inconsistencies are not smoothed out into a coherent system. Thus the soul, immaterial though it is, only has the *potential* to be a permanent repository for wisdom, for without the proper care, its memory of scripture can decay like a worm-eaten book. The planets, made exclusively of matter, on the other hand, are not ever-changing, but rather unchanging to a fault.

[403] *In Ps.* 44 §1 = 388C; trans. Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way, 276: "Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλοιούμεθα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα, ὡς δέδεικται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, τοῖς ἀεὶ προσπίπτουσι πράγμασι συμμετατιθέντες τὰς διανοίας." The 'inner man' is a phrase from Paul's epistles, Romans 7:22 (where he seems to mean the human mind: Εὑρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακὸν παράκειται· συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου καὶ αἰχμα- λωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου) and Ephesians 3:16 (where he seems from context to mean rather the heart and thus, perhaps, the soul: Τούτου χάριν κάμπτω τὰ γόνατά μου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται, ἵνα δῷ ὑμῖν κατὰ τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, κατοικῆσαι τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ τεθεμελιωμένοι…). Origen uses it to mean the 'heavenly man,' man as God's image, which it is man's spiritual goal to become; Karen Jo Torjesen, *Hermeneutical procedure and theological method in Origen's exegesis*, Patristische Texte und Studien 28 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), 78. Many writers afterwards use the phrase with various shades of meaning. The *Souda* lexicon (E 3170, *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. Ada Adler, 5 vols. [Leipzig: Teubner, 1928-1938], vol. 2, p. 426 [hereafter cited as *Suid.* Adler]) states succinctly that, according to Paul, the 'inner man' is the soul, the 'outer man' the body (Ἔσω ἄνθρωπος. κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον ἡ ψυχή· ἔξω ἄνθρωπος, τὸ σῶμα).

[404] In this Basil (along with other Christian thinkers) differs considerably from medieval Muslim exegetes, who, on the basis of fairly unambiguous Quranic pronouncements, held man to be above the angels: God reveals to Adam "the names" of all things or all beings and then shows these things to the angels, challenging them to name what they see; when they fail to do so, God asks Adam to name them, which he successfully does (وعلّم آدم الأسماء كلَّها ثمّ عَرَضَهُمْ على الملائكة فقال أَنبِئوني بأسماء هؤلاء إن كنتم صادقين. قالوا سبحانك لا عِلْمَ لنا إلّا ما علَّمْتَنا إنّك أنت العليم الحكيم. قال يا آدم أنبئهم بأسمائِهِمْ فلمّا أنبأهم بأسمائهم والآية; Q *al-Baqara* 2:31–3). The exegete al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076) explains that "God Almighty wanted to make clear their [the angels'] inability to know what they saw and beheld, lest they think [emending *fa-lā yaẓunnūna* to *fa-lā yaẓunnū*] that they are more knowledgeable than the viceroy (*khalīfa*, i.e., Adam) whom God appoints on the earth [cf. Q 2:30 — where Arberry translates *khalīfa* as 'viceroy']" (أراد الله تعالى أن يبين عجزهم عن علم ما يرون ويشاهدون فلا يظنون أنهم أعلم من الخليفة الذي يجعله الله في الأرض); Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, *Al-Wasīṭ fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-majīd* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīya, 1994), vol. 1, p. 117 (hereafter cited as Wāḥ.*Was.*). On al-Wāḥidī, see Walid A. Saleh, "The Last of the Nishapuri School of Tafsīr: al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076) and His Significance in the History of Qurʾanic Exegesis," *JAOS* 126, no. 2 (2006): 223–243.

John Chrysostom

John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*, like most Hexaemeral exegeses,[405] deals with the fundamental Christian problem of the body and soul in the course of commenting on the creation of man. The same issues arise in the *Homilies on First Corinthians*. Commenting on Paul's words "Otherwise, what do people mean by being baptized on behalf of the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why are people baptized on their behalf?" (1 Cor 15:29), Chrysostom takes the opportunity to explain the secret words which new initiates are taught to say before they are baptized. He quotes only the final part of these words (or else what comes after them), namely, "I believe in the resurrection of the dead," and then launches into a discussion of why it is crucial to believe in the resurrection of the dead if you are to be baptized, for "the dead" (as Paul uses it) means "dead bodies," and baptism is an affirmation of "a resurrection of your dead body, that it no longer remains dead."[406] Whereas other Platonic notions of transcendence and salvation typically have the soul transcending the body, doffing it altogether, Christian philosophers insisted upon the body's participation in salvation and transcendence. How this was to be reconciled with the baseness of the body, its flesh, its materiality, is a recurring and well-known problem in Christian thought. Here Chrysostom stresses this problem and vividly stresses human body's participation in the promised resurrection.

Chrysostom's translated works have much to say of the human quest towards the divine as well. The *Homilies on John* in particular read gospel as an appeal to man to "rapidly take to the wing and rise towards the sky and obtain the ineffable treasures which we all must reach by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ."[407] Ibn al-Faḍl's interest in this text is manifestly for the transformation it can effect in the reader, lifting him up from the earth towards celestial things. In the preface to his translation, he writes that God "has favored us with his instruction which follows the order (*ṭaqs* ∼ τάξις) of the celestial beings, and with the model of his conduct which moves us to the way of life of the spiritual beings…"[408] The reader, he continues,

> will become a disciple, worker, teacher, and perfect being; he will thus acquire a knowledge which will make him mingle with the celestial beings, though he is still upon the earth; down here he will encounter saints before going to them; he will become a flowering paradise, and the Lord will make four rivers gush forth from

[405] Robbins, *Hexaemeral Literature*.

[406] *Hom. in 1 Cor* 40.2, PG 61.348; trans. Cornish and Medley, LFC; cited Quasten, *Patr.*, vol. 3, pp. 445–6: "Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν μυστικῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων καὶ φοβερῶν, καὶ τοὺς φρικτοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατενεχθέντων δογμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ τέλει προστίθεμεν, ὅταν μέλλωμεν βαπτίζειν, κελεύοντες λέγειν, ὅτι Πιστεύω εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει ταύτῃ βαπτιζόμεθα. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ὁμολογῆσαι τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, τότε καθιέμεθα εἰς τὴν πηγὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ναμάτων ἐκείνων. Τοῦτο τοίνυν ἀναμιμνήσκων ὁ Παῦλος ἔλεγεν· «Εἰ μὴ ἔστιν ἀνάστασις, τί καὶ βαπτίζῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν;» τουτέστι, τῶν σωμάτων. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ βαπτίζῃ, τοῦ νεκροῦ σώματος ἀνάστασιν πιστεύων, ὅτι οὐκέτι μένει νεκρόν." For an assessment of thirteen different interpretations of this problematic verse by medieval and modern Western commentators, see Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: a commentary on the Greek text* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 1240–9.

[407] End of *Hom. in Joh.* 1; I translate from the French translation by Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh," 107–8, made from the (apparently somewhat unfaithful) edition of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of Chrysostom's homily: "rapidement prendre des ailes et s'élever vers le ciel et obtenir les trésors ineffables qu'il nous faut tous atteindre par la grâce et la miséricorde de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ."

[408] AbF, J.Chrys.*on John*, Ḥaddād, p. ب, line 4: وحبانا بتعليمه الملحق لطقس السمويين، ومثال عمله الناقل إلى سيرة الروحانيين. Cf. Féghali, "ʿAbdallāh," 103–4: "nous a gratifiés de son enseignement qui fait suite à l'ordre des Célestes, et du modèle de sa vie qui nous transporte sur la conduite des spirituels…"

him: faith, hope, charity, and patience,[409] so as to guard Paradise in his heart far from the attacks of the clear enemy and to delight in the spiritual fruits at all times.[410]

Ibn al-Faḍl translated these homilies, in other words, to make available a particular type of knowledge which would improve the reader's *person*, a model of self-transformative knowledge with a long tradition within and outside of Christianity, going back to ascent to the celestial sphere and divine vision of Plato's *Phaedrus*. Though here he does not speak of deification or assimilation to the divine, this is clearly at the background of his notion of such perfect human beings who were to embody the Christian paradise on earth.

Maximos the Confessor

We have already seen in Maximos's *Chapters on Love* the notion, going back to the Platonist framework but firmly entrenched in Christian thought as well, of the material world as the locus of the lowly, the weight which prevents the soul from rising to the noetic realm whose antithesis is matter. This contrast between the material world and the intelligible, immaterial realm of the mind arose several times: in the analogy between bodies composed of opposites (the elements) and incorporeal things also composed of opposites; and the statement that there is one point of overlap between the corporeal (material) and incorporeal (immaterial), namely that the mind can consider them both — but that of course it is best to train one's mind on the latter.[411]

Indeed, a persistent theme throughout Maximos's *Chapters on Love* is the need to detach oneself from what is "material" and so see the "unseen," a feat only possible with the proper "illumination." Matter is evoked as something "corruptible" (φθάρτῳ) and "temporary" (προσκαίρῳ),[412] and when used metaphorically, it connotes the "generation and augmentation" of something bad, in this case passion.[413] Being temporary, according to one chapter, is what makes material things bad, especially as an object of human concern.[414] The next chapter identifies the sign that one has achieved the ascetic's goal of dispassion (ἀπάθεια) as the mind's ability to remain "immaterial and

[409]Cf. 1 Cor 13:13. I thank Maria Mavroudi for the reference.

[410]AbF, J.Chrys.*on John*, Ḥaddād, p. د, last 10 lines: سيصير تلميذاً وعاملاً ومعلماً وكاملاً، ويقتني علماً يخالط به السموين، وهو في الأرض، ويصدف القديسين من ههنا قبل أن ينتقل إليهم، ويصير فردوساً مزهراً، ويخرج الرب منه الأربعة أنهار، التي هي الأمانة والرجاء، والمحبّة والصبر، لكيما يحفظ فردوس قلبه من اغتيالات العدو المبين، ويتلذذ بالأثمار الروحانية كل حين. Cf. Féghali, "'Abdallāh," 104: "deviendra un disciple actif, un maître parfait; il acquerra ainsi une science qui en fera l'émule des corps célestes, alors qu'il est sur terre; il rencontrera ici-bas des saints avant d'être transporté chez eux; il deviendra un paradis en fleur d'où le Seigneur fera sourdre quatre fleuve: la foi, l'espérance, la charité et la patience, afin de garder le paradis en son coeur loin des attaques de l'ennemi, et de jouir en tout temps des fruits spirituels."

[411]See on pages 36–37.

[412]*Chapters on Love*, 1.18.

[413]1.83 (an exegesis of Colossians 3:5): "*Therefore mortify your parts which are on the earth: fornication, depravity, passion/emotion, bad desire and greed*, and the rest. He [Paul] named the intention of the flesh 'earth'; by 'fornication' he meant actual sinning; […] he named 'greed' the generative and augmenting matter (ὕλην) of passion; […]. Therefore did the Divine Apostle give the order to mortify all these things since they are parts of the intention of the flesh" («Νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, πάθος, ἐπιθυμίαν κακὴν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν», καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. Γῆν μὲν ὠνόμασε τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός· πορνείαν δὲ εἶπε τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἁμαρτίαν· ἀκαθαρσίαν δὲ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν ἐκάλεσε· πάθος δὲ τὸν ἐμπαθῆ λογισμὸν ὠνόμασεν· ἐπιθυμίαν δὲ κακὴν τὴν ψιλὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας παραδοχήν· πλεονεξίαν δὲ τὴν γεννητικήν τε καὶ αὐξητικὴν τοῦ πάθους ὠνόμασεν ὕλην. Ταῦτα οὖν πάντα ὡς μέλη ὄντα τοῦ φρονήματος τῆς σαρκὸς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος νεκρῶσαι).

[414]4.41: "The one who loves empty glory or devotes himself to one of the material things (τινι τῶν ὑλικῶν πραγμάτων), his it is to have grievances towards men on account of temporary things (πρόσκαιρα), bear grudges against them, bear hatred towards them, or be a slave to shameful thoughts; these things are in every way foreign to the

formless" (ἄϋλον καὶ ἀνείδεον) during prayer.[415] In isolation, this phrase describes a mind clear from any thoughts (perhaps with the added implication that these thoughts can be either of material things or of higher abstractions, the forms), without suggesting that matter is bad (since it is paired with 'forms'). But its position in Maximos's text right after a chapter on avoiding concern for material things suggests that this is the key to achieving dispassion. Another chapter had already made the point explicit: "A monk is he who detaches his mind from material things."[416]

Maximos's chapters naturally pre-suppose a Platonic universe divided into the world of matter and the world of ideas — a fundamental premise of Christianity. The first can be seen by the eye, the second is "unseen," which is to say, perceived by the mind alone.[417] The division between these two is sharp and uncompromising.[418] The chapter mentioned above which contrasts the incorporeal noetic realm with "bodies composed of opposites" — a standard concept in pre-Socratic, Platonic, Aristotelian and later understandings of the conflict between the four elements[419] — posits an absolute distinction between the two: "The former are completely incorporeal and immaterial, even if some of them have been yoked to bodies, while the latter have composite-existence only out of matter and form" — that is to say, they require the composition of both matter and form in order to exist at all.[420] Another chapter reiterates this sharp distinction, stressing that corporeal and incorporeal substance (οὐσία) are different from each other.[421]

God-loving soul" (Τοῦ ἔτι δόξαν ἀγαπῶντος κενὴν ἤ τινι τῶν ὑλικῶν πραγμάτων προσκειμένου ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους λυπεῖσθαι διὰ πρόσκαιρα ἢ μνησικακεῖν αὐτοῖς ἢ μῖσος ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἢ λογισμοῖς δουλεύειν αἰσχροῖς· τῆς δὲ φιλοθέου ψυχῆς πάντῃ ταῦτα ἀλλότρια).

[415] 4.42: "When you do and say nothing shameful intentionally, when you bear no grudge against the punisher or abuser, and when at the time of prayer you always keep your mind immaterial and formless, then know that you have reached" (Ὅταν μηδὲν εἴπῃς μηδὲ πράξῃς αἰσχρὸν κατὰ διάνοιαν καὶ ὅταν τῷ ζημιώσαντι ἢ κακολογήσαντι μὴ μνησικάκῃς καὶ ὅταν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς προσευχῆς ἄϋλον καὶ ἀνείδεον ἀεὶ ἔχῃς τὸν νοῦν, τότε γνῶθι ὅτι ἔφθασας εἰς τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀπαθείας καὶ τῆς τελείας ἀγάπης). In general, *apatheia* may be defined as "complete freedom from all passions" (Susanna Elm, "'Schon auf Erden Engel': Einige Be[me]rkungen zu den Anfängen asketischer Gemeinschaften in Kleinasien," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 45, no. 4 [1996]: 488: "der völligen Freiheit von allen Leidenschaften"). In the case of Maximos's thought in particular, Balthasar defines *apatheia* as "the inner freedom from all disordered lapses" (Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 409: "die innere Freiheit von allen ungeordneten Verfallenheiten"). *Apatheia* had long been an ascetic ideal among Platonists and Stoics, both Christian and non-Christian; see Susanna Elm, "Evagrius Ponticus' *Sententiae ad Virginem*," *DOP* 45 (1991): 108 n. 80, 110 n. 88.

[416] 2.54: "Μοναχός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν ὑλικῶν πραγμάτων τὸν νοῦν ἀποχωρίσας…" (cited above, p. 38).

[417] 1.90: "Just as the beauty of visible things allures the perceiving eye, so too the gnosis of unseen things draws the pure mind to itself. And by unseen things I mean the incorporeal things" (Ὥσπερ τὸν αἰσθητὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἡ καλλονὴ τῶν ὁρατῶν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν καθαρὸν νοῦν ἡ γνῶσις τῶν ἀοράτων πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπισπᾶται· ἀόρατα δὲ λέγω τὰ ἀσώματα).

[418] A. A. Long has argued ("Plotinus, Ennead II.4: What is the matter with matter?," a paper presented at UC Berkeley, 8 November 2012) that Plotinos envisioned a continuum between matter/darkness/badness and form/lightness/goodness.

[419] Gad Freudenthal, *Aristotle's theory of material substance: heat and pneuma, form and soul* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 12–14, with textual citations. For Aristotle in particular, see also Happ, *Hyle*, 278–309. For the pre-Socratic view, see also Gad Freudenthal, "The Theory of the Opposites and an Ordered Universe: Physics and Metaphysics in Anaximander," *Phronesis* 31, no. 3 (1986): 197–228. As Freudenthal points out (ibid., 197), the theory of elements which oppose and destroy each other leaves open the question of why they persist in a composite formation at all, a problem which is solved by positing stabilizing forces external to the "sublunary" world: "As long as the theory of the opposites prevailed, physics could not do without metaphysics." Maximos's text thus seems to imply not only that composite bodies require matter and form to exist, but also that this very composition is dependent upon the incorporeal world.

[420] 3.30: "Καὶ τὰ μέν εἰσι ἀσώματα πάντη καὶ ἄϋλα, εἰ καί τινα τούτων συνέζευκται σώμασι· τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἴδους μόνον ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν."

[421] 4.11: "Ὁ μὲν Θεὸς μετέχεται μόνον, ἡ δὲ κτίσις καὶ μετέχει καὶ μεταδίδωσι· καὶ μετέχει μὲν τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ εὖ

True knowledge is a kind of light acting upon the soul.[422] The mind can only perceive the rational world by the intervention of God, "the sun of justice," who enables this perception the way the sun in the sky allows the eye to do its work.[423]

In the other set of Maximos's chapters which Ibn al-Faḍl translated, the *Gnostic Chapters*, the understanding of matter which emerges is bound up with its central concept, which is the incarnation of God's Logos.[424]

For Maximos, this is only one direction in a bidirectional process: ascetic practice makes the Logos flesh, but contemplation makes the Logos "as it was in the beginning, God the Logos."[425] Everything which makes unitary Truth into a particular instantiation is, for Maximos, making the Logos flesh. Thus, cataphatic theology (statements about what God *is* — as opposed to what he is *not*) makes the Logos flesh,[426] as do the individual "recorded sayings" (Jesus's words as recorded in the gospels).[427] There are many who fail to comprehend the unicity of the transcendent Logos, worrying instead about individual incarnations of the Logos, the words of Scripture and bodily cleansing.[428] The Logos is "secretly present in" God's scriptures and commandments,[429] but one needs also to grasp that ultimately the Logos, like God the Father, is "incorporeal and simple and singular and unique."[430]

If the Logos is incorporeal, then it is free of matter. But Maximos's text does not follow the Platonizing, Plotinian typology in which matter is dark and formless (and bad) in contrast to the immaterial which is luminescent and perfectly formed. This is apparent from the text's allegorical reading of an Old Testament image:

> The great Moses, having pitched his tent outside the camp [cf. Exodus 33:7], that is, having installed his judgment (γνώμη) and intellect (διάνοια) outside the visible things, begins to prostrate himself before God. Having entered the darkness [cf. Exodus

εἶναι, μεταδίδωσι δὲ τοῦ εὖ εἶναι μόνον· ἀλλ' ἑτέρως μὲν ἡ σωματική, ἑτέρως δὲ ἡ ἀσώματος οὐσία."

[422]1.31: "Ὥσπερ μνήμη πυρὸς οὐ θερμαίνει τὸ σῶμα, οὕτω πίστις ἄνευ ἀγάπης οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ εἰς ψυχὴν τὸν τῆς γνώσεως φωτισμόν." Cf. Plato, *Republic*, 507b–509c, where the Good is likened to the Sun, and the mind to the eye.

[423]1.95: "Just as the sun, rising and illuminating the universe, shows both itself and the things illuminated by it, so too the sun of justice, rising over the pure mind, shows [both] itself and the Words/rational forces [see n. 177 on page 38] which by it have and will come into being" (Ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατέλλων καὶ τὸν κόσμον φωτίζων δείκνυσί τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φωτιζόμενα πράγματα· οὕτω καὶ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος τῷ καθαρῷ νῷ ἀνατέλλων καὶ ἑαυτὸν δείκνυσι καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότων καὶ γενησομένων τοὺς λόγους).

[424]1.66; trans. Max. Berth., 139–140 (modified): "The mystery of the incarnation of the Logos bears the power of all the hidden meanings and figures of Scripture as well as the knowledge of visible and intelligible things." While I leave λόγος untranslated on the grounds that the Greek word clearly means more than the English 'word,' it should be noted that it was standard practice for Arabic translators to render λόγος as *kalima*, which has a semantic range closer to English 'word.' See for instance Sinai ar. 106 (copied in 1052 CE; paper; 194 folios; 185 × 125 mm), containing the four gospels, in which the opening of John reads هذا كان في البدي عند الله، والكلمة كان عند الله، والكلمة لم يزل الهاً؛ في البدي كان الكلمة، والكلمة; I have only seen a reproduction of this manuscript, on which I do not see folio numbers; the citation is at Image 149 of 199 in the reproduction on the *Bibliothèque Virtuelle de la Méditerranée* (http://data.manumed.org/notices/99911/gallery/955993).

[425]2.37, trans. Max. Berth., 156: "ὥσπερ ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ, Θεὸς Λόγος."

[426]2.39.

[427]2.60; trans. Max. Berth., 160 (modified): "The Logos becomes flesh through each of the recorded sayings" (Λόγος δι' ἑκάστου τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ῥημάτων γίνεται σάρξ).

[428]2.42.

[429]2.71, trans. Max. Berth., 162 (modified): "μυστικῶς ἐνυπάρχει."

[430]2.73, trans. Max. Berth., 162 (modified): "ἀσώματον καὶ ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἑνιαῖον καὶ μόνον."

> 20:21], the formless and immaterial place of gnosis, he remains there accomplishing the most sacred initiatory rites.[431]

This dark, formless place is "where God was,"[432] where "gnosis" is to be found. Would we not have expected clarity and illumination to dwell where Moses finds God? Should not the formless chaos of the material world fade to leave the forms? But as the following 'chapter' elaborates on this image, it becomes clear that Maximos associates form with the matter which is, at least in ordinary circumstances, its substrate:

> Darkness is the formless, immaterial, and incorporeal state which bears gnosis of the prototypes[433] of the beings (*τὴν παραδειγματικὴν τῶν ὄντων… γνῶσιν*). The one who enters into it [this state] as another Moses apprehends things invisible to his mortal nature. Through it [this state] he depicts in himself the beauty of the divine virtues just as a drawing (*graphē*),[434] making a good imitation, bears the representation of archetypal beauty; he descends, offering himself to those who want to imitate his virtue and showing by this the benevolence and liberality of the grace of which he had partaken.[435]

Maximos thus links darkness explicitly with formlessness, incorporeality, immateriality — and with access to divine beauty and goodness. For he glosses 'darkness' less as a quality than as a state (*κατάστασις*), underscoring the absence of sense-perception which, as we have seen, he considers a prerequisite of enlightenment: without worldly darkness, there is no ultramundane light.

While these positive associations with darkness may not sound much like late antique Platonism, Maximos's text here is very Platonic in its conception of communion with God, for it has much in common with what Socrates, in his second speech of the *Phaedrus*, says of "the region above the sky" (*τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον*), that "the colorless, most shapeless, and impalpable truly existing essence (*ἡ γὰρ ἀχρώματός τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ ἀναφὴς οὐσία ὄντως οὖσα*), with which all true knowledge (*τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης*) is concerned, holds this region and is visible only to the mind (*νῷ*), the pilot of the soul."[436] Here too the enlightened individual experiences

[431] 1.84 trans. Max. Berth. (modified): "Μωϋσῆς ὁ μέγας, ἔξω τῆς παρεμβολῆς πηξάμενος ἑαυτοῦ τὴν σκηνήν· τουτέστι, τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἱδρυσάμενος ἔξω τῶν ὁρωμένων, προσκυνεῖν τὸν Θεὸν ἄρχεται· καὶ εἰς τὸν γνόφον εἰσελθών, τὸν ἀειδῆ [as is pointed out in the PG, the alternative reading *ἀηδῆ* is unlikely given the context] καὶ ἄϋλον τῆς γνώσεως τόπον, ἐκεῖ μένει τὰς ἱερωτάτας τελούμενος τελετάς." Maximos's source for this *kephalaion* is Philo (see Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 587).

[432] Exodus 20:21: "οὗ ἦν ὁ θεός."

[433] See Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 588, who cites ps.-Dionysios, *DN*, 5.8.

[434] Cf. Berthold: "handwriting."

[435] 1.85 (trans. based on Max. Berth., 144–145): "Ὁ γνόφος ἐστὶν, ἡ ἀειδὴς καὶ ἄϋλος καὶ ἀσώματος κατάστασις, ἡ τὴν παραδειγματικὴν τῶν ὄντων ἔχουσα γνῶσιν· ἐν ᾗ ὁ γενόμενος ἐντός, καθάπερ τις ἄλλος Μωϋσῆς, φύσει θνητῇ κατανοεῖ τὰ ἀθέατα· δι' ἧς τῶν θείων ἀρετῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ζωγραφήσας τὸ κάλλος, ὥσπερ γραφὴν εὐμιμήτως [another ms: εὐμίμητον] ἔχουσαν τοῦ ἀρχετύπου κάλλους τὸ ἀπεικόνισμα, κάτεισιν ἑαυτὸν προβαλλόμενος τοῖς βουλομένοις μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δεικνὺς, ἧς μετειλήφει χάριτος, τὸ φιλάνθρωπόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον."

[436] 247c–d; trans. based on Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, trans. Harold N. Fowler (Harvard UP, 1925), vol. 9 (hereafter cited as Fowler): "Τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον οὔτε τις ὕμνησέ πω τῶν τῇδε ποιητὴς οὔτε ποτὲ ὑμνήσει κατ' ἀξίαν. ἔχει δὲ ὧδε — τολμητέον γὰρ οὖν τό γε ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας λέγοντα — ἡ γὰρ ἀχρώματός τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ ἀναφὴς οὐσία ὄντως οὖσα, ψυχῆς κυβερνήτῃ μόνῳ θεατὴ νῷ, περὶ ἣν τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης γένος, τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τόπον."

transcendent being without shape or color, that is, without eyesight, but also without a sense of touch, the sight of the blind: he too is plunged into a deep incorporeal darkness. His mind sees what is otherwise unseen. The language used is not the same, but the image is strikingly similar.

The language of Maximos's text coincides more closely with Plato's when it comes to "being initiated into the most sacred rites" (*ἐκεῖ μένει τὰς ἱερωτάτας τελούμενος τελετάς*) in the first of these two 'chapters.'[437] These words are a close parallel with what Socrates says just a bit further along in the same speech, when speaking of the human being who recalls the vision of his communion with God. The context is quite similar, for both Maximos and Plato are concerned with a man (Moses and the philosopher, respectively) who is granted the privilege of encountering the divine. Socrates says, "Now a man who employs such memories rightly is always being initiated into perfect mysteries and he alone becomes truly perfect."[438] What these sacred rites are exactly is not specified, but their immateriality and location outside of all spatial dimensions had, by the eleventh century, a long history. Someone wishing better to understand the secret, sacred rites of late antique Platonism and the wisdom which accompanied them could find them right here, in this text by the orthodox Maximos.

The eternal paradise is much the same, in the *Gnostic Chapters*, as this murky place of encounter with God. "Some scholars try to discover how the eternal dwelling-places and things promised differ from each other. Is there a difference in their actual locality? Or does the difference arise from our conception of the spiritual quality and quantity[439] peculiar to each dwelling-place?" Maximos answers that it is the second.[440] In other words, the promised paradise is an entirely immaterial one, not located in space at all, much like the state of darkness in which the contemplative meets God.

Nevertheless, Maximos insists that man's physical body is drawn along to be deified with the soul:

> Some seek to know how the state of those judged worthy of perfection in the kingdom of God will be, whether there will be progress and transformation or sameness in state; and how one should understand of bodies and souls. To this one might say as a guess that just as in the case of bodily life the function (*logos*) of food is twofold, on the one hand for the growth of those fed and on the other for their sustenance — for until we reach the perfection of the bodily prime of life, we are fed for growth, but when the body leaves off from its increase in size it is no longer fed for growth but for sustenance — so too in the case of the soul the function (*logos*) of food is twofold. For while it is advancing it is fed with virtues and contemplations until it passes through all the beings[441] and reaches the measure of the prime of the fullness of Christ.[442] At

[437] 1.84; see n. 431.

[438] Pl.*Phdr.*249c(cited LSJ s.v. τελέω III.1.a); trans. Fowler, vol. 9: "*τοῖς δὲ δὴ τοιούτοις ἀνὴρ ὑπομνήμασιν ὀρθῶς χρώμενος, τελέους ἀεὶ τελετὰς τελούμενος, τέλεος ὄντως μόνος γίγνεται.*" It is tempting to consider whether *μένει*, in Maximos, is textually related to this *ἀεὶ*, but Philo, Maximos's source for §1.84 (see n. 431), has *καταμένει* here.

[439] For what is meant by "quantity and quality," see Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, 565–6.

[440] 2.89: "*Ζητοῦσί τινες τῶν φιλομαθῶν, κατὰ ποῖον ἔσται τρόπον ἡ τῶν αἰωνίων μονῶν τε καὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν διαφορά· πότερον καθ' ὑπόστασιν τοπικὴν, ἢ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἰδιαζούσης καθ' ἑκάτσην μονὴν πνευματικῆς ποιότητός τε καὶ ποσότητος. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ τὸ πρῶτον· τοῖς δὲ, τὸ δεύτερον· ὁ δὲ γνοὺς, τί τὸ «ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστι», καὶ τὸ «πολλαὶ μοναὶ παρὰ τῷ Πατρί», τοῦ δευτέρου μᾶλλον γενήσεται.*"

[441] Cf. Berthold: "until it no longer passes through all its stages" — perhaps reading *οὗ* as *οὐ*.

[442] Cf. Ephesians 3.19, 4.13: *τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ θεοῦ/τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, cited by LSJ s.v. *πλήρωμα* I.6. The same entry notes

this point it leaves off progress towards increase and growth through intermediaries and is fed directly the form of incorruptible food which is above understanding and thus above growth, to sustain the godlike perfection given to it and to manifest the infinite splendors of that food. When, by this (food) dwelling within it, it receives such eternal wellbeing (τὸ ἀεὶ εὖ ὡσαύτως εἶναι), it becomes God (γίνεται θεὸς) by participation in divine grace by itself ceasing from all activities of mind and sense-perception and, itself ceasing, ceases too the natural activities of the body, which [the body][443] is made god (συνθεωθέντος) along with it [i.e., along with the soul], according to its analogous participation in deification. And so God alone is manifested through the soul and the body when their natural features are conquered in a surfeit of glory."[444]

V Conclusion

This survey of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations from Greek into Arabic provides a sense of the sorts of texts which an assertive Byzantine administration in Antioch — imperial, monastic, but foremost ecclesiastical — sought to make available in Arabic at the medieval height of its presence and influence in the Middle East. They represent a sample of how Byzantine ecclesiastical culture as it had developed in Constantinople aimed to project itself among Syria's educated elite, displaying all the signs of Byzantine cultural confidence and sense of superiority, but none of the insularity which is implicitly ascribed to middle Byzantine culture by a modern Byzantine historiography which has tended to restrict itself to Greek texts. Byzantine culture, Ibn al-Faḍl's translations imply, could and should be at home in Arabic.

The sorts of texts selected are perfectly Byzantine: their authors (or ascribed authors) were very popular in Byzantium (and still are today in the Orthodox Church), and were all considered saints and church fathers, not only in a narrowly-conceived 'Byzantine' Orthodoxy but throughout the Mediterranean world in all the hierarchies which subscribed to the Seven Ecumenical Councils, from the pope in Rome and the hierarchy under his jurisdiction to the other four Chalcedonian patriarchs and the bishops and monasteries which answered to them directly or indirectly, as well as other churches. Many of the authors were also among the Fathers embraced

a similar use by Iamblichos (3rd/4th century: "τὰ πληρώματα τῶν θεῶν") and refers to Damascius's use of the word πλήρωμα to refer to "the aggregate of properties which constitute the complete nature of a thing, full specification, substance."

[443] There is no non-feminine noun in the context other than τοῦ σώματος to which συνθεωθέντος could refer.

[444] 2.88; trans. based on Max. Berth., 167: "Ζητοῦσί τινες, πῶς ἔσται τῶν ἀξιουμένων τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τελειότητος ἡ κατάστασις• πότερον κατὰ προκοπὴν καὶ μετάβασιν, ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐν στάσει ταυτότητα· πῶς τε τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εἶναι χρεὼν ὑπολαμβάνειν. Πρὸς δὴ τοῦτο στοχαστικῶς ἐρεῖ τις, ὅτι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς σωματικῆς ζωῆς διττός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς τροφῆς λόγος· ὁ μὲν πρὸς αὔξησιν, ὁ δὲ πρὸς συντήρησιν τῶν τρεφομένων· μέχρις οὗ γὰρ φθάσωμεν τὸ τέλειον τῆς σωματικῆς ἡλικίας, τρεφόμεθα πρὸς αὔξησιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ σῶμα στῇ τῆς εἰς μέγεθος ἐπιδόσεως, οὐκέτι τρέφεται πρὸς αὔξησιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς συντήρησιν· οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς διττὸς ὁ τῆς τροφῆς λόγος. Τρέφεται γὰρ προκόπτουσα ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τοῖς θεωρήμασι, μέχρις οὗ διαβᾶσα τὰ ὄντα πάντα φθάσῃ τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐν ᾧ γινομένη, πάσης τῆς πρὸς ἐπίδοσίν τε καὶ αὔξησιν διὰ τῶν μέσων ἵσταται προκοπῆς· ἀμέσως τρεφομένη τὸ ὑπὲρ νόησιν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τυχὸν ὑπὲρ αὔξησιν· τῆς ἀφθάρτου τροφῆς εἶδος, πρὸς συντήρησιν τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῇ θεοειδοῦς τελειότητος, καὶ ἔκφανσιν τῶν τῆς τροφῆς ἐκείνης ἀπείρων ἀγλαϊῶν, καθ' ἣν τὸ ἀεὶ εὖ ὡσαύτως εἶναι ἐνδημῆσαν αὐτῇ δεχομένη, γίνεται θεὸς τῇ μεθέξει τῆς θεϊκῆς χάριτος, πασῶν τῶν κατὰ νοῦν καὶ αἴσθησιν ἐνεργειῶν, αὐτή τε παυσαμένη καὶ ἑαυτῇ τὰς τοῦ σώματος συναναπαύσασα φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας, συνθεωθέντος αὐτῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογοῦσαν αὐτῷ μέθεξιν τῆς θεώσεως. Ὥστε μόνον τὸν Θεὸν διά τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος φαίνεσθαι, νικηθέντων αὐτῶν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς δόξης, τῶν φυσικῶν γνωρισμάτων."

by the numerous non-Chalcedonian priests and bishops, among them the Coptic (Coptic Orthodox — Miaphysite), Armenian (Armenian Orthodox — Miaphysite), Maronite (then Monothelete), West-Syriac (Syrian Orthodox — Miaphysite) and East-Syriac (Assyrian — 'Nestorian') Churches.

Taken together, however, this translation program also represents a specific set of concerns relevant to the Byzantine agenda in Antioch. They include Biblical commentaries appropriate for an educational curriculum in exegetical cosmology, anthropology and cosmology (especially the homilies and commentaries by John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nyssa); important articulations of Chalcedonian Orthodox doctrine (John of Damascus's *Libellus*, Sophronios, and Maximos's *Disputation with Pyrrhos*); guides to the ascetic, spiritual life of Byzantine monasticism (Maximos's *Chapters on Love* and *Chapters on Theology and Providence*, the works by Isaac of Nineveh, and John Chrysostom's *Exhortation to Penitence*); wisdom literature (Pseudo-Maximos, *Loci communes*); and answers to questions which might trouble a believer, especially when raised by a challenge from confessional opponents (Pseudo-Kaisarios). The audiences for these translations would have included the important Chalcedonian monastic communities in Antioch and its environs, the patriarchal administration, priests and bishops of Antioch, and Christian intellectuals, teachers and students, perhaps preparing for careers in Antioch's Byzantine civil and ecclesiastical administration. They reflect a desire to promote Byzantine ecclesiastical education and monasticism among local Arabic-speaking Christian elites, while at the same time defending Byzantine Orthodoxy from confessional rivals, whether other Christians or Muslims — a task which, especially in the latter case, had to be carried out in Arabic.

As for the highly rhetorical encomium to Saint Nicholas (Andrew of Crete), it represents the promotion of a thaumaturgical bishop-saint who was already highly popular throughout the Christian world but who seems to have had a particular importance either to Ibn al-Faḍl or to his patrons and audience, to judge from the original Arabic encomium which Ibn al-Faḍl composed to complement the one he had translated. Such a choice would have fit well with a community seeking to promote the power of its bishop to protect travelers, Byzantine administrators, and the much wider populace of the ailing and sick, and to advocate on behalf of his community before the emperor. Byzantine churchmen and officials from Constantinople may also have played a role in promoting Nicholas in Antioch. It is perhaps telling that the same encomium was translated into Georgian (though on Mount Athos) a generation earlier — like a number of Ibn al-Faḍl's translations.

This Antiochian cultural program could be studied from any number of angles.[445] In this chapter, I have studied in particular how the texts which Ibn al-Faḍl translated would have shaped their readers' conceptions about the material world and exposed them to the 'pagan' (Hellene) tradition of thinking about matter. Ibn al-Faḍl's translations would have introduced Arabic-speaking Christians *inter alia* to a wide range of Hellenic thought on matter and its transcendence, particularly that of the late antique Neoplatonists, mostly by way of the Church Fathers who were heir

[445]For example, it would be very illuminating to compare this list of texts (along with others translated in Byzantine Antioch) with the contemporaneous reading lists and manuscripts (whether in Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, or Armenian) from other Christian communities in the region, as well as to compare it with translations carried out in other contemporary Chalcedonian Orthodox linguistic communities, not only the Georgians, but also Armenian and Slavic Chalcedonians. Were parallel Chalcedonian translation movements orchestrated centrally from Constantinople, or were they each shaped by the needs of the communities and localities in which they took place? Were there overall trends in Christian curricula of this period across confessional boundaries, or did these curricula contrast with each other even in the selection of texts of a less doctrinally controversial nature than Sophronios, Maximos, or John of Damascus?

to that heritage and had adapted it for their own purposes. This should remind us of how familiar an educated Byzantine would have been with ancient modes of thinking about the material world even without direct familiarity with the works of Plato and other ancient and late antique philosophers of which eleventh-century *érudits* like Psellos were so proud to boast.

Thanks to the efforts of Ibn al-Faḍl and translators like him, a Byzantine version of that ancient philosophical heritage was now available in Arabic. This produced a remarkable circumstance, namely that non-Chalcedonians and even non-Christians in the Arabic-speaking Middle East now had available to them — at least theoretically — this contemporary Byzantine version of the ancient cosmological, anthropological and theological heritage, in their own language. Since such translations were probably kept mainly in monastic and church libraries, we may suspect that one would have had to visit a monastery or a church in order to read them — but of course we know of Muslims who did in fact visit monasteries. Did a voracious reader like Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (who may, as mentioned, have been Ibn al-Faḍl's teacher) restrict himself to speaking to monks while visiting their monastic houses, or did the blind poet also ask to hear anything read from among their books?

Even if we cannot answer such questions for certain at the moment, it should be clear that Antioch's tenth- and eleventh-century translation movement of Christian patristic works, of which Ibn al-Faḍl was a part,[446] at least had the potential to impact Arabic culture much as the eighth-, ninth- and tenth-century Arabic translations — mostly carried out by Christians as well — of ancient Greek philosophical, scientific, medicinal, technical and ethical literature unquestionably shaped it.[447] Where the first Greek-Arabic translation movement had introduced ancient Greek thought 'directly' into Arabic-Muslim culture[448] under primarily Muslim patronage, the Greek-Arabic translation movement of Byzantine Antioch made the contemporary Byzantine successor and continuation of that tradition available as a part of Arabic literature as well.

In the following chapter, we turn to a closer examination of a particular case, Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of a famous set of exegetical homilies on the creation of the material world, in order to address the nature of the translations themselves and what appeal they might exercise on readers interested in the classical heritage and contemporary debates on the nature and significance of the material substratum underlying the visible universe.

[446]See Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 89.

[447]For the latter, see Gutas, *GTAC*.

[448]Although one should remember that to produce satisfactory translations, the translators — who included intellectuals we might fairly call Byzantines, like Qusṭā ibn Lūqā — required a proper understanding of the texts they were translating; see Mavroudi, "Greek Language."

Chapter 2

Ibn al-Faḍl's Translation of Basil's Homilies on the Six Days of Creation

The previous chapter's survey of Christian 'classics' translated by the eleventh-century Antiochian Chalcedonian-Christian deacon ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl has indicated several ways that an educated Byzantine Arab's reading list — and in particular the texts whose translations Byzantine-Arab patrons commissioned — might touch upon aspects of the material world. But how were such texts read? What new meaning did they acquire in the eleventh century which they might not yet have had in the fourth, or the sixth, or the eighth?

This chapter and the following one will approach these questions through the lens of one reader, Ibn al-Faḍl himself, and one particular text, Basil of Caesarea's *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*. Basil's homilies expand the brief creation narrative with which the Book of Genesis begins into a sort of annotated map: of the universe, humanity's place within it, and the routes by which the earnest seeker, aspiring to true and orthodox philosophy, might navigate the boundaries between the material world and a realm without matter. As Ibn al-Faḍl's translation and scholia on the text make clear, Basil's masterly Christian cosmological synthesis remained highly relevant to eleventh-century concerns.

Basil's homilies were not the beginning of Greek literary elaborations on the opening chapter of Genesis; the tradition goes back at least to Philo of Alexandria, upon whose *De opificio mundi* Basil draws. After Basil, the 'hexaemeron' tradition continued, for example, with George of Pisidia's (6th/7th century) *Hexaemeron* in iambic verse (and perhaps we might add Jacob of Edessa's Syriac *Hexaemeron*); Basil's homilies also shaped how creation was discussed in the Latin tradition from Ambrose of Milan and Augustine of Hippo onwards.[1]

Because there is no edition of Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic translation of these homilies (nor of the *other* medieval Arabic translations, which will be discussed in due course), this chapter must first consider the authenticity of the ascription of one of the Arabic translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron* to Ibn al-Faḍl, and the relationship of this translation to the other medieval translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, into Arabic and other languages, and to the Arabic version of the other two texts (by Gregory of Nyssa) in the Normal Hexaemeron Corpus.[2]

[1] For a partial account, see Robbins, *Hexaemeral Literature*.

[2] A partial collation of two distinct Arabic translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron* had already been carried out by Sam Noble and Geoffrey Moseley when I began my work on the texts. Sam Noble, first through Sasha Treiger and then in direct correspondence with me, generously communicated to me their unpublished observation that in addition to the translation ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl (T1, as I call it) there was another, anonymous Arabic translation (T2).

Addressing these basic philological questions will require a number of interlocking steps. First, I will survey other late antique and medieval translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, from Basil's death until the eleventh century, since these provide a literary background, cultural context, and potentially a source for Ibn al-Faḍl's work. Second, of the manuscripts containing an Arabic *Hexaemeron* translation I will describe those which I have been able to consult in person or by means of a reproduction (a total of seven), furthermore listing *all* manuscripts reported to contain such a translation and known to me, working out enough of the basic relationships among manuscripts with the *same* translation to be able to use these manuscripts as a basis for the respective translations. Third, I will consider how two of the Arabic translations, including Ibn al-Faḍl's, relate to the Greek manuscript tradition; because these translations are bound, in extant manuscripts I have consulted, with the two other texts from the Normal Hexaemeron Corpus, I will briefly discuss how those texts may clarify the relationships between these various manuscript traditions. The scholia ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl, which are the focus of the next chapter, will also serve here to help establish the relationship of his translation to the Greek manuscript tradition. Finally, I will study select passages from the Arabic *Hexaemeron* translations; these are the clearest evidence that Ibn al-Faḍl consulted one of the other Arabic translations, but they will also give a sense for Ibn al-Faḍl's method and approach to translation.

Out of these details, the following picture will begin to emerge. Before Ibn al-Faḍl completed his translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* (probably in 1051 or 1052 CE), two Arabic translations of the text had already been made. Ibn al-Faḍl based his own translation on one of these but with constant recourse to the original Greek. The Greek manuscript which Ibn al-Faḍl used (or at least one of them, if he had recourse to more than one manuscript) included at least some of the Greek scholia which are preserved in part of the extant Greek manuscript tradition — a fact which helps in the identification of the branch of the tradition to which Ibn al-Faḍl's Greek exemplar may have belonged, while at the same time shedding light on his approach to translating this Byzantine classic into Arabic.

Based on stylistic considerations, Ibn al-Faḍl may also have been the author of the Arabic translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* and *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*, transmitted along with the Arabic *Hexaemeron* translations in most manuscripts.[3]

Once this picture has been established, it will be possible to consider Ibn al-Faḍl's approach to producing a new translation of this famous late antique text, and what new significance the text might have taken on in his day. Chapter 3 will then take a closer look at the question of eleventh-century significance by focusing Ibn al-Faḍl's 'marginalia,' the scholia and notes he made in the margins of his translation.

I Translations of Basil's Homilies on the Hexaemeron

Long before Ibn al-Faḍl translated the nine homilies of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into Arabic, it had already been translated into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian — and Arabic, attesting to its popularity throughout late antiquity and the early middle ages.[4] At some point before the late

[3]The exception is the one manuscript containing the translation by a Coptic monk, Jurayj; see below.

[4]See CPG 2835, which lists Syriac, Latin, Georgian, Armenian and Arabic translations. It is not clear to me whether there was a Coptic translation as well; see below. Along with the CPG, Paul J. Fedwick, "The Translations of the Works of Basil before 1400," chap. 14 in *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, ed. Paul J. Fedwick, 2 vols.,

fourteenth/early fifteenth century it would be translated into Old Church Slavonic. It is possible that a Coptic translation also existed.[5] Although the focus here is on translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, it should be mentioned that of the other two Hexaemeron Corpus texts, at least Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* was translated into Latin, Syriac, Georgian, Armenian and Arabic.[6]

Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic translation (T1)

There appear to be three distinct medieval translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into Arabic. Because I will refer to them repeatedly throughout this chapter, I will call them T1, T2 and T3, respectively, where the numerals are arbitrary. I call Ibn al-Faḍl's translation T1.[7]

Although I have only seen Ibn al-Faḍl's translation in three very late manuscripts (described below), the attribution of the translation to Ibn al-Faḍl that appears in all of them is unambiguous.[8] It appears before the table of contents (*fihrist*),[9] where the *basmalah*, title and attribution read as follows:[10]

> بسم الله الواحد الابدي الازلي السرمدي وبه نستعين[1]. كتاب تفسير ستة أيّام الخليقة، وما خلق الله فيها منذ القديم، تأليف أبينا النبيل في القديسين باسيليوس الجليل العظيم. عدّة مقالاته تسعة مقالات معلومة، وجملة حساب فصوله مائة وأحد وعشرون فصل[2] مفهومة. ونقله[3] من اللغة اليونانية والرومية[4] إلى لغة الأعراب عبد الله ابن الفضل الأنطاكي لطلب الأجر والثواب. وذلك في التاريخ الرابع من جملة السنين في عام ستة آلاف وخمسمائة وستّين[5].
>
> In the name of God, the one, the eternal (*abadī*), the pre-eternal (*azalī*), the pre- and post-eternal (*sarmadī*); from him do we seek aid. The Book of the Explication of the Six Days of Creation and what God created in them since the beginning of time (*mundhu l-qadīm*),[11] by Our Father, exalted (*nabīl*) among the saints, Basil the Sublime (*jalīl*), the Great (*ʿaẓīm*). The number of its homilies (*maqālāt*) is nine known homilies (*maʿlūma*), and the total count of its sections (*fuṣūl*) is one hundred and twenty-one intelligible sections (*mafhūma*).
>
> ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī translated it from the Greek and Roman [**E** omits "and Roman"] language into the language of the Arabs (*aʿrāb*) in order to seek Recompense

continuous pagination (Toronto: PIMS, 1981), 439–512, has guided my survey of translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron*.

[5]Thomson, *Saint Basil…Armenian*, VII, gives a list which includes these two as well; but see below.

[6]CPG Suppl p. 157, which also lists the Arabic translation. Because Gregory's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron* was appended as an extra chapter of his *On Making Man* in the Arabic T1 and T2 manuscripts which I have seen, it seems likely that the same occurred with other translations, so that catalogue entries on manuscripts containing the *Apologia on the Hexaemeron* may not mention that text.

[7]I am grateful to Sasha Treiger and Sam Noble for alerting me to the existence of more than one translation (personal communication from Sasha Treiger, April 2013, passing on Sam Noble's observation). All previous descriptions or mentions of the Arabic *Hexaemeron* have, to my knowledge, conflated the translations, placing them all under Ibn al-Faḍl's name, although mentioning that the translation was not always ascribed to him. This is certainly true of the entries on Ibn al-Faḍl by Graf and Nasrallah; see n. 42 on page 89.

[8]For the three manuscripts, see pp. 89ff. All sigla used in the apparatus which appear throughout this chapter and the next may be found below in §II, beginning on p. 89.

[9]In **E**, it appears on the title page, with no *basmalah* or date.

[10]**B** 2, **D** unnumbered, **E** title page.

[11]*qadīm* is the technical term for 'not created in time,' but here it seems better to construe it as a reference to most ancient antiquity.

[1]بسم الله الواحد الابدي الازلي السرمدي وبه نستعين: ب د؛ —ذ [2]فصل: ب د؛ فصلاً ذ [3]ونقله: ب د؛ نقله ذ [4]والرومية: ب د؛ —ذ [5]وذلك في التاريخ الرابع من جملة السنين في عام ستة آلاف وخمسمائة وستّين: ب د؛ —ذ

> and Reward. That was on the date: the fourth of the group of years,[12] in the year six thousand and five hundred sixty.[13]

The date given here agrees with the date of *c.*1052 CE to which manuscripts date several of his other translations, namely his Arabic versions of Basil's *Homilies on the Psalms* and Pseudo-Kaisarios's *Questions and Answers* (incorporated into Ibn al-Faḍl's *Joy of the Believer*), while his translation of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on Genesis* was made in or before 1052.[14] His translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, then, seems to have been part of an intensive period of translating around the year 1052.

The assertion that the text was translated *from the original Greek* is as unambiguous as the attribution. This statement appears on other translations by Ibn al-Faḍl as well and seems to have been an important selling point of his translations, given its frequent prominence. It is phrased here in a way that may be intended to stress a continuity between the ancient Greek and contemporary Byzantine language: the text's original language is called "the Greek (*yūnānī*) and Roman (*rūmī*) language" — or, in modern parlance, "the ancient Greek and Byzantine language."[15] One of the three manuscripts (**E**) calls it more simply "the Greek (*yūnānī*) language," which may represent a later emendation.

The Arabic translation upon which Ibn al-Faḍl's was based (T2)

What this attribution does *not* mention is that Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1) is highly dependent on *another* Arabic translation attested in manuscripts, which I call T2. This dependence was first discovered by Sam Noble,[16] and my own comparison of the two translations alongside the Greek (§IV below) confirms this dependence and further reveals that T1 was produced in consultation with the Greek text as well: that is, Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic translation, T1, was most likely based on both an earlier Arabic translation, T2, and the original Greek.

T2 is undated and anonymous in the manuscripts known to me (see table 2 on page 90). It is quite literal and often strives for a close agreement with the Greek word order, strongly suggesting that it was made from the original Greek.[17] There are many examples throughout Basil's *Hexaemeron* in which T1 and T2 have the exact same phrase; such shared phrases are often quite long. As will be shown below, Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1) often revises T2 in ways that require access to the original Greek, as when T2 translates the Greek literally but in a way that obscures the original meaning, such that Ibn al-Faḍl's rendering, which captures that original

[12] This refers to the fourth indiction year, corresponding in this case to 1051f CE, since $(1051 + 3) \mod 15 = 4$. For this calculation, see N. Oikonomides, *ODB*, s.v. "Indiction."

[13] 6560 AM = 1 September 1051 – 31 August 1052 CE.

[14] See ch. 1, especially table 1 on p. 20, and, for the translation of John Chrysostom's commentary, p. 29.

[15] *Yūnān* (∼ Ἰωνία, Ionia) in medieval Arabic tends to refer to ancient Greece, while the term *Rūm* (∼ Ῥωμαῖοι) was used to describe those who are now called the Byzantines (see for example Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, trans. Emile and Jenny Marmorstein [New York: Routledge, 1975], 39, 195). However, as Maria Mavroudi points out, in later times *rūmī* could refer to Rumeli Turks, that is, Turks who lived in Anatolia, so that to specify a Byzantine Greek, the term *yūnānī* might have been necessary.

[16] Again, I am indebted to Sam Noble for sharing with me his unpublished conclusion, based on his own research, that T1 is a revision of T2. He also considers it possible that T1 as we have it in the three late manuscripts may represent "a later reworking" of the translation which Ibn al-Faḍl actually made. My impression is that the style of the translation — and Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia within it — is in accordance with Ibn al-Faḍl's other works. Hopefully an earlier manuscript of his translation will turn up eventually to clarify the matter.

[17] For a study of T2's translation style, in comparison with T1, see below, §IV, pp. 113ff.

meaning, would have been impossible without recourse to the Greek. The opposite arrangement — that T2 is a revised version of T1 — would seem highly unlikely on the basis of these same examples (discussed below), since even a translator who prefers an ultra-literal translation would still prefer a literal translation which captures the sense of the original Greek, if possible, so that replacing Ibn al-Faḍl's accurate but not overly loose translations with inaccurate but highly literal translations would not seem desirable. In short, we can be fairly confident that Ibn al-Faḍl produced his Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* (T1) as a *revision* of an earlier Arabic translation (T2) based on constant consultation of at least one manuscript containing the Greek original.

A third, independent translation from the Coptic (T3)

The earliest *dated* Arabic translation is that of a Coptic monk named Jurayj ibn Yuḥannis al-Rarāwī, produced at the famous monastery of Saint Makarios (Dayr Abū Maqār)[18] located in the Nile delta, at Sketis (Greek Σκῆτις, Coptic *Shiet*), in Wādī Naṭrūn, probably in the fourteenth century (henceforth T3).[19] Jurayj translated all nine homilies, although the single manuscript containing this translation is missing many folios; this manuscript will be discussed further below.[20] As I show there on the basis of the colophon, Jurayj's translation is distinct from T1 and T2 and was almost certainly translated *from a Coptic exemplar*. (Jurayj also seems to have translated Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, which appears in the same manuscript,[21] and this translation is distinct from the version of the same text which accompanies the other two *Hexaemeron* translations, as I will describe below.)

It should also be noted that all the T1 and T2 manuscripts I have consulted also contain *the same* Arabic version of the other two Normal Corpus texts, Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* and *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*, or at least the former.[22]

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[18]It is conventional to refer to this monastery using an uninflected Arabic form (with 'Abū' and not 'Abī') which is foreign to Classical Arabic. It is also referred to as 'Dayr Anbā Maqār.'

[19]Dayr Abū (or Anbā) Maqār was founded by Saint Makarios the Egyptian/the Great (b. Upper Egypt *c.*300, d. Sketis *c.*390): *ODB*, s.v. "Makarios the Great" (p. 1271). "The present four monasteries in Wādī Naṭrūn represent a development after the 9th C., when for security reasons monks settled within an area surrounded by a high wall": ibid., s.v. "Wādī Naṭrūn" (p. 2189). It has continually been an extremely important monastic center, closely associated with the (Coptic) patriarch of Alexandria, who resided there in times of persecution or instability; see Ugo Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 11 (Geneva, 1986), 5, who notes further that it is at the monastery that the Coptic patriarch, "according to ancient tradition (partially modified in the thirteenth century)," consecrates the Myron (oil for anointing) "during the celebration of the Holy Week."

[20]See pp. 97–100.

[21]And possibly the *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*, though that does not survive in the one known manuscript of Jurayj's translation, which is missing many folios at the end.

[22]Sinai ar. 270 (which contains *Hexaemeron* translation T2) does not contain Gregory's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*; in that manuscript, *bāb* 31 (the last chapter of *On Making Man* in the Arabic translation) ends on f. 243^{v} (= image 247 in the online reproduction), matching the text of the end of *bāb* 31 in the T1 manuscript **D** II.109. Then, after some blank pages and a doodle (a drawing of a human figure), a text of *nuskīyāt* by Basil begins on f. 248^{r} (= image 251). — In all the manuscripts five manuscripts I have seen which contain the Arabic translations of these two works by Gregory, they are not explicitly ascribed to a translator. The translation style used for the Arabic versions of Gregory's works appears to be the same as the style of *Hexaemeron* translation T1 (see pp. 136ff). It is also plausible that Ibn al-Faḍl would have translated the entire (Normal) Hexaemeron Corpus at once, since that is how the work circulated in Greek manuscripts — this would also explain why Ibn al-Faḍl's name only appears at the beginning of the whole Corpus, not at the beginning of each work.

Translations into other languages before 1050

The earliest translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into any language was probably the Latin translation, produced, probably *c.*400 (though possibly mid 5th century — certainly by the mid 6th), by one Eustathius, probably a native of Italy.[23] This translation, a highly literal one, proved very popular in the west, even after new Latin translations were made in the thirteenth century and later.[24]

A Syriac *Hexaemeron* translation was made almost as early.[25] One of the fragments of the only known extant Syriac translation survives in a manuscript probably dating to the fifth century.[26] Barṣom (d. 1957) says that Athanasius II of Balad made a translation in 666f CE,[27] but the modern editor of the Syriac *Hexaemeron* considers all known manuscripts and fragments to be part of the same translation,[28] so it would seem that if Barṣom is correct, then Athanasius's translation is

[23]Critical edition: Eustathius, *Ancienne version latine des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Basile de Césarée*, ed. Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and Stig Y. Rudberg (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958) (hereafter cited as Eust.*Bas.Hex.*Lat.). For date and geography, see Berthold Altaner, *Kleine patristische schriften* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1967), 437–47 (I refer to the reprinted version; the original article was published in 1940); cited by Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 459 n. 101. Altaner argues — against the old dating of the translation to *c.*440 and identification of Eustathius as a North African — that a passage in which Augustine refers to a "Syrian's" explication of the Biblical statement that God's spirit "superferebatur super aquas" as meaning that God "fovebat," on the basis of the Aramaic text, derives directly from Eustathius's translation of the relevant passages (even though it is not a verbatim quote), since Augustine's wording is closer to Eustathius than to a parallel passage by Ambrose of Milan; he rules out that Augustine was using the Greek text directly by way of circumstantial evidence (Augustine tended to use the Latin translation of Greek patristics when available) and by Augustine's tendency to render Greek words very literally when he translated them himself, so that he would have translated συνέθαλπεν as *confovebat*, whereas he actually used *fovebat*, paralleling Eustathius's *fovebant* (and Ambrose's *fovebat*). The date of Augustine's work means that "Eustathius's work must already have been completed around 400" (p. 444: "deshalb muß die Arbeit des Eustathius bereits um 400 vollendet gewesen sein"). Perhaps. What is certain is that Eustathius's work was completed by 550–560, when Cassiodorus refers to it explicitly (p. 439). Eustathius's editors follow Altaner's dating: Eust.*Bas.Hex.*Lat., XI n. 1.

[24]Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 459–50, who reaches this conclusion from the manuscript tradition. — Of the three texts in the (Normal) Hexaemeron Corpus, Eustathius seems only to have translated Basil's homilies; some manuscripts, however, follow these with a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* (= PL 67:345B–408B) by Dionysius Exiguus (b. *c.*470, d. before 556): Eust.*Bas.Hex.*Lat., XIX–LIV. These manuscripts include the following: Paris lat. 12134 [= A, 8th c., p. XIX]; Copenhagen, Royal Library, Gammel kongelige Samling 20, 2⁰ [= C, 11th c. (1st half) p. XXIV]; Vendôme, Bibliothèque de la ville, 122 [= B, 11th c. (beginning), p. XXXVII]. Other manuscripts of Eustathius do not contain Dionysius Exiguus, e.g., Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Car. C. 146 [= Z, 9th c., p. XXXII]. For Dionysius himself, see *NP*, s.v. "Dionysius [55]."

[25]Critical edition: Basil of Caesarea, *The Syriac Version of the Hexaemeron by Basil of Caesarea*, ed. Robert W. Thomson, 2 vols., CSCO, 550-551 (1995) (hereafter cited as Bas.*Hex.* syr. Thoms.).

[26]British Library Add. 17143 (probably 5th c.) = Thomson's A, in which folios 1–12 contain Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 8 and 9 (Bas.*Hex.* syr. Thoms., vol. 1, pp. V–VII).

[27]Sebastian Brock, "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv* 9: some remarks on the Syriac manuscript tradition," in *Texte und Textkritik: einer Aufsatzsammlung*, Texte und Untersuchungen 133 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987), 59 (Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 449), citing Barṣom's *Kṭobo d-berulle d-ʿal marduṭ yulfone suryoye ḥḏire* (Qamishly, 1967), pp. 229, 373. I was able to consult the Arabic version of this book (which I believe is the earlier one), where we find the statement that Athanasius of Balad's translation was made in 666f: Ighnāṭiyūs Afrām al-awwal Barṣom, *al-Luʾluʾ al-manthūr fī tārīkh al-ʿulūm wa-l-ādāb al-suryānīya*, 5th printing (1987), 290; Barṣom's entry reads: وترجم باقتراح المطرانين الموماً اليهما والقسيس ساويرا الكاتب، كتاب الايام الستة للقديس باسيليوس القيصري تسع مقالات سنة ٦٦٦-٦٦٧ على ما ورد في ضوابط الفاظ الكتاب العزيز ومصنفات الملافنة في الخزانة الزعفرانية. Here a footnote then specifies: عدد ٢٤١.

[28]See Bas.*Hex.* syr. Thoms., vol. 1, V n. 1.

lost. The only surviving complete version of the text is contained in Sinai syr. 9 (before 734).[29]

Was Basil's *Hexaemeron* translated into Coptic? Fedwick asserts that it never was.[30] Mendieta and Rudberg seem to suggest that a Coptic translation *was* carried out, but also mention that they know of no Coptic manuscript containing all nine homilies or even a single homily.[31] However, as I will demonstrate below, there can be little doubt that a Coptic translation once existed and that it formed the basis for one of the three extant Arabic translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron*.[32]

The Armenian version of Basil's *Hexaemeron* is a translation of the "paraphrastic" Syriac translation; the Armenian translator elaborated upon the Syriac version, which is unusual for "early Armenian translators."[33] Before the tenth century, some form of the *Hexaemeron* was apparently used as a basic Armenian school text.[34] The oldest manuscript containing the Armenian translation is dated 1187.[35]

George of the Holy Mountain (d. 1065), a Georgian translator and monk at the Iviron monastery of Mount Athos, based himself on previous Georgian translations, no longer extant, and presumably the Greek as well, to prepare his own Georgian recension.[36] George also translated Gregory

[29]Bas.*Hex.* syr. Thoms., vol. 1, p. V: "The translation is not dated, but a colophon indicates that the manuscript was bought by the scribe Thomas from the priest Simeon in 1045 of the Seleucid era, i.e. 734 AD." Baumstark lists two manuscripts: Sinai syr. 9 (9th c.), which he notes is "incomplete at the end"; and British Museum 546 = Add. 17143 (5th century?), containing *Hex.* 8 and "fragments from 7 and 9": Baumstark, *GSL*, 78. — A Syriac translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* is contained in Vat. syr. 106, which has been dated anywhere from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the eighth century (Francesco Pericoli Ridolfini, "Dedica e sommario del *De opificio hominis* di Gregorio di Nissa nel Vat. Sir. 106," *OCP* 66, no. 2 [2000]: 295). See also Baumstark, *GSL*, 79 n. 6; cited by CPG (but read "n. 6" for "n. 7"), see n. 6 on page 83. — For the Syriac translation of Gregory's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*, Baumstark lists only one manuscript containing fragments of it, British Museum 787 = Add. 17196 (9th century): Baumstark, *GSL*, 79 n. 7; cited by CPG 3:213.

[30]Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 485. But cf. the question he poses on the following page: "from what language did Čarīh [i.e., the author of T3] translate Basil's work — Greek, Syriac, or Coptic?"

[31]They speak of "les anciennes versions de l'Hexaéméron basilien en syriaque, en arménien, en copte, en arabe et en géorgien" but then the footnote to the word "copte" reads: "Je ne connais aucun manuscrit copte ancien qui présenterait une version de l'ensemble des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron, ou même d'une seule homélie entière" (M/R, *Basile*, 4–5, 5 n. 2). Does that mean that fragments survive?

[32]See p. 97.

[33]Thomson, *Saint Basil…Armenian*, VII, 23. In 1981, Fedwick followed Muradyan, the editor of the Armenian *Hexaemeron*, in seeing it as a translation from Greek, not Syriac: Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 476. More recently, Thomson has rejected this position, holding that the Armenian excerpt(s?) of the *Hexaemeron* appearing in the work Eznik (a fifth-century author?) are derived directly from the Greek and not from a complete Armenian translation of the work (Thomson, *Saint Basil…Armenian*, VII). Thomson's conclusion that the Armenian version was translated from Syriac derives from his own edition/translation of the Syriac text (Bas.*Hex.* syr. Thoms.) and a comparison of that text with Muradyan's critical edition of the Armenian version (Thomson, *Saint Basil…Armenian*, 22–25). Thomson's examples are convincing, especially readings in the Armenian which are easily explicable as misreadings of Syriac words for similar-looking Syriac words. Thomson's translation with commentary of the Armenian text (ibid., 55–246) uses the Syriac to correct many of Muradyan's choices among variant readings in the Armenian manuscripts.

[34]Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 477.

[35]Matenadaran 1801; Thomson, *Saint Basil…Armenian*, 21. The Armenian manuscripts are listed by Gabriella Uluhogian, "Repertorio dei manoscritti della versione armena di S. Basilio di Cesarea," in Fedwick, *Basil*, 585, cited by Thomson, 20, who also provides a list (21–22). — Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* was translated into Armenian in Constantinople by Step'anos of Siwnik' "between 711 and 718" (Thomson, *Saint Basil…Armenian*, 29). For the edition of this translation, see ibid., 5 n. 22. — Other texts in the Greek hexaemeron genre (like Anastasios of Sinai's *Hexaemeron*, John Philoponos's *De opificio mundi*, and Severian's *De mundi creatione*) do not seem to have been translated into Armenian, although George of Pisidia's *Hexaemeron* was (ibid., 29–30).

[36]Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 164; cited by M/R, *Basile*, 5 n. 4. See ch. 1, on pages 60–66, esp. p. 63.

of Nyssa's *On Making Man* into Georgian; again, earlier translations of this work had already existed.[37]

A Slavonic translation (in "the Serbian recension") of the *Hexaemeron* is preserved in the late fourteenth-/early fifteenth-century Athos, Chilandari, 405, along with Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*.[38] In the second half of the tenth century, John the Exarch had based his own hexaemeron composition (a catena of excerpts from patristic works in the hexaemeron genre), in Old Church Slavonic, largely on Basil's, but there does not seem to have been a full translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into Old Church Slavonic until later.[39]

All this gives us a fairly clear, if partial picture of *Hexaemeron* translations which preceded Ibn al-Faḍl's. After early Latin (*c.*400 or at least 5th century) and Syriac (5th century) translations, another Syriac version (possibly based on the first) was produced (mid 7th century). An Armenian version (not extant) existed sometime before the tenth century, while the extant Armenian translation, made from the Syriac, was made sometime before 1187 (so that it is possible that it predates Ibn al-Faḍl's translation). There had thus been sustained interest in the Hexaemeron Corpus, including Basil's *Hexaemeron*, throughout the Mediterranean, and among speakers of many languages, and not only among Chalcedonian Christians. Then in the eleventh century, probably very close to the time Ibn al-Faḍl carried out his translation, a Georgian translation (based on previous translations) was produced on Mount Athos; perhaps this contemporary desire to prepare a more satisfactory version of the *Hexaemeron* — as well as Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* — is not entirely unconnected to Ibn al-Faḍl activities.[40]

The text Ibn al-Faḍl sat down to translate in the mid eleventh century was a celebrated classic of which he sought to produce an elegant, authoritative translation into Arabic, suitable for the Arabic-speaking Chalcedonian community thriving around Byzantine Antioch. It is probably not a coincidence that another Chalcedonian community with a strong presence in monasteries around Antioch (as well as other Byzantine monastic centers), the Georgians,[41] acquired a new, improved translation of the text around this time as well. Riding the wave of Byzantine prestige, prosperity and cultural production, these Chalcedonian communities had recourse to the original Greek now available to them, while at the same time seeking to import this cultural prestige into their own linguistic contexts.

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[37]Tarchnišvili, *GKGL*, 164. Tarchišvili does not mention Gregory of Nyssa's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*, although perhaps this text is included at the end of George's text of Gregory's *On Making Man*.

[38]Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 509. There may also be a 15th-century manuscript of the Russian recension, for Fedwick writes: "T. B. Ukhova mentions a fifteenth-century MS of the *Hexaemeron* apparently of the Russian recension on which I was unable to gather more information" (ibid., 509 n. 326).

[39]Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 509.

[40]Translations of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* into Latin, Syriac and Armenian had also been made, although only the Georgian translator appears to have been the same as the translator of Basil's *Hexaemeron*.

[41]Djobadze, *Archeological investigations*, esp. ch. 5, §C, on the Georgian inscriptions at the Monastery of Kasios, the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Younger, and on the Black Mountain; see also the previous works, by the same author, cited at the top of p. 2. There is only a little work on Georgian-Antiochian culture, such as A. Saminsky's article identifying in Greek and Georgian manuscripts a distinctive Antiochian illumination style with considerable influence from Constantinople but also local artistic traditions: "Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch," in *East and West in the medieval eastern Mediterranean I: Antioch from the Byzantine reconquest until the end of the crusader principality*, ed. Krijna Ciggaar and D. M. Metcalf (Leuven, 2006), 17–32.

II The manuscripts

The manuscripts containing an Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* — of which I am aware — are summarized in Table 2. There are probably others. As already mentioned, previous surveys of manuscripts containing "Ibn al-Faḍl's" Arabic translation of the *Hexaemeron* — Cheikho, Graf and Nasrallah — fail to distinguish between T1 and T2, nor do they mention the one manuscript containing Jurayj's translation (T3).[42] They sometimes note when a manuscript contains Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia, but while this and other indications help us guess which translation it contains, each manuscript (or a transcribed excerpt from it) must ultimately be consulted again to be sure. Whether any further medieval translations exist is also an open question.[43] Here I will provide an account of the manuscript tradition on the basis of my research. My results are not exhaustive, but they are a considerable improvement over previous descriptions.

T1 manuscripts

I am aware of three manuscripts containing this translation, one in Beirut at the Bibliothèque Orientale of the Université Saint-Joseph, and two in Damascus at the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East (بطريركية أنطاكيا وسائر المشرق للروم الأرثوذكس):[44]

1. Beirut BO 479 (= **B**/ب; 18th c.)
2. Damascus OP ar. 142 (= **D**/د; 18th c., 300 × 200 mm, "black leather binding" of low quality).[45] There is some writing in Greek characters at I.149$_{8-9}$ (corresponding to Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 9.5 = MR 155$_8$): ἔχϊνοι (recte ἐχῖνοι) above والاشيني, καικρήφ[α]νοι (recte κεκρύφαλοι) above والكاكريفاني, and κ(αὶ) ενυστρα (recte ἔνυστρα) above والانيسطرا. These Greek glosses to the Arabic text were apparently made without recourse to the Greek original, but on the basis of the Arabic, as indicated by "καικρήφανοι" for κεκρύφαλοι, in which the change from λ to ν is explicable by the Arabic *kākrīfānī*.[46]

[42]Cheikho, *K. al-makhṭūṭāt*, 52–3. Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 56; in his entry on Arabic translations of Basil's works, ibid., vol. 1, p. 321, simply refers to the entry on Ibn al-Faḍl in the second volume. Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. III.1, p. 205. The T3 manuscript, of unknown provenance, was only acquired by the Austrian National Library in 1932 (Helene Loebenstein, *Katalog der arabischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Neuerwerbungen 1868-1968. Teil 1: Codices mixti ab Nr. 744* [Vienna, 1970], 61).

[43]I have encountered a fragment of a translation which is neither T1 nor T2 in Vat. Borg. ar. 153 ff. 1^{v}–2^{v}, that is, on the two most recently-added folios at the beginning, written in a modern hand. This modern hand may have been copying yet another medieval translation (perhaps T3?), but it is equally likely that the scribe was recording a more recent, possibly even his/her own translation. In this translation, the beginning of Homily 1 reads: يحق لنا ان نضع مبدا انشا العالم ان نقص مبدا ما نشرحه الذي به نوضح الاشيا المنظورة ذات الزينة.

[44]In accordance with standard convention, I will refer to this library henceforth as 'Damascus, O(rthodox) P(atriarchate)'; this is not meant to imply that Damascus is a patriarchal see, only that it is the location of the library. The 447 manuscripts the library contains are described in *al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya fī maktabat Baṭriyarkīyat Anṭākiya wa-sāʾir al-mashriq lil-Rūm al-Urthūdhuks* (Beirut: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Urthūdhuksī al-Anṭākī, 1988) (hereafter cited as Damascus OP ar. ms. cat.). I am most grateful to Sam Noble for placing his reproductions of Damascus OP ar. 142 and 149 at my disposal. It was thanks to my correspondence with him that I became aware in the first place that these manuscripts might contain the same translation as Beirut BO 479, a reproduction of which was already in my possession.

[45]Damascus OP ar. ms. cat., 24: "*ghilāf jild aswad (sayyi')*."

[46]This Arabic form could have arisen as a copying error in the Arabic tradition, but it is prima facie also possible that the translator himself committed this error, since in Greek uncials and semi-uncials, the letters Λ and N look quite similar (Λ is a N without the final stroke). However, this is probably not the case, since **E** has the correct

	manuscript	date	seen	scholia	trans.	HC1	HC2	HC3
	Aleppo Bib. Maron. 15	?		?	?	∗	?	∗
	Aleppo Jirjis Shulḥot	?		?	?	∗	?	?
	Balamend 115	1831		?	?	∗	?	?
	Beirut BO 479	18th	∗ (repr.)	IF, anon.	T1	∗	∗	∗
	Beirut BO 480	19th		none?	?	∗	∗	∗
	Cairo CP 351	13th		?	?T2	∗	∗	?
	Cairo CP 380	1798		?	?T2	∗	∗	?
+	Damascus OP ar. 142	18th	∗ (repr.)	IF, anon.	T1	∗	∗	∗
+	Damascus OP ar. 149	1839	∗ (repr.)	IF, anon.	T1	∗	∗	∗
?	Damascus OP ar. 1546	?		?	?	∗	?	∗
?	Damascus OP ar. 1551	1839		?	?	∗	?	∗
?	Damascus OP ar. 1553	1839		?	?	?	?	∗
?	Damascus OP ar. 1557	1879		?	?	∗	∗	?
+	Dayr al-Baramūs ?	?		?	T2	∗	?	?
	Dayr al-Nāʿima	?		?	?	∗	?	?
	Dayr al-Shīr 324 N.C.	?		?	?	∗	∗	?
	Dayr al-Shuwayr 121	pre-1756		?	?	∗	?	?
	Dayr al-Shuwayr 122	18th		?	?	∗	?	∗
	Paris ar. 134	15th	∗ (ms.)	anonym.	T2	∗	∗	∗
	Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ N.C.114	1623		?	?	∗	?	∗
	Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ N.C.218	1833		?	?	∗	?	∗
	Sinai ar. 270	1625	∗ (repr.)	?	T2	∗	∗	—
	Vat. Borg. ar. 153	14th	∗ (ms.)	saw none	T2	∗	∗	∗
+	Vienna, ÖNB, ar. 2137	15th	∗ (repr.)	?	T3	∗	∗	?

Table 2: Manuscripts containing an Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*. For each, I note its date, whether (and in what form) I have seen it, whether it contains scholia (by I[bn] [al-]F[aḍl] or anon[ymous]), and whether its *Hexaemeron* translation is T1 (ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl), T2 (on which T1 is partially based), or T3 (by Jurayj). The last three columns indicate the H(exaemeron) C(orpus) texts contained in the manuscript (∗ for presence, — for absence): HC1 = Basil of Caesarea, *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*; HC2 = Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*; HC3 = Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*. The six Damascus shelf numbers may represent only two manuscripts; see n. 50 on the next page.

3. Damascus OP ar. 149 (= **E**/ג; 1839 CE, 260 × 190 mm, 123 + 127 folios, "engraved leather binding").[47] There are two colophons, one for the first portion (to the end of Basil's *Hexaemeron*), with the date 17 August 1839 (I.123), and another for the second portion (Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* and *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*: 17 November 1839 [colophon at II.127]). Margins were wider at one point but have since been clipped.[48]

All three are *paginated* (rather than provided with folio numbers), so I cite them by page number. **D** and **E** present an added difficulty, for their pagination begins anew with Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*; to distinguish these page numbers from the first set of page numbers, I refer to the first portion of pages as 'part I,' and the second as 'part II' (for example, **D** II.1 is the first page of the second portion of **D**). *Recto* pages are odd in **B** and **D** II, even in **D** I, **E** I, and **E** II.

B is mentioned by both Graf and Nasrallah, as well as Cheikho (the latter without a shelf number).[49] Graf mentions neither of the Damascus manuscripts. As for Nasrallah, he refers to four different manuscripts at the "Patr. Orth. Damas" (Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus) containing parts of the Hexaemeron Corpus: numbers 1546, 1551, 1553, and 1557 (of which only no. 1553, according to him, does not contain a copy of Basil's *Hexaemeron*). These 'four' manuscripts probably correspond to the two manuscripts **D** and **E**.[50]

B, **D** and **E** contain essentially the same texts:[51]

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transcription; see p. 95 below.

[47]Damascus OP ar. ms. cat., 25: "*ghilāf jildī manqūsh*."

[48]See, e.g., the marginalium clipped at I.34.

[49]Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 56; Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. III.1, p. 205. Cheikho, *K. al-makhṭūṭāt*, 52, refers to "two copies in our oriental library" in one of which there are "scholia (*shurūḥ*) by the aforementioned ʿAbdallāh [ibn al-Faḍl]"; these must be Beirut BO 479 (with scholia) and 480 (without).

[50]Nasrallah, *HMLEM*, vol. III.1, p. 205. It is plausible that Nasrallah here refers to the two parts of **E** by two separate shelf numbers, 1551 (referring to **E** I, containing Basil's *Hexaemeron*) and 1553 (referring to **E** II, containing the two works by Gregory of Nyssa, of which Nasrallah would then have had to overlook *On Making Man*, since he does not list no. 1553 under that title). It is otherwise difficult to explain why his no. 1551 and no. 1553 have the exact same date, 1839 CE, which they also share with **E**. Even if **E**'s two parts were bound separately when Nasrallah consulted them, each part has a colophon with the date, so that he could reasonably assign the date to each of the two. We can thus with some confidence propose the identification **E** I = no. 1551, **E** II = no. 1553.

The other two, Nasrallah's no. 1546 and no. 1557, are more difficult to sort out. It would be natural to consider them to be the two parts of **D**, except that he assigns no. 1557 the date 1879 CE (a suspect date since it is typographically similar to '1839') and says that both no. 1546 and no. 1557 contain Basil's *Hexaemeron* (while no. 1546 also contains Gregory's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron* and no. 1557 also contains Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*). [This raises the possibility that if **D** was in two parts when Nasrallah saw it, the more recent title page in **D** I (on the flyleaf, before the original title page, which latter is the only one I include in the list of contents below) might have led Nasrallah to believe that **D** I (which, in this scenario, he would have called no. 1557) contained *both* Basil's *Hexaemeron* and Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*: يشتمل هذا الكتاب المبارك على مجلّدين الآتي ذكرها. الاول: كتاب تفسير ستة ايام الخليقة لأبينا النبيل في القديسين باسيليوس الجليل العظيم. الثاني: كتاب لأبينا القديس غريغوريوس اسقف نيصص اخي القديس الكبير باسيليوس في خلقة الانسان وشرف معانيه. Then, seeing **D** II, which ends in Gregory's *Apologia*, clearly labeled as such with running headers, Nasrallah might have called it no. 1546, mistakenly noting that its other text was Basil's *Hexaemeron* (rather than Gregory's *On Making Man*).] Nasrallah assigned no date to his no. 1546, so if we ignore Nasrallah's date for no. 1557 and consider that a simple error might have led to the incorrect desecription of no. 1546's contents, the identification **D** I = no. 1557, **D** II = no. 1546 at least seems possible.

[51]Basil, *Hexaemeron*: title page (**D** and **E**, not in **B**) || *basmalah*, title and attribution (**B** 2 and **D** unnumbered, in **E** these appear on the title page) || table of contents (**B** 2, **D** unnumbered, not in **E**, which places tables of contents before each homily) || §1 (**B** 9, **D** I.1, **E** I.[1]: in **E**, the corner of the page where the page number would have been is damaged) || §2 (**B** 23, **D** I.18, **E** I.15) || §3 (**B** 35, **D** I.33, **E** I.28) || §4 (**B** 48, **D** I.49, **E** I.40) || §5 (**B** 58, **D** I.61, **E** I.50)

1. Basil's *Hexaemeron*, with *basmalah*, title and attribution, table of contents, followed by the nine homilies
2. Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, with *basmalah*, title and attribution, proem, table of contents, followed by the text itself in 31 sections, each called a *bāb*; and
3. Gregory of Nyssa's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*, presented in all three manuscripts as *bāb* 32 of *On Making Man*.

D has running headers, much like a modern printed book. These indicate an awareness that Gregory of Nyssa's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron* is a text separate from his *On Making Man*: on pages containing Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 1–31, the headers read "A Book on the Creation of Man / by Saint Gregory bishop of Nyssa,"[52] while on pages containing what is presented as section 32 of *On Making Man* (but is actually Gregory of Nyssa's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*), the headers read "Gregory's Apologia (*iḥtijāj*) for [or sent to?] His Brother Peter / about the Creation in the Six Days."[53]

I have not systematically collated the three manuscripts, but the collated passages discussed in this chapter (see texts with apparatus below) are enough to show that

1. **B** is an apograph of **D**, and
2. **D** and **E** are probably mutually independent witnesses.

Together, these two imply the following stemma: $\alpha \to \mathbf{E}, \alpha \to \mathbf{D} \to \mathbf{B}$, where α is a common ancestor of **D** and **E**.

The evidence for the first claim is as follows. To begin with, textual variants suggest that B is a direct descendant of D: I have encountered no instance in which **B** is correct while **D** is in error, except for trivial orthographical 'errors' which **B**'s scribe might easily have corrected; otherwise, **B** always follows **D**'s errors.[54] At the same time, **B** includes additional errors which are independent of **D**.[55] At one point, **B**'s error is best explicable by the layout of **D**'s text, in which the hanging tail of a *mīm* (م) on the line above intrudes precisely where **B**'s text has an additional *alif* (ا).[56]

This does not on its own prove that **B** is an *apograph* of **D** (rather than merely a descendant), but there are also a number of scribal errors in **B** which are best explained by supposing that **B**'s scribe was copying directly out of **D**. These errors all result from **B**'s accidental skipping or repeating of lines, permitting a reconstruction of the line breaks in the scribe's exemplar. I present

|| §6 (**B** 73, **D** I.79, **E** I.64) || §7 (**B** 93, **D** I.103, **E** I.82) || §8 (**B** 105, **D** I.117, **E** I.93) || §9 (**B** 123, **D** I.138, **E** I.108). — Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*: title page (**D** and **E**, not in **B**) || *basmalah*, title, attribution and proem (**B** 142, **D** unnumbered, **E** II.1) || table of contents [including mention of "*bāb* 32," which is in fact Gregory of Nyssa's *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*] (**B** 144, **D** unnumbered, **E** II.3) || §1–31 (**B** 147, **D** II.1, **E** II.5). — Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia on the Hexaemeron* [presented in all three manuscripts as *bāb* 32 of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*] (**B** 241, **D** II.110, **E** II.86).

[52] e.g., **D** II.108–109: كتاب في خلقة الانسان - للقديس غريغوريوس اسقف نيصص.

[53] e.g., **D** II.110–111: احتجاج غرغوريوس لاخيه بطرس - عن الخليقة في الستة ايام (كذا).

[54] Such orthographical errors include **D**'s خطً for خطأً and ذاء for ذا. The former type of 'error' is so widespread as to be considered an alternative orthographical convention. **B** and **D**'s shared errors include: ذو for ذا (**B** 81_{17-19}); وكان for وإن كان (ḤLIF 4, D, see ch. 3, p. 154).

[55] e.g., الكواكب for كوكب, **B** 84_{13}; تصوره for تصوروه.

[56] **B** reads وافي instead of the correct وفي in the passage on the stars (Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.4), printed on 127.

here several of these errors, printing the Arabic text common to both manuscripts, along with words in **B** which have been crossed out (marking such erasures with 'blackboard-bold' brackets, ⟦...⟧), but then with line breaks (marked, for clarity, with a slash, '/') corresponding to **D**'s line breaks (*not* **B**'s).

At Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 9, *faṣl* 11 (**B** $132_{\triangle 1}$–133_{1}, **D** 148_{19}), the scribe of **B** skipped a line in his exemplar before realizing the mistake and crossing out the prematurely copied words:

فامّا البهايم المفسدة فقليلة الولد، ومن هاهنا صارت اللبوة /
⟦حيايها إلا بعد ان يخزقه⟧ بالكاد ان تاتي بشبل واحد، لانه حسبما يزعمون ولا ينزل من /
حيايها إلا بعد ان يخزقه. . .

The erased text in **B** begins precisely where **D** has a new line and corresponds to the beginning of the line which follows it in **D**. A similar phenomenon appears at Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 9 (**B** $164_{\triangle 7\text{-}\triangle 6}$, **D** $\text{II}.19_{22\text{-}24}$) and Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 12 (**B** $172_{12\text{-}14}$, **D** $\text{II}.30_{15\text{-}17}$): in both cases the beginning of erased text in **B** again corresponds to the beginning of a line which is two lines (rather than one) below in **D**; i.e., here too **B**'s scribe skipped a line in an exemplar whose line breaks correspond to those of **D**.

At Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 26 (**B** $212_{\triangle 6\text{-}\triangle 4}$, **D** $\text{II}.78_{3}$), on the other hand, the scribe of **B** accidentally began to repeat the line he had just copied, then crossed it out:

كذلك فعل الرب لموضع صغر نفس البشرية، لم يزل يغدوها ويربيها /
⟦كذلك فعل الرب لموضع صغر نفس البشرية⟧ فجا إلى. . .

Here, we can reconstruct one whole line of **B**'s exemplar precisely, for it must begin with كذلك (since that is where the crossed-out portion begins) and run until ويربيها (right before the beginning of the crossed-out portion); therefore, the exemplar's full line must read: كذلك فعل الرب لموضع صغر نفس البشرية، لم يزل يغدوها ويربيها. And indeed, this corresponds precisely to one line in **D**.

Other examples of such errors, even where they do not constitute independent proof of this relationship, are nevertheless consistent with the claim that **B** is an apograph of **D**. At Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6, *faṣl* 11 (**B** $81_{19\text{-}21}$, **D** $89_{9\text{-}10}$), for example, is this error:

وقسموا كل واحد من هذه ⟦الدرج الى ستين دقيقة⟧ الاثنى عشر قسماً، يعني كل برج، الى/
ثلثين درجة، وجزوا كل واحد من هذه الدرج الى ستين دقيقة

It may seem a stretch to claim that the scribe's eye skipped *mid-line* to the line below, but in this particular case it is plausible because the phrase كل واحد من هذه appears on both lines in **D**, and كل in the second line is lined up with هذه in the first. Likewise, in a scholion to Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1, *faṣl* 1 (**B** $14_{15\text{-}16}$, **D** $7_{14\text{-}16}$),[57] **B** commits this error:

شكل معوج، وذكروا ان هذه الاسما قديمة لاناس قدماء، امّا زحل /
فكان ⟦الشمس⟧ ملك على المصريين، وامّا المشتري فعلى الاسيريون، وامّا /
الشمس. . .

Could **B**'s scribe have jumped to the next line in his exemplar after copying only one word from the line he was on? Again it might seem unlikely, but it is explicable from the fact that he had just

[57] ḤLIF 5; for the text of this scholion, see ch. 3, pp. 158ff.

mistakenly copied that first word of the line (فكان) as وكان, after which he corrected the mistake by connecting the *waw*'s tail to the following letter (to approximate the *fāʾ* letter shape) and adding a dot above the *waw*. Since this issue would have distracted him for a moment, making him pause in his work, it is plausible that when he resumed copying, he accidentally began at the beginning of the wrong line. In short, the line-skipping evidence overall strongly supports the hypothesis that **B** is an apograph of **D**.

The second claim, that **D** and **E** are probably mutually independent witnesses, is a more tentative one. While **D** and **E** each contain non-trivial errors which the other does not contain, implying that they are mutually independent, **E**'s strong tendency to emend the text (especially to improve its grammar) makes it difficult to find clear instances where **D** has a rejected reading and **E** has a preferred reading *which could not have been produced by a correction* on the part of **E**'s scribe.[58]

There is other, though equally tentative, evidence that **D** and **E** are independent: a marginal note (actually in the margin, unlike the "marginalia," *ḥawāshī*, ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl), probably quite late, at **E** 34 on Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 3, *faṣl* 5 (partly clipped):[59]

> ليس هو بحر اوكستس بل بحر اوكيانوس الذي [. . .]. الصقالبة هم الروس. ونهر الدانوبيـ[ـس] هـ[ـو. . .] المشهور[1]. يعني منايـر هركل بـ[ـ. . .]. بحر البنطس هو بحر الاسود. ومـ[ـ. . .] بالرومية اي لان حافاته جمـ[ـ. . .] وساحله مجوف كالبحر [. . .].
>
> It's not the *ʾwksts* [read: Ifksinus][60] but rather the sea of Ocean (*Ūkiyānūs*), which [...]. The Slavs[61] are the Rūs. The Danube (*Dānūbīs*) is [...?] the well-known[62] [...]. He means the lighthouses of Hercules (*Hirkal*) [...]. The Sea of Pontus is the Black Sea (*baḥr al-aswad*). And [...] in Rome, i.e., because its edges (*ḥāffāt*/*ḥāfāt*) are [...] and its shore is hollowed out, like the Sea [...].

This is clearly a list of separate glosses; each of them is labeled with a different mark which also appears at the appropriate place in the text, a bit like modern footnotes. **B** 41 and **D** 40 have an anonymous inline scholion (labeled a "marginalium," *ḥāshiya*) at a nearby spot, just a few lines down: يعني منايـر هرقل ببلد الاندلس. This is one of the glosses in **E**'s list of glosses, on the

[58]**E**'s errors independent of **D** include: omitting لها in ليس هو لها بالقوة (ḤLIF 4, C, see ch. 3, p. 153); ولا for لا (ḤLIF 4, D, see ch. 3, p. 154). For examples of **D**'s errors independent of **E**, see **B** and **D**'s shared errors in n. 54.

[59]I thank Michael Cooperson for several corrections and suggestions in my reading of this marginal note.

[60]In the main text, it is spelled افكستس, an error for *Ifksinus* (افكسنس, not attested), i.e., Εὔξεινος. **B**: اوكسيس. **D** 40_{12}: اوكسينس. The shift from *fāʾ* to *waw* probably reflects an attraction to the name 'Ocean,' as this gloss itself would seem to confirm (although it also has the effect, probably coincidental, of producing a pronunciation closer to the Erasmian system of Greek pronunciation).

[61]*Ṣaqāliba*. For the use of Greek ethnic terms in Arabic (sometimes following the ancient Greek and Byzantine practice of referring to contemporary peoples by the ancient names of peoples occupying the same territory, sometimes using contemporary names to refer to ancient peoples, the latter especially in translations of ancient Greek texts into Arabic), see Gotthard Strohmaier, "Völker- und Ländernamen in der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungsliteratur," *Philologus: Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption* 118, no. 1 (1974): 266–271, where the case of 'Slavs' in particular is discussed; cited by Dols, in ʿAlī Ibn Riḍwān, *Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Ridwan's Treatise 'On the prevention of bodily ills in Egypt'*, ed. Adil S. Gamal, trans. Michael W. Dols, introduction by Dols (UC Press, 1984), 102 n. 15.

[62]Reading *al-mashhūr* (as Michael Cooperson has suggested), not *al-mashhūd*.

[1]المشهور: وقد يُقرأ: المشهود

Pillars of Hercules, here called the "lighthouses" (*manā'ir*) of Hercules, since Ibn al-Faḍl translates Basil's "ἔξω Στηλῶν" here (Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 3.6, MR 48_8) as "*khārij al-manā'ir*." Hercules' name is spelled in two different ways: هرقل (**BD**) versus هركل (**E**). This and the fact that **B** and **D** do not contain any of the other glosses in **E** at this point further suggests the independence of **D** and **E** (and is consistent with **B**'s dependence on **D**) — although again, only tentatively.[63]

Also, where **D** has Greek characters but an incorrect transcription of a Greek word, *kākrīfānī*, as mentioned above,[64] **E** I.118_6 has the correct transcription, *kākrīfālī*, but no Greek characters. This is no proof of independence, since as already mentioned, **E**'s scribe frequently emended the text especially to bring it closer to Classical Arabic grammar. Such a scribe could be imagined to have looked up the Greek word in a lexicon (it was the nineteenth century after all) and corrected the text accordingly. The simplest explanation, however, would be that **E**'s exemplar had the correct transcription.

On the other hand, there is one piece of evidence that speaks against the mutual independence of **D** and **E**, suggesting that **E** is, in fact, dependent (directly or indirectly) on **D**. In one of Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia, all three manuscripts read *lā ilā nihāya*, a phrase which I believe should be emended to *ilā lā nihāya*, "ad infinitum." In **D**, the word *lā* was initially omitted by the scribe and then later added in in the same hand; in this case, the error could easily have been produced by the scribe hastily inserting the word on the wrong side of the word *ilā*. In **E** (as in **B**), the word *lā* appears as a normal part of the text.[65]

All three manuscripts are very late. Nevertheless, the clear attribution (even if it derives from a late archetype from which all three manuscripts directly or indirectly derive) and my analysis of the translation style in §IV below lead me to consider T1 to be the work of Ibn al-Faḍl. The scholia carefully labeled in all three manuscripts with Ibn al-Faḍl's name (and so distinguished from other scholia, labeled simply "*ḥāshiya*") seem even more likely to be authentic, distorted only by the process of textual transmission and not by a redactor's pen, since the tradition has taken unusual care to set these scholia apart from the text and label them with Ibn al-Faḍl's name.[66]

T2 and unidentified manuscripts

There are four manuscripts which I know to contain T2:

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[63] In one case, **E** has a *ḥāshiya* in the margin, and **D** has the same *ḥāshiya* as an inline 'marginalium': in Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6.1 (**D** 81, **E** 67, *faṣl* 2), at عظمها ملائم الكل, there appears an anonymous 'marginalium' (*ḥāshiya*) which reads: "In the saint's [Basil's] opinion, its [the sun's] magnitude is equal to that of the world all together" (على رأي القديس إن عظمها يعادل العالم أجمع). In **E**, it appears in the margin, while in **D**, it appears in the text.

[64] p. 89.

[65] See the text printed in ch. 3, on pages 150–151, including the apparatus.

[66] Some of these scholia explain the process of translation, as if they were penned by the translator. Furthermore, other translations by (or at least attributed to) Ibn al-Faḍl have similar scholia, suggesting that it was Ibn al-Faḍl's habit to make relatively long notes in the margins of his translations — and that at least some of these copies with autograph notes were preserved by the tradition. In other words, the evidence is all consistent with the authenticity of these scholia (we need only posit that an early transmitter who knew that he/she was working with a copy containing Ibn al-Faḍl's autograph notes took the trouble to copy the notes and label them neatly — and that subsequent scribes saw no reason to suppress the name). The hypothesis that the scholia are later forgeries ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl would seem highly unlikely, for while it is easy to add a name to the head of a work, it would be an elaborate forgery indeed which invented scholia with false attributions; in this case, such an effort would seem unmotivated. The more moderate hypothesis that these scholia were tampered with between the 11th and 18th centuries should be considered.

1. Vat. Borg. ar. 153 (= **G**/غ; 14th century)
2. Paris ar. 134 (= **P**/پ; 15th century)
3. Sinai ar. 270 (= **S**/س; 1625 CE)[67]
4. a manuscript at Dayr al-Baramūs

The last of these I have not inspected, but I infer its existence from the transcription published in 1998 by Father Augustine al-Baramūsī, a Coptic monk at the Monastery of Baramūs (or Barāmūs) in Wādī Naṭrūn,[68] who has gone on to publish further texts from the monastery's manuscripts: John Chrysostom's homilies on Genesis (1999), Matthew (2000), and John (2001).[69] Baramūsī drew the text for his publication of Basil's *Hexaemeron* and Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* in Arabic from a manuscript at Dayr al-Baramūs, making his own corrections to the text in order to standardize the Arabic.[70] Baramūsī's text of the Arabic *Hexaemeron* is taken from a single Baramūs manuscript, which he calls simply 'al-Iksaymārūs' (which is presumably taken from the title page).[71]

The Baramūs manuscript contains T2 of Basil's *Hexaemeron* and the same version of Gregory's *On Making Man* as the one contained in T1 and T2 manuscripts.[72]

Beyond these manuscripts, it is likely that two Cairo manuscripts contain T2:

6. Cairo CP 351 (13th century):[73] the earliest of these manuscripts.[74]

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[67]Sam Noble kindly pointed me to an online reproduction of this manuscript, which, as he informed me, often has better readings than Paris ar. 134.

[68]See n. 19 on page 85.

[69]Ughusṭīnūs al-Baramūsī, ed., *Sharḥ ayyām al-khalīqa al-sitta li-l-qiddīs Bāsīliyūs al-kabīr, wa-Khilqat al-insān li-l-qiddīs Ghrīghūriyūs usquf Nīṣuṣ*, Silsilat Kunūz makhṭūṭāt al-Baramūs 1 ([Cairo]: Dār Nūbār, 1998). (I first became aware of this reference from a query made by Gregor Schwarb on the NASCAS listserv, October 2, 2013.) Whereas in earlier publications he bore the title 'priest' (*qiss*), by 2001 he had become an 'archpriest' (*qummuṣ*). An online biographical entry on him notes that he is a monk (أبونا الراهب القمص أغسطينوس البراموسي) at Dayr al-Baramūs (الرسامة على الراهب) where he was (and perhaps still is?) responsible for the monastery's library (المسئول عن مكتبة الرهبان بدير البراموس في نهاية القرن العشرين وبداية القرن الحادي والعشرين :دير البرموس بوادي النطرون، مصر): http://st-takla.org/characters/monk-father/alif/oghostenos-elbaramosy.html, accessed 17 April 2015.

[70]Ibid., 11. Speaking generally about the Baramūs manuscripts which, as he announces, he will be publishing in a new series, Baramūsī writes: "Perhaps you may hope to see or possess a manuscript, and now your wish has been realized, that is, by our publishing some of the manuscripts of Dayr al-Baramūs after carefully reading over them and presenting them in sound language" (لعلك تتمنى أن ترى مخطوطة أو أن تمتلكها، والآن قد تحققت أمنيتك، وذلك بنشرنا بعض مخطوطات دير البرموس بعد تنقيحها وعرضها بلغة سليمة).

[71]Ibid.: "The book before you now consists of [which I take to mean 'is a transcription from'] a manuscript by the name 'al-Iksaymārūs' by Saint Basil the Great which I undertook to read over carefully and present, as you will see" (الكتاب الذي بين يديك الآن هو عبارة عن مخطوطة بإسم (كذا) «الإكسيماروس» للقديس باسيليوس الكبير، قمت بتنقيحها وعرضها كما سترى). The vocalization 'Iksaymārūs' is closer to the Greek than 'Iksīmārūs' (as Maria Mavroudi pointed out to me) but Baramūsī's gloss of the word in a footnote suggests he assumed the latter pronunciation (اكسيماروس = اكسى = ستة، ماروس = يوم، أى أن اكسيماروس = ستة أيام، وهى كلمة يونانية). He seems to equate اكسى (*iksī*) with the modern Greek form of the word 'six,' έξι.

[72]As shown by a comparison of the opening lines of each text in Baramūsī's edition with **P** and **D**. Basil T2: **P** 7^{v} ~ Baramūsī, *Sharḥ*, 18. Gregory T1/T2: **D** II, verso of the unnumbered title page ~ Baramūsī, *Sharḥ*, 68.

[73]Graf, *Cat. mss. ar. chr. Caire*, 132. Nasrallah; Graf. 233 folios. Naskhī.

[74]I base my guess that it contains T2 upon the fact that it contains a preface which appears from Graf's catalogue entry to be the same preface which **P** contains, on how Basil died before completing the work, which Gregory of Nyssa finished and sent to their brother Peter.

7. Cairo CP 380 (23 February 1798):[75] Graf's catalogue entry reads, "Hexaëméron, par les saints Basile et Grégoire. (Voire 351)," implying that it has the same version of the Hexaemeron, since he saw both manuscripts.

Concerning the rest of the manuscripts, I do not currently have enough information to determine which translation they contain.

T3: Jurayj ibn Yuḥannis al-Rarāwī
One manuscript,

1. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 1381 (= Vienna, ÖNB, ar. 2137; ?15th century)[76]

preserves the Hexaemeron translation made by a Coptic monk of Dayr Abū Maqār.[77] Already in 1981, Fedwick raised the possibility that a third translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* was extant,[78] pointing to Loebenstein's fairly detailed 1970 catalogue entry for this manuscript.[79] A digital reproduction of parts of the manuscript including the colophon has allowed me to confirm that this is indeed a third, distinct translation. It has also become clear that Loebenstein's catalogue entry contains several errors which obscure the significance of this translation.

After listing both Basil's *Hexaemeron* and Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, Loebenstein reports, "The Coptic monk Jarīḥ [*sic*] ibn Yuhannes ar-Rarāwī translated the work" — presumably both Basil's and Gregory's — "in the year 964 in the monastery 'Dayr Abū Maqār,' into Arabic."[80] Loebenstein derived this information from the colophon, on f. 76[r], which reads as follows (see figure 2):

> كمل الميمر التاسع بسلام الرب آمين، وبكماله تمّ الاكسايمارس الذي للمعلم العظيم القديس باسيليوس الكبير، أسقف قيسارية قبادوقية، وهو تسعة ميامر بأمان من الله آمين.
>
> غفر الله لمن فسّره جريج بن يحنس الرراوي من صا من القبطي إلى العربي في دير القديس بومقار في سنة أربع وستين وتسع(؟) مائة للشهداء الأطهار.
>
> The ninth homily (*maymar*) is completed, by the Lord's peace, Amen. By his perfection, finished too is the *Hexaemeros* (*Iksāʾīmārus*) which is by the important teacher Saint Basil the Great, bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, and which contains nine homilies, by God's mercy, Amen.
>
> May God forgive the one who translated/interpreted (*fassara*) it, *Jurayj* b. Yuḥannis al-Rarāwī,[81] from Ṣā, *from Coptic* into Arabic, in the monastery of Saint Būmaqār [Makarios], in the year four and sixty and ?nine hundred *of the Holy Martyrs*.

[75]Graf, *Cat. mss. ar. chr. Caire*, 144. Nasrallah; Graf. 260 folios. Date given in Coptic calendar (18 Amshīr 1514 *anno martyrum*).

[76]Date from Loebenstein, *KAHÖNB Neu I*, 61.

[77]See n. 19 on page 85 above.

[78]Fedwick, "Translations…of Basil," 486.

[79]Loebenstein, *KAHÖNB Neu I*, 60–61.

[80]Loebenstein, *KAHÖNB Neu I*, 60: "Der koptische Mönch Ǧarīḥ ibn Yuhannes al-Rarāwī übersetzte das Werk im Jahr 964 in dem Kloster 'Dayr Abū Maqār' in das Arabische."

[81]Zarāwa is a Khurasani toponym, according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1977), vol. 3, p. 136: زَرَاوَة: بفتح الواو: من نواحي طوس بخراسان.

Figure 2: Colophon of Jurayj's translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* (T3), Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 1381, f. 76^{r}, appearing between Basil's *Hexaemeron* and Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*. [Reproduced in this dissertation with the kind permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.]

In the second paragraph, I highlight three crucial points (italicized). First, there can be no doubt that the monk's name is Jurayj (جريج) and not Jarīḥ (جريح). George is a more plausible name, and furthermore the colophon's clearly reads Jurayj (the only difference between the two words being a single dot — which is clearly present in the manuscript). The translator was George, son of John.

Second, the colophon states that the translation was made "*from Coptic* into Arabic," of which only the last part does Loebenstein report. The reason becomes clear when one considers that she calls him "the Coptic monk Jarīḥ" etc., presumably interpreting the word 'Coptic' (*al-qibṭī*: masculine form) as an adjective describing the translator. This is an easy mistake to make because in Classical Arabic the word when describing the Coptic language would take on the feminine form (*al-qibṭīya*). However, in the vernacular, the masculine form was (and is) the ordinary way to refer to a language; indeed, the word for 'Arabic' (*al-ʿarabī*) is a parallel masculine form.

Another factor is the somewhat obscure phrase which appears immediately before the phrase "from Coptic": *min Ṣā*. Loebenstein appears to have read the following word *min* as part of the same phrase, as if it were '*min Ṣāmin*,' thus freeing up *al-qibṭī* to describe the translator. But the most plausible reading of this phrase is as a reference to the translator's origins in the town of Sais (Greek Σάϊς, Arabic *Ṣā*), in the Nile Delta not far from Dayr Abū Maqār.[82]

[82]K. Jansen-Winkeln, *NP*, s.v. "Saïs" (10.1234), who notes that it was a bishopric already in the fourth century and "remained important for the Coptic church until the end of the 11th century." See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, vol. 3, p. 387. It may be objected that *min Ṣā* is a strange formulation where one would expect a *nisba* toponymic. One possible answer to this would be that perhaps a *nisba* adjective was not typically formed from the name Ṣā, an ancient Egyptian name. Yāqūt does not mention a *nisba* from Ṣā. The *nisba* Ṣāwī is, however, used today as an Egyptian surname, as Michael Cooperson pointed out to me. Indeed, already in the 12th century it was used, for

Finally, the date. The only difficult reading is the word I have rendered (in agreement with Loebenstein) as 'nine.' It carries the consonantal skeleton corresponding to بع but with no dot. This is not a number. (Nor could it be an *abjad* numeral.) It seems most likely that this skeleton resulted from the scribe writing 'nine' (تسع) with a 'toothless' *sīn* written as a simple line (such as appears to be used in the previous word ستين). All that needed to happen was for the scribe to shorten the line so much that it came to look like there was no letter there at all (as clearly happened in the word للشهدا directly below) — for which a possible motive is the fact that the left margin was coming up fast, and the scribe still wanted room to write 'hundred' (مائة). Much less likely is that the scribe meant to write one of two other numbers containing this skeleton: 'four' (اربع), 'seven' (سبع); these would require the scribe to have actually omitted one or two entire consonants.

Nevertheless, let us consider all three options: 464, 764, and 964. But according to what era? As the colophon tells us, it is the Era of the Martyrs (Anno Martyrum), which counts from the beginning of Diocletian's reign (284 CE) and is a standard Coptic era.[83] This would make the three options: Anno Martyrum 464 (= 748 CE), 764 (= 1048 CE) , and 964 (= 1248 CE). Since the last is by far the most plausible on the basis of the script, we may hypothesize that the translation is to be dated to *c.*1248 CE (not, as Loebenstein seems to imply, in 964 CE). This would place Jurayj squarely within the 'Coptic Renaissance' of the thirteenth century, a time when Coptic scholars like Ibn al-ʿAssāl held *Coptic* versions of texts (rather than Greek originals) to be more authoritative than contemporary Greek versions in circulation.[84]

The translation includes all nine homilies, although the manuscript is missing many folios. Its title began with the words *Tisʿat mayāmir*, and the word Ἑξαήμερον was transcribed as الأكسايمارس. This form, equivalent to the Greek Ἑξαήμερος with a *sigma*, may imply that Jurayj's translation has an affinity with the G-manuscripts of the Greek tradition, since the title in one of those is given as "Ἑξαήμερος τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου…"[85]

Jurayj's translation refers to each homily as a *maymar* (a loanword from Syriac *memar*, *memro*), rather than a *maqāla* (T1) or a *qawl* (T2).[86] But it does not have much affinity with the Syriac version. For example, the Syriac title for the work — at least the version edited by Thomson — does not use a title which transcribes the word Ἑξαήμερον/Ἑξαήμερος; instead, it reads (referring to the first homily): "Homily of Saint Basil the bishop on the Six Days (of Creation), which he delivered in the Holy Week of Easter."[87]

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example in the name of the "Avicennan logician" ʿUmar ibn Sahlān al-Ṣāwī (d. 1148): see Tony Street, "Arabic and Islamic Philosophy of Language and Logic," in *SEP*, §1.4.3.

[83]Loebenstein seems to have ignored the phrase *li-l-shuhadāʾ al-aṭhār* (which appears in the same hand in the space between this line and the next): by placing the translation "in the year 964" without specifying an era, she implies that the year is according to the Common Era/Anno Domini (or, in the context of an Arabic manuscript catalogue, possibly the Hijrī era).

[84]MacDonald, "Ibn al-ʿAssāl," 375–6.

[85]The manuscript with this title is G1: Bas.*Hex.* MR, 1. I thank Maria Mavroudi for suggesting that this form of the title might help link the translation with a specific part of the Greek manuscript tradition. While the title is not enough to link T3 definitively to the G-manuscripts, such a scenario would fit a picture in which the Atticizing version represented by G-manuscripts was produced in Constantinople and projected abroad — in this case first into Coptic, and then, in the thirteenth century, from Coptic into Arabic.

[86]See n. 119 on page 106.

[87]Bas.*Hex.* syr. Thoms., vol. 1, p. 1: *memro dmor(i) Basilyus efisqofo ʿal eštoṯ yawme, dmalleleh bšabṯo rabṯo dfaṯire.*

As for Jurayj's translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, it *also* appears to be distinct from the one which both T1 and T2 manuscripts contain, as I judge from comparing the *incipit*s. Jurayj's translation begins: لو كان الموضوع لمن اعتلا في العبادة, as contrasted with: لو يمكن ان يكرم اولوا الفضيلة الزائدون فيها.[88] A bit further along is Jurayj's فهذه الهدية هي كلام نسخناه مثل كسوة من قبل فقر قلوبنا، وليس من غير تعب ("This gift is speech which we copied, like a set of clothes [*kiswa*], from the poverty of our hearts, and not without toil"), as contrasted with والهدية فهي قول فقير منسوخ{ـا} من فكرنا المسكين الحقير بالتعب والنصب الكثير.[89]

III T1, T2 and the Greek manuscript tradition

Textual variants

We are in a particularly good position to evaluate how the Arabic *Hexaemeron* translations relate to the original Greek manuscript tradition because of the extraordinarily thorough study of the latter by Mendieta and Rudberg, which served as the prolegomena to the same authors' equally thorough edition of the Greek text.[90] Their study encompasses all known Greek manuscripts of Basil's *Hexaemeron* copied before the year 1600 (over 120 of them), with a focus on those containing a more or less complete text of all nine homilies, especially the eleven manuscripts which became the basis for their edition.[91] They provide detailed manuscript descriptions to supplement the often laconic catalogues which mention them. Because the manuscript tradition of this text is exceptionally unwavering in its transmission of the text (presumably because it was important to scribes to produce as accurate a copy as possible of this authoritative text), Mendieta and Rudberg wisely do not venture to produce a complete *stemma codicum*.[92] Instead, they divide the tradition into two "branches," which they further divide into "groups," whose peculiar characteristics they describe. Branch 1 contains groups A through D; branch 2, groups E through I.[93]

Where, then, does the Arabic translation associated with Ibn al-Faḍl (T1) fit into this picture? To find out, we may compare the Arabic text to passages where the Greek manuscripts have revealing variants. These variants must be different enough to produce a recognizable difference in the translation — a condition which narrows the list of candidates considerably.[94]

Let us begin with the branches. At the very end of Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 3.10 (MR 56_{19}), after ᾧ πᾶσα δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις, νῦν καὶ αεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς, branch 1 (A1 A2 A3 B1 B2 C1) has αἰῶνας, while branch 2 has σύμπαντας καὶ ἀτελεύτους αἰῶνας (E1 E2 E3 G1 G2) or σύμπαντας καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας (G8).[95] Arabic T1 (**B** 47, **D** 48, **E** 40) here reads: الذي يليق به كل تسبيح وسجود الآن ودايماً وإلى آباد الدهور

[88]Jurayj: f. 76^{v}, quoted by Loebenstein, *KAHÖNB Neu I*, 60. Cf. **D** II, reverse of title page (unnumbered), line 10.

[89]Jurayj: f. 77^{r}, quoted by Loebenstein, *KAHÖNB Neu I*, 60. Cf. **D** II, reverse of title page (unnumbered), lines 17–18. The corresponding Greek reads: "Τὸ δὲ δῶρον λόγος ἐστὶν οἷον ἱμάτιόν τι πενιχρὸν ἐκ τῆς πτωχῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας οὐκ ἀπόνως ἐξυφασμένον" (G.Nyss.*opera* Forbes, vol. 1, p. 102 = PG 44.125B).

[90]M/R, *Basile*; Bas.*Hex.* MR. They had previously edited the Latin *Hexaemeron* translation: Eust.*Bas.Hex.*Lat.

[91]M/R, *Basile*, 1, 7–8.

[92]Ibid., 4.

[93]Ibid., V–VI (table of contents).

[94]Mendieta and Rudberg sometimes report variants only for the eleven manuscripts used to produce their edition (A1 A2 A3 B1 B2 C1 E1 E2 E3 G1 G2), although at other places they report more. In what follows, I will report some readings of G8 (Athens, Greek National Library, gr. 320, which I consulted in March 2014) not reported by Mendieta and Rudberg.

[95]M/R, *Basile*, 19; plus G8.

كلها التي لا نهاية لها[1]. Here, الدهور ~ *αἰῶνας*, كلها ~ *σύμπαντας*, and التي لا نهاية لها ~ *ἀτελεύτους/ἀτελευτήτους*. Although **E** omits the last element, it is clear that T1 agrees here with branch 2. This is a particularly significant variant, since the branch 1 text is a standard closing formula, to which branch 2 and T1 add; it is unlikely that a translator working with the branch 1 text would have added the same extra phrase. T2 (**P** 39^{r}_{8-9}) is missing the extra phrase (as well as the *νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ*): فله المجد والسجود والعزّ والإكرام إلى آباد الدهور آمين, aligning it with branch 1.

On the other hand, Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 8.8 (MR 143_{21}) is ἃ πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν οἱ Σῆρες in branch 1, and the same in branch 2 except that ὑμῖν ("to you") has become ἡμῖν ("to us").[96] Arabic T1 (**B** 120, **D** 135, **E** 107): مما يهديه لكم الدود. Here, T1 would seem to agree with branch 1, although from the context (and knowledge of the common confusion between the homophonous ὑμῖν and ἡμῖν), it would be easy to imagine Ibn al-Faḍl himself emending a branch 2 text to end up with the correct reading, "to you." Moreover, one of the Greek branch 2 manuscripts, G8, also carries what Mendieta and Rudberg call the branch 1 reading (ὑμῖν), so that perhaps this variant is not as clear an indicator of branch affiliation as Mendieta and Rudberg suggest: Ibn al-Faḍl's exemplar might well have contained this reading even if it belonged to branch 2.

Other variants distinguishing the two branches which Mendieta and Rudberg list may be too similar in meaning to register any diagnostic difference in the Arabic. Of these, two may at least hint at an answer. First is the variant παρέσχε (branch 1) versus παρέσχετο (branch 2) in Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6.9 (MR 105_{21}). The Greek reads: "πηλίκη δέ σοι κατεφάνη μία τῶν μυριοφόρων ὁλκάδων λευκοῖς ἱστίοις ὑπὲρ κυανῆς κομιζομένη θαλάσσης, εἰ μὴ πάσης περιστερᾶς μικροτέραν σοι παρέσχε/παρέσχετο τὴν φαντασίαν;" ("How large did one of the 10,000-measure-bearing [i.e., high-capacity] ships with white sails, carried upon the dark-blue sea, appear to you, if it did not present [or, middle: present as its own] to you the appearance of nothing so much as a dove?").[97]

Arabic T1 (**B** $88_{\triangle 11-\triangle 10}$, **D** 97_{11-12}, **E** $78_{\triangle 2-\triangle 1}$) reads: كيف تستبين لك بعض المراكب الموْسَقة[2] السايرة فيه بقلوعها، إنْ لمْ يكن ذلك في هيئةٍ ألطفَ من الحمامة ("How does one of the loaded ships appear[98] to you sailing upon it [the sea] with its sails, if that [its appearance] is not in an appearance finer than a dove?"). The translation here is loose, transmitting the sense and not the phrasing of the Greek. May we nevertheless see in the phrase "how do the loaded ships appear to you" (*kayfa tastabīnu laka baʿḍu l-marākibi l-mūsaqati…*), and particular in the use of the *istafʿala*-pattern verb *tastabīnu* (as opposed to a transitive verb like *aẓhara* ~ παρέσχε, "display," with a direct object corresponding to *phantasia*), an echo of the middle voice of branch 2? Perhaps, but this is hardly decisive.

The other possibly helpful variant is Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6.8 (MR 103_{15}), περιφέρων (branch 2, including G8, f. 208^{r}) versus φέρων (branch 1). The Greek Ὅτι τὸ φῶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιφέρων/φέρων is translated in T1 as (**B** 87_{5-6}, **D** 95, **E** 77): لأنّها الوافدة بالضياء ("because it [the sun] is the bringer of light…"). The Arabic does not have anything corresponding to the sense of περι- ("around"). But on the other hand, it has also lost the sense of the light being something carried *within* the sun itself (ἐν ἑαυτῷ), so again this could just as easily be explained as the result of the translation's relative looseness.

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[96] M/R, *Basile*, 20.

[97] πάσης περιστερᾶς may be read to mean "nothing but a dove"; see LSJ s.v. πᾶς A.I.4. I quote the Greek text with my own punctuation.

[98] Feminine verb, although *markab* is masculine, by attraction to *marākib*, as Michael Cooperson suggested to me.

[1] التي لا نهاية لها: ب د؛ —ذ [2] الموْسَقة: ب د؛ الواسقة ذ

Altogether, then, T1 would appear to correspond to branch 2, but the evidence is inconclusive. With this in mind, let us now turn to a comparison of T1 to the two early groups into which branch 2 is divided, the E and G groups.[99]

Of the eleven manuscripts, dating to the ninth and tenth centuries, which Mendieta and Rudberg used in their edition (A1 A2 A3 B1 B2 C1 E1 E2 E3 G1 G2), I found T1 to have the closest affinities with E1 and G2, but neither was the sole exemplar from which T1 was translated. Along the way, I also found evidence to suggest that T2 has most affinity with the A-group of manuscripts (A1 A2 A3).[100] The variants I examined are the following.

1. *T1: affinity with B1 E1 E2 E3 G2 (plus G8). T2: affinity with A1 A2 A3 B2 C1 G1.* At Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 8.2 (MR 131_7), after χελιδόνες, only B1 E1 E2 E3 G2 (plus G8, f. 213^r) do *not* add the phrase εἰσίν, οὔτε βαδίζειν οὔτε ἀγρεύειν δυνάμεναι, continuing instead with the following phrase: καὶ αἱ δρεπανίδες λεγόμεναι.[101] Arabic T1 also lacks the addition, reading simply (**B** $109_{\triangle 4}$, **D** 122_{12-13}, **E** 98_{8-9}): كالخطاطيف والمسمّاة اذرابانيظس[1] أي المنجليّة, in agreement with B1 E1 E2 E3 G2 (plus G8). In contrast, the other translation T2 (**P** $84^r{}_{1-2}$) contains this redundant extra phrase: فلا يمكنه أن يمشي ولا يتهيأ له أن يتصيّد مثل الخطّاف، فإنه لا يقدر أن يمشي ولا يتصيّد، ولذلك الطيور المسمّاة درابانيدس[2], associating it with A1 A2 A3 B2 C1 G1 against T1.

2. *T1 and T2: strong affinity with A1 A2 A3 B1 E1 G2.* A more telling variant is at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 8.8, at the end of the homily, where after ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, A1 A2 A3 B1 E1 G2 (but not G8) add τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.[102] This minor and innocuous addition also appears in the Arabic T1 (**B** 122_{16-17}, **D** 137_{8-9}, **E** $108_{\triangle 4}$): يسوع المسيح ربّنا. This, along with the previous passage (at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 8.2), indicates affinity with E1 G2 (and, if we include branch 1, B1 as well). T2 (**P** $92^v{}_3$) follows this Greek reading too (although in a different word order): بربّنا يسوع المسيح. Along with the previous passage, this would seem to indicate that T2 has a particular affinity with A-group manuscripts.[103]

3. *T1: strong affinity with G1 G2, made from different Greek exemplar than T2.* Still, it seems clear that the translator was reading a G-manuscript or one closely related now lost or unknown. At Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6.7 (MR 100_3) τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν, G1 G2 (but not G8) have inverted this pair.[104] Tellingly, Arabic T1 follows G1 G2's inverted reading تسيء وتحسن,

[99]These two are the only branch 2 groups used in Mendieta and Rudberg's edition. F is a "contaminated Vulgate recension"; H is the "late Byzantine recension"; and I includes the "completely contaminated manuscripts." See M/R, *Basile*, V–VI.

[100]My method was not exhaustive. I looked through the example variants presented by Mendieta and Rudberg to demonstrate the existence of the groups they propose, choosing variants likely to yield different Arabic translations. These I compared to the corresponding Arabic passages, proceeding by process of elimination to narrow the possible exemplars. A complete collation of Arabic T1 and T2 with the edition might yield a more definitive understanding of where these two translation fit into the Greek tradition — if not, the potentially enormous task of comparing the Arabic texts with manuscripts *not* used for the edition, especially those from the E and G groups and the contaminated manuscripts of I, beginning with those no later than the 11th century (E4–E11, G3–G5, I1–I2 and Sinai gr. 329) would surely yield exact results. Lists of E, G and I manuscripts are at M/R, *Basile*, 130–1, 194, 248.

[101]M/R, *Basile*, 111.

[102]M/R, *Basile*, 114; G8, f. 216^r.

[103]Since the union of the set {A1, A2, A3, B1, E1, G2} with the set {A1, A2, A3, B2, C1, G1} is {A1, A2, A3}.

[104]M/R, *Basile*, 122; G8, f. 207^v.

[1]اذرابانيظس: صحته؛ اذرايانيظس ب د؛ ادريانيطس (أو: ادريانيطسن؟) ذ [2]درابانيدس: صحته؛ درابييدس پ، إلا أن الباء بلا نقطة

as in (**B** 84$_{13}$, **D** 92$_{15}$, **E** 75$_{6}$; *faṣl* 13): انها في[1] غاية البهيمية إذ تسيء وتحسن على نظام، نعم ويزعمون أن الكوكب[2] إذا حصل في الموضع الفلاني يكون سعدا. Such a harmless variant makes it seem highly likely that a G- or related manuscript was the translator's main exemplar.[105] T2 (**P** 65$^{v}_{11–12}$) reads: فكيف لا يكون من البهيميّة إلا يعطي الخير والشرّ لمن يستحقه بل يأتي ذلك من موضع حصل منه السعد, following the majority reading (الخير والشرّ ∼ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν) against T1. This particular variant strongly suggests that T1 and T2 are translations made from different Greek manuscripts.

4. *T1: an inconclusive variant.* The variant σπέρματα at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6.7 (MR 101$_{2}$), changed to σπέρμα in E2 E3,[106] is of little help because the Arabic at this point (**B** 85$_{9}$, **D** 93$_{11}$, **E** 75$_{\triangle 2}$) is not a literal translation, with يزرع for σπέρματα/σπέρμα καταβάλλων.

5. *T1: neither E1 nor G2 was the sole exemplar; possible affinity with G8.* At Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 7.5 (MR 122$_{6}$), in the phrase ὁ τῆς φύσεως δεσμός (the reading of most of the eleven manuscripts, as well as G8),[107] δεσμός became θεσμός in A3 and νόμος in E1 G2. Here the Arabic T1 (**B** 101$_{12}$, **D** 112$_{19}$, **E** 90$_{13}$; *faṣl* 6, beginning) follows neither of these variants, but rather the majority reading of δεσμός: رباط الطبيعة. It is conceivable that a translator with θεσμός in his text might have chosen to emend it to the phonetically similar δεσμός, but νόμος does not lend itself so easily to such an emendation. We can thus tentatively eliminate the possibility that Ibn al-Faḍl's exemplar, or at least sole exemplar, was E1 or G2. The other Arabic translation, T2, could have supplied this correct reading, since it here reads (**P** 78$^{v}_{14}$): فهنّ فرباط الطبيعة (although the second *fa-* seems to be a corruption in **P**). Because at least two G-manuscripts (G1 plus G8) have δεσμός, it is also possible that Ibn al-Faḍl's Greek exemplar was a G-manuscript with this reading.

6. *T1: more evidence that neither E1 nor G2 was the sole exemplar.* Again, T1 follows the majority reading against E1 and G manuscripts at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6.5 (MR 96$_{8–9}$) κειμένους, which became κινουμένους in E1 G1 G2 (as well as all G manuscripts, 1–12, except for G7 which has a lacuna at this passage).[108] Arabic T1 (**B** 80$_{\triangle 2-\triangle 1}$, **D** 88$_{13}$, **E** 72$_{2–3}$; *faṣl* 10, end) — اذا ما اجتمعت بالكواكب التي في فلك البروج — makes no mention of movement and so would seem to agree with the majority reading. This is a relatively easy correction to make and could also easily result from a paraphrase of the E1 G reading; but it might also result from the translator consulting a Greek manuscript other than E1 G — or, again, one containing T2. T2 here reads (**P** 63$^{r}_{10–11}$): ان حركات الكواكب، اذا وافقت[3] كواكبَ[4] اخرى في نطاق فلك البروج ("that the movements of the stars/planets, when they agree with other stars/planets on the belt of the celestial sphere of the Zodiacal mansions [i.e., the Zodiac]"). [109]

[105] After all, if a G-manuscript were used secondarily, as a manuscript against which to collate the translator's main exemplar, it is unlikely that such a minor variant would be adopted, or even noticed.

[106] M/R, *Basile*, 112.

[107] G8, f. 211^{v}, lower half of the page.

[108] M/R, *Basile*, 122: "G7 deest hic."

[109] This is, incidentally, a good illustration of the differences between T1 and T2: where T2's rendering is somewhat awkward (*wāfaqat* to express ἐπιπλοκή, "entanglement; connection; union"; and the verbose *niṭāq falak al-burūj* to express τῷ ζῳδιακῷ, in which *niṭāq*, "belt," refers, superfluously, to the Zodiac's shape), T1 displays care in the choice of the Arabic terms (*ijtamaʿa bi-*, a more common way to describe planetary conjunctions; *falak al-burūj*, the standard

[1] انها في: د ذ؛ —ب لأنه جاء في منتصف سطرٍ أسقطه ب [2] الكوكب: د ذ؛ الكواكب ب [3] وافقت: تصحيحي؛ واقفت پ [4] كواكبَ: تصحيحي؛ كواكبٍ پ

7. *T1: possible affinity with A2 C1 E2.* Another ambiguous variant is at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6.6 (MR 98_7) προετικὸς ("lavish"), preserved in A2 C1 E2, which became προεκτικὸς ("holding out" or "offering") in A1 A3 B1, προσεκτικὸς ("attentive") in B2 E1, προαιρετικὸς ("powerful of will") in E3 G1, and προεστηκὼς ("standing at the fore," i.e., "acting as chief/leader") in G2.[110] Basil has been mocking the belief held by astrologers that the characteristics of the creatures depicted by the constellations (in this case the Ram) determine human traits. In this passage he continues with the ram's traits: "Ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλόφρων, ἐπειδὴ ἡγεμονικὸν ὁ κριός· καὶ προετικὸς [or other variants] καὶ πάλιν ποριστικός, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῷον τοῦτο καὶ ἀποτίθεται ἀλύπως τὸ ἔριον…"[111] The Arabic in T1 (**B** 81_{17-19}, **D** 90_{11-12}, **E** 73_{13-14}) has been rearranged to put the explanations after the list of traits; the latter reads: إنّ فلاناً يكون… عالي الهمّة، جواداً، ذا[1] مروءة وفتوّة. We have: عالي الهمّة ∼ μεγαλόφρων, جواداً ∼ προετικὸς/etc., and ذا مروءة وفتوّة ∼ ποριστικός. To which of the Greek variants does جواداً ("generous") correspond? The only two which are possible are προετικὸς and προεκτικὸς,[112] and the former, the reading of A2 C1 E2, seems much more likely.

To summarize: T1 shows considerable affinity with G2 (= Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana, gr. 17, later 10th century?).[113] This suggests that Ibn al-Faḍl's main Greek exemplar was part of or closely related to the G-group of manuscripts identified by Mendieta and Rudberg, which contain a "purist, Atticizing recension" of Basil's *Hexaemeron.* On the other hand T2, upon which Ibn al-Faḍl's T1 is based, had most likely been made from a Greek exemplar quite different from the G-manuscripts, in the other of two main branches of the tradition which Mendieta and Rudberg observed.

In the recension of the G-manuscripts, every effort has been made to adjust Basil's spelling, word-forms, article and particle usage, etc., to approximate it to that of fifth/fourth-century-BCE Athens. Mendieta and Rudberg cautiously hypothesize this recension may have been produced during the Macedonian Renaissance, in the ninth or tenth century (no later, since the earliest

term for the Zodiac). T1's overall effect is clearer and more elegant. Astronomical terminology in the translations will be discussed further below.

[110] M/R, *Basile*, 196. For definitions, see LSJ s.vv.; for προεκτικὸς see Lampe s.v.

[111] "But [they also say he will be] high-minded, since the ram is [an animal] capable of leading; and lavish and again able to supply, since this animal painlessly [or: harmlessly] stores up wool…" Incidentally, this is the passage which Bidez showed to have verbatim overlap with an astrological text contained in an 11th-century Greek manuscript: Joseph Bidez, "Le traité d'astrologie cité par saint Basile dans son Hexaéméron," *L'Antiquité classique* 7 (1938): 19–21. From this we may conclude that the very text which Basil mocked in the fourth century was still being read in Ibn al-Faḍl's time.

[112] Of which neither is the reading of any of the G-manuscripts: M/R, *Basile*, 196.

[113] The dating of this manuscript is somewhat controversial; see M/R, *Basile*, 128. I have not yet seen G2 or a reproduction of it. It contains the *Large* Hexaemeron Corpus. According to Mendieta's detailed paleographical and codicological study, G2's scribe (who was also its illuminator and owner) was named Joseph. Joseph copied the text in a fine minuscule (but with a number of uncial forms) of the second half of the tenth century, and, in addition to the lemmata and scholia in uncial letters, also added his own prayer to Saint Basil in twelve lines of twelve-syllable verse and a prayer to the Trinity. Though the location of copying is unknown, Mendieta imagines it might have been "one of the great monasteries of Constantinople." It ended up in the possession of the collector Filippo Sauli (1498–1528), bishop of Brugnato (not far from Genoa), and then eventually made its way to the Biblioteca Franzoniana in Genoa. See ibid., 126–9; that Mendieta studied this manuscript is noted there on p. 126, n. 2. Quote at p. 128, n. 2.

[1] ذا: ذ؛ ذو ب د

G-manuscript, G1, is dated to the ninth/tenth century).[114] Later G-manuscripts like G2 and G3 give evidence of further Atticizing revisions.[115]

When their provenance can be guessed at, they seem to be mostly from southern Italy or Sicily, with several earlier ones from Constantinople.[116] Mendieta and Rudberg conjecture that the "purist" recension represented by the G-manuscripts was produced in Constantinople as part of a classicizing revival. It seems possible then that its diffusion in the newly reconquered *western* territories of the Byzantine empire was the result of a concerted Byzantine policy of emanating this and other texts abroad — in a particular 'edition' — meant to project an image of Byzantine cultural superiority and close ties to a prestigious past, both Hellenic and Christian. If Ibn al-Faḍl should turn out to have used a copy of this recension to revise an existing Arabic translation, it would be further evidence of a Byzantine policy of radiating specific 'editions' of Greek texts abroad, not only westward, but also to the east.[117]

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[114]Ibid., 194–5.

[115]M/R, *Basile*, 195.

[116]Provenance of G-manuscripts: G1 (Vat. gr. 2053, end 9th/beginning 10th c.) has "very close kinship with G2" (p. 123). 'Italo-Greek' provenance, parchment, minuscule (p. 124). It is a "splendid volume" (p. 125). Mendieta and Rudberg assert that the evidence suggests that G1 "was copied in a Greek monastery of southern Italy, probably — at least partially — based on a model from Constantinople" (M/R, *Basile*, 126: "Tout ce que l'on peut affirmer au sujet de la provenance de ce manuscrit «basilien» c'est qu'il fut copié dans un monastère grec d'Italie méridionale, probablement — en partie du moins — sur un modèle venu de Constantinople"; they cite Robert Devréesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, Studi e Testi 183 [Vatican City, 1955], 36).

G2: the scribe's name was Joseph; "we are ignorant of its provenance," but perhaps it was copied at a Constantinopolitan monastery: "On peut penser à l'un des grands monastères de Constantinople qui possédaient une équipe de calligraphes" (M/R, *Basile*, 138 and n. 2).

G3 (Athos, Dionysiou, gr.72 = 6 = Lambros 3606; parchment, 10th century): ibid., 198–9 discuss the minuscule but don't hazard a provenance, nor does Lambros's laconic catalogue entry: Spyridon P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols. (Cambridge UP, 1895-1900), vol. 1, p. 326.

G4 (parchment, 10th century), now in Venice, was brought to Venice as part of the collection of Cardinal Bessarion, so it must by then have dwelt in Constantinople, but Mendieta and Rudberg do not hazard a provenance for this one either: M/R, *Basile*, 201.

G5 (end of 10th or beginning of 11th century), now in Florence; closely related to G11 (15th c., in Madrin now), probably directly descended from G2 (10th c., in Genoa); Mendieta and Rudberg conjecture a Southern Italian ("Italo-Greek") or Sicilian provenance on paleographical/codicological grounds (p. 203): ibid., 202–4.

G6, 12th c., probably copied on Athos, and probably a direct descendant of G3 (both are now at monasteries on Athos): ibid., 204–5.

G7 (at Vatican, 12th century, parchment): an "Italo-Greek manuscript" (ibid., 205–8). As Mendieta learned from Ciro Giannelli, this manuscript is paleographically/codicologically very similar to Vat. gr. 1601 and 2017 — all being part of the "same Italo-Greek calligraphic school"; their partial collation shows that G7's text has much affinity with G5 (another Italo-Greek ms): M/R, *Basile*, 207.

G8 (paper, 13th c.), provenance is from the Dousikon Monastery, near Meteora in Thessaly: ibid., 208–10, esp. 209.

The rest are probably too late to provide much information on the tenth-/eleventh-century diffusion of this recension (ibid., 210, 212, 215, 217): G9 (in Madrid, parchment, 14th c.), G10 (at Oxford, mainly paper, 14th c.), G11 (in Madrid, paper, 15th c.), G12 (in Milan, paper, 15th c.). I thank Maria Mavroudi for suggesting I look into the provenance of these manuscripts.

[117]Ibn al-Faḍl's translations, moreover, move away from the literal method — meant to carefully reproduce the meaning of the original text — to a more stylized Arabic translation than the earlier translation upon which he based his own. This approach is analogous to the application of a classicizing Greek style to Basil's *koinē* text in the version preserved in the G-manuscripts. Both approaches (to translation and transmission, respectively) move away from a concern with absolute fidelity to the original, preferring a text which captures the sense while appealing to an educated reader's tastes.

Section divisions

T1 and T2 contain the same section divisions, which do not correspond to the divisions in the modern editions of the Greek text.[118] In all versions (including the modern edition), the text is divided into nine homilies. The Greek calls each a "homily" (ὁμιλία); T1, a *maqāla*; and T2, a *qawl*.[119] Within each homily, the Greek tradition contains no *consistent* divisions, although many manuscripts include marginal lemmata, executed at the same time as the main text and often numbered, to provide for easy reference to particular passages of the work, effectively dividing it up. As for the Arabic tradition, all manuscripts I have consulted, whether they contain T1 or T2, have the same, consistent system of section division within each homily. They are labeled as "sections" (*fuṣūl*, sg. *faṣl*), often with a brief description of the contents of that section.

T1's section divisions derive from T2's. The following two examples from Homily 5 may serve to illustrate this. As is often the case for short section headings, that of Homily 5, *faṣl* 10, is identical for T1 and T2 (other than T2's additional reference to the homily number, which it contains while T1 consistently lacks it): T2 (**P** 54^{r}) reads الفصل العاشر من القول الخامس في اختلاف النبات, while T1 (**D** 72) reads الفصل العاشر في اختلاف النبات. *Faṣl* 8 of the same homily has a longer heading; in this case the texts of T1 and T2 are related but not identical. T2 (**P** 52^{r-v}) reads

> الفصل الثامن من القول الخامس في ان الورد كان في الاوّل بغير شوك وردٍ (كذا) على من قال إنه كان بغير أمر البارئ شجر لا ثمر[1] لها وليست لها حبوب تُزرَع

while T1 (**B** 65, **D** 69, **E** 58) reads

> الفصل الثامن في أنّ الورد كان اوّلاً بغير[2] شوك، وَرَدٌّ[3] على من قال إنه قد[4] كان بغير أمر البارئ أشجار[5] غير مثمرة وما لها بزرٌ يُزرَع

The tables of contents in T1 (**B** 4, **D** unnumbered, **E** 51) have a slightly different text:

> الفصل الثامن في أنّ الورد كان في الأوّل بغير شوكٍ، وردّ على من قال إنه[6] قد كان بغير أمر البارئ أشجارٌ غير مثمرة وما لها بزرٌ يُزرَع

Differences between T1, T2, and the T1 table of contents:

1. T2 +من القول الخامس
2. T2 and T1 table of contents في الاوّل, versus T1 اوّلاً
3. T1 and T1 table of contents +قد (although this could be **D**'s later addition)
4. T2 شجر لا تمر لها, versus T1 and T1 table of contents أشجار غير مثمرة

[118] That T1 shares T2's section divisions is another observation which I owe to Sam Noble.

[119] Or a *maqāla*: **S** uses the word *maqāla*, while **P** uses *qawl*. Since between the two of them *maqāla* is the preferable term in Arabic, while on its own *qawl* is a perfectly reasonable translation of Greek ὁμιλία, it seems that *qawl* would be the *lectio difficilior* as it were and so more likely to be the original term used by the T2 archetype. — All three terms imply that the discourse was spoken.

[1] ثمر: تصحيحي؛ تمر پ [2] بغير: ذ؛ بلا ب د [3] وَرَدٌّ: ورداً ب؛ وردّاً د؛ فأثبتّه من «ذ» (وردٌّ) ومن فهارس المخطوطات الثلاث، «ب» و«د» و«ذ»(ص ٥١)، ففي كل فهرست منها: وردّ. وأشكر الأستاذ كوبرسون على تنبيهه إياي إلى صواب ما في «ذ». [4] قد: ب د؛ — ذ [5] أشجار: ذ؛ أشجاراً ب د [6] إنه: ب د؛ ان ذ

5. T2 وليست لها حبوب تُزرَع, versus T1 and T1 table of contents وما لها بزرٌ يُزرَع

The T1 table of contents agrees with T1's text in all cases but one, so it can be safely treated as a variant of T1's text.

Clearly either T1's title here is derived from T2's or the other way around, since the differences are fairly minor. The last two differences suggest that T1's section label is derived from T2's. Number 4 seems to derive from T1's desire to refer not only to one fruitless tree but to all of them, and to replace the simple expression "which have no fruit" (*lā thamra lahā*) with the more sophisticated-sounding "fruitless" (*ghayr muthmira*). In number 5, more tellingly, T1 replaces the somewhat inelegant *wa-laysat lahā* with *wa-mā lahā* and the term *ḥubūb* (grain, seed) with the word *bizr* (seed), with a stronger connotation of cultivation, to go with the following word "which is sown" (*yuzraʿ*/*tuzraʿ*).[120] But the resulting phrase in T1 is actually more awkward than T2, even ungrammatical: where T2 reads "against the one who says that without the Creator's command there was a tree which has no fruit and has no grains/seeds to be sown," T1 has: "against the one who says that without the Creator's command there were fruitless trees *and* which have no seed to be sown." In other words, T1 has retained the connector *wa-* (and) in T2, but by changing the first relative clause *lā thamra lahā* to the an attributive adjective *muthmira*, T1 has obviated the need for that connector to lead to the second relative clause.

Of course, the section headings might well have been added later in either translation. For example, we might imagine that the recension of T1 represented by the three manuscripts I have been consulting contains section divisions inserted by a scribe who was consulting a copy of T2. On the other hand, the simplest explanation is that the section headings and divisions are due to T2, and Ibn al-Faḍl simply adopted them for his own translation, T1.

Could the Arabic headings derive from a Greek manuscript? The particular section heading I have just presented confirms that T1 and T2 are too similar to have derived, independently, from Greek lemmata. Nevertheless, a complete understanding of the section divisions will require a close study of the Greek tradition as well. I have not consulted enough of the Greek manuscripts to know whether there are manuscripts whose section divisions correspond precisely to those used in T1 and T2 (some of those which I have seen seem to correspond roughly and occasionally to these divisions, although I have undertaken no systematic study even of these).[121]

It should be noted that T2's section habit of quoting the verse being discussed at the beginning of each homily puts it in affinity with A-group Greek manuscripts. Although I have not carried out a systematic comparison, we may look to Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 2 (MR 21) as an example. There, the words περὶ τοῦ· ἀόρατος ἦν ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος were added to the title in A1 A3. Corresponding to that is T2's القول الثاني: في أنّ الأرض كانت غير مُبصَرة ولا مُهَندَمة (**P** 17^{v}). T1 has a similar text: المقالة الثانية: في قول الكتاب الالهي: فأمّا الأرض فكانت غير مُبصَرة ولا مهندمة (**D** 18).

Scholia in T1 and the Greek tradition

As for Ibn al-Faḍl's exemplar, there is even more reason to believe that it was G2 (= Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana, gr. 17) or a related manuscript: the scholia.

[120] *bazara* means "to sow."

[121] For example, I have briefly consulted Vat. gr. 408 (Mendieta/Rudberg's C1), which contains numbered lemmata, but whose lemmata do not quite match up: Homily 8, for instance, contains 30 lemmata, whereas T1 and T2 divide the same homily into 25 *fuṣūl*.

The comments labeled *ḥāshiya li-Ibn al-Faḍl* or simply *ḥāshiya* in manuscripts of T1 were probably in the margin in an earlier manuscript (whether the exemplar, or one of its ancestors), to judge from the fact that they interrupt the text, often mid-sentence (e.g. **B** 218–219): the notes were in the margin, and then a scribe moved them into the main text at whichever line which was next to the beginning of each marginal note. Comments labeled simply *ḥāshiya* were almost certainly *not* written by Ibn al-Faḍl — see especially the one on **B** 218–219, which makes clear that it was written by "the copyist of this book," which probably does not mean the scribe of **B**, since it interrupts the text mid-sentence, but rather the scribe of an earlier, possibly much earlier, manuscript.

In T1, at the beginning of some homilies, there is also additional prefatory material which in one case is ascribed explicitly to Ibn al-Faḍl. A quick survey of **D** shows that at the beginning of homilies 4 and 8, T1 contains brief texts about the homily not found in the Greek original (although it is possible that some Greek manuscripts include them as lemmas), nor in T2 manuscripts. **D** leaves them anonymous, while **E** ascribes them to Basil himself (perhaps accidentally, since at the beginning of all homilies it inserts *qāla al-mufassir*, "the exegete said," so that there may have been no intention to ascribe these specific texts to Basil). I believe they are most likely the work of Ibn al-Faḍl. The heading of homily 6 presents an alternate translation of the Bible verse, which might also have been inserted by Ibn al-Faḍl. Then, at the beginning of homily 5, there is a note explicitly ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl, but not called a *ḥāshiya*. It explains how he arranged his version of the homily, in comparison to "the Greek" (and so, implicitly, in contrast to the non-Greek version he was working from as well, i.e., the Arabic text).[122]

Cheikho, Graf and Nasrallah all refer to Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia and other additions, and Cheikho published one of the scholia in full.[123] Nevertheless, these additions, most glaringly the scholia, have remained otherwise unstudied, to my knowledge. In chapter 3, they will allow us to consider how Ibn al-Faḍl interpreted (and taught) Basil's work. It turns out that they are also philologically relevant, for at least one of them is based on a Greek scholion in G2.

When the trail of variants discussed above led me to believe that Ibn al-Faḍl used G2 or a closely related manuscript as his main exemplar, I consulted Mendieta and Rudberg's description of the manuscript. There I learned that G2 is one of several manuscripts containing "doxograph-

[122]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 5, **D** 61: قال عبد الله ابن الفضل ⌜مترجم⌝ (د، المترجم: ذ) هذا الكتاب، انما ترجمتُ هذا الفصل على ترتيب اليوناني، ليأتي ⌜التفسير⌝ بعده (د، –ذ) فيوضحه. Ibn al-Faḍl appears to be saying that in this homily, Basil's explication will be preceded in each case by the scriptural quote he discusses. This is curious, because that seems to be how the text is arranged throughout. Perhaps he is simply referring to his convention of presenting the Bible verse (قال الكتاب الالهي) followed by Basil (قال المفسر). — A comparison to **P** reveals that **P** seems to be missing the repeated Bible quotes (not all of them, only some of them); this must be what Ibn al-Faḍl is referring to: perhaps he inserted extra repetitions of already-cited Bible verses to make sure they would come right before Basil explained something about them. — Incidentally, this comparison also yielded results relevant to the question of section divisions: **P** is missing the heading (but not the text falling under it) of *faṣl* 4, which should come after the last line of f. 49^{v} and the first line of f. 50^{r}. Also, **P**'s *faṣl* 6 (50^{r}) begins where T1 is still in the middle of *faṣl* 5, at **D** 66_{12}, **E** $55_{\triangle 5}$ (لعلك).

[123]See chapter 3, n. 89 on page 157 below. Cheikho notes that Ibn al-Faḍl added "numerous explication, wherever he saw a need" (لكنه اضاف عليه شروحاً عديدة كلَّ ما رأى إلى ذلك حاجةً); Louis Cheikho, "Al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya fī khizānat kullīyatinā al-sharqīya: aʿmāl al-ābāʾ (tatimma)," *al-Mashriq* 7 (1904): 678. Cheikho seems to have mistaken some passages by Basil for explications by Ibn al-Faḍl, for he continues: "and he [Ibn al-Faḍl] introduces these explications with the words 'a marginal comment by Ibn al-Faḍl' or 'the exegete said'" (وهو يقدّم هذه الشروح بقوله «حاشية لابن الفضل» او «قال المفسر»); the latter, however, does not introduce Ibn al-Faḍl's comments, but rather the speech of the exegete *whom he is translating*, that is, Basil.

ical" glosses and scholia (mostly to Homily 1) which were partially edited by Pasquali.[124] When I read through Pasquali's edition of these scholia, I discovered that one of them, no. 14, is the basis for part of one of Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia.[125] The Greek scholion is contained in four manuscripts, including G2 (Paquali's 'G').[126]

Two of the others (A3 and B8) are part of branch 1 (A3 and B8), while as shown above, Ibn al-Faḍl's Greek exemplar (or one of them) must have had more affinity with branch 2. The fourth manuscript containing scholion no. 14 is E6. This reinforces the impression given by the partial collation of the Arabic translations with Mendieta and Rudberg's edition of the Greek that Ibn al-Faḍl used a Greek exemplar with particular affinity to G-manuscripts (or possibly E-manuscripts).

Other Hexaemeron Corpus texts in the Arabic manuscripts

Finally, it should be mentioned that all manuscripts of the Arabic Hexaemeron which I have consulted contain the same translation of the other two works in the Normal Hexaemeron Corpus, regardless of whether their translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* is T1 or T2. Are these translations the work of Ibn al-Faḍl, as Graf and Nasrallah assumed? If so, why do T2 manuscripts contain them? Was there no previous Arabic translation of these available? (But if this is the case, why did the scribe of a manuscript like **P**, containing T2, choose to include Ibn al-Faḍl's translations of those two works but a different translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*? Would that imply that Ibn al-Faḍl's translations of the three works were circulated separately, rather than together as is most frequent in the Greek manuscript tradition?) Or if they are not the work of Ibn al-Faḍl, does that mean that Ibn al-Faḍl did not translate those two works at all? If so, why? Because the existing translations were satisfactory while that of Basil's *Hexaemeron* was not? Such questions can only be answered with further work on these texts. For now, my hypothesis is that Ibn al-Faḍl is the author of these translations as well, based on the stylistic comparison below.[127]

One passage in the Arabic version of the second text in the Normal Hexaemeron Corpus provides some evidence of how Arabic manuscripts of the Hexaemeron Corpus (whether they contain T1 or T2)[128] relate to each other. This passage appears in all T1 and T2 manuscripts which I have consulted within the translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, set apart from the main text; it is absent from Gregory's Greek original. It has been inserted into the middle of the Arabic's *bāb* 9, a point that corresponds, confusingly, to where the printed Greek text places the end of §8 and the beginning of §9.[129] In T2 manuscripts, the inserted passage is called an "extra

[124]Giorgio Pasquali, "Doxographica aus Basiliusscholien," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1910, 194–228; cited by M/R, *Basile*, 128.

[125]ḤLIF 5, section D, see ch. 3 on pages 160–161, where there appears a demonstration of this dependence.

[126]The other three are: B8 [Pasquali's y] = Vat. gr. 1857, probably the beginning of the 14th century (M/R, *Basile*, 72); E6 [Pasquali's O] = Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci gr. 228, end of 10th/beginning of 11th century (not, argue Mendieta and Rudberg, 12th century as H. Coxe thought; M/R, *Basile*, 138–41); and A3 [Pasquali's F] = Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, gr. IV.27, parchment, mid 10th century (M/R, *Basile*, 27–9). This scholion, then, is attested by witnesses from both 'branches' of the Greek manuscript tradition, and a variety of groups within them, including two 10th-century and one 10th/11th-century manuscript; the groups they represent each contains a 9th/10th-century manuscript or, in the case of the A-group, a 10th-century manuscript; see ibid., 8–9. This would imply that the scholion's terminus ante quem is the 9th/10th century, assuming no contamination between Greek manuscripts, or else the 10th century, if the possibility of contamination is admitted.

[127]pp. 136ff.

[128]I omit discussion of the single T3 manuscript here.

[129]This is because there is a disjunct here between the Greek and the Arabic section divisions: the Arabic places the beginning of *bāb* 9 earlier than the printed Greek text places the beginning of §9; in particular, the Arabic begins

chapter" or "explication" which derives from "the Antioch copy," being labeled as follows:[130]

> هذا باب[1] زائد في النسخة الأنطاكية غير موجود في عدد الأبواب[2] التي تقدمت في الفهرست، فيه تفسير لما تقدم[3].
>
> This is an extra chapter [*bāb*, another manuscript calls it a *sharḥ*] in the Antioch copy which is not among the chapters enumerated above in the table of contents [i.e., at the beginning of the manuscript] and which contains an explication (*tafsīr*) of the preceding (discussion).

In T1 manuscripts, the same passage is simply labeled with the word "marginalium" (*ḥāshiya*), as if it was originally an anonymous marginal note which at some point was incorporated into the text. I present here a collation of all five manuscripts at this passage:[131]

> فإنّ[4] البارئ أعطى[5] الإنسان السلطان[6] على ذاته، والرئاسة والتمييز، وغير ذلك مما يؤول[7] بالانسان إلى رتبة الفضيلة. فيقال فيما[8] هذا[9] سبيله إنّ الله اعطاه ووهبه[10]. وأمّا قولنا: أنال، فإنّما يخصّ[11] به القوّات العقلية لأنّ العقل والنطق عريان[12] من الجسم، كما هما[13] في الملائكة[14]، فيمكن أن يقدِروا بالإيماء على دلالة ما ينهض إليه القول. وأمّا فينا نحن فاحتيج إلى آلاتٍ صوتيّة للغلظ[15] الذي في الجسم، حتّى يتبين[16] بها المعقول. وهذا[17] بحسب ظنّي على[18] ما ذكره داوود[19] النبي في باب الانسان، فقال: إنّك أَنْقَصْتَهُ قليلاً عَن المَلَائِكَة[20] أي من أجل غلظ[21] الجسم، لأنّه[22] لولا ذلك لقد كانت تكون[23] حاله[24] كأحوال الذين[25] لا جسم لهم في تقدّم المعرفة، ولقد كان يعرف ما يكون لأن الذين يقرّبون بالنّوال ولا[26] ينفصلون عن الكلمة الصادقة، فهم[27] في تقدمة المعرفة، والتقدم بالكلام فيها، بصورة مَن تقرّب[28] من حرارة الشمس والنار، فلا يخلو[29] من مشاركتهما[30] في حرارتهما[31].[32]
>
> For the Creator gave man power over himself (*dhātih*) and rulership, distinction (*tamyīz*), and other things which lead man to the rank of virtue/superiority (*faḍīla*). One says of this sort of thing that God 'gave' and 'granted' it. As for our phrase 'he causes [us] to obtain' (*anāla*), it refers specifically to the mental powers, because the mind and speech/rationality (*nuṭq*) is devoid (*ʿuryān*)[132] of the body, as they are in the angels. They [the angels] can by gesturing signal what speaking (*al-qawl*) aims at. In

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§9 where the Greek places the beginning of §8.8, "Now since man is a rational animal, the instrument of his body must be made suitable for the use of reason" (trans. NPNF GNyss, 394). The Latin translation follows the same section division as the Arabic at this point (see ibid., 394 n. 4). *Bāb* 9 is entitled (**P** 114^{v}): "on the fact that man's form (*shakl*) was created for us like the organ (*al-urghun*) for the sake of speech (*nuṭq*)" (الباب التاسع في أن شكل الإنسان إنّما خلق لنا مثل الأرغن من أجل حاجة النطق).

[130] **G** 127^{v}, **P** 115^{v}, following the words في حاجة آلاته إليهما.

[131] T1: **B** 163$_{\triangle 8}$–164$_{7}$, **D** II.20$_{16}$–21$_{5}$, **E** II.20$_{7\text{-}\triangle 7}$; T2: **G** 127^{v}–128^{r}, **P** 116^{r-v}. I thank Asad Ahmed, Michael Cooperson, and Maria Mavroudi for their suggestions and corrections to my edition and translation of this passage.

[132] The singular adjective *ʿuryān* (as Michael Cooperson has suggested to me) may perhaps be taken to apply to the closely-related concepts of *ʿaql* and *nuṭq*. I have accordingly translated this clause's predicate with a singular verb: "is devoid."

[1] هذا باب: پ، شرح وهو، غ [2] الأبواب: پ، الاول غ [3] تقدم: +ذكره غ [4] فإنّ: پ غ، اعلم أنّ ب د ذ [5] أعطى: ذ، اعطا ب د پ غ
[6] الإنسان السلطان: في ذ هتان الكلمتان مبدَّلتان، وفوق «السلطان» الرقم ٢، وفوق «الانسان» الرقم ١. [7] يؤول: ب د ذ غ، بورك پ [8] فيما: ب د پ غ؛ في ما ذ [9] هذا: ذ پ، هذه ب د غ [10] ووهبه: ذ پ غ؛ وأوهبه ب د [11] يخصّ: ب د پ غ؛ تُخَصّ ذ [12] عريان: ب د ذ پ؛ عربيان غ، ثم صحّحه صاحب متأخر للكتاب فكتب: عَرِيّانِ [13] هما: ب د ذ پ، هي غ [14] الملائكة: د پ غ (الملايكة)؛ المليكة ذ [15] للغلظ: ب د ذ غ؛ للغلط پ [16] يتبين: غ؛ يبيّن ب د ذ پ [17] وهذا: +هو ب د ذ [18] بحسب ظنّي على: ب د پ غ؛ على حسب ظنّي ذ [19] داوود: ب د پ؛ داود ذ غ [20] أَنْقَصْتَهُ قليلاً عَن المَلَائِكَة: د، أنقصته قليلاً عن الملايكة: ب، نقّصتَه عن المليكة: ذ، نقّصتَه قليلا من الملايكة: پ غ [21] غلظ: ب د ذ غ؛ غلط پ [22] لأنّه: ب د پ غ، فإنه ذ [23] تكون: —ذ
[24] حاله: ب د پ غ؛ احواله ذ [25] الذين: ذ پ غ؛ الذي ب د [26] ولا: ب د ذ، فلا پ غ [27] فهم: ب د پ، فهوغ؛ لهم ذ [28] تقرّب: پ غ؛ يقرب ب د ذ، وكل من الاثنين صحيح. [29] يخلو: ب ذ، يخلوا د پ غ [30] مشاركتهما: ب د ذ غ، مشاركتها پ [31] حرارتهما: ب د ذ غ، حرارتها پ [32]: +تم الشرح غ

us, however, vocal organs were required because of the coarseness (*ghilaẓ*) which is in the body, so that the intelligible might become clear by means of them. This is, I think, like what David the Prophet mentioned in the chapter on man (*fī bāb al-insān*), saying: 'You made him a bit less than the angels,'[133] that is, by virtue of the coarseness (*ghilaẓ*) of the body, because if not for that, he would have the same foreknowledge [or: be as pre-eminent in knowledge — *taqqadum al-maʿrifa*] as the incorporeal beings, and he would know what is to be (*mā yakūn*), for those who are brought close by the gift [*nawāl*, cf. *anāla* above][134] and are not separated from the true word are, in foreknowledge (*taqdimat al-maʿrifa*)[135] and in priority [or: pre-eminence] in speaking about it,[136] in the form of one who is close to the heat of the sun and fire, such that by necessity he partakes of its heat.

This passage, whose source I have not yet identified, associates the gift of foreknowledge with approaching angelic incorporeality (possibly drawing on the medical tradition, as the use of the term *taqdimat al-maʿrifa*, 'prognosis,' may indicate).[137] For now, it will serve the present philological purpose. As the apparatus shows, T1 manuscripts **D** and **E** are mutually independent witnesses to the passage; T2 manuscripts **P** and **G** are probably mutually independent, though less clearly so: in a number of passages, **P** has the accepted reading, where **G** carries a rejected reading, while only at one point does **P** seem to have an independent error, and a trivial one at that.[138] But since **G** is dated to the fourteenth century and **P** to the fifteenth century, it seems

[133] This is a quotation of Psalm 8.5 (LXX 8.6), "ἠλάττωσας αὐτόν βραχύ τι παρ' ἀγγέλους" (I thank Maria Mavroudi for pointing this out). (This same verse is quoted by Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Making of Man*, §17.) Among Ibn al-Faḍl's other translations, as noted in chapter 1, is his translation of the Psalter. Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this line reads (Vat. ar. 4 [1711 CE], ff. 6^{v}–7^{r}): أنقصته قليلا عن الملائكة — precisely the wording of the quotation in **B D**, whose reading I have accordingly preferred (see apparatus).

The same wording appears in Vat. ar. 468. The wording is slightly different in Vat. syr. 10, which contains Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic Psalter in Syriac script (with facing Syriac translation), and whose text at this point (f. 4^{v}) reads the same except with من instead of عن; the Syriac translation (which here at least corresponds to the Peshitta text) uses the same preposition, perhaps suggesting that the change to *min* from *ʿan* in the Arabic occurred under the influence of the Syriac text: *baṣṣartāy(hy) qalil men malakē*.

The concept of *nuqṣān* (being less than) can be expressed in Arabic with the preposition *ʿan* [as in *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *ġyḍ*: وقوله تعالى: وما تَغِيض الأَرحام وما تَزْدادُ، قال الزجاج: معناه ما نقَص الحَمْل عن تسعة أَشهر وما زاد على التسعة، وقيل: ما نقَص عن أَن يتم حتى يَموت وما زاد حتى يتمَّ الحَمْل]. On the other hand, the use of *min* in this phrase would be quite natural as well (as Michael Cooperson pointed out to me), since the verb *anqaṣtahu* implies a comparison, which is quite naturally expressed with *min*. For example, if one were to express the phrase "man is less than angels" by means of a comparative adjective with *min*, the result would be: *al-insānu anqaṣu min al-malāʾikati*.

Basil of Caesarea's *Homilies on the Psalms* (including those considered spurious), which Ibn al-Faḍl translated into Arabic (see ch. 1, p. 19, n. 50), do not include a homily on Psalm 8. But Basil's homily on Psalm 48 includes a reference to this passage; see ch. 1, on page 69. I have not yet consulted Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic translation of Basil's homilies on the Psalms.

[134] The phrase *yuqarrabūn bi-l-nawāl* in other contexts might also mean 'are brought close as is proper' or 'are given the gift of communion.'

[135] In the medical tradition at least, *taqdimat al-maʿrifa* is the technical term for prognosis, that is, foreknowledge; it was the title given to the Arabic translation of the Hippocratic *Prognostic* (see N. Peter Joosse, "A Newly-Discovered Commentary on the Hippocratic *Prognostic* by Barhebraeus: Its Contents and Its Place within the Arabic *Taqdimat al-maʿrifa* Tradition," *Oriens* 41, nos. 3-4 [2013]: 504, 506, 511).

[136] *taqaddum al-kalām fīhi*.

[137] See n. 135.

[138] This is at the end, where **P** refers to "the sun and fire" with the feminine pronoun *-hā* (which is reasonable

unlikely that **G** is an apograph of **P**. I will assume that they are mutually independent, an assumption made safer by the fact that their texts of Basil's *Hexaemeron* seem, from a first comparison, to be mutually independent.[139]

Let α be the common exemplar of T1 manuscripts **D** and **E** and β that of T2 manuscripts. Are α and β mutually independent? Again, the apparatus seem to indicate that they are. Sometimes α carries the better reading:

1. In the phrase: لأن الذين يقرّبون بالنّوال ولا ينفصلون عن الكلمة الصادقة، فهم. . . , β has فلا for ولا, an error due to a scribe expecting the *fa-* marking the apodosis; this *fa-* follows at the end of the quoted phrase, with "*fa-hum*."

2. α's reading for the Psalm quote (أنقصته قليلاً عن الملائكة) matches Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of this verse in his Psalter translation. Although we should be cautious here, since it is not firmly established that this text is from Ibn al-Faḍl's pen, this might represent a better reading than β's.

But sometimes β has the better reading:

1. β: وهذا. α: وهذا هو. This occurs in the phrase وهذا بحسب ظنّي... The pronoun *huwa* seems awkward and unnecessary.

2. β follows *bi-ṣūrati man* with *taqarraba min*, α with *yaqrub min*. Because the relative clause here is a general one, the *māḍī* verb is the more natural reading.

This lets us tentatively propose the following stemma for this passage: $\gamma \to \alpha, \gamma \to \beta, \alpha \to \mathbf{E}, \alpha \to \mathbf{D} \to \mathbf{B}, \beta \to \mathbf{G}, \beta \to \mathbf{P}$, where γ is the common ancestor (not necessarily exemplar) of α and β. (I should stress that this is only a hypothesis, especially since β's readings which I have preferred are not decisive in this matter.)

Now, as we already saw, β reports that the passage derives from an Antiochian codex, while α simply calls it a "marginalium" (*ḥāshiya*). On the other hand, β does not suggest that the passage was in the margins of the Antiochian codex; on the contrary, it describes it as being an "extra" (*zā'id*) passage, implying that it was not in the margin but in the main body of text — just as it is in α. One explanation would be that γ is the Antiochian codex (rather than its ancestor). γ's ancestor, then, would be the manuscript in which this *ḥāshiya* was actually in the margins, as its name suggests.

Alternatively, we may also suppose that γ had the passage in its margin and is the ancestor of the Antiochian codex, and that the Antiochian codex itself reproduced the passage in the main body of the text *without labeling it as a marginalium*. The scribe of α, then, comparing α's main exemplar to the Antiochian codex, would have noticed that that the latter contained this extra passage and so inserted it and labeled it accordingly.

In any case, a *terminus ante quem* for the passage is the date of **G** (14th century), the earliest descendant of γ I have consulted. However, the above discussion suggests that it is probably considerably earlier. Because it is an *Antiochian* codex, it is tempting to associate β's exemplar

enough, given that it could refer to either fire, *nār*, or the sun, *shams* — both feminine — alone), whereas all other manuscripts, including **G**, use the dual *-humā*: مشاركتهما and حرارتهما.

[139]At any rate, at the beginning of Homily 1, **G** (3^r) has a better reading بغير تاصل than **P**'s (9^r_3) وتغيّر تاصل.

for this passage — and possibly even the translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* itself — with the burst of translation activity which took place in eleventh-century Antioch, though this is by no means assured.[140]

IV The translations: style and vocabulary of matter

The clearest evidence for the relationship between the Greek, T1 and T2 comes from a comparison of the translations and the text themselves. Where T2 is fairly literal and inelegant, T1 aims at a stylistically elegant Arabic text, even while drawing heavily on T2. It is, however, clear that T1 is not based only on T2 but also on the Greek, since some T1's less literal adaptions of T2's translation would only be possible with a knowledge of the original text.

We should, however, consider the possibility that the relationship might be the reverse, namely that T1 was produced first and then T2 was produced on the basis of T1 along with the original Greek.[141] Literal translations were often highly valued in medieval literary cultures because they were seen as reproducing an original text more closely than a loose translation. Such an approach was especially popular in the case of authoritative texts such as the Bible or Aristotle. *A priori*, then, we could imagine that one might begin with a looser translation such as T1 and aim to revise it to be less loose.[142] Nevertheless, this becomes less plausible when T1 and T2 are more closely compared (see below): T2 often misconstrues a Greek word by choosing to translate it based on one sense of the word, whereas another, equally literal, sense of the Greek is the one intended. In many of these cases, T1 carries the latter, better translation; in such cases it is difficult to see why T2 would not have adopted the perfectly literal but clearer translation of T1. This should become clear in looking at the examples which follow.

This section will present select passages from the translations, focusing on Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1). I will argue first that his style and method of translation builds upon T2 to produce a text which not only reproduces the meaning but is also commensurate with the beauty of the original Greek. Next, I will consider the specific vocabulary Ibn al-Faḍl chooses to translate descriptions of matter and the material world, arguing that he tends to be more precise in his choice of the correct Arabic technical vocabulary, rather than simply translating the Greek word in its non-technical sense as T2 often does; in one case, where Ibn al-Faḍl's translation is *less* precise, I will argue that this reveals that he is reading Basil's text through the lens of contemporary Arabic Aristotelianism. Third, I will take a look at a passage in which these stylistic and terminological approaches result in a connotation which differs, if subtly, from the Greek. Finally, I will analyze

[140]A rather elaborate hypothesis suggests itself, namely that the *Hexaemeron* translation T2 was not accompanied by Gregory of Nyssa's two texts; that Ibn al-Faḍl translated them in addition to producing his revision of T2's *Hexaemeron* translation; that somewhere along the way, a scribe who had copied out T2 decided to append the other two texts (Ibn al-Faḍl's translation); and that a subsequent scribe of T2 consulted an 'Antiochian codex' containing T1 and the two other texts, which had an 'extra chapter' resulting from the interpolation of what was originally a marginal scholion in an ancestor of that 'Antiochian codex'; and that the three T1 manuscripts I have consulted belong to a branch of the tradition which did not 'forget' that this passage was originally in the margin.

[141]It would, again, have been impossible to begin with T1 and produce T2 without recourse to the original Greek, since T2's literal translations of individual words often reproduce a sense of the Greek word which T1 has discarded in favor of a less literal word or phrase.

[142]For such different approaches to translation, see Sebastian Brock, "Aspects of translation technique in antiquity," *GRBS* 20, no. 1 (2011): 69–87; I thank Maria Mavroudi for the reference.

a passage from the Arabic version of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* contained in T1 and T2 manuscripts to assess its similarity to Ibn al-Faḍl's style in his *Hexaemeron* translation.

Style: the opening of the first homily

The opening of Basil's first homily provides a good opportunity to compare the three different styles. Let us begin with the Greek. In simple but elegant style, Basil builds expectation in his audience about the sublime subject they are about to hear expounded.

> Ὁμιλία Α. «Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν».
>
> Πρέπουσα ἀρχὴ τῷ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως μέλλοντι διηγεῖσθαι, ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν ὁρωμένων διακοσμήσεως προθεῖναι τοῦ λόγου. Οὐρανοῦ γὰρ καὶ γῆς ποίησις παραδίδοσθαι μέλλει, οὐκ αὐτομάτως συνενεχθεῖσα, ὥς τινες ἐφαντάσθησαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν λαβοῦσα. Ποία ἀκοὴ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν λεγομένων ἀξία; πῶς παρεσκευασμένην ψυχὴν πρὸς τὴν τῶν τηλικούτων ἀκρόασιν προσῆκεν ἀπαντᾶν; Καθαρεύουσαν τῶν παθῶν τῆς σαρκός, ἀνεπισκότητον μερίμναις βιωτικαῖς, φιλόπονον, ἐξεταστικήν, πάντοθεν περισκοποῦσαν εἴ ποθεν λάβοι ἀξίαν ἔννοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ.
>
> Homily 1. *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.* It is a fitting beginning, for the one about to tell of the formation of the world, to put at the start of the discourse the beginning of the orderly arrangement of the visible things. For the making of the heaven and earth is about to be imparted, which did not happen spontaneously, as some have imagined, but takes its cause from God. What ear is worthy to hear the greatness of what is said? How thoroughly prepared the soul should be to receive such high lessons, pure from the passions of the flesh, unclouded by the cares of life, industrious, exacting, looking every which way in case somewhere it might find a notion of God worthy [of Him]![143]

T2 cleaves to the literal sense of Greek words and phrases, with rather uneven results:

> القول الأول[1]: في قول موسى[2] «في الابتداء صنع الله السماء والأرض»[3]
>
> إنه قد يليق أولاً[4] بالعتيد أن يخبّر بشيء في خليقة[5] العالم، أن يقدّم قولاً في زينة المبصرات. وذاك[6] أنه يريد ⟨أنْ⟩ يسلّم ذكراً[7] في ابتداع السماء والأرض، وذلك ما لم يتركّب من ذاته، كما تخيله قومٌ، بل كان العلة فيه من الله تعالى ذكره. فأي سمع يكون مستحقّاً بجسامة ما يقال وكيف يتمكّن من إصلاح نفس لاستماع ما هذا[8] سبيله، أن تكون طاهرةً من آلام الجسم، لا يشملها[9] ظلام[10] من هموم العالم، بل يكون[11] صابرة على التعب، فاحصة[12] متسكّعة {أي مجتهدة} حريصة[13] في أنْ يتّجه لها اتّخاذ فكرٍ[14] يكون لله مُستحقّاً.
>
> First Speech: on the words of Moses *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.* It may be fitting firstly for the one who is about to report about something on the creation of the world to place first speech on the adornment (*zīna*) of the visible

[143]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.1, MR 1–2. Trans. based on NPNF Basil, 52.

[1]القول الأول: پ؛ المقالة الاولى س [2]في قول موسى: پ؛ —س [3]: +وعدة فصوله أربعة، فاتحة القول پ [4]أولاً: س؛ —پ [5]خليقة: س؛ خلقة پ [6]وذاك: س؛ ودال(؟) پ [7]يسلّم ذكراً: س؛ يتكلم پ [8]هذا: س؛ هذه پ [9]يشملها: پ؛ يشتملها س [10]ظلام: پ؛ ظلال س [11]يكون: يكون پ؛ تكون س [12]فاحصة: س؛ قاحصه پ [13]متسكّعة {أي مجتهدة} حريصة: متسكّعة أي مجتهدة حريصة: پ؛ حريصة مجتهدة متسكّعة: س [14]فكرٍ: س؛ فكراً پ

things. That is, he wants to hand over a mention (*yusallim dhikr<an>* ∼ παραδίδοσθαι) concerning the creation (*ibtidāʿ*) of the heaven and the earth, being that which was not composed from itself, as one group imagined it; rather the cause in it was from God Exalted be His name. What ear is deserving (*mustaḥiqqan*) of the enormity of what is said? And how is it possible to make a soul righteous [enough] to listen to such things (*mā hādhā sabīluhu*),[144] [or for it] to be pure from the pains of the body, that darkness from the cares of the world not overcome it, but rather that it be enduring of toil, searching, groping about (*mutasakkaʿa*) {that is, struggling},[145] desirous that the grasping of an idea might occur to it which is worthy of God (*li-llāhi mustaḥiqqan*).[146]

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1), on the other hand, manages to capture some of the elegance of the original Greek in his Arabic:

المقالة الاولى: في قول موسى النبي في التوراة: «في البَدْئِ خلق الله السماء والارض».[١]

إنّ الواجب على العازم على شرح تقوّم العالم، أن يبتدئ[٢] بالكلام[٣] في تألّف[٤] المبصرات. وها الكتاب الالهي يفيدنا إبداع السماء والارض، ليس من ذاتيهما كما قد تخيل قومٌ، بل علّة ذلك الله تعالى. فأي سمعٍ[٥] يستوجب سماع جسامة هذه المقولات، وكيف يتمكن من إصلاح نفسٍ لاستماع[٦] ما هذا سبيله، من غير تطهيرها[٧] من آلام الجسم، وإعفائها من ظلام الهموم العالمية، وبعثها على الفحص الثاقب والحرص الراتب، عساها أن تحظى بنظرٍ بالله تعالى لائق.

First Homily: on the words of Moses the Prophet in the Pentateuch *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* It is incumbent upon him who invites [others] to an explication of the constitution of the world to begin by speaking about the composition of the visible things. And behold! the Divine Book acquaints us with the creation (*ibdāʿ*) of the heaven and the earth, not from themselves [*min dhātayhimā*, i.e., spontaneously] as one group (*qawm*) has imagined; rather its cause is God Exalted be He. What ear (*samʿ* ∼ ἀκοή) deserves (*yastawjib*) to hear the enormity (*jasāma*) of these words (*maqūlāt* ∼ λεγομένων)? And how is it possible to make a soul righteous (*iṣlāḥ nafsin*) [enough] to listen to such things (*mā hādhā sabīluhu*),[147]

[144]See n. 147.

[145]*ay mujtahida*: a gloss — probably interpolated later — on the less common word *mutasakkaʿa*, which is a quite literal translation of περισκοποῦσαν.

[146]**P** 7^{v}–8^{r}, **S** 8$^{r–v}$.

[147]Or: "to hear such a thing"? But Tuerlinckx notes that in Middle Arabic, the expression *sabīluhu an* is equivalent to Classical Arabic *yajib an*: "Le lexique du moyen arabe dans la traduction des discours de Grégoire de Nazianze: présentation de quelques traits caractéristiques et étude des doublets," in *Moyen Arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire: actes du premier colloque international (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10–14 mai 2004)*, ed. Jérôme Lentin and Jacques Grand'Henry (Louvain: Peeters, 2008), 478, 479. But *sabīluhu* can have other meanings, and here we are closer to the phrase *fīmā hādhihi sabīluhu* which translates the Greek κἀνταῦθα and which Grand'Henry interprets as "en cette matière": "Le moyen arabe dans les manuscrits de la version arabe du discours 40 de Grégoire de Nazianze (deuxième partie)," in Lentin and Grand'Henry, *Moyen Arabe*, 189. From this I extrapolate that the phrase *li-istimāʿi mā hādhā sabīluhu* might mean "to listen to such things."

[١]: +قال القديس باسيليوس ذ [٢]يبتدئ: ذ، يبدي ب د [٣]بالكلام: د ذ، الكلام ب [٤]تألّف: ب د «تالف»، تأليف ذ [٥]سمع: ذ، سمعً ب د
[٦]لاستماع: هكذا في المخطوطات [٧]تطهيرها: ب د، تطهُّرها ذ

> without its purification of the pains [i.e., passions][148] of the body (*jism*), its release from the darkness of worldly cares (*ẓalām al-humūm al-ʿālamīya*), its incitement to penetrating searching and steadfast desire (*al-faḥṣ al-thāqib wa-l-ḥirṣ al-rātib*), [that] perhaps it might obtain a view/notion (*naẓar*) suitable to God (*billāhi lāʾiq*).[149]

Let us compare these two translations. T2 frequently chooses a correct translation of a word which fails to capture the word's meaning in the particular context, a characteristic of the sort of 'word-by-word' translations criticized by a fourteenth-century Muslim reader of Greek works in Arabic translation[150] but which was often preferable to translators of authoritative texts because of the closer access to the original text which it was thought to provide.[151] The Greek word κόσμησις can mean 'adornment,' such that διακόσμησις could be construed to have a similar sense.[152] But in the phrase "τῆς τῶν ὁρωμένων διακοσμήσεως," Basil is clearly speaking not of the adornment of the visible things but their orderly arrangement, a sense which was used by Pythagoreans — and Gregory of Nyssa — in connection with the universe.[153] T2 translates this term as *zīna*, "adornment," which Ibn al-Faḍl (T1) replaces with *taʾalluf* (or, in one manuscript, *taʾlīf*), "composition," a word which also connotes harmony. In the same phrase, T2's *yuqaddim qawlan* ("make/place first speech…") matches Basil's προθεῖναι τοῦ λόγου, but Ibn al-Faḍl's *yabtadiʾ bi-l-kalām* ("begin by speaking…") is a much more elegant way to express the idea that this speech will come first, and *kalām*, "talking (about)" is more appropriate in this context, with its connotation of discussion, than *qawl*, "saying"/"something said." T2's *yusallim dhikr<an>* "hand over/surrender a mention" clings to the literal sense of παραδίδοσθαι (which can mean to "surrender/hand over" as well as to "hand down/transmit") but seems to have construed it as a middle, rather than passive, verb. The expression was odd enough that a later scribe seems to have replaced it with "talk" (*yatakallam*), as attested by the Paris manuscript. Ibn al-Faḍl rewords the entire phrase by introducing the "Divine Book" as its subject and abandoning the sense of "transmit" in favor of an expression which works much better in Arabic: *al-kitāb al-ilāhī yufīdunā*, "the Divine book acquaints us with…"

Finally, at the very end, T2 describes the soul's goal with the very awkward phrase *fī an yattajiha lahā ittikhādhu fikrin yakūnu li-llāhi mustaḥiqqan.* This translation seeks to preserve the directional connotations of πάντοθεν ("from all sides") and εἴ ποθεν ("if from somewhere") with the expression *yattajih lahā*, "occur to it," but literally "face in its direction." At the same time, by literally translating the Greek λάβοι…ἔννοιαν, it produces *ittikhādh fikr*, "grasping/getting an idea," and the relative clause *yakūn* etc. uses the verb 'to be' (*yakūn*) in a way that is not particularly elegant. The Greek word order and literal translations of Greek words have been privileged. Ibn al-Faḍl, by contrast, aimed for elegance. The phrase *ʿasāhā an* captures the sense of the optative (λάβοι) in a way which is entirely natural in Arabic. The rest avoids T2's oddities, using the straightforward *taḥẓā bi-* to describe the soul's "obtaining" a notion of God, losing the Greek's

[148] *ālām*, a word also used for Christ's passion (*ālām al-masīḥ*), according to J.G. Hava, *Al-Farāʾid al-durrīya: ʿarabī inglīzī / al-Farâʾid Arabic-English Dictionary*, 4th printing (15 June 1977) (Beirut: Dār al-Mashriq, 1970), 12a, s.v. *ʾlm.*

[149] **B** 9, **D** 1, **E** [1].

[150] Al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363) describes two methods of translation: the word-by-word technique practiced by "Yuḥannā b. al-Biṭrīq, Ibn al-Nāʿima al-Ḥimṣī and others"; and the technique by which the translator works out the meaning of an entire sentence and then renders that sentence into Arabic, practiced by "Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, al-Jawharī and others." Cited and translated by Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage*, §1.1.

[151] Brock, "Aspects."

[152] LSJ s.v. κόσμησις; and s.v. διακοσμέω II: "adorn variously."

[153] LSJ s.v. διακόσμησις A.2; Lampe s.v. διακόσμησις 1.

directional connotations but producing much better Arabic in the process; and instead of T2's awkward relative clause, Ibn al-Faḍl uses a simple participial phrase. The overall effect is clearer and more elegant: *ʿasāhā an taḥẓā bi-naẓarin bi-llāhi taʿālā lā'iqin*.

On the other hand, both translations have hints of the less formal Middle Arabic dialect, most notably the expression *mā hādhā sabīluhu*, which is part of a phrase which Ibn al-Faḍl took verbatim from T2 (*wa-kayfa yatamakkanu min iṣlāḥi nafsin li-istimāʿi mā hādhā sabīluhu*). Tuerlincx — in a study of elements of Middle Arabic in the Arabic translation of Gregory of Nazianzos's orations probably made in the tenth century by another Chalcedonian Christian of Antioch, Ibrāhīm ibn Yuḥannā al-Anṭākī the *protospatharios* — observes the recurring use of *sabīluhu an* to mean "one ought to" (Classical Arabic *yajib an*).[154] But the same translation also uses the phrase *fīmā hādhihi sabīluhu*, "concerning such things," a much closer parallel to the phrase *mā hādhā sabīluhu*.[155] Could this phrase be an influence from Middle Arabic which Ibn al-Faḍl kept in his version?

Ibn al-Faḍl takes plenty of other expressions straight from T2 as well. "Visible things" are still *mubṣarāt*; "as one group imagined" is still *kamā takhayyala qawmun*, although Ibn al-Faḍl has added the particle *qad*; "pains/passions of the body" and "the darkness of worldly cares" are still *ālām al-jism* and *ẓalām al-humūm al-ʿālamīya*. These expressions mostly correspond well to the Greek and are consistent with good Arabic style. A possible exception is *ālām* for πάθη, instead of *infiʿālāt* as one might expect.[156] But this may correspond to a Christian usage of the term *ālām* to refer more generally to suffering, and so to passions.[157]

But when a felicitous expression occurs to him, Ibn al-Faḍl does not hesitate to replace an entirely satisfactory one in T2. T2's rendering of the traits the soul must have in order to listen to the sublime words of scripture is decent: the soul must be "enduring of toil, searching, groping about, desirous…" (*ṣābira ʿalā l-taʿb, fāḥiṣa, mutasakkaʿa, ḥarīṣa…*). Ibn al-Faḍl's translation, however, is much finer, incorporating the jaunty rhythm of the rhymed prose (*sajʿ*) fashionable in high Arabic literary circles: the soul cannot listen without being incited "to penetrating searching and steadfast desire" (*al-faḥṣ al-thāqib wa-l-ḥirṣ al-rātib*). The words not only rhyme, but they also capture the spirit of Basil's text perfectly, perhaps even improving on it. While he inherits the "searching" and "desire" (*faḥṣ* and *ḥirṣ*) from the Greek and T2, the words *thāqib* and *rātib* are his own. *Thāqib* has the sense of 'penetrating' but also 'luminescent,' like a star: the soul must cast about like a light which penetrates the darkness separating it, like a veil, from God. The soul's desire for God must be *rātib*, which has the sense of "fixed, at rest," and can also have a pious resonance, as in the case of the Muslim worshipper who is so intent on prayer that he ignores the catapult-stones crashing around him, "as if he were a die at rest (*kaʿb rātib*)" — he is steadfast and unshakable.[158] Such is the steadiness of purpose the soul must have. This desire for God, absent

[154]Tuerlinckx, "Lexique," 479 (also cited in n. 147 on page 115). Tuerlinckx's source for this interpretation of the phrase is Dozy's lexicon, which unfortunately does not mention the expression *mā hādhā sabīluhu* or *hādhā sabīluhu* (Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols. [Beirut, 1881], 629–630).

[155]See n. 147 on page 115.

[156]I thank Asad Ahmed for pointing out the oddity of this translation. In his adapted translation of Sophronios's *Synodical Letter*, Ibn al-Faḍl translates πάθη as *infiʿālāt*; see ch. 1, n. 119.

[157]This seems to be reflected in Ibn al-Faḍl's encomium for Saint Nicholas (pre-pended to his translation of Andrew of Crete's encomium for the same saint); at one point Ibn al-Faḍl refers to "base pains/passions" (الآلام الردية): Noble, "Saint Nicholas". For more on this text, see ch. 1, on pages 43–44.

[158]*Lisān* s.v. *rtb*: "Something [is said to] *rataba* […] [when] it is at rest and does not move. One says, 'he *rataba*'ed like a die' to mean 'he sat up straight' […]. In a *ḥadīth* of Qammān b. ʿĀd [he says], 'He *rataba*'ed like a die, that is,

in the Greek — or at most implied in the desperation of the soul which is "looking around every which way" (περισκοποῦσαν) — was introduced by T2, but only in Ibn al-Faḍl's translation is it so heightened. Ibn al-Faḍl has departed from the phrasing of the Greek, resulting in beautiful, resonant Arabic.

Vocabulary

Ibn al-Faḍl also paid attention to the technical terms he used in translating Basil's text. Where T2 often does use an apt Arabic term to translate a concept expressed in Greek, there are also plenty of cases where it does not. Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1) is more consistent.

Atoms and matter (1.2)

Basil considers philosophical theories that omit God's role in creating the material world to be critically flawed. He then goes on to mention some of their theories. For the sake of brevity, I present the passage in English translation with the Greek, Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1), and T2 in round brackets for particular passages:

> Those ignorant of God refused to admit that an intelligent cause presided at the birth of the Universe (αἰτίαν ἔμφρονα προεστάναι τῆς γενέσεως τῶν ὅλων οὐ συνεχώρησαν; T2: لم يطلقوا تقدّم وجود علة عاقلة للكل; T1: لم يطلقوا علة مفهومة لكون الكل), but rather they arrived at the logical conclusions [which are] in keeping with their fundamental ignorance (ἀλλ' οἰκείως τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀγνοίᾳ τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνεπέραναν; T2: بل الذي بنوه على ما تقدّم يضاهي جهلهم من الابتداء بأصل; T1: لكنهم تكلّموا على ذلك بما ضلّوا فيه لضلالهم في المبدأ العنصري). Because of this, some had recourse to material starting-points/subjects, attributing the cause of the universe to the elements of the world (Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑλικὰς ὑποθέσεις κατέφυγον, τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου στοιχείοις τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἀναθέντες; T2: ففيهم من لجأ إلى الأسباب الهيولانية وجعل علة الكل اسطقسات العالم; T1: فمنهم من لجأ إلى الاسباب الهيولانية وجعل علة الكل استقصات العالم).[159] Others imagined that bodies uncuttable (ἄτωμα) and without parts,

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he sat as a die sits when [i.e., after] you cast it'; [which is a] description of him [as possessing] vigor and keenness of the soul. And also there is the *ḥadīth* of Ibn al-Zubayr, may God be pleased with both of them: 'He used to pray in the Holy Mosque [of Mecca] while catapult-stones passed right by his ear, and he wouldn't [even] turn his face, as if he were a die at rest'" (وفي رَتَبَ الشيءُ يَرْتُبُ رتُوباً، وتَرَتَّبَ: ثبت فلم يتحرّك. يقال: رَتَبَ رُتُوبَ الكَعْبِ أَي انْتَصَبَ انْتِصابَه، ورَتَّبَه تَرتِيباً: أَثْبَتَه. ومنه حديث لقمان بن عاد: رَتَبَ رُتُوبَ الكَعْبِ أَيْ انْتَصَب كما يَنْتَصِبُ الكَعْبُ إِذا رَمَيْتَه، وصفه بالشَّهامةِ وحِدَّةِ النَّفْس؛ ومنه حديث ابن الزبير، رضي الله عنهما: كان يُصَلِّي في المسجِد الحرام، وأَحجارُ المَنْجَنِيقِ تَمُرُّ على أُذُنِه، وما يَلْتَفِتُ، كأَنه كَعْبٌ راتِبٌ). From this I infer that the die at rest is associated with this sort of perseverance and iron will because a die that is still in motion is fickle and could turn to any side, while the die which has come to rest is unmoving, unchangeable: it has made its decision.

[159]Both Arabic translations here seem to have analyzed the sentence somewhat differently, so that I think they are starting a new sentence at οἱ μὲν. At this point the T1 manuscripts have an interesting *ḥāshiya* about terms for matter. **B** and **D** leave it anonymous, calling it simply a *ḥāshiya*, while **E** calls it *ḥāshiya li-Ibn al-Faḍl*; all of them present the text inline with the main text. The scholion reads (**D** 2–3, **E** [2]–[3]): "It should be known that the word *hayūlā* is contrived for it [*hayūlā*?] according to its gradation in senses; in that it is receptive to the universe it is called matter (*mādda*) and element (*ʿunṣur*); [in that it is receptive] to images [*ṣuwar*, also the technical term for 'forms'] with extension, it is called magnitude; [in that it is receptive] to ?properties/forms (*tahayyuʾāt*), it is called *hayūlā*; and [in that it is receptive] to receiving images, it is called an infinite subject" يجب أن يعلم أنّ اسم الهيولى يخترع لها بحسب تدرجها في المعاني، فلأنّها ⌜قابلة⌝ (ذ، قابل: د) للكل تسمى مادّةً وعنصراً، وبالصور البعدية ⌜تسمى عظماً⌝ (تلف في ذ) وبالتهيؤات تسمى هيولى، وبقبول الصور ⌜موضوع يسمى⌝ (د ذ، وأظن أن الصحيح قد يكون: يسمى موضوعاً، ولكنه يجوز أيضا أن يكون: وبقبولِ الصورِ موضوعاً يسمى؛ بمعنى أن الصور تقبل موضوعاً فيُطلَق على الهيولى/المادّة اسمُ «غير متناه».) غير ⌜متناه⌝ (ذ، منتهاه: د).

and molecules and pores, comprised the nature of the visible things (οἱ δὲ ἄτομα καὶ ἀμερῆ σώματα καὶ ὄγκους καὶ πόρους συνέχειν τὴν φύσιν τῶν ὁρατῶν ἐφαντάσθησαν; T2: ومنهم من جعلها أجساما لا تنقسم ولا تتجزأ[1]، وجعلوا أجراماً ومسالكَ تشتمل على طبيعة المبصرات تخيلوها ;T1 :ومنهم من تصوّر[2] وتخيّل أن طبيعة المبصرات تألفت من أجسام لا تتجزّأ، ومن الملاء والخلاء).[160]

T2 (at least as transmitted in the manuscripts I have consulted) can be a little sloppy. The "intelligent cause" has become T2's *ʿilla mafhūma*, "an intelligible cause." Aside from making God, usually considered beyond comprehension, into something which can be "understood," this misses the point of the passage, which is that the world did not arise out of mindless matter, but rather out of a First Cause which was a Mind. Ibn al-Faḍl remedies this with his *ʿilla ʿāqila*, "intelligent cause," using a word formed from the root of *ʿaql*, the standard technical term for "mind" and used to describe God's mind in Arabic Neoplatonism.[161] This is not to say it is an otherwise uncommon word — far from it — but only that it is an apt choice, compared with alternative translations for ἔμφρων, like *fāhim* (understanding), *ʿālim* (knowing), *nāṭiq* (rational) or even *ḥāzim* (prudent).

In the following clause about the errors deduced from ignorance of the correct premise, both Arabic translations inverted the order of the Greek for the sake of clarity (much as I did for my English translation); what works in Greek is better expressed otherwise in Arabic (and English). So they begin with τὰ ἐφεξῆς συνεπέραναν, "they logically concluded the things which follow." T2 is quite literal with *bali lladhī banawhu ʿalā mā taqaddama*, "rather that which they built upon what preceded [i.e., the premise]": although συμπεραίνω does not literally refer to building or construction, the senses of completing something and of reaching conclusions by means of logic are both part of its semantic range, and 'building' has the same sense of accomplishment.[162] Ibn al-Faḍl moves further from this sense with his *takallamū ʿalā dhālika*, "they spoke about that." This reference to 'speech' (*kalām*) suggests in particular disputation, or the sort of argumentation carried on by the *mutakallimūn*.

In the second part of the clause — ἀλλ' οἰκείως τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀγνοίᾳ — Ibn al-Faḍl makes a more curious choice. T2 has *yuḍāhī jahlahum min al-ibtidāʾ bi-aṣlin*, their conclusions "correspond to their ignorance, from the beginning, of an origin," apparently translating ἐξ ἀρχῆς both in the sense that the philosophers were ignorant from the beginning and that their ignorance concerns the beginning, or "origin." Ibn al-Fāḍl's text says that their error arose *li-ḍalālihim fī l-mabdaʾi l-ʿunṣurī*, "because of their error concerning the original/elemental beginning." The term *ʿunṣur*, with a basic sense of "origin,"[163] had by then become the native Arabic technical term to translate the Greek word στοιχεῖον, "element." But Ibn al-Faḍl seems to use it here in the non-technical sense of "original" (corresponding to T2's *aṣl*). This would be unremarkable except that the elements, in a technical sense, are the subject of the very next sentence. And yet there Ibn al-Faḍl

[160]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.2, MR 4₄₋₉. Trans. based on NPNF Basil, 53. T1: **D** 2–3. T2: **S** 9ᵛ–10ʳ.

[161]For example, al-Fārābī's "first principle" (*al-sabab al-awwal*) is described as "living" (*ḥayy*), which al-Fārābī says means "that It intellects (*yaʿqil*) the highest thought (*maʿqūl*) by means of highest mind (*ʿaql*)," going on to make an analogous statement in terms of knowledge (*ʿilm*): *Ārāʾ ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, §5 = al-Fārābī, *Alfārābī's Abhandlung der Musterstaat*, ed. Friedrich Dieterici (Leiden: Brill, 1895), 11 (hereafter cited as F*MF* Dieterici).

[162]See LSJ s.v., I and II.2.

[163]Lisān s.v. *ʿnṣr*: العُنْصُر والعُنْصَر: الأَصل. It is, however, also possible that Ibn al-Faḍl here means something closer to "the elemental principle."

[1]تتجزأ: صحته، تتجزئ: س [2]تصوّر: تلف في ذ

chooses *not* to translate "elements" as *ʿanāṣir* (pl. of *ʿunṣur*), a word he uses for 'elements' in one of his scholia.[164] Instead, he follows T2 — whose text for this sentence he has reproduced almost verbatim — in translating it by means of a Greek loanword from στοιχεῖον, also standard in Arabic (they spell it differently: T2 has *isṭiqsāt*, the standard spelling, whereas Ibn al-Faḍl has *istiqṣāt*).[165]

We may compare his anomalous spelling of the Greek loanword *isṭiqsāt* as *istiqṣāt* to his transliteration of the names Plato and Aristotle. In one of his scholia,[166] the transliteration of Plato's name in two of the manuscripts is phonetically closer to the contemporary Greek pronunciation than the standard spelling which one finds in Arabic philosophical texts and wisdom literature, for Ibn al-Faḍl writes *Iflāṭun*, which would tend to have a stress on the penult, as in Greek Πλάτων, rather than *Iflāṭūn*, the standard spelling in Classical Arabic. The standard spelling may reflect the long quantity of the omega — probably no longer pronounced in eleventh-century Greek — but would be pronounced in Arabic with more of a stress on the final syllable. It seems likely that the standard spelling which appears in **E** reflects a scribal emendation. The former, more phonetic spelling, would then reflect the way Ibn al-Faḍl (or possibly a later scribe) pronounced the name. A different text by Ibn al-Faḍl, his *Joy of the Believer*, also spells Plato's name *Iflāṭun* (phonetically), at least in one of the manuscripts.[167] In the same scholion, Aristotle's name appears in two variants, both of which are the phonetic versions of his name (*Arisṭāṭālīs*/*Arisṭūṭālīs*, stress on the penult in both cases, as in the Greek — the latter, which again is in **E**, is also probably an emendation to reflect the *omicron* in Ἀριστοτέλης), rather than his conventional Arabic name, *Arisṭū*. Again, this is how Ibn al-Faḍl spells the name in the *Joy of the Believer*, where he writes *Arisṭāṭālīs*.[168] The phonetic rendering of Aristotle's name is certainly not unique to Ibn al-Faḍl or Christian authors in general, but it represents a choice in favor of a more phonetic spelling, closer to the Greek.

In a similar vein, Ibn al-Faḍl's *Hexaemeron* translation here keeps the Greek loanword from ὕλη in the phrase "material causes" (*al-asbāb al-hayūlānīya*). But if one of the T1 manuscripts is to be believed, Ibn al-Faḍl was not insensitive to the variety of terms used to describe matter: one of the two late Damascus manuscripts labels a "marginalium by Ibn al-Faḍl" what the other leaves anonymous. This scholion enumerates Arabic terms, describing their respective nuances, including 'matter' (*mādda*), 'element' (*ʿunṣur*) and 'prime matter' (*hayūlā*).[169]

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[164] ḤLIF 9; see ch. 3, p. 146.

[165] Ibn al-Faḍl uses the Greek loanword for 'element' elsewhere in his translation as well. At the beginning of the fourth homily, Basil speaks of the water's withdrawal from the earth. Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1) reads (**D** 49): "By God's command there came into being (*takawwanat*) on the earth cavities (*tajwīfāt*), in which the waters were gathered into their gathering places. From it God brought out a living soul, since it was anticipated for the human being to be stripped/cleansed (?) by water; and the Holy Spirit which in anterior eternity (*fī l-qadīm*) had been drifting/floating (*ṭāfiyan*) over the water; and we have learned that the element of water is good, and its benefit/usefulness is much..." المقالة الرابعة: في قول الله تعالى ليجتمع الماء الذي تحت السماء إلى مجمع واحد. بأمر الله، تكوّنتْ في الأرض تجويفات جُمِعَت فيها المياه إلى مجامعها، ومنها أخرج الله نفساً حيّة، إذ كان متوقعاً أن يجرد الانسان بالماء، والروح القدس الذي كان في القديم طافياً على الماء، وقد علمنا أنّ اسطقس الماء حسن، ومنفعته كثيرة.

[166] ḤLIF 9: see ch. 3, p. 146.

[167] *mas'ala* 60, see Wakelnig, "Al-Anṭākī's use," 307, who quotes from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 408, f. 29^{r}.

[168] *mas'ala* 60, see Wakelnig, "Al-Anṭākī's use," 308.

[169] See n. 159 on page 118.

In the last sentence, about atoms and other building blocks posited for matter, there are several technical terms used to describe matter.[170] These will give insight into a lens through which Ibn al-Faḍl reads and interprets Basil's homilies.

Most of these T2 translates with a technical Arabic term, and Ibn al-Faḍl consistently adopts those terms (though he changes the word order better to accord with the sense of the Greek than T2's strict obedience to the Greek word order, including the verb dangling infelicitously at the end). Atoms, those "uncuttable and indivisible bodies," are "bodies which are not divided nor separate into parts" (or "bodies which are indivisible and without parts": *ajsāman lā tanqasim wa-lā tatajazzaʾ*) for T2, while Ibn al-Faḍl calls them simply "bodies which do not separate into parts" (or "bodies without parts": *ajsām lā tatajazzaʾ*). These terms resonate with terminology for the constituents of the visible world in Arabic *kalām* (the part without parts, *al-juzʾ alladhī lā tatajazzaʾ*).[171] The "visible things" are *mubṣarāt*, and "nature" is quite naturally *ṭabīʿa*. Ibn al-Faḍl's "composed of" (*taʾallafat min*) has more specificity than T2's vague "comprise" (*tashtamil*), since it evokes the combination of the building blocks in an orderly arrangement.

But when it comes to describing particles and voids, "molecules and pores," the translations are quite different. The first part of the phrase "molecules and pores" (ὄγκους καὶ πόρους) seems to refer to a physical theory which considers material objects to be made up of discrete particles, rather than an infinitely divisible continuum (as Aristotelians held), and perhaps with internal parts which cannot in practice be split apart (as in Epicurean atomism).[172]

Those are the "molecules," but the second part of the phrase, "pores" or "passageways," is somewhat obscure.[173] It is not clear, for example, what Epicurus means when he uses the term.[174]

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[170]There is an interesting Greek scholion at this point in the Genoa manuscript (G2): at the line "Others said that atoms…" (οἱ δὲ ἄτομα), it contains a scholion which reads (Bas.*Hex.* MR, 4): "'Atom' is said in three senses. That which cannot be cut or divided is called 'atom,' such as the point, the present moment, and the unit/monad, which are also called 'devoid of quality.' That which is difficult to cut is also called 'atom,' that is, that which is both difficult . . . [two lines are missing] . . . and preserves the earlier form after the division. For example Peter is divided into soul and body. But neither the soul on its own is a complete man, or a complete Peter, nor the body. Among philosophers discussion of this is that which makes clear the [existence of?] the substrate (τὸ ἄτομον τριχῶς λέγεται. Ἄτομον λέγεται τὸ μὴ τεμνόμενον μηδὲ μεριζόμενον, ὡς ἡ στιγμὴ καὶ τὸ νῦν καὶ ἡ μονάς, ἄτινα καὶ ἄποια λέγονται. Ἄτομον λέγεται καὶ τὸ δυστμητόν, τουτέστι τὸ δυσχερῶς τε . . . [two lines are missing] . . . σῴζει δὲ μετὰ τὴν τομὴν τὸ πρότερον εἶδος. Ὥσπερ Πέτρος τέμνεται μὲν εἰς ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα. Ἀλλ' οὔτε ἡ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτήν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος τέλειος, ἢ Πέτρος τέλειος, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα. Περὶ τούτου παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὁ λόγος, ὅπερ δηλοῖ τὴν ὑπόστασιν)."

[171]Among most of the *mutakallimīn*, the *jawhar* (usually translated as 'atom' in the *kalām* context, in contrast to the Peripatetic *jawhar*, which means 'substance,' οὐσία) is not a body; there is rather a minimum number of *jawāhir* ('atoms') which combine to form a body. See Alnoor Dhanani, *The Physical Theory of Kalām: Atoms, Space, and Void in Basrian Muʿtazilī Cosmology* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 57, ch. 4, and elsewhere. See also David Bennett, "Abū Isḥāq al-Naẓẓām: The Ultimate Constituents of Nature Are Simple Properties and Rūḥ," chap. 8 in *Abbasid Studies IV. Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies*, ed. Monique Bernards (Gibb Memorial Trust/Oxbow, 2013), 208–9. These *jawāhir* are sometimes considered to have magnitude, sometimes not, a debate which has been elucidated in Alnoor Dhanani, "Kalām atoms and Epicurean minimal parts," in *Tradition, transmission, transformation: proceedings of two conferences on pre-modern science held at the University of Oklahoma*, ed. F. Jamil Ragep, Sally P. Ragep, and Steven John Livesey (Brill, 1996), 162–166.

[172]The minimal parts of an Epicurean atom are probably analogous to the *jawāhir* ('atoms') of the *mutakallimīn*: ibid., esp. 166–170. (Cf. n. 171.)

[173]Could it be that Basil is referring to "Theophrastus's theory of 'pores'" mentioned in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford UP, 1970), s.v. "Straton (1)" (hereafter cited as *Ox. Cl. Dict.²*)?

[174]Both Greek terms were used by the Hellenistic philosopher Epicurus (b. 342–1 BCE; d. 271–0 BCE) as part of his physical theory: the word for particle, ὄγκος, is used by Epicurus to refer to the tiny masses out of which matter is built; πόρος, which can mean a 'pore' or a 'passageway,' is the term by which Epicurus refers to the 'openings.' See

Likewise, it is not entirely clear what physical theory Diogenes Laertius ascribes to Diogenes of Sinope when he reports (in a textually problematic passage where the various proposed emendations alter the doctrine in question) that the Cynic held that "everything is in everything," such that "in bread there is meat, and in vegetable there is bread, and all other bodies in all things, since through certain unseen pores molecules too penetrate and are joined in vaporous form."[175] Aristotle had sought to refute Empedocles' theory explaining the action of one body on another by way of pores (void passageways interrupting the continuity of matter). On the other hand, Aristotle himself (in *Meteorologica* book IV, whose authenticity has been questioned) uses the term 'pores' to a similar purpose, to explain how one body can act upon another. The sixth-century Aristotelian commentator Olympiodoros, drawing on his own teacher Ammonius, explains away this apparent inconsistency quite plausibly by the claim that in this latter passage Aristotle uses 'pores' merely in the sense of parts of a material body which are more receptive to another body's action than others (that is, they are *not* voids tunneling through matter).[176]

The Byzantine philosopher Psellos, Ibn al-Faḍl's contemporary, in a commentary on this very same passage of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, explains that in ancient atomic theory the "molecules," or "bulks," are formed from combinations of atoms, and that the other term, πόρος, which he evidently reads not as a "pore" or passageway but as the homophonous Greek work for 'stone,' πῶρος, is used here "pleonastically" (ἐκ παραλλήλου) as a near-synonym for molecule/bulk. The distinction between the two, he continues, is that 'molecule/bulk' is any conglomeration of atoms, that is, anything with bulk/extension (ὄγκωται/ἐξώγκωται), but 'stone' is a bulk which is also hard (πεπώρωται) because the atoms which make it up are tightly bound together. The full passage in question in Psellos's scholion reads:

> *Others imagined that bodies uncuttable* (ἄτομα) *and without parts* (ἀμερῆ)*, and molecules and pores, comprised the nature of the visible things.* Who are these? Leucippus and Democritus: for they proceeded contrary to all philosophies, saying that when the universe was void, the world, which previously did not exist, was generated at some time. Then, because they also wished to say in what manner it was generated, they abandoned the easiest path, in which (ὥστε) the creator of the universe is responsible, and invented for themselves certain little bodies without parts — I know not how

LSJ s.v. ὄγκος (B) III. As far as I can discern, it is still an open question to what exactly these Epicurean 'passageways' refer.

[175]§6.73, Diogenes Laertius, *Diogenis Laertii Vitae philosophorum*, ed. Miroslav Marcovich, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1999–2002), 420f: "Μηδέν τε ἄτοπον εἶναι ἐξ ἱεροῦ τι λαβεῖν ἢ τῶν ζῴων τινὸς γεύσασθαι· μηδὲ ἀνόσιον εἶναι τὸ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων κρεῶν ἅψασθαι, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐθῶν· καὶ τῷ δὴ [τῷ δὴ is Marcovich's emendation, against the attested reading τῷδε, which I, like Gigante, find preferable] ὀρθῷ λόγῳ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι καὶ διὰ πάντων εἶναι λέγων, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ κρέως εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ λαχάνῳ ἄρτου, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τῶν λιτῶν ἐν πᾶσι διά τινων ἀδήλων πόρων καὶ [Causobon first proposed deleting this καὶ; Marcovich emends it to τῶν] ὄγκων εἰσκρινομένων καὶ συνατμιζομένων…" Emendations are considered and proposed with reference to the consequences for our understanding of Diogenes' doctrine in Marcello Gigante, "Su un insegnamento di Diogene di Sinope," *StItalFCl*, 2nd ser., 34 (1962): 130–136; G. Basta Donzelli, "Del 'Tieste' di Diogene di Sinope in Diog. Lae. VI, 73," *StItalFCl*, 2nd ser., 37 (1965): 241–258. I follow Basta Donzelli's text and translation most closely, especially since for the present purposes I am most interested in what the text looked like in the eleventh century.

[176]For Aristotle's 'pores,' his refutation of Empedocles, and the interpretations of Ammonius and Olympiodoros, see Cristina Viano, "Le commentaire d'Olympiodore au livre IV des *Météorologiques* d'Aristote," in *Aristoteles chemicus: Il IV libro dei 'Meteorologica' nella tradizione antica e medievale*, ed. Cristina Viano (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 2002), 71–72.

(that should be) — and most impassive, set apart from one another 'by location (θέσει), arrangement (τάξει), and outward form (σχήματι)'.[177] These (bodies), they say, being carried along by the void, at some times come together with each other by chance and are bound together, while at other times they are ill-matched with each other and disjointed. Now, (they say that) the ill-matched (bodies) engender disorder, because they were not mixed in accordance with reason, while of (the bodies) which have been fit together [there are] those which were more tightly intertwined with each other,[178] just as, in the case of fingers, the entwining of each hand is sometimes steadfast and offers resistance and sometimes loose and easily unclasped. Now if the uncuttable bodies (ἄτομα) were interwoven so as for a tight entwining to be generated, they said that the result is unbreakable or, to speak more moderately, difficult to split apart. If, on the other hand, they were more weakly interwoven, that which is generated from them is also weak and easily dissolved. At any rate, they named those things which interweave and are interwoven 'bodies without parts and uncuttable.' They said that the things generated from the intertwinings were molecules and stones (ὄγκους… καὶ πώρους). For these names are applied pleonastically. But the molecule [or: bulk] is the result of every intertwining/combination, for sedge (βούτομον) and papyrus/reed and *adamas*,[179] for each one of these has bulk/extension (ὄγκωται). 'Stone' (πῶρος) is what comes from the more unbreakable interweaving of the atoms, just as most of the earthy (bodies) are uncuttable. Now the 'stone' may be called a molecule/bulk too, but not every molecule/bulk is also a 'stone.' For air has bulk/extension (ἐξώγκωται) but is not hard (οὐ πεπώρωται). On the other hand, iron is hard, and it also has bulk/extension.[180]

[177]Gautier's *apparatus fontium* notes that this is a quotation from Leucippus *apud* Aristotle, *Metaphysics* A.4, 985b15–17.

[178]The word μὲν at the beginning of this relative clause leads one to expect a corresponding δὲ-clause which never comes. This suggests at least the possibility that a clause at this point has been omitted, something like "⟨ὅσα δὲ ἀσθενέστερον⟩" — "⟨and those which (are) more loosely (intertwined)⟩." On the other hand, this emendation would seem to produce three possibilities (disorder, loose linkage, tight linkage), a result which, while appealing from a modern perspective (for its apparent correspondence to gas, liquid, and solid), seems not to correspond with the two possibilities Psellos has just mentioned (linked together, or not), nor with the analogy of fingers which follows (tightly or loosely interlocking). An alternative would be to emend μὲν to μὴν — or else simply to assume that Psellos is implying the δὲ-clause without feeling the need to spell it out.

[179]Which can mean adamant/diamond, but from the context probably refers to a plant such as *Ballota acetabulosa*; see Erich Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts* (Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001–) (hereafter cited as *Lex.Byz.Gr.*), s.v. ἀδάμας and the series of cross-references within the LSJ to which it leads.

[180]Psellos, *Theologica I*, ed. Paul Gautier (Teubner), 25–26, opusculum 6, lines 86–110: "'Οἱ δὲ ἄτομα καὶ ἀμερῆ σώματα καὶ ὄγκους καὶ πόρους συνέχειν τὴν φύσιν τῶν ὁρατῶν ἐφαντάσθησαν'. τίνες οὗτοι; Λεύκιππος καὶ Δημόκριτος· οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν ἐναντίαν ταῖς ὅλαις φιλοσοφίαις ἐβάδισαν· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι, κενοῦ τοῦ παντὸς ὄντος, γέγονέ ποτε ὁ κόσμος πρότερον μὴ ὤν, εἶτα εἰπεῖν βουληθέντες καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον ἐγένετο, ἀφέντες τὴν ῥᾴστην ὁδόν, ὥστε τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰτιάσασθαι, ἀνέπλασαν ἑαυτοῖς σωμάτιά τινα ἀμερῆ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως καὶ ἀπαθέστατα, 'θέσει καὶ τάξει καὶ σχήματι' διεστηκότα· ταῦτα δέ, φασί, φερόμενα τῷ κενῷ, νῦν μὲν συγκυρεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνεπιπλέκεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἀσυνάρμοστα εἶναι πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ ἀσύγκλωστα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀσυνάρμοστα τὰς ἀταξίας γεννᾶν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐκράθη, τῶν δὲ συνηρμοσμένων ὅσα μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἰσχυρότερον ἀντεπλάκησαν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δακτύλων ἑκατέρας χειρὸς ὁρᾶται ἡ ἀντεμπλοκὴ νῦν μὲν ἑδραία καὶ ἀντερείδουσα, νῦν δὲ χαύνη καὶ διαρρέουσα. εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἀντεπλάκη τὰ ἄτομα, ὥστε ἰσχυρὰν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀντεμπλοκήν, ἀρραγὲς ἔφασκον καὶ τὸ ἀποτελούμενον εἶναι ἤ, τό γε μετριώτερον εἰπεῖν, δυσδιάρρηκτον· εἰ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον ἀντεπλάκησαν, καὶ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων γεγονὸς ἀσθενὲς καὶ εὐδιάλυτον γέγονεν. ἀμερῆ

The point here is that while the word πόρος, 'pore,' has a perfectly clear literal meaning, its philosophical meaning is obscure enough that Psellos has reinterpreted it as an entirely different word.[181] It is possible that Psellos's copy of Basil's *Hexaemeron* had the word 'stones' (πώρους) where most manuscripts read 'pores' (πόρους), but this variant is not attested in the early (and

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γοῦν σώματα καὶ ἄτομα τὰ συμπλέκοντα καὶ συμπλεκόμενα κατωνόμαζον· ὄγκους δὲ καὶ πώρους τὰ ἐκ τῶν συμπλοκῶν γινόμενα ἔφασκον· ἐκ παραλλήλου γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα ταυτὶ κεῖται. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὄγκος πάσης ἐστὶ συμπλοκῆς ἀποτέλεσμα· ὄγκος γὰρ καὶ τὸ βούτομον καὶ ἡ πάπυρος καὶ ὁ ἀδάμας· ἕκαστα γὰρ ὤγκωται· πῶρος δὲ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀρραγεστέρας τῶν ἀτόμων ἀντεμπλοκῆς, ὥσπερ τῶν γεηρῶν τὰ μάλιστα δύστμητα. ὁ μὲν οὖν πῶρος καὶ ὄγκος ἂν κληθείη, οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὄγκος καὶ πῶρος. ἐξώγκωται μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ, οὐ πεπώρωται δέ· πεπώρωται δὲ ὁ σίδηρος, οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐξώγκωται."

[181]Some Greek manuscripts of Basil's *Hexaemeron* also contain scholia on this passage, which was clearly an important 'lemma-complex' (to use Tony Street's terminology) in the tradition, but they have little to say about these "molecules and pores." I already mentioned one such scholion above (see n. 170 on page 121); another scholion, appearing in manuscripts A3 and B8 (Pasquali's F and y, respectively; see n. 126 on page 109) enumerates a list of ancient Greek philosophers and the name which each one gave to "the elements of the principles" (τῶν ἀρχῶν τὰ στοιχεῖα): "Pythagoras calls" them "numbers," it notes, then continues (Pasquali, "Doxographica," 195–6 = no. 3): "Straton qualities, Alkmaion antitheses, Anaximander infinity [cf. Diog.Laert.2.1, cited by LSJ s.v.], Anaxagoras like-parts, Epicurus atoms (ἀτόμους), Diodorus (bodies) without parts, *Asclepiades molecules*…" (…αὐτίκα γοῦν ὁ μὲν Πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὰ στοιχεῖα ἀριθμοὺς καλεῖ· Στράτων ποιότητας· Ἀλκμαίων ἀντιθέσεις· Ἀναξίμανδρος ἄπειρον· Ἀναξαγόρας ὁμοιομερείας· Ἐπίκουρος ἀτόμους· Διόδωρος ἀμερῆ· Ἀσκληπιάδης ὄγκους…). The words ὄγκοι καὶ πόροι are paired like this "in the physiology of the Methodics," according to LSJ s.v. ὄγκος (B) III, citing Asclepiades of Bithynia apud Galen. That passage, Galen's *Second Discourse on the Elements according to Hippocrates* (Γαληνοῦ Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων λόγος δεύτερος = *De elementis ex Hippocrate*, book 2), §3, appears in the context of Galen's discussion of the question of whether the basic 'stuff,' or "elements," out of which animal bodies are composed differ from one species to another. After some discussion, he turns to Asclepiades' doctrine (Galen, *Galeni de elementis ex Hippocratis sententia libri duo*, ed. Georg Helmreich [Erlangen, 1878], 62–3 [hereafter cited as Galen, *Elements*, Helmreich] [whose text I follow] = Galen, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. C.G. Kühn, 20 vols. [Leipzig: Knobloch, 1821–], vol. 1, pp. 499–501 [hereafter cited as Galen Kühn]): "But Asclepiades, who seeks to overturn all aspects of the art [i.e., medicine] which are beautiful, on account of his miraculous *molecules and pores* [emphasis mine] endeavors to persuade us by reason that each of the drugs [by which Galen refers to the different drugs he has been discussing which each purge a different humor] does not draw out that which is proper to it, but rather it [the drug] transforms, changes, and alters it [the bodily substance], breaking it down [literally: corrupting it] into its own [the drug's own] nature, of whatever sort the discharge [literally: that which was drawn up] might be. Accordingly he says that the benefit which follows is not produced by the expurgation of the harmful (substance), but rather for the common reason [that is, a single reason common to all the drugs] of evacuating. Now Asclepiades' reasoning thus shamelessly contradicts the phenomenon [i.e., what manifestly occurs]. The phenomenon, as Hippocrates and all the rest of the physicians learned by empirical investigation [literally: by investigating by means of experiment], is as was mentioned earlier [i.e., that each drug purges a different humor, even when that humor is not in excess, such that in the latter situation it can be harmful to the patient]. For if you were to try giving to an atrabilious man [i.e., a man with an excess of black bile] a drug which draws forth phlegm, with no small [i.e., much] harm you would, I know well, put this doctrine to the test. And at any rate, if purgatives give benefit merely by evacuating, why do we not cut everyone's veins, whether they might happen to be thin/feeble or fat or jaundiced or atrabilious? But rather to those of such men who are excessively [cf. LSJ s.v. ἱκανῶς III.1.b] feeble, the evacuation of the harmful fluid has brought no small benefit. But on the other hand, if one dared to take from their blood, he would have slayed (them) straightaway. But this is what Asclepiades is forced to say by the *molecules and pores* [my emphasis] and unarticulated elements [cf. LSJ s.v. ἄναρμος A.1], for it follows from this [? one might have expected the causal relation to be the converse] that our nature is no foreign quality, nor (the quality) of the remnants [of food left by digestion; cf. LSJ s.v. περίσσωμα] evacuated daily, but rather when the belly is kept in check, that by reason of the large amount, it harms us, and healing is either moderation in food or absolute fasting. For mark you, a multitude of such arguments were dared by Asclepiades in contradiction with what is manifest. These (arguments) may force those ignorant of the phenomenon to be in doubt, but as for those who know, (these arguments force them) to be astounded and wonder at the shamelessness of the man. But much will be said about Asclepiades' boldness elsewhere" (Ἀσκληπιάδης δ' ὁ πάντα τὰ καλὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐπιχειρῶν ἀνατρέπειν τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὄγκους καὶ πόρους πειρᾶται

representative) manuscripts used by Mendieta and Rudberg in their edition of the homilies. Gautier based his edition of Psellos's scholion on two manuscripts, neither of which replace *πόρους* with *πώρους* in the part of Psellos's scholion quoted above in which Psellos quotes Basil's text (at least according to Gautier's apparatus, although it is a common editorial practice silently to 'correct' simple scribal errors such as *omega* for *omicron*). One of the two manuscripts, however, does replace Psellos's *πώρους* (stones) with *πόρους* (pores) in the phrase "They said that the things generated from the intertwinings were molecules and stones/pores," indicating the plausibility of scribal confusion of these homophonous words.[182]

The anonymous Arabic translation on which Ibn al-Faḍl based his own translation does not attempt to explain away these "pores" or "passageways," simply rendering the phrase literally as *ajrām wa-masālik*, "masses and paths."[183] But Ibn al-Faḍl translates the same phrase as *al-malāʾ wa-l-khalāʾ*, "plenum and void." This rhyming phrase is a standard pairing in Arabic Aristotelianism — for example in Avicenna's *Deliverance* (as an example of the contradiction between rational thought and imagination: even though rationally we know that the universe ends in neither plenum nor void after plenum, we cannot help but imagine one of the two possibilities)[184] — which refers to space respectively full and devoid of matter. Ibn al-Faḍl's translation thus implies

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μεταπείθειν ἡμᾶς, ὡς οὐχ ἕλκει τὸ οἰκεῖον ἕκαστον τῶν φαρμάκων, ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλει καὶ τρέπει καὶ ἀλλοιοῖ διαφθεῖρον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ὁποῖον ἂν ᾖ τὸ ἑλχθέν. εἶτα τὴν ἀκολουθοῦσαν ὠφέλειαν οὐ τῇ τοῦ λυποῦντος ἐκκαθάρσει γίγνεσθαί φησιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κοινῷ λόγῳ τῆς κενώσεως. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀσκληπιάδου λόγος οὕτως ἀναισχυντεῖ κατὰ τοῦ φαινομένου. τὸ φαινόμενον δ' ὡς Ἱπποκράτης τε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἰατροὶ τῇ πείρᾳ βασανίζοντες ἔμαθον, ὡς εἴρηται πρόσθεν, ἔχει. εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρήσαις ἀνθρώπῳ χολῶντι φλέγματος ἀγωγὸν δοῦναι φάρμακον, οὐ μετὰ σμικρᾶς ζημίας εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πειράσῃ τοῦ δόγματος. εἰ δέ γε καὶ ὡς κενοῦντα μόνον ὠφελεῖ τὰ καθαίροντα, τί οὐ τὰς φλέβας τέμνομεν ἁπάντων, εἴτ' ἰσχνοὶ τύχοιεν ὄντες εἴτε παχεῖς εἴτ' ἰκτεριῶντες εἴτε μελαγχολῶντες; ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἰσχνοῖς οὖσιν ἱκανῶς οὐ σμικρὰν ἤνεγκεν ὠφέλειαν ἡ τοῦ λυποῦντος χυμοῦ κένωσις. εἰ δ' α�ίματος ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν ἐτόλμησέ τις, εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα λέγειν ἀναγκάζουσιν Ἀσκληπιάδην οἱ ὄγκοι καὶ πόροι καὶ τὰ ἄναρμα στοιχεῖα, τούτοις γὰρ ἔπεται τὸ μηδεμίαν εἶναι τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν ἀλλοτρίαν ποιότητα μηδὲ τὴν τῶν ὁσημέραι διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐκκενουμένων περιττωμάτων, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐπισχεθῇ ἡ γαστήρ, τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ πλήθους ἡμᾶς βλάπτεσθαι καὶ εἶναι τὴν ἴασιν ἢ ὀλιγοσιτίαν ἢ ἀσιτίαν παντελῆ. πλῆθος γάρ τοι τοιούτων λόγων ἀποτετόλμηται πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῖς ἐναργέσι μαχομένων, οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας τὸ φαινόμενον ἀπορεῖν ἀναγκάζουσιν, τοὺς δὲ γιγνώσκοντας ἐκπλήττεσθαί τε καὶ θαυμάζειν τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν τἀνθρώπου. ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ἀσκληπιάδου τόλμαν ἐν ἑτέροις ἐπὶ πλέον λεχθήσεται). In his translation of this text of Galen's, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq translates the 'molecules' as *ajrām* (same as T2) but 'pores' as *furaj*, or "gaps," which is neither how T2 nor how Ibn al-Faḍl (T1) renders the word. The text reads (Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq al-ʿIbādī, *Kitāb Jalīnūs fī l-istiqṣāt ʿalā raʾy Abuqrāṭ* [[Cairo]: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣrīya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb, 1986], 125): وأما اسقلبيادس الذي يروم إبطال جميع محاسن الطب بقوله، فإنه يريد، لكان أجرامه وفرجه تلك العجيبة التي ادّعاها، أن يقنعنا أن كل واحد من الأدوية...

[182]See Gautier's apparatus. The two manuscripts are: Paris gr. 1182 (13th century) [= P] and Vat. gr. 405 (12th century) [= r]. The latter replaces *πώρους* with *πόρους* at line 104. I have not consulted the manuscripts, and based on the (typical) *ratio editionis* which the edition follows, as reported by Westerink in his preface to Gautier's posthumous edition, might suggest that an 'orthographical' error like this in any manuscript other than Codex P might have been ignored: "All variant readings, without even the exception of orthographical ones, are noted in the apparatus criticus… Orthographical errors of the rest of the codices, the majority of which were produced with less care, are ignored (Codicis Parisini variae lectiones omnes, ne orthographicis quidem exceptis, in apparatu critico notantur… reliquorum codicum, quorum plerique minore cura exarati sunt, orthographica negleguntur)": p. XVI. — The situation as reported in Gautier's edition, at any rate, is a bit odd, for one would have expected Psellos to note the fact that he is reinterpreting the word *πόρους* as *πώρους*.

[183]*jirm* is a technical term of philosophy as well; e.g., Ibn Sīnā, *Ishārāt*, 2.1.13 = Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt li-Abī ʿAlī ibn Sīnā, maʿ sharḥ Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā (Dār al-Maʿārif, 1960–), vol. 2, p. 197 (*jirmīya*).

[184]Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Najāt min al-gharaq fī baḥr al-ḍalālāt*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānešpažūh (Tehran, [1985]), 106_{6-10}, 116_3; *khalāʾ* appears on its own at 112_7. Al-Ghazālī's famous attempt to refute the 'philosophers' (completed in 1095 CE— see W. Montgomery Watt, *EI*², s.v. "al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid…") uses the phrase *al-malāʾ wa-l-khalāʾ* for a similar purpose: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. Sulyamān Dunyā (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1972), 111–112.

his own interpretation which eliminates the notion of discrete molecules and reads the "pores" as referring to the concept of empty space, or 'void' — something which Aristotelians held to be as impossible as atoms, so that it still fits Basil's rhetorical purpose here, which is to ridicule ancient philosophical doctrines. And yet Ibn al-Faḍl's translation interprets Basil's text through the lens of contemporary Arabic Aristotelianism. Every translation is an interpretation; this particular passage of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation illustrates that his framework for understanding Byzantine ecclesiastical texts was that of Arabic Aristotelians, whose philosophical language shaped his interpretation.

Byzantine engagement with ancient and late antique thought is traditionally viewed as insular and concerned only with recycling older doctrines. This passage of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation suggests that at least in the periphery, Byzantines brought their familiarity with Arabic authors to bear on their reading of the Greek tradition.

Astronomy (1.4)

Not long after this passage, Basil moves on to mocking astronomers for wasting their labor on the irrelevant details of cosmic positions and movement. To do so, he rattles off astronomical terms:

> Ἤπου αὐτοῖς ἡ περιουσία τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σοφίας προσθήκην οἴσει ποτὲ τῆς χαλεπῆς κατακρίσεως, ὅτι οὕτως ὀξὺ περὶ τὰ μάταια βλέποντες, ἑκόντες πρὸς τὴν σύνεσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπετυφλώθησαν. Ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν ἄστρων τὰ διαστήματα καταμετροῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἀειφανεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρκτῴους ἀπογραφόμενοι καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τὸν νότιον πόλον κείμενοι τοῖς μέν εἰσι φανεροί, ἡμῖν δὲ ἄγνωστοι, καὶ βόρειον πλάτος καὶ ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον μυρίοις διαστήμασι διαιροῦντες, καὶ ἐπαναφορὰς ἄστρων καὶ στηριγμοὺς καὶ ἀποκλίσεις καὶ πάντων τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ προηγούμενα κίνησιν δι' ἀκριβείας τηρήσαντες, καὶ διὰ πόσου χρόνου τῶν πλανωμένων ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ περίοδον ἐκπληροῖ…
>
> Perhaps abundance of wisdom about this world will one day bring them additional harsh condemnation, because, while so keenly gazing at worthless things, they were willingly blinded to comprehension of the truth. But those who measure the distances of the planets, who note down both those of them which are always visible and Arctic and those which lie around the south pole — they are visible to some but unknown to us — who divide both northern latitude and the Zodiacal circle into countless intervals, who observe precisely the stars' *epanaphorai*, stations, returns,[185] and the movement of all according to the foregoing (parameters), and how much time each of the planets takes to complete its cycle…[186]

T2 reads:

> ولعلّ زيادة حكمتهم في العالم تصير زيادة في الحكومة الصعبة عليهم في وقتٍ من الأوقات، اذ كانوا قد نظروا إلى الباطل نظراً هكذا حادّاً، ثم عَمِهوا عن فهم الحق. ولكن هؤلاء الذين مسحوا مقادير النجوم وأبعادها، وأثبتوا ما هو منها دائم الظهور وجنوبي، وعرفوا ما يقرب منها إلى القطب القبلي مما هو ظاهر لآخرين، ونحن لا نعلم به، وما في الجانب الشمالي، وما قسموه من نطاق البروج، وما عرفوه من مطالع النجوم ووقوفها وميلها، وما استقصوه في ذكر الحركة المتوجهة إلى قدّام، وفي كم من المدّة يقطع كل كوكب من الكواكب المتحيّرة التائهة جُملة الفلك.

[185]For these parameters, see the relevant notes in ch. 3, p. 157.

[186] Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.4 = MR 7_{11}–8_4. Trans. NPNF Basil, 54.

> And perhaps their excess of wisdom about the world becomes an excess in the hard judgment (*al-ḥukūma al-ṣaʿba*) against them[187] sometime, since they had contemplated (*naẓarū ilā*)[188] the worthless (*al-bāṭil*) so keenly [but] then strayed (*ʿamihū*) from understanding the truth. But these men, who measured the magnitudes (*maqādīr*) of the stars (*nujūm*) and their distances, and established which of them is perpetually visible and southerly, and came to know which of them is near to the South Pole among those which are visible to others while we know nothing of them; and what is in the northern part,[189] and the belt (*niṭāq* ∼ *ζώνη*) of the constellations [i.e., the Zodiac] which they divided, and the ascendants of stars, their station (*wuqūf*), and their declination (*mayl*), which they came to know, and what they inquired into concerning the mentioning of the movement which aims forward, and in how long a period each of the wandering, confused (*tāʾiha*) stars crosses the totality of the celestial sphere.[190]

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1) reads:

> ولعلّ زيادة حكمتهم في العالم تمتري لهم في بعض الاحايين وافر العذاب ووخيمه، اذ كان نظرهم في الباطل ثاقباً[1]، وفي فهم الحق مظلماً[2]. نعم والذين[3] مسحوا ابعاد الكواكب وأثبتوا ما هو منها[4] دائم[5] الظهور وجنوبي، وما[6] هو منها قريب من القطب القبلي، ظاهرٌ[7] لقوم آخرين، ومستترٌ عنّا في الجانب الشمالي، وقسموا فلك البروج[8] بعدّة أبعاداً، ورصدوا مطالع النجوم ووقوفها وميلها، واستقصوا النظر[9] في الحركة المتوجهة إلى قدّام، وفي[10] كم من[11] المدّة يقطع كل كوكب من الكواكب المتحيرة فلكه.
>
> And perhaps their excess of wisdom about the world will extract (*tamtarī*)[191] for them at some time abundant and evil torment, since their contemplation of the worthless (*bāṭil*) was penetrating/bright (*thāqib*), and of understanding the truth (*al-ḥaqq*), murky (*muẓlim*). And furthermore, those who measured (*masaḥū*)[192] the distances of the stars (*kawākib*), and established which of them is perpetually visible and southerly,

[187]The *ʿalayhim* means both that the judgement is "against" them and that it is difficult "for" them. *Ḥukūma*, the modern word for 'government,' is also a gerund (*maṣdar*) of the verb 'to pass judgement' (*ḥakama*). *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *ḥkm*: الحُكْمُ القَضاء، وجمعه أَحْكامٌ... وقد حَكَمَ عليه بالأمر يَحْكُمُ حُكْماً وحُكومةً وحكم بينهم كذلك.

[188]Perhaps *ilā* should be emended to *fī*.

[189]At this point T2 and Ibn al-Faḍl differ, in that T2 seems to construe this phrase about the "northern side" as going with what follows (which would be correct), while Ibn al-Faḍl associates it with what comes before. But the phrase in T2 is particularly awkward here, and so perhaps we may propose that *wa-mā* here is interpolated by dittography, since the following phrases also begin with *wa-mā*, which would leave T1 and T2 with the same interpretation. Either way, both translations read as if the exemplar read καὶ βορείῳ πλάτει (a variant not attested in Mendieta and Rudberg's apparatus) instead of καὶ βόρειον πλάτος.

[190]**S** 12^{v}.

[191]*Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *mry*: مَرَوْا بالسُّيوفِ المُرْهَفاتِ دِماءهُمْ أَي استخرجوها واستدرُّوها. ابن سيده: مَرَى الشيءَ وامْتَراه استخرجه. حديث عائكة:.

[192]The word *masaḥa* can mean many things (wipe, rub, anoint — like the Messiah, *al-masīḥ*), but here it means to measure. *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *msḥ*: "*misāha*: measurement of land... To *masaḥa* land... means to measure it" (والمِساحةُ: ذَرْعُ الأَرض؛ يقال: مَسَحَ يَمْسَحُ مَسْحاً، ومَسَحَ الأَرضَ مِساحة أَي ذَرَعَها).

[1]ثاقباً: ذ؛ ثاقب ب د [2]مظلماً: ذ؛ مظلم ب د [3]والذين: د ذ؛ الذين ب [4]ما هو منها: ب د؛ منها ما هو: ذ؛ فعبارة «ذ» أصحّ، ولكن في الترجمة الثانية عبارة «ب» و«د» [5]دائم: د ذ؛ دائماً ب [6]الظهور وجنوبي، وما: تلف في ذ [7]ظاهرٌ: ذ؛ ظاهراً ب د [8]في الجانب الشمالي، وقسموا فلك البروج: ب د؛ وقسموا الجا[نب الشمالي] وفلك البروج: ذ [9]النظر: تلف في ذ [10]وفي: د ذ (الا أنّ في د خطّاً من ميم في السطر الذي فوقه يدخل السطر بعد الواو فقد يبدو أنه أَلِف)؛ وافي ب [11]من: د ذ؛ في ب

> and which of them is close to the South Pole (*al-quṭb al-qiblī*), visible to others (*qawm ākharīn*), and hidden from us on the northern side. And they divided the Zodiac (*falak al-burūj*) by a number of distances, and they observed the ascendants of the stars, their station (*wuqūf*), and their declination (*mayl*); and they examined by contemplation (*istaqṣaw al-naẓar*) the movement which aims forward, and in how long a period (*fī kam min al-mudda*) each of the wandering stars crosses its celestial sphere.[193]

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation here clearly draws heavily on T2, at the same time replacing its overall sentence structure with his much clearer and more direct constructions. T2 takes some care in translating the astronomical terms, and Ibn al-Faḍl follows most of T2's choices. His divergences are therefore telling.

First of all, Ibn al-Faḍl has replaced T2's *nujūm* (stars, sg. *najm*) with *kawākib* (planets/celestial bodies, sg. *kawkab*), where Basil had used a form of the word ἀστήρ. The words *najm* and *kawkab* were closely associated; in the astronomical context, *Lisān al-ʿarab* defines a *najm* as referring either to "all the *kawākib*" or specifically to the Pleiades.[194] Historically, *kawkab* seems to be the earlier word for a celestial body,[195] while *najm* probably acquired it from the verb *najama*, which means "to rise [like a celestial body] (*ṭalaʿa*) and appear (*ẓahara*),"[196] but already in the early Islamic period, the two words seem to have been roughly synonymous. Nevertheless, in astronomical/astrological literature, the two words tended to be used in different ways. *Najm* supplied a name for the discipline, *ʿilm al-nujūm* (astronomy) and *aḥkām al-nujūm* (astrology), and so for the name of its practitioner as well (*munajjim*). On the other hand, astrological/astronomical texts themselves tend to refer to particular heavenly bodies and classes thereof, like the fixed and wandering stars, as *kawākib*: *al-kawākib al-thābita* (or *al-biyābānīya*) versus *al-kawākib al-jāriya* (or *al-mutaḥayyira*).[197] In this way, Ibn al-Faḍl's revision represents a choice between two words which were synonymous in ordinary parlance, in favor of the word used in astronomical/astrological texts in the sort of context which Basil is evoking: Basil is referring to the distances between any given stars, that is particular, though unspecified, stars — and so the word most consistent with astronomical literature here would be Ibn al-Faḍl's *kawākib*.

Likewise Ibn al-Faḍl modifies *al-kawākib al-mutaḥayyira al-tā'iha*, at the end of the passage, by omitting the last word.[198] "The wandering stars," *al-kawākib al-mutaḥayyira*, was a standard astronomical phrase, while the expression produced by T2's doublet for πλανωμένων — "wan-

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[193] **B** 13, **D** 6, **E** [5]–[6].

[194] *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *njm*, for example: والنُّجوم تَجمع الكواكب كلها. ابن سيده: والنَّجْمُ الكوكب، وقد خصّ الثرَيا.

[195] *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *kwkb*: الكَوْكَبُ، معروف، من كَواكِبِ السماءِ، ويُشَبَّه به النَّور، فيُسَمى كَوْكَباً.

[196] *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *njm*: نَجَمَ الشيءُ يَنْجُم، بالضم، نُجوماً: طَلَعَ وظهر. ونَجَمَ النباتُ والنابُ والقَرْنُ والكوكبُ وغيرُ ذلك: طلَعَ.

[197] For examples, see Alexandre M. Roberts, "The Crossing Paths of Greek and Persian Knowledge in the 9th-century Arabic 'Book of Degrees'," in *Le vie del sapere in ambito siro-mesopotamico dal III al IX secolo. Atti del convegno internazionale tenuto a Roma nei giorni 12–13 maggio 2011*, ed. Carla Noce, Massimo Pampaloni, and Claudia Tavolieri, OCA 293 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2013), 285–92. The *Kitāb asrār al-nujūm* (see ibid., 288–9) refers to the "secret of the stars" (*asrār al-nujūm*) but then whenever talking about specific stars, individually or collectively, even if their specificity is not made explicit, the word used is *kawkab/kawākib*: e.g., "the fixed stars" (*al-kawākib al-bābānīya*), "if stars [i.e., particular — though here unspecified — stars] are…" (*fa-inna l-kawākib idhā kānat…*); §[0] = lines 5, 7–8 = f. 206^{v} = Paul Kunitzsch, "*Liber de stellis beibeniis*," in *Hermetis Trismegisti astrologica et diuinatoria* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001), 56, 58.

[198] T2 is here using the word *kawākib* precisely as astronomers would; it is the end of the phrase which is odd.

dering, lost" (*al-mutaḥayyira al-tāʾiha*) — is not.[199] Again, a subtle change in the translation has produced a text which resonates much better with astronomical vocabulary.

Another example is the word for Zodiac. T2's *niṭāq* (belt), equivalent to the Greek ζώνη, which in turn can be used in the sense of ζῴδιον, the Zodiac.[200] The phrase *niṭāq al-burūj* is thus perfectly understandable. But in Arabic, *falak al-burūj* is the standard technical term for the Zodiac, so that a translator familiar with astronomical literature (even if indirectly) would clearly prefer it; and indeed, Ibn al-Faḍl revises T2's translation to read *falak al-burūj*.[201]

At the same time, Ibn al-Faḍl's decisions *not* to revise may be revealing as well. The phrase which both translations use to render Basil's "South Pole" is *al-quṭb al-qiblī*. What is striking about the phrase is its evidently Muslim connotations. Literally, it means something like "the pole in the direction of prayer." The Christian direction of prayer (*qibla*) is and was to the East, whereas for Muslims it seems to have been Jerusalem, as for the Jews, at first, and then Mecca soon afterwards (within two years of the *hijra*, according to Muslim tradition).[202] From the point of view of Syria and Iraq, Mecca was roughly to the South, whence, presumably, *qiblī* came to mean 'south.'[203] Ibn al-Faḍl could have chosen to revise this by using a more neutral term for 'south' such as *janūbī*. Instead he chose to keep T2's *qiblī*, perhaps because this term with Muslim origins had become a standard designation whose etymology failed to trouble him.

Ibn al-Faḍl appears attentive to the choice of non-technical vocabulary as well. Already above in the opening passage of the first homily, we saw Ibn al-Faḍl use the word *thāqib*, to describe the soul's "searching" (*faḥṣ*). Here again it appears, now to describe the astronomer's attention to the worthless (*bāṭil*); in this context, the connotation of light is clearly intended, for this "penetrating/illumined" (*thāqib*) obsession with the stars is contrasted with the darkness which enshrouds "their understanding of the truth." This is not technical vocabulary — at least not for astronomy — but it resonates with discourses of light and darkness, and Ibn al-Faḍl's repeated use of this word in similar contexts betrays a certain attentiveness to the search for divine light in darkness, for the Truth (*al-ḥaqq*).[204] It also accords with the only two appearances of the word *thāqib* in the Quran. In the brief *Sūrat al-Ṭāriq*, it is used to describe "the piercing star" (*al-najmu l-thāqib*), as part of a forceful affirmation of man's miraculous creation and future resurrection.[205] The other instance of the word is in *Sūrat al-Ṣāffāt*, where again it is associated with creation, resurrection

[199]See Roberts, "Crossing Paths," 285–92. For doublets as a phenomenon of translation from Greek into Arabic, see Tuerlinckx, "Lexique," 482–5. Another example in this same passage is T2's *masaḥū maqādīra l-nujūmi wa-abʿādahā*, where *miqdār* seeks to reemphasize the second half of the compound word καταμετρούντες. Ibn al-Faḍl removes this redundant vagueness, leaving only the more precise *abʿād*.

[200]LSJ s.v. ζώνη III.2.c.

[201]As Asad Ahmed points out, however, '*minṭaqat al-burūj*' may be used to refer to the Zodiac as well (*minṭaqa* is etymologically related to *niṭāq*).

[202]A. J. Wensinck, "Ḳibla, i.—Ritual and Legal Aspects," in *EI*².

[203]The linguistic phenomenon may be related to one of the most important tasks of an astronomer working for Muslim patrons: calculating, for a given location, the direction of Mecca.

[204]As Maria Mavroudi has pointed out to me, the Sufi technical term *al-Ḥaqq* as a favorite name for God must be closely related to the passage "I am the Way and Truth and Life" (ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωὴ, John 14:6), often found on Christian icons, and that the most important Christian association of God with Light is also to be found on icons, "I am the light of the world…" (ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου…, John 8:12).

[205]Q 86 (*thāqib* at 86:3:).

— and here, God's vengeance.[206] I am not arguing that Ibn al-Faḍl is making a direct Quranic reference simply by using the word *thāqib* in a similar way.[207] But the parallel suggests that Ibn al-Faḍl may be drawing on contemporary Muslim discourse about light, revelation, punishment and redemption, simply by seeking to render Basil's words into resonant Arabic.

Resurrection and metamorphosis (8.8)

After surveying sea animals in his seventh homily, Basil turns to land animals and birds in his eighth. The various creatures serve him as marvels which indicate the ingenuity of the Creator, as models of human virtues and vices, and as proofs of what is possible. His disquisition on the silk-worm falls in the last category:

> Τί φατε, οἱ ἀπιστοῦντες τῷ Παύλῳ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀλλοιώσεως, ὁρῶντες πολλὰ τῶν ἀερίων τὰς μορφὰς μεταβάλλοντα; Ὁποῖα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ σκώληκος ἱστορεῖται τοῦ κερασφόρου, ὅς, εἰς κάμπην τὰ πρῶτα μεταβαλών, εἶτα προϊὼν βομβυλιὸς γίνεται· καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταύτης ἵσταται τῆς μορφῆς, ἀλλὰ χαύνοις καὶ πλατέσι πετάλοις ὑποπτεροῦται. Ὅταν οὖν καθέζησθε τὴν τούτων ἐργασίαν ἀναπηνιζόμεναι, αἱ γυναῖκες, τὰ νήματα λέγω, ἃ πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν οἱ Σῆρες πρὸς τὴν τῶν μαλακῶν ἐνδυμάτων κατασκευήν, μεμνημέναι τῆς κατὰ τὸ ζῷον τοῦτο μεταβολῆς, ἐναργῆ λαμβάνετε τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἔννοιαν καὶ μὴ ἀπιστεῖτε τῇ ἀλλαγῇ ἣν Παῦλος πᾶσι κατεπαγγέλλεται.
>
> What do you say, you who do not believe Paul concerning the alteration at the resurrection, when you see so many of the [creatures] of the air changing shape? Such things are also told about the horned worm of India, which first changes into a cater-

[206] Q 37:1–21 (*thāqib* at 37:10:), trans. Pickthall: ﴿١﴾ وَالصَّافَّاتِ صَفًّا ﴿٢﴾ فَالزَّاجِرَاتِ زَجْرًا ﴿٣﴾ إِنَّ إِلَهَكُمْ لَوَاحِدٌ ﴿٤﴾ رَّبُّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا وَرَبُّ الْمَشَارِقِ ﴿٥﴾ إِنَّا زَيَّنَّا السَّمَاءَ الدُّنْيَا بِزِينَةٍ الْكَوَاكِبِ ﴿٦﴾ وَحِفْظًا مِّن كُلِّ شَيْطَانٍ مَّارِدٍ ﴿٧﴾ لَّا يَسَّمَّعُونَ إِلَى الْمَلَإِ الْأَعْلَى وَيُقْذَفُونَ مِن كُلِّ جَانِبٍ ﴿٨﴾ دُحُورًا وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ وَاصِبٌ ﴿٩﴾ إِلَّا مَنْ خَطِفَ الْخَطْفَةَ فَأَتْبَعَهُ شِهَابٌ ثَاقِبٌ ﴿١٠﴾ فَاسْتَفْتِهِمْ أَهُمْ أَشَدُّ خَلْقًا أَم مَّنْ خَلَقْنَا إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاهُم مِّن طِينٍ لَّازِبٍ ﴿١١﴾ بَلْ عَجِبْتَ وَيَسْخَرُونَ ﴿١٢﴾ وَإِذَا ذُكِّرُوا لَا يَذْكُرُونَ ﴿١٣﴾ وَإِذَا رَأَوْا آيَةً يَسْتَسْخِرُونَ ﴿١٤﴾ وَقَالُوا إِنْ هَذَا إِلَّا سِحْرٌ مُّبِينٌ ﴿١٥﴾ أَإِذَا مِتْنَا وَكُنَّا تُرَابًا وَعِظَامًا أَإِنَّا لَمَبْعُوثُونَ ﴿١٦﴾ أَوَآبَاؤُنَا الْأَوَّلُونَ ﴿١٧﴾ قُلْ نَعَمْ وَأَنتُمْ دَاخِرُونَ ﴿١٨﴾ فَإِنَّمَا هِيَ زَجْرَةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ فَإِذَا هُمْ يَنظُرُونَ ﴿١٩﴾ وَقَالُوا يَا وَيْلَنَا هَذَا يَوْمُ الدِّينِ ﴿٢٠﴾ هَذَا يَوْمُ الْفَصْلِ الَّذِي كُنتُم بِهِ تُكَذِّبُونَ ﴿٢١﴾. "By those who set the ranks in battle order And those who drive away (the wicked) with reproof And those who read (the Word) for a reminder, Lo! thy Lord is surely One; Lord of the heavens and of the earth and all that is between them, and Lord of the sun's risings. Lo! We have adorned the lowest heaven with an ornament, the planets; With security from every froward devil. They cannot listen to the Highest Chiefs for they are pelted from every side, Outcast, and theirs is a perpetual torment; Save him who snatcheth a fragment, and there pursueth him a piercing flame. Then ask them (O Muhammad): Are they stronger as a creation, or those (others) whom we have created? Lo! We created them of plastic clay. Nay, but thou dost marvel when they mock And heed not when they are reminded, And seek to scoff when they behold a portent. And they say: Lo! this is mere magic; When we are dead and have become dust and bones, shall we then, forsooth, be raised (again)? And our forefathers? Say (O Muhammad): Ye, in truth; and ye will be brought low. There is but one Shout, and lo! they behold, And say: Ah, woe for us! This is the Day of Judgment. This is the Day of Separation, which ye used to deny." The *shihāb thāqib* should be understood as a shooting star; Paul Kunitzsch, "Planets and Stars," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2001–2006).

[207] Asad Ahmed points out to me that the term *muẓlim* appearing here in the same sentence of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation has Quranic resonance. In *Sūrat Yūnus* (Q 10:27), sinners are described veiled in darkness — "as if their faces had been covered with a cloak of darkest night" (trans. Pickthall) — and destined for hellfire.

pillar (κάμπην), then proceeds to become a buzzing insect;[208] nor does it remain in this form, but acquires loose and broad plates instead of wings.[209] When you are seated, unwinding the word of those [creatures], O women, by which I mean the threads which the silkworms/Chinese[210] send you for the preparation of soft garments, remember the change (μεταβολῆς) in this animal, conceive a clear idea of the resurrection, and do not refuse to believe in the change (ἀλλαγῇ) that Paul announces for all.[211]

T2 reads:

فما تقولون يا من لا يصدّقون بولس في الاستحالة التي تكون وقت القيامة، اذا ما رأيتم عدّة كبيرة[1] مما يسلك الهواء ويغير صورة، بحسب ما يخبر عن الدودة الهنديّة القزيّة، فهي في الاوّل تنتقل إلى مثال الدودة المسمّاة قنبين[2]، ثم تزيد قليلاً قليلاً فيصير شكلها عريضاً، وبعد هذا لا تثبت[3] على هذه الصورة، بل يصير لها صفائح عريضة رخوة تقوم لها مقام الريش في الطيران. واذا جلس (كذا) النساء على العمل في القزّ، وسلكنَ ما يحلّ منه مما يهديه لكم الدود، المستكن فيه لإصلاح الثياب البهيّة، وتذكّرت (كذا) الحال في تنقّل ذلك الحيوان الذي يصنع القزّ، فتفكّروا انتم في حال القيامة، ولا تكذبوا الابتدال الذي وعد به بولس للكلّ.

So what do you say, O you who do not believe Paul (Būlus) concerning the transformation (*istiḥāla*) which occurs at the time of the resurrection, when you see a large number of [animals] which make there way through the air and change form (*yughayyir ṣūra*)? According to what is reported about the horned Indian worm, it changes (*tantaqil*) at the beginning into something wormlike (*mithāl al-dūda*) called a *qanbīn* [∼ κάμπην, a caterpillar]; thereupon it grows a little, then its form becomes broad (*ʿarīḍan*); thereafter it does not remain in this form but acquires loose, broad plates (*ṣafāʾiḥ*) which stand on it in the place of the feathers in flight (*ṭayarān*). When women sit down to work silk (*qazz*) and unwind (*sallakna*)[212] that which is released (*yuḥall*) from it, which the worms send you (*yuhdīhi lakum*), [and which had been] concealed (*mustakann*) within it, for the improvement (*iṣlāḥ*) of splendid clothes, and they (the women?) remember[213] the situation concerning the changing (*tanaqqul*) of

[208]Although βομβυλιὸς can also mean a silk-worm's cocoon; see LSJ s.v., I.1–2. The cocoon is also suggested by the Arabic translations, which refer to this shape as being "wide/broad." Cf. the Greek glosses in manuscripts E1, E2 and E6, in the apparatus to Bas.*Hex.* MR, 143_{18}.

[209]ὑποπτεροῦται: absent from the LSJ, this verb appears in Lampe s.v., where the only example is this passage, and the definition given is to "use as wings." Jackson's translation here "it clothes itself, instead of wings, with…" The Arabic translation construe the word in a similar way.

[210]Σήρ, usually in the plural (Σῆρες), could mean either "the people from whom silk was obtained (i.e. the Chinese)," as in Strabo, or the silkworm itself, as in Pausanias (see LSJ s.v., I–II). The Arabic translations understand the second definition.

[211]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 8.8 = MR 143_{15}–144_{16}. Trans. based on NPNF Basil, 100.

[212]The same consonantal skeleton could be read "they thread" (*salakna*), but I choose to read *sallakna* because it accords better with the Greek's "unwinding" (ἀναπηνιζόμεναι).

[213]T2 has construed the participle μεμνημέναι as going with the previous clause, rather than the following clause — that is, unless we decide to emend تذكرت to the feminine-plural imperative تذكرن, a reasonable emendation on the basis of letter shapes, at least.

[1]كبيرة: نقطة الباء ساقطة في پ [2]قنبين: صححته؛ قنبتن، بلا نقطتي النون الاول والباء، في پ [3]تثبت: صححته؛ تنبت: پ، بدون نقطتي التاء الاولى

that animal which produces silk, think (*fa-tafakkarū antum*) about the situation of the Resurrection, and do not disbelieve the change (*ibtidāl*) which Paul promised for all.[214]

Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1) reads:

ما[1] تقولون أيّها المنكرون لِما أتى به السعيد بولص في معنى التغيير الحادث في القيامة، اذا ما رأيتم كثيراً من الحيوان قد أحال[2] صورته، مثلما[3] يذكر عن الدودة الهندية المقرنة، فهي في الاوّل تنتقل إلى مثال الدودة المسمّاة قنبين، ثم تزيد قليلاً[4]، فيصير شكلها عريضاً[5]، وبعد هذا لا تثبت[6] على هذه الصورة، بل يصير لها صفائح عريضة رخوة تقوم لها مقام الريش في الطيران. واذا جلسَت[7] النساء على العمل في القزّ، وسلكنَ ما يُحَلّ منه مما يُهديه لكم الدود، المستكنّ فيه لإصلاح الثياب البهيّة، فتذكّروا الحال في تنقُّل هذا الحيوان، واذا استبان لكم معنى القيامة وانحرفتم عن التكذيب للغيار الذي وعد به الطوبان بولص للكلّ.

What do you say, O you who deny what the blessed Paul (Būluṣ) offers on the subject of the changing (*taghyīr*) which shall take place at the Resurrection, when you see that many an animal has transmuted its form (*aḥāla ṣūratahu*), such as that which is reported of the horned Indian worm? For it shifts (*tantaqil*) at the beginning into something wormlike called a *qanbīn*; thereupon it grows a little, then its form becomes broad; thereafter it does not remain in this form but acquires loose, broad plates which stand on it in the place of the feathers in flight. When women sit down to work silk and unwind that which is released from it, which the worms send you, [and which had been] concealed within it, for the improvement of splendid clothes, remember the situation concerning the changing (*tanaqqul*) of this animal; and therefore (?*wa-idhan*) the concept of the resurrection has become clear to you, and you have turned away from disbelieving the change (*ghiyār*) which the beatific Paul promised for all.[215]

This passage, by the nature of its subject matter, allows us to examine how Ibn al-Faḍl renders the concepts of transformation and metamorphosis. Much of the text of this passage Ibn al-Faḍl draws straight from T2, perhaps because silkworms are not his area of expertise, such that he would rather follow T2's interpretation than offer his own. But he does offer a few slight shifts in vocabulary of transformation.

What takes place at the resurrection? For Basil it is ἀλλοίωσις (alteration), with the etymological implication that the *quality* of something is being changed. In T2, this becomes *istiḥāla* (transformation), suggesting a changing *condition*, but also a Christian technical term for 'transubstantiation.' Ibn al-Faḍl changes this to the more neutral *taghyīr* (change). Basil's aerial animals "change their forms" (τὰς μορφὰς μεταβάλλοντα); T2's animal "changes form" (*yughayyir ṣūra*), and Ibn al-Faḍl's "transforms its form" (*ahāla ṣūratahu*) — such that now Ibn al-Faḍl has swapped T2's more neutral verb from the root *ġyr* (connoting 'difference') to the root for 'transformation,' 'transmutation,' 'transubstantiation,' *ḥwl*.

[214] **P** 91^{r-v}; *faṣl* 13.

[215] **D** 134$_{22}$–135$_{8}$, **E** 107.

[1] ما: ذ؛ ماذا د [2] أحال: ذ؛ أجال د [3] مثلما: د؛ كما ذ [4] قليلاً: ذ؛ قليل د [5] عريضاً: ذ؛ عريض د [6] تثبت: ذ؛ تثبث د [7] جلسَت: ذ؛ جلس د

Is this a significant choice which reserves *ġyr* for resurrection and *ḥwl* for metamorphoses among animals? For the rest of the passage, Ibn al-Faḍl follows T2 in using verbs from the root *nql*, connoting movement, to describe the changes which silkworms undergo: they "move" (*tantaqil*) into the form of a caterpillar, then grow, acquiring winglike plates. The silk-working women are instructed to remember the silkworm's "movement" (*tanaqqul*), that is, change, from one form to another. For the same changes, Basil had used μεταβαλών/μεταβολή, connoting 'change' or 'transition' (thus carrying a hint of movement). But then when he turns again to the resurrection, Ibn al-Faḍl insists on using *ghiyār* (again, from the root *ġyr*), where T2 had the odd word *ibtidāl*, formed from the root *bdl* and so suggesting 'exchange' of one form for another — a fairly literal translation of ἀλλαγή, which can also mean 'exchange.'[216] Ibn al-Faḍl may simply have replaced this word because it is odd, but in that case he could have chosen a more customary verb from the same root, like *mubādala* or *istibdāl*. It seems that Ibn al-Faḍl preferred to leave unspecified what sort of change was to take place at the resurrection — or at least to exclude language of 'transmutation' and 'exchange' from its description.

Shades of Meaning: the shrine of nature, ineffable, inaccessible

We have already seen several occasions where Ibn al-Faḍl, by subtle shifts in style and vocabulary, has produced a new emphasis, as when he emphasizes the soul's desire for God in the opening of the first homily, or in the eighth, where he appears attentive to how the change which is to take place at the Resurrection is characterized. Here I examine a passage in which Basil evokes the mystery of the cosmos by making a comparison between proceeding with the discussion he had begun in his first homily and seeking to enter forbidden or inaccessible sanctuaries, to discover the unspeakable secrets within. For Basil begins his second homily, on the verse "the earth was invisible and unformed,"[217] by calling to mind a temple:

> Μικροῖς ἔωθεν ἐνδιατρίψαντες ῥήμασι, τοσοῦτον ἀποκεκρυμμένον τὸ βάθος τῆς διανοίας εὕρομεν, ὥστε τῶν ἐφεξῆς παντελῶς ἀπογνῶναι. Εἰ γὰρ τὰ προαύλια τῶν ἁγίων τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰ προπύλαια τοῦ ναοῦ οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα, τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ κάλλους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν περιαστράπτοντα, ποταπὰ τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων; Καὶ τίς ἱκανὸς κατατολμῆσαι τῶν ἀδύτων; Ἢ τίς ἐπόψεται τὰ ἀπόρρητα; Ἀπρόσιτος μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ θέα, δυσερμήνευτος δὲ παντελῶς τῶν νοηθέντων ὁ λόγος. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῷ δικαίῳ κριτῇ, καὶ ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ προελέσθαι τὰ δέοντα οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητοί εἰσιν ἀφωρισμένοι μισθοί, μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν πρὸς τὴν ἔρευναν.
>
> In the few words which have occupied us this morning we have found such a depth of thought that we despair of penetrating further. If such is the forecourt of the sanctuary, if the portico of the temple is so grand and magnificent, if the splendour of its beauty thus dazzles the eyes of the soul, what will be the holy of holies? Who will dare to try to gain access to the innermost shrine? Who will look into its secrets? To gaze into it is indeed forbidden us, and language is powerless to express what the mind conceives. However, since there are rewards, and most desirable ones, reserved

[216] LSJ s.v., II.1.

[217] In some manuscripts, the homily is labeled: Περὶ τοῦ ἀόρατος ἦν ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. This heading is not printed in the text by Mendieta and Rudberg, since it is addition in some manuscripts (A1 A3). I print it here for comparison which the Arabic, which has these headings. (As mentioned above, p. 107 , the Arabic headings probably derive from the Greek headings in T2's exemplar.)

by the just Judge for the intention alone of doing good, do not let us hesitate to continue our researches.[218]

T2 reads:[219]

قد كنّا قمنا[1] بالغَداة، فوجدنا في كلام يسير عوزاً من المعاني مستوراً، هذا مقدار جسامته، انّنا قد وصلنا إلى الإياس بالكلية من[2] الوصول إلى ما نبتغيه[3] فيما بعد، لأن دهاليز القديسين، اذا[4] كانت هذه صورتها، وكانت ابواب الهيكل كريمة هكذا[5] وزائدة في تفاقم الجمال، حتى قد أبهرتْ في[6] أَعينُ الفكر ببرقها وشُعاعها، فكيف تكون[7] حال قدس القديسين، ومن فيه كفاية للجسارة[8] على المواضع الممنوع منها، ومن الذي يبصر الأشياء التي لا يدركها النُّطق، اذ[9] كان النظر إليها لا يُرام، فكان[10] القول في إبانة المعاني عسر التفسير بالكلية[11]، ولكن اذا كان الثواب[12] عند الدَّيّان العدل[13] على إيثار القصد[14] ما ينبغي[15] دون العمل به ثواباً محدوداً لا يهوّن[16] به فما[17] سبيلنا أن نتراخى[18] عن الفحص.

while Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1) reads:[220]

لما[19] كنّا قد باكرنا الكشف عن ألفاظ يسيرة فوجدنا فيها معنى غامضاً لطيفاً[20]، آلت بنا الحال إلى الإيَاس من معرفة ما يتلو، لأنه إن كانت دهاليز القديسين، وابواب الهيكل بهذه الصورة من وفور الجمال، وتزايد الحُسن، حتى أنها أبهرت أعين ألبابنا، بسنائها الساطع، وبريقها اللامع، فكيف حال قدس القديسين، ومن ذا الذي فيه كفاية على الأقدام على الممتنع[21] (كذا) ، أو من ذا[22] الذي يعاين الذي لا يوصف، فإنّ مشاهدة ذاك[23] لا ترام، والمنطق يتعذر عليه إيضاح معانيه. ولما كان[24] القاضي المقسط يثيب ثواباً جليلاً[25] على إيثار ما يبتغي[26] حسب (؟)، فينبغي لنا ألا[27] نمرض في الكشف والبحث.

We will encounter "ineffable things" (*ἀπόρρητα*) in conjunction with talk of "inner sanctuaries" (*ἄδυτα*) again in chapter 5, for this metaphor continued to resonate in eleventh-century Greek letters.[221] It is relevant for Ibn al-Faḍl as well. Basil's "temple" (*ναοῦ*) — which can refer to the Christian 'temple,' the church — is a *haykal* for both T2 and Ibn al-Faḍl, a word with a similar semantic range (either a pagan temple, a "house of idols") or a Christian church, although the Muslim lexicographical tradition sought to link these two usages by contending that the icons of Christ and the Mother of God in Christian churches were idols.[222]

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[218] Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 2.1 = MR 21$_{1-11}$. Trans. NPNF Basil, 58.

[219] **G** 13^{v}–14^{r}, **P** 17^{v}–18^{r}, **S** 23^{v}–24^{r}.

[220] **D** 18, **E** 16.

[221] See Magdalino and Mavroudi, "Introduction," 15–20.

[222] The *Lisān al-ʿarab* explains (s.v. *hykl*): "And the *haykal* is a building belonging to the Christians in which is an idol with the features of Mary, as they claim, [as in the verse] 'the Christians' ambulation around the building of the *haykal*.' In *al-Muḥkam* [we read]: 'The *haykal* is a building belonging to the Christians in which is an image of Mary and Jesus, peace be upon them.' Al-Aʿshā said: 'And what is (?) a monk upon a temple which he built and made the sign of the cross within it, and two (?) became, and perhaps their monastery was named after him'. The *haykal* [can also mean] a lofty building. The *haykal* [can also mean] a place of idols [i.e., a pagan temple]"; والهَيْكَل بيت للنصارى فيه صنم على خلْقة مريم فيما يزعمون، وأَنشد: مَشْيَ النَّصارى حَوْلَ بَيتِ الهَيْكَلِ وفي المحكم: الهَيْكَل بيت للنصارى فيه صورة مريم وعيسى، عليهما السلام، قال الأَعشى: وما

[1] قمنا: غ؛ اقنا: پ س [2] من: غ س؛ الى: پ [3] نبتغيه: پ س؛ سقيه؟: غ [4] اذا: پ س؛ اذ: غ [5] كريمة هكذا: پ غ؛ هكذا كريمة: س [6] في: پ غ؛ —س [7] تكون: س؛ يكون: غ؛ والنقطتان ساقطتان في «پ» [8] للجسارة: غ س؛ على الجسارة: پ [9] اذ: س؛ اذا: پ غ [10] فكان: س؛ وكان: پ غ [11] بالكلية: س؛ —پ غ [12] الثواب: غ س؛ البواب: پ [13] عند الدَّيّان العدل: س؛ عن الديار القاضي العدل: پ؛ عند الدَّيّان القاضي(العاضي؟) للعدل: غ (وقد يكون هذا هو الصحيح). [14] القصد: پ غ؛ —س [15] ينبغي: پ س؛ نبتغي (؟): غ [16] لا يهوّن: پ س؛ ولا نهون: غ [17] فما: س؛ مما: پ؛ فما (بدون نقطة الفاء): غ [18] نتراخى: پ غ؛ نتراخا: س [19] لما: +أن: د [20] غامضاً لطيفاً: ذ؛ غامض لطيف: د [21] الأقدام على الممتنع: المقصود: «الممتنع على الأقدام» [22] ذا: ذ؛ ذاء: د [23] ذاك: د؛ ذلك ذ [24] ولما كان: ذ؛ إنه لما ′ان[1] كان: د [25] ثواباً جليلاً: ذ؛ ثواب جليل: د [26] يبتغي: د؛ ينبغي: ذ [27] ألا: ذ؛ أن لا: د

But how does Basil refer to this temple? He seems to conceive it as the Holy of Holies of the Old Testament, for just before mentioning "the doors of the temple," he refers to "the forecourt τῶν ἁγίων"; while it is possible to read this as the forecourt of the "saints" (sg. ἅγιος), the architectural reference makes much more likely that this is the forecourt of the "Holy of Holies" (the ἅγια ἁγίων). The Septuagint calls this inner sanctuary τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων (Exodus 26:33), but many Patristic writers (Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximos the Confessor, and others, most notably pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite) refer to it in the plural, τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων.[223] But T2 and Ibn al-Faḍl read this instead as "the vestibules of the saints" (*dahālīz al-qiddīsīn*). For 'holy of holies' we would have expected *quds al-aqdās.* Again, just below, where Basil refers explicitly to the Holy of Holies as τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, both translations have *quds al-qiddisīn*, which would appear to mean 'the holiness of the saints,' rather than 'the holy of holies.' Is this a broader sense for the word *qiddīs* (perhaps from the influence of Syriac *qaddīš*, which can mean a sanctuary — or a monk — as well as a saint),[224] or is it a subtle 'Christianization' of the text, an emphasis on Christian saints? The first option would actually seem to be more likely. As for the term ἄδυτα, both translations strive for a fairly literal interpretation of the term: it the place which it is "forbidden" (*mumtaniʿ*) to tread for Ibn al-Faḍl, and "the forbidden places" (*al-mawāḍiʿ al-mamnūʿa minhā*) for T2. This stresses that entrance into the sanctuary is not so much impossible as prohibited.

Ibn al-Faḍl improves the ring of a few phrases, in the process slightly shifting the meaning. Basil's τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν περιαστράπτοντα ("dazzling the eyes of our intellect") had already been expanded to T2's *abharat aʿyuna l-fikri bi-barqihā wa-shuʿāʿihā* ("dazzled the eyes of thought with their flash and rays"). Ibn al-Faḍl keeps the elaboration on *how* the temple's forecourt and propyla dazzle, developing it further, to read (with a touch of *sajʿ*, rhyming prose): *abharat aʿyuna albābinā bi-sanāʾihā l-sāṭiʿ, wa-barīqihā l-lāmiʿ* ("dazzled the eyes of our hearts with their luminous radiance and their shining luster"). It is no longer merely our intellect which is dazzled, but our hearts, our innermost thoughts. And in both translations, the temple of knowledge is conceived of as *bright*, full of light. This metaphor of light was merely implied in Basil's text with the word for 'dazzling,' which implies light; far from eliminating T2's explicit reference to light, Ibn al-Faḍl followed T2 in stressing the temple's luminosity, highlighting this quality by adding rhyming epithets for the temple's dazzling light.

أَيْبُلِيٌّ على هَيْكَلٍ بَناه، وصَلَّب فيه وصارا وربما سمي به دَيْرُهم. الهَيْكَلُ: البناء المُشرف. والهَيْكَلُ بيت الأَصنام. For the word *aybulī* (monk; or the one who rings the bell to call Christians to prayer), see *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. ʾybl (where the same verse is quoted): والأَيْبُلِيُّ الراهب، فإما أَن يكون أَعجميّاً، وإِما أَن يكون قد غيرته ياء الإضافة، وإما أَن يكون من بابِ انْقَحْلٍ، وقد قال سيبويه: ليس في الكلام فَيْعِل؛ وأَنشد الفارسي بيت الأَعشى: وما أَيْبُلِيٌّ على هَيْكَلٍ بَناهُ، وصَلَّب فيه وَصارا ومنه الحديث: كان عيسى بن مريم، على نبينا وعليه الصلاة والسلام، يسمى أَبِيلَ الأَبِيلِين؛ الأَبيل بوزن الأَمير: الراهب، سمي به لتأَبله عن النساء وترك غشْيانهن، والفعل منه أَبَلَ يأْبُلُ أَبَالة إِذا تَنَسَّك وتَرَهَّب. أَبو الهيثم: الأَيْبُلِيُّ والأَيْبُلُ صاحبُ الناقوس الذي يُنَقِّسُ النصارى بناقوسه يدعوهم به إلى الصلاة. Since Saint Paul, of course, the term 'temple' was associated with the human body, as when Paul writes, "don't you know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you?" (ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματός ἐστιν: 1 Cor 6:19). It should come as no surprise, then, to find Muslims using the term *haykal* in a similar way, as in Sufi literature, in which it has the technical sense of one's body or "corporeal form" (see Louis Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* [Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1922], 277, who quotes a passage by Junayd [d. 298/910f], on whom see *EI*².). I thank Maria Mavroudi for pointing out the relevance of Paul's formulation for an understanding of the Sufi term *haykal.*

[223]Exodus 26:33 is cited by LSJ s.v. ἅγιος I.1. For τὰ ἅγια (and patristic citations), see Lampe s.v. ἅγιος E.

[224]Costaz s.v. However, 'holy of holies' in Syriac is *qḏūš qudšē.*

In a similar way, Ibn al-Faḍl subtly changes Basil's call for continued searching (ἔρευναν) — which T2 also calls "searching" (*faḥṣ*) — to a statement that "we should not be weak/sickly in *revelation* and research" (*fa-yanbaghī lanā allā namrāḍa fī l-kashfi wa-l-baḥthi*). Ibn al-Faḍl's introduction of *kashf* suggests that he conceives of the temple of wisdom more in terms of revelation and the unveiling of secrets — that is, in mystical terms — than in terms of inquiry, as Basil does. For Basil, parts of the temple are inaccessible, but we should nevertheless strive, by careful research, to work out what we can. In Ibn al-Faḍl's formulation, revelation and illumination are possible too; *kashf* is the mystic's fervent hope.

Translation style used for Gregory of Nyssa's treatise on the human being

I now turn from comparing T1 and T2 to studying the translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* which both T1 and T2 manuscripts contain. Already above when comparing Jurayj's translation of *On Making Man* to the translation contained in T1 and T2 manuscripts, we saw a taste of the style of the latter. In particular, a line I quoted from near the beginning of the text is in just the sort of rhyming prose (*sajʿ*) which Ibn al-Faḍl typically wrote: *fa-hiya qawlun faqīr, mansūkhun min fikrinā l-maskīni l-ḥaqīr, bi-l-taʿbi wa-l-naṣabi l-kathīr.*[225]

Here I look more closely at a different passage, Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 30.1 (the beginning of *bāb* 31 — not 30 — of the Arabic translation), the opening of the chapter entitled "Medical Consideration of the Construction of Our Bodies, in Brief" (Θεωρία τις ἰατρικωτέρα περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν κατασκευῆς δι' ὀλίγων; نَظَرٌ طِبِّيٌّ في باب جبلة[1] أجسامنا باختصار. الباب الحادي والثلثون.).[226] Gregory of Nyssa's text reads:

> Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἀκριβῆ τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν διασκευὴν διδάσκει μὲν ἕκαστος ἑαυτὸν, ἐξ ὧν ὁρᾷ τε καὶ ζῇ καὶ αἰσθάνεται, τὴν ἰδίαν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν διδάσκαλον ἔχων. Ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν βίβλοις φιλοπονηθεῖσαν τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοῖς περὶ τούτων ἱστορίαν ἀναλαβόντι, πάντα δι' ἀκριβείας μαθεῖν. Ὧν οἱ μὲν ὅπως ἔχει θέσεως τὰ καθέκαστον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, διὰ τῆς ἀνατομῆς ἐδιδάχθησαν· οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὅ,τι γέγονε πάντα τὰ τοῦ σώματος μόρια κατενόησάν τε καὶ διηγήσαντο, ὡς ἀρκοῦσαν ἐντεῦθεν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κατασκευῆς τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς φιλοπόνοις γενέσθαι. Εἰ δέ τις ἐπιζητοίη πάντων αὐτῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διδάσκαλον γίνεσθαι, ὡς εἰς μηδὲν τῆς ἔξωθεν φωνῆς ἐπιδεῖσθαι (οὗτος γὰρ τῶν πνευματικῶν προβάτων ὁ νόμος, καθώς φησιν ὁ Κύριος, τὸ ἀλλοτρίας μὴ ἀκούειν φωνῆς), διὰ βραχέων καὶ τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον διαληψόμεθα.
>
> But the exact structure of our body each man teaches himself from what he sees and lives and perceives, having his own nature as his teacher. Anyone, as well, who takes up the researches which those skilled in such matters have worked out in books may learn everything with precision. And of these writers some learnt by dissection the position of our individual organs; others also considered and expounded the reason for the existence of all the parts of the body, so that the knowledge/gnosis of the human frame from [such studies] is sufficient for the industrious. But if anyone

[225] See p. 100 above.

[226] PG 44.240C. Trans. based on NPNF GNyss. T1: **B** 229, **D** II.97, **E** II.76; T2: **G** 179^{r}, **P** 162^{v}. **P** originally had the title for *bāb* 30 here, which was subsequently crossed out and replaced by *bāb* 31's title, which is written in the margin.

[1] جبلة: ب د ذ؛ حيلة: پ غ

should further seek for the Church to be his teacher on all these points, so that for nothing would he want external [i.e., secular] discourse (for this is the custom/law of the spiritual sheep, as the Lord says, that *they hear not the [utterance] of a strange voice*), we shall briefly take in hand the account of these matters also.[227]

The translation in T1 and T2 manuscripts reads:

ولكن جبلة[1] جسمنا، أمّا المستقصي في بابها، فقد تُعلّمه[2] كلَّ واحدٍ[3] نفسُهُ، مما يبصره ويعيش ويحسّ به، وتكون طبيعته هي[4] المعلّم في هذا الباب[5]، وقد يمكن الانسان أن يطّلع في[6] الكتب التي قد تعب فيها الحكماء[7]، نخبّروا[8] بما هذا[9] سبيله ⌜وقد يجوز لي أنا أن آخذ ذلك منها بمبالغة، فمِن القوم⌝[10] مَن ذَكَرَ الصورة ⌜في وضع كل واحد من اعضائنا مما تعلّموه في هذا بالتشريح، ومنهم⌝[11] مَن خبّر[12] بمنفعة كل واحد من أعضاء الجسم[13] مما تأمّلوه، فصار من هاهنا كفاية للمستمرّين[14] في معرفة جبلة[15] البشرية؛ فإنْ طَلَبَ أحدٌ أن يكون علمه[16] بذلك كله[17] من تعليم الكنيسة المقدّسة، حتى لا يحتاج إلى قولٍ من[18] خارج فيما[19] يريده، وَجَبَ[20] أن نأخذ[21] في الكلام في هذه الأشياء باختصار[22]، حتى يتمّ في ذلك ناموس الغنم الروحانية، حيث قال الرب إنها لا تسمع صوتاً غريباً.

But the natural disposition of our body: as for the one who inquires into this subject (*bāb*), each one may teach himself from what he sees and lives and perceives, and his nature is itself the teacher concerning this subject. And perhaps the human being can contemplate the books which the sages have labored over, reporting[228] this sort of thing (*bi-mā hādhā sabīluhu*). And it may be fitting for me, myself,[229] to receive that [knowledge] from them [the books] with the utmost care (*bi-mubālagha*).[230] Some of them depicted (*dhakara l-ṣūra fī*) the placement of each of our parts, from what they learned concerning this by dissection; others reported the purpose (*manfaʿa*) of each of the parts of the body based on reflection (*mimmā taʾammalūhu*). From this is enough for those who persevere in knowledge/gnosis (*maʿrifa*) of the natural disposition of humanity. If one seeks that his knowledge (*ʿilm*) concerning all of that be from the teaching of the Holy Church, so that he does not need[231] any saying (*qawl*) from outside concerning what he seeks, it is necessary for us [or: for him] to begin speaking about these things in brief, so that the law (*nāmūs*) of the spiritual

[227]PG 44.240C–D. Trans. based on NPNF GNyss.

[228]Lit., "and so they reported."

[229]This is a considerable departure from the Greek.

[230]See Hava, *Farāʾid*, 46a, s.v. *blġ*.

[231]My translation implies the vowelling *ḥatta lā yaḥtāju*, rather than *yahtāja*; I make this choice better to accord with the Greek result clause (ὡς followed by an infinitive). One could just as easily read the Arabic as a subjunctive phrase (reading *yaḥtāja*): "so that he need not…"

[1]جبلة: ب د ذ، حيلة: غ، النقطتان ساقطتان في «پ» [2]تُعلّمه: د ذ پ غ، تعلمته: ب [3]واحدٍ: ب د ذ غ، احد: پ [4]هي: ب د ذ، —پ غ
[5]الباب: ب د ذ، —پ غ [6]يطّلع في: ب د پ غ، يطالع: ذ [7]الحكماء: ب د ذ غ، —پ؛ وقد يكون سببُ ذلك أن «پ» يبدأ صفحة جديدة هنا [8]نخبّروا:
ب د پ غ، فأخبروا: ذ [9]هذا: ب د ذ، هذه: پ غ [10]⌜وقد يجوز لي أنا أن آخذ ذلك منها بمبالغة، فمِن القوم⌝: پ؛ في «غ» نفس الشيء إلا أنه جاء فيه
«لمبالغة» في مكان «بمبالغة»؛ —ب د ذ [11]⌜في وضع كل واحد من اعضائنا مما تعلّموه في هذا بالتشريح، ومنهم⌝: د پ غ؛ في «ذ» نفس الشيء إلا أنه جاء فيه
«تعلموه من هذا» في مكان «تعلموه في هذا»؛ —ب [12]خبّر: ب د پ غ، أخبر: ذ [13]أعضاء الجسم: د ذ پ غ؛ أعضائنا: ب [14] للمستمرّين: پ؛ للمستسمرين:
غ؛ للمتسرين: ب د ذ [15]جبلة: ب د ذ پ، حيلة: غ [16]علمه: ب د ذ پ، علة: غ [17]كله: ب د پ غ؛ —ذ [18]من: ب د ذ غ، —پ [19]فيما: ب د
پ غ، في ما: ذ [20]وَجَبَ: ب د ذ غ، وَحبّ: پ [21]نأخذ: غ، يأخذ: ب د ذ، بلا نقطة أو نقطتين في «پ» [22]باختصار: د ذ پ غ، باختصاره: ب

sheep is fulfilled, with respect to which (*ḥaythu*) the Lord said that *they do not hear a strange voice.*[232]

The Arabic passage is revealing both for the manuscript tradition and Ibn al-Faḍl's possible authorship of this translation. From a philological standpoint, the long phrases which some of the manuscripts omit (marked in the text with corner brackets) tell us something about how the five manuscripts I have compared relate with respect to this translation. The first of these (وقد يجوز في وضع ⌜لي أنا أن آخذ ذلك منها بمبالغة، فمِن القوم⌝) is omitted by all three T1 manuscripts, while the second (⌜كل واحد من اعضائنا مما تعلّموه في هذا بالتشريح، ومنهم⌝) is omitted only by one of the T1 manuscripts, **B**. The second phenomenon is entirely consistent with **B** being dependent on **D**, for the exact text which **B** omits corresponds to one whole line in **D**. As for the first omission, by all T1 manuscripts, it illustrates the close mutual affinity of T1 manuscripts' versions of the translation of Gregory's *On Making Man*, against the T2 manuscripts. This omission, like the second one in which only **B** was implicated, is also suspiciously close to the length of a single line.

What this passage tells us about authorship is nothing certain. However, the style and method of translation on their own give no reason to doubt Ibn al-Faḍl's authorship. The overall effect is similar: it is clear, plain Arabic of a middle-to-high register that is neither elaborate nor simplistic or choppy. Its Middle Arabic characteristics — in particular the expression *mā hādhā sabīluhu* — are shared with Ibn al-Faḍl's *Hexaemeron* translation (T1). Furthermore, it reproduces the sense of the Greek without slavish adherence to its word order or the literal meaning of its words, as where the word φωνή is rendered two different ways: as *qawl* when it refers to secular speech, and as *ṣawt* in the Biblical quotation about listening to a strange, or foreign, voice. It has of course lost the rhetorical effect of the repetition of φωνή, but this is preferable to translating the first instance with *ṣawt* to read *ḥattā lā yaḥtāj ilā* ***ṣawt*** *min khārij*, "so that he does not need any *voice* from outside…" — why would we be talking about a voice here, when the contrast is between *book* learning and Church teachings? A *qawl* can be spoken or written, but a *ṣawt* can be nothing but vocal. Thus, Greek φωνή works here, but Arabic *ṣawt* (and English 'voice') would be awkward.

The translation is also attentive to certain kinds of terms. For instance, where the Greek has words about teaching and learning (διδάσκει, διδάσκαλον, μαθεῖν), the translation has words from the root *ʿlm*, whence *ʿilm*, "knowledge" which one learns by studying. But the Greek γνῶσιν (gnosis, knowledge in the sense of wisdom) is rendered *maʿrifa*, the Arabic technical term for esoteric knowledge or wisdom, usually revealed or learned from inspired teachers, prominent in mystical texts. This line about books providing "enough gnosis" (that is, not all that much) thus foreshadows what comes next, in which the Church emerges as the teacher who will truly teach (albeit this action is called *taʿlīm*) everything which is worth knowing. Likewise, νόμος is translated by *nāmūs*, and while it is no surprise that a translator — any translator — would reach for the loanword in Arabic from νόμος (probably via Syriac *nomuso*),[233] a translator like the

[232]T1: **B** 229, **D** II.97–8, **E** II.76–7; T2: **G** 179^{r}, **P** 162^{v}–163^{r}.

[233]My understanding is that νόμος entered Arabic via Syriac because of its form. If it had been borrowed directly, we might have expected something more like *نومس, or maybe *نوس, but not ناموس, in which the Arabic phoneme /ā/ is rather far from the Greek /o/. However, in the West Syriac dialect, the *zqofo* vowel mark (pronounced /ā/ in East Syriac) is pronounced /o/, perfect for transcribing a Greek accented *omicron*. But the *zqofo* usually became an Arabic *alif*, pronounced /ā/ — as, for example, in the month آذار *ādhār*, from Syriac ܐܳܕܪ *oḏor*/*āḏār*; and an Arabic word for 'Easter,' باعوث *bāʿūth*, from Syriac ܒܳܥܘܬܳܐ *boʿuṯo*/*bāʿūṯā* (for these examples, see Hava, *Farāʾid*, 913–14).

author of what I have been calling the second translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* (T2) might have strayed to a much less appropriate word — from the standpoint of Christian Arabic vocabulary — by translating one of the senses of νόμος literally, something like *ʿurf* (custom) or *sharʿ* (law).

Finally, the translation displays an open willingness to rearrange the word order better to suit Arabic. This can be seen most dramatically in the way it deals with the explanatory parenthetical phrase in the Greek about the "spiritual sheep." In the Greek, this comes after a protasis about seeking only the Church as a teacher, and its function is to explain this clause. After the explanation, the sentence continues with an apotasis which segues to the rest of the chapter by saying that "we shall briefly" discuss "these matters," that is, internal parts of the human body. Such a sequence of clauses would have been terribly awkward in Arabic, and so the explanatory clause has been moved to the third position: the translation moves straight from the protasis (if one wishes to learn only from the Church) to the apotasis about how the text will proceed; only then comes the explanatory clause. This arrangement has the disadvantage that it now puts the explanatory clause into closer relation with the apotasis than the protasis, as if the spiritual sheep who do not hear a strange voice are meant to elucidate why "it is necessary for us to begin speaking about these things in brief." But this is not fatal, since one could easily construe it to refer to the entire conditional sentence — and the advantage, of course, is that it reads well in Arabic.

None of this is proof that Ibn al-Faḍl is the author of this Arabic translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*. But it does suggest that if he wasn't the author, then someone who took a similar approach to translation and who was similarly well-versed in both Greek and Arabic of a relatively high register — which would suggest someone in the same Byzantine-Arab, Chalcedonian-Christian milieu.

V Conclusion

Enough has been said to allow us to imagine this industrious translator at work. Ibn al-Faḍl carried out his translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* carefully, basing it upon the Greek original (probably a manuscript related to Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana, gr. 17), in consultation with the translation already available (T2), whose section divisions he adopted, probably in order to maintain a standard citation system for the text, much as a modern editor usually adopts a previous editor's section numbering. (He may also have translated Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* and *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*.) As he translated, he paid close attention to the Greek scholia in the margins of the Greek codex before him. Studying these anonymous notes produced and copied by contemporary or near-contemporary Byzantine scholars, he occasionally paraphrased them in Arabic as part of scholia which he inserted into the margins of the quires in which he recorded his translation.

Chapter 3

Reading Creation in Eleventh-Century Antioch

In the margins of his translation of Basil of Caesarea's *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*, Ibn al-Faḍl added numerous comments and glosses, some quite long. These afford us a glimpse of a very different set of concerns motivating the study of the *Hexaemeron* than those which brought Basil to write and deliver his homilies in the first place. Ibn al-Faḍl's marginalia do not provide a systematic commentary on the text. They are the notes of a learned translator which supply definitions of technical terms, explain translation decisions, expand upon ideas brought up in the translated text, and follow tangential lines of discussion which they happened to bring to mind. In this way, from their position in the margins of this authoritative text, Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia drew Saint Basil's words into the eleventh century, for eleventh-century purposes, allowing us to ask: what was Ibn al-Faḍl's approach to this authoritative Christian text about cosmology — and what does this tell us about the significance he attached to the correct understanding of matter?

A survey of one of the manuscripts containing Ibn al-Faḍl's translation (T1) revealed 15 scholia and glosses ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl and 14 anonymous notes, each labeled simply 'a marginalium' (*ḥāshiya*).[1] Ibn al-Faḍl's notes are restricted to Basil's *Hexaemeron* and are unevenly distributed through the homilies, with two-thirds of them in the first homily,[2] which focuses on Genesis 1:1 ("In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth") and accordingly discusses a number of cosmological issues. The anonymous notes appear throughout the Hexaemeron Corpus.[3] The first time a scholion by Ibn al-Faḍl appears in the manuscripts of his translation, it is labeled "a marginal note by ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Faḍl."[4] Thereafter, his scholia are labeled "a marginal note by Ibn al-Faḍl."[5]

The present chapter will examine several of Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia, focusing on two of his salient concerns, cosmology and logic (I). Cosmology, of course, is Basil's central theme, while logic only stands out in Ibn al-Faḍl's marginalia; but in all cases the Ibn al-Faḍl's notes — which give the

[1] The manuscript which I surveyed was **B**.

[2] Distribution of Ibn al-Faḍl's marginalia: Basil *Hex.* 1: 10 || *Hex.* 2: 1 || *Hex.* 6: 1 || *Hex.* 9: 3.

[3] Distribution of the anonymous marginalia: Basil, *Hex.* 1: 1 || *Hex.* 3: 1 || *Hex.* 5: 2 || *Hex.* 6: 3 || *Hex.* 9: 1. Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, *bāb* 8: 2 || *bāb* 9: 1 || *bāb* 19: 1 || *bāb* 28: 1. I encountered no notes within '*On Making Man*, *bāb* 32' = *Apologia on the Hexaemeron*.

[4] **B** 9, **D** 2_3, **E** $[2]_5$: حاشية لعبد الله ابن الفضل.

[5] e.g., **B** $11_{\triangle 6}$: حاشية لابن الفضل. Each note will be referred to by an abbreviation of this label: ḤLIF (Ḥ*āshiya* L*i*-I*bn al-*F*aḍl*), followed by its assigned number.

appearance of teaching notes[6] — display different concerns than Basil's.[7] To gain an appreciation for how Ibn al-Faḍl brought other texts to bear on the Basilian homilies, I will then examine two long scholia in detail, one on a refutation of the eternity of the world, the other on the stars (II). Many of these scholia draw on the contemporary Arabic Aristotelian tradition, and Byzantine scholia on Basil's *Hexaemeron* are clearly perceptible in the background as well. These observations will allow for a consideration of Ibn al-Faḍl's scholarly approach, the resonance of his Patristic translations with his own original works, and the significance he attached to doctrines about matter (III).

I Logic and Cosmology

Are qualities bodies?

Like other Byzantine authors, Ibn al-Faḍl was interested in ancient physical theories, even though he professed to agree entirely with Basil's claim, expressed repeatedly in the *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*, that such theories are worthless. For an example, we may begin at the beginning.

"In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth." Basil has much to say about this opening line of Genesis, which is, for him, the surest proof of the world's creation in time. When he turns to considering the specific parts of the world mentioned in the verse, heaven and earth, he is quick to dismiss the metaphysician's attempt to discover the substance of heaven and earth. He declares himself satisfied with Isaiah's comparison of heaven to smoke (καπνός ∼ *dukhān*).[8] About the earth, he says, "let us resolve not to busy ourselves finding out what its substance/essence (οὐσίαν ∼ *jawhar*) is, nor to weary ourselves with thoughts by seeking out the underlying substance (ὑποκείμενον ∼ *mawḍūʿ*) itself,[9] nor to seek some nature which is devoid of qualities (ποιοτήτων ∼ *kayfīyāt*)..."[10] Each thing we see, insists Basil, is made up of qualities (like color, size, weight), "which complete its substance/essence" (συμπληρωτικὰ τῆς οὐσίας). Basil will go on to stress that

[6] I thank Maria Mavroudi for suggesting this interpretation.

[7] This correlates well with Asad Ahmed's remarks on post-classical Islamic commentaries, especially point number 2: "...a commentator/glossator picks out those [lemmata — i.e., loci in the commented text] that are of interest in his own time" (Ahmed, "Post-Classical," 345). Most of Ahmed's other remarks in the same place are quite pertinent to Ibn al-Faḍl as well, such as point number 8: "Certain glossators" (here Ibn al-Faḍl) "seem mainly concerned with the task of footnoting the commented text. In other words, they make explicit the source of the arguments his commentator" (here Basil of Caesarea) "may be advancing or critiquing or they may make the text philologically transparent" (ibid., 345–6). A number of the comments discussed below seek to make Basil's *allusions* explicit, and quite a number of comments by Ibn al-Faḍl on this and other translations (most of which will not be discussed here) take a philological approach to explaining both the texts themselves and his choices as a translator. (Ibn al-Faḍl's philological interest has been noted by others; for example, see Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 101.) Some of these philological choices have conceptual implications, as Ibn al-Faḍl stresses. See for example his comment on Greek terms for 'essential' and 'non-essential' images, on pages 170–171 below.

[8] Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.8 = MR 14_{22} (καπνόν); Arabic: B 19_{2}.

[9] cf. Ar. *hādhā l-mawḍūʿ*, which seems to read the non-attributive αὐτὸ in the medieval/modern vernacular sense of the demonstrative pronoun, rather than the Attic sense, 'itself.'

[10] 1.8 MR 15_{3-5}: συμβουλεύωμεν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν αὐτῆς τὴν οὐσίαν ἥτις ποτέ ἐστι, μηδὲ κατατρίβεσθαι τοῖς λογισμοῖς αὐτὸ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐκζητοῦντας, μηδὲ ζητεῖν τινα φύσιν ἔρημον ποιοτήτων, ἄποιον ὑπάρχουσαν τῷ ἑαυτῆς λόγῳ. Trans. based on NPNF Basil. Arabic: وهو ألا نُسهِب في البحث عمّا هو جوهرها، ولا نغرق في التماس معرفة هذا الموضوع، ولا نروم البحث عن طبيعته، وهل هي في جدّها خالية من كيفيات.

stripping a thing of its qualities will leave nothing at all,[11] but it is at this point that Ibn al-Faḍl supplements Basil's discussion with a loosely related description of two philosophical positions on the ontological status of qualities:

> إنّ طائفة من الفلاسفة الضالّين[1] دفعوا وجود الكيفيات، وكابروا ما يشهد بصحّته الحسّ، ومن جملتهم ابيقورس؛ وطائفة اعتقدت أنّها أجسام، فضلّوا أيضاً، ومن[2] جملتهم اكسناغورس[3].
>
> One group of erring philosophers rejected the existence of qualities, contradicting what sense-perception (*al-ḥiss*) testifies to be right; among them is Epicurus (*Abīqūrus*). Another group held that they [the qualities] are bodies (*ajsām*), and they are also in error; among them is Anaxagoras (*Aksanāghūras*).[12]

Ibn al-Faḍl here introduces a discussion which was not addressed in Basil's text, for Basil had not even mentioned the notion that the qualities might not exist, or the notion, equally foreign to Aristotelian physics, that they are material bodies.[13] He ostensibly agrees that speculation about the qualities is pointless but clearly considers these theories worthy of discussion. This may be because there continued to be proponents of such doctrines. For example, Abū Isḥāq al-Naẓẓām (d. *c.*836), an early *kalām* author whose doctrines were rejected by later Muslim thinkers, seems to have held that the qualities are subtle, interpenetrating bodies, as David Bennett concludes from doxographical statements of al-Ashʿarī as well as al-Jāḥiẓ and the 'Nestorian' Christian Job of Edessa.[14]

The doctrine which Ibn al-Faḍl ascribes to Anaxagoras, that the qualities are bodies, does not correspond precisely to any of the known Anaxagoras fragments or doxographical statements. Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion is therefore a new piece of evidence about Anaxagoras's physical doctrine.[15] This should alert us to the fact that Ibn al-Faḍl, far from simply repeating some cliché

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[11] 1.8 MR 15_{8-12}: "Take away black, cold, weight, density, the qualities which concern taste (∼ *al-kayfīyāt al-dhawqīya*), or whatever others which may be observed in it, and there will be no underlying substance" (Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποστήσῃς τὸ μέλαν, τὸ ψυχρόν, τὸ βαρύ, τὸ πυκνόν, τὰς κατὰ γεῦσιν ἐνυπαρχούσας αὐτῇ ποιότητας ἢ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὴν θεωροῦνται, οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ ὑποκείμενον). Trans. based on NPNF Basil.

[12] ḤLIF 8 (**B** 19_{7-10}, **D** 13_{14-17}, **E** $11_{\triangle 1}-12_3$). For *Aksanāghūras*, read something like *Anāksaghūras*.

[13] See Paul Studtmann, "Aristotle's Categories," in *SEP*, §2.2.4.

[14] Bennett, "Abū Isḥāq al-Naẓẓām," 211: "The qualities," writes Bennett, "are now *bodies* [his emphasis] interpenetrating one another. In a later formulation in the same source [i.e., al-Ashʿarī], all qualities are clearly described as 'subtle bodies' […]. […] al-Naẓẓām is quite sincere about qualities being bodies." Death date: ibid., 207. (I thank Michael Cooperson for referring me to Bennett's work.)

[15] There are no explicit statement among the Anaxagoras fragments — published by Hermann Diels and Walter Kranz, eds., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols. (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Weidmann, 1848–1922) (hereafter cited as Diels-Kranz), and translated by Anaxagoras, *Anaxagoras of Clazomenae: Fragments and Testimonia*, ed. and trans. Patricia Curd (University of Toronto Press, 2007), part 1 — that the qualities (ποιότητες) are bodies (σώματα). However, such a claim is consistent with the notion, which appears to emerge from the published Anaxagoras fragments (e.g., B4a, B7, B15, A43, A44–46, A48), that matter is made up of 'seeds' (σπέρματα, which might produce the scribal error σώματα) that have inherent qualities, or else that they are the qualities themselves, "the hot," "the cold," and so forth, although the word 'qualities' is never used; cf. Anaxagoras, *The Fragments of Anaxagoras*, 1st ed., ed. and trans. David Sider (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1981), 131; Anaxagoras, *Anaxagoras*, 163–4. Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion should therefore be added to the corpus of Anaxagoras 'A-fragments' in Diels-Kranz, §59A (II 5–32). I thank Richard Janko for a helpful conversation about these fragments.

[1] الضالّين: ذ؛ الضلال ب د؛ وقراءة ذ أصحّ، إلا أن قراءة ب د هي «أصعب القراءتين»، وقد يكون أنها تحريف إمّا من «الفلاسفة الضوالّ»، وإمّا من «فلاسفة الضلال». [2] ومن: د ذ؛ وفي ب [3] اكسناغورس: ب د؛ اكستاغورس ذ

about Anaxagoras, was inclined to give some thought to the question of what Anaxagoras had believed — either by providing his own articulation of Anaxagoras's 'seed' doctrine known from other sources, or, more probably, by drawing upon a commentary tradition of which only fragments survive today. A Greek scholion on an earlier passage in this same homily, contained in a fourteenth-century manuscript, displays a similar interest in Anaxagoras's conception of matter.[16]

In this way, Basil's rejection of speculative attempts mentally to analyze earth and sky into substance and qualities becomes an opportunity for Ibn al-Faḍl to raise the problem of what kind of thing qualities actually are. This allows him to consider answers which ancient philosophers had given to the question and implicitly stake out a space for his own answer to the question. Ibn al-Faḍl's answer is not spelled out, but it must fall between the extremes of considering the qualities to be material bodies and rejecting their existence and probably looks like the Aristotelian position that qualities exist but inhere in bodies rather than being bodies themselves.[17] The doctrine, then, is nothing radical or unorthodox, nor does it contradict Basil's physical understanding. It is the *attitude* towards these questions which indicates a 'philosophical' approach: Basil's statement is taken not as a final authority, but rather as a starting point for discussion.

Dog logic and the Arabic Aristotle

In his notes beside a passage in Basil's ninth and last homily, Ibn al-Faḍl again reveals a particular interest in logic — and he quotes (without attribution) a known Arabic translation of Aristotle. The occasion is as follows

Basil, in this homily on the creation of land animals, contrasts the rationality of humans, who stand upright, with the lack of reason in the "quadrupeds" (τετραπόδων) whose gaze is cast down, "at the earth and… the belly."[18] But these quadrupeds do each have their own special attributes: "The ox is steady, the ass is sluggish, the horse is hot in its lust for the mare," and so on.[19] One of these attributes is heightened sense-perception, which leads Basil to the case of the dog. His discussion runs as follows.

First, he says, the dog has powers of perception which stand in for reason, allowing him to intuit what sages have gone to great pains to learn, namely the syllogistic figures.[20] Ibn al-Faḍl takes this as an opportunity to enumerate the syllogistic figures (ḤLIF 13), listing them (there are three), and then mentioning that the first two each have four subtypes and the third has six.

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[16]The Greek scholion (Pasquali, "Doxographica," 196, no. 3) appears in Vat. gr. 1857 (Mendieta and Rudberg's B8; Pasquali's y), at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.2 MR 4_8; for this manuscript, see ch. 2, p. 109, n. 126. The scholion, on what different philosophers considered the elements (τὰ στοιχεῖα) to be, notes that Anaxagoras called them the "like-parts" (ὁμοιομερείας) — a term known from extant Anaxagoras testimonia (A1, A15, A44–46, A104; B5).

[17]This doxographical scholion refers to ancient philosophers who held these views, but the impulse to think about these issues may come from more contemporary concerns. His interest in defining the qualities may be related to the Christian apologetic argument that the three persons of the Trinity are analogous to the attributes (*ṣifāt*) of God in Muslim theology. There certainly were medieval thinkers who puzzled over the ontology of the qualities. Naẓẓām, according to David Bennett, even made them the basis of his ontological system (if I understand argument), such that "the ultimate constituents of nature are simple properties and *rūḥ*"; David Bennett, "The Spirit of Ahypokeimenonical Physics: Another Side of Kalām Natural Philosophy" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), 2; now see also his article "Abū Isḥāq al-Naẓẓām".

[18]9.2 = MR 149_{1-2}: ἐπὶ γῆν… ἐπὶ γαστέρα. Cf. NPNF Basil, 102.

[19]9.3 = MR 149_{14-15}, trans. based on NPNF Basil, 102: Εὐσταθὴς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βοῦς, νωθὴς δὲ ὁ ὄνος, θερμὸς δὲ ὁ ἵππος πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ θήλεος…

[20]τὰς τῶν συλλογισμῶν… πλοκάς ∼ *ashkāl al-qiyās*; 9.4 mid = MR 153_{21-24}.

After each of the three, he adds "and this is a picture of it" (*wa-hādhihi ṣūratuhu*), suggesting that his original marginalia included diagrams.[21]

Basil continues by providing an example of his claim that dogs use instincts instead of syllogisms. Basil observes that when hunting, the dog instinctually follows a process of elimination to find its prey:

> When the dog is on the track of game, if he sees [the path] divide in various directions, he approaches the paths leading in each direction, and speech alone fails him to announce his inference.[22] The creature, he says, turned here or there or in another direction. It is neither here nor there; what remains is that it has rushed in that direction. And thus, eliminating [or: refuting, *ἀναιρέσει* ∼ *ibṭāl*] falsehoods, he discovers the truth.[23]

Commenting on this description of the dog's process of elimination, Ibn al-Faḍl takes the trouble to identify the syllogism which the dog's nature is replicating, saying:

> The syllogism which Saint Basil has presented — may God have mercy on us through his prayers — on the theme of the dog is a conditional syllogism. The conditional syllogism is a genus under which are five species; this one is of the fifth species.[24]

At this point, Basil finishes his analogy with a scoff at the logicians: "What more remarkable thing is done by those who, reverently setting themselves before diagrams, trace lines upon the dust, rejecting two of three propositions and discovering the truth in the one which remains?" Ibn al-Faḍl's translation here intensifies the scorn by comparing not only logic to dog logic but the logicians themselves to the dog: "On what basis are the masters of [syllogistic] figures preferable who trace out diagrams (of the syllogistic figures) on the ground…"[25] Ibn al-Faḍl's note then

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[21]For the figures, see Günther Patzig, *Aristotle's Theory of the Syllogism* (Dordrecht, 1968), 88–108; cited at Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle Prior Analytics 1.1–7*, trans. Jonathan Barnes et al. (London: Duckworth, 1991), 107 n. 32 (hereafter cited as Alex.Aphr. *On Pr.An.* Engl.). Cf. Ibn Sīnā's *Shifāʾ* book 6, ch. 1 (Nabil Shehaby, *The Propositional Logic of Avicenna. A Translation from* al-Shifāʾ: al-Qiyās *with Introduction, Commentary and Glossary* [Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1973], 91–100), in which he lays out the three figures (of conditional syllogisms), detailing each of the four, four, and six respective moods.

[22]More literally: "he only neglects the things through which he acts with respect to giving voice to his inference."

[23]9.4 = MR 153_{24}–154_{1}: Τὸ γὰρ ἴχνος τοῦ θηρίου διερευνώμενος, ἐπειδὰν εὕρῃ αὐτὸ πολυτρόπως σχιζόμενον, τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ φερούσας ἐκτροπὰς ἐπελθών, μονονουχὶ τὴν συλλογιστικὴν φωνὴν ἀφίησι δι' ὧν πράσσει· Ἦ τήδε, φησίν, ἐτράπη τὸ θηρίον ἢ τήνδε ἢ ἐπὶ τόδε τὸ μέρος· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε τήνδε οὔτε τήνδε, λειπόμενόν ἐστι τῇδε ὡρμῆσθαι αὐτό· καὶ οὕτω τῇ ἀναιρέσει τῶν ψευδῶν εὑρίσκει τὸ ἀληθές. Trans. based on NPNF Basil. Arabic: **D** 147_{10-16}, **E** $116_{\triangle 6-\triangle 2}$, *faṣl* 10: وبيان ذلك أنّه إذا أخذ في (كذا) التفتيش عن أثر الوحش، ⌜فإن⌝ (ذ، ان د) هو ألفاه قد شعب سلوكه في طرق مختلفة، شرع في عمل يضاهي حكم القياس، فكأنه يقول: إنّ الوحش إمّا أن يكون قد مضى في هذه الحَجَّة، وإمّا في هذه، وإمّا أن يكون قد سار الى هذه الناحية، إلّا أنّه لا الى هذه توجّه، ولا في هذه سَلَكَ، فبقي أن يكون ⌜قد مضى في هذه⌝ (د، في هذه قد مضى ذ). فيجد الحق بإبطال الكذب.

[24]ḤLIF 14, **B** 131_{22-24}: القياس الذي قد أورده القديس باسيليوس رحمنا الله بصلواته في معنى الكلب قياسٌ شرطيّ، والقياس الشرطيّ جنسٌ تحته خمسة أنواع، وهذا من النوع الخامس. As Asad Ahmed noted in a marginal gloss handwritten on a draft of this chapter, the fifth type of conditional syllogism to which Ibn al-Faḍl refers is the "exceptive syllogism."

[25]9.4 = MR 154_{1-3}: Τί περισσότερον ποιοῦσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν διαγραμμάτων σεμνῶς καθεζόμενοι καὶ τὴν κόνιν καταχαράσσοντες, τριῶν προτάσεων ἀναιροῦντες τὰς δύο καὶ ἐν τῇ λειπομένῃ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐξευρίσκοντες; Trans. based on NPNF Basil. Arabic (**D** 147_{19-21}): فَيَا ليت شعري بماذا يفضلون (كذا) أصحاب الأشكال الذين يخطّون في الأرض صورها، ويبطلون من المقدّمات الثلث اثنين ويظفرون بالحقّ في المقدّمة الباقية. I thank Asad Ahmed for pointing out the distinct meaning of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation and suggesting the translation of *bi-mādhā yufaḍḍalūn* which I have adopted.

glosses the logical terms which Basil used, providing a definition of the word "premise" (πρότασις ∼ *muqaddama*).[26] He quotes from an extant Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* to do so (quoted text in italics):

> *The premise is speech which posits something for something or* (*wa-*) *negates something of something*, and it must be *either universal, partial, or indefinite.* It is composed of a subject and a predicate at least; a syllogism cannot be put together from fewer than two premises.[27]

Ibn al-Faḍl, then, was working with a standard Arabic version of Aristotle, produced by a certain Theodore (Tadhārī) and said to have been checked over by the famous ninth-century translator Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq. The text — or an excerpt from it — was either in front of him or else he was quoting from memory. Either way, he was reading what philosophy students in Baghdad were reading.

A Byzantine churchman fluent in Greek studying Aristotle in Arabic translation: this hardly fits the traditional narrative of Greek-Arabic translations, in which translators, mostly Christians, produced translations of ancient Greek philosophical texts at the instigation of Muslim patrons with a desire to read ancient philosophy but without the linguistic skills.[28] In this case, at least, a Christian with perfectly good knowledge of Greek used an Arabic translation of Aristotle for his own, Byzantine purpose.[29] Arabophone Christians like Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī or Ibn al-Ṭayyib are well known to have studied works of Aristotle and other philosophers with Muslim teachers and to have taught them to Muslims students. But it is easy for modern scholars to view them exclusively as part of the Islamic world, participants in Muslim high culture, of which Aristotle in Arabic is a part. The use of the text by someone with a Byzantine education and working within a Byzantine ecclesiastical milieu within Byzantine territory should alert us to the possibility of Byzantine interest in the Arabic commentaries on Aristotle — and vice versa.

Basil's purpose in this whole passage on the instinctually syllogizing dog is to meditate upon the nature of rationality by comparing the rational animal to an irrational one, while at the same

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[26] 9.4 = MR 154_2 (προτάσεων).

[27] ḤLIF 15, **B** $131_{\triangle 1}$–132_3, **D** $147_{21\text{–}24}$ (parts which are quoting one Theodore's translation of Aristotle's *Pr.An.*24a16–17, ed. Aristotle, *Manṭiq Arisṭū*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, 3 vols. [Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, 1948–1952], 104, I have placed in quotation-marks; the variants, all minor, I give in the Arabic, though ignoring *hamza* discrepancies): «المقدمة (تذاري: فالمقدّمة) هي قول موجب شي (كذا) (تذاري: شيئا) لشيء وسالب (تذاري: أو سالب) شيئاً عن شيء»، ولا تخلو من أن تكون «إمّا كلية، وإمّا جزئية، وإما مهملة»، وهي تتركب من موضوع ومحمول على أقلّ الأمر، والقياس لا ينتظم من أقلّ من مقدمّتين. Paul Kraus's guess that the translator 'Tadhārī' is the Chalcedonian bishop Theodore Abū Qurra is accepted by R. Walzer ("New light on the Arabic translations of Aristotle," *Oriens* 6 [1953]: 99), though he expressed some hesitation (*EI²*, s.v. "Arisṭūṭālīs or Arisṭū"). For another guess, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2007–), s.v. "Aristotle and Aristotelianism" (hereafter cited as *EI³*), §1.2. Tony Street writes that Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq "seems to have collaborated with the otherwise unknown Theodorus to translate the *Prior Analytics*": Street, "Ar. and Isl. Philos. of Lang. and Logic," §1.1.

[28] See for example Gutas, *GTAC*. Maria Mavroudi (in an article of which she kindly provided me with a copy prior to publication) argues for a more complicated alternative which stresses the agency of Christian translators and the relevance of contemporary Byzantine culture to the translation movement: Mavroudi, "Greek Language."

[29] While not surprising in itself, this casts doubt on a widespread if usually implicit assumption in the study of Arabic philosophy that Arabic philosophy is, in essence, 'Islamic' or 'Islamicate' philosophy, in the sense that it is a product almost exclusively of the Islamicate milieu and its engagement with *ancient* Greek thought, even among Christian philosophers.

time questioning reason's exclusive access to truth and mocking those who take the rational apparatus of logic too seriously.

Ibn al-Faḍl's comments have a very different purpose. Where Basil mocked the syllogizers, Ibn al-Faḍl enthusiastically details their art, even inserting into the margin just the sort of diagram which Basil ridiculed as "lines [traced] in dust." As mentioned in chapter 1, Byzantines distinguished between 'external' (secular) and 'our' (Christian) sciences.[30] In this example, Ibn al-Faḍl propounds logic — one of these 'external' sciences — and even quotes Aristotle to do so, all safely within a page from the homilies of 'our' Holy Father Basil. Seeking to remain within the realm of 'our' science, Ibn al-Faḍl brings the 'external' into this realm by lodging it within the confines of the page.

What is the sky made of?

Even when it comes to cosmology, the subject of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, Ibn al-Faḍl takes a rather different approach. Let us return to the first homily. There, Basil enumerates various answers to the question of what the sky is made of. Is it made of earth? fire? a composite of the four elements? a fifth and otherwise unknown element? He does so to ridicule these positions as entirely speculative and takes no stand of his own on the issue.[31] Basil mocks the originators of doctrines on the elemental makeup of the sky as "the sages of this world"[32] and leaves them nameless, for why bother name the authors of so much nonsense, who are, as Basil says, fit only to refute each other? But Ibn al-Faḍl is not willing to leave them unnamed. He writes:

> الذين قالوا إن السماء من العناصر الأربعة أصحاب الرِّواق وابتدقليس[1]. وحكى يحيى النحوي أنّ افلاطن[2] وثامسطيوس[3] كانا يزعمان أنّها من العناصر الأربعة، إلا أن[4] النارية هي الغاية[5] (الغالبة؟) عليها، وليست نارية محرقة[6]، لكنها بمنزلة النار[7] الغريزية[8] التي في الأبدان. وأمّا مَن قال إنّها طبيعة[9] خامسة، فهم أرسطاطاليس[10] ومن تابعه[11]؛ وقد قال[12] آخرون إنّ الفلك من النار والهواء والماء دون الأرض، ولم يزل الخلف بينهم.
>
> Those who said that the sky is made up of the four elements are the Stoics and Empedocles.[33] John the Grammarian[34] narrates that Plato and Themistios claimed that it

[30]See p. 13.

[31]On his refusal to commit to a theory about the sky's material composition, see Callahan, "Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocian Cosmology," 44.

[32]σοφοῖς τοῦ κόσμου ∼ *ḥukamāʾ al-ʿālam*: *Hexaemeron* 1.11 = MR 18_{13}; **B** 21_{6}. Although *al-ʿālam* is not the usual Arabic term for 'this world' (one would expect *al-dunyā*), this seems to be what Ibn al-Faḍl means, cf. the beginning of ḤLIF 10 (**B** 21_{24}): "those of the world claim…" (أهل العالم يزعمون). This would then be a literal translation of the Greek rather than using the equivalent term in use by (Muslim) Arabic authors, *al-dunyā*, whose meaning is closer to something like τὰ κάτω, or τὰ ἐνταῦθα, the latter of which would correspond to the philosophical opposition between the worlds which are 'here' and 'there'; cf. e.g. Plotinos 5.9.13 (ἐνταῦθα vs. ἐκεῖ), and LSJ s.v. ἐνταῦθα I.b.

[33]Manuscripts read *ʾbtdqlys* or *ʾbndqlys*. As I note in the apparatus, it is easy to move from *ʾmbdqlys* (correct) to **ʾnbdqlys* (similar pronunciation) to **ʾbndqlys* (shift in dot placement) to *ʾbtdqlys* (extra dot added).

[34]i.e., John Philoponos, d. *c.*570 — not to be confused with John VII the Grammarian, the Byzantine patriarch deposed in 843. He is called 'the Grammarian' (*al-naḥwī*) here because that is the standard practice in Arabic, even though his standard epithet in Greek is 'the Industrious' (ὁ φιλόπονος).

[1]وابتدقليس: ب د؛ وابندقليس ذ؛ والمقصود: امبدقليس، فمن السهل أن نتصور كيفية تغير الاسم: من امبدقليس الى انبدقليس (الذي يضاهي الاول لفظاً)، ثم ابندقليس فابتدقليس [2]افلاطن: ب د؛ افلاطون ذ، ومن المحتمل أن هذا من تصحيح «ذ» [3]وثامسطيوس: ب د؛ وثامسطوس ذ [4]أن: ب د؛ —ذ [5]الغاية: د؛ الغالبة ذ؛ وفي ب، أقرأ إمّا «الغاية» وإمّا «الغايرة» [6]محرقة: د ذ؛ تحرقه ب؛ وقد يبدو أنّ في د «تحرقه» أيضاً، فهذا ممّا يجعلني أظنّ أنّ ب نسخ من د [7]النار: د ذ؛ النا ب [8]الغريزية: د ذ؛ العزيزية ب [9]طبيعة: د ذ؛ طبيعية ب [10]أرسطاطاليس: ب د؛ ارسطوطاليس ذ، وكأن هذا من تصحيح «ذ» أيضا [11]تابعه: ب د؛ تبعه ذ [12]وقد قال: ب د؛ —قد ذ

> is (made) of the four elements,[35] except that the fiery [*sc.* element? nature?][36] predominates[37] and is not fiery (in the sense of) burning,[38] but is of the same degree (*bi-manzilat*) as the innate fire which is in bodies.[39] As for those who said that it is a fifth nature [i.e., a quintessence], they are Aristotle and his followers. Others have said that the heavenly sphere is (made) of fire, air and water, without earth. And the variance[40] among them still continues.[41]

Ostensibly, Ibn al-Faḍl is simply elaborating on Basil's point. Basil says the (unnamed) philosophers are only fit to refute each other, and Ibn al-Faḍl has enumerated various mutually contradicting doctrines of the philosophers. But this very enumeration underscores his interest in those doctrines and those philosophers. As in some of his 'original' works,[42] he draws on the sixth-century Christian Alexandrian philosopher John Philoponos, who was widely influential in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic philosophy.[43]

The language Ibn al-Faḍl uses here has close affinities to the contemporary Arabic philosophical tradition: the phrase "the innate/vital fire which is in bodies" (*al-nār al-gharīzīya allatī fī l-abdān*) appears almost verbatim in Avicenna's treatment of logic in his book *The Deliverance*, where he incidentally uses an example concerning "the innate/vital warmth which is in bodies"

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[35]While just a few lines above, in the translation of Basil's text, the word for 'elements' is *istiqṣāt*, from the Greek, the word used in the comment is *ʿanāṣir*. Cf. Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.2, discussed in the previous chapter, where he also uses *istiqṣāt* to translate Basil's "elements."

[36]Neither *ʿunṣur* nor *isṭaqis* is feminine (although the latter may seem like it is, since it takes a feminine plural ending); *ṭabīʿa* is, and would be paralleled by the subsequent reference to *ṭabīʿa khāmisa*, suggesting it may have been here in Ibn al-Faḍl's original scholion.

[37]Here I translate the reading of manuscript **E** (which has a tendency to make corrections), *al-ghāliba ʿalayhā*, instead of **D**'s reading, *al-ghāya ʿalayhā*; *al-ghāʾira ʿalayhā*, as **B** may read (it is unclear to me), would mean "the one which protects them," which makes less sense but may have arisen as a misreading or emendation of *al-ghāya* because it sits more naturally with the preposition. **D** *could* be read as "the fiery is its nullification of them (*ilghāʾihi ʿalayhā*)," which has the same consonantal skeleton as *al-ghāya ʿalayhā*, but in that case it is not clear what the possessive pronoun 'its' would be referring to. Even if **E**'s reading represents a scribal emendation, it appears to be a good one.

[38]Cf. John Philoponos, *De opificio mundi*, 1.6, ed. Reichardt 13–15, on the meaning of "elemental fire," which is not simply flame, versus "essential fire," and on the simultaneous creation of the sky and the four elements. Cf. also John Philoponos, *On Aristotle's Meteorology*, A 3 [Arist.340a3], ed. Hayduck 23.

[39]Although this doctrine is ascribed to Plato and Themistios, it is similar to the opinion which Aristotle expresses in *On the Generation of Animals* II.3, 736b30–737a1, where he equates vital heat (θερμόν) and *pneuma* and says that they are "analogous to the element of the stars" (ἀνάλογον…τῷ τῶν ἀστέρων στοιχείῳ), that is, ether, Aristotle's fifth element. This passage is studied in depth in Friedrich Solmsen, "The vital heat, the inborn pneuma and the aether," *JHS* 77, no. 1 (1957): 119–123. See also Galen *Histor. philos.* 16 (Diels, Doxographi graeci 609,2): πνεῦμα…πυρῶδες (doctrine ascribed to the Stoics); ἔμφυτον (line 4). See also the pseudo-Galenic *Book of the Regimen*, which discusses something which the modern translators render as "innate heat" which is like "a fire" in describing digestion and the effects of resting versus exercising after a meal: Gerrit Bos and Ivan Garofalo, "A Pseudo-Galenic Treatise on Regimen: The Hebrew and Latin Translations from Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq's Arabic Version," *Aleph* 7 (2007): 60; for the Hebrew and Latin terms for this heat, see ibid., 89.

[40]By comparison to the nearly identical phrase at ḤLIF 5 (D.ix; see p. 160), perhaps this word (*khulf*) should be emended to *khilāf*, "dispute."

[41]ḤLIF 9 (**B** $21_{11–18}$, **D** $16_{5–11}$, **E** $14_{10–16}$; begins at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.11 MR 18_{19} at ἐπεισήγαγον).

[42]Such as his *Bahjat al-muʾmin* (see Wakelnig, "Al-Anṭākī's use") and *Kitāb al-manfaʿa* (see Treiger, "ʿAbdallāh," 92).

[43]Robert Wisnovsky, *EI²*, s.v. "Yaḥyā al-Naḥwī"; Herbert A. Davidson, "John Philoponus as a Source of Medieval Islamic and Jewish proofs of creation," *JAOS*, 1969, 357–391. See also n. 45 on the next page below.

(*al-ḥarāra al-gharīzīya allatī fī l-abdān*).[44] This close verbal similarity in referring to the physiological concept of a human body's innate warmth (a familiar concept in Galenic medicine and encountered in Avicenna's medical works as well) may derive directly from an Arabic translation of Philoponos from which Ibn al-Faḍl is quoting, or it may be Ibn al-Faḍl's own choice of language. Either way, it shows his inclination to bring terms and concepts known to him from reading Arabic philosophy, and in this case perhaps medicine, to a discussion of this Byzantine Church Father's text. Arabic thought was part of how he thought about and taught Byzantine 'theology' (in the broad sense).

While Basil's text has the effect of contrasting the vain complexity of philosophical speculation with the simplicity of scriptural truth, Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion emphasizes the natural philosophical discussion for which the scriptural passages — and Basil's homily — provide an opportunity. The discussion which Basil had declared dead in the fourth century was, as Ibn al-Faḍl casually remarks, still alive in the eleventh.

John Philoponos exerted an important influence on medieval authors. His now lost work *Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World* directly and indirectly provided Muslims, Christians and Jews with sophisticated arguments in support of the proposition, central to monotheisms of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, that the world had a beginning in time.[45] Psellos and Symeon Seth were among Ibn al-Faḍl's contemporaries who read (and excerpted) *Against Aristotle*.[46] Ibn al-Faḍl himself excerpted Philoponos in his own works, the *Book of Benefit* and the *Joy of the Believer*, and probably elsewhere.[47]

At least one Greek manuscript containing Basil's *Hexaemeron* includes a scholion which appears loosely related to this same part of Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion. G2, the Genoa *Hexaemeron* manuscript which is part of the G-group of Greek manuscripts to which Ibn al-Faḍl's translation shows affinity,[48] contains a note either to the phrase "μὴ ζήτει τὴν τῶν ἕκαστον ἐπεξήγησιν"[49] (as Pasquali thought) or a few lines down, to ἡ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἔρευνα[50] (as Mendieta and Rudberg report in their apparatus). This is only seven or nine lines (in Mendieta and Rudberg's edition)

[44]Ibn Sīnā, *Najāt*, 161.12–162.1; this corresponds to Ibn Sīnā, *Deliverance: Logic*, trans. Ahmed, 128 = §145, ¶iv. Avicenna wrote a medical treatise *On the Difference between Vital and External Heat* (*Risāla fī l-farq bayn al-ḥarāra al-gharīzīya wa-l-gharība*) = GMed 18; see Dimitri Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition: introduction to reading Avicenna's philosophical works*, 2nd ed. (1988; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 538, whose translation of the title I follow; for manuscripts of this work, see ibid., 519. This text was brought to my attention by a lecture on Avicenna's works which Dimitri Gutas delivered at the University of California, Berkeley, 18 September 2014.

[45]On John Philoponos, see the *SEP* (plato.stanford.edu/entries/philoponus/). For his influence on Muslims and Jews writing in Arabic, see Davidson, "John Philoponus as a Source." Peripatetic philosophers among the Muslims took issue with Philoponos's anti-Aristotelianism, such as al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā; see *EI*^{3}, s.v. "Aristotle and Aristotelianism," §1.2. For Philoponos in the Byzantine tradition: Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine*, index under 'Philopon,' 171 and subsequent. For further discussion, including of Philoponos's works of Miaphysite dogmatics, see Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*, 99–102.

[46]Rashed, "Problem of the Composition," 40–41, who argues that it is likely that Psellos excerpted a passage of *Against Aristotle* directly from Philoponos's text but possible that he drew on a source which itself excerpted Philoponos.

[47]The *Book of Benefit* (*Kitāb al-Manfaʿa*), where Ibn al-Faḍl excerpts a passage from *Against Aristotle*: Rashed, "Problem of the Composition," 37–8. The *Joy of the Believer* (*Kitāb Bahjat al-Mu'min*): Wakelnig, "Al-Anṭākī's use"; see also Sepmeijer, "Book of Splendor."

[48]See chapter 2.

[49]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.7 end = MR 14_{10}.

[50]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.8, MR $14_{12–13}$.

above where this marginalium of Ibn al-Faḍl appears. The Greek scholion, edited by Pasquali, reads:[51]

> Some said that the essence/substance of the heavens is fiery; Empedocles, that it is watery and like a clear/icy vault; others, that it is a mixture of the four elements; another group, that it is of the fifth element. It's reasonable, then, that he [Basil] rejects speculation about its essence/substance as discordant and useless.

In its outline, this resembles Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion, but in substance the two scholia disagree. The order of the theories is different (Ibn al-Faḍl: four elements, four elements with special fire, fifth nature, three elements; Greek note: only fire, only water, four elements, fifth element). They also ascribe to Empedocles different theories (Ibn al-Faḍl: Empedocles held that it is made of four elements; Greek note: that it is of water). This along with other differences make clear that the two marginal annotators were drawing on different sources. But they do both end in a statement concerning speculation on the subject; Ibn al-Faḍl notes that it continues, while the Greek note affirms Basil's claim that it is pointless. Their similarity is probably due to their participation in a shared doxographical tradition (although it is at least possible that Ibn al-Faḍl read the Greek note but rewrote it entirely, preserving its outline but changing the rest). However that may be, the comparison brings into relief Ibn al-Faḍl's special attention to systematically attributing each theory to a different author.

The Greek scholiast and Ibn al-Faḍl both felt the need to elaborate on a debate which Basil considered pointless. This is partly because Basil's dismissal is a bit disingenuous. For he too has a position: he holds that the sky is composed of four elements.[52] This implies a position on the more general question which the debate about the sky represents, namely whether the celestial is like or unlike the terrestrial. Like Philoponos after him, Basil implies that one material world encompasses the celestial and terrestrial; the sky is made of the same ordinary matter as the sublunar world.[53] Thus, he rejects the Peripatetic doctrine that the heavens are exalted and entirely unlike earthly things, not made of the four ordinary elements of which earthly things are made, but of a fifth element. From reading Philoponos, Ibn al-Faḍl would have acquired the impression that this debate was alive — in Philoponos's time. But medieval philosophers continued to challenge the Philoponian argument that the celestial is analogous to the terrestrial, and so corruptible and non-eternal, including Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) in the tenth century.[54] In the eleventh century, then, it was important to know the debate, so that one could engage in it oneself.

II Detailed examination of two cosmological scholia

The eternity of the world

Is the world eternal? Has it always existed? Pagan philosophers often answered yes to both questions, but to many Jewish, Christian and Muslim thinkers, this thesis was unacceptable. In the

[51]Pasquali, "Doxographica," 200 (no. 22): "τῶν οὐρανῶν οἱ μὲν πυρώδη τὴν οὐσίαν εἶπον· Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ ὑδροπαγῆ καὶ οἱονεὶ κρυσταλλῶδες ἐπείλημα· ἄλλοι οὖν [Pasquali emends οὖν to δὲ] κρᾶμα ἐκ τῶν δ′ στοιχείων· ἕτεροι τοῦ ε′ στοιχείου. Εἰκότως οὖν παραπέμπεται τὴν περὶ οὐσίας σκέψιν ὡς διάφωνον καὶ ἄχρηστον."

[52]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.11; as Giet points out, this is Plato's position: Bas.*Hex.* Giet, 131 n. 1.

[53]For Philoponos's position on this, see the fragment discussed by Rashed, "Problem of the Composition"; the fragment is quoted by Ibn al-Faḍl, as Rashed discovered.

[54]Rashed, "Problem of the Composition," 41–6.

sixth century, the Christian John Philoponos wrote a treatise, of which only fragments survive, offering detailed proofs that the world could not be eternal, framed as a refutation of Aristotle,[55] and another one on the same subject, framed as a refutation of the fifth-century philosopher Proclus, *diadochos* of the Athenian Academy.[56] This was to become a key source and inspiration for refutations of the eternity of the world in Arabic and Greek cosmology.[57]

The eternity of the world had been a central concern for Basil too, as it was for his predecessors.[58] Already in his first homily, as he reads the opening line of Genesis — "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth" — it is foremost in his thoughts. This "beginning" is, for him, a resounding refutation of any theory asserting that the world is pre-eternal or was formed spontaneously out of elements or dust or other pre-existing matter. He dismisses the argument for the world's pre-eternality from the circular motion of the heavenly bodies — by pointing out that our inability to discern where a circle began is no proof that it didn't begin somewhere — and regards the opening words of Genesis as irrefutable.[59]

It is at this point that Ibn al-Faḍl wrote into the margin a lengthy refutation of a purported proof of the eternity of the world which Basil had not even considered. The purported proof is presented as a paraphrase, its refutation as direct quotation, but the latter is probably also an abridged adaptation of Ibn al-Faḍl's source. A parallel for this method of excerpting is a passage in Ibn al-Faḍl's *Joy of the Believer* (question 49) which Wakelnig has studied; there, as Wakelnig demonstrates, Ibn al-Faḍl excerpts from Philoponos's *Against Proclus*, producing a text which is an Arabic version of the original Greek, abridged in such a way that an altogether different point is emphasized.[60] The point which Ibn al-Faḍl makes in his scholion is the same as Basil's, but by introducing a philosophical argument, he implicitly shifts authority from scripture to the power of human logic to elucidate this pressing cosmological problem. He begins by introducing the argument for the eternity of the world which is to be refuted:[61]

> إن شيعة الأباطيل والمشغوفين بالأضاليل استدلوا[1] على سرمدية العالم بما تصوروه[2] من تزيد[3] الأعداد والأزمان والحركات والأشخاص، وتنقص المقادير والأعظام بالقسمة لا إلى نهاية[4]. وقالوا ما كانت هذه الأمور بالتي[5] تكون على هذه الصفة،

[55]Fragments translated in: John Philoponos, *Philoponus. Against Aristotle, on the eternity of the world*, trans. Christian Wildberg (London: Duckworth, 1987) (hereafter cited as J.Phil. *Against Arist.* Wildberg).

[56]*Against Proclus on the Eternity of the World*; ed. John Philoponos, *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*, ed. Hugo Rabe (Leipzig: Teubner, 1899) (hereafter cited as J.Phil. *Contr. Procl.* Rabe).

[57]Davidson, "John Philoponus as a Source."

[58]Philo of Alexandria rejects the world's eternity on the grounds that such a doctrine exalts the creation to the rank of the Creator and denies Providence: *De opificio mundi* 7–11.

[59]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.2–3. For the insistence upon Scripture's superiority to reason among the writings of the early Church Fathers (including this passage), see George Karamanolis, *The philosophy of early Christianity* (Durham: Acumen, 2013), 51.

[60]Wakelnig, "Al-Anṭākī's use," 303–7. See also n. 82 below.

[61]The full scholion is ḤLIF 4: **D** 5_3–6_5, **E** $[4]_{\triangle 5}$–$[5]_{\triangle 6}$, **B** 12_{13}–13_{12}; begins at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.3 MR 7_3 at φύσει. To facilitate discussion, I divide the text into several parts (A–D), quoting, translating, and discussing each separately. Throughout my discussion of this comment by Ibn al-Faḍl, I am indebted to Harvey Lederman for discussing the passage with me and offering several illuminating suggestions, and to Asad Ahmed for his detailed comments on how to fill out the arguments to which Ibn al-Faḍl is referring and several very helpful discussions. Time's brevity has prevented me from fully incorporating these insights into the present discussion; I plan to give a more complete treatment of this scholion in a future publication.

[1]استدلوا: د ذ؛ يستدلوا ب [2]تصوروه: د ذ؛ تصوره ب [3]تزيد: ب د؛ تزايد ذ [4]لا إلى نهاية: ب ذ؛ ʼلا[1] إلى نهاية د؛ وأظن أن المقصود: إلى لا نهاية، فإذا ودع «لا» ناسخ د أولا ثم أدخلها، فمن السهل أن نتصور أنه أدخلها في غير مكانها؛ وهذا يدل على إمكانية نسخ «ب» و«ذ» من «د» [5]بالتي: د ذ؛ التي ب

لولا أن العالم سرمدي. ثم يفسّرون ذلك فيقولون للزمان معنى غير المتناهي في الاتصال، والأعظام والمقادير (ذ: ٥) في القسمة، وللعدد[1] في ذلك.

(A) The partisans (*shīʿa*) of absurdities and those fascinated by errors inferred the pre- and post-eternality (*sarmadīya*) of the world from what they imagine in the way of the (1) increase of numbers, times/time-periods, movements and persons, and (2) the reduction of measures (*maqādīr*) and magnitudes (*aʿẓām*), by infinite division [*al-qisma lā ilā nihāya*; read: *ilā lā nihāya*?]. They said: 'These matters wouldn't be the things which fit this description if the world were not pre- and post-eternal (*sarmadī*).' They then explain, saying: 'Time/time-period (*zamān*) has the sense of that which is infinite in continuity (*ittiṣāl*); and magnitudes and measures [have the sense of that which is infinite] in division; and likewise for number (*wa-li-l-ʿadadi fī dhālik*).'

The anonymous opponents argue that the world must be eternal because (1) there exist things which increase infinitely, like numbers, and (2) there exist things which divide infinitely, like measures and magnitudes. This is clearly the sketch of a proof, and not a very satisfying one; Ibn al-Faḍl, of course, has no interest in promoting the plausibility of these arguments.

The idea seems to be that if infinite processes like increase and division ad infinitum take place in the world, the world itself must be infinite. In particular, if the universe contains objects of finite magnitude, and objects of finite magnitude are infinitely divisible, then it contains objects which are in a sense 'infinite' and so might be said to 'contain infinity.' But if the universe 'contains infinity' then it must be infinite itself. And what else does it mean for the universe to be infinite than for it to exist eternally? This is still not a proof, but it may be the sort of reasoning which motivated the proof to which Ibn al-Faḍl refers.

Whatever the proof was, it clearly assumed, in (A.2), that measures and magnitudes are infinitely divisible. This is closely related to the question of whether *bodies* are infinitely divisible. Aristotle holds that physical bodies, like mathematical bodies, are infinitely divisible (*Physics* Book 6), though elsewhere he suggests that bodies composed of matter and form cannot be infinitely divisible while maintaining their form (Book 3).[62] Commentators such as Philoponos (and later Thomas Aquinas) interpreted this latter, limiting statement to mean that while matter is infinitely divisible, hylomorphic bodies are not.[63] Ibn al-Faḍl's nameless opponents arguing for the eternity of the world may have been aware of this commentary tradition, for rather than argue from the infinite divisibility of *bodies*, they rely on that of "measures and magnitude."

I should say a word here about these two terms, *miqdār* and *ʿiẓam*, which I have been translating as 'measure' and 'magnitude.' These two terms appear to be used synonymously in Arabic Aristotelians as two different translations for the same Greek word, *megethos*, or 'size.' Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (son of the more famous translator Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq), in his translation of Aristotle's *Physics*, renders *megethos* as *ʿiẓam*,[64] but the Aristotelian commentator Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan ibn al-

[62]Ruth Glasner, "Ibn Rushd's theory of *minima naturalia*," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 11, no. 1 (2001): 9–14.

[63]Ibid., 15.

[64]For example at 187b8: Aristotle, *Arisṭūṭālīs: al-Ṭabīʿa. Tarjamat Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn, maʿ Shurūḥ Ibn al-Samḥ wa-Ibn ʿUday wa-Mattā b. Yūnis wa-Abī al-Faraj Ibn al-Ṭayyib*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, 2 vols. (1984), vol. 1, pp. 37–8.

[1]في القسمة، وللعدد: تالفة في «ذ» حتى منتصف كلمة «للعدد»

Samḥ (d. 1021), in his explication of this passage, uses the word *miqdār* to refer to Isḥāq's *ʿiẓam*.[65] Again, where Aristotle seeks to refute Anaxagoras's notion that "everything is in everything" by a thought-experiment in which flesh is continually extracted from water, he uses the term *megethos*: "Or if it will not stop but will always admit of further extraction, in a finite *megethos* there will be equal finite things which are infinite in number."[66] Isḥāq renders *megethos* as *ʿiẓam* and *aʿẓām*, while Abū ʿAlī's explication of the passage speaks of *maqādīr*.[67]

To return to Ibn al-Faḍl's description of a 'proof' for the eternity of the world, we there find that the synonymity of the two terms *miqdār* and *ʿiẓam* is further suggested by the fact that they occur as a pair (though not always in the refutation of this proof).

Next, Ibn al-Faḍl presents two quotations, one short (B, below), the other longer (C–D, below), from an author whom he does not name, presenting them, taken together, as a refutation of the argument in (A):

> وقد أفسد رأيهم هذا وأبان عداده[1] بعضُ المتكلمين، بأن[2] قال إنّ الكمية[3] المتّصلة ليس يتهيّأ فيها أنْ يكون الشيء الذي[4] ليس بمتناه{ي} في إحدى جهتيه، غير الشيء الذي ليس بمتناهٍ[5] في جهتيه جميعاً، وذلك أنّه قد يمكننا أن نتوهّم خطّاً[6]، في إحدى جهتيه ذا[7] نهاية، وغير متناهٍ[8] في الجهة الأخرى، وإن كان ذلك غير طبيعي[9]. فأمّا في الكمية المنفصلة، فذلك[10] غير ممكن أن يُتوهّم توهُّماً فقط، فضلاً عن أن يكون بالحقيقة.
>
> (B) One of the *mutakallimūn* has undermined their opinion and made clear its stupidity [? emending *ʿidādahu* or *aʿdādahu* to *ghabāʾahu*][68] by saying: (1) It is not possible in the case of the continuous quantity (*al-kammīya al-muttaṣila*) for the thing which is infinite on one of its two sides to be different from (*ghayr*) the thing which is infinite on both of its sides. That is, it may be possible for us to imagine a line which is finite on one side but infinite on the other, even if that is unnatural. (2) As for the case of the discrete quantity (*al-kammīya al-munfaṣila*), it is not possible even to imagine it, to say nothing of its truly being.

The anonymous *mutakallim* — a word, in both Christian and Muslim contexts, for someone who discusses and disputes dogmatic issues — seems to argue that it is not possible for a quantity to be infinite on one side and finite on the other, or perhaps that a quantity infinite on one side and finite on the other is *equivalent* (commensurate) with one which is infinite on both sides.[69] If the

[65]Aristotle, *Ṭabīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 38. Likewise Abū ʿAlī uses *mādda* for 'matter' where Isḥāq writes *hayūlā*. Ibn al-Qifṭī gives Abū ʿAlī's death date as Jumādā II 412 AH = September–October 1021 CE; quoted by Aristotle, *Ṭabīʿa*, vol. 1, *taṣdīr* p. 20.

[66]Aristotle, *Physics*, 187b33: "εἰ δὲ μὴ στήσεται ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἕξει ἀφαίρεσιν, ἐν πεπερασμένῳ μεγέθει ἴσα πεπερασμένα ἐνέσται ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος."

[67]Ibid., vol. 1, p. 39. Isḥāq: وإما أن لا ينقطع بل يكون فيه ما ينتفض دائماً فيكون في عِظَمٍ محدود أعظام متساوية متناهية لا نهاية لعددها.

[68]The reading *aʿdādahu*, "its numbers," is nonsensical. It is possible to read *ʿidādahu* to mean "its like" (see *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *ʿdd*: ابن الأعرابي: يقال هذا عِدادُه وعِدُّه ونِدُّهُ ونَديدُه...أَي مِثْلُه وقِرْنُه), i.e., the *mutakallim* made clear the likes of their opinion, but this still seems problematic, since one would expect him to be *refuting* not merely explicating 'the likes of the opinion'; this difficulty could be overcome by emending the previous word from أبان to أبطل. On the other hand, *ghabāʾahu* fits the context perfectly, and it is plausible that a scribe might mistake a hastily written غباءه for عداده.

[69]I depend here on a suggestion made to me by Asad Ahmed.

[1]عداده: ب د؛ اعداده ذ؛ وأظن أن الصحيح: غباءه [2]بأن: د ذ؛ فان ب [3]إنّ الكمية: تالفة في ذ [4]الذي: د ذ؛ —ب [5]بمتناهٍ: ذ؛ بمتناهي ب د
[6]خطّاً: ب ذ؛ خطٌ د [7]ذا: ب ذ؛ ذاء د [8]متناهٍ: ذ؛ متناهي ب د [9]طبيعي: ذ؛ طبيعياً ب د؟ [10]فذلك: د ذ؛ فلذلك ب

quantity is (1) continuous, it is conceivable for it to be infinite on only one side (for example, we can imagine a ray), but not physically possible. If the quantity is (2) discrete, it is not even conceivable for it to be infinite on one side and finite on the other.

This proof may be intended to falsify the first premise of the opponents' argument, in (A.1).[70] Discrete quantity is a genus whose species include numbers, time-periods (e.g., days), movements (e.g., planetary revolutions?), and persons. The claim that a discrete quantity must be either infinite on both ends or infinite on neither (B.2), then, implies that all these specific discrete quantities (which, as one count them, all begin with one: one person, one day, etc.),[71] while they may seem to increase indefinitely, cannot conceivably be infinite: one cannot imagine *infinite* people. The first premise, in (A.1), has thus been falsified. The role of (B.1) in this argument seems to be rhetorical: it is a familiar case which may seem more difficult to prove than (B.2); the latter is thus made to look self-evident.

The longer quotation which now follows concentrates on (A.2), the argument that the infinite divisibility of continuous quantities (like measures and magnitudes) implies the eternity of the world. The *mutakallim* begins with the case of measures.

> وقال أيضاً: ليس كما يقال في المقادير إنّها تنقسم دائماً بغير نهاية، كذلك يقال في الكون إنّه يكون بغير نهاية. وذلك أنّ المقادير يقال إنّها تنقسم بلا نهاية، ليس بأنّه ممكن أن يحتمل انقسام بالفعل (ب: ١٣) بلا نهاية، ولا بأنّ انقسامها لا يكون لها انقطاع ولا سكون بالفعل، فإن هذا[1] ليس هو لها[2] بالقوة فضلاً[3] عن أن يكون لها بالفعل. لكن إن تَوَهَّمَ متوهمٌ أنّها قد انقسمت دائماً، لم[4] تنته[5] القسمة إلى نقط الأجزاء التي لا أجزاء لها ولا أبعاد[6]، لكن يكون كلما[7] يخرج من القسمة ذا أبعادٍ[8] لا محالة، فَمِن أجل أنّ لها أبعاداً يقال إنّها يحتمل أنْ تنقسم أيضاً، فتكون منقسمة لا غير منقسمة. فعلى هذه الجهة يقال بالمقادير إنّها منقسمة بلا نهاية، وإنّ قسمتَها لا تقف[9] بالقول ولا بالتوهم، إذ[10] كانت الأجزاء التي تخرج من الأجزاء ذوات أبعاد، ومع هذا فإن التجزئة التي تكون بالفعل قد تقف وتنتهي (د: ٦) اضطراراً.
>
> (C) And he also said: (1) Saying that measures (*maqādīr*) are divisible (*tanqasim*) continually ad infinitum is not like saying that the universe (*al-kawn*) exists infinitely. (2) This is because one says that measures are divisible (*tanqasim*) ad infinitum not in the sense that it is possible that they admit of actual division ad infinitum, or that their division actually goes on without interruption or rest. (3) For this cannot even potentially happen to them, to say nothing of happening in actuality. (4) But if one were to imagine that they were perpetually divided, the division wouldn't reach points (*nuqaṭ*) of the parts without parts or distances [i.e., atoms]; but rather everything that emerges from the division necessarily has dimensions. (5) Because they [the parts resulting from a division] have dimensions (*abʿād*), it is said that they too admit of division, such that they are divisible, not indivisible. (6) It is in this sense (*wa-ʿalā hādhihi l-jiha*) that it is said that measures are divisible ad infinitum, and that their division in word[72] or imagination does not stop, since the parts which emerge

[70] I owe this observation to Harvey Lederman (November 2013).

[71] "Numbers" (*aʿdād*) presumably means integers ≥ 1.

[72] *bi-l-qawl*. Perhaps emend to *bi-l-qūwa*, "in potentiality."

[1] هذا: د ذ؛ ′هذا′ ب [2] لها: ب د؛ —ذ [3] فضلاً: ذ؛ فضلً ب د [4] لم: ب د؛ ولم ذ؛ الاثنان يجوزان نحويّاً، ولكن كلاهما يعطي للجملة معنى خاصّ، وذلك أنّ «ولم» يعني أنّ ما يلي هو من توهُّم المتوهم وجواب الشرط «إن توهم متوهم...» يبدأ بالقول «فمن أجل أن»؛ أمّا «لم»، فمعناه أنّ ما يلي إنّما هو جواب الشرط «إن توهم متوهم...» [5] تنتهِ: ذ؛ تنتهي ب د [6] أبعاد: ذ؛ ابعاداً ب د [7] كلما: ب د؛ كل ما ذ؛ والمقصود: كلُّ ما [8] أبعادٍ: ذ؛ ابعاداً ب د [9] تقف: +لا ذ [10] إذ: د ذ؛ اذا ب

from the parts contain dimensions. (7) Nevertheless the partitioning which occurs in actuality may be forced to stop and come to an end.

The *mutakallim* proceeds by arguing that the statements "measures divide infinitely" (= *d*) and "the universe exists infinitely" (= *u*) are not analogous (1) because *d* is only true *conceivably* (4–6), not actually (2) or even potentially (3). (It is assumed that *u* is a claim that the universe *actually* exists infinitely.) In other words, if one concedes that "actually *d*" implies "actually *u*," one may show that "actually *d*" is false (7) and thereby refute the proof (since then "actually *u*" has not been shown), even if "potentially *d*" or "conceivably *d*" is true. This is the purpose of (C).

Finally, the *mutakallim* makes a similar argument, also addressing (A.2), now for the case of magnitudes:

فإن كان انقسام الأعظام دائماً بلا نهاية، إنّما قوامه بالوهم والقوة، على أنّ الأجزاء التي تخرج بالتجزئة ذوات أبعادٍ[1]، على أنّ تجزئتها بالفعل لا[2] تقف ولا تنتهي، وإن كان[3] كون الأشياء والأشياء نفسها منقسمة ليس بأنّها[4] كائنة بالقوة، والقوة فقط، لكن على[5] أنّها كائنة بالفعل، فليس تنقسم إذاً الأعظام[6] بلا نهاية.

(D) (1) If the division of magnitudes[73] is continual without end, then it [only] occurs conceivably and potentially, (2) despite the fact that (*ʿalā anna*) the parts which emerge by partitioning have dimensions, [and] (3) despite the fact that their partitioning in actuality does not stop or end. And if[74] (4) the existence [or: generation (*kawn*)] of things, and the things themselves, are divisible not in the sense that they are existent potentially and only potentially, but in that (*ʿalā anna-*) they are existent in actuality, then (5) magnitudes do not therefore divide ad infinitum.[75]

Parts of magnitudes also have dimension, suggesting you could go on splitting them forever (2–3), but this infinite division ("division" which is "continual without end") is only *conceivable* and *potential* (1), but it can never be realized in actuality: the magnitude could never be in a state of *actually* having been divided infinitely many times, only of having been divided finitely many times with infinitely many *potential* divisions left to be made; but potential divisions do not actually exist (4), so magnitudes cannot be said to divide infinitely in actuality (5).[76]

The final line of the scholion is (D.5), "magnitudes do not therefore divide ad infinitum," which is only the conclusion of (D). But the implication is that the refutation is complete, for (C) and (D)

[73] *aʿẓām* (∼ μεγέθη?), versus measures (*maqādīr* ∼ μέτρα), both of which are the quantities (*kammīyāt* ∼ ποσότητες).

[74] The 'if' may be an emendation from **E**, which reads *wa-in kāna*, against **BD**'s *wa-kāna*.

[75] The text of this last sentence is problematic. I have taken *wa-l-ashyāʾ nafsuhā munqasima* to be a *ḥāl* clause, but the first two words could be a second subject with the previous phrase: *kawnu l-ashyāʾi wa-l-ashyāʾu nafsuhā*, "the existence of things and the things themselves." Alternatively, the text could be emended by deleting *wa-l-ashyāʾ* so that *munqasima* becomes the direct object of *kawn*, to read *wa-in kāna kawnu l-ashyāʾi nafsihā munqasimatan laysa bi-annahā…*, "And if the divisibility of things themselves resides not in that they…"

[76] This is a standard Aristotelian argument that distinguishes between being able to divide a line indefinitely (each time you divide, there are more parts which could be divided) and being able to divide it infinitely (which would imply the existence of an infinity, something Aristotle wished to avoid). I thank Harvey Lederman for referring me to this Aristotelian argument. See Sorabji, "Infinity and the Creation."

[1] أبعادٍ: ذ؛ ابعاداً ب د [2] لا: ب د؛ ولا ذ [3] وإن كان: ذ؛ وكان ب د [4] بأنّها: ب د؛ لأنّها ذ [5] على: د ذ؛ ′على[1] ب [6] تنقسم إذاً الأعظام: ذ؛ إذاً الأعظام تنقسم ب د

are each proofs that a different continuous quantity is not infinitely divisible *in actuality*: measures and magnitudes, respectively. Since (B) had already had taken care of the case of discrete quantities, now both premises (A.1) and (A.2) have been falsified, meaning that the purported proof of the eternity of the world collapses.

From John Philoponos onward, there were many attempts to refute the eternity of the world, from a variety of angles. Philoponos himself presents a number of distinct such refutations.[77] The particular proof which Ibn al-Faḍl reproduces seems to consider the infinite divisibility of measures and magnitudes to be different from one another: measures are infinitely divisible only conceivably (not actually or potentially), while magnitudes are infinitely divisible conceivably and potentially (but not actually). Why? While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to pursue this question, it is worth pointing out — in hopes that it may help identify Ibn al-Faḍl's source — that the proof's statement that measures cannot even potentially divide infinitely (C.2–3) is followed by a line of argument that would seem to suggest that imaginary division reaches a point where the parts which emerge have spatial extent but can no longer be conceivably *divided*, such that the claim that these smallest parts are "divisible" is only true insofar as it means that it has spatial extent (C.4–6). This is reminiscent of Ibn Rushd's (twelfth-century) theory of *minima naturalia*. This theory is a bit like Epicurean atomism (in which the world is made up of atoms which are indivisible but nevertheless have internal parts) — especially in the claim that even the mental division of matter reaches a threshold beyond which it cannot continue.[78] But Ibn Rushd rejected the concept of atoms: instead, his world was an Aristotelian continuum, except with a minimum scale beyond which the continuum cannot be divided.[79] In other words, his theory of space combines the continuum (Aristotelian, anti-atomist) with the notion of minima (related to Epicurean atomism).[80] If we should be able to identify the source of the quotation, we might find a theory of continuum-plus-minima which predates Ibn Rushd. (Indeed, Ibn Sīnā argued for a theory of *minima naturalia* as well.)[81] Given Ibn al-Faḍl's decision not to name his source, it may even be non-Christian.[82]

[77]In his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*, he responds to Aristotle's claim that the existence of an absolute infinity would imply absurd conclusions with a digression in which he quotes Themistius's expansion on this claim (namely that the absurd conclusion is that time has a beginning and an end, which implies that "there was a time when there was no time") and proceeds to refute it by a "grammatical analysis" of this phrase, concluding that it is just as nonsensical to say that "there was a time when there *was* time" since this would imply two overlapping 'times' (on *Phys.*3.6): Pantelis Golitsis, *Les commentaires de Simplicius et de Jean Philopon à la* Physique *d'Aristote: tradition et innovation* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 124–7, whose conclusions I summarize here; his reference to Philoponos's "analyse grammaticale" is on p. 125.

[78]Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy*, 33: "The Epicurean atoms cannot be split into smaller bodies. They are physically indivisible. But they are not the smallest units of extension. The atom itself consists of minimal parts which are not merely physically unsplittable but indivisible in thought: nothing beyond these *minima* can be conceived of." Epicurus's predecessors Leucippus and Democritus held that matter is made of 'unsplittable' units, atoms (ibid., 34), which also accords with the *mutakallim*'s premise.

[79]Glasner, "Ibn Rushd's theory," 19: Ibn Rushd argues that there are *minima naturalia*, minimum magnitudes beyond which no continuum can be divided without perishing. I believe this applies to "measures" as well.

[80]Ibid., where it is added that hints of this theory are in John Philoponos and, vaguely, Aristotle. More recently, Glasner has dubbed the same theory "Aristotelian atomism": see Ruth Glasner, *Averroes' Physics: A Turning Point in Medieval Natural Philosophy* (Oxford UP, 2009).

[81]See now Jon McGinnis, "A Small Discovery: Avicenna's Theory of Minima Naturalia," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 53, no. 1 (2015): 1–24. I thank Asad Ahmed for referring me to McGinnis's work on the subject.

[82]Cf. Ibn al-Faḍl's quotation from John Philoponos's *Against Proclus* in his *Joy of the Believer* (*Bahjat al-mu'min*), question 49, cited above, n. 60, where, as Elvira Wakelnig shows, Ibn al-Faḍl is most interested in asserting that

But we can put aside the question of Ibn al-Faḍl's source and its ideological commitments. For the fact remains that where Basil is content to dismiss the eternality of the world on the grounds that it stands in contradiction with scripture, Ibn al-Faḍl feels the need to provide his reader with a proper refutation of an unsettling attempt to prove the eternality of the world. His scholion engages the threatening argument on its own, rather than scriptural, terms — much like John Philoponos. This suggests that unlike Basil, he did not consider the scriptural proof sufficient.[83] The deacon's considerable effort in copying out a purported proof of the world's eternity and excerpts from a refutation of it — neither of which Basil had mentioned — suggests a concern to confront those who were not content to accept the literal meaning of the Judaeo-Christian scripture and move on. Such an audience of doubters, swayed by arguments for the eternity of the world, might have been Christians, but they might also have been people for whom the Mosaic books were at best of limited authority, such as Muslims. To this end, Ibn al-Faḍl was willing to draw on a more recent philosopher's work to bolster what should have been an entirely authoritative text, the work of a Church Father.[84]

The stars

As we have seen, Ibn al-Faḍl was learned in Arabic culture and well-read in Arabic philosophy in particular. We have also seen evidence of his participation in Byzantine culture. He was a deacon in a Byzantine institution in Antioch (the Chalcedonian Church) headed by a patriarch appointed from Constantinople (Peter III, patriarch of Antioch 1052–1056, which coincides with Ibn al-Faḍl's *floruit*). (His name was quite Byzantine as well: ʿAbdallāh, meaning "slave of God," has its exact Greek equivalent in the common Byzantine name Theodoulos.) He used the standard Byzantine chronological system to date his works: the indiction year combined with the year reckoned from the Creation of the World.[85] In the Islamic world, by contrast, Muslims and Christians alike

there are two kinds of light, material and immaterial — a point which is not Philoponos's, but Proclus's. Wakelnig believes the omission of Proclus's name here was for the sake of clarity and not because Ibn al-Faḍl wishes to suppress Proclus's name in particular, since elsewhere in the text (question 60) he explicitly cites Plato, Plotinus and Aristotle: Wakelnig, "Al-Anṭākī's use," 306–7. But in the latter case, he is providing a doxographical account of the opinions of the three philosophers; as for the case of material and immaterial light, he is presenting Proclus's opinion *as his own* — something which, perhaps, he felt no need to advertise.

[83]Indeed, Basil's own brother Gregory of Nyssa seems to question whether the scriptural "in the beginning" refers to time. Philo of Alexandria (1st c. BCE–1st c. CE) had insisted that "in the beginning" cannot refer to the beginning of time, "for time did not exist before the world" (*De opificio mundi* §26: χρόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πρὸ κόσμου); it must rather refer to the order in which things were created (§27).

[84]He shares with the Ashʿarīs (and others) this impulse to supply logical proofs to support traditional scriptural exegetical conclusions.

[85]See chapter 2, on pages 83–84. The prevalence of this system in the middle Byzantine world is well known, so I offer only two contemporary, and somewhat arbitrary, examples. (1) Vat. gr. 463, an illustrated codex containing homilies, ends with a colophon which notes that the book was copied by a monk named Symeon, student of the book's owner, and that the task was completed "in the month of December of the first indiction, in the year 6571 [= 1062 CE], in the reign of the most pious Constantine Doukas and Eudokia the Augusta" (trans. with orig. text by Jeffrey C. Anderson, "Cod. Vat. gr. 463 and an eleventh-century Byzantine painting center," *DOP* 32 [1978]: 178). (2) The indiction year and Anno Mundi dating even feature in a posthumous miracle which Niketas Stethatos (1005?–*c.*1090) narrates of Saint Symeon the (New) Theologian (949?–1022): a stone in Niketas's cell is miraculously imprinted with the letter epsilon followed by a mark to indicate that it was a numeral, and indeed, Symeon's relics were returned to the capital "when the the fifth indiction had come to an end, in the year 6560" (τῆς πέμπτης τελειωθείσης ἰνδίκτου κατὰ τὸ ϛφξ′ ἔτος), that is, August 1052 CE (trans. based on Nik.Steth.*V.Sym.*, 312–313 = §129.2, where the original text and a note about the date's common-era equivalence is also to be found).

used the Hijri calendar, which was the prevalent system in administration. For example, Yaḥyā of Antioch, a Byzantine-Orthodox (Chalcedonian) Christian like Ibn al-Faḍl but an *émigré* from Cairo (who moved to Antioch around 1015), used Hijri years in his historical work.[86]

We now turn to a marginal note by Ibn al-Faḍl which demonstrates that he also drew directly on the Byzantine (Greek) commentary tradition in how he approached Basil's cosmological homilies.

Very soon after the scholion on the eternity of the world, Ibn al-Faḍl penned another long scholion in the margin, this one beside a passage in Basil's first homily about the clever methods by which astronomers and geometers analyze the positions and periods of stars and planets and work out many other things, which, however, gain them no "knowledge of God"[87] or of God's role as creator of the universe — knowledge available to all in Moses's opening line.[88] This scholion is the only one which has been published (as far as I know), but it still awaits further attention.[89] Basil mentions some parameters which astronomers see fit to measure (in a passage which already appeared in the previous chapter):[90] measure the "distances" (διαστήματα) of northern and southern stars, divide up the zodiac into "countless intervals" (μυρίοις διαστήμασι), and track all sorts of parameters for each star (i.e., planet): its *epanaphorai*,[91] stations (στηριγμοὺς),[92] returns (ἀποκλίσεις),[93] and period.[94]

Ibn al-Faḍl picks up on this discussion in a long marginal note which begins with a discussion of the 'fixed stars' (as opposed to the 'wandering stars,' or planets). Ibn al-Faḍl's note rapidly discusses a number of points: fixed stars, the earth's roundness, and the precession of the equinoxes; astronomers all contradict each other, so we should turn away from them to focus on scripture and the salvation of souls (B–C); the planets and their names (D); the sun's movement and the purported naming of the planets after ancient people; and a book by the Byzantine-Arab astronomer Qusṭā ibn Lūqā where certain astronomical parameters can be found.

The scholion takes the form of a gloss on the two types of heavenly bodies, "wandering stars" (i.e., planets, plus the sun and moon) and "fixed stars" (which we now simply call 'stars'), prompted by Basil's use of the term "stars" (by which the fixed stars are meant) and the more

[86]He probably did so, despite living under Byzantine rule, because he was continuing the chronicle of Eutychios of Alexandria, who used the Hijri dating system for the practical reason of its administrative (and thus everyday) prevalence.

[87]τὸ τὸν θεὸν ἐννοῆσαι (MR 8_5) ~ معرفة الله (**B** 14_{19}).

[88]Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.4.

[89]Cheikho, "Al-Makhṭūṭāt…tatimma," 678–9, who simply printed it. I know of no other publication which addresses it.

[90]See ch. 2, p. 126.

[91]i.e., a subset of the twelve 'places' (into which the Zodiac was divided, relative to the ascendant) consisting of the "four places counter-clockwise from each of the cardinal places, namely the second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh places": Roger Beck, *A Brief History of Ancient Astrology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 43. Cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπαναφορὰς IV: the "τόπος which follows a κέντρον."

[92] Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris: Leroux, 1899), 652 (index), defines them as "stations des planètes," but the passages where he discusses them do not define them further.

[93]The similar term ἀποκλίματα can refer to the 'places' *clockwise* from the ascendant and the other three cardinal places: R. Beck, *A Brief History*, 43. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, 631 (index), has an index entry for Ἀποκλίματα, but not for ἀπόκλισις.

[94]NPNF Basil, 54, translates these technical terms as "fixed places," "declensions," and "returns," respectively. The period is referred to as follows: καὶ διὰ πόσου χρόνου τῶν πλανωμένων ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ περίοδον ἐκπληροῖ (MR 8_{3-4}) ~ وفي كم من المدة يقطع كل كوكب من الكواكب المتحيرة فلكه (**D** 6_{17-18}).

specific "wandering (stars)."[95] But this gloss is expanded into an astronomical doxography, punctuated by declarations of the vanity of the science and the error of those who practice it, as if to counterbalance what might otherwise seem like an overly enthusiastic account. It begins:[96]

> الكواكب التي تظهر لقوم دون قوم، هي الكواكب الثابتة، ومن هاهنا[1] استدلّوا على أن شكل الأرض كريّ. وانّما سُمِّيَتْ ثابتةً لا لأنّها[2] غير متحركة، بل لأنّها بطيئة[3] السير، وذلك أنّها تقطع الدرجة على رأيهم الضالّ في مائة سنة.
>
> (A) The stars which appear to one people to the exclusion of (*dūn*) [another] people are the fixed stars (*al-kawākib al-thābita*). From this they inferred that the shape of the earth is spherical (*kurī*). Now, they were named 'fixed' not because they are unmoving, but rather because their motion is slow; that is, they shift by one degree[97] — according to their erring opinion — every hundred years.[98]

This gloss of the term 'fixed stars' consists of a definition (they are the stars that only some can see, i.e., because some northern stars cannot be seen in the south and vice versa) and an explanation of the term's derivation — casually interwoven with reference to astronomical theory, and disapproval of it. "They" (erring astronomers) inferred that the earth is spherical from the fact that the fixed stars are only visible to some; Ibn al-Faḍl is probably referring here to Ptolemy's argument that the earth is not only curved in the east-west direction (as demonstrated by the later observation times of the same eclipse when viewed from further east) but also in the north-south direction (because as one moves northward, southern stars disappear behind the horizon).[99] Ibn al-Faḍl does not explicitly dispute this claim, but he does dismiss as erroneous the claim that the fixed stars are gradually displaced.

The reference here is not to the apparent daily 'movement' of the fixed stars around the earth caused by the earth's rotation. Instead, Ibn al-Faḍl must here be referring to astronomical models seeking to explain the precession of the equinoxes (the gradual change in the position of the vernal equinox[100] relative to the fixed stars) — of which some models also deal with the movement of the solar apogee. Ancient astronomers like Ptolemy held the precession of the equinoxes to be a result of a gradual movement of the heavenly sphere containing the fixed stars relative to the vernal equinox, which they considered to be fixed and unmoving.[101] They also believed that the sun's apogee (its position in its 'orbit' around the earth when it is farthest from the earth) was constant relative to the vernal equinox, that is, that the fixed stars precessed relative to both the vernal

[95]"Stars": ἄστρων (MR 8_1) ∼ *al-nujūm* (**D** 6_{16}). "Wandering (stars)": πλανωμένων (MR 8_3) ∼ *al-kawākib al-mutaḥayyira* (**D** 6_{18}). Whereas the term ἀστήρ is broad enough to refer to both fixed stars and planets, Arabic has two words for heavenly bodies, only one of which is so broad, *kawkab* (usually meaning 'planet' in modern Arabic). The other, *najm* (pl. *nujūm*) was typically used for the fixed stars. Ibn al-Faḍl's choice to translate Basil's ἄστρων as *nujūm* brings added specificity to the Arabic text.

[96]ḤLIF 5 (**B** $13_{\triangle 6}$–$14_{\triangle 12}$, **D** 6_{18}–7_{18}, **E** $[6]_{4\text{-}\triangle 1}$), beginning at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.4 MR 8_4 at ἐκπληροῖ. I occasionally note Cheikho's reading as well, but not systematically.

[97]Lit., "they cross the degree."

[98]**B** $13_{\triangle 6\text{-}\triangle 3}$, **D** 6.

[99]Ptolemy, *Almagest*, I.4.

[100]The phrase 'position of the vernal equinox' is shorthand for 'the position of the sun at the vernal equinox.'

[101]A. Rome, "Les Observations d'Equinoxes de Ptolémée: Ptolémée et le mouvement de l'apogée solaire," *Ciel et Terre* 59, nos. 5–6 (1943): 153 (offprint p. 13).

[1]هاهنا: ب د، ههنا ذ [2]لأنّها: ذ، انها ب د [3]بطيئة: ذ، بطيت ب د، بطئة عند شيخو، وأظنّ أن مقصود ب د هو: بَطُؤَتْ

equinox and the solar apogee, which remained constant. But in the ninth century, the northern Mesopotamian astronomer al-Battānī (who was from a Harranian Sabian family, lived most of his life in Raqqa, and d. 317/929) discovered that the sun's apogee does not remain constant relative to the vernal equinox *but precesses along with the fixed stars*. The eleventh-century Andalusian astronomer al-Zarqālī (d. 493/1100), refined this picture with further observations which revealed that the solar apogee *also* moves, at a much slower rate, relative to the *fixed stars* — that is, its movement relative to the vernal equinox is slightly different from that of the fixed stars.[102]

Ibn al-Faḍl's reference to precession of one degree "every hundred years" probably refers to Ptolemy's estimate of precession,[103] but as he continues, now reiterating Basil's frequent scoff that philosophers' disagreements eliminate the need to refute them,[104] it seems that there may be echoes of these more recent astronomical theories:

> وما أحسن ما قال القدّيس باسيليوس[1] إن اختلاف آراء الفلاسفة الضال (كذا) وتضاددهم[2] يغنينا عن المناقضة لهم. وذلك أن طائفة منهم تزعم أن أفلاك الكواكب (ب ١٤) مركوزة فيها، وقال آخرون: الكواكب متحركة دون الأفلاك، وقال قومٌ: هما[3] (د ٧) جميعاً متحركان، وقال قومٌ آخرون إنّه لا أفلاك لها، وإن الكواكب هي التي تتحرك[4] لا في أفلاك.
>
> (B) How well Saint Basil put it when he said that the difference in the opinions of the erring philosophers[105] and their mutual contradiction relieves us of the task of refuting them! One group of them claims that the planetary/astral spheres (*aflāk al-kawākib*) have [planets/stars] implanted in them. Others say: the planets (*kawākib*) move without the celestial spheres. [Another] group says: they both move. Others say that [the planets] have no celestial spheres but that the planets are themselves what move, not in celestial spheres.[106]

In listing these various doctrines, Ibn al-Faḍl's ostensible purpose is to mock them as mutually contradictory, an attitude very much in line with Basil's approach. Still, by summarizing these positions here, he betrays enough interest in the cosmological models under debate to have read about them — probably second-hand, though one should not rule out the possibility that he read

[102]Rome, "Observations," 153 (offprint p. 13). Battānī: *EI²*, s.v. "al-Battānī."Zarqālī: ibid., s.v. "al-Zarḳālī, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Naḳḳāsh al-Tudjībī." To put it another way, consider the equinox to provide a fixed rotational frame of reference, choosing spherical coordinates such that all points on the ecliptic have a polar angle $\theta = 90°$ and the vernal equinox has azimuthal angle $\phi = 0°$. Then let ϕ_f be the azimuthal angle between a given fixed star (on the ecliptic, to keep the mental picture simple) and the vernal equinox, and let ϕ_a be the azimuthal angle between the solar apogee and the vernal equinox. The Ptolemaic understanding was that ϕ_f changes at a constant rate P, such that $\phi'_f(t) = P \neq 0$, while ϕ_a is itself a constant: $\phi'_a(t) = 0$. Battānī modified this by the claim that $\phi'_a(t) = \phi'_f(t) = P$. Zarqālī's further refinement was to say that $\phi'_a(t) = \phi'_f(t) + R = P + R$, where R is a constant much less than P.

[103] i.e., Ptolemy estimated that $\phi'_f(t) = P = 0.01° = 36''$. In his *Fī sanat al-shams*, Zarqālī estimated $\phi'_a(t) - \phi'_f(t) = R$ to be 1 degree per 279 years (Julio Samsó, "al-Zarḳālī, Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Naḳḳāsh al-Tudjībī," in ibid., s.v. "462"; cf. Rome, "Observations," 153 [offprint p. 13], where the figure is given as 1 degree per 299 years), i.e., $R = (1/279)° \approx 13''$.

[104]A standard Christian argument against philosophy (at least of the "Hellenic" variety), this approach is based on an argument made by the Skeptics: Karamanolis, *Philosophy*, 36.

[105]*al-falāsifa al-ḍāll.*

[106]**B** $13_{\triangle 3}$–14_3, **D** 6–7.

[1]باسيليوس: د ذ؛ باسليوس ب [2]وتضاددهم: ب د؛ وتضادهم ذ، وأيضا عند شيخو [3]هما: ب د، وعند شيخو؛ —ذ [4]تتحرك: د ذ؛ تحرك ب

astronomical texts themselves — and copied, translated or summarized what he read in the margin. As we will see below, he refers to a work by a Christian astronomer, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, explicitly at the end of his scholion, in a way which suggests that he had seen the work.

In any case, the point is that one should adhere to the simpler cosmology described (or implied) by scripture:

> كذا[1] قد[2] جرى أمرهم في ترتيب أفلاك الكواكب المتحيرة، وكون السماء وغير ذلك من أمر الموجودات. وهذا دليل على بُعدهم من الحقّ، وإذا كانت حالهم هذه الحال، فلا وجه للميل إلى مذاهبهم، بل الرضوخ للكتّاب الإلهي فهو أنفع، وفي خلاص النفس من الأضاليل فهو أبلغ.
>
> (C) Thus did they proceed concerning the arrangement of the planetary spheres,[107] the existence of the sky, and other such issues concerning the existent things (*al-mawjūdāt*). This shows their distance from the truth, and if this is the case with them, there is no reason to incline towards their ways of thinking (*madhāhib*) — but rather to submit to the Divine Book, for it is more beneficial, and ⟨to contemplate⟩[108] the salvation of the soul from errors, for it is more lasting.[109]

Having concluded that such philosophical speculations are vain and that one should take refuge in the Bible, Ibn al-Faḍl abruptly transitions from glossing the meaning of 'fixed stars' to describing the 'wandering stars,' or planets (including the sun and moon):

> والكواكب المتحيرة سبعة، وإنّما سُمِّيَت متحيرة لمخالفة سيرها لسير الفلك ورجوعها كالحائر، هكذا تزعم هذه الطائفة. وهذه أسماؤها: زحل والمشتري والمريخ والشمس وعطارد والزهرة والقمر[3]. اما زحل فيقطع فلكه في ثلثين سنة، والمشتري في اثنتى عشرة[4] سنة، والمريخ في سنتين ونصف، والشمس وعطارد والزهرة في سنة واحدة، والقمر في شهر. وقد ذكر قومٌ آخرون أن مسيرها على غير هذا النظام، ولم يزل الخلاف بينهم.
>
> (D) (i) And the wandering stars are seven; (ii) indeed, they were called the wandering [or 'confused': *mutaḥayyir*] stars (iii) because their motion is contrary to the motion of the celestial sphere (iv) and because they turn back like one confused (*ḥā'ir*) — so claims this faction. (v) These are their names: (vi) Saturn (*zuḥal*), Jupiter (*al-mushtarī*), Mars (*al-mirrīkh*), the Sun (*al-shams*), Mercury (*'uṭārid*), Venus (*al-zuhara*), the Moon (*al-qamar*). (vii) As for Saturn, it traverses its celestial sphere in thirty years; Jupiter [does so] in twelve years;[110] Mars in two and a half years; the Sun and Venus and Mercury in one year; the Moon in a month. (viii) Another group mentioned that their motion follows a different arrangement — (ix) and the disagreement among them still continues.[111]

[107] Lit., "spheres of the wandering stars."

[108] The text appears to have a one-word lacuna in the phrase "*wa-fī khalāṣ al-nafs*" between *wa-* and *fī*, such that the phrase should read "*wa-⟨l-naẓr⟩ fī khalāṣ al-nafs*" or "*wa-⟨l-ta'ammul⟩ fī…*" or the like.

[109] **B** 14$_{3-6}$, **D** 7.

[110] In a refutation of the world's eternity in *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, al-Ghazālī refers to the same figures for Saturn and Jupiter: Saturn's period is 30 years, Jupiter's is 12; see Harold Chad Hillier, "Al-Ghazālī's Argument for the Eternity of the World in Tahāfut al-falāsifa (Discussion One, Proofs 1 and 2a) and the Problem of Divine Immutability and Timelessness," *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 1, no. 1 (2010): 85 n. 33.

[111] **B** 14$_{6-12}$, **D** 7.

[1] كذا: ذ، وشيخو، كذى ب د [2] قد: د ذ، ʼقدʼ ب [3] زحل والمشتري والمريخ والشمس وعطارد والزهرة والقمر: ب د، وشيخو، وجاءت القائمة بدون واو الربط في ذ: زحل المشتري المريخ الخ. [4] اثنتى عشرة: ذ، اثنى عشر ب د

Just as in the scholion on what the qualities are,[112] here too Ibn al-Faḍl emphasizes the continued bickering among specialists, using a nearly identical phrase: "the disagreement among them still continues."[113]

His disavowal in (D.iv) rings a bit false. After all, he is not even disavowing a doctrine here, only an etymological explanation for the term 'wandering stars'; in this sense the disavowal should be read more broadly to refer to the model which gives the planets their name, in particular that of the celestial sphere contrary to which the planets often move. And in the very next line, his marginal note sounds matter-of-fact as he lists the planets' names, in an order consistent with what had become more or less the standard order in medieval astronomy.[114]

Indeed, his transition from the call to "submit to the Divine Book" (C) to this description of planets (D) is rather abrupt. As it turns out, this is because (D) is an adaptation of a Greek scholion in several Greek Hexaemeron manuscripts, beside the same passage in the Greek Hexaemeron.[115] The note, edited by Pasquali, begins:[116]

> [source for Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion, D.i–iv]
>
> πλανώμενοι ἀστέρες τὸν ἀριθμόν εἰσιν[117] ζ, οὓς καὶ πλανήτας καλοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐναντίαν φέρονται τῷ παντὶ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλοτε τόποις ὁρῶνται· ἐοίκασιν οὖν οὗτοι μόνοι μὴ ἐμπεπῆχθαι τῷ οὐρανῷ καθάπερ οἱ ἀπλανεῖς λεγόμενοι.
>
> (i) *The wandering stars are seven* in number,[118] (ii) *which [stars] they [astronomers] also call planets,*[119] (iii) *since they are carried along contrary to* the universe (iv) and are seen in different places[120] at different times; (iv.bis) indeed, these alone seem not to be implanted in the sky like those called 'not wandering.'

[112]ḤLIF 9; see p. 146; that scholion actually appears later in the text than the one currently under discussion on the stars.

[113]The two phrases differ only in a single word: ḤLIF 9 (qualities) has *khilāf* where ḤLIF 5 (stars) has *khulf*.

[114]By late antiquity, the planets had acquired a fairly standard order, usually with the Sun in the middle, although Mercury and Venus were often swapped. Already Ptolemy considered the planets to be arranged, in order of (increasing) distance from the earth, as follows: Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn (see Robbins' note to the Loeb *Tetrabiblos*, 37 n. 1). Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, 107–8, cited by Robbins, adds that Plato's *Timaeus* gives the order (supposedly derived from Pythagorean or other sources): Moon, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. Heraclides Ponticus swapped Mercury and Venus, giving: Moon, Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. Then Hipparchus came up with a new order which replaced this earlier standard, and which placed the Sun in the middle. Bouché-Leclercq (pp. 108–9) considers this due to Neoplatonic, theurgic influence, since the Chaldean Oracles (2nd c. CE) say that the Sun was set in the middle, and then caused the planets to arrange themselves. The *Book of Degrees* (*Kitāb al-daraj*), an astrological treatise translated into Arabic by the Banū Mūsā (9th century), discusses the planets in the same order in which Ibn al-Faḍl presents them: Princeton Garrett Islamic 501H (13th c.), ff. $4^{r}{}_{3}$–$7^{r}{}_{4}$, which I cite in "Crossing Paths," 283. Closer to Ibn al-Faḍl's time, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārizmī (10th century) lists the planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon (see ibid., 294 n. 78). This is the same as Ibn al-Faḍl's order, except for Venus and Mercury, the ordering of which was, as Bouché-Leclercq notes, controversial in antiquity. Achilles, *Eisagoge*, 16 (*Commentariorum in Aratum reliquae*, ed. Ernst Maass [Berlin: Weidmann, 1898], 42–3) represents this complex astronomical heritage by offering a number of alternative orders.

[115]It appears in at least four Greek manuscripts; see ch. 2, p. 109 and n. 126.

[116]Pasquali, "Doxographica," 198–9 (no. 14). The passage in the Greek is at MR 8_{3} (καὶ διὰ πόσου χρόνου τῶν πλανωμένων). I have changed *iota*s in Pasquali's text to *iota*-subscripts where appropriate.

[117]τὸν ἀριθμόν εἰσιν (my emendation): τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰσὶν Pasquali; Vat. gr. 1857, f. 26^{v}, which Pasquali used for his edition of this scholion and which I briefly consulted myself, has Pasquali's accentuation as well.

[118]The number 'seven' is written out in Vat. gr. 1857, f. 26^{v}: "ἑπτὰ."

[119]Lit., wanderers.

[120]"Places" (τόποις) could, but need not, refer specifically to the Zodiacal mansions.

A comparison of the Greek and the Arabic makes clear that Ibn al-Faḍl has essentially translated the note, though with some changes (passages which are translated without modification or omission are italicized). His translation style here, as in his translation of Basil's text itself, is loose, translating phrase by phrase rather than word by word, with the result of producing better Arabic.[121]

Ibn al-Faḍl omits the next line (iv.bis), which contrasts the stars which are 'fixed' or 'implanted' (ἐμπεπῆχθαι). This was surely not an oversight on Ibn al-Faḍl's part and need not be explained by imagining that the Greek manuscript he had in front of him was missing this line in the scholion. On the contrary, this description precisely matches one of the astronomical models to which Ibn al-Faḍl has already referred earlier in the comment (B). There, he refers disapprovingly to arguing over whether planets and stars are "implanted" (*markūza*) in "celestial spheres" (*aflāk*). While he has chosen a more technical word than the Greek note's "sky" (τῷ οὐρανῷ), the word he uses to mean "implanted" is equivalent to the Greek word used in this note.[122]

The Greek note then continues with a list of the planets:

> [source for Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion, D.v–vi]
>
> (v) Their order is as follows: (vi) first is Phainon, which the Greeks call Kronos's (star), the Egyptians Nemesis's; second is Phaëthon, Zeus's star according to the Hellenes, Osiris's according to the Egyptians; third is Pyroeis, Ares' (star) according to the Hellenes, Herakles' according to the Egyptians; fourth is Stilbon, Hermes' (star) among the Hellenes, Apollo's among the Egyptians; fifth is Phosphoros, which some call Aphrodite's star, some Hera's — (the star) itself is also the Morning Star and the Evening Star, and indeed in antiquity the Morning Star and the Evening Star were believed to be each a different (star), and Ibykos of Rhegion was the first to bring together the appellations —; sixth is the Sun, fourth according to the Egyptians; seventh is the Moon.[123]

[121]For example, in (i), where a word corresponding to "in number" would have been awkward at best. He changes the active voice in (ii) — "call" (καλοῦσιν) — to a passive voice — "are called" (*summiyat*) — which is more natural since the agent of the 'calling' action is not specified in either case. In (iii), he has added specificity; where the Greek says that the planets move contrary to the universe (τῷ παντί), Ibn al-Faḍl specifies the celestial sphere (*falak*). The contrast between the two texts is greater at (iv), where Ibn al-Faḍl's second reason for the planets' name — that they turn back on themselves as if confused (*rujūʿihā ka-l-ḥāʾir*) — is quite different from the Greek's vaguer reference to their being found in various places over time.

[122]πήγνυμι means to "stick or fix in"; "fix (in the earth), plant"; and "pitch (a tent)"; the basic image is of a pike-shaped object being driven into a yielding substance like the earth or, more violently, flesh: LSJ s.v. A.I.1. ἐμπήγνυμι, with the prefix, likewise means to "plant or fix" something "in" something else: LSJ s.v. A.I. The Arabic verb *rakaza* (of which *markūza* is a passive participle), means much the same thing; *Lisān* s.v.: "*al-rakz*: when you plant/ram (*gharz*) something straight like a spear or the like [into something]… To *rakaza* (something)… is to plant/ram it into the ground" (الرَّكْزُ: غَرْزُكَ شيئاً منتصباً كالرمح ونحوه تَرْكُزُه رَكْزاً في مَرْكَزِه، وقد رَكَزَه يَرْكُزُه ويَرْكِزُه رَكْزاً ورَكَّزَه: غَرَزَه في الأَرض).

[123]"Εστιν δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ τάξις τοιαύτη· πρῶτος ὁ Φαίνων, ὃν Ἕλληνες μὲν Κρόνου, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ Νεμέσεως· δεύτερος ὁ Φαέθων, κατὰ μὲν Ἕλληνας τοῦ Διός, κατὰ Αἰγυπτίους δὲ Ὀσίριδος ἀστήρ· τρίτος δὲ ὁ Πυρόεις, κατὰ μὲν Ἕλληνας Ἄρεως, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους δὲ Ἡρακλέους· τέταρτος δὲ ὁ Στίλβων, παρὰ μὲν Ἕλλησιν Ἑρμοῦ, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος· πέμπτος ὁ Φωσφόρος, ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτης, οἱ δὲ Ἥρας προσαγορεύουσιν (ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ Ἑωσφόρος καὶ Ἕσπερος· καίτοι γε τὸ παλαιὸν ἄλλος ἐδόκει εἶναι ὁ Ἑωσφόρος καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Ἕσπερος· πρῶτος δὲ Ἴβυκος ὁ Ῥηγῖνος συνήγαγεν τὰς προσηγορίας)· ἕκτος δὲ ὁ ἥλιος, κατ' Αἰγυπτίους δὲ τέταρτος· ἑβδόμη ἡ σελήνη." Cf. pseudo-Aristotle, *De mundo* (Περὶ κόσμου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον), 2.9 (Aristotle, *Aristotelis Opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, 11 vols. [Oxford, 1837], vol. 3, p. 134 [hereafter cited as Bekker]), where the order is the same and there is some verbatim overlap, such as the phrase "ὃν [Greek note adds: οἱ μὲν] Ἀφροδίτης, οἱ δὲ Ἥρας προσαγορεύουσιν."

Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion is much more succinct at this point. After an equivalent of (v) — "These are their names" — it simply lists the planets, using the standard Arabic names for them. The Greek text at (vi) is much longer, providing three names for most of the planets (the name, followed by the 'Hellenic' and Egyptian names), and including a digression on the early and erroneous opinion that the Morning Star and Evening Star are distinct. The 'Hellenic' names refer to the attributes of the planets.[124]

The order in which they are presented is similar but not identical to Ibn al-Faḍl's order: Phainon (Saturn), Phaëthon (Jupiter), Pyroeis (Mars), Stilbon (Mercury), Phosphoros (Venus), the Sun, the Moon. The alternate "Egyptian" order given has the Sun in the fourth position; presumably the rest remain in place, giving: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, the Moon. This "Egyptian" order is the same as Ibn al-Faḍl's. This does not mean that Ibn al-Faḍl derived his list from this passage, since it is one of the standard orders.[125] But since he read this scholion, it is at least worth noting that he chose to present a list identical with the Egyptian, rather than the 'Hellenic' one — unless we posit that Ibn al-Faḍl's Greek exemplar had an abbreviated scholion which only listed the Egyptian one. Either way, the result was that his marginal note lists them with standardized Arabic names and in an order consistent with the contemporary Arabic astronomical curriculum, reflecting the situation that by the eleventh century the basics of the field had been more or less standardized.[126]

The Greek scholion concludes with more specialized information about the planets, the periods of their revolution (around the earth), corresponding to the topic of Ibn al-Faḍl's next sentence as well:

> [source for Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion, D.vii–viii/ix]
>
> Ἀποκαθίσταται δὲ ἡ σελήνη ἀπὸ ⟨σημείου ἐπὶ⟩ σημεῖον[127] ἐν μησὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς δρόμον πληροῦσα·[128] ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ· ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ὁμοίως ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ· ἰσοταχεῖς γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τρεῖς· ὅθεν καὶ διά[φωνος αὐτῶν ἡ τάξις].[129]
>
> (vii) The Moon returns, as can be observed [or: from a point to a point],[130] completing

[124]See R. Beck, *A Brief History*, 72 (table 6.1).

[125]See n. 114 on page 161.

[126]At least in Arabic, though perhaps in Greek as well, since the Greek comment dates from the 10th century (the date of the earliest of the four which Pasquali reports contain this passage; see ch. 2, n. 126 on page 109) or earlier. The other three manuscripts containing this scholion (another 10th-century, a 10th/11th century, and a 14th-century manuscript) suggest the detailed list's continuing relevance, not necessarily because of a *lack* of standardization in Greek astronomy, but rather because of the perceived benefit of preserving alternative names and orders — the history of the discipline. Symeon Seth, who translated *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into Greek for Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) (*ODB*, s.v. "Seth, Symeon") also wrote a book (in Greek) on the natural world, in which he gives a straightforward description of the planets, using standard names (those which the Greek scholion ascribes to the "Hellenes"), in the "Egyptian" order but with Venus and Mercury swapped: Symeon Seth, Σύνοψις τῶν φυσικῶν, 32 = *Anecdota atheniensia*, ed. Armand Delatte, 2 vols. (Paris, 1927–1939), vol. 2, pp. 38–9. Symeon Seth's description reads in the inverse order (lowest sphere to highest sphere); above the earth are: water, air, and fire; then the spheres of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars; and finally the "starless sphere."

[127]ἀπὸ ⟨σημείου ἐπὶ⟩ σημεῖον: Pasquali's emendation; the variants he reports in the apparatus are: ἀπὸ σημεῖον A3 B8 [= Fy]: ἀπο σίμιον G2 [= G]: ἀπὸ σημείου E6 [= O]. Pasquali's emendation is supported by the parallels in Achilles, *Eisagoge*, 18 = Maass 44_{16}, 44_{23}.

[128]πληροῦσα is G2's [= G's] reading, against ποιοῦσα in A3 B8 E6 [= FyO].

[129]ὅθεν καὶ διά⟨φωνος αὐτῶν ἡ τάξις⟩: omitted by A3 B8 E6 [= FyO]: ὅθεν καὶ διά G2 [= G]. Pasquali has supplied the rest from Achilles, *Eisagoge*, 18 = *Commentariorum*, $44_{28–29}$.

[130]Emending ἀπὸ σημεῖον to either ἀπὸ σημεί⟨ω⟩ν or ἀπὸ ⟨σημείου ἐπὶ⟩ σημεῖον. See n. 127.

> its path in a month; the Sun, in a year; Aphrodite [Venus] and Hermes [Mercury] likewise in a year; for the three have the same speed, (viii/ix) which is also why ⟨their order is inconsistent⟩.[131]

This is the end of the Greek note (although Ibn al-Faḍl's note continues, as I will discuss below). The Greek note, then, says nothing about Saturn, Jupiter or Mars, and it gives the moon's period before that of the other three.[132] Nevertheless, the texts seem closely related, whether because Ibn al-Faḍl was using a Greek exemplar closely related to the ones Pasquali consulted but containing a hypothetical 'complete' comment, including mention of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, or because Ibn al-Faḍl simply supplemented his source. His information about the Sun, Venus and Mercury agrees with the Greek scholion but is phrased differently.

The final phrase of the Greek note — "which is also why ⟨their arrangement is inconsistent⟩" — appears in only one of the four manuscripts Pasquali identified as containing the scholion (G2), and there it is cut off; Pasquali supplies the text in angle brackets from a passage in Achilles' *Eisagoge* (2nd–4th c. CE) which overlaps considerably with the scholion.[133] This same phrase must have been in Ibn al-Faḍl's exemplar, since he adapts it to his own purposes. In the context of

[131]Only Codex G has this last clause, and it is missing the part in angle brackets; see n. 129.

[132]But cf. pseudo-Aristotle, *De mundo*, 6.18 (Bekker, vol. 3, 150f), where the periods are given as: moon, 1 month; sun, 1 year; Venus and Mercury, the same; Mars, twice as much (2 years); Jupiter, six times as much as that (12 years); Saturn, two-and-a-half times as much as the last (12+12+6 = 30 years). The periods Ibn al-Faḍl lists (in part D of his comment) are the same, except that he lists the period of Mars as two and a half years, as opposed to the *De mundo*'s two years. The coincidence between Ibn al-Faḍl's two-and-a-half and the way the *De mundo* expresses Saturn's period (two-and-a-half times twelve) suggests that one tradition depends on the other.

[133]See n. 129 on the preceding page; cf. also n. 127. Achilles, an astronomer who cites second-century CE authors and is quoted by a 4th-century author (see *NP*, s.v. "Achilles [2]"), wrote a treatise *On the Universe* (Περὶ τοῦ παντός), now partially preserved as the introduction (hence its modern name *Eisagoge*) to Aratus's Φαινόμενα (see *NP*, s.v. "Aratus [4]"). Achilles' *Eisagoge* was edited by *Commentariorum*, 27–75. The passage parallel to the Greek scholion and Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion part D appears in *Eisagoge*, §17, "The names of the planets [as they are] variously [known]" (Τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν πλανήτων διαφόρως), and §18, "What the so-called Great Year is, and in how many years each of the planets returns [i.e., completes a revolution]" (Τίς ὁ καλούμενος μέγας ἐνιαυτός, καὶ ἐν πόσοις χρόνοις ἕκαστος τῶν πλανήτων ἀποκαθίσταται); ed. *Commentariorum*, 43–6, cited by Pasquali. The relationship between this Achilles passage, the Greek scholion and Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion is not established, so it might be useful to compare Achilles to Ibn al-Faḍl here, as follows:

Fixed stars: $45_{22–26}$, where fixed stars are described as being "fastened into the sky" (ἐναρήρασι τῷ οὐρανῷ). (i) ∼ 45_{26}. (ii) ∼ 45_{30}. (iii) is roughly related to ἀλλ'… τέλλουσι $45_{28–30}$. (iv). (iv.bis) ∼ μὴ ⟨ἐν⟩αρηρέναι τῷ οὐρανῷ 45_{28}. (v) = $43_{15–16}$, with stress, as with IF, on the "discord," also refer to their "names" rather than "order": Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ χρόνου ἑκάστου διαφωνία. (vi) = $43_{16–29}$; this is quite similar to the Greek note's text, although the latter has been rephrased, omitting the explanation that Phainon was the name given to Saturn by the Greeks as a euphemism, that is, to counteract the inauspiciousness of that "most gloomy" (ἀμαυρότατος) planet. The Greek note has also curiously swapped around which names are used as standard with the ones which are called the Hellenes' names: the standard names in Achilles are Kronos's star, Zeus's star, etc., whereas Phainon, Phaëthon, etc., are the names ascribed to the "Hellenes" (the Egyptian names remain the same). The order of the planets given in Achilles is: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury (here with a note that there is much controversy over the order of Mercury, Venus and the Sun), Venus — followed by a lacuna, which must have contained the digression on the Evening/Morning Star (the last word before the lacuna is the "Morning Star"), since it ends with a reference to Ibykos of Rhegion which the Greek note has clearly quoted almost verbatim (πρῶτος δὲ Ἴβυκος εἰς ἓν συνέστειλε τὰς προσηγορίας — the note adds ὁ Ῥηγῖνος after Ἴβυκος and replaces εἰς ἓν συνέστειλε with συνήγαγεν). (vii): planetary periods are given in $44_{14–29}$. This passage is much more involved in Achilles than in either the Greek note or Ibn al-Faḍl's comment; in particular, it describes the sidereal period and another period: Saturn "comes from mansion to mansion on the one hand roughly and broadly speaking in thirty years, but it returns (ἀποκαθίσταται) from point to point (σημεῖον) in thirty-five-myriad and six-hundred thirty-five (350,635) years." It is not clear to me what this latter period is (nor,

the Greek scholion, this phrase is using the similarity between the periods of the Sun, Venus and Mercury as an explanation for the different orders (in distance from the Earth) which different astronomers have proposed. Ibn al-Faḍl draws on this phrase, using the word 'arrangement' (*niẓām* ∼ τάξις) and implying the notion of intellectual dissonance, or 'diaphony,' when he writes, "Another group mentioned that their motion follows a different arrangement" (viii). But he construes this disagreement among astronomers as yet another empty controversy, as implied by his additional remark: "and the disagreement among them still continues" (ix). Furthermore, he specifies that the disagreement is over the arrangement/system (*niẓām*) of planetary *motion*, rather than the *order* of the planets. The effect of this change is to make the astronomers seem even more incompetent and discordant, since they are made to disagree over even some of the most basic observable quantities in astronomy, the periods of the planets, rather than the more tricky question of the relative distance of the planets from the Earth.

This is where the Greek scholion ends, but Ibn al-Faḍl's continues:

> وذكر أصحاب التعاليم أنّ حركة الشمس ليست كحركة الفلك المحيط بها، بل متحركة حركة تحدث شكلاً معوَّجاً[1]. وذكروا أنّ هذه الأسماء قديمة لأُناسٍ قدماء. أمّا زحل فكان[2] ملكاً[3] على المصريّين، أمّا المشتري فعلى الاسيريين[4]، وأمّا الشمس فعلى الافريغون (كذا) ، وأمّا القمر فعلى الصقالبة، وأمّا المريخ فعلى الأتراكي (كذا) ، وأما عطارد فكان مؤدَّباً[5].
>
> (E) (i) The mathematicians (*aṣḥāb al-taʿālīm*)[134] mentioned that the sun's movement is not like the movement of the sphere which surrounds it, but that instead its movement produces [i.e., traces out] a bent shape (*shakl muʿawwaj*). (ii) They mentioned that these names are ancient [names][135] of ancient people (*li-unās qudamāʾ*): Zuḥal (Saturn) was a king of the Egyptians; al-Mushtarī (Jupiter), of the Assyrians; the Sun, of al-ʾfryġwn (the ?Phrygians); the Moon, of the Slavs; al-Mirrīkh (Mars), of the Turks; and as for ʿUṭārid (Mercury), he was a cultivated man (*muʾaddab*).[136]

Here we have a characterization of the sun's movement (i), followed by the persons, mostly kings, with whom the planets are associated (ii). The identification of Mercury as an *érudit* calls to

at least, was it clear to John Narrien, *An Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Astronomy* [London, 1833], 112). Its prime factorization is: $350,635 = 5 \times 23 \times 3049$, so it is not even a multiple of numbers which are known to me to be significant in astrology. Jupiter periods: 12 years (mansion to mansion); 170,620 years (point to point). Mars: 2 years; 120,000 years. Moon: 1 month (no other period mentioned). Sun: 365 days and a bit. Venus and Mercury: likewise a year (from mansion to mansion), "for they nearly have the same speed" (σχεδὸν γὰρ ἰσοταχεῖς εἰσιν). Throughout, much of the language is shared between the Greek note and Achilles, although the latter is much longer. (viii) This is the line from which Pasquali supplied the incomplete Greek note; here Achilles reads: "Because of this also their order is inconsistent" (διὸ καὶ διάφωνος αὐτῶν ἡ τάξις). The line-fragment in Codex G has ὅθεν for διὸ and then stops at δια-. (ix) — on the continuing disagreement among astronomers — seems to be an addition from Ibn al-Faḍl.

[134] Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Haytham (354–430/965–1039) (on whom see J. Vernet, "Ibn al-Haytham, Abū ʿAlī…," in *EI*², 3:788–9), in his *K. al-Manāẓir* (*Optics*), distinguishes between two groups who theorize about the nature of sight, *aṣḥāb al-ʾilm al-ṭabīʿī* (followers of Euclid and Ptolemy) and *aṣḥāb al-taʿālīm* (Peripatetics); see the book's proem, §1.1, and elsewhere. For this identification of the two respective groups, and the English translations "mathematicians" and "natural philosophers," see Nader El-Bizri, "Ibn al-Haytham: An Introduction," http://muslimheritage.com/article/nader-el-bizri-ibn-al-haytham-introduction, with references to other further encyclopedia entries.

[135] Perhaps we should emend *hādhihi l-asmāʾ qadīma* to *hādhihi asmāʾ qadīma*, "these are ancient names."

[136] **B** 14_{12-17}, **D** 7.

[1] شكلاً معوَّجاً: ذ؛ شكلً معوجً ب د [2] فكان: د؛ +[[الشمس]] ب [3] ملكاً: ذ؛ ملكً ب د [4] الاسيريين: ذ؛ الاسيريون د؛ الاسيريوا ب [5] مؤدَّباً: ب؛ مودبً د

mind the Arabic legends on Hermes.[137] Ibn al-Faḍl does not challenge the statement about the sun's movement, and rather than leave it anonymous, he ascribes it to the "mathematicians," a label which does not seem to be pejorative. Given that his previous sentence (D.ix) referred to the continuing disagreement between astronomers, should we take E.i–ii as further examples of controversy? Or has he simply jumped to a different subject, perhaps copying two passages, one astronomical, the other mythological, from another book into the margins? For all his insistence on agreeing with Basil that astronomical lore is pointless, Ibn al-Faḍl certainly shows considerable interest in discussing it.

Ibn al-Faḍl then ends his scholion with what seems like a *non sequitur*, in which all pretense of dismissing astronomy seems to have been dropped:

> وأمّا أبعاد الكواكب من الأرض فقد ذكره (كذا) قسطا بن[1] لوقا في المدخل إلى الفلسفة.
>
> (F) And as for the distances of the stars/planets from the earth, Qusṭā ibn Lūqā mentioned it in his *Introduction to Philosophy*.[138]

This final line of Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion is the only place where he seems to be referring the reader to a work on astronomy: rather than list the distances himself, he points to a specific book by the famous 9th/10th-century scholar, scientist and translator Qusṭā ibn Lūqā of Baʿlabakk (in modern Lebanon), a Christian of Greek origin who wrote in Arabic.[139] The way Ibn al-Faḍl cites the book suggests that he had seen it or read it. Which book was it? The extant recension of Ibn al-Qifṭī's encyclopedia of "sages" doesn't mention a book with this exact title in the entry on Qusṭā, but it does mention the sort of book which Ibn al-Faḍl might have had in mind, such as the *Introduction to meteorology and the movements of the spheres and stars*.[140]

Whatever book he has in mind, Ibn al-Faḍl's approving citation of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā is quite different from the way he refers to other astronomers in this scholion. Qusṭā is the only astronomer whose name he mentions. This can hardly be because the subject matter is in a different category; in fact, distances of the planets from the earth would seem quite similar to one of the astronomical measurements Basil had just ridiculed, "the distances of the stars/planets [ἄστρων, translated by Ibn al-Faḍl as *kawākib*]."[141] Could this difference arise because the astronomer in question here is a Christian, and not just any Christian, but one of Ibn al-Faḍl's own orthodoxy and region? In

[137] For the role of Hermes (and 'Hermeses') in the Arabic tradition, see Kevin van Bladel, *The Arabic Hermes: from pagan sage to prophet of science* (Oxford UP, 2009), esp. chs. 4–5. One of his most important guises was as a sage.

[138] **B** 14_{17-18}, **D** 7.

[139] Qusṭā made his fame in Baghdad, and spent his final years in Armenia, where he was buried in a monumental tomb (D. R. Hill*EI*², s.v. "Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā"; Mark Swanson, "Qusṭā ibn Lūqā," in Thomas and Mallett, *Christian-Muslim Relations*, 2:147–53).

[140] Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīḫ al-Ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Julius Lippert (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903), 262_{17}–263_{1}: *K. al-madkhal ilā l-hayʾa wa-ḥarakāt al-aflāk wa-l-kawākib*. Another similar title, but unlikely to contain astronomical data, is *K. al-madkhal ilā l-manṭiq*: ibid., 263_{5}; IAU Riḍā $330_{\triangle 5-\triangle 4}$; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist li-Abī l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Nadīm = The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, 2 vols. (London, 2009), vol. 2, 293_{15} = Flügel 295. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa mentions a *K. al-madkhal ilā ʿilm al-nujūm* as well (IAU Riḍā $330_{\triangle 3-\triangle 2}$). For a list of the seven texts by Qusṭā (out of about thirty known from manuscripts) which had been edited when the article was written, see Oliver Kahl, "Qusṭā ibn Lūqā on sleeplessness," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 43, no. 2 (1998): 312 and n. 4. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a *K. al-madkhal ilā ʿilm al-nujūm* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, vol. 2, 294_{3}).

[141] οἱ τῶν ἄστρων τὰ διαστήματα καταμετροῦντες (MR 7_{13-14}) ~ والذين مسحوا أبعاد الكواكب (**D** 6_{13}). Basil's vague description could refer to the arc-distance between them as well as to the linear distance between the earth and them.

[1] بن: ذ، ابن ب د

the right hands, astronomy, it would seem, could even be respectable — although Qusṭā ibn Lūqā was not only famous and well-regarded among Chalcedonian Christians, of course. In any case, this citation of Qusṭā shows that rather than reject astronomy altogether, Ibn al-Faḍl seems to consider certain astronomical questions worth asking; why else would he refer the reader to a book containing astronomical parameters?

To summarize, Ibn al-Faḍl's scholion on the stars thus begins as a brief essay on the error and internal contradiction of astronomy but becomes more disjointed as it continues. He defines the fixed stars and mentions precession, which he considers to be an error (A). He stresses Basil's point that natural philosophers all contradict each other by mentioning several divergent theories about the motion of the planets and the question of whether they are "implanted" in the celestial spheres (B), then declares this all to be vain speculation which should be abandoned in favor of Scripture (C). Up to here, the scholion is essentially making a clear point. But then, after declaring astronomy pointless, he nevertheless continues to describe the discipline, adapting a Greek scholion in his exemplar to present a list of the planets and their periods (D). Apparently drawing on a different source (or sources), he then refers to the doctrine of a specific group (the "mathematicians," as opposed to the "natural philosophers") on the sun's peculiar motion and reproduces the mythology associated with each of the planets' names (E). Finally, he jots down a quick memorandum about the astronomical content of a book by a specific practitioner of astronomy, the Christian Qusṭā ibn Lūqā. By now, the scholion has become a collection of loosely related notes but all united by a common concern. Significantly, Ibn al-Faḍl's marginalia can be seen quite tangibly as a part of the Byzantine commentary tradition.

Clearly Ibn al-Faḍl cared about astronomy. The astronomical issues he mentions, especially the question of precession, was a topic of interest to contemporary astronomers writing in Arabic. But why was Ibn al-Faḍl so hostile to their discipline? Almost certainly because the theoretical discipline medieval astronomy was closely bound up with its practical sister, astrology. Battānī (9th/10th c.), in addition to his 'strictly astronomical' work, had written a commentary on Ptolemy's astrological *Tetrabiblos*.[142] Zarqālī (11th c.) also wrote an astrological treatise on the influences of the heavenly bodies on earthly events.[143] Astronomers and astrologers were usually one and the same.[144]

As for Ibn al-Faḍl's attitude towards astrology, we do not need to divine it, since a very brief *Treatise on the Refutation of Astrology* is among his extant works.[145] In it, he begins by declaring that astrology (*aḥkām al-nujūm*) is "Satanic" (*amr shayṭānī*), then presents five arguments to demonstrate that it is irrational and "incompatible with what the definitions of philosophy require [i.e., what follows logically from the definitions]" (*munāfaratuhā li-mā tūjibuhu ḥudūdu l-falsafa*, §0).[146] It is worth noting here that Ibn al-Faḍl is again using technical philosophical terms: 'defini-

[142]Carlo Alfonso Nallino, "al-Battānī," in *EI²*, s.v. "1104"; see p. 159.

[143]Samsó, "al-Zarḳālī."

[144]See George Saliba, "The role of the astrologer in medieval Islamic society," *BEO* 44 (1992): 45–67.

[145]*Fī al-radd ʿalā aḥkām al-nujūm*, ed./trans. Graf, "Widerlegung," 340–2; I have consulted Graf's translation in translating select passages into English. Ibn al-Faḍl also dealt with astrology in a work published by Paul Sbath, ed., *Vingt traités philosophiques et apologétiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens du IXe au XIVe siècle* (Cairo: Maktabat H. Frīdrīkh, 1929), 131–48; cited by Graf, "Widerlegung," 337. For an annotated English translation of this text by Sam Noble, see now Samuel Noble, "ʿAbdallah ibn al-Fadl al-Antaki," chap. 7 in Noble and Treiger, *The Orthodox Church*, 184–186.

[146]For ease of reference, I use section numbers to refer to this text, although Graf's edition has none. I call the first line (مقالة للشيخ أبي الفتح...) the *title*, the following paragraph §0 (it is the proem), then the rest of the paragraphs I

tion' *ḥadd* and 'necessity' (*wujūb*) are both discussed as standard terms in Avicenna's introduction to logic. Interestingly, the arguments he presents go beyond the usual epistemological objection that astrology implies determinism (which appears in §4 and is discussed by Ibn al-Faḍl in another work).[147] Instead, he is mainly concerned with astrology's moral premises. His arguments are as follows.

Astrologers all agree that wealth and the enjoyment of food, drink and other pleasures constitutes good fortune (*saʿd*), whereas philosophers say the opposite is true, that deprivation and sadness bring one to contemplation and so are in truth good fortune (§1). "The philosopher is he who resembles God,"[148] and the only way to resemble God is to practice renunciation of this world (*al-zuhd fī l-dunyā*), including poverty and other attributes which astrologers consider to be misfortune (*naḥs*); the one who is absorbed in pleasures is, as Galen said,[149] like the worm and the pig — which can hardly be considered good fortune (§2). The person has three souls (*anfus*), the intellecting, immortal soul in the brain, the irascible soul (*ghaḍabīya*) in the heart, and the appetitive soul (*shahawātīya*) in the liver; the last two we share with animals, and so the astrologers, who associate good fortune with the pleasurable satisfaction of desires, consider fortunate he who most closely resembles beasts (§3). If the stars determine everything about our character and traits, then there is no personal responsibility (§4). For an understanding of the body and the soul, his last point is particularly interesting: astrologers "believe that man will only die when the degree of the ascendant loses the two lucky (stars) and acquires the two unlucky (stars); but 'those of the law' (*aṣḥāb al-sharʿ*) and philosophers agree that the beginning of every good man's good fortune is the moment of his dissolution (*ḥalāla*) from this defective body (*hādhā l-jasadi dhī l-āfāt*),[150] since he frees himself from the company of beasts and joins the spiritual beings (*rūḥānīyīn*)" (§5).

And so, yet again, Ibn al-Faḍl's concerns led him to write a comment in the margin of his *Hexaemeron* translation. Basil's gentle dismissal of astronomy's vanity was not enough for Ibn al-Faḍl. For in his day too, mathematicians, natural philosophers, and just about anyone who wished to know his or her chances to lead a prosperous life remained captivated by the stars. But at the same time, he had no wish to dispense with astronomy altogether, which would be

number §1, §2, §3, etc., to correspond to Ibn al-Faḍl's phrases *wa-l-wajh al-thānī*, *wa-l-wajh al-thālith*, etc.

[147]A.A. Long, "Astrology: Arguments pro and contra," in *Science and Speculation: Studies in Hellenistic theory and practice*, ed. Jonathan Barnes and Jacques Brunschwig (Cambridge; Paris: Cambridge University Press; Editions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 1982), 165–92. Basil himself (*Hexaemeron*, 6.5–7) provides a classic refutation of astrology, arguing that is impracticable, theoretically implausible, and morally unacceptable, that is: (1) that it is impossible for astrologers to measure the exact moment of a nativity and the exact positions of the planets with the precision that they claim; (2) that in any case, it is absurd to posit a causal relationship between things so manifestly unrelated as the positions of heavenly bodies and a newborn's fate; and (3) that belief in astrology implies belief in a determinism which sweeps away all moral responsibility.

Ibn al-Faḍl's other anti-astrological work which focuses in part on astrology's implication of determinism is his *An essay containing ideas useful for the soul and answers to questions that people frequently ask and dispute which are extracted from the sayings of the holy fathers and select philosophers*, for which see Noble, "ʿAbdallah ibn al-Fadl al-Antaki," 173–4 (whose translation of the title I have used). The text is translated at ibid., 174–184.

[148]Cf. ch. 4 on pages 177–178.

[149]Daiber, "Graeco-Arabica Christiana," 4 and n. 6, identifies this as a quote from "Galen's lost *De moribus*"; see also Graf, "Widerlegung," 346, Erklärung (d).

[150]Cf. Graf: "von diesem vergänglichen Leibe." *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *awf*: الآفةُ: العاهةُ، وفي المحكم: عَرَضٌ مُفْسِدٌ لما أَصاب من شيء. ويقال: آفةُ الظَّرْفِ الصَّلَفُ وآفةُ العِلْمِ النِّسيانُ. Thus Graf's translation is correct insofar as the body's susceptibility to damage and flaws causes it to be "transitory."

the logical conclusion from reading Basil's homily. Instead, for Ibn al-Faḍl, the problem with stargazing was that it could distract one from truly worthwhile pursuits and produce an immoral, worldly obsession with pleasure and material comfort. And so Ibn al-Faḍl read about the stars and strove to convince others to conceive of the heavens in a pious way consistent with Basil's exposition, and to shun the way of pigs and worms.

III Conclusion

When Ibn al-Faḍl sat down to translate Basil's *Hexaemeron*, he was not confronting the work of the late antique Church Father alone. Attached to this text — whether in the form of teachers or scholia — was the Byzantine tradition of the text, the way it was read, the uses to which it was put. He chose to excerpt at least one Greek scholion explicitly, modifying and supplementing it to suit his own purposes.[151] He continued the tradition by adding his own marginalia: not a systematic commentary, but learned reading notes. This was a direct participation in what we might call a Byzantine reading patristic cosmology alongside ancient astronomy and physics — all of this now in Arabic. Nor were Ibn al-Faḍl's marginalia treated by subsequent readers as mere ephemera: instead, they were incorporated into the body of the text and so became part of the subsequent Arabic reception of Basil's *Hexaemeron*.

This calls further into question the hypothesis (for example, of Nasrallah)[152] that Ibn al-Faḍl translated so that Arabic-speaking congregations could benefit from reading or hearing the edifying homilies of the Fathers in their own language. This may well have been part of the story, but the deacon's attention to both the late antique text and *what came with it* in the way of contemporary intellectual culture suggests that he meant his translation to be studied, contemplated, interpreted, and mobilized to define and argue for a Christian cosmology — in Arabic. For Basil's cosmology was not the only one on offer in the eleventh century.

And yet, among Christians, it was a highly influential and authoritative one, which Ibn al-Faḍl could take as an indisputable starting point. But it wasn't enough. The selection from Ibn al-Faḍl's marginalia to his *Hexaemeron* translation presented in this chapter indicates some of what Ibn al-Faḍl felt necessary to add to discussions of logic and matter, whether on the qualities of material objects, a dog's instinctual syllogizing, the elemental composition of the sky, the eternity of the material world, or the celestial bodies. These passages brought to mind curious doctrines about the materiality or nonexistence of qualities, definitions of the syllogistic figures, specific philosophers and philosophical schools not named in the text, logical refutations of unacceptable doctrines like the eternity of the world, and the arrangement of the celestial spheres and stars, how they are physically arranged and how they move. In other words, passages in Basil's homilies provided an opportunity for this eleventh-century deacon to discuss opinions about the material world held by ancient philosophers, but also how to refute those which were in opposition to a Christian cosmology outlined by Basil.

[151] This is entirely consistent with how Ibn al-Faḍl uses his sources in other contexts which have been studied. As Wakelnig, "Al-Anṭākī's use," 305–7, has shown, Ibn al-Faḍl adapted a passage — without citation — from John Philoponos's *Against Proclus* in such a way as to bring himself closer to Proclus's position. In particular, where Philoponos had emphasized the invalidity of the analogy 'Creator is to world as sun is to light,' Ibn al-Faḍl's excerpts serve to stress that there are two different types of light, material and immaterial, which was a point raised by *Proclus* in support of his argument about the eternity of the world.

[152] Cf. ch. 1.

We have seen him drawing on Arabic philosophy, but conversely, Ibn al-Faḍl also imported concepts from Byzantine ecclesiastical writings — which he studied *in the original Greek*, as he stresses in one marginal note[153] — into Arabic philosophical language.

In a marginal note he wrote beside his translation of another late antique Christian text, John Chrysostom's (d. 407) commentary (in 34 homilies) on Paul's letter to the Hebrews,[154] Ibn al Faḍl begins with the observation that in Greek there are separate terms meaning essential image and non-essential image. Christ is an essential image (χαρακτήρ, 'imprint') of God; man is a non-essential image (εἰκών, 'picture') of God. He then coins a new term in Arabic. The whole note reads:[155]

> حاشية[١]: قال عبد الله بن[٢] الفضل الخاطئ المسكين[٣] المفسّر لهذه[٤] الرسالة الإلهية: إنّ في اللغة اليونانية أسماءَ تَدُلُّ على الصُّوَر[٥] الجوهريّة الذاتية مفردة، من ذلك خَرَاكْتِرْ[٦] ومَرفِي[٧]، وخَرَاكْتِرْ[٨] هو الذي استعمله[٩] الرسول[١٠] في هذا[١١] الفصل من الرسالة؛ وأسماء تدلّ على الصورة التي ليست كذلك[١٢]، من ذلك إيقون، وهذا الاسم هو الذي استُعمل في الانسان[١٣]، فقيل إنّه صورةُ الله. فأمّا اللغة العربية فقد ضاقت في هذا الموضع حسب ما وصلتْ إليه معرفتي، ولم يوجد فيها اسمٌ يدلّ هذه الدلالة. فلذلك زِدتُ في الكلام لفظة[١٤] الجوهرية، فقلتُ: وصورة قنومة ((ال)قنومة؟) الجوهرية، ليتبين[١٥] المعنى، ويُمكن دحض حُجّة المناقض في هذه اللغة. ونحن نسـ(ـأ)ل الله[١٦] المعونة والإرشاد[١٧].
>
> Marginalium: ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl the poor sinner, interpreter (*mufassir*) of this divine letter,[156] said: In Greek there are nouns which refer to substantial, essential images (*al-ṣuwar al-jawharīya al-dhātīya*) alone, such as χαρακτήρ (*kharaktīr*) and μορφή (*murfī*), which are (the names) which the Apostle [Paul] used in this section of the epistle; and nouns which refer to the image which is not like that, such as εἰκών (*īqūn*), which is the noun which was used concerning man when it was said

[153]Vat. ar. 111, f. 142^{r-v}.

[154]For the text of this translation (and its 'marginalia') by Ibn al-Faḍl, I use two manuscripts, both in Paris: (1) Paris ar. 96, a 13th-century manuscript probably of Syrian provenance; and (2) Paris ar. 95, an Egyptian manuscript dated to the year 1218. On both, see Gérard Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Première partie: manuscrits chrétiens* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1972–), vol. 1, pp. 74–75. Troupeau notes that Paris ar. 96 is in a Syrian script and spent much of its life in Syria, to judge from notes by owners with Levantine toponymics and one note composed in the Syriac language (and script).

[155]Paris ar. 95 [= م], f. 28^{r}; Paris ar. 96 [= س], ff. 14^{v}–15^{r}.

[156]The wording here strongly suggests that the scribe has preserved the words which Ibn al-Faḍl himself used to introduce his comment, for it is usual for a writer to call *himself*, not others, a "poor sinner." This would mean that Ibn al-Faḍl calls himself a *mufassir* as well, implying that he viewed his work as a *tafsīr*, an "explication" of the text, rather than a translation. Complicating this is the question of what the words "this divine letter/treatise" (*al-risāla al-ilāhīya*) refer to. They could refer to Chrysostom's commentary, but it seems more likely that they refer to Paul's epistle. This would seem to imply in turn that Ibn al-Faḍl considered his translation with commentary of Chrysostom's homilies on Paul's letter to the Hebrews to be an explication, not of the text translated, but of the text which *Chrysostom* had explicated. In other words, Ibn al-Faḍl does not present his work as a super-commentary, but as a first-level commentary on the focus text itself. This may be a clue as to how medieval translators — in particular in this Antiochian milieu — understood their own activities.

[١]حاشية: س؛ —م [٢]بن: م؛ ابن س [٣]الخاطئ المسكين: س؛—م [٤]المفسّر لهذه: س؛ مفسّر هذه م [٥]الصُّوَر: م؛ الصورة س [٦]خَرَاكْتِرْ: م؛ خركتير س [٧]ومَرفِي: في م، الكسرة تحت التاء والفاء في هذه الكلمة وفي السابقة أيضا انعكس اتّجاهها، وأظنّ أنّ المقصود بهذه الكسرة المنعكسة هو إيتَه ήτα. [٨]وخَرَاكْتِرْ: م؛ والخركتير [٩]هو الذي استعمله: س؛ هي التي استعملها م [١٠]: +يدل على الصورة التي ليست الاسم هو الذي استعمل ماهيئة (كذا) الانسان س؛ هل المقصود: ماهية؟ او: ما هيّأ؟ [١١]هذا: م؛ هذه س [١٢]وأسماء تدلّ على الصورة التي ليست كذلك: م؛ واسمى كذاك س [١٣]الاسم هو الذي استُعمل في الانسان: م؛ —س [١٤]لفظة: س؛ ʾلفظةˈ م [١٥]ليتبين: م؛ ليبين س [١٦]الله: م؛ الله تعالى س [١٧]المعونة والإرشاد: م؛ حسن المعونة س

> that he is an image of God (*ṣūrat Allāh*). As for Arabic, it is limited in this respect [lit., 'narrow at this place'], as far as I know, and it has no noun with this meaning. So I added to the phrase the word 'substantial' and said, 'and the substantial image of the hypostasis (*wa-ṣūratu qunūmihi l-jawharīya*),' so that the meaning would be clear; and it is possible to refute the argument of one's opponent using this language. And we ask God for aid and guidance.

In this note, Ibn al-Faḍl invents a new Arabic term to match a subtle distinction in Greek terminology, between essential and non-essential images. In Chrysostom's discussion, this distinction is important for Christological purposes. Moreover, the Byzantine theory of images had developed considerably in the eighth and ninth centuries as a result of the Iconoclast Controversy (εἰκονομαχία) in order to allow for a conceptual distinction between a material object such as the Eucharist or a painted icon of Christ, and the one and only essential image of Christ to which it points. There were thus many reasons to be clear in speaking about images.

Ibn al-Faḍl calls attention to his new Arabic technical term and stresses its usefulness in debating an opponent — perhaps, we might speculate, an 'opponent' who accuses Christians of polytheism for their belief in the Trinity, or of idolatry for their veneration of icons. Such accusations were, of course, quite commonly leveled against Christians by Muslims. We know from the few original works of his which have received scholarly attention that Ibn al-Faḍl was indeed engaged in defending Christian doctrine against Muslim challenges. Here, we see that Ibn al-Faḍl's approach to the task included the introduction of new Arabic philosophical vocabulary on the basis of Byzantine terminology.

Subsequent readers were to recognize Ibn al-Faḍl's terminological distinction as an important feature of his translation, to judge from the addition of the Greek terms — in a fine Byzantine minuscule — above their Arabic transcriptions in a 13th-century manuscript now in Paris.[157]

Basil could serve as a guide to what in the Hellenic heritage was admissible to a Christian worldview, but this guidance was not enough. For cosmological debates continued into Ibn al-Faḍl's day. Such debates about matter were not to be ignored or left to individuals of questionable orthodoxy but to be confronted head-on, by means of careful, intelligent refutation — a task which Ibn al-Faḍl takes upon himself in his own original works. In part, it was to prepare himself and others for debating theology and cosmology that he studied ancient Greek philosophy.

Chapters 1–3 of this dissertation on the significance of matter and the material world in the translation activities of ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī have not at all points cleaved closely to the theme of matter. I have preferred to include aspects of his work beyond those explicitly concerned with the material substrate of the visible world and its valorization, in order to fit these specific discussions into the wider framework of his thought and the world in which he worked. Nor have I sought to treat comprehensively every word which he wrote on the narrower subject of matter. Instead, I have approached the question from the point of view of one 'focus text'[158] which provides ample opportunity for discussing theories about matter, Basil's *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*.

[157]Paris ar. 96, f. 14^{v}. See n. 154 on the preceding page.

[158]Here I borrow Asad Ahmed's terminology for the *matn* on which marginalia comment.

We may therefore consider at this point what fruit this approach has yielded. In particular, what was the significance of matter to Ibn al-Faḍl, and what motivated him to study, teach, and debate theories about it?

For Ibn al-Faḍl, a proper understanding of the material world was a necessary part of the cosmological teachings of the Byzantine Church Fathers, which he aimed to impart to others. The danger of ancient pagan doctrines and other false teachings on matter lay not merely in their falsity, but also in their eschatological and ethical implications: if the underlying world of matter was eternal — a claim Ibn al-Faḍl spends considerable space refuting in another marginal note — then the promised end of this material world would not come. And that would disrupt the Christian philosophical way of life which he advocates, as we have seen, in his *Treatise on the Refutation of Astrology*: whereas standard refutations of astral divination level the charge that astrology implies determinism,[159] Ibn al-Faḍl focuses on the *ethical* framework of astrology, in which material comfort constitutes good fortune. Ibn al-Faḍl protests that it is the *avoidance* of material prosperity and pleasure that leads to true happiness — otherwise we are no better than pigs and worms.

Of course, this worldview — and the concern with matter that accompanied it — had a long history. Still, Ibn al-Faḍl's specific concerns and responses arose out of the context in which he worked, Byzantine Antioch, permeated by both Byzantine and Arabic intellectual currents. In such an environment, Byzantine Christians were sure to encounter challenges from other, non-Chalcedonian Christians, as well as Muslims — challenges expressed in Arabic. To defend his own views, Ibn al-Faḍl needed to preserve and adapt the Byzantine intellectual framework to which he was heir.

[159]Long, "Astrology."

Chapter 4

Framing a Middle Byzantine Alchemical Codex

The study of Byzantine science is in early stages. This is in part due to a prevailing narrative about the history of pre-modern science which discourages looking for scientific activity among medieval scholars writing in Greek. This narrative, developed in the nineteenth and twentieth century and to a certain extent persisting today,[1] recounts that the ancient Greeks, drawing on Babylonian and other Near Eastern traditions, developed a systematic approach to interpreting empirical observations, which we may call 'ancient science'; such scientific activities continued into the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods but then in Late Antiquity began to decline in the face of a Christian obsession with orthodoxy; at this point, just in time, the Arab conquests of the seventh century established a new Islamic civilization which eagerly translated *ancient* Greek books of science and philosophy into Arabic; then, just as Islamic civilization was itself stagnating after the triumph of Sunni orthodoxy over philosophy and science in the eleventh and twelfth century, Western Europe discovered Arabic-Islamic science and translated the relevant texts into Latin in the twelfth century. Now Latin civilization held the torch, a situation which was confirmed when, around the time of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Western Europeans learned Greek, acquired Greek manuscripts, and engaged directly with the original sources of ancient science, thus obviating the need for Arabic (or Byzantine) intermediaries. This direct contact led (eventually) to the Scientific Revolution. The contribution of Byzantium, when it appears at all in this narrative at all, is in preserving Greek texts so that 'Westerners' could discover them.[2]

There are numerous problems with this narrative, and it has rightly been challenged on a number of fronts.[3] As far as Byzantium is concerned it has persisted in practice: many modern scholars still do not expect to find Byzantines of the medieval period studying or practicing sci-

[1] Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek," 30–38.

[2] For the articulation of this narrative I am indebted to Maria Mavroudi, who has summarized it most recently in: Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek," 33–34; see also her "Science, Byzantine," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall et al. (Blackwell, 2013), 6063–5; and "Occult Sciences and Society," 44–50.

[3] e.g., George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), reviews intellectual links between the Islamic world and Europe (such as the discoveries of Neugebauer, Hartner, and his own concerning the dependence of Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus* on a theorem which Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī proved in 1260–1) in order to make a compelling argument for the continuing importance of Muslim scientists writing in Arabic *after* the 12th century for scientific developments typically narrated as taking place exclusively in Western Europe.

ence[4] with any seriousness.[5] And yet this prevailing narrative and its corollary (or premise) of an unscientific Byzantium has been challenged by the work of a number of scholars who have taken the time to study Byzantine science, such as Anne Tihon, Paul Magdalino, and Maria Mavroudi, and can no longer be sustained.[6] Medieval Arabic authors were clearly impressed by Byzantine technical expertise, and the very few texts of Byzantine science which have been studied indicate a serious Byzantine engagement with ancient Greek and contemporary Arabic science which also had an impact on the rest of Byzantine culture.[7]

Byzantine alchemy is one field of science that has been particularly neglected, perhaps in part because Byzantines themselves rarely professed to practice it, at least in the extant sources.[8] The respectable side of alchemy — metallurgy, dyeing, and tinting — was usually left to artisans[9]. There was certainly imperial interest in such expertise, which would have been desirable in anyone overseeing the operation of the mint[10] or the government monopoly on purple cloth.[11] But this expertise, unlike astronomy, was not classified as philosophy. Short on respectability, it is no wonder that so little manuscript evidence for middle Byzantine interest in alchemy survives.[12]

While *Byzantine* alchemy has been little studied, there has been considerable work (relatively speaking) on the Greek alchemical corpus. The earliest and arguably most valuable witness to the Greek alchemical corpus is the tenth- or eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript *Marcianus graecus* 299 (= **M**), which will be described in more detail below. Nevertheless, work on the

[4]Even using an unrestrictive definition of pre-modern science which does not insist on nineteenth- or twentieth-century paradigms.

[5]See Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek," 37–38.

[6]e.g., Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*; Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology," in *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Catherine Holmes and Judith Waring, vol. 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 33–57; Magdalino and Mavroudi, *Occult Sciences*; Paul Magdalino, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues: la science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance, VIIe-XIVe siècle* (Paris: Lethielleux, 2006). After the publication of Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, for example, it is no longer possible to pretend that middle Byzantine scholars had no interest in contemporary technical expertise (whether in divination or other empirical endeavors) available in Arabic. For the late Byzantine period, see Maria Mavroudi, "Exchanges with Arabic Writers during the Late Byzantine Period," in *Byzantium, Faith, and Power (1261-1557): perspectives on late Byzantine art and culture*, ed. Sarah T. Brooks (New Haven: Yale U.P., 2006).

[7]This point is made, with references, by Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek," 38–40. See also her "Science, Byzantine"; and "Occult Sciences and Society," esp. 59–92.

[8]The case with alchemy is even more extreme than that of astrology. Astrology had a respectable twin which one could safely profess (astronomy) while satisfying royal and other elite demand for learned astral divination; see Magdalino, "The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology."

[9]See, e.g., Maria Papathanassiou, "Metallurgy and Metalworking Techniques," in *The Economic History of Byzantium from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, vol. 1, DOS 39 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002), 121–7.

[10]For example, see Paul T. Keyser, "Greco-Roman alchemy and coins of imitation silver," *American Journal of Numismatics*, 2nd ser., 7–8 (1995–96): 209–234, where it is shown that the alloys used in imitation silver coins dating from between the 5th c. BCE and the 4th c. CE typically correspond to recipes known from the Greek alchemical corpus and papyri.

[11]For Byzantine attempts to regulate the use not only of murex purple but also "imitations," see Anna Muthesius, "Essential Processes, Looms, and Technical Aspects of the Production of Silk Textiles," in Laiou, *EHB*, 1:158–60.

[12]We need not conclude from this that "[t]here was not the same vogue for alchemy in the Byzantine world as in western Europe" (Anne Tihon, "Numeracy and Science," in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John F Haldon, and Robin Cormack [Oxford UP, 2008], 813 [hereafter cited as *Ox. Hand. Byz. Stud.*]), especially given the considerable dependence of medieval and early modern Latin alchemy on Byzantine texts and manuscripts — manuscripts copied (and read) in "the Byzantine world."

corpus has proceeded almost entirely with the aim of recovering texts written before and up to the fourth century CE, and, to a lesser extent, up to the seventh — rather than understanding Byzantine engagement with the alchemical tradition to which the *Marcianus* and other manuscripts bear witness.[13] Greek alchemical texts and illustrations contained in the *Marcianus* have been published over the past century and a half.[14] In the first half of the nineteenth century, Ideler published the *Lectures* of Stephen of Alexandria's (the name, which some have argued is pseudonymous,[15] refers to a philosopher at the court of emperor Heraclius, r. 610–641)[16] and three of four iambic alchemical poems.[17] The remaining texts (along with texts not in the *Marcianus* but in later manuscripts) were published in 1888 by the famous French chemist and politician Mar-

[13]Cf. Mavroudi, "Occult Sciences and Society," 44–50.

[14]The following sketch focuses on texts contained in **M**, the primary subject of the present chapter; for a more detailed survey of scholarship on Greek alchemy, see Saffrey's "Présentation," in: *Papyrus de Leyde. Papyrus de Stockholm. Fragments de recettes*, ed. and trans. Robert Halleux, Les alchimistes grecs I (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1981), VII–XV (hereafter cited as *Les alch. gr. I* Halleux). A basic history of Greek alchemy is given by Halleux, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford UP, 2003), s.v. "Alchemy" (hereafter cited as *Ox. Cl. Dict.*[3]).

[15]But for the argument that the various Stephens (of Athens, of Alexandria, the philosopher, the sophist, and so on) attested as living and working in the late sixth and early seventh century are in fact one and the same person, see Wanda Wolska-Conus, "Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie: Essai d'identification et de biographie," *REB* 47, no. 1 (1989): 5–89. Building on this argument, Papathanassiou showed that the planetary configuration described in a passage of the alchemical lectures ascribed to Stephen of Alexandria in **M** could have been observed in Constantinople in the year 617, adding to the plausibility of the identification of Stephen of Alexandria the alchemist with the other Stephens: Maria Papathanassiou, "Stephanos of Alexandria: A Famous Byzantine Scholar, Alchemist and Astrologer," in Magdalino and Mavroudi, *Occult Sciences*, 182–184. (Wolska-Conus's earliest "solidly attested date for Stephenos's stay" in Constantinople was "619–620, mentioned in his astronomical works," though he could have moved to the capital as early as 610, since he went "in the reign of Heraclius and the patriarchate of Sergios": Wolska-Conus, "Stéphanos d'Athènes," 87.) Wolska-Conus leaves open the possibility that the astrological and alchemical works ascribed to him might be authentic, though she seems to incline towards the belief that these aspects of his profile are later accretions: ibid., 88–89.

[16]Julius Ludovicus Ideler, ed., *Physici et medici graeci minores*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1841–42; repr. Amsterdam, 1963), vol. 2, pp. 199–247; the end of Stephen's *Lecture* 9 is lost, and the end of what we have is at p. 247_{23}, but not realizing that there was a lacuna at this point in the middle of the word γέλεσαν, namely after the syllable γε-, Ideler prints the end of an entirely different text as if it were the end of *Lecture* 9, on pp. 247_{23}–253. The actual end of *Lecture* 9 appears to be lost. See Papathanassiou, "Stephanos…Alchemist and Astrologer," 170 n. 24. Ideler's edition did not make use of the oldest manuscript, *Marcianus graecus* 299. *Lectures* 1 and 2, the *Letter to Theodore*, and *Lecture* 3 were collated with the *Marcianus* and supplied with notes by F. Sherwood Taylor ("The alchemical works of Stephanus of Alexandria [1]," *Ambix* 1, no. 2 [1937]: 116–139; "The alchemical works of Stephanus of Alexandria [2]," *Ambix* 2 [1938]: 38–49), but a new edition (including the remaining six lectures) is still a major desideratum; one hopes that Maria Papathanassiou's new edition — signaled in her article "Stephanos…Alchemist and Astrologer," 176 n. 46 — will appear soon. For the work's original structure, see ibid., 170 n. 25; and Maria Papathanassiou, "Stephanus of Alexandria: on the structure and date of his alchemical work," *Medicina nei secoli*, n.s., 8, no. 2 (1995): 251–7. Here, the text will be cited and discussed according to its structure in the *Marcianus* and the rest of the manuscript tradition, reflected in Ideler's edition.

[17]Ideler, *Physici et medici*, vol. 2, pp. 328–52: poems 2–4; the first poem had already been published previously. An English translation of poem 2 appeared in 1920: C.A. Browne, "The Poem of the Philosopher Theophrastos upon the Sacred Art: a Metrical Translation with Comments upon the History of Alchemy," *The Scientific Monthly* 11 (September 1920): 193–214. An edition of all four poems with critical apparatus, including reading from the *Marcianus*, was published three years later: *Heliodori carmina quattuor ad fidem codicis casselani*, ed. Günther Goldschmidt, RGVV, 19.2.[1] (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1923). See also C.A. Browne, "Rhetorical and Religious Aspects of Greek Alchemy [1]," *Ambix* 2, nos. 3–6 (1946): 129–137; C.A. Browne, "Rhetorical and Religious Aspects of Greek Alchemy [2]," *Ambix* 3, nos. 1–2 (1948): 15–25. Browne argued on the basis of meter and content that the four poems were composed by a single author.

cellin Berthelot (1827–1907) and the philologist Charles-Émile Ruelle, whom Berthelot enlisted to aid him in his endeavor to reveal the early history of chemical recipes.[18] This imperfect edition (with French translation) is still the only published version for many Greek alchemical texts.[19]

Its publication was only a beginning, since a basic understanding of the manuscript tradition and how the texts of the alchemical corpus fit together was still lacking. Taking its inspiration from a detailed catalogue of astrological manuscripts begun in 1898,[20] a new project organized by Joseph Bidez began to catalogue, describe, and study Greek alchemical manuscripts with the more ambitious purpose of understanding the place of the alchemical corpus in "the history of religious and philosophical ideas"; the first volume appeared in 1924.[21] Although works of Byzantine alchemy were published in these volumes, interest in Greek alchemy continued to focus on earlier periods. The project of editing was interrupted in the middle of the twentieth century, but a new project to edit Greek alchemical texts began publishing texts in 1981 in the series *Les alchimistes grecs*.[22] It was in this series that Mertens published an edition of the works of Zosimos of Panopolis (3rd/4th century, possibly *c.*300 CE).[23] More recently, the alchemical work ascribed to Democritus and the commentaries on it have been edited by Martelli.[24]

In all these endeavors, scholars have depended on Byzantine manuscripts to retrieve *ancient* alchemy, but there has been little inquiry into why Byzantines were copying these texts, how they engaged with the texts, or what impact this engagement had on Byzantine culture.[25]

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[18]*Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, ed. and trans. Marcellin Berthelot and Charles-Émile Ruelle, 3 vols. (Paris, 1887–8) (hereafter cited as *CAAG*). Diagrams from the *Marcianus*: ibid., vol. 1, pp. 132, 138–41, 143, 146, 148. Berthelot and Ruelle drew these texts from several of the most important Greek alchemical corpus manuscripts, including the *Marcianus*. Berthelot also inaugurated the comparative study of Greek, Syriac and Arabic alchemy with his *La chimie au Moyen Âge*, 3 vols., Histoire des sciences (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1893): Greek (vol. 1), Syriac (vol. 2, with Rubens Duval) and Arabic (vol. 3, with O. Houdas).

[19]For a discussion of the edition's shortcomings, see Zosimos of Panopolis, *Zosime de Panopolis: Mémoires authentiques*, ed. and trans. Michèle Mertens, Les alchimistes grecs IV.1 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1995), CVI–CIX (hereafter cited as *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens). Its gravest weakness for the present purposes is the order in which it presents the texts, which does reflect any of the manuscripts. As Mertens remarks (ibid., CVIII), "this edition nevertheless has the great merit of existing."

[20]Franz Cumont, ed., *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* (Brussels, 1898–1953) (hereafter cited as *CCAG*).

[21]Joseph Bidez, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1924–1932) (hereafter cited as *CMAG*). As is typical for such meta-catalogues, it is organized by the country in which each manuscript currently resides. For Bidez's description of the project's inspiration and purpose, see ibid., vol. 1, pp. III–IV: "…pour éclairer l'histoire des idées religieuses et philosophiques."

[22]*Les alch. gr. I* Halleux, XIV–XV.

[23]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens; for the date, see ibid., XV–XVII.

[24]ps.-Democritus, *Pseudo-Democrito. Scritti alchemici. Con il commentario di Sinesio*, ed. and trans. Matteo Martelli, Textes et Travaux de Chrysopœia 12 (Paris and Milan, 2011) (hereafter cited as ps.-Dem. Martelli). Cf. the critique of some aspects of this edition by Andrée Colinet, review of ibid., *Byzantion* 83 (2013), 434–440. Martelli has published a revised English version of this edition: ps.-Democritus, *The* Four Books *of Pseudo-Democritus*, ed. and trans. Matteo Martelli, Ambix vol. 60 Supplement 1 (2013) (hereafter cited as ps.-Dem. Martelli Engl.). As Martelli describes (ibid., vi–vii), the Greek text in this new version is mostly the same (though with several unspecified corrections); the text is now accompanied by an English translation. The English version also includes the new publication of the Syriac pseudo-Democritus (including passages not found in the extant Greek tradition) as well as a 1606 Latin translation by Matthaeus Zuber from Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 11427.

[25]The few notable exceptions include: Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, 107, 400–403; Magdalino and Mavroudi, "Introduction," 18; Michèle Mertens, "Graeco-Egyptian Alchemy in Byzantium," in Magdalino and Mavroudi, *Occult Sciences*, 205–230; Papathanassiou, "Stephanos…Alchemist and Astrologer"; Gerasimos Merianos and Santy Sakorrafou, "Μαρτυρίες περί αλχημείας στο Βυζάντιο σε μη αλχημικά κείμενα," in Επιστήμη και Τεχνολογία. Ιστορικές και

Compounding this is the fact that research into many aspects of middle Byzantine culture and intellectual life — and how this intellectual life was affected by the period's momentous political, social, and economic change — is in early stages.[26] What work has been done on middle Byzantine philosophy and science has focused on several major figures, such as Psellos and his students, especially John Italos (d. after 1082). These men have been seen as revivers of ancient philosophy and even the first true Byzantine philosophers since late antiquity,[27] but the question of what philosophy was and was perceived to be in Byzantium is a complex one.[28] Intellectual activity in Byzantium was not neatly sectioned off into 'secular' and 'religious,' or 'philosophical' and 'theological.' Although there were many Byzantine definitions of *philosophia*, including monastic asceticism, at least some notions of what philosophy is were shared among elite Byzantines, whether they spent their days in monasteries, aristocratic homes, the Patriarchate, or the imperial palace.

As an example, consider one widespread Byzantine definition of *philosophia* as "the assimilation to God (*homoiōsis theō*) as much as possible."[29] This phrase appears already in Plato's *Theaetetus*, where Socrates describes how one may escape "from here [this world] to there [the transcendent world]": "escape," he says, is "the assimilation to God as much as possible."[30] This concept of assimilation was of great importance in late antique Platonism. For example, it is highlighted by Proclus in a discussion of true happiness (εὐδαιμονία), where he quotes this same passage from the *Theaetetus*.[31] The emperor Julian promoted it as the pagan philosopher's aim,[32] and it plays a major role in Gregory of Nyssa's concept of Christian salvation as well.[33] John of Damascus's standard list of six definitions includes this one, elaborating on it in much the same vein as Socrates in the *Theaetetus*: Socrates had continued by defining "assimilation" as "becoming just and pure by thought,"[34] whereas the Damascene adds that "we assimilate to God according to the just, the pure, and the good."[35] This definition of philosophy had considerable middle Byzantine

ιστοριογραφικές μελέτες, ed. Eirene Mergoupe-Sabaidou et al., Hetaireia Meletes kai Diadoses tes Historias ton Epistemon kai tes Technologias 1 (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 2013), 45–65.

[26]Briefly discussed in this dissertation's Introduction, on pages 1–3.

[27]Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine*, 139.

[28]For an overview of the problem, see Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*, 16–34; as well as Ierodiakonou, *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*; Katerina Ierodiakonou, "Byzantine Philosophy Revisited (a decade after)," in Bydén and Ierodiakonou, *Many Faces*, 1–21; and Maria Mavroudi, "Learned women of Byzantium and the surviving record," in *Byzantine religious culture: studies in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, ed. Denis Sullivan, Elizabeth Fisher, and Stratis Papaioannou (Leiden: Brill, 2012), esp. p. 54.

[29]"ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν." This is one of the six Byzantine definitions listed by Katerina Ierodiakonou and Dominic O'Meara, "Philosophies," in *Ox. Hand. Byz. Stud.*, 712.

[30]Plato, *Theaetetus*, 176b1: "διὸ καὶ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε φεύγειν ὅτι τάχιστα. φυγὴ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν." Cited by Viano in connection with Stephen of Alexandria's use of the phrase ("Les alchimistes gréco-alexandrins et le *Timée* de Platon," in Viano, *L'alchimie et ses racines*, 105).

[31]*Platonic Theology*, VI.12, Proklos, *Proclus. Théologie platonicienne*, ed. and trans. H.D. Saffrey and L.G. Westerink, 6 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1968–97), vol. 6, pp. 64–65 (hereafter cited as Procl. *Théol. Plat.* S/W).

[32]Elm, "Priest and Prophet," 180.

[33]See ibid., 169, 180.

[34]Plato, *Theaetetus*, 176b2: "ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι," which could also be translated as "becoming in accord with human and divine law by thought," since "just" (δίκαιον) is contrasted to "holy" (ὅσιον) in such a way as to suggest a contrast between harmony with human (δίκαιον) and divine (ὅσιον) law; see LSJ s.v. ὅσιος I.2.

[35]John of Damascus, *Dialectica* (cited in this connection by Ierodiakonou and O'Meara, "Philosophies," 712), §66$_{5-6}$: "δ'. Φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ· ὁμοιούμεθα δὲ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἀγαθόν."

resonance. It appears in the alchemical corpus of the *Marcianus*: "For what is philosophy but assimilation to God as much as possible for a human being?"[36] Likewise, Michael Attaleiates, in the dedication of his *History* to the emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–1081), declares, "You have made it your most zealous endeavor to be as similar to the God who crowned you as is possible for a human being."[37] That an eleventh-century Byzantine reader could encounter this notion in the Cappadocian Fathers, John of Damascus, the alchemical corpus, and an encomiastic preface to a work of contemporary history read out in the imperial court (among other texts) indicates the extent to which these texts all shared a conceptual universe.[38]

Where, then, did alchemy fit in the broader pattern of intellectual activity? Alchemy seems, at least on the surface, to be consistent with a model of encyclopedism followed by what we might call a more critical engagement with the compiled products of encyclopedism. The tenth- or eleventh-century *Marcianus* is, after all, a collection of texts and excerpts: alchemical recipes, treatises, commentaries, and interpretative essays. Then in the mid-eleventh century, we have the short treatise of Michael Psellos framed as a letter to Michael Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople (1043–58), *On Making Gold*.[39] This text, though cryptic in its own way, provides a clear articulation of the natural principles underlying the transmutation of metals. It was popular in the early modern period, circulating both as part of the Greek alchemical corpus and independently.[40] Psellos's letter makes clear the desirability of alchemical knowledge among the Byzantine elite of Constantinople, and as such we will be returning to it in the following chapter. Here we simply note that it represents an eleventh-century author's original alchemical treatise which could not have been written without access to the sorts of texts gathered together and systematized in the *Marcianus*.

We might also ask, conversely, how a better understanding of Byzantine alchemy might

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This definition is also given near the beginning of the *Dialectica*, with a somewhat different elaboration of what *homoiōsis* means: §$3_{13–17}$.

[36]Stephen of Alexandria, *Lecture* 6: **M** f. $24^{r}_{21–22}$; Ideler, *Physici et medici*, vol. 2, $224_{27–28}$: "τί γάρ ἐστιν φιλοσοφία, ἀλλ' ἡ ὁμοίωσις Θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ." Cited by Viano, "Les alchimistes gréco-alexandrins," 105.

[37]Attaleiates, *History*, 4 = §1.3, trans. *History*, ed. and trans. Anthony Kaldellis and Dimitris Krallis, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (Harvard UP), 5 (hereafter cited as Attaleiates Kaldellis/Krallis): "καὶ τῷ στέψαντί σε Θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γενέσθαι ὅμοιος περισπούδαστον ἔργον πεποίησαι."

[38]Assimilation to God could also be adapted to be a definition not of philosophy but of Christianity (though in at least some Byzantine views, these, at least their true varieties, are arguably synonymous). In the anti-Latin compilation known as the *Panoplia* — attributed by its editor to Michael Keroularios but probably dating in fact to *c.*1274 (see Franz Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Kerullarios, patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043-1058). Kritische Überlegungen zu einer biographie," *JÖB* 39 [1989]: 109–114, esp. 113) — states that "[to be?] a Christian is the imitation of Christ as much as possible for a human being"; *Panoplia*, c. 3, §2 = Anton Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, 2 vols. (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1924–30), vol. 2, $210_{5–7}$: "ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ χρυσορήμων πατὴρ [John Chrysostom] καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἅγιοι πατέρες φασί· χριστιανός ἐστι μίμημα Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις καὶ ἐννοίαις τὴν ἁγίαν τριάδα ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀμεμπτως πιστεύοντι."

[39]Περὶ χρυσοποιΐας, edited in 1928 by Bidez, in *CMAG*, vol. 6, pp. 1–47. This edition of the text was printed with the anonymous Italian translation contained in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, IV, 44 (on which see *CMAG*, vol. 6, pp. 20–21) on facing pages (pp. 26–43). This text and translation was reprinted with commentary as: *Michele Psello: La Crisopea, ovvero Come fabbricare l'oro*, ed. and trans. Francesca Albini (Genoa, 1988). This letter on chrysopoeia has hardly been studied at all. The brief discussion in a single paragraph of Magdalino and Mavroudi, "Introduction," 18, is the most insightful reading of the letter published to date.

[40]Moore's entry on this text lists 43 manuscripts which contain it: Paul Moore, *Iter Psellianum: a detailed listing of manuscript sources for all works attributed to Michael Psellos, including a comprehensive bibliography* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), no. 314 = EP.314, pp. 90–94.

sharpen our understanding of Byzantine scholarly activity — 'encyclopedic' and otherwise — in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A focus on Psellos tends to make middle Byzantine interest in alchemy, as in other branches of philosophy, appear to the Byzantinist as a momentary flicker unique to Psellos and his students — turning alchemy into yet another way Psellos was as special as he insists.[41] After the production of a corpus of alchemical texts, did no one read and study it until Psellos? And where did the corpus come from? Was it based on an earlier corpus, as is often assumed? Or was it excerpted from various manuscripts extant at the time but now lost? Both scenarios suggest that there would have been other alchemical manuscripts circulating at the time — and Psellos's letter, with its almost seductive revelation of alchemy to its reader (while always stressing the discipline's rationality), implies at least some demand for such manuscripts: if the Patriarch Keroularios was asking for metallurgical recipes to imitate gold (purely for intellectual purposes, of course, as Psellos's letter stresses), surely it is not safe to assume that no one else was interested in such things.

Still, a tendency to view the 'encyclopedism' of the middle Byzantine cultural efflorescence as a mechanical and unenlightened salvaging act (although scholars of middle Byzantine literature have done much to revise this view)[42] has meant that the production and subsequent readership of manuscript compilations which date from the tenth and eleventh centuries — especially on technical subjects — have excited the interest of few historians, remaining the preserve of codicologists and the editors of individual texts within such corpora. In particular, most Byzantinists interested in middle Byzantine intellectual history have devoted little attention to the *Marcianus*, in part out of an implicit assumption that the entire manuscript replicated a seventh-century compilation, even though it contains texts which must post-date the seventh century.[43] As a result, the *Marcianus* remains an almost entirely untapped resource for middle Byzantine intellectual history.[44]

The present chapter will focus on the *Marcianus*, reading its initial folios against the background of contemporary Byzantine literature and especially the *Souda* lexicon, a very popular

[41]For example, Hunger's standard entry on Byzantine alchemy jumps from the texts of the Greek alchemical corpus, ostensibly a late antique compilation, to Psellos (11th century), and then to a 13th/14th-century compendium of recipes: Herbert Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 280–2. For Psellos's claims to be intellectually unique, see Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*, 14–16.

[42]For example, Margaret Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1997); Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature*; Marc Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Vol. 1: Texts and Contexts* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003); Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen, eds., *Poetry and its contexts in eleventh-century Byzantium* (Ashgate, 2012); Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos*. See also the discussion and references in Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek," 29 n. 4.

[43]This is clear, as Maria Mavroudi stressed over a decade ago, from the observation that the *Marcianus* "contains two alchemical recipes… that refer to some of the ingredients by their Arabic names": Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, 401–2 and 401 n. 33; see also 402–3. The passages to which she refers are *CAAG*, vol. 2, pp. 346–8, namely 346_{10}, $346_{18–19}$, $347_{11–15}$. I thank Professor Mavroudi for pointing me to her work on post-seventh-century texts in **M**. Berthelot believes that the core of the recipe is ancient but that it was then "redacted" between the seventh and eleventh centuries: ibid., vol. 3, pp. 330–1 [translation]. Letrouit also noted the contact with Arabic alchemy to which **M** attests, though his interest was primarily in dating the corpus's compilation: Jean Letrouit, "Chronologie des alchimistes grecs," in *Alchimie: art, histoire et mythes: actes du 1er Colloque internationale de la Société d'étude de l'histoire de l'alchimie (Paris, Collège de France, 14-15-16 mars 1991)*, ed. Didier Kahn and Sylvain Matton, Textes et Travaux de Chrysopœia 1 (Paris and Milan, 1995), 65–66.

[44]The case is similar for other important Byzantine 'florilegia' such as the Palatine Anthology, which has been carefully studied — for example by Cameron, *Greek Anthology* — in order to reconstruct *earlier* anthologies of Hellenistic epigrams upon which it is based.

tenth/eleventh-century Byzantine reference work — a Byzantine window onto the classical and late antique past. This will allow us insight into eleventh-century Byzantine readers of alchemical literature and the understanding of material reality to which it exposed them, and which the book's luxurious production implicitly endorses.[45] Studies in early modern alchemy have made clear how much we can learn about intellectual history by shedding modern prejudices about the validity of alchemy and focusing instead on the specific social, economic, cultural, intellectual, and (where possible) material contexts in which individuals promoted and pursued a constellation of theories and approaches, engaging with scientific theories of their day, in order to explain and give meaning to observable transformations of matter.[46]

This chapter follows a similar approach — to the extent possible with an anonymous manuscript — and argues that the manuscript presents alchemy, especially in its elaborated Neoplatonizing form, as a legitimate elite pursuit, as an important part of philosophy with ancient origins in Egypt and Persia, and the key not only to producing precious metals but also to accessing divine knowledge. Alchemy in such a view might still be ideologically problematic (in much the same way that other aspects of 'Hellenic,' i.e., pagan, philosophy could be), but it had a place in Byzantine intellectual life. After a description of the *Marcianus* as a manuscript (§I), with a detailed discussion of its posited original arrangement, we will consider how the *Souda* depicts alchemy (§II). We will then follow the middle Byzantine reader as he (or she)[47] opens the venerable tome at a time when its pages were still new and freshly cut (§III).

I The *Marcianus*: description and reconstruction

Marcianus graecus 299 (= **M**) is a large codex containing 196 parchment folios (preceded and followed by much later paper flyleaves) which measure approximately 305 × 240 mm; the space ruled for text measures 220 × 145 mm, with 29 lines per page (occasionally 30).[48] These folios

[45]The honor which a book's material composition might confer upon its contents is exemplified by the Byzantine book epigram in an eleventh-century Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarke 15, dated to 1077–8 CE) which seeks to justify the matter-mindedness implied in the lavish use of precious metals to produce it by insisting that the Psalmist is worthy of such honors; see Klaas Bentein and Kristoffel Demoen, "The reader in eleventh-century book epigrams," chap. 5 in Bernard and Demoen, *Poetry and its contexts*, 84–5. For this Psalter's date, see Marc Lauxtermann, "The Perils of Travel: Mark the Monk and *Bodl. E.D. Clarke* 15," chap. 12 in Bernard and Demoen, *Poetry and its contexts*, 195.

[46]See, for example, Pamela H Smith, *The Business of Alchemy: Science and Culture in the Holy Roman Empire* (Princeton UP, 1997); William R. Newman and Lawrence M. Principe, "Alchemy vs. Chemistry: The etymological origins of a historiographic mistake," *Early Science and Medicine* 3, no. 1 (1998): 32–65; Marcos Martinón-Torres, "Inside Solomon's House: An Archaeological Study of the Old Ashmolean Chymical Laboratory in Oxford," *Ambix* 59, no. 1 (2012): 22–48.

[47]For we should certainly not exclude the possibility that women, especially aristocratic women, would have been among such a book's readers; see Mavroudi, "Learned women," esp. 61.

[48]The most recent catalog entry is that of the manuscript — known more completely as Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 299 (= Collocazione 584) — is Elpidio Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices graeci manuscripti. Volumen I. Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 1–299* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 1981), 427-433 (hereafter cited as Mioni, *Ven. Marc. gr.* I), whose measurements (which are rounded to the nearest 5 mm) I reproduce. The manuscript had already been described extensively by Lagercrantz in *CMAG*, vol. 2, pp. 1–22, along with an edition of the table of contents. Zuretti's table of alchemical signs, which includes signs appearing in the *Marcianus*, was published in ibid., vol. 8. The number 584, sometimes used by the Marciana, derives from the manuscript's place in *Inventory B* of Bessarion's collection (made in 1474); the manuscript is item number 440 in Bessarion's

are bound today in 24 quires plus a preliminary quire (known henceforth as 'quire o') which is wrapped together with quire 1 by a parchment sheet added in a later rebinding. The manuscript's main scribe wrote in a minuscule which has been variously dated to the tenth, the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh, the eleventh, the end of the eleventh, and the twelfth century.[49] A date of tenth or eleventh century is followed here. Semi-uncials are used for tables, figure captions, and other auxiliary material, as well as headings and subheadings within the main text. A number of later hands, most dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, made notes throughout the manuscript, including copies of a variety of texts in quire o.[50] Most of the text is written in brown ink, although headings are usually rubricated; additionally, quire o contains some ornamentation, and the beginning of the corpus proper — the first folio of quire 1 — bears a highly ornamental blue, red, and gold 'gate' framing the elegant archaicizing uncials, in golden ink, in which the title of Stephen of Alexandria's first *Lesson* is expressed. Drawings of laboratory apparatus and alchemical emblems appear on a number of folios. The manuscript is currently bound in modern brown leather inscribed with the Venetian coat of arms (featuring Saint Mark as a lion).[51] It was part of Cardinal Bessarion's (d. 1472) original bequest to the Republic of Venice.[52] The table of contents of the *Marcianus* lists 52 titles, of which all but six (which were contained in one or more lost quires) are preserved in the manuscript.

Manuscript Tradition

The interrelationship of **M** and the other three most important Greek alchemical manuscripts is a complicated problem and one which is still open. These other manuscripts are: Paris gr. 2325 (= **B**), dated to the thirteenth century;[53] Paris gr. 2327 (= **A**), copied in 1478 by one Theodore Pelekanos;[54] and Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, gr. 86,16 (= **L**), copied in 1492 by another otherwise unknown scribe named Anthony Draganas.[55] The three later manuscripts contain many texts not in **M** in addition to those which **M** contains. Primarily on the basis of com-

original list of donation, *Inventory A* (made in 1468). On these and the other inventories, see Lotte Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: six early inventories* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1979). Mioni mentions the lines per page at Mioni, *Ven. Marc. gr.* I, 427. (For lines per page, see also n. 114 on page 192 below.)

[49]The following paleographical judgments are enumerated in ibid.; *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXII; and Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, 107 n. 50: Zanetti and Bongiovanni (1740) dated **M** to around the 11th century; Morelli (1802) to the 12th; Berthelot (1885) to the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th; Mioni (1981) to the end of the 11th; and Cavallo (reported by Mertens) to the first half of the 11th. Saffrey at first (1981) dated it to the 10th century, then later (1995) concurred with Berthelot's judgment (10th/11th). Bors Fonkič (reported by Mavroudi) dated it to the 10th century.

[50]For the excerpt on dream interpretation, with its identification as the beginning of an extant abridgment of the *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, see Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, 107.

[51]For such bindings, into which all manuscripts then in the collection were rebound between 1735 and 1742, see Silvia Pugliese, "Byzantine Bindings in the Marciana National Library," in *The Book in Byzantium: Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Bookbinding. Proceedings of an International Symposium, Athens, 13-16 October 2005*, ed. Niki Tsironis, Vivlioamphiastis 3 (Athens, 2008), 219.

[52]For a detailed account of Bessarion's donation of his library to the Republic of Venice — and the strict condition that it remain a public library, open and accessible to all scholars, regardless of their country of origin, and at no cost, a condition which is still honored today — see Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*.

[53]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXIX.

[54]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXXII.

[55]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXXIX. For descriptions of all four of these manuscripts see *CMAG*, as well as the detailed discussion in *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXII–XLIII. One might add that the text of **L**'s colophon appears to be based on that of **A**'s colophon (both printed by Mertens).

parisons between the contents of all four manuscripts, Mertens concluded that "the first part of **A** derives from a source identical to **B**, and that **L** is very close to **A**."[56] On the controversial question of how the corpus as represented by **B** and **A** relates to **M** (i.e., whether **BA** and **M** are mutually independent, or **BA** is dependent on **M** for the texts which they share), Mertens states that it is impossible to know as of yet, especially without a complete collation of the manuscripts. Colinet has recently argued, rightly, that the whole question needs to be examined systematically for each text in the corpus for there to be any hope of reaching a conclusive answer.[57]

Quires and Binding

At least since Bessarion in the fifteenth century, scholars had been well aware that the *Marcianus* was no longer in its original state: folios or even whole quires were missing, and the order of the texts did not match the table of contents written in a hand contemporary with the manuscript's original composition. In 1991, Henri Saffrey presented an economic solution to this problem: the manuscript in Venice preserved almost almost all of the original folios, but its quires (folio gatherings) had been jumbled. By positing that the table of contents reflected the manuscript's original state, Saffrey was able to propose a reconstruction of the quires' original order, in which there were only several points for which a lacuna of one or more quires had to be posited.[58] In 2002, Jean Letrouit (who had presented a paper at the same conference where Saffrey first presented his results) published a paper on the alchemist Zosimos of Panopolis which opens with a "refutation of H. D. Saffrey," that is, of Saffrey's reconstruction: pointing out a codicological mistake in Saffrey's paper, Letrouit declared that any number of reconstructions were possible based on the evidence and that there was no proof that the table of contents should correspond to the manuscript's original state.[59]

This codicological debate has so far taken place in a rather laconic fashion. To provide for clarity and a basis for further discussion, I present here the arrangement of quires according to my own observations. I will then describe my own reconstruction, in dialogue with both

[56] *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XLII.

[57] Ibid., XLII–XLIII. For the arguments of Reitzenstein, Lagercrantz, and others on this question, see ibid., XLIII n. 96. Letrouit ("Chronologie," 11) asserted that all other manuscripts were completely dependent on **M** for those texts which they share, but the arguments he offered are not convincing. Conversely, Martelli, in his edition of the Democritan and related alchemical texts (ps.-Dem. Martelli), operated under the assumption that **BA** and **M** are mutually independent, but Colinet (review of ibid.) critiqued this editorial stance, arguing that: (1) the variants which Martelli adduced in support of independence are easily attributed to scribal corrections and the like (p. 436) and so do not overcome the problem of the lacuna which interrupts Stephen of Alexandria's *Lesson* 9 in all three manuscripts, and which corresponds to the end of a quire in **M** (this being the focus of Reitzenstein's and Lagercrantz's arguments concerning dependence/independence; see p. 435); (2) contamination from different sources is not sufficient to explain the evidence (p. 436); and (3) in the case of the Democritan and related texts which Martelli edited, **BA** (and another manuscript which Martelli discussed as well, Vat. gr. 1174 = **V**) descend from the text of **M** or from a very closely related manuscript. On the overall question, Colinet concluded: "Le problème devrait être repris *ab ovo*, je pense, auteur par auteur, en tenant compte aussi des équivalents linguistiques de la langue grecque à l'époque alexandrine et médiévale, des usage rédactionnels des recettes, des distractions habituelles des copistes et de leur propension à la correction" (p. 437).

[58] This paper was first presented at a conference in 1991, then published as: Henri-Dominique Saffrey, "Historique et description du manuscrit alchimique de Venise Marcianus Graecus 299," in Kahn and Matton, *Alchimie*, 1–10.

[59] Jean Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie: contribution à l'étude du Marcianus Graecus 299 (=**M**)," in *Magia, alchimia, scienza dal '400 al '700: l'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto*, ed. Carlos Gilly and C. van Heertum, vol. 1 (Florence: Centro Di, 2002), 85–109. (The paper he presented at the 1991 conference was published as: Letrouit, "Chronologie.")

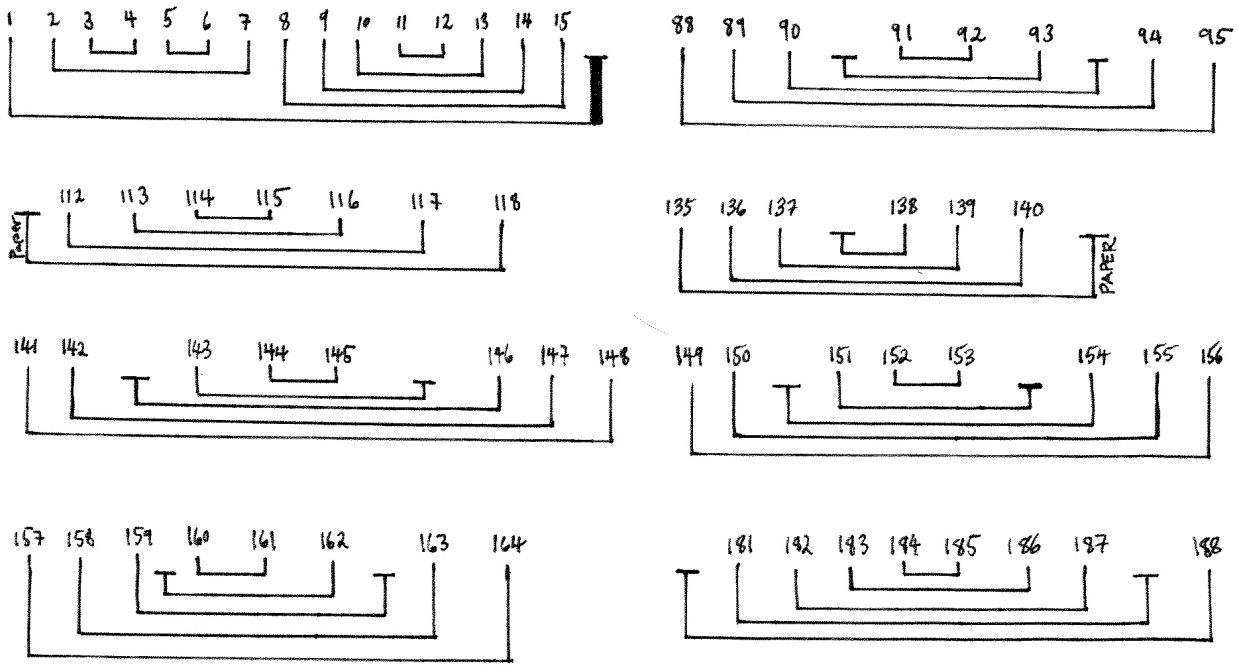

Figure 3: Quire arrangements of all eight irregular quires (or nine if ff. 1–15 are regarded as two quires) of Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 299: **0+1**(1–15), **11**(88–95), **14**(112–118), **17**(135–140), **18**(141–148), **19**(149–156), **20**(157–164), **23**(181–188). The rest of the manuscript's folios are quaternions (i.e., four sheets stacked then folded to create a quire of eight folios).

Saffrey's 1995 article on the original arrangement of the quires of the *Marcianus* and Letrouit's 2002 "refutation."[60]

In its present form, the *Marcianus* contains 24 quires (or 25, depending on how one counts). Eight (or nine) of these are *not* ordinary quaternions (for diagrams of these irregular quires, see figure 3). The manuscript's quires may be summarized as:

$$\mathbf{0{+}1}^{*}{}_{1\text{–}15}\ \mathbf{2}^{8}{}_{16\text{–}23}\ \mathbf{3}^{8}{}_{24\text{–}31}\ \mathbf{4}^{8}{}_{32\text{–}39}\ \mathbf{5}^{8}{}_{40\text{–}47}\ \mathbf{6}^{8}{}_{48\text{–}55}\ \mathbf{7}^{8}{}_{56\text{–}63}\ \mathbf{8}^{8}{}_{64\text{–}71}\ \mathbf{9}^{8}{}_{72\text{–}79}\ \mathbf{10}^{8}{}_{80\text{–}87}\ \mathbf{11}^{*}{}_{88\text{–}95}\ \mathbf{12}^{8}{}_{96\text{–}103}$$
$$\mathbf{13}^{8}{}_{104\text{–}111}\ \mathbf{14}^{*}{}_{112\text{–}118}\ \mathbf{15}^{8}{}_{119\text{–}126}\ \mathbf{16}^{8}{}_{127\text{–}134}\ \mathbf{17}^{*}{}_{135\text{–}140}\ \mathbf{18}^{*}{}_{141\text{–}148}\ \mathbf{19}^{*}{}_{149\text{–}156}\ \mathbf{20}^{*}{}_{157\text{–}164}\ \mathbf{21}^{8}{}_{165\text{–}172}$$
$$\mathbf{22}^{8}{}_{173\text{–}180}\ \mathbf{23}^{*}{}_{181\text{–}188}\ \mathbf{24}^{8}{}_{189\text{–}196}.$$

Quire numbers are boldface, followed by a superscript indicating whether it is a quaternion (marked by an '8') or irregular (marked by an asterisk, '*'), and by a subscript indicating the folio-range which it includes.

The opening pages of the manuscript will form the basis for much of the present chapter's discussion of how the manuscript would have been read in the eleventh century. It will therefore be important to know what those opening pages would have contained when the manuscript was originally produced. The first 15 folios however, have been the source of some confusion. While

[60]Saffrey, "Historique et description"; Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie." The latter is mostly devoted to an edition, translation and commentary of the text which he designates as Zosimos's treatise *Discourse Omega.* I studied the manuscript in person at the Biblioteca Marciana, June 16–20, 2014. At that time, I was not yet aware of Letrouit's article. My observations led me to draw a number of conclusions already expressed in that article, although I disagree with some of Letrouit's claims.

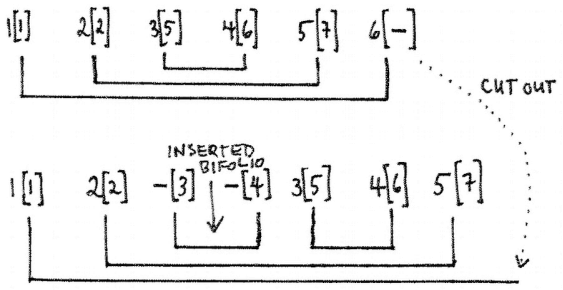

Figure 4: Diagram of Saffrey's reconstruction of Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 299, quire 0 (Saffrey's "preliminary quire") — which is to be modified slightly. Above: Saffrey's reconstruction of this quire's original state. Below: quire 1 in its present state *as Saffrey described it*. Folio numbers used by Saffrey in his hypothetical reconstruction are followed in brackets by the present-day folio numbers.

quires 2–24 have been numbered in the 'Arabic' numerals of a Latin hand which Saffrey dates to the fifteenth century, the first 15 folios bear no quire numbers.[61] In his article, Saffrey treated the first seven folios as a "preliminary quire," implying (since f. 16 is the start of quire 2) that ff. 8–15 formed a first quire proper; Mertens, following him, explicitly calls ff. 8–15 "quire 1."[62] For consistency, I do the same by referring to ff. 1–7 as 'quire 0' and ff. 8–15 as 'quire 1,' even though the matter is somewhat more complicated than Saffrey described it to be. Saffrey stated[63] that the "preliminary quire" (ff. 1–7) was originally a ternion (ff. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 7*bis*, where 1+7*bis* formed a bifolio which was left blank),[64] of which the last folio (f. 7*bis*) was later cut out, and into which a bifolio (ff. 3–4) were later inserted (see figure 4). This reconstruction is not entirely correct. Folios 3–4 are indeed a later insertion, but as Letrouit pointed out[65] (and my observation confirms), there is no stub between ff. 7 and 8, but there is a stub between ff. 15 and 16 which is clearly attached to f. 1. Furthermore, ff. 1, 3, 4, and stub 15/16 are all ruled differently from the rest of the folios (tighter lines, covering the whole page, rather than leaving an unruled margin). Letrouit also reports that these two sheets are all palimpsests. For my part, I did observe that f. 1^{v} and the recto side of stub 15/16 (i.e., a single side of that sheet) bear traces of an earlier text, most notably bright red initial letters, but I did not detect any such signs on ff. 3–4.[66] In any case, we may conclude that the original sheets remaining in quire 0 are ff. 2, 5, 6, 7 — although of course there may have been other original sheets which have since been lost. Quire 1 (ff. 8–15) — before being enclosed with quire 0 by the sheet made up of f. 1 and the stub between ff. 15 and 16 — was originally an ordinary quaternion (see figure 3).[67]

The original order of the quires will also be central to this chapter's discussion, in particular the question of whether the manuscript's texts were originally arranged according to the order given in the table of contents on f. 2$^{r–v}$.

[61]Saffrey, "Historique et description," 1, 3.

[62]Ibid., 2; *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXV, XXVIII.

[63]Saffrey, "Historique et description," 2.

[64]'7*bis*' is the name given to Saffrey's phantom folio by Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie," 85. It is unclear how Saffrey inferred that both folios were blank in the absence of his posited 7*bis*.

[65]Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie," 85.

[66]This is where Letrouit ends his discussion of quire 1 *per se*, since his purpose is simply to refute Saffrey.

[67]Further evidence for this reconstruction not yet observed, to my knowledge, is that the sheet 1+stub 15/16 is oriented contrary to the usual pattern for flesh- and hair-sides.

The manuscript as it is now bound is certainly *not* in its original order. Readers already in the fifteenth century (probably including Cardinal Bessarion) referred in marginal notes to the manuscript's lacunas.. Saffrey proposed, as already mentioned, that the table of contents, written in the same semi-uncial hand as lemmas appearing throughout the manuscript, reflects the original order of texts in the manuscript.[68] Letrouit declared this hypothesis impossible.[69]

Letrouit points out two places where stubs may coincide with lacunas.[70] First, there appears to be a lacuna before f. 112, where a stub indicates a page was cut out. Mertens follows Saffrey's reconstruction of the original quire order in her edition of Zosimos's *Authentic Memoirs*.[71] The text which she edits as *Authentic Memoir* 7 appears twice in the *Marcianus*, though both times only partially: once in the middle of quire 23 (at ff. 186^{r}_{22}–186^{v}_{1}, containing lines 3–14 of her edition), and once at the end of quire 24 plus the beginning of quire 14 (ff. 195^{r}_{22}–196^{v}_{29}, containing lines 1–7 and 15–42, and then continuing on f. 112^{r}_{1-12}, containing lines 43–52).[72] In her edition, Mertens indicates that there is probably a lacuna in the text, or at least a missing drawing, precisely at the transition from f. 196^{v} to f. 112^{r},[73] but this lacuna would appear *within* a single text, thus causing no problem for the hypothesis that the table of contents corresponds to the manuscript's original arrangement.

Second, Letrouit suggests there may be a lacuna before f. 181, the first folio of quire 23, where again there is a stub. At the end of quire 22 is a text called Zosimos's *Chapters to Theodore* in the *Marcianus* (but left anonymous in other, possibly independent witnesses of the alchemical corpus).[74] Although the text is probably an abridgment of another text, as Mertens argues, this abridgment appears to be preserved in its entirety in the *Marcianus*, coming to an end on f. 180^{v}, with *sixteen* 'chapters' in total, even though the table of contents had advertised only fifteen.[75] By contrast, two possibly independent manuscript witnesses to the alchemical corpus *do* have a lacuna here, for their text of these 'chapters' cuts off midway and abruptly jumps into the middle of *On Making Gold* by the Anonymous Philosopher — which is also the next text in the *Marcianus*. In other words, they are missing the end of the *Chapters to Theodore* and the beginning of the Anonymous Philosopher's *On Making Gold*, about 34 lines; Mertens reasonably concludes that "such a lacuna would be most justifiably explained by the loss of one folio in an exemplar of small format."[76] It is unlikely that such an exemplar would have had room for another text between Zosimos's *Chapters to Theodore* and the Anonymous Philosopher's *On Making Gold*. This does not absolutely rule out the possibility that the *Marcianus* nevertheless *did* originally have a text between the two (on the folio which was originally attached to the stub appearing before f. 181), but the most economical hypothesis would seem to be that it never did, since this avoids positing

[68]Saffrey, "Historique et description," 1–7.

[69]Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie," 85, 86–7.

[70]Ibid., 86.

[71]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens. Letrouit makes no mention of Mertens edition of Zosimos's works, published seven years earlier in the well-known and widely-distributed series of classical texts by Les Belles Lettres, Paris.

[72]See the apparatus at ibid., 23. The edition of *Authentic Memoirs* 7 is printed on pp. 23–5.

[73]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 25 and n. 31 (printed on p. 193). The situation with this text becomes even more complicated once the evidence of **A** and **L** is considered; see ibid., 25 n. 32.

[74]Ζωσίμου πρὸς Θεόδωρον κεφάλαια (the table of contents adds: ιε′; that is, "*fifteen* chapters"); the text appears in **A** and **L** with no mention of Zosimos. See ibid., LXI.

[75]Ibid., LXIV.

[76]For this analysis, see ibid., LXII–LXIII, quotation at LXIII: "Longue d'environ trente-quatre lignes de texte, une telle lacune s'expliquerait le plus valablement par la chute d'un folio dans un modèle de petit format."

a lacuna where nothing we would expect to be present is missing.

But then why the stub? It, like most of the stubs in the *Marcianus*, is best explained by an overall consideration of how the manuscript's quires were assembled. As Letrouit acknowledges,[77] most stubs were formed in quires *before* texts were copied into them (as is clear from the continuity of texts from one side of a stub to the other). So the question is: why were any quires originally prepared with 'missing' folios as represented by these stubs? I would suggest that this is simply because the parchment severed from each of those stubs was flawed or considered otherwise unfit to use in the production of the manuscript. Clearly the scriptorium which produced the volume sought to use eight-folio quires (i.e., quaternions), which are standard for Byzantine manuscripts.[78] The standard way to construct an eight-folio quire is to produce a quaternion by folding a stack of four sheets in half. But the *Marcianus* is a large-format volume. What if one has a piece of parchment which is smaller than a two-folio sheet but larger than a single folio? To avoid discarding a perfectly good piece of parchment, a scriptorium might use these to create folio-plus-stub sheets; two such pieces might then be inserted into a ternion in a staggered fashion to produce an eight-folio quire. This seems to be precisely what happened in the case of quires 11, 18, 19, 20, and 23 (see figure 3). It should thus come as no surprise to find that there is no lacuna before the first folio of quire 23, f. 181.

Letrouit's purpose in pointing out these lacunas seems again to be simply to refute Saffrey's codicological description, which claimed that all but the first and 'last' quires are quaternions. This is not quite the case, as Letrouit stresses, although most of the irregular quires do still consist of eight folios in their present form, with only three exceptions:[79] quires 0, 14, and 17 (see figure 3). For the present purposes, it is important to note that neither of the possible lacunas which Letrouit adduces is inconsistent with Saffrey's reordering of the quires.

Letrouit concludes his discussion of lacunas with an assertion which overstates the indeterminacy of the evidence:

> The *Marcianus* therefore displays, in three or four places, textual lacunas following upon the loss of leaves (after fols. 39, 111, 140 and 180). It is not possible to determine with certainty the extent and content of these lacunas in the absence of M's exemplar or another manuscript copied from this exemplar.[80]

As we have seen, there may well be a lacuna after f. 111, although there is probably no lacuna after f. 180 — and neither of these lacunas is inconsistent with Saffrey's reconstruction. After f. 39 there is certainly a lacuna, which Saffrey explained[81] by the loss of one or more quires primarily containing works ascribed to emperors Heraclius and Justinian (on the basis of the table of contents); Letrouit offers no alternative explanation. Likewise, there is no question that a folio is missing after f. 140, containing the end of the excerpt from Photios's *Bibliotheca*, which is

[77]Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie," 86.

[78]Elpidio Mioni, *Introduzione alla paleografia greca*, vol. 5 (Padua: Liviana Editrice in Padova, 1973), 34.

[79]Assuming we treat quire 1 as a regular quaternion — which it is, but for being wrapped together with quire 0 by f. 1 and its stub.

[80]Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie," 86: "Le *Marcianus* présente donc, en trois ou quatre endroits, des manques de texte consécutifs à des pertes de feuillets (après les fol. 39, 111, 140 et 180). Il n'est pas possible de déterminer avec certitude l'étendue et le contenue de ces lacunes, faute de disposer du modèle de M, ou d'un autre manuscrit copié sur ce modèle." I have modified the English translation published in parallel with Letrouit's original French text.

[81]Saffrey, "Historique et description," 4.

itself a passage from Agatharchides (fl. *c.*116 BCE) on gold mines in the Red Sea region.[82] Saffrey addressed[83] this lacuna as well, considering it to have been cut out at a later date; the way Saffrey justifies this text's absence from the table of contents is unsatisfying, but again Letrouit offers no alternative hypothesis. To suggest that there is no way to infer the length and contents of these lacunas seems somewhat disingenuous, since it ignores the extent to which Saffrey's re-ordering of the quires is consistent with the lacunas and helps explain them.[84]

Letrouit's graver claim is that there is evidence which directly contradicts Saffrey's hypothesis that the table of contents is original to the manuscript such that it can be used to reconstruct the manuscript's original arrangement. In particular, Letrouit adduces thirteen texts appearing in the manuscript but not in the table of contents.[85] As it turns out, all of these are at least consistent with the hypothesis that the table of contents is original to the manuscript.

The thirteen texts amount to only four contiguous portions of text: (1) front matter, (2) an extract of Zosimos *On Quicklime*, (3) texts of Zosimos appearing on ff. 112–118, and (4) the caption "Cleopatra's *On Making Gold*" appearing at the top of a page of diagrams (f. 188^{v}).

All the texts in the first portion belong to quire o: the prefatory epigram of Theodore (f. 5^{v}, printed and discussed in depth below), the list of alchemical symbols (ff. 6^{r}–7^{v}), and the list of alchemical authors (f. 7^{v}). These are all texts which could be considered 'front matter' meant to present the book and aid the reader in navigating and making use of the texts it contains. They are not texts of the alchemical corpus proper. As such, it is no surprise to find that the table of contents does not mention them (just as we are not surprised to find no entry in the table of contents mentioning the table of contents itself, even though a *modern* table of contents usually does contain an entry for itself).

The second portion consists of a single text: *Zosimos says (concerning quicklime)* (f. $95^{r}{}_{16}$–$95^{v}{}_{24}$).[86] Its absence from the table of contents is explicable simply by considering how the text appears in the *Marcianus*. Its heading, "Zosimos says" (Ζώσιμος λέγει), is placed on its own line, but not in red ink (like most titles in the codex) but *in the same brown ink as the main text.* The words "Concerning quicklime" (Περὶ τῆς ἀσβέστου), which Letrouit, Mertens and others (rightly) construe as part of an original heading, are formatted here as if they were the beginning of the text, such that the heading becomes simply "Zosimos says." This could have made it look like a subsection of the previous text.[87] Indeed, that previous text is also by Zosimos and is clearly

[82]From his *On the Red Sea* (Περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης). Diodoros of Sicily quotes excerpts from the same work. See *Ox. Cl. Dict.*², s.v. "Agatharchides."

[83]Saffrey, "Historique et description," 6–7.

[84]To the lacunas Letrouit lists should be added the lacuna before f. 141 which Mertens notes (*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXVII), since the text at the beginning of f. 141^{r} (Zosimos, *Chapters to Eusebios*) is missing its beginning. Following Saffrey's reconstruction, she considers the preceding folio in the manuscript's original arrangement to have been f. 95^{v}, which ends with a text by 'Hermes' or the beginning of this text (Mertens suggests the latter, p. XXVI).

[85]Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie," 86.

[86]Ζώσιμος λέγει (περὶ τῆς ἀσβέστου), ed. *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 48–9; *CAAG*, vol. 2, pp. 113–114 (up to line 20; their §3 is omitted here in the *Marcianus*). In **A** and **L**, the title begins "Zosimos *said*…": ὁ Ζώσιμος ἔφη περὶ τῆς ἀσβέστου (*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 48). Letrouit calls this text "*Sur la chaux* de Zosime" ("*On Lime*, by Zosimos"). Mertens explains (ibid., 232–3) that the word ἄσβεστος ("unquenchable, inextinguishable" — LSJ s.v.) used as a substantive can stand for ἄσβεστος τίτανος, literally "inextinguishable lime," a term which refers to "chaux vive," or "quicklime," i.e., calcium oxide (CaO), whose production she also discusses. Mertens further points out that the text's contents suggest that this is indeed the substance to which the heading refers.

[87]It also suggests that this text on quicklime might have originated as a scholion which was then copied as part

marked as such in the manuscript, in red ink: Zosimos the Divine, *On Excellence*.[88] It would have been easy for the drafter of the table of contents to consider the passage marked "Zosimos says" to be part of Zosimos's *On Excellence* and thus to omit this awkward 'title' from the table of contents. If this was an error, it is still no proof that the table of contents was meant to describe a manuscript other than the *Marcianus*.

The third portion omitted from the table of contents, as Letrouit points out, is a series of short texts which, in Saffrey's reconstruction, follow upon Zosimos's *On the Letter Omega* (ff. 189^{r}–196^{v}, then continuing on ff. 112^{r}–115^{r}), the first of the texts falling under the heading: "of the same Zosimos, Authentic Memoirs on Instruments and Furnaces."[89] After what Mertens calls the end of *On the Letter Omega* (= *Authentic Memoir* 1), and only after another heading — "Zosimos, *On Instruments and Furnaces*"[90] — and further text, come a series of texts not mentioned in the *Marcianus* table of contents. First comes a text beginning "The earthen vessel has a hole and covers the bowl which is on the *kerotakis*"; Mertens edits this text, which takes up 12 lines in the *Marcianus* (112$^{r}{}_{1–12}$), as a continuation of *On Instruments and Furnaces* from f. 196^{v} (which presupposes Saffrey's reconstruction).[91] This text does not trouble Letrouit at this point because it does not have its own heading (though he already mentioned the locus as the potential site of a lacuna, as discussed above); he does not mention it as one of the texts missing from the table of

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of the corpus proper.

[88]Ζωσίμου τοῦ θείου περὶ ἀρετῆς, **M** ff. 92^{v}–95^{r}. Mertens edited the text as *Authentic Memoir* 10: *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 34–42. On the basis of other manuscripts, considers the full title to be "Zosimos the Divine, *On Excellence, on the Composition of Waters, first ⟨lesson⟩*" (Ζωσίμου τοῦ θείου περὶ ἀρετῆς, περὶ συνθέσεως τῶν ὑδάτων, ⟨πράξις⟩ α^{η} [= πρώτη]) which she translates as "Du divin Zosime, sur l'excellence: sur la composition des eaux, première <leçon>." A variant of the additional part of the title appears in **M** (f. 92^{v}) as the beginning of the text: "Θέσις ὑδάτων" (the text continues: "καὶ κίνησις…"). Part of this text (**M** ff. 92$^{v}{}_{25}$–93$^{r}{}_{7}$ ἡ φύσις = Mertens lines 1–16 = *Authentic Memoir* 10.1) also appears elsewhere in **M** (f. 115$^{r}{}_{5–17}$).

Authentic Memoir 10 forms, along with 11 and 12, a cohesive series of dreams or visions known as the "Visions of Zosimos," which has been much studied and was famously analyzed by Carl Jung (see *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 207). However, the *Marcianus* does not include the latter two (*Authentic Memoirs* 11 and 12), and whereas it follows *Authentic Memoir* 10 immediately with *Zosimos says (concerning quicklime)*, in **A** and **L**, *Zosimos says concerning quicklime* is nowhere near the texts which Mertens edits as the *Authentic Memoirs*: in **A**, it was copied by a later hand onto some folios near the beginning of the manuscript as part of a collection of excerpts; similarly, in **L**, it appears near the end of the manuscript, also among such excerpts; it is entirely absent from **B**: see *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 232.

[89]Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ζωσίμου περὶ ὀργάνων καὶ καμίνων Γνήσια Ὑπομνήματα. Περὶ τοῦ ω στοιχείου, ed. ibid., 1–10. For Mertens's argument in favor of separating the heading Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ζωσίμου περὶ ὀργάνων καὶ καμίνων Γνήσια Ὑπομνήματα from the heading Περὶ τοῦ ω στοιχείου, see ibid., 51–2. To avoid confusion, I should note that the text which Letrouit edits as *Discours oméga* ("Hermétisme et alchimie," 91–5) corresponds to what Mertens divides into two texts: *Authentic Memoir* 1 (which she calls *Sur la lettre oméga*) and *Authentic Memoir* 2 (which she notes is "sans titre"). In particular, Mertens *Authentic Memoir* 1 = Letrouit §1–14, and Mertens *Authentic Memoir* 2 = Letrouit §15–16. These two texts are completely continuous in the *Marcianus*, but Mertens justifies their separation by the fact that the other manuscripts, which do not have her *Authentic Memoir* 1, do contain *Authentic Memoir* 2 as its own separate text (*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 120).

[90]Ζωσίμου περὶ ὀργάνων καὶ καμίνων: *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 23.

[91]*Authentic Memoir* 7.6, *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 25: "Οπὴν ἔχει τὸ ὀστράκινον ἄγγος καλύπτον τὴν φιάλην τὴν [Mertens emends this to τὸ, against the unanimous reading of the manuscripts] ἐπὶ τὴν κηροτακίδα…"; Mertens translates: "Le vaisseau de terre cuite qui couvre la phiale et qui est sur la *kérotakis* est muni d'un trou…" By emending τὴν to τὸ, Mertens places the earthen vessel, rather than the pan (φιάλη), on top of the *kerotakis*. While this may make more sense in terms of the diagram/apparatus, it seems grammatically unnecessary while at the same time contradicting the manuscript tradition (including the *Marcianus*).

contents.[92]

Next is the following sequence of texts, which Letrouit adduces as texts missing from the table of contents: *On the vaporization of divine water which fixes quicksilver* (112^{r}_{13}–113^{r}_{26}; the last three lines of f. 113^{r} are left blank),[93] *On the same divine water* (113^{v}_{1}–115^{r}_{4}),[94] an excerpt from a text by Zosimos under the heading *On the Composition of Waters* ($115^{r}_{5–17}$),[95] *On fires* ($115^{r}_{18–19}$),[96] *Introductory Advice for Those Undertaking the Art* (115^{r}_{20}–115^{v}_{28}),[97] *Making Crystals* (115^{v}_{29}–116^{v}_{16}; the heading appears as the last line on f. 115^{v}),[98] an untitled text on "sublimed vapors" (116^{v}–118^{r}),[99] *On Whitening* ($118^{r}_{2–14}$).[100] Why might these texts have been omitted from the table of contents? To begin with, they are quite brief; one of them (*On fires*) is only a single line, not counting the heading. Furthermore, of all these texts, only the first two (*On the vaporization of divine water which fixes quicksilver* and *On the same divine water*) bear headings which are

[92]Letrouit, "Hermétisme et alchimie," 86.

[93]Περὶ τῆς ἐξατμίσεως τοῦ θείου ὕδατος τοῦ πήσσοντος τὴν ὑδράργυρον, ed. *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 26–29, as *Authentic Memoir* 8. Mertens's translation of the title: "Sur la vaporisation de l'eau divine qui fixe le mercure." Letrouit: "112–113. *Sur la vaporisation de l'eau de soufre*, anonyme attribuable à Zosime, avec titre spécial." Letrouit has read τοῦ θείου as the substantive meaning 'sulfur.' Martelli has argued that there is an intentional ambiguity, at least in pseudo-Democritus and his commentators, between 'sulfur water' and 'divine water': "'Divine Water' in the Alchemical Writings of Pseudo-Democritus," *Ambix* 56, no. 1 (2009): 5–22.

[94]Περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θείου ὕδατος, ed. *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 30–33, as *Authentic Memoir* 9. Letrouit: "113v–115. *Sur la même eau divine*, anonyme tardif, avec titre spécial." Mertens considers most of this work to be from Zosimos's pen, namely *Authentic Memoir* 9.1–3 (lines 1–73, i.e., up to καὶ ἔσται σοι χρυσός), but considers the final paragraph (*Authentic Memoir* 9.4, lines 74–81), to be the work of a later "compiler" (*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, n. 16 on pp. 205–6). Letrouit seems to have concluded that the whole text was late on account of the Christian language with which this last paragraph ends: "῾Ερρωσθε ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀμήν" (so in the *Marcianus*; cf. Mertens's edition of this final formula, p. 33: ῾Ερρωσθε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν, which corresponds precisely only to the text of **A**).

[95]**M** places under this heading the beginning only of text known elsewhere as: Zosimos the Divine's *On Excellence, on the Composition of Waters, first* ⟨*lesson*⟩; see n. 88 on the preceding page. Letrouit: "115. *Sur la composition des eaux*, anonyme, avec titre spécial. Il s'agit du commencement du traité *Sur la vertu* de Zosime."

[96]Περὶ φώτων [literally: "on lights"], of which the entire text is a single line reading: "῾Ελαφρὰ φῶτα πᾶσαν τὴν τέχνην ἀναφέρει" (**M** f. 115^{r}_{19}); this line is printed as part of a longer text entitled ῾Ερμηνεία περὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς καὶ περὶ τῶν φώτων in *CAAG*, vol. 2, 247_{10a} (based on the text of **A** and **B**): see also Mioni, *Ven. Marc. gr.* I, 431. Letrouit: "115. *Sur les feux*, anonyme, avec titre spécial."

[97]Παραινέσεις συστατικαὶ τῶν ἐγχειρούντων τὴν τέχνην, ed. *CAAG*, vol. 2, 144_{8}–145_{14} (text of the *Marcianus*, collated with other manuscripts). Mertens's translation of the title: "Exhortations pour recommander l'art à ceux qui l'entreprennent" (*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXVII). Letrouit: "115 [*sic*]. *Conseils à suivre par ceux qui entreprennent de pratiquer l'art*, anonyme tardif, avec titre spécial."

[98]Ποίησις κρυσταλλίων, ed. *CAAG*, vol. 2, 348_{8}–350_{3} (text of the *Marcianus*, collated with other manuscripts). Mertens's translation of the title: "Fabrication des cristaux" (*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXVII). Letrouit: "115v–116v. *Fabrication des cristaux*, anonyme tardif, avec titre spécial."

[99]No title; text is "Αἰθάλαι δὲ λέγονται — ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας" (**M** ff. 116^{v}–118^{r}_{1}); ed. *CAAG*, vol. 2, 250_{12}–252_{21} (text of the *Marcianus*, collated with other manuscripts). Mertens refers to the text as: "Sans titre (sur les sublimés)" (*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXVII). Letrouit: "116v–118. *Sur les vapeurs*, anonyme citant Zosime à la troisième personne, sans titre." The text is separated from the preceding text (*Making Crystals*) by a skipped line, beginning on what would have been line 18 (if one calls the skipped one line 17); three more such line breaks then appear *within* this untitled text.

[100]Περὶ λευκώσεως, ed. ps.-Dem. Martelli, 254; *CAAG*, vol. 2, $211_{3–11}$. Mertens: "Sur le blanchiment" (*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXVII). Letrouit: "118. *Sur le blanchiment*, anonyme, avec titre spécial. Il s'agit d'un extrait du traité de Synésius adressé à Dioscore." Martelli (ps.-Dem. Martelli, 462) considers this to be three separate excerpts (each separated from the others by a divider and rubrication), of which only the second and third seem to be derived from Synesios's work, perhaps from lost portions of the dialogue with Dioskoros.

distinguished from the text by the color of their ink. (The other headings are written in semi-uncials, like all headings in the manuscript, and set off on their own line, but they are written in the same brown ink as the text.) One of the headings (*Making Crystals*) is on the last line of a page and generally not very conspicuous. All these headings would have been easy for the compiler of the table of contents to skip.

But then why are the two headings which *are* highlighted by the use of red ink nevertheless absent from the table of contents? First we should recall that according to Saffrey's reconstruction, the quire previous to f. 112 is quire 24 (ff. 189–196), which is taken up entirely by a text Zosimos "on instruments and furnaces" whose heading appears at the top of its first page and in the table of contents. The quire ends with drawings of instruments (frequently reproduced in modern works on ancient alchemy), at the bottom of f. 195^{v}, at the top of f. 196^{r}, and filling the whole of f. 196^{v}. Our two 'missing' texts (in Saffrey's reconstruction) would come next. Given the distraction of these rubricated drawings, it is easy to see how a heading might have been missed. More importantly, however, even a closer look at the texts falling under those headings might have convinced a reader that those texts were part of Zosimos's treatise "on instruments and furnaces" (as indeed Mertens, the text's modern editor, concluded).[101] For the first text (*On the vaporization of divine water which fixes quicksilver*) begins with discussion of vessels and even refers to "this diagram of the instrument," that is, "an alembic with three receiving vessels."[102] The discussion then flows easily into the second text (*On the same divine water*). The compiler of the table of contents *could* have chosen to include separate entries for these items, but there is nothing that would have *compelled* him to do so.

So much for the first three portions of text Letrouit remarks as absent from the table of contents. The fourth and final portion of text consists of a single line which appears on a page dedicated to diagrams (f. 188^{v}), including the famous serpent Ouroboros who eats his tail, captioned "All is one" (ἓν τὸ πᾶν).[103] In the upper left quarter of the page is a diagram made up of two concentric rings of text, surrounding a circular space in which three symbols are drawn: (1) a left-facing crescent (= quicksilver),[104] (2) a right-facing crescent with a small epsilon attached, and (3) the symbol for 'gold' (also 'sun').[105] As Mertens points out, although Cleopatra's name is here attached to these alchemical diagrams and the short text within the concentric rings, the diagrams actually appear to be closely related to Zosimos's works: this page of diagrams appears between two texts by Zosimos clearly attributed to him in the *Marcianus*, the content of the diagrams seems unrelated to any of the extant Cleopatra material but is quite suitable to Zosimos's works, and other manuscripts which contain these same diagrams omit the Cleopatra caption.[106] We may further note that when Stephen of Alexandria quotes the aphorism "All is one," he ascribes it to a masculine philosopher (ὁ φιλόσοφος).[107]

In short, none of the texts which Letrouit says are missing from the table of contents are diffi-

[101]Mertens treats ff. 112^{r}–115^{r} (i.e., the two 'missing' texts with rubricated headings) as the continuation of the treatise; see *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXVI–XXVII.

[102]"ταύτην τὴν τοῦ ὀργάνου διαγραφήν": **M** f. $112^{v}{}_{6}$. The instrument referred to is a τρίβικος, whose definition in LSJ I have quoted.

[103]This page is reproduced in black-and-white in ibid., 241, Planche II.

[104]Ὑδράργυρος; defined on f. $6^{v}{}_{10}$; see *CMAG*, vol. 8, no. 49.

[105]Χρυσός/ἥλιος χρυσός: a circle with two tangent line segments which meet up and to the right of the circle; defined on f. $6^{r}{}_{3}$; see ibid., vol. 8, no. 1.

[106]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, 176–7.

[107]Stephen of Alexandria, *Lecture* 4, Ideler, *Physici et medici*, vol. 2, 214_{15}.

cult to harmonize with the hypothesis that the table of contents reflects the *Marcianus*'s original order.

What to do with quire o

The fact that quire o has been so manipulated over the centuries raises the question of whether those folios which are original to that quire (ff. 2, 5, 6, 7) are today arranged *in their original order*. Letrouit argued in a 1995 article that f. 8 was originally the first folio of the manuscript, since it contains a decorative gate motif, and since Bessarion's pressmark (τόπος π′, "80th locus") appears on it; on this basis, he argued that quire o was originally at the *end* of the manuscript.[108] Letrouit does not say in that article when quire o would in this scenario have been moved to the beginning of the manuscript, but the implication must be that it was after Bessarion had given it a pressmark.

This hypothesis seems unnecessarily elaborate.[109] Middle Byzantine manuscripts frequently begin with a table of contents. The Palatine Anthology (10th century, first half), a comparable compilation effort, begins with a table of contents for the entire volume,[110] while middle Byzantine Dionysian Corpus manuscripts usually precede each text of the corpus (*Divine Names*, *Celestial Hierarchy*, and so on) with its own table of contents.[111] Nor is the other prefatory material in quire o unusual for the beginning of a manuscript. The list of signs standing in for the names of chemical substances plays an analogous role to the glossary of technical terms with which Dionysian Corpus manuscripts often begin — and is an entirely reasonable way to begin the volume, by introducing the reader to the signs necessary to read the texts which follow.[112] Nor need the dedicatory poem on f. 5^{v} be shunted to the end; epigrams while often appearing in colophons, were also a standard way to preface a Byzantine book.[113] In all this prefatory material, the list of alchemical authors on f. 7^{v} — yet another way to orient the reader — does not seem out of place.

Nevertheless, quire o reconstructed as ff. 2, 5, 6, 7 does seem a bit oddly arranged. After presenting the work's table of contents (f. 2^{r-v}) — which one might expect to appear right before

[108]Letrouit, "Chronologie," 14. For pressmarks in Bessarion's library, see Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library*, 20–21.

[109]Letrouit later adopted the position that quire o could reasonably be placed at the beginning or the end of the manuscript ("Hermétisme et alchimie," 87). It nevertheless seems worth considering just why a reconstruction which transposes quire o to the back of the manuscript is unnecessary — and probably incorrect.

[110]f. i^{r}; printed at *Anthologia Palatina: codex palatinus et codex parisinus phototypice editi*, ed. Karl Preisendanz, 2 vols., continuous pagination (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1911), XLV, and reproduced at ibid., A^{r}. On the manuscript and its scribes, see Cameron, *Greek Anthology*. For a summary discussion of the date and stages of composition, see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 83.

[111]This observation is based on a detailed examination of a number of 10th- and 11th-century Dionysian Corpus manuscripts in the Greek National Library in Athens, the Vatican Library, and the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, carried out in the spring and summer of 2014. For further discussion of these manuscripts, see chapter 6.

[112]One might object that the *Marcianus* contains, in addition to the table of signs in quire o, an alphabetized glossary of terms (ff. $131^{r}{}_{22}$–$136^{v}{}_{3}$) in quires 16–17 (originally the last two quires, according to Saffrey's reconstruction). This is indeed more comparable to the Dionysian Corpus glossaries, which are also alphabetized, but in terms of the construction of a book, the table of alchemical signs and the Dionysian Corpus glossary play a similar role: both present to the reader the specialized jargon — whether signs or neologisms/coinages — which will make the corpus of texts which follow more comprehensible.

[113]For a range of eleventh-century examples (though the practice has much earlier origins), see Bernard and Demoen, *Poetry and its contexts*. Middle Byzantine Dionysian Corpus manuscripts often contain a standard set of epigrams at the beginnings and ends of each of the corpus's texts.

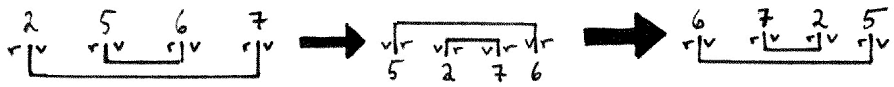

Figure 5: Diagram of my hypothetical reconstruction of a possible original configuration of Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 299, quire 0.

the beginning of the text — it contains an originally blank page (f. 5^{r}) which turns over to reveal the dedicatory poem (f. 5^{v}), facing the beginning of the table of signs (6^{r}–7^{v}). At the end of table of signs, the list of authors appears — and then abruptly, on the facing page, begins the work of Stephen of Alexandria. The pattern of decoration doesn't quite seem to work either: the table of contents opens with a thin golden bar outlined in red and a one-line golden heading, and then the table of symbols has a thicker golden bar, also outlined in red, followed by three-line golden heading. Stephen of Alexandria's works then begin on the most elaborately-decorated folio of the manuscript, with its fine gold, blue, and red gateway, and heading in careful, archaizing uncials written in golden ink (mentioned already above). The quire may well have been a ternion or quaternion to begin with, so that one or two extra folios (blank, ornamented, or otherwise) might have appeared on either side of these four folios, but the overall order seems problematic.

I therefore tentatively propose a reordering of quire 0, namely inverting the crease on ff. 2, 5, 6, 7 to produce the new order: 6, 7, 2, 5 (see figure 5). (Rectos in today's order are still rectos in this reconstruction.) Now the first page (possibly after one or two additional folios, as just mentioned) is the table of signs, headed by a thick golden bar outlined in red and an elaborate heading (f. 6^{r}). The table of signs is followed by a list of alchemical authors, then (jumping to f. 2) the table of contents (headed by a thinner golden bar outlined in red and a more modest one-line heading). Facing the end of the table of contents (f. 2^{v}) is a blank page (f. 5^{r}). The page may have been left blank because a longer table of contents was expected,[114] or perhaps because it had been intended to hold an illustration or illumination of some sort. Finally comes the dedicatory poem (f. 5^{r}) — and if quire 0 was originally a binion (only 4 folios), then the poem would in this reconstruction have faced the beginning of the corpus and the grand gate on f. 8^{r}. I stress that this reconstruction is tentative,[115] but it would have the advantage of placing the dedicatory poem in a more prominent position, placing the table of contents closer to the beginning of the corpus proper, and situating the quire's most elaborate ornamentation (the thicker bar at the head of the table of signs) and heading at the beginning of (or at least earlier in) the quire.

II What is alchemy? A middle Byzantine perspective

That 'alchemy' is a problematic term has often been observed. Its usage in English today (and its equivalents in other modern European languages) tends to be restricted to the failed attempt to

[114]The latter page of the table of contents contains 30 lines of text, whereas most pages in the codex contain 29 lines, including the first page of the table of contents. This suggests that a decision was made not to begin a new page for the table's final line but rather to add an extra line below line 29.

[115]Indeed, it should probably be modified to reflect the fact that quaternions are the rule in Byzantine manuscripts, so that it seems quite likely that there were four further folios in the quire. The rearrangement of the order proposed here (even if there were other folios in addition) nevertheless has some chance of being correct.

transmute base metals into silver and gold, with a strong connotation of folly, as well as charlatanism: the alchemist is deluded at best, a counterfeiter at worst.[116] It is a 'pseudo-science' which anticipated — but failed to be — the science known today as chemistry. In this way, it is roughly parallel to the term 'astrology,' meaning astral divination, and contrasted with its hard-science counterpart astronomy.

There is, however, an important difference between the cases of 'alchemy' and 'astrology': the astrology/astronomy distinction is based on a distinction already made in ancient Greek (and partially preserved in the medieval Arabic scientific tradition as well).[117] In ancient and medieval Greek, Syriac and Arabic sources there was no separate term for the hard-science version of alchemy: 'chemistry,' as distinct from 'alchemy,' is a modern coinage.[118]

"What is alchemy?" In an important article on the modern historiography of alchemy, Newman and Principe pose this question, concluding that in the early modern period there was no substantial distinction drawn between 'alchemy' and 'chemistry' until the late seventeenth century.[119] Here, the aim is to consider how a middle Byzantine intellectual might have answered this question — or rather, a question which is almost identical: "What is *chēmeia*?"[120]

A natural starting point for such an inquiry is the *Souda* lexicon, an anonymous compilation which will be a recurring point of reference throughout this chapter.[121] The *Souda* was probably compiled during the reign of Basil II (976–1025), perhaps *c.*1000.[122] Arranged in a middle Byzantine version of Greek alphabetical order (in which letters and diphthongs that are homophonous in the medieval pronunciation are placed next to each other), it includes both lexicographical and encyclopedic entries, compiled from earlier lexica, excerpts of historical texts produced during the reign of Constantine VII (mid-tenth-century),[123] and the rich library of classical literature and scholia which was clearly at the compiler's (or compilers') disposal.[124] It proved quite popular

[116]This stereotype was already challenged almost a century ago by A. J. Hopkins (e.g., "A Modern Theory of Alchemy," *Isis* 7, no. 1 [1925]: 58–76), but it lives on, especially in attitudes towards pre-modern 'alchemy.'

[117]Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge UP, 1993). See also Saliba, "Role."

[118]This issue is discussed at length by Newman and Principe, "Alchemy vs. Chemistry." Their recommendation to refer to early modern chemistry/alchemy as 'chymistry' has been followed, for example, by Martinón-Torres, "Inside Solomon's House," 23 n. 4.

[119]Newman and Principe, "Alchemy vs. Chemistry," 32, 63.

[120]After composing the following discussion attempting to answer this question, I became aware that the question had already been posed in very similar terms by Merianos and Sakorrafou, "Μαρτυρίες," 49: "But what was 'chēmeia' for the Byzantines" (Τι ήταν όμως η «χημεία» για τους Βυζαντινούς;). Furthermore, they take a similar approach to answering this question, turning to the same entries in the *Souda* which are discussed below: ibid., 49–50.

[121]The following analysis is only the beginning of a systematic study of attitudes towards *chēmeia* in Byzantium. Still, the *Souda*'s popularity means that it is a reasonably representative starting point. Others have already considered the broader question of how alchemy appears in Byzantine literature, most recently, ibid..

[122]A. Kazhdan, *ODB*, s.v. "Souda." The edition used here is: *Suid.* Adler.

[123]See p. 2 above.

[124]Wilson, *Scholars*, 145–7, provides a concise analysis of these features of the *Souda* and its date, authorship, and sources. Wilson's primary interest in the *Souda* is as a witness to ancient literature: "it can be reckoned a valuable source for the literary history of the Roman empire" (ibid., 147). See also the literature cited in Kazhdan, *ODB*, s.v. "Souda." In particular, for the debate over the etymology of the *Souda*'s name (a debate which Wilson declared "unprofitable": *Scholars*, 145), see Bruno Lavagnini, "Suida, Suda o Guida," *RFIC*, n.s., 40 (1962): 441–44, who cites the theories of Paul Maas (not the author's name — Souidas — as Eustathios of Thessalonike suggests, but rather the work's title, derived from *suda*, the Latin imperative 'sweat!'), Franz Dölger (a title derived from a Latin word for 'palisade'), Henri Grégoire (an acronym which also referred to a Latin word, not for 'palisade' but for 'moat'), and finally, in greater detail, that of Silvio Giuseppe Mercati (that the lexicon was originally nameless, but then an

among educated Byzantines and was copied frequently.[125] These copies often preserve additional glosses and cross-references interpolated after the work's original production.[126]

We begin with an elementary question: how was one supposed to spell the word for alchemy? *Chēmeia*, *chymeia*, *cheimeia*, *chimeia*, or some other variation with the same phonetic value? This apparently trivial question of orthography is important because modern scholars have attempted to work out the word's etymology and hence its correct spelling, under the assumption that this would give insight into the origins of the discipline. But did anyone care in the eleventh century? The manuscript tradition of the *Souda* would seem to indicate at least some interest in the question. While in most *Souda* manuscripts the lemma on the subject is spelled *chēmeia*, two witnesses have *cheimeia* and also preserve a marginal note-to-self which bears witness to the unease this orthographical ambiguity provoked in readers: "Check if perhaps *chimeia* is spelled with an *iota* [in the other manuscript: 'with an *ēta*']."[127] Nevertheless, the spelling with an *ēta* seems to have been an acceptable eleventh-century spelling, to judge from the *Marcianus* and the *Souda* manuscripts. For consistency, *chēmeia* will be the spelling adopted here, even though other spellings, especially *chymeia*, were probably also current.

The *Souda* defines "*chēmeia*" (alchemy or chemistry) as follows:

> *Chēmeia*: the preparation of silver and gold. Diocletian tracked down the books about it and burned them. That[128] because of revolutionary measures taken by the Egyptians, Diocletian treated them savagely and murderously. At which time he also tracked down the books on *chēmeia* of gold and silver written by the ancients from among them [i.e., the 'ancient' Egyptians] and burned them so that no more wealth would accrue to the Egyptians from this sort of Art (*technē*) and so that henceforth they would not rebel against the Romans, emboldened by their surplus of funds.[129]

'Italo-Greek' gave it the name "guida," an Italian word for 'guide' of Germanic origin, but wrote it in Greek characters ΓΟΥΙΔΑ, later misread as ΟΟΥΙΔΑ).

[125]Wilson, *Scholars*, 145: the *Souda* was "[f]ar less ambitious and much more popular than the emperor Constantine[VII]'s [encyclopedic] enterprises." See also ibid., 146.

[126]Adler explains that the glosses do not all appear in all manuscripts: "The old hand of codex Paris 2626 omits many types of glosses, and F always does, while T V frequently do; the same glosses are often relegated to the margin in the codices Paris 2625, I M; sometimes they appear in a different order in different codices" (Multa glossarum genera codicis Parisini 2626 vetus manus et F semper, T V plerumque omittunt, eadem saepe in codicibus Paris. 2625, I M in marginem reiecta sunt; interdum alio in aliis codicibus ordine feruntur); glosses appear in small print in the text in Adler's edition: *Suid.* Adler, vol. 1, p. XV, see also pp. VIII–XI for the appearance of the glosses in the individual manuscripts.

[127]*Souda* X 280, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 4, p. 804: "ζήτει μὴ πῶς [read μή πως?] τὸ χιμεία διὰ τοῦ ι [S: η M] γράφεται." S = Vat. gr. 1296 (copied in 1205 CE); M = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 448 (13th century). S reads χειμεία for the entry lemma, while M's lemma (originally χημεία) was corrected to χειμεία. Similarly in the entry on the emperor Diocletian (quoted in notes 133ff below), the reading χημείας given by most manuscripts becomes χειμείας in M (although a corrector then changed it to χημείας) and A (= Paris gr. 2626 early hand, 12th century).

[128]"ὅτι"; this indicates that what follows is a quotation or paraphrase from another text.

[129]X 280, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 4, p. 804: "Χημεία: ἡ τοῦ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ κατασκευή, ἧς τὰ βιβλία διερευνησάμενος ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς ἔκαυσεν. ὅτι διὰ τὰ νεωτερισθέντα Αἰγυπτίοις Διοκλητιανῷ τούτοις ἀνημέρως καὶ φονικῶς ἐχρήσατο. ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ χημείας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου τοῖς παλαιοῖς αὐτῶν γεγραμμένα βιβλία διερευνησάμενος ἔκαυσε πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι πλοῦτον Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης προσγίνεσθαι τέχνης μηδὲ χρημάτων αὐτοὺς θαρροῦντας περιουσίᾳ τοῦ λοιποῦ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνταίρειν." Maria Papathanassiou, in her discussion of this *Souda* passage ("Metallurgy," 123), points to the real threat which technical ability with precious metals and their imitation might pose to a central government in the form of counterfeiting, and notes that this particular narrative "should probably be related to Diocletian's fiscal

The definition of *chēmeia* with which the *Souda* entry begins is simple and narrow: it is the making of gold and silver. This definition appears to be that of the entry's redactor himself. The narrative excerpt which follows, however, implies a broader sense for *chēmeia*: the phrase "*chēmeia* of gold and silver" suggests that *chēmeia* was a process or technique which could be used to produce substances other than gold and silver as well. This phrase is part of an excerpt from a fragment ascribed to John of Antioch's *Chronicle* (a work written in the tenth century or earlier, of which only fragments survive) in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus's *Excerpts on Virtues and Vices*, presumably the *Souda*'s immediate source for the passage.[130] This should not lead us to disassociate the *Souda* entry's redactor from the excerpted passage: the narrow definition with which he begins is not so much a contradiction of the definition implied in the passage he excerpts (which he chose not to modify, say, by omitting "of gold and silver") as a simplified version of it. It seems then that when pressed our redactor would have admitted that *chēmeia* could produce things other than gold and silver, but for the purposes of a quick-and-dirty definition, these two precious metals were all one needed to mention. *Chēmeia*, then, would seem to mean the process by which one produces substances, typically gold and silver.[131]

This is roughly equivalent to the common usage of the present-day English term 'alchemy' but without any of the negative connotations: in particular, there is no implication that *chēmeia* fails to produce gold and silver. On the contrary, the narrative's logic requires *chēmeia*'s success in the hands of the Egyptians: the abundant wealth they manage to produce is cited as the reason for Diocletian's burning of book on making gold and silver and in general, the entry would seem to imply, for his violent treatment of the Egyptians.

Chēmeia is presented here as an effective process used to produce gold and silver. It is also censored by none other than Diocletian, the Roman emperor remembered in the Middle Ages as

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reform, […] which […] included the monetary system of Egypt" and strictly enforced the emperor's monopoly on minting coins bearing his likeness.

[130]On the hypothesized confusion of two different authors both referred to as John of Antioch, one a seventh-century historian of Adam to 610 CE, the other a tenth-century author of the later material, see Barry Baldwin, *ODB*, s.v. "John of Antioch," 1062. Fragments of John of Antioch were gathered by Karl Müller in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Theodor Müller et al., 5 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1848–74), vol. 4, pp. 538–622 (hereafter cited as *FHG*). There is now a critical edition of these fragments (mainly those which the editor calls the 'Constantinian' John of Antioch, since the main testimony for them is found in the excerpts attributed to Constantine VII): John of Antioch, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta quae supersunt omnia*, ed. and trans. Sergei Mariev, CFHB 47 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008); Mariev dates the "the composition of the main part of the historical narrative" from which genuine fragments were excerpted "to the first half of the sixth century" (ibid., 8*). For a critique of a previous edition of the fragments, see ibid., 7*–8*. Sources for these fragments are discussed by Hunger, *HPLB*, vol. 1, pp. 326–8; see now Mariev's discussion: John of Antioch, *Fragmenta*, 8*–16*. On the *Souda*'s testimony to the text of John of Antioch, see ibid., 8*–13*.

The fragment in question is Müller's no. 165 (*FHG*, vol. 4, pp. 601–2) = Mariev's no. 191 (John of Antioch, *Fragmenta*, 348). According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the title of John of Antioch's work is Ἱστορία χρονική, as implied by the heading to the long list of excerpts from this work, which reads, "Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχέως χρονικῆς ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ": Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst and A.G. Roos, 2 vols., Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906–10), vol. 1, p. 164 (who print δ' [?] before the phrase ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ).

[131]By comparison, the seventeenth-century scholar Andreas Libavius divides alchemy into *encheria* (i.e., ἐγχειρία, 'manipulation') and *chemia* (i.e., χημία): cited by Newman and Principe, "Alchemy vs. Chemistry," 44. As Newman and Principe describe, *encheria* "comprises manual operations such as the use of apparatus and the regulation of the fire"; *chemia* is "the preparation of chemical substances." This definition of *chemia* seems essentially identical to the sense implied by this passage quoted by the *Souda*.

a ferocious persecutor of Christians. This image of Diocletian was still very much alive in Byzantium when the *Souda* was compiled; the *Souda*'s entry on Diocletian (drawing on Constantine Porphyrogenitus's excerpt of George the Monk's chronicle in his *On Virtues and Vices*) begins:[132] "Diocletian, emperor of the Romans. In the reign of him and Maximian, related to him by marriage, a most horrible persecution against Christians was set in motion."[133] The agency of these emperors in persecuting Christians is stressed: "For they ordered the churches of Christ in country and city to be overturned, their sacred scriptures burned, and those discovered as Christians to be forced to sacrifice to the *daimones*."[134] Then the Christians resist, and the persecution escalates, until the emperors decree that those found to be Christians are to have their right eye gouged out to torture and shame them and alienate them from "the polity of the Romans."[135] It is a standard medieval Christian hagiographical motif that persecutors are punished for their sins, and here too "divine justice" eventually catches up with Diocletian and Maximian, for "one of them was slain by the Senate, and the other hanged himself."[136] Here ends the excerpt from George the Monk (drawn from Constantine's *On Virtues and Vices*), which neatly pairs Diocletian's and Maximian's violence against Christians with the violence of their divine punishment.

But the *Souda*'s text continues, now drawing on another passage from *On Virtues and Vices*, the very same passage from John of Antioch which is the basis for the *chēmeia* entry.[137] Whereas in the *chēmeia* entry, the *Souda* redactor modified the beginning of the passage, the entry on Diocletian reproduces the text of *On Virtues and Vices* almost verbatim.[138] This beginning — corresponding to the *chēmeia* entry from "Diocletian tracked down…" to "…savagely and murderously"[139] — reads (in the entry on Diocletian):

> This irrational enemy of Christ,[140] in his memory and wrath for the revolution attempted against (his) rule, in the case of Egypt did not moderately or in a civilized fashion avail himself of his power, but defiling the place with proscriptions and murders of the notables he descended upon Egypt. At which time he also…[141]

[132]Factual errors concerning Diocletian will not be noted in what follows, for our aim is not to use the *Souda* as a source for the reign of Diocletian but rather for the *Souda*'s portrayal of him and his reign.

[133]Δ 1156, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 104, lines 8–10: "Διοκλητιανός, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ Μαξι- μιανοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ διωγμὸς κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐκινήθη φρικω- δέστατος."

[134]Lines 10–12: "προσέταξαν γὰρ κατὰ χώραν καὶ πόλιν τὰς Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας καταστρέφεσθαι καὶ τὰς θείας αὐτῶν γραφὰς κατακαίεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Χριστιανοὺς εὑρισκομένους ἀναγκάζεσθαι θύειν τοῖς δαίμοσιν." Out of contempt for the gods, the name *daimones*, 'minor gods,' was applied to them, presumably in contrast to the Neoplatonist 'One' or the Judaeo-Christian 'True God,' giving rise to the modern word 'demon'; see LSJ s.v. A.II.2.

[135]Lines 13–16: "ἡττηθέντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀναιρουμένων Χριστιανῶν ἐξέθεντο δόγμα ὥστε τοὺς εὑρισκομένους Χριστιανοὺς ἐξορύττεσθαι τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμόν, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὸ ὀδυνηρόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἄτιμόν τε καὶ πρόδηλον καὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ἀλλότριον."

[136]Lines 16–18: "οὓς ἡ θεία δίκη ἐνδίκως μετελθοῦσα δικαίως ἐξέκοψε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσφάγη ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου, ὁ δὲ ἀπήγξατο."

[137]John of Antioch, fragment no. 165; see n. 130 on the preceding page. Adler signals this overlap in her apparatus to both entries.

[138]The only exception is that the first words Ὅτι Διοκλητιανὸς are replaced in the *Souda* by οὗτος ὁ ἄνους καὶ μισόχριστος.

[139]ἧς τὰ βιβλία — ἐχρήσατο. See translation on page 194.

[140]Literally, "This mindless and Christ-hating man…" For μισόχριστος as 'enemy of Christ,' see Lampe s.v.

[141]Lines 18–21: "οὗτος ὁ ἄνους καὶ μισόχριστος μνήμῃ καὶ ὀργῇ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν νεωτερισθέντων περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐ μετρίως οὐδὲ ἡμέρως τῷ κρατεῖν ἀπεχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ προγραφαῖς τε καὶ φόνοις τῶν ἐπισήμων μιαίνων ἐπῆλθε τὴν Αἴγυπτον." For the rest (lines 21–25), beginning with "ὅτε δὴ καὶ," see n. 129 on page 194.

At this point follows the rest of the *chēmeia* entry printed above, on how Diocletian destroyed books on *chēmeia* to prevent the Egyptians from becoming wealthy enough to revolt. In the context of the entry on Diocletian, in which Diocletian also burns Christian scripture, the emperor's destruction of alchemical writings is no longer a neutral or at least politically justified act. The emperor is clearly the worst sort of tyrant, such that the *Souda* redactor felt the need to add that he was an "irrational enemy of Christ," that is, an impious madman. His attacks on alchemical books are framed as part of this madness, parallel to his assassinations of Egyptian notables on the one hand, and to the burning of the Christian scriptures on the other. The effect is to leave *chēmeia* looking like an entirely legitimate Art, which only a tyrant would seek to stifle.

Although the *chēmeia* entry stops here, the entry on Diocletian continues with the rest of the same excerpt from John of Antioch — where the emphasis on Diocletian's duplicity and transgression of Roman custom does nothing to improve his image.[142] Only the end of the *Souda*'s entry on Diocletian softens our image of the emperor. This final passage is another excerpt, possibly also from John of Antioch (as Adler notes). In it, Diocletian and Maximian exchange the reins of empire for the life of a private citizen. Maximian soon regrets this choice, but Diocletian "grew old in peace for three years, displaying his excellent merit," although "he did not entirely renounce Hellenic worship."[143] This epilogue sets Diocletian's tyranny in relief. He was only a bad ruler, the entry seems to imply, not on the whole an evil man. Once he stopped destroying churches, burning holy books, murdering the best men of Egypt, running roughshod over Roman tradition and destroying alchemical writings, he made quite a decent private citizen. The final line which qualifies this conclusion then implicitly reframes the entire entry in terms of a pagan-Christian continuum: he never became fully virtuous, it says, because he continued to worship the pagan gods (somewhat). In this implied schema, alchemy is grouped with Christianity and the customs of the Roman polity (two cherished components of middle Byzantine political ideology)[144] in opposition to Hellenic (pagan) worship.

This is not all that the *Souda* has to say about *chēmeia*. If we return to the entry on *chēmeia*, we find that it ends with a cross-reference to the entry on "the hide,"[145] that is, the mythical Golden Fleece. In that entry, the *Souda* explains that "the hide" refers to the "golden-fleeced hide" which Jason and the Argonauts "took once they had come through the Pontus Sea to Kolchis," but that this is just the fanciful tale of poets. The real Golden Fleece

> was a book written on hides [i.e., parchment], containing (instructions for) how gold is to be made through *chēmeia*. Now, it is fitting that people at that time called it a

[142]Lines 25–30: "In disposition, he was a changeful and wicked man, but by his intelligence and keenness of wit, he would frequently hide the defects of his own nature, attributing every cruel act to others. All the same, attentive and quick in tackling what needed to be done, he also changed many of the (customs) of imperial service to suit his great stubbornness, in violation of ancestral (customs) prevailing among the Romans" (ἦν δὲ τὸ ἦθος ποικίλος τις καὶ πανοῦργος, τῷ δὲ λίαν συνετῷ καὶ ὀξεῖ τῆς γνώμης ἐπεκάλυπτε πολλάκις τὰ τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως ἐλαττώματα, πᾶσαν σκληρὰν πρᾶξιν ἑτέροις ἀνατιθείς. ἐπιμελὴς δὲ ὅμως καὶ ταχὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πρακτέων ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐθαδέστερον παρὰ τὰ καθεστηκότα Ῥωμαίοις πάτρια μετεσκεύασεν).

[143]Ibid., vol. 2, 104_{31}–105_{2}: "ὅτι Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφέντες τὸν ἰδιώτην μετῆλθον βίον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Σάλωνας, πόλιν Ἰλλυρικήν, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Λευκανῶν ἀφίκετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Μαξιμιανὸς πόθῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς μεταμέλειαν ἦλθε, Διοκλητιανὸς δὲ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατεγήρα ἐν ἔτεσι τρισίν, ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀρετὴν ἐνδειξάμενος, τῆς δὲ Ἑλληνικῆς θρησκείας οὐδ' ὅλως ἀποστάς."

[144]Hélène Ahrweiler, *L'ideologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1975), 16–17.

[145]ζήτει ἐν τῷ δέρας.

golden hide, because of the results it produced.[146]

This entry, based on an anonymous historical excerpt,[147] speaks of gold-making in matter-of-fact terms. It is a technical process, in contrast to the fanciful myth of Jason. In the account's demythologizing construction (which parallels modern attempts to work out the 'real' story behind outlandish anecdotes),[148] gold-making is a science of deep antiquity, since it is the origin for that old story about the Argonauts, although the implication is also that it has become a forgotten science, since the 'original' meaning of "golden hide" at some point fell into obscurity.[149] It is presented not as irrational, fallacious, or impious charlatanry — quite the opposite: making gold is the science, the hard-headed reality which lies behind the myths of pagan Hellenism.

Some versions of the *Souda* recognize that there is at least one alternative spelling of *chēmeia*, namely *cheimeia*, for which there is a brief cross-reference entry interpolated in most manuscripts: "*Cheimeia*: fusion ['*cheimeusis*'; i.e., *chymeusis*]. [Some manuscripts add: 'See under *chēmeia*']."[150] Finally, the lexicon also includes a few lines about the famous alchemist Zosimos of Panoplis.[151] Here it should be mentioned that the entry describes Zosimos as a "philosopher"

[146]Δ 250, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 24. The whole entry reads: "Δέρας· τὸ χρυσόμαλλον δέρας, ὅπερ ὁ Ἰάσων διὰ τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης σὺν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις εἰς τὴν Κολχίδα παραγενόμενοι ἔλαβον, καὶ τὴν Μήδειαν τὴν Αἰήτου τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν οὐχ ὡς ποιητικῶς φέρεται, ἀλλὰ βιβλίον ἦν ἐν δέρμασι γεγραμμένον, περιέχον ὅπως δεῖ γίνεσθαι διὰ χημείας χρυσόν. εἰκότως οὖν οἱ τότε χρυσοῦν ὠνόμαζον αὐτὸ δέρας, διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ." The phrase I translate as "the results it produced" might be rendered more literally as "the operation/actuality which was from it."

[147]This passage is the one which Müller printed as John of Antioch, fragment no. 15.3 (cited by Adler), which he transcribed, along with many other fragments, from the 14th-century codex Paris gr. 1630: *FHG*, vol. 4, p. 548; Müller discusses the codex at ibid., vol. 4, p. 540, note on "Fr. 2." Half a century after Müller had published the fragments (in 1851), De Boor (in 1899) showed that in a number of independent witnesses to the same collection of excerpts which Paris gr. 1630 preserves, most of the fragments — including Müller's no. 15 — are explicitly attributed to "another ancient history" (ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία) which remains anonymous; see John of Antioch, *Fragmenta*, 4*–6*, 25*–26*; and Sergei Mariev, "Über das Verhältnis von Cod. Paris. gr. 1630 zu den Traditionen des Johannes Malalas und des Johannes von Antiochien," *JÖB* 59 (2009): 177–190.

The *Souda*'s text is essentially the same as this anonymous excerpt, although the beginning has been tweaked to fit the format of an encyclopedia entry, resulting in the somewhat convoluted grammar of the clause about Jason and the Argonauts.

[148]Such as Diocletian's burning of books on *chēmeia* in Egypt; see n. 129 above. For the somewhat different (but related) approach to myth in Plato and other ancient philosophers, see Kathryn A. Morgan, *Myth and Philosophy from the Presocratics to Plato* (Cambridge UP, 2000).

[149]Merianos and Sakorrafou ("Μαρτυρίες," 50) come to a similar conclusion in their reading of the 'golden hide' entry: "Indisputably interesting is the attempt to rationalize a myth by reducing it to alchemical arts which were, for the Byzantines, plausible" (Είναι αναμφισβήτητα ενδιαφέρουσα η απόπειρα εξορθολογισμού ενός μύθου μέσω της αναγωγής του σε αλχημικές τεχνικές που για τους Βυζαντινούς ήταν αληθοφανείς).

[150]X 227, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 4, p. 800, all printed in the small type which Adler serves for interpolated glosses (see n. 126 on page 194): "Χειμεία: ἡ χείμευσις. ζήτει ἐν τῷ χημεία." Manuscripts G and S omit ζήτει to the end, while A omits the entire entry. For the word χύμευσις in the sense of "fusion" or "casting," see Evangelinus Apostolides Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, memorial edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1914), 1175.

[151]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XCVII–CI; see also Mertens, "Graeco-Egyptian Alchemy," 219. The entry, Z 168, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 515, reads: "Zosimos, an Alexandrian, a philosopher. (He wrote) *chēmeutika* (addressed) to his sister Theosebia; they are arranged by letter in 28 books" (Ζώσιμος, Ἀλεξανδρεύς, φιλόσοφος. Χημευτικὰ πρὸς Θεοσεβίαν τὴν ἀδελφήν· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐν βιβλίοις κη′, ἐπιγράφεται δὲ ὑπό τινων Χειρόκμητα· καὶ ὁ Πλάτωνος βίος). Mertens mentions Reitzenstein's hypothesis that the four extra letters (beyond the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet) were derived from the Coptic alphabet, but prefers Riess's proposal that only the first twenty-four had letters (just like the Homeric epics, as Mertens points out), and then four further texts were added to that: *Les alch. gr. IV.1*

and ascribes to him, if tentatively, a biography of Plato, which serves to emphasize that his 'philosophy' is in the same tradition as that of Plato. At the same time, his "chemical writings" (*chēmeutika*) are described in neutral terms; clearly chemistry, or alchemy if one prefers that synonym, is considered compatible with, or even part of, philosophy.

In a certain sense, then, it is perfectly reasonable to translate *chēmeia* and its variants with the English word 'alchemy.'[152] This is only really true if we remember that the discipline was more complicated and varied than either modern or medieval stereotypes about medieval alchemy suggest. The *Souda* may have propagated the notion, probably considered common knowledge at the time, that alchemy was all about making gold and silver. But the reader of the assemblage of texts in the *Marcianus* would have received a different impression: gold and silver certainly play a prominent role, but many other substances and recipes appear in it as well. More fundamentally, the most prominently placed texts in the compilation (as we shall see in subsequent chapters) give the impression that it is a highly theoretical discipline concerned with the underlying structure of the universe — a unified theory of the material world.

III Opening the *Marcianus*

Whatever its exact original arrangement, the *Marcianus* was certainly an imposing and impressive volume. We may expect an eleventh-century reader to have opened it with a certain measure of reverence: a fine, newly copied book, freshly cut parchment sheets stacked neatly between a cover whose material and ornamentation we can only imagine. Although we cannot be sure which page would have greeted the reader first, there can be little doubt that he (or she)[153] would before long have looked to the tables of quire o for orientation.

In what follows, this front matter — the table of contents, list of symbols (very briefly), author list, and dedicatory epigram — will be read alongside the *Souda* lexicon, whose entries are an index for the picture which the typical educated eleventh-century Byzantine reader would have had of each author named. Indeed, if a name was unfamiliar, the *Souda* (or a similar encyclopedia in the same tradition) might well have been the first place such a reader would have looked for guidance. Providing a wealth of information about the classical and late antique past, the *Souda* can also give us a sense of the information and conceptions about figures of past which a highly educated reader would have possessed. Some other texts available to an educated middle Byzantine reader will be adduced as well.

Table of contents

One of the first texts which an eleventh-century reader of the *Marcianus* would have encountered is the table of contents (f. 2^{r-v}).[154] This is a natural starting point for an inquiry into the impression

Mertens, XCVIII–C. I might add that the Arabic alphabet, like the Coptic, has twenty-eight letters, such that the four additional treatises may even have eventually acquired their own letters — in an Arabic translation in any case — which might help explain the *Souda*'s description of 28 books, arranged in alphabetical order. This is, I should emphasize, merely a hypothesis.

[152] Newman and Principe consider 'alchemy' to be a suitable term when applied to the Middle Ages: "Alchemy vs. Chemistry," 41.

[153] See n. 47 on page 180.

[154] The Greek text of the table of contents can be found in *CMAG*, vol. 2, pp. 20–22; cited by *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XXIII n. 50. Mertens reproduces this table of contents in French, numbering them from 1 to 52; I will refer to these numbers in what follows.

which the book's contents would have made, at first glance, on the Byzantine reader.

The table of contents of the *Marcianus* bears a heading which, in a first-person line of dodecasyllable verse, declares, Βίβλου σοφῶν πέφυκα σὺν θεῷ πίναξ, "I am [the] table of contents, [produced] with God's help, of [this] book of the wise."[155] Perusing it, the reader encounters the authors and their works which await study. Who are the great minds whose products deserve to be bound together so lavishly?[156] They begin with Stephen of Alexandria, "ecumenical philosopher" (οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος). Even if Stephen the alchemist should not turn out to be identical with the Alexandrian Neoplatonist of the same name (d. after 619–20) — who wrote commentaries on Aristotle and gave lectures in Constantinople at the invitation of Emperor Heraclius (r. 610–41), and was a contemporary and perhaps acquaintance of John Philoponos (d. after 567 or 574) — the reader is intended to believe that he was.[157] His addressees in the *Marcianus* table of contents include a certain Theodore, as well as Emperor Heraclius.[158]

Heraclius himself is the next author, an illustrious one, not only because he was an emperor, but because he is remembered in the Byzantine tradition (and the Arabic-Muslim tradition, one might add) as a noble and tragic figure. The *Souda*'s entry under his name begins with his Monotheletism then notes that while he was in Persia, two of his sons and two of his daughters died, but that he managed to bring the relics of the Holy Cross back to Jerusalem. He was met with much acclaim on his return to Byzantium (Constantinople). He also brought back four elephants from Persia and paid back to the Great Church the wealth he had borrowed from it. He gave important positions to both his son Constantine and another son, by Martina: Heraclius (Heraclonas). He died of dropsy.[159] In the *Marcianus*, several treatises appear under his name, including one on 'alchemy' (περὶ χίμης), addressed to another prestigious figure, Modestos, *hegoumenos* of

[155]**M** f. 2ʳ, *CMAG*, vol. 2, p. 20. If σοφῶν refers to wise *things*, then it would seem to parallel the Arabic term *ḥikam*.

[156]I will not for the moment be concerned with who the authors of the texts *actually* were; the purpose in what follows is to consider what these names might have conveyed to a Byzantine reader *c.*1000, rather than the authorship of the texts which are presented under these names, some authentically, others not. For more standard attempts to work out the true identities and chronology of the alchemical authors in the *Marcianus* and other manuscripts, see F. Sherwood Taylor, "A Survey of Greek Alchemy," *JHS* 50 (1930): 113–123; Letrouit, "Chronologie."

[157] *Tusculum-Lexikon*, 3rd ed., ed. Wolfgang Buchwald, Armin Hohlweg, and Otto Prinz (Artemis Verlag, 1982), s.v. "Stephanos" (hereafter cited as *Tusc.-Lex.*³) (pp. 745–6); Kazhdan, *ODB*, s.v. "Stephen of Alexandria" (p. 1953). See also n. 15 on page 175.

[158]The name Theodore also appears in the epigram which opens the *Marcianus*; see p. 225 below.

[159]H 465, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, pp. 582–3: "Ἡράκλειος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. οὗτος ὑπὸ Ἀθανασίου, πατριάρχου Ἰακωβιτῶν, καὶ Σεργίου τοῦ Σύρου, Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν Μονοθελητῶν ἐξεκυλίσθη. ὅτι Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὄντι ἐν Περσίδι ἐτελεύτησαν δύο υἱοὶ καὶ δύο θυγατέρες. αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τὰ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα ἐσφραγισμένα, καθάπερ ἐλήφθησαν διαμείναντα, εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀφίκετο καὶ Μοδέστῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κλήρῳ ταῦτα ὑπέδειξεν. οἱ δὲ τήν τε σφραγῖδα σώαν ἐπεγίνωσκον καὶ ἀνέπαφον, τήν τε κλεῖδα τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ἤγαγε, καὶ προσεκύνησαν καὶ ὕψωσαν. καὶ ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐξέπεμψεν ὁ βασιλεύς· ἃ δὴ Σέργιος ἀρχιερεὺς εἰς Βλαχέρνας [Adler: Βλάχερνας] ὑπεδέξατο. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἡράκλειος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐχώρει δεχθεὶς μετὰ πολλῆς εὐφημίας. ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡράκλειος ἐκ Περσῶν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον τέσσαρας ἦγεν ἐλέφαντας, οὓς δὴ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἱππικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως τέρψει πάσαις δωρεαῖς φιλοτιμησάμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἑλὼν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ταμιείου αὐτῇ τε καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν κλήρῳ ἐτήσια χρήματα παρέχεσθαι. καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ παρασκευάζει ὑπατεῦσαι Ἡράκλειόν τε τὸν ἀπὸ Μαρτίνης Καίσαρα προχειρίζεται. πυθόμενος δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὰ Ἡρία παλατίοις διέτριβε. καὶ συναγαγὼν ὁ ὕπαρχος καὶ συζεύξας πλοῖα εἰς τὸν πορθμὸν τοῦ καλουμένου Στενοῦ διέβη κατὰ τὰς ἀκτὰς τοῦ καλουμένου κόλπου Φειδαλίας καὶ διὰ τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ Βαρυβύσσου ποταμοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῄει. ὑδέρῳ δὲ τὸν βίον καταστρέφει." Added scholion: "ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείου βασιλέως σ′ χιλιάδες ἀνδρῶν διεφθάρησαν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἰσαύρους πολέμῳ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος χρήματα πλεῖστα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς πέμπει, ἅπερ βρύχια γέγονεν ἐπὶ Σεργίου πατριάρχου. βρύχια ἤγουν βυθιζόμενα ὕδατι."

the Monastery of Saint Theodore, then patriarch of Jerusalem (631–634). This attribution and addressee set the treatise in the glorious time after Heraclius's victory over the Persians but before Jerusalem's surrender to the Arabs.[160]

No less illustrious is the next author mentioned, the emperor Justinian (r. 527–65). Remembered as the builder of Hagia Sophia, codifier of Roman law, and re-conqueror of the Roman Empire, Justinian brought the reader even further into the past. He is retroactively given the Greek imperial title *basileus*, officially used only beginning with Heraclius, reminding us of the continuity which characterized imperial history as seen from a middle Byzantine perspective: appearing as the author of an alchemical work, Justinian bears the same title as the emperor who reigned when the *Marcianus* was produced. The *Epistle* (no. 14) and the *Five chapters on the Divine Art and lecture to the philosophers* (no. 15) by this legendary ruler from centuries before must have attracted the reader's curiosity.[161] The pages containing these works are lost, but one of the later Paris manuscripts preserves a text which (to judge from the text's last line) is entitled "the Emperor Justian's *Practice*" (ἡ χρῆσις τοῦ Ἰουστιανοῦ); the ascription is probably a corruption from "Justinian" (Ἰουστι⟨νι⟩ανοῦ), as Berthelot proposed.[162] A fifteenth-century hand wrote out a version of this same text on a page added to quire o of the *Marcianus*, here too ascribing it to "Justian."[163] It is at least possible (though far from certain) that this text is related to the *Epistle* originally included in the *Marcianus*.[164]

Running one's finger down the page, names less well-known begin to be mixed in. Would the reader have known who Komerios/Komarios (no. 16) was?[165] If not, there can be no doubt about Komerios's noble interlocutor, Cleopatra, the famous Ptolemaic queen, whose name is sprinkled throughout the *Souda*.[166]

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[160]See Letrouit, "Chronologie," 58.

[161]no. 14: ἐπιστολή; no. 15: κεφάλαια ε′ πε(ρὶ) τῆς θείας τέχ(νης) καὶ διάλεξις πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους.

[162]ἡ χρῆσις τοῦ Ἰουστι⟨νι⟩ανοῦ. **A**, ff. 240^{v}–242^{r}; *CAAG*, vol. 2, pp. 384–7, Berth. V.XXIV; cf. Berthelot's note to the translation, ibid., vol. 3, p. 371. See also Letrouit, "Chronologie," 57.

[163]The text here is entitled simply "χρίσις [*sic*] Ἰουστι⟨νι⟩ανοῦ"; **M**, f. 1; *CAAG*, vol. 2, pp. 104–105, Berth. II.IVbis, appendice 1; cited by Letrouit, "Chronologie," 57.

[164]Justi⟨ni⟩an's *Practice* describes a procedures for making what seem to be pigments; for example, it begins with the production of a white substance from eggshells and other ingredients, into which egg yolk may be incorporated to produce yellow. The whiteness is compared to that of white lead, a known pigment used in paints and cosmetics. This suggests that the purpose of these recipes is to use inexpensive ingredients to reproduce the properties of relatively expensive pigments.

[165]TOC no. 16, f. 2$^{r}{}_{20}$, *CMAG*, vol. 2, p. 21: Κομερίου; the text is called a "lecture to Cleopatra" (διάλεξις πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν). But this is probably meant to refer to the text by Komarios (with an alpha) who appears as the author of a treatise of which only the beginning is missing (§1–6) in the *Marcianus* but which is preserved *in toto* along with the title in **A**; there it is entitled Κομαρίου φιλοσόφου ἀρχιερέως διδάσκοντος τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν θεῖαν καὶ ἱερὰν τέχνην τοῦ Λίθου τῆς Φιλοσοφίας: *CAAG*, vol. 2, p. 289, Berth. IV.XX.

Reitzenstein (*Alchemistische Lehrschriften und Märchen bei den Arabern*, RGVV, 19.2.[2], pp. 63–86 [Giessen: Töpelmann, 1923], 66, based on his earlier argument in "Zur Geschichte der Alchimie und des Mystizismus," *NAWG Phil.-Hist.* 1 [1919]: 1–37) hypothesizes that this is the Syriac word for 'archpriest,' *kumar*/*kumrā* ܟܡܪܐ. J. Payne-Smith defines this simply as 'priest.' Bar Bahlul defines *kumrē* as الأحبار ("the [Old Testament] priests" — the *aḥbār* referred to in the Quranic *Sūrat al-aḥbār*; cf. *Lisān al-ʿarab* s.v. *ḥbr*), but then adds that the singular *kumro* means حبر رئيس الكهنة ("[Old Testament] priest, chief priest," i.e., ἀρχιερεύς); he also notes that *rab kumrē* means "chief [Old Testament] priest" (رئيس الأحبار): Ḥasan Bar Bahlul, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule*, ed. Rubens Duval (Paris, 1888-1901), 877–8.

[166]"Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: a Digital Library of Greek Literature," http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ (hereafter cited as TLG), lemma search for Κλεοπάτρα restricted to the *Souda*, 3 February 2015. The Greek alchemical texts

The first of four alchemical poems in iambic meter is attributed to a Heliodoros. Which Heliodoros would have come to mind is not clear. The hagiographical *Life* of Leo of Catania (written after Leo's death in 780 and before the tenth century) describes a magician named Heliodoros who transmutes base metals and other matter into silver and gold after making a pact with the devil and wreaks havoc when he brings counterfeit coins to Catania's market.[167] His skill with magic makes him memorably difficult for the emperor to arrest.[168] It seems implausible, however, that this is the Heliodoros intended by the iambic poem's ascription, but a Byzantine who read the ascription to "Heliodoros the philosopher" might nevertheless have thought of Heliodoros the magician and his disruptive ability to produce fake coins. The name of the emperor Theodosios (again, called *basileus*) whom he addresses would certainly have been familiar (no. 18). Reitzenstein took Heliodoros's addressee to be Theodosios III (r. 715–717),[169] as did Goldschmidt, editor of these four poems.[170] Be that as it may, a *Byzantine* reader is more likely to have thought of the two more famous emperors who bore this name: either Theodosios I (r. 379–95) or his grandson Theodosios II (r. 408–50). The latter was Justinian's great predecessor in lawgiving who left his mark on the city as well. Most prominently, perhaps, would have been Constantinople's walls which bear his name and his famous monumental relief erected in the city's hippodrome — although perhaps the monument he erected on the Milion was more famous, to judge from the *Souda*.[171] It is also possible that one would have thought of Theodosios I, his grandfather, whose

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pertaining to Cleopatra are a complicated matter for modern philology because they fall at the gap where a quire is missing from **M**; see Letrouit, "Chronologie," 83–5. Letrouit (ibid., 84–5) argues that the *Dialogue of the philosophers and Cleopatra* must post-date Stephen of Alexandria's *Lectures* on the basis of similar word choice, and in particular, a Christian-sounding phrase which appears in both but is more at home in Stephen's text. — There is a dialogue between Cleopatra (or, in one manuscript, Maria) and the philosophers in Arabic; it was studied by Ullmann, who observed that it was not directly related to the Greek fragments of Cleopatra material in the Greek alchemical corpus (that is, neither Komarios's teaching of Cleopatra in **A**, possibly to be linked to **M** no. 16, nor the end of the *Dialogue of the Philosophers and Cleopatra* = **M** no. 17). In spite of Greek loanwords, Ullmann conjectures that the text was written originally in Arabic, rather than being a translation from Greek; Hellenic elements he attributes to the absorption of Greek alchemy into the Arabic alchemical tradition. See Manfred Ullmann, "Kleopatra in einer arabischen alchemistischen Disputation," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 64 (1971): 173–4. For Cleopatra in the Arabic tradition, see the literature cited in ibid., 174 n. 60.

[167]See Merianos and Sakorrafou, "Μαρτυρίες," 47, where the coincidence of the magician's name with the author of one of the four iambic poems is not mentioned.

[168]Augusta Acconcia Longo, "La *Vita* di S. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro," *RSBN*, n.s., 26 (1989): 3–98. For references to studies on this Vita, see Merianos and Sakorrafou, "Μαρτυρίες," 47 n. 9, where this edition of the Vita is cited.

[169]Reitzenstein believed that all four iambic alchemical poems transmitted under the names of Heliodoros, Theophrastos, Hierotheos and Archaelaos were the work of a single early-eighth-century author named Heliodoros who dedicated his work to Theodosios III: Reitzenstein, "Zur Geschichte," 28, 36; cited by Robert W. Sharples, *Theophrastus of Eresus: sources for his life, writings, thought, and influence. Commentary volume 3.1: Sources on Physics*, with contributions on the Arabic material by Dimitri Gutas (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 31. Others take all the names to be pseudonymous ascriptions, the name 'Heliodoros' referring to a bishop of Tricca under Theodosios I (as was the opinion of George Hamartolos, a.k.a. the Monk, expressed in his chronicle): see ibid., with references.

[170]See Letrouit, "Chronologie," 82–83.

[171]Θ 145, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 695: "On the Milion of Theodosios stood amonument, a bronze equestrian statue, and when he erected it, he granted to the City muchgrain-allowance" (ὅτι ἐν τῷ Μιλίῳ Θεοδοσίου ἵστατο στήλη ἐφ' ἵππου χαλκῆ, ἣν ἀνεγείρας πολλὰ σιτηρέσια τῇ πόλει ἐχαρίσατο, lines 6–8). But the *Souda* is not confident that this is to be attributed to Theodosios II; its next words are: ζητητέον δὲ ὁποίου Θεοδοσίου. (Kazhdan *is* confident that it was Theodosios II: *ODB*, s.v. "Mese," pp. 1346–7, at 1346). The *Souda* generally gives the impression that Theodosios II was famous for different reasons then than now: there is no mention of walls or laws, and indeed the entry begins by

edict of 380 declared the universal truth of Nicene (non-Arian) Christianity.[172] The *Souda* includes a description of his attempts to convince the Senate "to give up the error which they had formerly chosen, and to choose the faith of the Christians."[173]

Heraclius, Justinian, Theodosios: these are big names in Byzantine history, and their prominence here at the start of the codex seems calculated to give the impression that its works are appropriately elevated reading material for those in the highest circles of Byzantine society.

Did the Hierotheos (no. 20), evoke any specific historical or literary figure? This is the name of a teacher of Dionysios the Areopagite in the Dionysian Corpus, as Reitzenstein already noted in 1919.[174] Reitzenstein believed that the attribution to 'Hierotheos' was clearly meant to refer to the Dionysian Hierotheos, and that this attribution to a famous philosopher's teacher was meant to parallel the attribution to Socrates' teacher Archelaos.[175] Regardless of whether this was the poet's original intention, would this reference have occurred to a middle Byzantine reader? It is quite plausible that it would have, given the continuing popularity of the Dionysian Corpus in the middle Byzantine period, whose translation into Arabic in Damascus in 1009 may be a consequence of its popularity in Constantinople.[176] The *Book of Hierotheos*, written in Syriac, probably by the Miaphysite scholar Stephen bar Ṣudaylē (*c.*500), puts in the mouth of the Dionysian Hierotheos a series of philosophical revelations.[177]

The names of Heliodoros and Hierotheos are accompanied by the names of two ancient philosophers as well: Theophrastos (no. 19) and Archelaos (no. 21). 'Theophrastos' would have brought to mind Aristotle's successor (*c.*370–287 BCE).[178] The *Souda*'s entry on Theophrastos is fairly detailed and lists among his works several logical treatises, as well as the books *On Stones*, *On Plants*, *On Metals*, and *On Odors*.[179] The subjects indicated by these titles are closely related

noting that his effect on the empire was negative because "he obtained peace by money not by arms" (καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην χρήμασιν οὐχ ὅπλοις κτησάμενος, p. 695, lines 27–8). Around the year 1000, this could perhaps be read as implicit praise for the reigning emperor Basil II, famous for his ruthless and never-ending military campaigns.

[172]See *ODB*, s.v. "Theodosios I."

[173]*Souda* Θ 144, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 694: "παρακαλῶν ἀφιέναι μὲν ἣν πρότερον εἵλοντο πλάνην, ἑλέσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστιν" (lines 11–12).

[174]The *Souda* has no entry on Hierotheos but mentions him in its lengthy entry on Dionysios the Areopagite: Δ 1170, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, 108$_7$. Reitzenstein drew the connection with the Dionysian Corpus ("Zur Geschichte," 36); Goldschmidt referred to this connection (*Heliodori carmina quattuor*, 14; cited by Letrouit, "Chronologie," 82) to explain why the author to whom he ascribes all four iambic poems in **M** (nos. 18–21) — whose name, he believed, was Heliodoros — would have chosen the name Hierotheos for the third poem.

[175]Reitzenstein, "Zur Geschichte," 36.

[176]For the Arabic translation, see Treiger, "New Evidence." For the Greek manuscript tradition, see the introduction to Corp.Dion. I. Of the manuscripts which Suchla lists, there are 35 which have been dated to the 11th/12th century or earlier, in particular (for sigla, see Suchla): 9th (3: Fa, Ha, Ma); 9th/10th (3: Ja, Pt, Vb); 10th (8: Fb, Jb, Lc, Pb, Pn, Rc, Vv, Wc); 10th/11th (2: Le, Vr); 11th (15: Aa, Ac, Ae, Ec, Gb, Ka, Mb, Mc, Pc, Po, Ra, Ue, Vo, Vs, Vz); 11th/12th (4: Pd, Vc, Ve, Vm) centuries. For the argument that the translation of the Dionysian Corpus into Arabic is part of a pattern in which the Byzantine periphery is interested in reading (in Georgian, Arabic, etc.) what is popular in the capital, with further evidence for the popularity of the Dionysian Corpus in eleventh-century Byzantium, see Mavroudi, "Licit and Illicit Divination: Empress Zoe and the Icon of Christ Antiphonetes," 435–6.

[177]Arthur Lincoln Frothingham, *Stephen bar Sudaili, the Syrian mystic, and the book of Hierotheos* (Leiden: Brill, 1886); Stephen bar Ṣudaylē, *The Book of the Holy Hierotheos ascribed to Stephen Bar-Sudhaile (c500 A.D.)*, ed. and trans. Fred Shipley Marsh (Amsterdam, 1979); see also Baumstark, *GSL*, 167.

[178]*Tusc.-Lex.*^{3}, s.v. "Theophrastos."

[179]Θ 199, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 701: "βιβλία δὲ αὐτοῦ πάμπλειστα, ὧν καὶ ταῦτα· Ἀναλυτικῶν προτέρων τρία, Ἀναλυτικῶν ὑστέρων ζ′, Ἀναλύσεως συλλογισμῶν, Ἀναλυτικῶν ἐπιτομήν, Ἀνηγμένων τόπων, Περὶ λίθων, Περὶ φυτῶν, Περὶ

to the subject of the *Marcianus*.[180] This is most obvious for stones and metals, since these are the basic ingredients of metallurgical recipes, although it should be noted that organic matter (such as plants) also appears in recipes.[181] Even the treatise *On Odors*[182] is related to the alchemist's craft, since it mentions the preparation of perfumes and ointments (e.g., §14).

The name of Archelaos (no. 21) was also associated with an ancient philosopher. Like Heliodoros, Theophrastos, and Hierotheos, Archelaos is the ascribed author of one of the four iambic poems. The *Souda*'s one entry for a man by the name is for Archelaos of Miletos, "a philosopher, called a physicist with respect to his (philosophical) school"; a student of Anaxagoras and teacher of Socrates and perhaps Euripides, he wrote on physiology, "and he held the opinion that what is just and what is shameful are not so by nature but by custom."[183] Anaxagoras was known in the late antique and Byzantine doxographical tradition for his theories about matter; indeed, as we saw in chapter 3, the eleventh-century Byzantine-Christian Ibn al-Faḍl of Antioch, fluent in Greek and Arabic and well acquainted with the scholia in Byzantine manuscripts, refers (in Arabic) to a doctrine of Anaxagoras on matter which is not known from other extant sources. Archelaos's association with Anaxagoras might well have implied an association with peculiar philosophical ideas about matter.

Would the name Pelagios (no. 22) have been familiar from other contexts?[184] The alchemical author Olympiodoros quotes Pelagios (who addresses Pausēris),[185] but the name 'Pelagios' does not appear in the *Souda*.[186]

μετάλλων, Περὶ ὀδμῶν, καὶ ἄλλα."

[180]*On Metals* is not extant to my knowledge, but *On Stones* clearly contains material relevant to an alchemist: it discusses among other things precious metals, gems, and the effects of 'burning' and otherwise manipulating them. *On Stones* has been edited and translated a number of times, most recently: (1) *On Stones*, ed. and trans. Earle R. Caley and John F.C. Richards (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1956); and (2) *De lapidibus*, ed. and trans. D.E. Eichholz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). The earliest manuscript used in these editions (Vat. gr. 1302) has been dated to the 12th–14th centuries (Caley/Richards, pp. 11, 15) or to the late 13th–14th centuries (Eichholz, p. 48, citing Nigel Wilson). — See also Hidemi Takahashi, "Syriac Fragments of Theophrastean Meteorology and Mineralogy: Fragments in the Syriac version of Nicolaus Damascenus, *Compendium of Aristotelian Philosophy* and the accompanying scholia," in *On the* Opuscula *of Theophrastus: Akten der 3. Tagung der Karl-und-Gertrud-Abel-Stiftung vom 19.–23. Juli 1999 in Trier*, ed. William W Fortenbaugh and Georg Wöhrle, Philosophie der Antike 14 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002), 189–224.

[181]Cf. Taylor, "Survey," 124.

[182]Theophrastus, *Theophrast: De odoribus*, ed. and trans. Ulrich Eigler and Georg Wöhrle (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993).

[183]A 4084, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 1, p. 372: "Ἀρχέλαος, Ἀπολλοδώρου ἢ Μίδωνος, Μιλήσιος, φιλόσοφος, φυσικὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν κληθείς. ὅτι ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας πρῶτος τὴν φυσιολογίαν ἤγαγεν· Ἀναξαγόρου μαθητὴς τοῦ Κλαζομενίου, τοῦ δὲ μαθητὴς Σωκράτης· οἱ δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδην φασίν. συνέταξε δὲ φυσιολογίαν καὶ ἐδόξαζε τὸ δίκαιον καὶ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει εἶναι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ. συνέταξε καὶ ἄλλα τινά." Less likely to come to mind would have been Archelaos, priest of Koloneia, who fell victim to the pen of Basil, bishop of Eirenoupolis in Cilicia in the time of Emperor Anastasius (Anastasius I, r. 491–518, or Anastasius II, r. 713–15) and worthy of his namesake, the great Basil of Caesarea — as a gloss at the end of the Archelaos entry explains. This gloss (ibid., vol. 1, 372_{19-21}) draws on *Souda* B 152, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 1, p. 459, which reads: "Βασίλειος ἕτερος, ἐπίσκοπος Εἰρηνουπόλεως τῆς Κιλικίας, ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου βασιλέως, τὴν φρένα καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ Βασιλείῳ Καισαρείας ἐοικώς. ἔγραψε κατὰ Ἀρχελάου πρεσβύτου Κολωνείας." This Archelaos's city was probably Koloneia in Cappodocia, modern Aksaray, which was not far from Cilicia, rather than the Koloneia in Pontos, modern Şebinkarahisar; see Clive Foss, *ODB*, s.v. "Koloneia," p. 1138. Eirenoupolis, a Hellenistic foundation, is the modern Çatalbadem, according to *NP*, s.v. "Eirenupolis" (3.922).

[184]The heading of his work calls him Πελαγίου φιλοσόφου: **M** f. 62^{v}, *CAAG*, vol. 2, p. 253, Berth. IV.I.

[185]Letrouit ("Chronologie," 46–7) notes that Olympiodoros refers to Pelagios in his commentary *On Zosimos's On Action* (**M**, no. 33), Berth. II.IV, §32.

[186]It seems unlikely that a reader of the *Marcianus* would have taken this Pelagios to be the fourth/fifth-century

The name of Democritus (no. 24–25) certainly referred to the philosopher and physicist of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. The *Souda* mentions that he was "an Abderite from Thrace, a philosopher, according to some a student of Anaxagoras and Leucippus," but that some reports make him a student of Persian Magians and Chaldeans as well, "for he also went to the Persians, Indians and Egyptians and was taught the wise sayings which belong to each."[187] This association with Persia, India, and Egypt would seem to place Democritus, from a Byzantine perspective, in an ancient tradition of manipulating nature through specialized techniques transmitted by elect sages.[188]

As for the "Chaldeans," they were most famous in Byzantium as the origin of the Chaldean Oracles, an oracular text closely associated with pagan theurgy, and commented on by the famous eleventh-century philosopher Michael Psellos.[189] All of this would have made him a plausible alchemical author. In the table of contents itself, the title of his works also have strong imperial connotations: "Natural and secret [sayings] on making purple and gold," and, on the top of the next page, "on making *asēmos* [i.e., silver, or a gold-silver alloy]."[190] Purple was the imperial color, carefully regulated by the state, while gold and silver were closely associated with the standardized coinage minted with the imperial portrait.

An even more pronounced 'eastern' association may be traced in the case of Ostanes (no. 23), whose name was associated with Persia, the 'Magi,' and astrology.[191] The *Souda* lexicon describes it as a sort of title equivalent to 'Magi'; its entry reads: "Ostanai [pl. of Ostanes]: long ago, they were called Magi among the Persians, [then] Ostanai in turn"; a gloss here adds, "See 'Astronomy.'"[192] Following this cross-reference, one finds that the entry labeled 'Astronomy' includes Ostanes among the first astronomers:

> Astronomy: the regulation of the stars. The Babylonians were the first to discover it through Zoroaster; among them was also Ostanes. By heavenly motion they prescribed what would happen to those begotten [i.e., they invented genethlialogical astrology]. From them the Egyptians and Hellenes received [this knowledge] and [now] ascribe the offspring [i.e., their life events, characteristics and so forth] to the motion of the stars. […]

Latin theologian known for stressing the importance of free will for human salvation — on whom see Timothy Gregory, *ODB*, s.v. "Pelagianism," pp. 1617–18.

[187] Δ 447, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 44: Ἀβδηρίτης ἐκ Θρᾴκης, φιλόσοφος, μαθητὴς κατά τινας Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ Λευκίππου, ὡς δέ τινες καὶ Μάγων καὶ Χαλδαίων· ἦλθε γὰρ καὶ εἰς Πέρσας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἐπαιδεύθη σοφά.

[188] See also ps.-Dem. Martelli Engl., 2–3.

[189] Polymnia Athanassiadi, "Byzantine Commentators on the Chaldaean Oracles: Psellos and Plethon," in *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, ed. Katerina Ierodiakonou (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 237–252.

[190] Περὶ πορφύρας καὶ χρυσοῦ ποιήσεως φυσικὰ καὶ μυστικά (f. 2^{r}_{29}); Περὶ ἀσήμου ποιήσεως (f. 2^{v}_{1}). '*Asēmos*' may refer to silver or electron, a gold-silver alloy; see LSJ s.v. A.I.2, which cites this text.

[191] For references to Ostanes and fragments of works under this name, see Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés: Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque*, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938; repr. 1973), vol. 2, pp. 267–356. For the Byzantine association of "the Orient" with "apocryphal wisdom," see Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, 428–429.

[192] Ο 710, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 3, p. 570: "Οστᾶναι· οὗτοι πρώην παρὰ Πέρσαις Μάγοι ἐλέγοντο, κατὰ διαδοχὴν Ὀστᾶναι." Gloss: "ζήτει ἐν τῷ ἀστρονομίᾳ." (Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, vol. 2, pp. 268–9, cite this and the other *Souda* passages on Ostanes mentioned in n. 193 on the following page.) For the glosses in the *Souda* manuscript tradition and Adler's edition, see n. 126 on page 194.

Then at the end of the entry, a gloss (copied from the entry on 'sorcery') notes "that magic and astrology originated with the Magousaians. For the Persians, mind you, are called Magog by the rustic. And these same people are the Magousaians."[193] Even if the reader confronted with the *Marcianus* table of contents had not read these *Souda* entries, they nevertheless suggest the associations which the name Ostanes would have had: Persia, Magians, and the origins of astrology in Babylonia.[194]

Only a few of the names have specifically Christian connotation. Beyond Stephen of Alexandria and the Christian emperors, already mentioned, there are the the anonymous Christian (nos. 47–48) and Moses (no. 37),[195] as well as "the philosopher Synesios" (no. 26), whose name would probably have brought to mind the late antique pagan author Synesios of Cyrene (*c.*370–*c.*412) who became a Christian bishop.[196] The *Souda* has only one entry for a Synesios, which is for this same Synesios. In this entry, Synesios of Cyrene is called a philosopher as well as a bishop, and his works are said to include literary (γραμματικά) and philosophical works, imperial discourses (λόγους βασιλικούς), an "Encomium of Baldness," a discourse on Providence "in Hellenic [i.e., pagan] style" (Ἑλληνικῷ χαρακτῆρι), "and many other and various books" (ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ διάφορα βιβλία), along with an epistolary corpus.[197]

To whom does the name Eugenios refer (no. 38)? Probably not the early martyr depicted in the Menologion of Basil II, who had "by the eleventh century" become "patron of Trebizond," and

[193]*Souda* A 4257, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 1, p. 393: "Ἀστρονομία· ἡ τῶν ἄστρων διανομή. πρῶτοι Βαβυλώνιοι ταύτην ἐφεῦρον διὰ Ζωροάστρου· μεθ' ὧν καὶ Ὀστάνης· οἳ ἐπέστησαν τῇ οὐρανίᾳ κινήσει τὰ περὶ τοὺς τικτομένους συμβαίνειν· ἀφ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐδέξαντο καὶ τοὺς γεννωμένους ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων κίνησιν…" Gloss: "ὅτι μαγεία καὶ ἀστρολογία ἀπὸ Μαγουσαίων ἤρξατο. οἱ γάρ τοι Πέρσαι Μαγὼγ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὀνομάζονται. καὶ Μαγουσαῖοι, οἱ αὐτοί" — derived (as Adler's apparatus notes) from the entry on γοητεία: Γ 365 (not 364), *Suid.* Adler, vol. 1, p. 534. For magic in Byzantine hagiography (*inter alia*), see *ODB*, s.v. "Magic," pp. 1265–6, and references.

[194]On Ostanes, see further van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 48–54. By comparison, the picture one gets from Ibn al-Nadīm is rather different. Ostanes is included in the list of "those who spoke about the Art [i.e., alchemy]": Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, vol. 2, p. 447. But at least in Ibn al-Nadīm's entry on Ostanes, two entries up, the Persian association is much less than in the *Souda*'s characterization: "Ostanes (Usṭānis [presumably not to be voweled Usṭānus]): among the philosophers, those of the Art [i.e., alchemists], who were famous for it [the Art] and wrote books about it was Ostanes the Roman [= 'Byzantine'], of Alexandria. He was the author — according to what is mentioned in one of his treatises — of one thousand books and treatises. Every book and treatise has [its own] name by which it is known. The books of these people are built on symbolism and riddles. Among the books of Ostanes is *Ostanes' Conversation with Būhīr king of India*" (أسطانس. ومن الفلاسفة أهل الصناعة الذين شُهِروا بها وألَّفوا فيها كُتُباً: أسطانس الرومي، من أهل الإسكندرية. وله من الكتب، على ما ذُكِرَ في بعض رسائله، ألف كتابٍ ورسالةٍ. ولِكُلّ كتاب ورسالة اسمٌ تسمَّى بها. وكُتُبُ هؤلاء القوم مَبنِيَّةٌ على الرَّمز والألغاز. فمن كتب أسطانس: كتاب «مُحاوَرة أسطانس بُوهِير ملك الهند»): ibid., vol. 2, p. 446, old pagination 418–19. (It may well be that Ostanes appears as a *Rūmī* in the Arabic tradition because his texts are in Greek and associated with Egyptian authors such as Zosimos, and — as in the *Marcianus* — with Alexandrian authors in particular.) The only hint that Ostanes is Iranian is that his one book which Ibn al-Nadīm mentions (out of a thousand!) is addressed to the king of nearby India. The king's name is given as "Thouir" by Houdas's translation of this passage, quoted by Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés*, vol. 2, p. 270, who note that Levi Della Vida thought it should be voweled as "Taouhir" [= Tawhīr] or "'Tôhir" [= Tōhīr/Tūhīr]. Sayyid's edition spells the name بُوهِير [Būhīr] without further comment in the apparatus. This name might be identical with the Indian royal emissary Ýūhīn (يوهين) who holds a dialogue with Aristotle (see Manfred Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* [Leiden: Brill, 1972], 157, where Ullmann refers to this entry in Ibn al-Nadīm, saying that Aristotle's name was confused for 'Ostanes').

[195]Moses has a prominent place in the Byzantine Christian tradition; for example, see chapter 1, §III.

[196]*ODB*, s.v. "Synesios."

[197]Σ 1511, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 4, p. 468. The theme of baldness was a response to Dio Chrysostom's praise of hair (*Tusc.-Lex.*[3], s.v. "Synesios").

whose hagiographical dossier John Xiphilinos ("a native of Trebizond") assembled.[198] Nor would the reader be likely to think of Eugenios of Augoustopolis in Phrygia — the one Eugenios with an entry in the *Souda* — who taught 'grammar' (literature and philology) in Constantinople in the time of Emperor Anastasios.[199]

"The philosopher Pappos," to the highly educated reader at least, may again have evoked an Alexandrian. A mathematician by that name, from Alexandria, was active around 320 and wrote about astronomy and geometry, including a Euclid commentary.[200] In general, he may have been known at least from his two works which survive in Greek today: his *Commentary on the Almagest*, books 5 and 6; and his *Collection*, which survives in an "imperfect" tenth-century copy (Vat. gr. 218), as Pingree notes. Others may well have been available in *c.*1000 CE, such as his *Commentary on Euclid's Elements* (of which only the commentary on book 10 survives, and only in Arabic), or his *Ecumenical Chorography* (geography of the inhabited world).[201] The entry for Pappos in the *Souda* places him in Alexandria in the time of Theodosios I (r. 379–395) and lists his books as: *The Ecumenical Chorography*, a *Commentary on the Four Books [i.e., Tetrabiblos] of Ptolemy*, *Rivers of Libya*, and *Dream Interpretation.*[202] On the one hand, then, our modern picture of this Pappos, partially reflected in the extant manuscript tradition, is of an author writing primarily in geography and in two of the four subjects which made up the quadrivium (τετρακτύς) of Byzantine higher education: geometry and astronomy (the other two being music and arithmetic).[203] On the other hand, the *Souda*, while still presenting him as a geographer, gives us a rather different scholarly profile which includes knowledge of 'occult sciences' such as astrology (the subject of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*) and dream interpretation, both topics of great interest in middle Byzantine elite culture.[204] Alongside astrology and dreams, alchemy would be in good company.

Neoplatonist philosophers of Late Antiquity are also well represented. Along with Stephen of Alexandria, already mentioned, is Olympiodoros of Alexandria.[205] That the name Olympiodoros would have been immediately associated with the sixth-century Alexandrian Neoplatonist and student of Ammonios (again, in the mind of an educated Byzantine reader) is suggested by the fact that the only entry on an Olympiodoros in the *Souda* is for "Olympiodoros, Alexandrian philoso-

[198] *ODB*, s.v. "Eugenios," p. 743.

[199] E 3394.

[200] Internal evidence of the text ascribed to "Pappos the philosopher" in **M** would seem to suggest that it was written after Stephen of Alexandria; see Letrouit, "Chronologie," 61, 86–87. Nevertheless, the *name* is likely to have evoked the fourth-century Pappos.

[201] David Pingree, *ODB*, s.v. "Pappos of Alexandria," p. 1580; cf. *Tusc.-Lex.*[3], s.v. "Pappos." There are at least two manuscripts from the period containing mathematical works of Pappos, both in Florence: Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.18 (10th c.; ff. 259–347: *Commentary on the Almagest*, books 5 and 6) and 28.34 (11th c.; ff. 137–144). A search on "Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grecs," http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/, 3 July 2014) for "Pappus Alexandrinus Math." yielded, besides these, manuscripts from the 13th (2), 14th (6), 15th (10), 16th (33), 16th/17th (1), 17th (8), 18th (2), and 19th (10) centuries containing his works; for another 6 manuscripts, *Pinakes* lacks a date. This distribution at least suggests mathematical works under Pappos's name would have been known in eleventh-century Constantinople.

[202] Π 265, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 4, p. 26. "βιβλία δὲ αὐτοῦ Χωρογραφία οἰκουμενικὴ, Εἰς τὰ δ′ βιβλία τῆς Πτολεμαίου μεγάλης συντάξεως ὑπόμνημα, Ποταμοὺς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ, Ὀνειροκριτικά."

[203] Alexander Kazhdan, *ODB*, s.v. "Quadrivium," p. 1765.

[204] Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, 392–429.

[205] Who is called Ὀλυμπιοδώρου φιλοσόφου Αλεξανδρέως in the title of his commentary on Zosimos's Κατ' ἐνέργειαν: **M** f. 163[r]; *CAAG*, vol. 2, p. 69, Berth. II.IV. (**M**'s table of contents, however, calls him merely Ὀλυμπιοδώρου φιλοσόφου.)

pher."[206] The entry reports that Proclus studied Aristotle with Olympiodoros (unlikely, since Proclus died in 485, Olympiodoros's teacher Ammonios was Proclus's successor, and Olympiodoros died after 564–5),[207] and then closes with an amusing anecdote.[208] The entry emphasizes (in the first line) that his "fame" was "far-reaching."

To a middle Byzantine reader, Zosimos of Panopolis would have been counted among the philosophers. The brief *Souda* for him[209] calls him an Alexandrian and a philosopher and mentions his "chemical writings" (*chēmeutika*). Michèle Mertens, in the historical introduction to her edition of Zosimos's works, discusses three passages from Byzantine authors attesting to Zosimos's reputation outside of alchemical literature. First, George Synkellos (d. after 810) includes an excerpt from Zosimos's (lost) *Book of Imouth* in the context of his retelling of a legend from the *Book of Enoch* in which fallen angels teach "the daughters of men" secret arts. Second, Photios, in his *Bibliotheca*, discusses a work of Christian apologetic which refers to a range of ancient, 'Eastern' sources, including Zosimos. Third is the *Souda* entry which I have already mentioned.[210] By the mid eleventh century, Zosimos had become a paradigmatic alchemist, along with a few others, as indicated by the metonymic use to which Psellos puts his name in his prosecutorial oration (never delivered as a result of the death of the accused) against Patriarch Michael Keroularios:

> Just as he [Keroularios] knew other things which the law forbids one to know, he would also go around investigating the transformations of materials [lit, "matters"], and he would be terribly indignant unless he should be able to make copper into silver and silver into gold. Well then, only Zosimoses and Theophrastoses were his object of study, and he sought after the treatise *On Action* [by Zosimos], for so the books are entitled. And rating Ionic grace at less, he reckoned the Abderite's [i.e., Democritus's] treatise and the Democritian [follower of Democritus?] much higher.[211]

The name Zosimos belonged to a Christian martyr as well, an association unlikely to arise in connection with the *Marcianus*. But there might have been some sort of vague association with a different hagiographical character, for by a curious coincidence, one of the Lives of Saint Mamas of Caesarea (well-attested in eleventh-century manuscripts) gives the name of Zosimos to one of the two tenders of the furnace whose fire was to purge the saint of his perversity in refusing to

[206] Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, φιλόσοφος Ἀλεξανδρεύς: O 216, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 3, p. 521. Cf. *ODB*, s.v. "Olympiodoros of Alexandria." Again, this association would be present whether or not it is actually correct to identify Olympiodoros the alchemist with Olympiodoros the Neoplatonist — an identification which Letrouit, among others, rejects: Letrouit, "Chronologie," 50–56. The alchemist, he argues, was a Christian of the fourth century CE.

[207] *Ox. Cl. Dict.*², s.v. "Proclus"; *ODB*, s.v. "Olympiodoros of Alexandria."

[208] Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, φιλόσοφος Ἀλεξανδρεύς· οὗ κλέος εὐρύ. παρὰ τοῦτον φοιτᾷ Πρόκλος ὁ Λύκιος ἐπ' Ἀριστοτελικοῖς λόγοις. Ὀλυμπιοδώρου δὲ ἀκροώμενος ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ λέγειν καὶ διὰ τὴν περὶ τοῦτο εὐκολίαν καὶ ἐντρέχειαν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀκουόντων ὄντος ἐφικτοῦ· ἠγάσθη δὲ τὸ μειράκιον, ὥστε καὶ θυγάτριον ἔχων ἠγμένον καὶ αὐτὸ φιλοσόφως βουληθῆναι αὐτῷ κατεγγυῆσαι.

[209] Already quoted in n. 151 on page 198.

[210] *Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, XCIII–CI; cf. Mertens, "Graeco-Egyptian Alchemy," 219. George Synkellos: George Synkellos, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, ed. Alden A. Mosshammer (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984), Bonn 23–24. Photios: *Bibliotheca*, codex 170.

[211] George T. Dennis, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes forenses et acta* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994), oration 1, lines 2670–7: "Ὥσπερ δὲ τἆλλα εἰδὼς ἃ νόμος εἰδέναι ⟨κωλύεται⟩, καὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν ὑλῶν περιήει ζητῶν καὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῖτο, εἰ μὴ τὸν μὲν χαλκὸν ἄργυρον, τὸν δὲ ἄργυρον χρυσὸν ἀπεργάσαιτο. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν μόνον Ζώσιμοί τε αὐτῷ ἐσπουδάζοντο καὶ Θεόφραστοι καὶ ἡ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἐζητεῖτο ἔκδοσις· οὕτω γὰρ ἐπιγέγραπται τὰ βιβλία. καὶ τὴν Ἰωνικὴν χάριν κατόπιν τιθεὶς τὴν Ἀβδηριτικὴν πραγματείαν καὶ Δημοκρίτειον ἐτίθετο περὶ πλείονος."

sacrifice to Apollo.[212] This Life, first directly attested in a fifth/sixth-century papyrus fragment from Oxyrrhynchus, is preserved in a number of middle Byzantine manuscripts.[213]

Not only does Zosimos of Panopolis discuss furnaces; the word for 'furnace' (κάμινος) also appears in the titles of a number of Zosimos's works.

As for Agathodaimon, he is a somewhat more obscure figure. Modern scholars may think first of the Neoplatonic "personal guardian spirit" or the Agathodaimon who plays the role of Hermes' teacher in the *Corpus Hermeticum*,[214] but the *Souda* would have provided a middle Byzantine reader with a somewhat different connotation. Its entry for "Agathou Daimonos" describes an ancient custom of drinking unmixed wine after a meal, calling that last gulp "of Agathos Daimon," by which they meant "of Zeus the Savior"; it also notes that the second day of the month belonged to this 'good god' and that "there was in Thebes a hero-shrine of Agathos Daimon."[215] Finally, the entry notes "that Aristotle composed a book on the Good (*t'agathon*) and in it recorded Plato's unwritten opinions. And Aristotle mentions [lit., 'has mentioned'] the treatise in the first (book) of his *On Soul*, calling it *On Philosophy*."[216] These correspond more closely to some of the more ancient uses of the term[217] and would seem to imply some sort of vague association with Plato. But the association with Egypt may have been a good deal stronger: George Synkellos (d. after 810) lists Agathodaimon as the third ruler of Egypt (after Hephaistos and Helios and before Kronos and the joint rule of Osiris and Isis).[218] In the astrological context, Agathodaimon refers to a

[212]BHG 1019, §18$_{13}$, Albrecht Berger, "Die alten Viten des Heiligen Mamas von Kaisareia. Mit einer Edition der Vita BHG 1019," *Analecta Bollandiana* 120 (2002): 302, where Mamas refuses to sacrifice: "Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν βληθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ, εἰπὼν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ζώσιμον, οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐγκαύσαντες τὴν κάμινον· «Ἄρατε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμβάλλετε ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ, ἵνα ἀναλώσῃ αὐτὸν τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἀπαλλαγῶμεν τῆς κακίστης καὶ φιλονείκου αὐτοῦ γνώμης»."

[213]Of the 18 manuscripts listed by Berger (ibid., 261–4), there are two 10th-century (K = Athos, Stavronikita, 33; V = Vat. gr. 797), five 11th-century (L = Athos, Lavra, 426, dated 1039 CE; S = Sinai gr. 497, apograph of L; Q = Paris gr. 1468, which was in Galata in 1594 CE; R = Petropol. gr. 283; U = Vat. gr. 1238), one 11th/12th-century (B = Vat. Barb. gr. 517), one 12th-century (N = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holk. 15), and eight later manuscripts — in addition to the 5th/6th-century fragment, P.Oxy. VI 851.

[214]See Fritz Graf, *Brill's New Pauly*, s.v. Agathos Daimon (1.319).

[215]A 122, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 1, p. 17: "Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος: ἔθος εἶχον οἱ παλαιοὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον πίνειν Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, ἐπιρροφοῦντες ἄκρατον, καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, χωρίζεσθαι δὲ μέλλοντες, Διὸς Σωτῆρος. καὶ ἡμέραν δὲ τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ μηνὸς οὕτως ἐκάλουν. καὶ ἐν Θήβαις δὲ ἦν ἡρῷον Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος." And then: "καὶ ἐν Θήβαις δὲ ἦν ἡρῷον Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος."

[216]ὅτι περὶ τἀγαθοῦ βιβλίον συντάξας Ἀριστοτέλης, τὰς ἀγράφους τοῦ Πλάτωνος δόξας ἐν αὐτῷ κατατάττει. καὶ μέμνηται τοῦ συντάγματος Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐπονομάζων αὐτὸ περὶ φιλοσοφίας. John Philoponos's commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* discusses this book by Aristotle, entitled Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ and containing Plato's unwritten teachings, in similar terms: John Philoponos, *Ioannis Philoponi In Aristotelis De anima libros commentaria*, ed. Michael Hayduck, CAG 15 (Berlin, 1897), 75$_{32–35}$ (hereafter cited as J.Phil. *In Arist. De anima* Hayduck); cited as a parallel by Adler's *apparatus fontium*.

[217]Again, see the encyclopedia entry cited in n. 214. See also LSJ s.v. ἀγαθοδαίμων I–II. It is in the sense of a household god that the forty-two martyrs of Amorium use the word: when their questioner refers to the message of the prophet Muḥammad — that, as the text represents it, there is an all-powerful God who relieves humans of moral responsibility by virtue of his omnipotence — the "saints" reply that "he seems to have re-fashioned [in the sense of 'sculpted'] for himself a god, an agathodaimon in the manner of the Hellenes" (ἄλλον οὖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνεπλάσατο θεὸν παρ' ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀγαθοδαίμονα): *Life of the 42 Martyrs of Amorium*, version Z, V. Vasilievskij and P. Nikitin, eds., *Skazanija o 42 amorijskich mucenikach* (Saint Petersburg, 1905), 74$_{14–15}$; cf. *Passion* M, §33$_{14–16}$, S. Kotzabassi, "Τὸ μαρτύριο τῶν μβ μαρτύρων τοῦ Ἀμορίου. Ἁγιολογικὰ καὶ ὑμνολογικὰ κείμενα," Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς 2 (1992) — both cited by TLG, s.v. αγαθοδαιμ-, 22 January 2015.

[218]George Synkellos, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, 19 (Bonn 33). George Synkellos presents Agathodai-

"propitious region" falling to the "east of *μεσουράνημα*," that is, of the meridian or zenith.[219] It is in this sense that the Greek translation (made *c.*1000) of an astrological treatise under the name of Abū Maʿshar (9th century)[220] uses it, for example.[221]

The appearance of Hermes (already mentioned) in the table of contents would almost certainly have evoked the *Corpus Hermeticum* and its associated mythology. The *Souda* does, to be sure, include an entry on the Greek god Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia, figuring mind (*nous*) and thought (*phronēsis*).[222] The following entry, on Hermes, is quite prominent as well, and closely associated with Egypt. It is entitled "Hermes Trismegistos" (the Thrice-Great). The entry begins by noting that this Hermes was

> an Egyptian sage. He flourished before the time of the Pharaoh. He was called Trismegistos because he pronounced on the trinity, saying that a single divinity was in a trinity, in the following way: 'There was intelligible light before intelligible light, and it was always a luminous mind of mind, and there was nothing other than[223] its unity; and spirit encompassed all things. Outside of this, there was no god, no angel, nor any other essence (*ousia*). For [the intelligible light] is lord and father and god of all things, and all things are under him and in him. For its Logos, being purely perfect, generative, and creative, and having fallen[224] into generative nature and generative water, made the water pregnant.' And having said these things, he prayed, saying: 'I adjure you, sky, by the wise work of great god; I adjure you by the voice of the father, which first he uttered when he fixed the whole cosmos in place; I adjure you by his only-begotten Logos and the father, who encompasses all things: merciful, be merciful.'[225]

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mon as the son of the second Hermes (the first Hermes is identified with Thoth): George Synkellos, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, 41 (Bonn 72–73). Both passages cited by TLG, s.v. *αγαθοδαιμ-*, 22 January 2015. For the development of a first and second Hermes in late antiquity, see van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, chapter 4.

[219]LSJ s.v. *ἀγαθοδαίμων* III; and s.v. *μεσουράνημα* 2.

[220]See Charles Burnett, *EI*^{3}, s.v. "Abū Maʿshar."

[221]Apomasar, *De mysteriis*, §112, ed. K. O. Zuretti, *CCAG*, vol. 11.1, $171_{12–15}$ (cited by TLG, s.v. *αγαθοδαιμ-*, 22 January 2015): "If you are asked about this [i.e., who will win in a chariot race], consider the Lord (*τὸν κύριον*) of the horoscope, that is, the Managing [Star], and if it is in the horoscope, or one of the [other] stars [i.e., heavenly bodies] is ascendant or in the meridian or in the agathodaimon, then the one who bears the color of that star will be victorious…" (*Εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς περὶ τούτου, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὡροσκόπου, ἤγουν τὸν διέποντα, καὶ εἴ ἐστιν ἐν ὡροσκόπῳ, ἢ ὡροσκοπεῖ τις τῶν ἀστέρων ἢ μεσουρανεῖ ἢ ἀγαθοδαιμονεῖ, ἐκεῖνος νικήσει ὁ ἔχων τὸ χρῶμα τοῦ ἀστέρος ἐκείνου…*).

[222]E 3037.

[223]Reading *ἢ* for *ἡ*. Thurn emends the identical passage in John Malalas similarly to "*⟨ἢ⟩ ἡ*" on the basis of the early Slavonic translation and the parallel passages in other works: John Malalas, *Ioannis Malalae chronographia*, ed. Ioannes Thurn, CFHB 35 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), §2.4, p. 20, line 64, Dindorf 27. The same passage in the *Paschal Chronicle* is printed by Dindorf as "*ἢ ἡ*": *Chronicon paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1832), 85_{19}. In his apparatus, he notes that one manuscript omits *ἢ*.

[224]Reading *πεσὼν* with Cyril of Alexandria and John Malalas (reported in Adler's apparatus) against the *Souda* manuscripts used by Adler, which read *παῖς ὢν*: "…and *being a child* in generative nature and generative water…"

[225]E 3038, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, pp. 413–414: "*Ἑρμῆς, ὁ Τρισμέγιστος· οὗτος ἦν Αἰγύπτιος σοφός· ἤκμαζε δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Φαραώ. ἐκέκλητο δὲ Τρισμέγιστος, διότι περὶ τριάδος ἐφθέγξατο εἰπών, ἐν τριάδι μίαν εἶναι θεότητα οὕτως· ἦν φῶς νοερὸν πρὸ φωτὸς νοεροῦ, καὶ ἦν ἀεὶ νοῦς νοὸς φωτεινός, καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἦν ἡ* [read *ἢ*, although Adler's apparatus does not note such a variant] *τούτου ἑνότης· καὶ πνεῦμα πάντα περιέχον. ἐκτὸς τούτου οὐ θεός, οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐκ οὐσία τις ἄλλη. πάντων γὰρ κύριος καὶ πατὴρ καὶ θεός, καὶ πάντα ὑπ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστιν. ὁ γὰρ λόγος αὐτοῦ παντέλειος ὢν καὶ γόνιμος καὶ δημιουργικός, ἐν γονίμῳ φύσει παῖς ὢν καὶ γονίμῳ ὕδατι, ἔγκυον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐποίησε. καὶ ταῦτα εἰρηκὼς ηὔξατο λέγων· ὁρκίζω σε, οὐρανέ, θεοῦ μεγάλου σοφὸν ἔργον· ὁρκίζω σε φωνὴν πατρός, ἣν ἐφθέγξατο πρώτην, ἡνίκα τὸν πάντα*

The Christian overtones of this 'Hermetic' pronouncement and prayer make it easy to see how this Hermes could be appropriated by Christian intellectuals — much as he was appropriated by Muslims, being firmly identified with the prophet Idrīs by the time the *Marcianus* was composed.[226] This passage in the *Souda* is related to descriptions by Cyril of Alexandria, John Malalas, the *Paschal Chronicle*, which all quote the same passage printed and discussed by Kern[227] as Orphic fragment 299.[228] Cyril remarks that the passage is "a perfect demonstration of the fact that even they [pagans] had formed a notion of the only-begotten Logos of God."[229] John Malalas and the *Paschal Chronicle* (in identical words) cite Cyril's *Against Julian* and observe that the passage quoted provides "a most clear illustration that Hermes Trismegistos too, though ignorant of what was to come, confessed a homoousian trinity [i.e., a trinity sharing a single essence]."[230] Hermes had been wise enough to pronounce, and so prefigure, a core Christian doctrine, which would have made him a palatable sage for a Christian audience.

The reader of the *Marcianus* is transported to a glorious age of the past, continuous with the Byzantine present and yet clearly another era. Heraclius is the last of the emperors named, and it is probably not a coincidence since he was the last of the emperors to control Egypt, where the Art is seen to originate. Many are the authors associated with Egypt (Stephen of Alexandria, Olympiodoros, Zosimos, Pappos, Democritus), but even if one were not geographically savvy, many of the names — even if one has never heard of the authors — would immediately evoke Egypt to the Byzantine reader: Neilos (i.e., the Nile),[231] Africanus, Moses, Cleopatra, and possibly others, like Hermes and Ostanes's addressee Petasios.[232]

Most of the authors appearing in the table of contents of the *Marcianus* are called "philosophers" and have intellectual profiles which range far beyond alchemy: astronomy, astrology, geography, geometry, mathematics, and so on. A number of these authors would have been associated with Persia, Chaldeans, Magi, Egyptian wisdom, and other traditions sometimes perceived in Byzantium as 'magical' — but this is also the case for a number of ancient philosophers, like Democritus himself. Such is the profile of the alchemist which the table of contents of the *Marcianus* suggests.

κόσμον ἐστηρίξατο· ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ πατρός, τοῦ περιέχοντος πάντα, ἵλεως, ἵλεως ἔσο."

[226]For the development of Hermes as a Muslim prophet, see van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, chapter 5. Van Bladel argues that the identification of Hermes with the Quranic prophet Idrīs, who was brought up to heaven, became mainstream during the 10th century (although al-Jāḥiẓ was already familiar with it), and that al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik's (11th century) notion of Hermes as a lawgiving prophet, along with his gnomologia attributing sayings to Hermes, became the authoritative characterization of Hermes in the Arabic tradition.

[227]Otto Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* (Berlin, 1922), 313.

[228]All cited by Adler's *apparatus fontium.*

[229]*Against Julian*, §1.47$_{1-2}$, Cyril of Alexandria, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Contre Julien, tome 1: livres 1 et 2*, ed. and trans. P. Burguière and P. Évieux, Sources chrétiennes 322 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1985), 200 = PG 76.553B: "Ἀπόχρη μὲν οὖν ταυτὶ πρὸς ἐντελεστάτην ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ, ὅτι τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον ἐννενοήκασι καὶ αὐτοί."

[230]Malalas, *Chronographia*, §2.4, p. 20, lines 73–76, Dindorf 27; *Chronicon paschale*, 86$_{10-13}$: "ταῦτα δὲ [*CP* omits δὲ] καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ [*CP* omits τοῦ] βασιλέως ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου Κυρίλλου συναχθεῖσιν [*CP*: συνταχθεῖσιν] ἐμφέρεται πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν σαφεστέραν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τρισμέγιστος Ἑρμῆς ἀγνοῶν τὸ μέλλον τριάδα ὁμοούσιον ὡμολόγησεν."

[231]The name Νεῖλος appears in the *Souda* only as the name of the river: N 289.

[232]Petasios does not appear in the *Souda*; the name may be a reference to the legendary Egyptian figure known from a papyrus (P.Rylands 63) as Πετέησις, Egyptian for "given by Isis," as the *Neue Pauly* article suggests: *NP*, s.v. "Peteesis" (9.661).

Table of signs

The *Marcianus*'s table of signs appears under the following heading:

> Signs belonging to the science of those things which are in the Technical [i.e., alchemical] writings of the philosophers, and especially of the secret philosophy, as it is called among them.[233]

This heading to the table of signs distinguishes between the "Technical texts" in general and those which the 'philosophers' call "the secret philosophy." We are probably meant to understand the latter as the theoretical exegeses of recipes. As we have already seen in the table of contents, the alchemical authors are referred to as philosophers. Still we should not take the approach of simply glossing the word 'philosopher' as the alchemists' word for alchemists, any more than the same word should be glossed in other contexts "simply" as the monastic word for a monk: these are implicit claims about what true philosophy is, and what it means to be its cultivator. Many of the alchemical authors listed in the table of contents are referred to as philosophers in other contexts as well — Stephen of Alexandria, for instance, with his title of "ecumenical philosopher" (i.e., philosopher of the inhabited world). In other words, the Alchemical Corpus's application of the name of 'philosopher' to the authors of its texts does not apply an exclusive claim on that name by a closed group we may call, if anachronistically, 'the alchemists'; instead, it is a claim that "the Sacred Art" was part — perhaps the most important part — of a philosopher's vocation, such that any great philosopher could be expected to have cultivated the Art as well.

List of authors

The list of authors (f. 7^{v}) is set off from the table of signs by a simple heading in the same semi-uncial and same ink as are used for both the table of signs and the list of authors. Four small circles in the margin to the left of the heading mark it out as such. The heading itself reads: *Names of the philosophers of the divine science and art.*[234] The list is arranged in two columns:

Μωσῆς :	Μαρία :
Δημόκριτος :	Πετάσιος :
Συνέσιος :	Ἑρμής :
Παύσηρις :	Θεοσέβεια :
Πηβίχιος :	Ἀγαθοδαίμων :
Ξενοκράτης :	Θεόφιλος :
Ἀφρικανός :	Ἡσίδωρος :
Λουκᾶς :	Θαλής :
Διογένης :	Ἡράκλειτος :
Ἴππασος :	Ζώσιμος :
Στέφανος :	Φιλάρετος :
Χίμης :	Ἰουλιανή :
Χριστιανός :	Σέργιος :

3 Ἑρμής] read Ἑρμῆς || 7 Ἡσίδωρος] read Ἰσίδωρος || 8 Θαλής] read Θαλῆς || 10 Ἴππασος] read Ἵππασος

[233] Σημεῖα τ(ῆ)ς ἐπιστήμης τῶν ἐγκειμένων ἐν τοῖς τεχνικοῖς συγγράμμασι τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ μάλιστα τῆς μυστικῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένης φιλοσοφίας: ed. Zuretti, *CMAG*, vol. 8, p. 1; ps.-Dem. Martelli, 17 .

[234] Ὀνόματα τῶ(ν) φιλοσόφων τῆς θείας ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης.

The list clearly begins with Moses (whose name is marked with four dots to its left), but which direction should one read next: down the column, or should one read each row before moving down? The general assemblage of 'ancient' authors at the top and later one down below — and especially the sequences "Zosimos, Stephen" and "Christian, Sergios" — implies that we should read row by row:[235]

> Moses, Maria, Democritus, Petasios, Synesios, Hermes, Pauseris, Theosebeia, Pebichios, Agathodaimon, Xenocrates, Theophilos, Africanus, Isidore, Luke, Thales, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Hippasus, Zosimos, Stephen, Philaretos, Chimes [= 'the Chemist'], Juliana, Christian, Sergios.

Moses: The *Souda* contains an entry on "Moses the prophet and lawgiver."[236] The entry recounts the wanderings of the Israelites and discusses the calculation of the number of years they spent in exile, comparing it to Moses's statement of how long Israel would spend in Canaan and Egypt, and taking into account the time elapsed since Abraham left Harran. This discussion is derived from the *Chronicle* of George Hamartolos (a.k.a. George the Monk; probably wrote in the latter half of the 9th century).[237] Then, drawing on Josephus's *Antiquities* as excerpted in the tenth-century compilation *On Virtues* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (b. 905, d. 959) and his "collaborators,"[238] the *Souda* entry tells the story of when Moses's parents send him down the river in a basket and he is scooped up by "Thermouthis, the daughter of the king (*basileus*)."[239] A final line notes that he fasted for forty days before and forty days after bringing and then shattering the inscribed tablets. As with most of the *Souda* entries we have seen, there is no reference to alchemical works under Moses's name, although minerals or chemicals appear twice in the entry: once when Moses's parents waterproof the basket with pitch,[240] and once in the description of the tablets which Moses shattered: "inscribed in lapis lazuli by God's finger."[241] Letrouit points to the Biblical episode in which Moses and Aaron outdo the magicians at Pharaoh's court with God's help (e.g., Exodus 9:10–11) as the reason for associating Moses with magic. Letrouit traces the specific association with alchemy to Zosimos's reading of Exodus 16:16–18 (manna) in alchemical terms, in a text (contained in the *Marcianus*) which notes that 'little cake' (μαζύγιον) is a diminutive of 'cake' (μάζα), which is used as a word for copper.[242] In short, Moses would not have had a *primary* association with alchemy, but his Byzantine profile included minerals, elements, luminous transformation, and magic. Within the alchemical tradition, he was associated with the science of metals in particular.

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[235]The opposite choice (to read column by column) is made in Julius Africanus, *Cesti: the extant fragments*, ed. Martin Wallraff et al., trans. William Adler (Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 184, T74.

[236]M 1348, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 3, p. 420: "Μωϋσῆς ὁ προφήτης καὶ νομοθέτης."

[237]See *ODB*, s.v. "George Hamartolos."

[238]Ibid., s.v. "Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos"; see also ibid., s.v. "Excerpta."

[239]Line 22: Θερμοῦθις δὲ ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτον ἀνείλετο.

[240]Lines 20–21: ἔπειτα χρίσαντες ἀσφάλτῳ κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βάλλουσι.

[241]Lines 25–6: μετὰ τὸ συντρῖψαι τὰς πλάκας σαπφείρῳ λίθῳ δακτύλῳ θεοῦ γραφείσας.

[242]Letrouit, "Chronologie," 85–86; citing Zosimos, *Chapters to Theodore* (**M** table of contents no. 34), Berth. III.XLIII, §6, *CAAG*, vol. 2, p. 216.

Maria the alchemist does not appear in *Souda*.[243] On the other hand, not only is she associated with alchemy in the Greek alchemical corpus; she also appears in Arabic alchemical literature.[244] In one manuscript, as Ullmann points out, a dialogue usually said to be between Cleopatra and philosophers is said to be between *Maria* and the philosophers — or the other way around.[245]

Democritus, Petasios, Synesios, and Hermes have already been discussed above. One might add that Photios cites a passage from Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* which notes that Democritus (along with Pythagoras) kept the company of "magicians/Magi" but was not 'led on' to magic himself.[246]

Pauseris is the name of Pelagios's interlocutor.[247] His name does not appear in the *Souda*, nor in Photios's *Bibliotheca*.[248]

Theosebeia appears in the *Souda* once, in the entry on Zosimos, named as his interlocutor.[249]

Pebichios does not appear in the *Souda*, nor does Photios's *Bibliotheca* mention him.[250] A magical cure for those possessed by demons is attributed to a "Pebeches" (i.e., Pebichios, but appearing as a genitive Πιβήχεως) in a magical papyrus dated approximately to the fourth century; it is possible that the name endured in the Greek magical tradition and would have been known with this association in the middle Byzantine period as well.[251] The name is Egyptian.[252] In addition to being referenced in the Greek alchemical corpus, Pebichios appears as the discover and decipherer of an ancient text by Ostanes in 'Persian' script in a Syriac alchemical text bound with Syriac versions of texts by Zosimos (not extant in Greek) and pseudo-Democritus.[253]

Agathodaimon, who also appears in the table of contents, was already discussed above.

Xenocrates: the *Souda* has two entries under this name, the first for Plato's second successor, the second for "a philosopher" who wrote about divination by observing bird-omens at home, or what it means when a weasel or a serpent is found in the upper storey of a house.[254]

'Theophilos' is the name of a Byzantine emperor, a patriarch of Alexandria (385–412), and many others. Would any particular one of these have come to mind? The *Souda* has no entry for

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[243]Her name would have appeared at *Suid.* Adler, vol. 3, p. 323. Likewise, in Photios's *Bibliotheca* there is no entry in the index which appears related to alchemy: Phot.*Bibl.*Henry, vol. 9, pp. 182–3.

[244]Ullmann, "Kleopatra," 163–4.

[245]Ibid., 163, 164△5. Ullmann suggests that Maria would have been seen by "Jewish-Gnostics" as Moses's sister, but then later "confused with Jesus's mother," whom Gnostics also said saw as "an authority in questions of magic and alchemy"; in Muslim hands, Maria's lifetime is shifted to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, then to al-Maʾmūn's: ibid., 164.

[246]Photios, *Bibliotheca*, §241, Phot.*Bibl.*Henry, vol. 5, p. 191: "οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ." Henry translates this phrase as: "mais ils ne sont pas laissé entraîner à pratiquer leur art."

[247]See on page 204.

[248]For Photios, see the index: ibid., vol. 9, p. 214.

[249]Her name there is spelled Θεοσεβία. See n. 151 on page 198.

[250]A search for πηβιχ in TLG (22 January 2015) yielded 9 results, of which eight were from Zosimos and the ninth was from Olympiodoros the Alchemist.

[251]Pap.Graec.Mag. IV, line 3009, *Papyri graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2nd ed., ed. and trans. Karl Preisendanz, 2 vols., further editing by Albert Henrichs, repr. 2001 (Leipzig; Munich, 1973), vol. 1, p. 170.

[252]van Bladel, *Arabic Hermes*, 48 n. 116:"Pebechius is a typical Egyptian name naturalized in Greek."

[253]Ibid., 48–49. The Syriac manuscript in which they are bound is Cambridge University Library Mm.6.29 (15th century). For the Syriac pseudo-Democritus in this and two other manuscripts and its overlap with the Greek tradition, see ps.-Dem. Martelli Engl., 7–8, 152–187.

[254]Ξ 42 and 43, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 3, p. 494: "Ξενοκράτης, φιλόσοφος, ὃς ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἐτεθρύλητο. ὁ δὲ πρὸς σωφροσύνην οὐδὲν μεῖον εἶχε τοῦ Πλατωνικοῦ Ξενοκράτους. οὗτος συνεγράψατο τὸ οἰκοσκοπικὸν οἰώνισμα· ὅτι οἶον, εἰ ἐν τῇ στέγῃ ἐφάνη γαλῆ ἢ ὄφις, τόδε σημαίνει."

'Theophilos,' though a eunuch by this name appears in the entry on emperor Jovian.[255] Photios's *Bibliotheca* treats a number of Theophiloi, including the patriarch, but there is little reason to think one of them in particular would have come to the Byzantine reader's mind.[256] Only to the reader already initiated in alchemical literature to a certain extent would the name have rung a bell. Zosimos cites the words of one Theophilos, and Stephen of Alexandria offers a much longer quotation from a Theophilos son of Theogenes.[257] Olympiodoros (the alchemist), in the *Marcianus*, quotes another passage from Zosimos referring to Theophilos son of Theogenes as one of the Jews who wrote about alchemy.[258]

The name of Africanus — that is Julius Africanus (d. after 240) — would probably have been quite well known to the educated reader. This Christian writer's *Cesti* (Κεστοί), as George Synkellos describes it, was a work in nine books on medicine, "physics" (i.e., magic), agriculture, and chemistry.[259] This book, written *c.*228–231 CE,[260] seems to have been well known in the middle Byzantine period, although it survives today only in fragments. Photios (d. after 893), Psellos (d. 1078 or later), and Michael Italikos (d. before 1157) all read it, as did the compiler of the *Souda*; Psellos in particular critiques several aspects of the *Cesti*.[261] Fragments of the text circulated in the middle Byzantine period in several different genres of technical literature. For example, the longest surviving fragment is the seventh *Cestus*, on warfare.[262] A mid-tenth-century manuscript compilation on military strategy probably commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus includes the seventh *Cestus*.[263] The so-called *Apparatus Bellicus*, a compilation which includes the seventh *Cestus* as chapters 1–30, is preserved in middle Byzantine manuscripts.[264] Julius Africanus was a Christian and the author of other works with a clearly Christian imprint and which were valued as such in the subsequent Christian tradition. Nevertheless, the latest editors of the *Cesti* argue that there is nothing contradictory about such a Christian author also being the author of a scientific compendium meant to reveal the secret workings of the world.[265] On the basis of this work, Julius Africanus was often associated with other occult figures like "Democritus, Apollonius of Tyana […], Agathodaimon, and Hermes."[266]

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[255]I 401, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, 639_{2}.

[256]See Phot.*Bibl.*Henry, vol. 9, p. 262 (index).

[257]Both passages cited by Letrouit, "Chronologie," 21. Zosimos: **M** $161^{v}{}_{\triangle 8}$, Berth. III.XXVIII, §11, *CAAG*, vol. 2, 198_{2-3}. Stephen: **M** $39^{r}{}_{5}$, Ideler, *Physici et medici*, vol. 2, 246_{11-12}.

[258]Olympiodoros, *On Zosimos's On Action*, Berth. II.IV, §35, **M**, f. $172^{r}{}_{11-12}$ = , *CAAG*, vol. 2, 90_{18} (the text in question is omitted at this point in the *CAAG* since it is printed under Berth. III.LI). The text of Zosimos being quoted does not appear in **M** but is transmitted as a text by Zosimos in **A** (f. 251^{v}ff) **L** (no. 33): Berth. III.LI, §2, ibid., vol. 2, 240_{17}.

[259]Julius Africanus, *Cesti*. For the name of the work and association with Aphrodite, see Letrouit, "Chronologie," 18; LSJ s.v. κεστός; and Julius Africanus, *Cesti*, XVIII. — LSJ s.v. φυσικός III: "belonging to occult laws of nature, magical." — For the Synkellos passage (cited by Letrouit, "Chronologie," 18), see Julius Africanus, *Cesti*, T3 (p. 4).

[260]Ibid., XIX.

[261]Ibid., 4–25, T3–T9.

[262]Ibid., F12.

[263]Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 55.4; see Julius Africanus, *Cesti*, XXXIX.

[264]Ibid., XL. The three manuscripts are "dat[e] to the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century" (ibid.): Vat. gr. 1164; Vat. Barb. gr. 276; and Escorial Y-III-11.

[265]Julius Africanus, *Cesti*, XI–XVII. The editors identify the very brief texts attributed to Africanus in the *Marcianus* (and in other Greek alchemical manuscripts) as fragments of the *Cesti*; these they accordingly print as fragments F69–F72, while the mention of his name in the table of contents and author list are printed as testimonia T73–T74: ibid., 182–185.

[266]Ibid., XVI.

One of the *Souda*'s three entries for 'Isidore' is a "philosopher" who is described as living the life of a philosopher but being not very skilled at dialectic.[267] The Neoplatonist and "pagan holy man" Isidore was immortalized by his contemporary Damascius (d. after 538) in the latter's *Life of Isidore*, or *The Philosophial History*,[268] which survives today in fragments preserved by the *Souda* and Photios's *Bibliotheca*.[269]

The most famous Luke to a Byzantine was, of course, the Evangelist. The name is a common one,[270] so there is little that can be concluded as to whether this or another Luke was intended.[271]

The name Thales would have been closely associated, as today, with the pre-Socratic philosopher of whom Aristotle reports that he believed in a single underlying constituent of the visible world, water.[272] The entries in the *Souda* (there are two, one on the man, the other on how to decline his name) focus on other aspects of his profile: he was the first to be called a sage (*sophos*) and the first to say that the soul is immortal; "he gained an understanding of eclipses and equinoxes," and he famously predicted a solar eclipse.[273] In the doxographical literature, Thales is named alongside Heraclitus, Diogenes (of Apollonia, when specified), Hippasus, and others in a list of philosophers, each of whom believed that matter, or man, is made up of a single element, whether fire, water, earth, or air.[274]

This list (which varies slightly from author to author) has considerable overlap with the philosophers appearing in the *Marcianus*'s list of authors. I will now present a number of instances of this doxographical list in order to point out their chronological persistence and their presence in important philosophical works copied and read in sophisticated middle Byzantine circles. As Cristina Viano has shown, Olympiodoros's alchemical treatise in the *Marcianus*, which mentions many of these pre-Socratic philosophers, should be seen as part of this same doxographical tradition.[275] But because of this doxographical tradition's persistence in Byzantine philosophy, it would, even for the alchemical novice, have been part of the background that brought

[267] I 631, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 668: "Ἰσίδωρος, φιλόσοφος· ὃς ἐφιλοσόφησε μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐπιμελής τε ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ταῦτα κατασκευάζειν ἅπαντα, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἱκανώτατος εἰς ὑπερβολήν. ἐμοί τε δοκεῖν τὴν ζωὴν μὲν ἦν φιλόσοφος, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην οὐ διεξητασμένος, ἀγύμναστος ὢν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφυὴς τὰ διαλεκτικά. […]"

[268] See Fowden, "The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society," e.g., 36.

[269] *ODB*, s.v. "Damaskios"; Damascius, *The Philosophical History*, ed. and trans. Polymnia Athanassiadi (Athens: Apamea Cultural Association, 1999). For the work's title, see Athanassiadi's introduction, ibid., 60–62.

[270] There are 30 entries for Λουκᾶς in the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit: 2. Abteilung (867–1025)*, no. 24757–86.

[271] Luke the Evanvelist appears in the *Souda* (e.g., in the entry on John Chrysostom, I 463, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, 647_{27}; in the entry on τίτλος, a book division which differs, notes the entry, from the κεφάλαιον, T 690, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 4, 563_{26}), and who also makes appearances in Photios's *Bibliotheca* (Phot.*Bibl.*Henry, vol. 9, p. 175 [index]). Other famous Lukes include: (1) a stylite saint (d. Chalcedon, 979) and (2) the founder and patron saint of the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, Saint Luke of Stiris (d. 953); see *ODB*, s.v. "Loukas the Stylite," "Loukas the Younger." In Byzantine iconography, Luke the Evangelist often appears with his gospel's addressee Theophilos (Luke 1:4; see *ODB*, s.v. "Luke"), whose name coincides with that of the Theophilos appearing earlier in the list of alchemical authors. Would the coincidence have been noticed? Again, perhaps not, given how common the name was.

[272] *Ox. Cl. Dict.*², s.v. "Thales."

[273] Θ 17–18, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, pp. 681, 681–2.

[274] In what follows, I draw extensively upon the TLG, lemma search for Θαλῆς and πῦρ within one line of each other, 26 January 2015. This search surely omits iterations of this doxographical statement and is meant as a diagnostic assessment of its place in the tradition.

[275] Cristina Viano, "Olympiodore l'alchimiste et les présocratiques: une doxographie de l'unité (*De arta sacra, §18–27*)," in Kahn and Matton, *Alchimie*, 95–150.

the alchemical author-list to life in the mind of a reader.

The physician Galen (d. *c.*210 CE), who was a favorite among Byzantine readers,[276] notes that some authors falsely attribute to Xenophanes the belief that man is made up entirely of earth, for example Sabinos, who also associates Anaximenes with the belief that man is of air, and Thales, that man is of water.[277] Maximos of Tyre (d. *c.*185 CE), an "itinerant lecturer" who lectured in Athens,[278] lists, among the various "ingenious inventions" (*sophismata*) which infiltrated Hellas from Thrace and Cilicia, "the atom of Epicurus, the fire of Heraclitus, the water of Thales, the spirit of Anaximenes, the strife [as cosmic principle] of Empedocles, and the wine-jar [as metaphor for a way of life] of Diogenes."[279] (The wine-jar is associated with Diogenes the Cynic.)[280]

The physician and Skeptic Sextus Empiricus (fl. sometime around *c.*200 CE),[281] in the course of refuting various philosophical doctrines, writes, with considerably more precision:

> Now the Stoics supposed that the genesis of the universe was from a quality-less and single body; for the beginning of the beings according to them is quality-less matter which is through all things changeable, and when it is transformed, the four elements are generated, fire and air, water and earth. But others want all things to have been generated from a single [body] with [a defined] quality, namely followers of Hippasus, Anaximenes, and Thales, of whom Hippasus and, according to some, Heraclitus of Ephesus admitted genesis from fire, Anaximenes from air, Thales from water, Xenophanes, according to some, from earth.[282]

The Christian scholar Clement of Alexandria (d. before 215)[283] interpreted these philosophical positions less charitably but presented a similar picture. These men, he reports, each "revered" his element of choice: Diogenes air, Thales water, Hippasus fire. "And those who hypothesize indivisible (*atomos*) principles, assuming for themselves the name of philosophy, are godless and

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[276]For Galen's Byzantine popularity, see John Scarborough, *ODB*, s.v. "Galen."

[277]Galen, *Galeni in Hippocratis de natura hominis commentaria tria*, ed. J. Mewaldt, Corpus medicorum Graecorum 5.9.1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914), 15_{14-18} = Galen Kühn, vol. 15, p. 25: "κακῶς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἔνιοι κατεψεύσαντο Ξενοφάνους, ὥσπερ καὶ Σαβῖνος, ὠδί πως γράψας αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν· 'οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πάμπαν ἀέρα λέγω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὥσπερ Ἀναξιμένης, ⟨οὔτε πῦρ, ὡς Ἡράκλειτος⟩, οὔτε ὕδωρ, ὡς Θαλῆς, οὔτε γῆν, ὡς ἔν τινι Ξενοφάνης.' οὐδαμόθι γὰρ εὑρίσκεται Ξενοφάνης ἀποφηνάμενος οὕτως." N.B.: the words between angle-brackets in this quotation ("nor fire, as Heraclitus [says]") were introduced by Mewaldt.

[278]See *Ox. Cl. Dict.*[2], s.v. "Maximus (2)."

[279]This was in one of his lectures (διαλέξεις) preserved by the tradition: Maximos of Tyre, *Maximus Tyrius. Dissertationes*, ed. Michael B. Trapp (Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1994), 217 (*dissertatio* 26_{48-54}, in §2): "ἀφ' οὗ δὲ τὰ ἐκ Θρᾴκης καὶ Κιλικίας σοφίσματα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρέδυ καὶ ἡ Ἐπικούρου ἄτομος καὶ τὸ Ἡρακλείτου πῦρ καὶ τὸ Θαλοῦ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ Ἀναξιμένους πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ Ἐμπεδοκλέους νεῖκος καὶ ὁ Διογένους πίθος, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων στρατόπεδα ἀντιτεταγμένα ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀντιπαιωνίζοντα."

[280]LSJ s.v. πίθος I.2.

[281]*Ox. Cl. Dict.*[2], s.v. "Sextus (2)."

[282]Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* X (= Πρὸς φυσικοὺς β′), §312–313 (ed. H. Mutschmann, Sextus Empiricus, vol. 3, Teubner): "ἐξ ἀποίου μὲν οὖν καὶ ἑνὸς σώματος τὴν τῶν ὅλων ὑπεστήσαντο γένεσιν οἱ Στωικοί· ἀρχὴ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων κατ' αὐτούς ἐστιν ἡ ἄποιος ὕλη καὶ δι' ὅλων τρεπτή, μεταβαλλούσης τε ταύτης γίνεται τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, πῦρ καὶ ἀήρ, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ. ἐξ ἑνὸς δὲ καὶ ποιοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τὰ πάντα θέλουσιν οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Ἵππασον καὶ Ἀναξιμένη καὶ Θαλῆ, ὧν Ἵππασος μὲν καὶ κατά τινας Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐκ πυρὸς ἀπέλιπον τὴν γένεσιν, Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ἐξ ἀέρος, Θαλῆς δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος, Ξενοφάνης δὲ κατ' ἐνίους ἐκ γῆς."

[283]*ODB*, s.v. "Clement of Alexandria."

pleasure-loving mannikins."[284] Which Diogenes is this? At least in the later tradition (in particular, an Aristotelian commentary by John Philoponos), this position is associated with Diogenes of Apollonia (fl. *c.*440 or 430 BCE).[285]

Subsequent authors, philosophers and churchmen, Christians and pagans, continued to repeat this report. Alexander of Aphrodisias (fl. early 3rd century CE),[286] in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, refers to the same doxography on those who believed in a "corporeal and material origin" of the world: Thales said it was water, Hippasus and Heraclitus fire, Anaximenes and Diogenes air.[287] The bishop and Christian scholar Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339 or 340), in his work designed to demonstrate the antiquity and precedence of Hebraic over Greek thought, offers a similar list: Thales water, Anaximenes air, Heraclitus fire, Pythagoras numbers, Epicurus and Democritus atoms, Empedocles the four elements.[288] The pagan philosopher Simplicius (fl. 6th century), who studied with famous Neoplatonists in Alexandria (Ammonius) and Athens (Damascius),[289] tells a similar story, for example, in his commentary on Aristotle's *De caelo* about those who did not accept that there were four elements: Thales and Hippon said only water was an element, Anaximenes and Diogenes air, Hippasus and Heraclitus fire, and Anaximander 'that which is in between.'[290] Likewise, the philosopher Asclepius of Tralles (d. 560 or 570),[291] in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* we find, for example: Anaximenes considered the material origin of all things to be air, Thales water, Heraclitus fire, and Anaximander 'that which is in between.'[292] John Philoponos (d. after 567 or 574),[293] for example in his commentary on

[284] *Stromateis* 1.11.52.4, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata, Buch VII und VIII. Excerpta ex Theodoto. Eclogae prophetica. Quis dives salvetur. Fragmente*, ed. Otto Stählin, Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 17 (1909) (hereafter cited as Clement, Stählin III): "στοιχεῖα δὲ σέβουσι Διογένης μὲν τὸν ἀέρα, Θαλῆς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ, Ἵππασος δὲ τὸ πῦρ, καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθέμενοι, φιλοσοφίας ὄνομα ὑποδυόμενοι, ἄθεοί τινες ἀνθρωπίσκοι καὶ φιλήδονοι."

[285] See n. 294 on the facing page, as well as *Ox. Cl. Dict.*[2], s.v. "Diogenes (1)."

[286] Ibid., s.v. "Alexander (14)"; I cite the date given there verbatim.

[287] On Aristotle *Metaphysics* A 5 = 987a2, Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria*, ed. Michael Hayduck, CAG 1 (Berlin, 1891), 45_{14-18} (hereafter cited as Alex.Aphr. *In Arist. Met.* Hayduck): "ὑπομιμνήσκει τῶν εἰρημένων ἀρχαίων, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότεροί τε καὶ πρῶτοι σωματικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποίουν καὶ ὑλικήν, ὡς ὕδωρ μὲν Θαλῆς, πῦρ δὲ Ἵππασός τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια· καὶ ἀέρα γάρ, ὡς εἴρηκεν, ἐτίθεντο ἀρχὴν Ἀναξιμένης τε καὶ Διογένης."

[288] *Preparation of the Gospels*, §14 (On Theology of the Second Cause) = 7.12.1 = Eusebius, *Eusebius Werke, Band 8: Die Praeparatio evangelica*, ed. K. Mras, 2 vols., Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, 43.1–2 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1954–56), vol. 1, 386_{8-10}: "Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀρχὴν τῶν ἁπάντων τὸ ὕδωρ εἶναι ἀπεφήνατο, Ἀναξιμένης δὲ τὸν ἀέρα, Ἡράκλειτος τὸ πῦρ, Πυθαγόρας ἀριθμούς, Ἐπίκουρος ἅμα Δημοκρίτῳ σώματα ἄτομα, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα." On Eusebius and this work, see *ODB*, s.v. "Eusebios of Caesarea." Mras edited the text from nine manuscripts, including Paris gr. 451 (914 CE) and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 343 (11th century, once owned by Bessarion): Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*, vol. 1, pp. XIII, XVIII, LIX.

[289] *ODB*, s.v. "Simplikios."

[290] Simplicius, *On Aristotle's De Caelo* 302a19, Simplicius, *Simplicii in Aristotelis de caelo commentaria*, ed. J. L. Heiberg, CAG 7 (Berlin, 1894), 602_{18-20} (hereafter cited as Simpl. *In Arist. De cael.* Heiberg): "Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὔπω δέδεικται τὸ εἶναι τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ ἓν λέγοντες, Θαλῆς μὲν καὶ Ἵππων ὕδωρ, Ἀναξιμένης δὲ καὶ Διογένης ἀέρα, Ἵππασος δὲ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος πῦρ, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ Ἀναξίμανδρος…" For Psellos's take on this 'in-between' element, see n. 302 on page 220.

[291] *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new edition, ed. Georg Wissowa (1893–1963), s.v. "Asklepios (4)." Tralles (Τράλλεις, modern Aydın) was in Lydia, Asia Minor: *ODB*, s.v. "Tralles."

[292] Asclepius, *Asclepii in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros* A–Z *commentaria*, ed. Michael Hayduck, CAG 6.2 (Berlin, 1888), 54_{1-3} (hereafter cited as Asclep. *In Arist. Met.* Hayduck): "'καὶ ἔτι ὅσοι ἀέρα καθάπερ' Ἀναξιμένης, 'ἢ ὕδωρ' καθάπερ Θαλῆς, 'ἢ πῦρ', καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος, 'ἢ τὸ μεταξὺ' καθάπερ Ἀναξίμανδρος, σωματικὴν ἀρχὴν ὑλικὴν ὑπετίθεντο."

[293] *ODB*, s.v. "Philoponos, John."

Aristotle's *On Generation and Corruption*, presents his list in much the same terms, though in more (and somewhat divergent) detail: Heraclitus and Hippasus fire, Diogenes of Apollonia and Anaximenes air, Thales and Hippon water, Anaximander the four elements.[294] He expands upon this picture in several passages from his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*, *De anima*, and *De generatione et corruptione*.[295]

Finally, we may turn to a Christian Aristotelian commentator roughly contemporary with the *Marcianus*, Psellos (11th century).[296] Psellos, in a selection of excerpts from Philoponos's commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* preserved among the notes for his *De omnifaria doctrina*, includes a paraphrastic epitome of Philoponos's categorization of ancient doctrines on the physicality of the soul.[297] The dichotomies Philoponos sets up are brought out even more in Psellos's text and may be summarized as follows:[298]

incorporeal (a) / body (b);

(a) separable from bodies (i) / inseparable from them (ii);

(a.i) all three [souls] are separable / [...];

(a.ii) notion of mixture (e.g., fire and water mixed at a ratio of 2:1 or 1.5:1 to make soul) / actuality ("[?soul] is the perfection and form of the subject which is generated from such a composition of elements");

(b) simple (i) / composite (ii);

(b.i) etherial i.e. heavenly (Heraclides Ponticus) / fire (Heraclitus) / air (Anaximenes and some of the Stoics) / water (Thales and Hippon the Godless);

(b.ii) joined (Kritias: blood) / unjoined (Democritus and Leucippus: atoms).

The discussion of those who believe that the soul is separable from bodies (a.i) proceeds further in the following way. Of those who hold that the soul is separable from bodies, some say there are three separable [souls] (Numenius). Some say it is inseparable and therefore mortal (Alexander

[294]On Aristotle 328b34, John Philoponos, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis libros de generatione et corruptione commentaria*, ed. H. Vitelli, CAG 14.2 (Berlin, 1897), 206 (hereafter cited as J.Phil. *In Arist. De gen. et corr.* Vitelli): "οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕν τι αὐτῶν ὑπέθεντο ἀρχὴν τῶν σωμάτων, ὥσπερ πῦρ μὲν Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἵππασος, ἀέρα δὲ Διογένης ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης καὶ Ἀναξιμένης, Θαλῆς δὲ καὶ Ἵππων τὸ ὕδωρ· Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ ἄλλο τι παρὰ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ὑπέθετο τῶν ὄντων ἀρχήν."

[295]e.g., John Philoponos, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis physicorum libros octo commentaria*, ed. H. Vitelli, 2 vols., CAG, 16–17 (Berlin, 1887–88), vol. 1, pp. 23, 86, 110 (hereafter cited as J.Phil. *In Arist. Phys.* Vitelli); J.Phil. *In Arist. De anima* Hayduck, 9–10, 86; J.Phil. *In Arist. De gen. et corr.* Vitelli, 24.

[296]For his date, see Introduction, n. 9.

[297]The passage from Philoponos, signaled by O'Meara in the apparatus, is J.Phil. *In Arist. De anima* Hayduck, 9_3–10_9. The set of excerpts in question appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 131, a 13th-century manuscript containing many different texts, of which quite a number are by Psellos. Nigel Wilson's detailed description of this manuscript notes that these excerpts on the soul (= no. 129 x^1, appearing on ff. 426^r–432^v) are part of a larger set of excerpts (= no. 129, ff. 397^v–446^v) which are best explained as notes assembled by Psellos for the preparation of his *De omnifaria doctrina*: Nigel Guy Wilson, "A Byzantine Miscellany: MS. Barocci 131 Described," *JÖB* 27 (1978): 171–175, esp. 171 (Wilson's heading: "Material assembled by ⟨Michael Psellus⟩ for the De omnifaria doctrina"), and 174_{2-3}.

[298]For simplicity of presentation, I do not follow Philoponos's or Psellos's order of presentation but rather the structure of the dichotomies.

of Aphrodisias), while others say that only the rational soul is separable while the others are not. Others say that only the vegetative soul is separable, "and that the irrational [soul] of one body is separable, while that of another body, which is spiritual (?), is inseparable" (Aristotle and Plato).[299] Embedded in Philoponos's discussion of the physical makeup of the soul (or of the three Aristotelian souls: rational, irrational, and vegetative) — a discussion evidently studied carefully by Psellos — is analogous doxographical information: among those who believe that the soul is a body, Heraclitus believed it was fire, Anaximenes and some Stoics air, Thales and Hippon water, Heraclides Ponticus ether, Democritus and Leucippus atoms, Kritias blood.

Elsewhere Psellos is also concerned with the material origin or principle of the visible world more directly. In his scholion (mentioned already in chapter 2) on a passage from Basil of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron* (1.2: διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑλικὰς ὑποθέσεις κατέφυγον…),[300] Psellos notes that some philosophers took one element to be the cause of everything: Thales water, Anaximander fire, Hippon earth, Empedocles all four elements.[301] In his own commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*, Psellos puts these doctrines in terms of the need, according to Aristotle, for a substrate: this substrate, Psellos notes, Thales identifies with water, Heraclitus with fire, and others with 'that which is in between'; this last item (which, as we have seen, Simplicius already discusses) Psellos identifies with a mixture of air and fire or air and water, although he reports that Diogenes and Hippon held it to be air alone.[302] He makes a briefer mention of these doctrines near the beginning of his commentary as well.[303]

In light of all these reports, we may say with some confidence that the names of Thales, Diogenes, Heraclitus, and Hippasus in the author-list of the *Marcianus* — presented in this order — would have evoked some version of this doxographical lemma in the mind of a reader with

[299]Psellos, *Different and varied excerpts* (the title given to the text in one manuscripts: Συλλογαὶ διάφοροι καὶ ποικίλαι) = *opusculum* 13, Psellos, *Philosophica minora II*, ed. John Duffy and Dominic O'Meara (Munich/Leipzig: Teubner, 1989), 32–33 (emendations in angle brackets are in the edition): "Τὴν ψυχὴν οἱ μέν φασιν ἀσώματον, οἱ δὲ σῶμα, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἁπλοῦν, οἱ δὲ σύνθετον, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐκ συνημμένων, οἱ δὲ ἀσυνάπτων. τῶν δὲ ἁπλοῦν οἱ μὲν αἰθέριον ἤγουν οὐράνιον, ὡς Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός, οἱ δὲ πῦρ, ὡς Ἡράκλειτος (ὅθεν καὶ πυρίαν αὐτὴν καλεῖ), οἱ δὲ ἀερίαν, ὡς Ἀναξιμένης καί τινες τῶν Στωικῶν, οἱ δὲ δι' ὕδατος, ὡς Θαλῆς καὶ Ἵππων ὁ ἄθεος. τῶν δὲ σύνθετον οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀσυνάπτων, ὡς Δημόκριτος καὶ Λεύκιππος οἱ τὰ ἄτομα εἰσάγοντες (ἐκ γὰρ σφαιρικῶν σχημάτων τεθῆναι ταύτην ἔλεγον), οἱ δὲ ⟨ἐκ⟩ συναπτῶν, ὡς ὁ εἷς τῶν ἕνδεκα Κριτίας (αἷμα γὰρ ἔλεγεν). τῶν δὲ ἀσώματον οἱ μὲν χωριστὴν τῶν σωμάτων, οἱ δὲ ἀχώριστον. καὶ τῶν ἀχώριστον οἱ μὲν τὸν λόγον τῆς κράσεως, οἷον ἐὰν διπλάσιον πῦρ ἢ ἡμιόλιον μιχθῇ τῷ ὕδατι ποιεῖ ψυχήν· οἱ δὲ ἐντελέχειαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν τελειότης καὶ εἶδος τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τὸ γινόμενον ἐκ τοιᾶσδε συνθέσεως τῶν στοιχείων. τῶν δὲ χωριστὴν οἱ μὲν καὶ τὰς τρεῖς χωριστάς, ὡς Νουμήνιος, ⟨ἔ⟩φασαν· οἱ δὲ ἀχώριστον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θνητήν, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀφροδισιεύς· οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν λογικὴν χωριστήν, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἀχωρίστους· ἄλλοι τὴν φυτικὴν μόνην, τὴν δ' ἄλογον τούτου μὲν χωριστήν, ἄλλου δὲ σώματος τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἀχώριστον· ταύτην τὴν δόξαν Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Πλάτων ἐπρέσβευσαν."

[300]For this scholion, see ch. 2, p. 123, n. 180 on page 123.

[301]Psellos, *Theologica I*, 24, opusculum 6, lines 69–72: "Ἀλλὰ τίνες 'οἱ καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τὰς ὑλικὰς ὑποθέσεις'; οἱ μὲν καθ' ἓν τῶν στοιχείων· Θαλῆς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ παντὸς ἠτιάσατο, τὸ δὲ πῦρ Ἀναξίμανδρος, τὴν δὲ γῆν Ἵππων· Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ μόνα τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα ὁμοῦ ἀρχὰς ἐπέστησε τῷ παντί…"

[302]Psellos, on Aristotle 189a34, Psellos, *Kommentar zur Physik des Aristoteles*, ed. Linos G. Benakis (Athens: Ακαδημία Αθηνών, 2008), 41–42 (hereafter cited as Psellos, *In Arist. Phys.*): "Πρότερος μὲν ἦν λόγος ὁ ἐξ ἀναγκαίου παριστῶν τὰ ἐναντία ἀρχάς, δεύτερος οὗτος ὁ ζητῶν καὶ τρίτον αὐτοῖς ὑποκείμενον. Εἴ τις γοῦν 'διασώσειν μέλλει' καὶ 'ἀμφοτέρους', δεῖ 'ὑποτιθέναι' καί 'τι τρίτον, ὥσπερ', φησί, καί τινες τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐποίησαν, οἱ μὲν 'ὕδωρ' εἰπόντες, ὡς Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος, οἱ δὲ 'πῦρ', ὡς Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος, οἱ δὲ 'τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων', λέγων 'τὸ μεταξὺ' κατὰ μέν τινας τὸν ἀέρα, ὡς Διογένης ἔλεγε καὶ Ἵππων ὁ ἄθεος, ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ λέγειν 'μεταξὺ' τὸν Φιλόσοφον 'τούτων' ἢ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς (πυρὸς μὲν πυκνότερον, ἀέρος δὲ μανώτερον) ἢ ἀέρος καὶ ὕδατος (ἀέρος μὲν πυκνότερον, ὕδατος δὲ μανώτερον)· φιλοσυντόμως δὲ οὕτως εἶπε καὶ περὶ ἀμφοτέρων." For Simplicius, see n. 290.

[303]Psellos, on Aristotle 184b20, Psellos, *In Arist. Phys.*, 6_{7-9}.

philosophical training. For each of these names was associated with a different one-element theory: Thales (and Hippon) water, Diogenes (and/or Anaximenes and/or some Stoics) air, and Heraclitus and/or Hippasus fire. To this list some added that Xenophanes favored earth, and others Anaximander favored 'that which is in between' or the four elements. One of Psellos's lists shuffles this a bit by giving fire to Anaximander, earth to Hippon, and all four elements to Empedocles, but in his *Physics* commentary we get the more familiar Thales water, Heraclitus fire, Diogenes and Hippon air. Other theories are added to the list in contexts not focused on the specific question of elemental substrate; in such contexts we occasionally read of the atoms of Democritus (another alchemical author in the *Marcianus*'s list), as in Eusebius's *Preparation of the Gospels* and the passage from Philoponos's commentary on the *De anima* epitomized by Psellos.

What were these philosophers doing on a list of alchemical authors? Of course the list provides only names, no justification. Still, we may consider that their association with one-element theories of matter — that is, theories which posited a single element out of which all matter was made up — made them intellectually useful to philosophers seeking to produce a theory of the transmutation of metals. As Cristina Viano has shown in her analysis of alchemical treatises by Olympiodoros and others, philosophical theories of alchemy required metals to differ from one another only superficially; transmutation then would amount to changing a metal's accidental qualities but not claiming to alter its Aristotelian substance (*ousia*).[304] If all matter were made out of a single element, then all would be one (ἓν τὸ πᾶν), and everything could, at least in theory, become anything else: lead could, with enough procedural tinkering, become gold.

Olympiodoros himself, in his commentary *On Zosimos's On Action* included in the *Marcianus*, provides a similar doxography, which Viano has studied in considerable depth.[305] Olympiodoros's doxography includes a number of pre-Socratic philosophers and discussion about each. For the purposes of a brief comparison, we may consider only those appearing in the *Marcianus* author-list. On these authors, Olympiodoros writes:

> [§21] Thales believed that water was the single, limited origin of the beings, since it is fruitful and easily molded… [§22] Diogenes [believed it to be] air, since it is rich and fruitful… [§23] Heraclitus and Hippasus believed fire to be the origin of all the beings, since it is active… [§24] No one believed earth to be the origin, except Xenophanes of Colophon; and because it is not fruitful, no one believed it to be [the unique] element…[306]

In short, the association a Byzantine reader who was *not* familiar with alchemical literature might have made between this list of four philosophers and one-element theories would have been confirmed by this important text within the *Marcianus* itself.

Each of these philosophers on their own might also have carried their own separate resonances. Diogenes, for example, is a name not only attached to a philosopher who is said to have

[304]Viano, "Olympiodore l'alchimiste et les présocratiques"; Viano, "Les alchimistes gréco-alexandrins."

[305]Viano, "Olympiodore l'alchimiste et les présocratiques."

[306]Olympiodoros, *On Zosimos's On Action* (a.k.a. *De arte sacra*), Berth. II.IV, §21–24, ed. ibid., 140. §21: "Μίαν δὲ πεπερασμένην ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων ἐδόξαζεν Θαλῆς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπειδὴ γόνιμόν ἐστιν καὶ εὐδιάπλαστον…" §22: "Ὁ δὲ Διογένης τὸν ἀέρα, ἐπειδὴ οὗτος πλούσιός ἐστιν καὶ γόνιμος…" §23: "Ἡράκλειτος δὲ καὶ Ἵππασος τὸ πῦρ ἐδόξασαν εἶναι ἀρχὴν πάντων τῶν ὄντων, ἐπειδὴ δραστικόν ἐστι τοῦτο…" §24: "Τὴν γὰρ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐδόξασεν εἶναι ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος· διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν γόνιμον, οὐδεὶς αὐτὴν στοιχεῖον ἐδόξασεν."

thought the universe was made of air, but more famously to the Cynic (d. *c.*325 BCE) whose sayings became legendary in wisdom literature.[307] The *Souda* contains five (plus one) separate entries under the name of Diogenes.[308] The first and the third both seem to be about Diogenes the Cynic, though they are treated as two separate men. The first entry notes that Diogenes is "the name of a philosopher, the one also [known as the] Dog (*tou... Kynos*)." Each philosopher (Xenocrates, Aristotle, Theophrasto, Zeno, Plato, Polemon) had his special trait, and that of Diogenes was *andreia* ('manliness' — or 'insolence'). A note mentions an epigram about Diogenes.[309] The next entry is on the tragic playwright Diogenes Oinomaos. The third entry is on Diogenes, son of Hikesias, usually identified with Diogenes the Cynic; it reads:

> Diogenes, son of Hikesias the banker, of Sinope [in Paphlagonia]. When he fled his fatherland because of [being accused of] counterfeiting [literally, 're-cut'] currency, he went to Athens and, becoming associated with Antisthenes the Cynic, fell in love with that man's way of life and embraced the Cynic philosophy, scorning the large amount of property he owned. When he was an old man, he was captured by a pirate and, being sold in Corinth to one Xeniades, he remained with this buyer, choosing not to be set free by the Athenians or his kinsmen and friends. In the 113th Olympiad he gave up his life when he was bitten by a dog on the leg and refused treatment, on the very same day when Alexander of Macedon died in Babylon.[310]

Of particular interest in the present context is that it begins with the account of Diogenes accused of counterfeiting (τὸ παρακόψαι νόμισμα), a task which required knowledge of metallurgical recipes of the sort found in the *Marcianus*.

The fourth entry under the name Diogenes repeats much the same account in different words. Here he is said to have "restamped," that is, "debased the currency."[311] The term 'restamp' (παραχαράσσω) had a strong metaphorical resonance in Antiquity, associated with Diogenes the Cynic himself: one could 'restamp' one's way of life and begin anew by means of philosophy.[312] In this

[307]See *Ox. Cl. Dict.*², s.v. "Diogenes (2)."

[308]Δ 1141–5. The subsequent entry (Δ 1146) bears the heading Διογένης ἢ Διογενειανός.

[309]Δ 1141, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 101.

[310]Δ 1143, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 101: "Διογένης, Ἰκεσίου υἱὸς τραπεζίτου, Σινωπεύς. ὃς φυγὼν τὴν πατρίδα διὰ τὸ παρακόψαι νόμισμα ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἀντισθένει παραβαλὼν τῷ Κυνικῷ ἠράσθη τοῦ ἐκείνου βίου καὶ τὴν Κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἠσπάσατο, πολλῆς οὔσης αὐτῷ ὑπεριδὼν οὐσίας. γηραιὸς δὲ ὢν ὑπὸ πειρατοῦ Σκιρτάλου ἐλήφθη καὶ πραθεὶς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Ξενιάδῃ τινὶ παρὰ τῷ πριαμένῳ διέμεινεν, οὐχ ἑλόμενος λυθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἢ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ριγ' Ὀλυμπιάδος κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ κυνὸς τὸ σκέλος καὶ θεραπείας ὑπεριδών, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ὅτε καὶ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἀπέθανεν."

[311]Δ 1144, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 102: "ὁ δὲ τὸ νόμισμα παρεχάραξεν."

[312]LSJ s.v. παραχαράσσω I; *Ox. Cl. Dict.*², s.v. "Diogenes (2)." This metaphorical meaning does not seem to have been associated with the word παρακόπτω; see LSJ s.v. παρακόπτω. Diogenes Laertius reports that Diogenes (the Cynic) advocated training (*askēsis*) of one's mind and body, remarking that "he said such things and manifestly did them, (in this way) truly 'restamping' *nomisma* [i.e., 'custom,' but also 'coin'], thus giving to (behavior) according to law (*nomos*) no such importance as (he gave) to (behavior) according to nature" (τοιαῦτα διελέγετο καὶ ποιῶν ἐφαίνετο, ὄντως νόμισμα παραχαράττων, μηδὲν οὕτω τοῖς κατὰ νόμον ὡς τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν διδούς): §6.71, Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae*, 420. (This line translated in consultation with Hick's translation in the Loeb edition.) For the numismatic evidence supporting the claim that coins from Sinope were in fact debased (and also "defaced" as if "to remove the bad coins from circulation") beginning around 350 BCE, see Farrand Sayre, *Diogenes of Sinope: a Study of Greek Cynicism* (Baltimore: J.H. Furst Co., 1938), 59, 72. Regarding the metaphorical use of the term 'restamping' or 'counterfeiting' (παραχάραξις), Sayre's primary concern is to preserve the authenticity of the account of Diogenes' exile from Sinope

version of the story, Diogenes plays a much more active role in his capture and sale into slavery: he asks to be sold at "wealthy and decadent" Corinth, "for," he said, "they are in need of a master." In Corinth he becomes a teacher. The entry concludes: "and he said that a good spirit (*daimon agathos*) had entered into the house."[313] The fifth entry then tells at some length the tale of a youth who fell madly in love with Diogenes but whose father would not allow him to quench the flame of his lust, dragging the boy off to Delphi to ask the priestess whether the patient would ever be cured of his love-sickness.[314] Finally, the sixth entry is on a grammarian.[315]

Two entries appear in the *Souda* under the name of Heraclitus. The first one notes that this is a "proper name," adding that Heraclitus advocated considering the body "more contemptible than dung" and thought it a simple matter "to perform services [to the divinity: *therapeias*] until (the) god should enjoin one to use the body as a tool."[316] The second entry specifies the philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus and also repeats a report involving dung — this one much discussed by modern scholars.The entry notes that Heraclitus was a "natural philosopher" and an autodidact. When he contracted dropsy, it continues, he refused to be treated (*therapeuein*) by doctors, preferring to cover himself in dung and then dry it in the sun. While he was lying there, dogs came and "tore him apart." According to others, he met his end buried under a pile of sand. Finally, we get a note about those whose lectures he might have heard (Xenophanes and Hippasus the Pythagorean) and his date.[317]

Hippasus appears in the *Souda* only once: in the aforementioned entry on Heraclitus, as one of the latter's possible teachers.

Of these four philosophers said to subscribe to one-element theories, three of them are given fairly substantial entries in the *Souda.* These entries do not focus on the respective one-element theory but rather other aspects of their philosophical profiles. Thales was a sage with astronomical knowledge who believed in the soul's immortality. Diogenes was implicated in producing

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and move to Athens by contending that the metaphorical sense must have been a later development based on the fact of his exile for debasing the coinage, and not the other way around: ibid., 72–74.

[313]Δ 1144, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 102 (episode of the pirate): "πλέων δὲ ὑπὸ καταποντιστῶν ληφθεὶς ἐπράθη. κηρυττόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐρωτώμενος, τί εἰδείη, ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων, ἔφη. καὶ θεασάμενος Κορίνθιον πλούσιον ἄσωτον, τούτῳ με, ἔφη, πώλησον· δεσπότου γὰρ δεῖται. ὁ δὲ ὠνεῖται καὶ εἰς Κόρινθον ἄγει καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀποδείκνυσι παιδαγωγόν. ἔλεγε δὲ δαίμονα ἀγαθὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσεληλυθέναι."

[314]Δ 1145, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 102.

[315]Δ 1146, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 102.

[316]H 471, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 583: "Ἡράκλειτος: ὄνομα κύριον. ὅτι Ἡράκλειτος ἔφη, ὀλιγωρεῖν πάντη τοῦ σώματος καὶ νομίζειν αὐτὸ κοπρίων ἐκβλητότερον· ἐκ τοῦ ῥᾴστου δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς θεραπείας ἀποπληροῦν, ἕως ἂν ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ ὀργάνῳ τῷ σώματι χρῆσθαι ἐπιτάττῃ."

[317]H 472, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, pp. 583–4: "Ἡράκλειτος, Βλόσωνος ἢ Βαύτωρος, οἱ δὲ Ἡρακῖνος· Ἐφέσιος, φιλόσοφος φυσικός, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Σκοτεινός. οὗτος ἐμαθήτευσεν οὐδενὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, φύσει δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ ἠσκήθη. οὗτος ὑδρωπιάσας οὐκ ἐνεδίδου τοῖς ἰατροῖς, ἥπερ ἐβούλοντο θεραπεύειν αὐτόν· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς βολβίτῳ χρίσας ὅλον ἑαυτὸν εἴασε ξηρανθῆναι τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ κείμενον αὐτὸν κύνες προελθοῦσαι διέσπασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄμμῳ χωσθέντα φασὶν ἀποθανεῖν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφασαν διακοῦσαι Ξενοφάνους καὶ Ἱππάσου τοῦ Πυθαγορείου. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ξθ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου, καὶ ἔγραψε πολλὰ ποιητικῶς." A later cross-reference sends the reader to the entry on the "Delian diver": "ζήτει ἐν τῷ Δηλίου κολυμβητοῦ." This is a reference to Δ 400, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, p. 37: "Δηλίου κολυμβητοῦ· τοῦτο ἐρρήθη εἰς βιβλίον Ἡρακλείτου διὰ τὸ δυσνόητον, Δηλίου τινὸς δεῖσθαι κολυμβητοῦ, ὃς οὐκ ἀποπνιγήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ. ἐπιγράφουσι δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ μὲν Μούσας, οἱ δὲ Περὶ φύσεως, Διόδοτος δὲ Ἀκριβὲς οἰάκισμα πρὸς στάθμην βίου, ἄλλοι Γνώμην ἠθῶν, Κόσμον τρόπων ἑνὸς τῶν ξυμπάντων. ἢ οὕτως· Δηλίου κολυμβητοῦ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρως νηχομένων. Σωκράτει γὰρ δόντος τοῦ Εὐριπίδου Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ σύγγραμμα, ἐρέσθαι, τί δοκεῖ; τὸν δὲ φάναι· ἃ μὲν συνῆκα γενναῖα· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἃ μὴ συνῆκα· πλὴν Δηλίου δεῖται κολυμβητοῦ εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀποπνιγῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ παροιμία· Δήλιος κολυμβητής, ἐπὶ τῶν πάνυ ἐμπείρων νήχεσθαι."

counterfeit coins — an activity which came to be seen as an allegory for the philosophical refashioning of the human being.[318] Finally, Heraclitus sought, in the *Souda*'s telling, to transform his own body and died a gruesome death instead.

Zosimos and Stephen, as discussed above, were two of the most famous alchemical authors, and Stephen is the author given the most prominent placement in the *Marcianus*.

The name Philaretos does not appear in the *Souda*. The most famous middle Byzantine figure by this name was Saint Philaretos the Merciful, a native of Paphlagonia who suffered like a new Job, as recounted in his grandson's hagiographical account, but remained faithful to God and was accordingly rewarded by his grand-daughter's wedding to the young emperor Constantine VI (r. 780–97).[319] Philaretos is also the name of Democritus's interlocutor in a passage which Zosimos cites. In his *On the broad publication of [how to accomplish] the Work*, Zosimos writes, "And thus does Democritus write these things to the Egyptian prophets: 'And, addressed to you O Philaretos, towards whom is the power/potential, I write you about the Art at length.'"[320] From Antiquity to the Middle Ages, many legends circulated about Democritus. It is therefore possible that even a reader unfamiliar with alchemical literature might have known to associate a Philaretos with Democritus from contact with that tradition.

Chimes is a personal name which is fairly restricted to alchemical sources. According to Letrouit, the name — which is clearly related to the term *chēmeia* and appears with analogous variants (e.g., Chymēs) — "is not attested outside of alchemical texts later than the second century."[321] After the second century, Chimes is credited with a triplet of wise sayings, cited, with variants, by Zosimos (*Imouth*, apud George Synkellos, and two texts contained in the *Marcianus*), Olympiodoros (in the *Marcianus*), Stephen of Alexandria (in the *Marcianus*), and as part of the diagrams labeled "Cleopatra's *Chrysopoiia*" on folio 188^{v} of the *Marcianus* where it is not, however attributed to Chimes). To quote one of Stephen's quotations of Chimes: "'All is one, and through it is All, and to it is All, and if All did not have All, [then] All is nought,' says the all-capable (*ho pan dynatos*) Chimes."[322] Chimes, then, would probably have been unknown to the reader innocent of alchemy, but even a superficial exposure to it would probably have made at least the sayings sometimes attributed to Chimes familiar.

Juliana: As Letrouit notes, Berthelot believed this Juliana to be the patroness of the Vienna Dioscorides.[323] Even were this identification correct, it would seem unlikely that it would have

[318]See n. 312 on page 222.

[319]Rydén, "Introduction," in Niketas of Amneia, *The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful written by his grandson Niketas*, ed. Lennart Rydén, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 8 (Uppsala, 2002), 19. This part of the story is at ibid., 90–92 (lines 497–527). Constantine would later repudiate his Paphlagonian wife, several years before he was blinded and deposed by orders of his mother Irene (sole ruler 797–802): Ostrogorsky, *History*, §III.4.

[320]Berth. XIII.xvi, *CAAG*, vol. 2, 159$_3$: "καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους προφήτας ὁ Δημόκριτος γράφει· 'ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σέ, ὦ Φιλάρετε, πρὸς ὃν ἡ δύναμις, τὴν κατὰ πλάτος σοι γράφω τέχνην'." Note that this same text (which is in the *Marcianus*) also cites *Stephen of Alexandria* (p. 162$_{19–20}$), who lived long *after* Zosimos. Berthelot explains this as a later interpolation: ibid., vol. 3, 162 n. 3.

[321]Letrouit, "Chronologie," 72.

[322]For these citations, with complete references, see ibid., 72–73. Stephen's quotation: "ἓν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν δι' οὗ τὸ πᾶν καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοι τὸ πᾶν οὐδὲν τὸ πᾶν φησιν ὁ πᾶν δυνατὸς [**M**; Letrouit emends this to πανδύνατος] Χίμης." If Letrouit's emendation were correct, this would seem to be a *hapax legomenon* in the pre-modern Greek corpus; the standard word with this meaning is πανδύναμος.

[323]Ibid., 57.

occurred to a reader of the *Marcianus*.[324] As difficult to pinpoint is "the Christian."[325] Still, despite this anecdote's incidental association of someone called "the Christian" with precious metals, it is unlikely to have occurred to a reader of the *Marcianus*.

'Sergios' appears in the *Souda* in an entry for the lawyer Sergios of Zeugma[326] and in several entries referring to Sergios, patriarch of Constantinople and contemporary of emperor Heraclius. The anecdote with which the patriarch is there associated tells of Heraclius sending "gold, silver and precious stones" — presumably by boat — "which were submerged in the time of Patriarch Sergios."[327]

An alchemical epigram

We now move, finally, to the dedicatory poem appearing on a single page of the front matter of the *Marcianus* (f. 5^{v}), facing the first page of the list of symbols in the present arrangement of quire o. This poem, in the dodecasyllable meter popular among middle Byzantine poets,[328] was first printed, to my knowledge, in 1745, as an appendix to Bernard's edition of Palladius, *De febribus*.[329] It was published with a French translation (in prose) by Berthelot and Ruelle and re-translated into French (in verse) by Saffrey.[330] From internal evidence, the poem's patron or author — and that of the entire manuscript — was named Theodore.[331] Several opinions about this Theodore's identity have been voiced. Taylor considered the poem to be contemporary with the four iambic poems in the corpus, which, he believed, "probably date from the eighth century."[332] Saffrey suggested that since he is called a "companion of lords [i.e., emperors]," Theodore might be identified with Emperor Heraclius's brother by that name who could thus be the same Theodore who is Stephen of Alexandria's addressee — what Saffrey himself admits is an "unverifiable hypothesis."[333] Mertens argues that we can at least conclude from this line that Theodore was probably a "high-ranking courtier."[334] She advances the hypothesis that the Theodore to whom Zosimos's *Chapters to Theodore* are addressed might actually be the same as both the Theodore of the dedicatory epigram and of Stephen of Alexandria's *Letter to Theodore*: to make this identification, she suggests that the title "Chapters to Theodore" might have been assigned to this collection of excerpts from Zosimos *compiled* for Theodore (not addressed by Zosimos to someone by that name).[335] Letrouit, however, points out that two texts within the *Marcianus* explicitly

[324]The name does not appear in the *Souda*.

[325]The *Souda* has no entry for 'the Christian' (Χριστιανός). The entry for "Jesus, our Messiah and God" narrates the conversion of Theodosios, "leader of the Jews," in the time of Emperor Justinian. A Christian money-changer (ἀργυροπράτης, i.e., a dealer in silver) — named Philip, according to an aside, but in the narrative frequently called simply "the Christian" — seeks to convert Theodosios (often simply "the Jew") to Christianity. See I 229, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 2, pp. 620–5. Adler notes that it is BHG 811, to which compare also BHG 810, 810b, 810c.

[326]Σ 246.

[327]B 579, *Suid.* Adler, vol. 1, p. 499. The story is presented simply as an example demonstrating the use of the word βρύχιος, which the *Souda* defines as "submerged in water," but it also appears in a cross-reference added to the entry on Heraclius (see n. 159 on page 200).

[328]*ODB*, s.v. "Dodecasyllable."

[329]Palladius, *Palladii De febribus*, ed. J.S. Bernard (Leiden, 1745), 149–150; cited by *CAAG*, vol. 2, p. 3.

[330]Text: ibid., vol. 2, pp. 3–4. French translations: ibid., vol. 3, pp. 3–4; Saffrey, "Historique et description," 8.

[331]So observes Bernard: Palladius, *De febribus*, 150.

[332]Taylor, "The alchemical works [2]," 46 n. 72.

[333]Saffrey, "Historique et description," 8–9.

[334]*Les alch. gr. IV.1* Mertens, LXII n. 175.

[335]Ibid., LXII.

refer to Arabic terminology and so must postdate the Arab conquest and the development of Arabic alchemy; this, along with the excerpts from Agatharchides taken from Photios's *Bibliotheca*, places the manuscript's compilation — and its patron — in the ninth century at the earliest.[336] Theodore the manuscript's patron, Letrouit argues, is therefore to be distinguished from the addressee of Zosimos's *Chapters to Theodore*, from the addressee of Stephen's *Letter to Theodore* (7th century), and from yet another Theodore as well.[337]

Letrouit's argument concerning the Theodore of the alchemical epigram — which accords well with Berthelot's comments on the question[338] — seems convincing: the compilation's evidence of contact with Arabic alchemy in particular must place its patron in an era considerably later than the reign of Heraclius. The simplest explanation would be that the epigram was not copied into the *Marcianus* from an earlier exemplar but was composed for the *Marcianus* itself. This would be consistent with middle Byzantine book culture, in which dedicatory epigrams figured prominently.[339] In this scenario, the manuscript's date (10th or 11th century) would also place the corpus's compilation in precisely the era when we would most expect it, the tenth- and early-eleventh-century efflorescence of Byzantine encyclopedic activity.[340]

What can the dedicatory epigram tell us about the era in which it was composed and the alchemical corpus compiled? To indicate some ways we might expect a Byzantine reader to have read this poem, I provide the poem here with an English translation, followed by a few remarks about the possible resonance of some of the poem's more salient words and phrases.

Τὴν βίβλον ὄλβον ὥσπερ ἐγκεκρυμμένον
ἔχουσαν ἄθρει τήνδε, πᾶς Μουσῶν φίλος.
Ἀλλ' εἰ θελήσοις τὰς πολυχρύσους φλέβας
ταύτης ἐρευνᾶν τὰς σοφῶς κεκρυμμένας
νοὸς τὸ φαιδρὸν ὄμμα πρὸς θείας φύσεις
ὕψει διάρας πανσόφοις εὐοπτίαις
οὕτω γραγὴν δίελθε τὴν σοφωτάτην,
καὶ πλοῦτον εὕροις γνώσεως ὑπερτέρας
ζητῶν, ἐρευνῶν τὴν τρισολβίαν φύσιν,
μόνην φύσεις νικῶσαν, ἐνθέῳ τρόπῳ,
καὶ χρυσὸν αἰγλήεντα τίκτουσαν μόνην,
τὴν παντοποιὸν, ἣν φρεσὶν μουσοστόλοις,
θείας ἐρασταὶ γνώσεως εὗρον μόνοι.
Ταύτην ἐφευρὼν, μὴ γὰρ ὅστις ᾗ φράσω,
θαύμαζε νοῦν φρόνησιν ἀνδρῶν ἐνθέων,
ὡς δημιουργῶν σωμάτων καὶ πνευμάτων,
πῶς ἔσχον οὕτως γνώσεως ὕψος μέγα
ψυχοῦν, ἀποκτένειν τε καὶ ζωοῦν πάλιν,
ὥστε ξένως πλάττειν τε καὶ μορφοῦν ξένως.
Ὦ θαῦμα, τὴν ἄνασσαν ὕλην ὀλβίαν!

[336]Letrouit, "Chronologie," 65–68.
[337]Ibid., 68.
[338]*CAAG*, vol. 3, p. 4.
[339]For the eleventh century, see Bernard and Demoen, *Poetry and its contexts*.
[340]See Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, 422–429.

ἥσπερ διαγνοὺς καὶ μαθὼν τὰς ἐκβάσεις
αἰνιγματωδῶς ἔνδον ἐγκεκρυμμένας,
ὁ νοῦς ὁ παγγέραστος, αἱ κλειναὶ φρένες,
Θεοδώρου πλουτοῦντος ἐνθέοις τρόποις
πιστοῦ τελοῦντος δεσποτῶν παραστάτου
συνῆψεν, ἐντέθεικε συλλογὴν ξένην
ἐν τῇδε βίβλῳ πανσόφων νοημάτων,
ὅνπερ σκέπων φύλαττε, Χριστὲ παντάναξ.

18 ἀποκτένειν] read -κτέννειν

This book containing bliss, hidden as it were —
gaze upon it, you friend, entirely so, of the Muses!
But should you wish its veins, rich in gold,
to probe, so wisely hidden,
then lifting up your mind's bright eye toward godly natures
by all-wise splendors,
go through the wisest writings,
and may you find a wealth of nobler gnosis
as you seek and search for the thrice-happy nature
which alone vanquishes natures by inspiration
and alone begets dazzling gold
and makes everything; with their Muse-decorated wits,
lovers of divine gnosis alone have found it.
When you discover this nature — for let me not reveal what it is —
wonder at the mind, the thought, of god-inspired men,
creators of bodies and spirits,
at how they thus acquired a great summit of gnosis,
to endow with a soul, to kill, and to give life again,
so as to strangely fashion and to mold strangely.
O wonder, the queen blessed matter!
Discerning and learning her transformations,
hidden enigmatically within,
the mind renowned by all, the famous wits,
of Theodore, rich in god-inspired ways,
being a faithful companion of lords,
put together a strange collection
in this book of all-wise thoughts;
protect and defend him, Christ lord of all!

Rich in gold (line 3). The epithet 'rich in gold' appearing in line 3 is one which Homer had used to glorify Mycenae (*Iliad* 11.46).[341] This epithet is marshaled as proof of Sparta's wealth by Olympiodoros in his commentary on Plato's *First Alcibiades* (hereafter simply the *Alcibiades*).[342]

[341]Other authors used it to glorify Olympos, Delphi and Aphrodite; see LSJ s.v. πολύχρυσος.

[342]Olympiodoros, *Olympiodorus: Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato*, 2nd ed., ed. Leendert Gerrit Westerink, orig. publ. 1956 (Amsterdam, 1982).

This commentary quotes *Iliad* 11.46 while discussing "veins" of gold and silver. In the late antique philosophical curriculum, the *Alcibiades* was often considered the first Platonic dialogue which a student should read.[343] In it, Socrates carries out a "philosophical seduction" of the young aristocrat Alcibiades (who will go on to have a colorful career as an Athenian admiral and serial turncoat during the Peloponnesian War), seeking to win over the youth to contemplation of what is truly good and questioning and betterment of the self. To do so, Socrates challenges his basic assumptions, in particular his sense of superiority as a wealthy Athenian aristocrat, by comparing Alcibiades unfavorably to the kings of Sparta and Persia.[344] At a certain point, Socrates opens his praise of the wealth of Alcibiades' royal rivals with the words, "And now if you wish to turn your attention to wealth…"[345] Olympiodoros opens *Lecture* 18 of his commentary with an extensive discussion of this line and what follows it.[346] Socrates, he explains, has just pronounced the Persian king superior to Alcibiades in lineage, birth, upbringing (τροφῆς), and education (παιδείας),[347] and "now compares the youth to both [the Spartan and Persian king] together with regard to their way of life and wealth."[348] It is in his discussion of the Spartans' superior wealth that he quotes Homer. Olympiodoros divides the discussion into the three categories of property: self-moved (slaves and livestock), movable, and immovable.[349] The Spartans are richer in immovable wealth, ever since they took the city of Messene with its fertile farmland, and in 'self-moved' serfs (the Helots) and horses.[350] Proof of their superior *movable* wealth, Olympiodoros goes on to explain, can be found in the following testimony: (1) the report "that they would require two portions of revenue from their subject allies"; (2) the fact "that there are said to be silver and gold veins [in their territory]"; (3) Homer's verse "Mycenae rich in gold"; and (4) the report that "the gold which they took in has not yet run out."[351] There is no indication that the alchemical epigram is referring to this passage of Olympiodoros in particular, of course. But this passage indicates that the Homeric line in question was among those still being quoted in late antiquity. Olympiodoros also happens to juxtapose talk of "veins" of gold and silver with the Homeric epithet 'rich in gold,' a distant parallel to the alchemical epigram's "veins, rich in gold."

All-wise euoptias (line 6). Moving to line 6, we find the phrase "all-wise splendors." 'All-wise' was already a standard epithet for God in late antiquity, as well as for prophets, bishops and holy men.[352] 'Splendors,' or 'beautiful appearance' (εὐοπτία) is much rarer, appearing primarily in the

[343]Plato, *Alcibiades*, ed. Nicholas Denyer (Cambridge UP, 2001), 14 (hereafter cited as Pl.*Alc.* Denyer), citing Olympiodoros's and Proclus's commentaries. Throughout antiquity, the middle ages, and the early modern period, the dialogue was considered authentic; that Plato's authorship was challenged in the nineteenth century — a challenge which Denyer ably dismantled (ibid., 14–26) — is irrelevant for the present purposes.

[344]See ibid., 5–9, where a concise overview of the dialogue can be found. The phrase "philosophical seduction" is Denyer's: ibid., 5.

[345]Plato, *Alcibiades*, 122b6–c1; quoted by Olympiodoros, *On Plato's Alcibiades*, 160.20, Westerink 102: "Εἰ δ' αὖ ἐθέλῃς [read ἐθέλεις, with some Plato mss. and in agreement with Olymp. 161.12 just below] εἰς πλοῦτον ἀποβλέψαι."

[346]*On Plato's Alcibiades*, 160.20–165.12, Westerink 102–5.

[347]Cf. what Socrates has just been saying, in Plato's words: "διῆλθον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἄν σοι τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν τροφήν τε καὶ παιδείαν."

[348]160.21–161.6. Quote (161.5–6): "νῦν παραβάλλει τὸν νέον εἰς δίαιταν καὶ πλοῦτον κοινῶς ἀμφοτέροις."

[349]161.26–28.

[350]161.28–162.6, cf. Plato, *Alcibiades*, 122d5–e1.

[351]Olympiodoros, *On Plato's Alcibiades*, 162.6–10, Westerink 103: "καὶ τῷ ἑτεροκινήτῳ δὲ πλούτῳ ὑπερεῖχον, εἴγε λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι δύο μοίρας τῶν προσόδων ἀπήτουν τοὺς ὑπηκόους, καὶ ὅτι λέγονται εἶναι φλέβες ἀργυρίτιδες καὶ χρυσίτιδες· καὶ τὸ 'πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης'· καὶ ὅτι λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι εἰσιὸν τὸ χρυσίον παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔτι ἐξῄει."

[352]Lampe s.v. πάνσοφος.

Alchemical Corpus itself.[353] The word also appears in the *Account of Events in Persia* ascribed to Athanasios patriarch of Antioch (d. 599), as the name of the Delphic priestess Euoptia who predicts the coming of Alexander the Great.[354] The passage was also excerpted by John of Damascus (d. 749 or *c.*753–4) in his *Discourse on the Holy Nativity of Christ*, where Euoptia no longer announces Alexander's but rather Christ's coming.[355] The *Discourse* survives in many manuscripts, of which about four date to the eleventh century and one to the tenth.[356] It seems that John of Damascus's version is more likely to have been known.

John of Damascus's *Discourse* opens[357] with an invocation of the coming of spring which begins with physical/medical language and then moves to the bucolic: "the elements of bodies run back to renewal,"[358] human health and the balance of humors reappears, seeds blossom, birds fly high, sheep are pastured, and so on (§1). Christ's coming, born of the Virgin Mary, is like spring, bringing renewal, "for today the only-begotten son of God is born," generated in the Virgin's body by the Holy Spirit, not by seed, but by creation, with the result that Christ partakes of both human and divine nature, neither completed fused nor divided, so that Mary is rightly called the Mother of God (this is of course the creed, with special emphasis on the additional specifications of the Council of Chalcedon); thus did the Lord take us with him "out of the winter of error" into spring (§2). Scriptural passages on the Nativity are like flowers; he quotes Matthew 1:18–20, on Joseph's reaction to Mary's conception (§3). These "enigmas" must be "interpreted bit by bit"; he quotes and interprets Luke 2:1–5, on Joseph's need to travel to Bethlehem to record himself and Mary in the Roman registry, and Psalm 71:7 (§4). He discusses Christ's birth in a cave (Luke 2:6–7); the "mystery" of the Virgin's painless birth-giving, without a midwife; Isaiah 1:3 and how the Virgin "had dyed the 'scarlet garments' [Isaiah 63:1] from the vine of Bosor, from the true vine of Christ

[353]The word is absent from LSJ and Lampe; in the *Lex.Byz.Gr.*, s.v. εὐοπτία — where it is defined as "gutes Aussehen, schöne Erscheinung" — the attestations listed are all from the Alchemical Corpus: Stephen of Alexandria, *Lectures* 2 and 6, Ideler, *Physici et medici*, vol. 2, 207_{16}, 230_{31}; and the alchemical poems of Hierotheos (no. 20), line 91, and Archelaos (no. 21), line 167, edited in *Heliodori carmina quattuor*, where they are called Heliodori carmina III and IV.

[354]Ἐξήγησις τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν Περσίδι, Eduard Bratke, ed., *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899) (hereafter cited as Bratke); cited by Bonifaz Kotter, ed., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 7 vols., various volume editors (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969–*c.*2013), vol. 5, 311 n. 14. The name Euoptia appears at Bratke, 6_7.

[355]Ἰωάννου, τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἐλαχίστου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ, λόγος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν, ed. Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, pp. 324–347. (On the Damascene's life and death, see *ODB*, s.v. "John of Damascus.")

On the authenticity of this homily (attributed to John of Damascus in 48 out of 54 manuscripts), see Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, pp. 307–310: Leo Allatius disputed that John of Damascus was its author, but Dölger argued in favor of the Damascene's authorship on the grounds that it is consistent in style and content with his other works; Kotter adds to this evidence.

The priestess Euoptia appears at §7, line 14, Kotter p. 333. This is the only passage outside the Alchemical Corpus which appears in the TLG search results for εὐοπτία and declined forms (July 19, 2014). In the apparatus to the homily, Kotter reports two variant spellings of Euoptia (Εὐωπτίαν and Εὐοπίαν) found in the manuscripts. A TLG search for ευωπτι- yielded no results, while a search for ευοπι- yielded a single result (Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos [d. *c.*1335?; also wrote a collection of the Zoodochos Pege's miracles; see *ODB*], *Historia ecclesiastica*, $§14.55_{44}$ = PG 145–147) in which a man's name, Euopios, appears (October 6, 2014).

[356]Namely (Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, pp. 313–315): Escorial R. I. 18 (palimpsest, text of homily is the lower text in 11th-century script, provenance: Puglia), fragments; C = Jerusalem Orth. Patr. 14 (11th century), lacunas in §12–13, plus a folio from this manuscript now in Petersburg, Publ. B. Saltyk.-Ščedr. 235; P = Paris gr. 1179 (11th century); D = Vat. gr. 555 (11th century [12th, according to Ehrhard], provenance: Monastery of the Pantokrator, Constantinople); M = Vat. Pal. gr. 35 (10th century, parchment, Italo-Greek provenance), up to §14.

[357]In summarizing this text, I draw extensively on Kotter's *apparatus fontium*.

[358]$§1_{1-2}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 324: "τὰ τῶν σωμάτων στοιχεῖα πρὸς καινισμὸν παλινδρομοῦσι."

God, in his precious and immaculate blood";[359] and the joy which comes upon "all the people" (Luke 2:10–11) at the arrival of the "shepherd of shepherds," Christ, who will lead his sheep to the noetic pastures of heaven,[360] driving off wolves "with the iron rod, the cruciform weapon"[361] (§5). The acclamation *gloria in excelsis deo* (Luke 2:13–14) is made to speak to the joining of high and low, material and immaterial;[362] when this happened, he continues, a miraculous star appeared in the East, which the Magi followed (§6).

John of Damascus explains at this point that the Magi were "kings of the Persians [and] astronomers, descended from Balaam," the prophet who refused to curse Israel (Numbers 23–24), and that they understood the bright star in relation to Balaam's prophecy (προφητεία) that "a star will rise out of Jacob, and a man will rise up out of Israel and shatter the princes of Moab" (Numbers 24:17).[363] Then he adds: "But not only did they perceive this [that a great king was coming to rule over the world] from Balaam's prophecy, but they also recognized the precise moment of the birth of Christ our God from elsewhere when a terrible miracle occurred in their own land."[364]

This introduces the long excerpts from the *Account of Events in Persia* (see above), in the course of which the name of the priestess Euoptia appears. Attalus, king of Sparta, lusts after the noble Doris, but when he climbs into her bed, she stabs a knife through his heart and takes possession of his kingdom. The dead man's brother Philip gathers the Achaians and seeks to make war on Doris, but she defeats all she encounters. So the Achaians send a delegation to Delphi "to receive an oracle concerning the war."[365] At this point Euoptia appears to predict Christ's coming: "Going to Euoptia the priestess (ἱέρειαν) at the Kastalian water" (that is, "the spring of the Muses on Mount Parnassus")[366] they posed their question; "she, tasting the mantic water of the spring, prophesied thus, saying, 'After a long time, a man might come upon this riven earth and will become flesh without fault, and with untiring bounds of divinity dissolve the corruption of incurable passions; envy against him will arise from an infidel people and will hang him up high, as condemned to death; but all these things he will willingly bear, and having died he will arise to eternal life.'"[367] The Achaians laugh at Euoptia and curse her, complaining that there question had been about a woman, not a man. She replies: "Unconquerable ages have started to rise up, for she too, and he,

[359]§5$_{38–40}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 331: "ἥτις τὸ ἐρύθημα τῶν ἱματίων ἐξ ἀμπέλου Βοσόρ, ἐκ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἀμπέλου Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ τιμίῳ καὶ ἀχράντῳ αἵματι βέβαπτο [perhaps read, as in some manuscripts, ἐβέβαπτο or βέβαπται]."

[360]§5$_{47}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 331: "πρὸς πόας νοητὰς τῆς οὐρανῶν βασιλείας."

[361]§5$_{49}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 331: "τῇ ῥάβδῳ τῇ σιδηρᾷ, τῷ σταυριαίῳ ὅπλῳ."

[362]§6$_{4–5}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 331: "Glory to the one who united the high with the low; glory to the one who adapted the material [following ms. D against Kotter] to be commensurate with the immaterial" (Δόξα τῷ τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω παραδόξως ἑνώσαντι. Δόξα τῷ ὑλικοῖς ἀύλοις [ὑλικοῖς ἀύλοις C, Kotter: τοὺς ὑλικοὺς τοῖς ἀύλοις D; etc.] συνευχωχεῖν ἐφαρμόσαντι).

[363]§6$_{10–16}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 332: "…οἱ μάγοι, Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἀστρονόμοι, τοῦ Βαλαὰμ ἀπόγονοι…"

[364]§6$_{16–19}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 332: "Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Βαλαὰμ προφητείας τοῦτο νοήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοθεν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ τεχθέντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν χώρᾳ θαύματος φρικτοῦ γεγονότος ἐπέγνωσαν."

[365]§7$_{1–14}$, quote at Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 333: "λαβεῖν χρησμὸν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου."

[366]LSJ s.v.

[367]§7$_{14–21}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 333: "Ἀπελθόντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς Εὐοπτίαν τὴν ἱέρειαν εἰς τὸ Κάσταλον ὕδωρ ἠρώτων γνῶναι αὐτούς, ἐφ' ᾧ παρῆσαν· ἥτις γευσαμένη τοῦ πηγαίου μαντικοῦ ὕδατος προεφήτευσεν οὕτως· Ὀψέ ποτέ τις, φησίν, ἐπὶ τὴν πολυσχεδῆ ταύτην ἐλάσειε γῆν καὶ δίχα σφάλματος γενήσεται σάρξ, ἀκαμάτοις δὲ θεότητος ὅροις ἀνιάτων παθῶν λύσει φθοράν, καὶ τούτῳ φθόνος γενήσεται ἐξ ἀπίστου λαοῦ καὶ πρὸς ὕψος κρεμασθήσεται ὡς θανάτου κατάδικος· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἑκὼν προσπείσεται φέρων, θανεὶς δὲ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ὦρτο."

and those with him, shall defeat all men."[368] The Achaians leave in disgust.[369]

But we need follow them in their quest for answers no further, for this is already enough for us to be able to return to the line of the dedicatory epigram which led us to Delphi: "…lifting up your mind's bright eye towards divine natures / by all-wise splendors (*euoptiais*)" (lines 5–6). In light of the medieval popularity of pagan oracles predicting Christ's coming, and in particular of John of Damascus's wide circulation, we may conjecture that the word *euoptia* in the epigram was in part intended as an allusion to Euoptia's oracular profile — whether in her guise as Alexander's forerunner or Christ's. It could even be read as a double-entendre: beautiful things (such as lustrous metals) may well elevate one's thoughts, but so too may "all-wise Euoptias," that is, "well-seeing" prophetesses[370] inspired to reveal the future incarnation of the one true god.

Nature vanquishing nature (lines 9–10). Berthelot points out that the phrase "nature which vanquishes natures (φύσιν / […] φύσεις νικῶσαν)" is "pseudo-Democritus's favorite formula."[371]

Inspiration (line 10). The phrase 'by inspiration,' or 'in an inspired manner' (ἐνθέῳ τρόπῳ) has several resonances. The term 'inspired' (ἔνθεος) is associated with divination in Plato's *Phaedrus* and *Timaeus*, and it is used by authors in the Neoplatonic tradition such as Julian, Iamblichos and Origen, often adverbially (ἐνθέως).[372] The expression 'in an inspired manner,' on the other hand, seems to be relatively rare; it appears in a hymn to Saint Gregory of Nazianzos.[373] The passage in question comes under the heading "on the golden icon" (Τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ, line 23) and has a similar theme of knowledge revealed: "Already having purified yourself by the knowing Logos and the inspired manner of your virtues, and having instructed [or: transformed] your mind by divine things, you were intellectually initiated into the ineffable (secrets) of Christ, anointed high priest, and proclaimed a shepherd, O most excellent theologian."[374]

When you discover this nature (lines 14–19). Here the epigram evokes the moment when the reader will discover the mystery which the book promises, coyly declining to reveal that mystery. The reader is instead invited to marvel at the inspired men who played god, taking on the role of demiurge (δημιουργῶν, line 16). By this the epigram means to play on the literal sense of "bodies and spirits" — which these godly men "create" — and their special alchemical sense: 'bodies' are metals, and 'spirits' are vapors of various sorts, especially "volatile substances which one

[368]§$7_{24–25}$, Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 5, p. 333: "Ἀήττητοι καιροὶ ἤρξαντο ἀνίστασθαι· καὶ αὐτὴ γὰρ κἀκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄνδρες πάντας νικήσουσιν."

[369]For a complete summary of the entire homily, including this excerpt from the *Account of Events in Persia*, see ibid., vol. 5, pp. 311–313 — to be read with some caution. For example, the Achaians protest that their query is about a woman in *Euoptia*'s presence (§$7_{22–23}$), not in response to Xanthippe's prophecy, as Kotter's summary (p. 311) might seem to imply. Also, when Kotter's summary reaches (ibid., vol. 5, p. 312) the return journey of the three Magi and their realization that each perceived Jesus as being of a different age (a child, a 30-year-old-man, and an old man), Kotter provides a helpful footnote (n. 16) which observes that in Western art the three *Magi* are themselves depicted as being each of a different age; he also notes that it is an "ancient Greek topos" to refer to the three stages of a man's life. One might, however, add that the depiction of Christ in all three stages of life — including as an old man (Christ Old of Days) — is known from Byzantine frescoes (e.g., in Kastoria).

[370]As Bratke notes (Bratke, 146 n. 1), Euoptia is quite aptly named.

[371]*CAAG*, vol. 3, 3 n. 1.

[372]Plato: LSJ s.v. ἔνθεος. Julian et alii: Lampe s.v. ἐνθέως.

[373]*Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, ed. Giuseppe Schirò, 13 vols. (Rome: Istituto di studi bizantini e neoellenici, Università di Roma, 1966–1983), canon 30.1, ode 7.

[374]line 24–32: "Προκαθάρας ἑαυτὸν / τῷ ἐπιστήμονι λόγῳ / καὶ τῷ ἐνθέῳ τῶν ἀρετῶν σου τρόπῳ / καὶ στοιχειώσας τὸν νοῦν τοῖς θείοις, / ἐμυήθης λογικῶς / τὰ ἀπόρρητα Χριστοῦ, / ἐχρίσθης ἱεράρχης / καὶ ἀνεδείχθης ποιμήν, / κράτιστε θεολόγε."

can fix onto metal."[375] Playing god gave them great wisdom, for they learned to provide bodies with a soul (*psychoun*), and to take away and give back life (line 18). Endowing a body with a soul is, of course, the role of the Creator (δημιουργός). Philo of Alexandria writes that by means of the senses (*aisthēseis*) "the demiurge endowed the [human] body with a soul."[376] To 'endow with a soul' can also be seen as a technical skill. In a Hellenistic epigram preserved and read in middle Byzantium (and known to us from the anthology of Maximos Planoudes), we read of a marble statue of Aphrodite in Knidos which is so lifelike that Praxiteles the sculptor must have made it, or perhaps the goddess herself has descended to Knidos; it begins: "Who endowed stone with a soul?" (τίς λίθον ἐψύχωσε;).[377] 'Killing' (ἀποκτένειν) a metal, in alchemical terminology, could mean to effect its "dissolution," and to make a metal live again (ζωοῦν πάλιν) could mean its "regeneration."[378] The effect of this semi-divine artistry is to endow things with unexpected shapes and forms (line 19). In short, the epigram here plays with technical terms, using them in both their technical and common meanings in order to convey the commonplace notion of alchemy as a divine science.

Theodore (lines 21–29). The poem describes Theodore as learning the *ekbaseis* of matter, or else a special kind of matter. Translated as "transformations" above, the term ἔκβασις, literally 'way out,' can also mean μετάβασις, or 'change,' as Aristotle and others use it. The Stoics Zeno (4th/3rd century BCE) and Chrysippus (3rd century BCE) use it to refer to the 'fulfillment' of a prediction by divination, while Neoplatonic philosophers like Porphyry (3rd century CE) and Damascius (d. after 538 CE) use to refer to space-extension's "departure (*ekbasis*) from itself" and the Intellect's 'distinction' from Being.[379] The changes which matter can undergo — this is certainly a natural reading in the context, since the book which Theodore compiled is all about how to change matter. The resonance with Neoplatonic emanation may give the expression a heightened effect, since this matter is said to make everything (line 12), so perhaps we are to imagine all things emanating from it.

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[375] *CAAG*, vol. 3, 4 n. 2, commenting on this passage: "Le mot *corps*, σώματα, s'applique dans la langue des alchimistes, aux métaux régénérés de leurs oxydes et autres minerais. — Le mot *esprit*, πνεύματα, a un sens plus vague; il signifie spécialement les substances volatiles que l'on peut fixer sur les métaux, ou en séparer."

[376] Philo, *De opificio mundi*, §48, Philo of Alexandria, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, ed. Leopold Cohn and Paul Wendland, 7 vols. (Berlin, 1896–1915), vol. 1, 48_{16} (hereafter cited as Philo *Opera* C/W): "τῶν αἰσθήσεων… αἷς τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἐψύχωσεν ὁ δημιουργός." Cf. Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 8.1, MR 127_{19}.

[377] *Anthologia Planudea* 4.159 = 'Greek Anthology,' book 16, no. 159, *Anthologia Graeca*, ed. and trans. Hermann Beckby, 4 vols. (Munich: Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1957), vol. 4, p. 388.

[378] Cf. *CAAG*, vol. 3, 4 n. 3, commenting on this passage: "Ces expressions mystiques signifient la production des métaux, leur disparition par oxydation, dissolution, etc., et leur régénération."

[379] For all of these definitions, see LSJ s.v. ἔκβασις, which notes that Porphyry and Damascius use it in the sense of 'emanation' or 'procession.' To be more precise, Porphyry speaks of physical bulk or volume (ὄγκος) as "a departure (*ekbasis*) from itself," contrasted with power (δύναμις), which "is filled with itself, having withdrawn into itself" (Porph.*Sent.* 35_{1-4}, Porphyry, *Sentences: études d'introduction, texte grec et traduction française, commentaire*, ed. and trans. Luc Brisson, with an English translation and notes by John Dillon [Paris: Vrin, 2005], 350 [hereafter cited as Porph.*Sent.* Brisson].) As for Damascius, he describes the Intellect as gaining awareness of a distinction between itself and Being, even as the latter remains indistinct, whereupon the Intellect "called its departure (*ekbasis*) from being by the name distinction (*diakrisis*)": "Ὁ γὰρ νοῦς ἑαυτὸν διακεκριμένον ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἰδών, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀδιάκριτον μεῖναν, τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἔκβασιν διάκρισιν ὠνόμασεν" (Ruelle 1.183–4), which is translated by Combès as "En effet, l'intellect en voyant qu'il est lui-même distingué de l'être, et que ce dernier est demeuré indifférencié, a nommé distinction l'action par laquelle il est sorti de l'être…" For both text and translation, see Damascius, *Damascius. Traité des premiers principes de l'ineffable et de l'un*, ed. Leendert Gerrit Westerink, trans. Joseph Combès (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986–1991), vol. 2, p. 153 (hereafter cited as Dam.*Pr.* West.-Comb.).

Another layer of meaning is, however, suggested by the use of the word *ekbasis* in several late antique Christian authors. Clement of Alexandria (*c.*150–before 215) writes that "baptism… is stepping out (*ekbasis*) of matter."[380] Conversely, pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, in his *Divine Names*, argues that demons are not evil by nature but only because they are too weak to follow their nature. "For in their case," he explains, "evil is a deviation, and a departure (*ekbasis*) from that which is proper to them."[381] Gregory of Nazianzos speaks of virginity as an "escape" (*ekbasis*) from the body.[382] Reading *ekbasis* in light of these passages, especially Clement's and Gregory's usage, we might understand line 21 of the epigram rather differently: "Discerning and learning the ways to step out of her," that is, out of matter. In this reading, *ekbasis* is not an action performed upon matter (transformation) but rather a movement away from matter.[383] That these "ways to step out" of matter should be "hidden within" (line 22), that is, within matter, would surely be a paradoxical, "enigmatic" proposition (αἰνιγματωδῶς, again line 22). Perhaps the line should be read both ways at once: the transformation of matter *is* the means to depart from matter — and it is a process localized within matter itself. To escape matter, one must transform it.

Theodore must have prided himself on his intelligence, for the epigram also refers to his "famous wits" (κλειναὶ φρένες) in the same line (23). In the next two lines he is further describe has inspired in his way of life (ἐνθέοις τρόποις, line 24) and a loyal companion of the powerful (πιστοῦ…δεσποτῶν παραστάτου, line 25). The beginnings of these two lines produce a certain euphony: "Θεοδώρου πλουτοῦντος," "πιστοῦ τελοῦντος" — "rich Theodore," "who is faithful." This serves to emphasize two traits, his wealth (even if in spiritual riches) and loyalty, as a closely associated pairing.[384] Such traits, the epigram implies, led Theodore to "join together" (συνήψεν) this book — perhaps, if indeed he is the patron, in the sense of *having* it compiled. The result was a "strange compilation" (συλλογὴν ξένην).[385] Echoing the table of contents, whose proud heading (as mentioned above) identifies the book as a "book of the wise," the epigram calls it "this book of all-wise thoughts" (ἐν τῇδε βίβλῳ πανσόφων νοημάτων, line 27). Christ is asked to "cover" it, that is, give it shelter (or a book cover?), and protect it (line 28).

IV Conclusion

Marcianus graecus 299 is no scrappy charlatan's book of tricks. It is a lavish manuscript, clearly produced for a wealthy patron (as has been obvious to those who have studied the codex).[386] It was produced in a 10th/11th-century Byzantine context in which *chēmeia*, or 'alchemy,' was an ancient 'art' (*technē*) concerned primarily with producing precious metals but not exclusively. It

[380]Clement of Alexandria, *Eclogae ex scripturis propheticis*, Clement, Stählin III, 138_{16} (cited by Lampe s.v.): "τὸ βάπτισμα… τῆς ὕλης ἐστὶν ἔκβασις." One is thus illuminated by immaterial light: "Leading us out of disorder, the Lord illuminates us, bringing us to the shadowless light which is no longer material" (ἐξάγων οὖν τῆς ἀταξίας ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος φωτίζει, εἰς τὸ φῶς ἄγων τὸ ἄσκιον καὶ οὐκέτι ὑλικόν, lines 17–19).

[381]Dion. Ar. *d. n.* 4.23, Corp.Dion. I, 171_{14-15} (cited by Lampe s.v.): "Παρατροπὴ οὖν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ κακὸν καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτοῖς ἔκβασις…"

[382]See the passage cited by Lampe s.v.

[383]For this use of *ekbasis* with the genitive, see LSJ s.v. ἐκβαίνω A.I.1, and Clement's line quoted above.

[384]In the scenario that this epigram was commissioned by Theodore, we might even wonder whether the emphasis on wealth and loyalty is intended to encourage Theodore's generosity towards the poet.

[385]Or "*foreign* compilation," as an anonymous reader of the copy of *CAAG* at the University of California, Berkeley, suggested at ibid., vol. 3, p. 4: above Berthelot's "une collection étrange" is written, in pencil, "ou étrangère?"

[386]e.g., Saffrey, "Historique et description," 1–2.

was not 'magic,' or some sort of illicit occult activity — at least not as it appears in a mainstream contemporary Byzantine dictionary of Hellenic and Roman culture, history, and literature. Even if an alchemist could, in hagiographical literature for example, be mistaken for a magician, the learned alchemist of Byzantium would clearly have placed the Art in the realm of philosophy, rather than magic.

The book itself was produced for a patron who was proud of the tome and its contents. As this chapter's codicological analysis confirms, the table of contents and other 'front matter' in the opening quire of the present-day manuscript is best seen as original to the manuscript's production and reflective of how the book and its contents were meant to be read. This opening quire presents the contents of the book as the works and sayings of sages and philosophers on a worthy and exalted subject: a powerful natural reality obscured in everyday experience. Many of the authors would have been names familiar to educated middle Byzantine readers: respected ancient and late antique authors (and emperors) whose other pursuits are not seen as incompatible with alchemy. There is no opposition, at least here, between rational and irrational, between science and 'pseudo-science.' The book's subject is a "sacred and divine art,"[387] but in a cultural context where the rational part of the human being was considered its most divine part, an appeal to alchemy's sacrality can be read as a claim to perfect rationality. The dedicatory epigram, as we have seen, underscores this view: speaking to an occasion which is lost to us today (such that guessing at which Theodore it refers to is for now a matter of speculation) and referring obliquely to a "conquering nature" which may seem obscure to today's reader, it would have been quite comprehensible to its original audience. Written in a high literary register, its use of language resonating with layers of Greek literature from Homer to the Neoplatonists to Christian ecclesiastical authors tells us something about the cultural milieu in which the epigram would have been read. It is the erudition which would have been appreciated by educated Byzantines.

Future research into the impact of the Greek alchemical corpus on middle Byzantine thought should keep the opening quire of the *Marcianus* in mind. For these seven pages — and not some modern myth of a Byzantine abandonment of ancient Greek science — provide solid evidence as to how intellectuals in Constantinople would have approached the study these theories of matter and its transformation. This evidence suggests that alchemy was among the sciences which at least some Byzantine intellectuals considered to be a legitimate pursuit for the ambitious elite which ruled over an expanding Mediterranean empire. The next step will be to investigate closely the overlap between Byzantine and Arabic alchemy, a step which has already been advocated before,[388] and to pay special attention to the works in the Greek alchemical corpus which seem to postdate the Heraclian era in which Stephen of Alexandria worked and may even be nearly contemporary with the *Marcianus* itself. Finally, if we are to understand the continuing Byzantine interest in alchemy, works later than the *Marcianus* will need to be examined closely as well, for

[387]The preferred terms for *chēmeia* in the table of contents, for example, are variants of this phrase, as in: ἱερά καὶ θεία τέχνη (no. 1), ἱερά τέχνη (no. 13), θεία τέχνη (no. 15), ἱερά τέχνη (no. 9). Variants of the word *chēmeia* itself also appear, as in χίμη (no. 11).

[388]Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book*, 400–403. As an indication of the promise of such an approach, we may look not only to Ibn al-Nadīm and other such descriptions of alchemy, but to Arabic alchemical works, such as the *Turba philosophorum* (edition: Julius Ruska, *Turba philosophorum: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchimie* [Berlin: Springer, 1931]), an alchemical dialogue composed in Arabic but only extant in its entirety in a Latin translation. Its *dramatis personae* include a wide range of ancient philosophers, from Moses to Archelaos. We find here, as in Olympiodoros, a stress on the one-element theories of certain philosophers: Diogenes, for example, is associated (as in the Greek tradition) with the belief that air is at the origin of all matter.

this manuscript — like all manuscripts, Byzantine included — makes sense only as a discrete glimpse of a continuous tradition.

Conclusion

The two case studies of this dissertation have highlighted some of the ways theories about matter were culturally important in the Byzantine empire in the eleventh century. Theories about matter found a place not only in the sorts of texts conventionally associated with ancient and medieval philosophy such as commentaries on works of Aristotle, syntheses of Platonic doctrine, and 'harmonizations' of the two. It is also to be found in comments on patristic works, 'theology,' and in the alchemical tradition. A correct understanding of matter, its transformation, and the immaterial could serve as a pliable locus for addressing a range of moral, cosmological, and eschatological issues. Though it was frequently understood to have no qualities or even to be a 'non-being,' matter carried enough imaginative weight as for its posited presence to raise problems. Had it always existed? Certainly not, if God had created the world out of nothing (but could that 'nothing' be matter itself?). Could the human being somehow escape matter, rise above passions and appetites for the corruptible, and fixate upon the fixed and unchanging? Perhaps, but only by bringing the body along — which therefore needed to be transformed. Proof that such a transformation was possible could be found in the transformation of metals: flesh, dull and weighty like lead, could yet become luminous as gold, light as vapor. These problems had long histories, and yet they remained problems, to challenge and thrill each new generation. Ancient ideas had a raw immediacy for each student who discovered them. Byzantine intellectuals inherited a rich legacy, and they knew it.

To gain a fuller understanding of how various notions about matter fit together in the eleventh century, we must in the future turn our attention to texts on physics and alchemy which still have received little study, such as Psellos's commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*, John Italos's *Problems and Solutions*, and the works in *Marcianus graecus* 299 by "the Christian" or those containing Arabic terms. These may be placed alongside what we know of Arabic alchemy, the physics of the *falāsifa*, of the *mutakallimīn*, and records of spectacular experiential miracles such as Symeon the New Theologian's visions of divine light vividly piercing, pervading, and transforming his body until it radiated light and rose up into the air.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AbF, J.Chrys.*on John*, Ḥaddād	Ibn al-Faḍl, ʿAbdallāh, *Kitāb Tafsīr Injīl al-qiddīs Yūḥannā al-bashīr al-thāwlūghūs li-l-qiddīs Yūḥannā al-Dhahabī al-Famm, akhrajahu min al-lugha al-yūnānīya ilā al-lugha al-ʿarabīya ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī.*
ACO ser. sec.	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum.*
Alex.Aphr. *In Arist. Met.* Hayduck	Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria.*
Alex.Aphr. *On Pr.An.* Engl.	———. *On Aristotle Prior Analytics 1.1–7.*
Asclep. *In Arist. Met.* Hayduck	Asclepius, *Asclepii in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros* A–Z *commentaria.*
Attaleiates Kaldellis/Krallis	Attaleiates, Michael, *History.*
Bas.*Exeg.Homm.* Way	Basil of Caesarea, *Saint Basil, Exegetic Homilies.*
Bas.*Hex.* Giet	———. *Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron [par] Basile de Césarée.*
Bas.*Hex.* MR	———. *Basilius von Caesarea. Homilien zum Hexaemeron.*
Bas.*Hex.* syr. Thoms.	———. *The Syriac Version of the Hexaemeron by Basil of Caesarea.*
Bas.*Hex. X–XI* S./v.E.	(?ps.-)Basil of Caesarea, *Sur l'origine de l'homme. Hom. X et XI de l'Hexaéméron [par] Basile de Césarée.*
Bekker	Aristotle, *Aristotelis Opera ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri.*
Bratke	Bratke, Eduard, ed., *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden.*
CAAG	*Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs.*
CCAG	Cumont, Franz, ed., *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum.*
Clement, Stählin III	Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata, Buch VII und VIII. Excerpta ex Theodoto. Eclogae prophetica. Quis dives salvetur. Fragmente.*
CMAG	Bidez, Joseph, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs.*
Corp.Dion. I	ps.-Dionysios the Areopagite, *Corpus Dionysiacum I. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, De divinis nominibus.*
Corp.Dion. II	———. *Corpus Dionysiacum II. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae.*

Damascus OP ar. ms. cat.	*al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿarabīya fī maktabat Baṭriyarkīyat Anṭākiya wa-sāʾir al-mashriq lil-Rūm al-Urthūdhuks.*
Dam.*Pr.* West.-Comb.	Damascius, *Damascius. Traité des premiers principes de l'ineffable et de l'un.*
Diels-Kranz	Diels, Hermann, and Walter Kranz, eds., *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker.*
*EI*²	*Encyclopaedia of Islam.*
*EI*³	*Encyclopaedia of Islam.*
Eust.*Bas.Hex.*Lat.	Eustathius, *Ancienne version latine des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Basile de Césarée.*
FHG	*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum.*
F*MF* Dieterici	al-Fārābī, *Alfārābī's Abhandlung der Musterstaat.*
Fowler	Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes.*
Galen, *Elements*, Helmreich	Galen, *Galeni de elementis ex Hippocratis sententia libri duo.*
Galen Kühn	———. *Claudii Galeni opera omnia.*
G.Nyss.*In cant.* Lang.	Gregory of Nyssa, *In canticum canticorum Gregorii Nysseni.*
G.Nyss.*In hex.* Drob.	———. *In hexaemeron.*
G.Nyss.*opera* Forbes	———. *Sancti Patris Nostri Gregorii Nysseni Basilii Magni fratris quae supersunt omnia.*
Graf, KCAHJ I	Graf, Georg, "Katalog christlich-arabischer Handschriften in Jerusalem. I. Die arabischen Handschriften des melkitischen Seminars St. Anna der Weißen Väter."
Graf, KCAHJ II	———. "Katalog christlich-arabischer Handschriften in Jerusalem. II. Die Handschriften der Kopten."
Graf, KCAHJ III.1	———. "Katalog christlich-arabischer Handschriften in Jerusalem. III. Die christlich-arabischen Hss. des griechischen Klosters beim Hl. Grabe [1]."
Graf, KCAHJ III.2	———. "Katalog christlich-arabischer Handschriften in Jerusalem. III. Die christlich-arabischen Hss. des griechischen Klosters beim Hl. Grabe [2]."
Graf, KCAHJ III.3	———. "Katalog christlich-arabischer Handschriften in Jerusalem. III. Die christlich-arabischen Hss. des griechischen Klosters beim Hl. Grabe [3]."
Isaac, I, Bedjan	Isaac of Nineveh, *De perfectione religiosa.*
Isaac, I, Wens.	———. *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh. Translated from Bedjan's Syriac text with an introduction and registers.*
Isaac, II.4–40, Brock	———. *Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian). 'The Second Part', chapters IV–XLI.*
Isaac, III, Chialà	———. *Isacco di Ninive: Terza collezione.*
Isaac *log.asket.* Pirard	———. Ἀββᾶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ Σύρου. Λόγοι ἀσκητικοί. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοσι.

J.Phil. *Against Arist.* Wildberg	John Philoponos, *Philoponus. Against Aristotle, on the eternity of the world.*
J.Phil. *Contr. Procl.* Rabe	———. *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum.*
J.Phil. *In Arist. De anima* Hayduck	———. *Ioannis Philoponi In Aristotelis De anima libros commentaria.*
J.Phil. *In Arist. De gen. et corr.* Vitelli	———. *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis libros de generatione et corruptione commentaria.*
J.Phil. *In Arist. Phys.* Vitelli	———. *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis physicorum libros octo commentaria.*
Kais.*Erotap.* Ried.	Ps.-Kaisarios, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Die Erotapokriseis.*
Les alch. gr. I Halleux	*Papyrus de Leyde. Papyrus de Stockholm. Fragments de recettes.*
Les alch. gr. IV.1 Mertens	Zosimos of Panopolis, *Zosime de Panopolis: Mémoires authentiques.*
Lex.Byz.Gr.	Trapp, Erich, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts.*
Loc.comm. Ihm	ps.-Maximos the Confessor, *Ps.-Maximus Confessor. Erste kritische Edition einer Redaktion des sacro-profanen Florilegiums Loci communes.*
Mansi	Mansi, Joannes Dominicus, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.*
Max. Berth.	Maximos the Confessor, *Maximus Confessor, Selected Writings.*
Max.*de car.* C.-G.	———. *Massimo Confessore: Capitoli sulla carità.*
Max.*Pyrrh.* Farr.	———. *The disputation with Pyrrhus of our father among the saints Maximus the Confessor.*
Mioni, *Ven. Marc. gr.* I	Mioni, Elpidio, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices graeci manuscripti. Volumen I. Thesaurus antiquus. Codices 1–299.*
M/R, *Basile*	Mendieta, Emmanuel Amand de, and Stig Y. Rudberg, *Basile de Césarée: la tradition manuscrite directe des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron: étude philologique.*
NETS	Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright, *A New English translation of the Septuagint.*
Nik.Steth.*V.Sym.*	Niketas Stethatos, *The Life of Saint Symeon the New Theologian.*
NP	*Der Neue Pauly.*
NPNF Basil	Basil of Caesarea, *Letters and select works.*
NPNF GNyss	Gregory of Nyssa, *Selected writings and letters of Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa.*
ODB	Kazhdan, Alexander, Alice-Mary Talbot, Anthony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory, and Nancy P. Ševčenko, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.*
Ox. Cl. Dict.[2]	*Oxford Classical Dictionary.*
Ox. Cl. Dict.[3]	*Oxford Classical Dictionary.*

Ox. Hand. Byz. Stud.	Jeffreys, Elizabeth, John F Haldon, and Robin Cormack, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies.*
Philo *Opera* C/W	Philo of Alexandria, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt.*
Phot.*Bibl.*Henry	Photios, *Photius. Bibliothèque.*
Pl.*Alc.* Denyer	Plato, *Alcibiades.*
Porph.*Sent.* Brisson	Porphyry, *Sentences: études d'introduction, texte grec et traduction française, commentaire.*
Procl. *Théol. Plat.* S/W	Proklos, *Proclus. Théologie platonicienne.*
ps.-Dem. Martelli	ps.-Democritus, *Pseudo-Democrito. Scritti alchemici. Con il commentario di Sinesio.*
ps.-Dem. Martelli Engl.	———. *The* Four Books *of Pseudo-Democritus.*
Psellos, *In Arist. Phys.*	Psellos, *Kommentar zur Physik des Aristoteles.*
RegPatr	Grumel, V., V. Laurent, and Jean Darrouzès, eds., *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople.*
Simpl. *In Arist. De cael.* Heiberg	Simplicius, *Simplicii in Aristotelis de caelo commentaria.*
Suid. Adler	*Suidae Lexicon.*
TLG	"Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: a Digital Library of Greek Literature."
Tusc.-Lex.[3]	Buchwald, Wolfgang, Armin Hohlweg, and Otto Prinz, eds., *Tusculum-Lexikon.*
Wāḥ.*Was.*	al-Wāḥidī, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, *Al-Wasīṭ fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-majīd.*
Yaḥyā I	Yaḥyā of Antioch, "Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Saʿïd d'Antioche [I]."

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