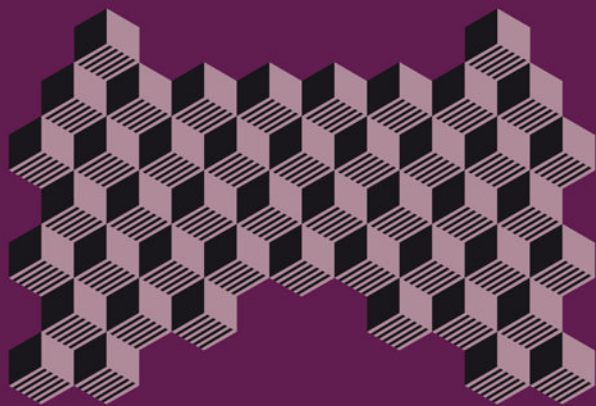# Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in the East

THE SYRIAC AND ARABIC TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY TRADITION

BY

UWE VAGELPOHL

BRILL

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in the East

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this book is translation—not just the translation(s) of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* the title alludes to but more generally translation as a phenomenon of cultural exchange. Why the choice of medieval translations into Arabic, particularly of this text?

In a series of publications dedicated, among other things, to the history of Islamic philosophy and the transmission of Greek philosophy to an Arabic-speaking audience, examining the "Arabic translation and commentary tradition" needs little explanation. At the core of this transmission process was what has come to be called the "Greek-Arabic translation movement", a concerted effort to translate the available Greek scientific, medical and philosophical literature into Arabic, carried out between the eighth and the tenth centuries. Initially funded and supported by the authorities, the translation activities soon gained enough momentum to sustain themselves for a period of more than two centuries. As a result, large parts of the Greek scientific and philosophical heritage was transmitted to Arabic-speaking audiences.

The introduction of Greek knowledge had an immeasurable impact on Islamic culture and contemporary societies. The Greek-Arabic translation movement was, both in terms of its scale and its influence, an unprecedented process of cultural transmission and transformation. Working across a substantial linguistic and cultural divide, the translators developed whole new terminologies to describe subjects and disciplines for which there was no equivalent in contemporary Islamic culture. Their work and the subsequent writings of scientists and philosophers were not just an isolated episode in the history of science or philosophy, least of all a mere interlude in the history of "Western" scientific and philosophical activities as it has sometimes been understood. All of these Arabic-speaking scholars contributed to the formation of Islamic culture and, through the medium of Arabic-Latin translations produced from the twelfth century onward, left their mark also on Western medieval science and philosophy.

Given its longevity and impact, the study of the Greek-Arabic trans-

lation movement involves a number of fields and approaches. Even after more than a century of sustained research, many questions remain unanswered. On the level of the individual text, the identification of the sources used by the translators, the dating of translations and the study of translation methods and subsequent revisions of many extant texts is still in its infancy. From the point of view of the history of ideas, we are still only at the beginning of identifying translators and patrons, understanding their backgrounds and motivations and reconstructing networks of scholars and translators who cooperated in identifying texts they wanted to have translated and, once the translations became available, in giving rise to new research agendas fueled by newly available material. At the same time, the political calculations and conflicts that inspired the widespread and persistent financial support for the translation efforts by members of the intellectual, economic and political elite are still poorly understood.

There is no doubt, then, that the study of the Greek-Arabic translation tradition helps us understand many aspects of medieval Islamic society and at the same time serves as a very instructive example for the role of translation as a medium of cultural transmission. But why the *Rhetoric*?

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and its Arabic translation are not the most obvious choices through which to examine the inner workings of the translation movement. While respected in theory, the *Rhetoric* had never been an important text for the rhetorical teaching tradition in antiquity. It was soon replaced by textbooks which were better suited to the practical needs of students of oratory. In contrast to the lack of interest of late antique scholars and commentators, however, Islamic scholars actively engaged with the text. Their interest in this previously somewhat marginal work found its expression in numerous rhetorical treatises and commentaries. Unlike other Aristotelian writings translated into Arabic, the *Rhetoric* came without a ready-made framework for understanding it (e.g. in the form of a set of commentaries). Confronted with the obscurities of a text that is intimately linked to aspects of Greek culture they knew little about, Islamic philosophers assembled their own, highly individual and creative interpretation of the *Rhetoric* and its role in the context of Aristotelian philosophy and beyond.[1]

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[1] In medieval Islam, the rhetorical tradition we will be discussing in this book did not refer to "oratory" or "public speaking" in general. It meant a specific form of philosophical theorizing based on Arabic translations of Greek rhetorical writings, particularly Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. The term for "indigenous" forms of oratorical activities such as Arabic

The *Rhetoric* is therefore a good example of several levels of involvement with the Greek heritage. As a text, it posed substantial philological problems and, as we will see, taxed the translators' abilities to and beyond breaking point. As such, it helps us to understand how translators operated by showing how this particular individual applied the whole range of methods and tools at his disposal. As a set of philosophical ideas, the *Rhetoric* illustrates the creative processes of assimilating an unfamiliar subject couched in an even more unfamiliar language into Islamic philosophy through several generations of commentators and philosophers. Posing both philological and philosophical problems, the *Rhetoric* can, I am convinced, throw some light on the larger questions of the Greek-Arabic translation movement outlined above.

Fortunately, the ground is well prepared for a study of the Arabic *Rhetoric*. Research on the Arabic commentary tradition and also its afterlife in the Latin West has been very active for a number of years. To understand this work, its position in the translation movement and its influence on Islamic culture and beyond, our task is therefore to combine these and other strands of research with a thorough study of the Arabic text of the *Rhetoric* itself: we need to situate it in its context as a Greek-Arabic translation, as a philosophical text and as part of a wider historical phenomenon.

Mapping out this context will be at the center of the first two chapters. The first chapter discusses the history of the Greek-Arabic translation movements, its motivations and some of the problems and issues affecting past and current research. In the second, we will focus on the history of the Arabic *Rhetoric* and review the (relatively small) body of information we have about the Arabic translation. The annotations in the margins of the single extant manuscript will lead us to a discussion of the possible role of a Syriac intermediary and the evidence we have for the reception of the *Rhetoric* among Syriac-speaking scholars.

Having assembled the relevant contextual information from the available secondary sources, we then turn to the text of the translation itself. At the center of the third chapter is a detailed analysis of a text sample from Book Three of the Arabic *Rhetoric* and a comparison with the Greek source text. Additional investigations of textual features of a larger text

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literary style and practical genres such as preaching were called *balāġah* whereas "Hellenizing" philosophical rhetoric was taught and studied under the label *ḫaṭābah*. The difference between these two disciplines and their respective terminologies are discussed by Halldén (2005) and Larcher (1998).

sample together with a comparison with other products of the Greek-Arabic translation movement provide us with additional information on the development of terminologies and translation methods during different stages of the translation movement.

The fourth chapter explores the afterlife of the Arabic *Rhetoric* in Arabic and, several centuries later, in Latin. It surveys the Arabic commentary tradition which developed around the *Rhetoric* and describe some of the traces these writings left in the subsequent Arabic-Latin translation tradition.

In the concluding chapter, we will use the information gathered in the preceding chapters to assess the position of the *Rhetoric* as part of the Arabic translation tradition, its methodological underpinnings and the question of the translation's dating. Also, turning back to the issues raised in the introduction, we will attempt to determine how the study of this text helps us better to understand the translation movement and the intellectual world of ninth century Baghdad.

CHAPTER ONE

"GREEK INTO ARABIC"

PROBLEMS OF TRANSLATION HISTORY

The study of the Greek-Arabic translation movement is a scholarly field at the crossroads of a number of related subjects. On the one hand, it belongs to the domain of history, it is part and parcel of the political and intellectual history of medieval Islam. On the other, it is the subject of philological research by scholars of Arabic, Syriac and Greek. Other fields with an interest in the translation movement are the history of philosophy and the history of science but also linguistics, particularly the discipline of translation studies. That the character and outcome of past research depended to a large degree on the specific background of the scholars who worked in the field of Graeco-Arabica should therefore not come as a surprise. The same background sometimes also prevented them from asking important questions. Below, we will survey some of the issues that arose as a result of such individual perspectives. Some of them are inevitable and cannot be resolved satisfactorily. For some, however, remedies are available.

The philological perspective

Especially during the first hundred years of Greek-Arabic studies (which started in earnest around the middle of the nineteenth century), the majority of the pioneering scholars involved in the field came from a philological background associated with the Classics and Divinity. Given that they received their training in such an environment, scholars were at least in part motivated by the desire to search Arabic translations and literature for traces of Greek texts, either in order to check and possibly improve readings of extant Greek texts or even uncover such texts that had survived only in Arabic.

Apart from this strong motivation to study the Arabic translations, their background bestowed on some scholars what I would like to call their "philological outlook": a tendency to look at the translation movement as a philological phenomenon in isolation from its political and

intellectual context. Studying Greek and Islamic science and philosophy
in the form of isolated texts and comparing both traditions in a vacuum
led to conclusions such as that the latter had to be completely dependent
on the former—down to the level of particular terms and phrases.

In addition, this isolating perspective implies static concepts of mean-
ing and translation, among them the (implicit) hypothesis that ideas ex-
pressed in a specific linguistic and cultural context retain their mean-
ing unchanged from the moment of their creation and throughout their
transfer into different languages. According to this view, there is an im-
mutable semantic content which survives unscathed the history of trans-
lation of texts from Greek into Syriac, later into Arabic, later again into
Latin and ultimately into the western vernaculars.[1]

This implicit stance left little room for the role of adaptation, modi-
fication and assimilation of ideas beyond their mere rendering in a new
language. It was incompatible with the idea of movement, development
and change both on the side of the idealized and essentialized content
of texts and the culture into which they were introduced. Incidences of
social, cultural or intellectual continuity which require an even-handed
appreciation of both pre-existing local cultures and the transmitted mate-
rial interacting with it cannot be evaluated on the basis of an essentialist
concept of the translation movement exclusively relying on texts. This
perspective also underestimated the possibility of a diffusion and mutual
inspiration of cultures in the Near East, be they Christian and Islamic or
Greek and Arabic. The efficient and final causes of cultural interaction
had to be textual, monolithic and codified.

The second aspect of what I have termed the "philological outlook"
is its tendency to project a particular division of the "intellectual uni-
verse" on the medieval Islamic societies that initiated and nurtured the
translation movement. Perhaps inevitably, the concept of a divide be-
tween science, philosophy and religion that is often taken as a point of
departure for the study of the Greek-Arabic translations is our own, that
of the contemporary observer. The writings of the eighth-century Is-
lamic philosopher and polymath Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī
(d. ca. 870) illustrate very well why such modern distinctions between
different intellectual spheres stand in the way of a full appreciation of

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[1] In the words of Hans Robert Jauss (1982, p. 9), this crude idealism (which affected
not just the field of Graeco-Arabica) sought "the focal point of knowledge in the origin
or in the atemporal continuity of tradition, and not in the presence and uniqueness of a
literary phenomenon. The recognition of the enduring within perpetual change released
one from the labour of historical understanding."

medieval Islamic scholars and their thought: on the basis of an al-Kindī-commentary on a mathematical treatise about *The Measurement of the Circle* by the great mathematician and engineer Archimedes (d. ca. 212 BCE), Roshdi Rashed demonstrates al-Kindī's reliance on mathematical proofs as both a "paradigm to be respected and an ideal to be attained".[2] For al-Kindī, the study of mathematics was a necessary prerequisite for the study of philosophy and science. Philosophical argumentation provided him the means to reach an understanding of and defend religious doctrines. Unlike later philosophers, who stressed the role of logic as the paramount instrument for gaining knowledge, al-Kindī held that mathematical proofs supplied the unifying methodological framework for all intellectual activity, be it "science", "philosophy" or "theology".[3] The example of al-Kindī casts considerable doubt on the validity of familiar distinctions between "science", "philosophy" and "religion" in the context of the early translation movement.[4]

Likewise, the relation between science as understood by al-Kindī on the one hand, i.e. the totality of human intellectual effort, and translation on the other has often (but not always) been regarded as one of precedence in time and content: translations spawned "science". Again, Roshdi Rashed persuasively argues for a less schematic approach. On the basis of examples from mathematics and optics, he demonstrates that the need for specific translations was often caused by previous research. Concrete research agendas led to the identification and translation of Greek texts deemed useful to solve specific scientific problems. Thus, the relationship between research and translation can be better understood as dialectical with research promoting translation and translations changing or giving rise to entirely new research agendas.[5]

Reconstructing transmission, oral and written

One consequence of the "philological outlook" is the centrality accorded to the *textual* transmission of Greek thought. Modern scholars concentrating on written texts often tend to underestimate the impact of oral

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[2] Rashed (1993, p. 31).

[3] Cf. Endress (2007, p. 338, 343f).

[4] The problem of compartmentalizing spheres of thought and expression that were regarded as a continuum by contemporary observers also affects other genres Arabic writings. See Montgomery (2006, p. 91f) with further references on the problematic distinction between "thought" and "literature".

[5] Cf. Rashed (1989, p. 208).

communication and reinforce descriptions of the "Islamic scientific enterprise" as a phenomenon that logically depended on the production of translations, predicating the development of "science" on the textual transmission of Greek knowledge. Fortunately, they also now often acknowledge the undocumented but far-ranging consequences of oral translation and transmission.[6]

The bias of the historical picture in favor of written texts is all but inevitable, given the scarcity of relevant primary and secondary sources: translation techniques, the identity of translators and information about their life and times have to be inferred on the basis of a limited number of translations and an even more limited number of bibliographical works. These in turn are either useless, such as the pronouncements of the scientist and philosopher Ḫalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 1363),[7] to be discussed below, or tied to a specific context, such as Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's (d. 870) *Risālah*,[8] a letter by the most accomplished of all Greek-Arabic translators to one of his patrons, the Persian courtier and general ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyā al-Munaǧǧim. It is one of the most valuable sources for the chronology of translations and authors and the only comprehensive source we have on the details of translation methods but applicable only to Ḥunayn and perhaps his associates. Common sense alone tells us that in all probability, Ḥunayn did not invent these methods but only refined and systematized them. But a comprehensive description of the developing methodology of the translators remains a desideratum.[9] Frequently, judgments about the identity of translators of a given text, their methodology, style and vocabulary are tentative at most. The common practice of revisions complicates matters even further by potentially burying translators' idiosyncrasies in style and vocabulary under layers of later corrections, leaving the modern scholar with a jumble of sometimes contradictory findings.[10]

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[6] The role and importance of oral channels of transmission have been studied, among others, by Paul Kunitzsch (1975, p. 272 and 1976, p. 116ff) and Kees Versteegh (1979, p. 258 and 1980, p. 10f, 13f). The results of his analysis of the *Tafsīr* (Qurʾān commentary) by Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 767) caused him to qualify his previous claims about Greek sources for the terminology of early Kufan grammarians (cf. Versteegh, 1990, p. 238); still, his overall concept of cultural contacts between Arab conquerors and the Hellenized cultures of Syria and Iraq remains convincing.

[7] Cf. Mattock (1989, p. 73f).

[8] Cf. Badawī (1968, p. 18f).

[9] Some important work in this direction has already been done. See e.g. Brock (1983) on the development of the Syriac translation techniques that later influenced Arabic translators and Brock (1991) on the impact of this tradition on Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq.

[10] Cf. Endress (1989, p. 106ff).

In addition, by its very nature, oral transmission is extremely difficult to document.[11] Short of filtering the entire corpus of classical Arabic literature for technical terms and ideas that potentially resulted from oral diffusion before or during the translation movement, there is no way to estimate the extent and consequences of oral transmission. Even if such a body of evidence were to be compiled, it would be even harder conclusively to disprove the the influence of (known or unknown) written sources.

Still, the evidence of transmission and cultural exchange that has been brought to light so far seems underdetermined by the corpus of translations, both lost and extant: we cannot explain every Graecism and every instance of terms and ideas apparently inspired by a Greek source, whether directly or indirectly.[12] To understand such phenomena, it is helpful to postulate a certain amount of oral communication across linguistic boundaries and "para-translational" phenomena which leave less conspicuous traces in a literary tradition than the outright translation of texts. Assuming such transmission processes has the added advantage of fostering an understanding of the translation movement that emphasizes the *processual* character of cultural exchange: instead of contrasting diachronic "before"- and "after"-snapshots of Islamic culture to demonstrate the impact of Greek-Arabic translations, commentators such as Endress describe the translation phenomenon and the unique cultural background it emerged from in a way that allows for numerous parallel, competing and converging channels of transmission and that offers a better and pointedly non-essentialist starting point for the explanation of specific linguistic and cultural phenomena.[13]

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[11] Cf. Gutas (1994, p. 4947).

[12] As Gutas (1994, p. 4946) convincingly argues, the contents of such oral transmission could hardly have been entire systems of thought or complex doctrines.

[13] Oral diffusion of terms, ideas and other disparate pieces of information in the multicultural and multilingual environment of early ʿAbbāsid Baghdad does not necessarily deny the possibility and importance of independent intellectual developments Gutas (1994, p. 4948) stresses, let alone the independence and creativity of Islamic civilization. In view of the challenge of documenting oral transmission, it cannot be more than one explanation among many for particular intellectual and literary phenomena. This "minimalist" position may be read as negating its explanatory value, but I am convinced that it has an important role to play as an antidote to excessive reliance on written transmission as the ultimate vector of cultural exchange.

Translation "quality" and "equivalence"

The study of the translation movement, its exponents and its products is intimately linked with a vexing linguistic issue, that of the "equivalence" or, as it has sometimes been framed, the "quality" of translations. Naturally, translation meant different things to different people, not just to a Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq as opposed to modern scholars but also to modern scholars coming from different fields. We will discuss the issues that arise from differing "modern" understandings of translation below; suffice it to say that some commentators approached the products of the ninth- and tenth-century Greek-Arabic translation movement from a decidedly twentieth-century point of view and tended to regard some of them *qua* translations as something of a failure.

However, in spite of the obvious problems for a correct understanding of the translated texts this chapter will uncover—in a nutshell, secondary Syriac translations served Arabic translators as a basis for the understanding of a scientific and literary tradition as far removed from ninth- and tenth-century Baghdad as ancient Greece—scholars still frequently commend the products of the Greek-Arabic translation movement for their quality and philosophical subtlety.[14]

In part, the perhaps surprising ability of the translators to overcome linguistic and cultural obstacles stemmed from their own experience with and keen awareness of the problems involved in the transfer of ideas between structurally unrelated languages such as Arabic and Greek.[15] Some apparently also realized that there not only existed a linguistic gap between classical Greek on the one hand and Syriac and Arabic on the other—all of which interfered with each other in the process of translation—but that a second gap had opened between the Greek of the philosophical and scientific texts they worked with and the Greek language they had learned as part of their schooling or training as translators. As important is it is for the study of Greek-Arabic translations, this phenomenon has not yet received the attention it deserves.[16]

The translators shared their awareness of the problems of translation with their readers, e.g. Islamic philosophers such as Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 950) who was in personal contact with translators. Their debates about

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[14] E.g. Walzer (1945–1946, p. 167).

[15] Cf. Walzer (1970, p. 39).

[16] Daiber (1980, p. 39–61) documents the various levels of influence exerted by post-classical usage on the Arabic translation of the *Placita philosophorum* falsely ascribed to Plutarchus of Chaeroneia (d. ca. 127); cf. below, p. 139.

translational problems left traces in philosophical works, e.g. in a fascinating passage in al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-ḥurūf* and his commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione* in which he gives a lengthy description of the
structural and semantic differences between several languages, notably
Greek and Arabic.[17] The two problems al-Fārābī discusses in particular
are the lack of congruence between the verbal systems of both languages,
i.e. the difficulty to express the elaborate system of Greek verbal tempora in Arabic and the lack of an Arabic equivalent for the Greek copula
discussed below.[18]

That the quality of many translations was not always up to the expectations of readers is illustrated by a long digression on translation in the
Kitāb al-ḥayawān (*Book of Animals*) by the celebrated littérateur ʿAmr ibn
Baḥr al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 868/869).[19] He lists a number of minimal qualifications
for a translator: he has to be intellectually on a par with the author he is
translating; he should be well versed in both source and target language
and aware of their different structures, methods of argumentation etc.
and the subtle ways those languages influence each other in the process
of translation; the translator has to be familiar with the characteristics of
different textual genres and the specific problems they pose for him (an
amazing insight into a problem still discussed in contemporary translation theory); finally, he must be experienced in textual criticism and have
a grasp of the problems manuscripts and their potential corruption can
cause. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ mentions several translators by name: Ibn al-Biṭrīq (fl.
in the first half of the ninth century), Theodore Abū Qurrā (d. ca. 820),
ʿAbd al-Masīḥ ibn Nāʿimah al-Ḥimṣī (d. around 840), Ibn Fihr and Ibn
Wahīlī. The best known and probably most accomplished translator of
his time, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, does not appear—his translations might
either not have been well-known by the time of al-Ǧāḥiẓ or the *Kitāb
al-ḥayawān* was written before Ḥunayn produced his translations. The
motivation for his detailed remarks might be found in contemporary discussions about the necessity of translating the Qurʾān for the benefit of

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[17] Cf. e.g. Mahdi (1969, p. 110–128) and, for the latter, Zimmermann (1981). Since al-
Fārābī himself was unable to read Greek, his knowledge of specific linguistic phenomena
must have been derived from secondary sources. Walzer (1970, p. 37) assumes that they go
back to Ḥunayn's discussion of the subject in a lost treatise known to the tenth-century
translator and philosopher Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yūnus al-Qunnāʾī (d. ca. 940) and his
associates who transmitted it to their contemporary al-Fārābī.

[18] Walzer (1970, p. 37).

[19] Hārūn (1965, vol. 1, p. 75–79). In spite of his opposition to many of the claims made
by contemporary philosophers, al-Ǧāḥiẓ happily quoted the translations of Aristotle's
zoological works in this compilation, cf. Endress (2007, p. 346 and n. 78).

the non-Arabic speaking population of the Muslim state (especially into Greek and Persian). Al-Ǧāḥiẓ was apparently vehemently opposed to any such undertaking.[20]

The one medieval Islamic source that is most often quoted in discussions of translation "quality" and "equivalence" is a classification of translations into word-by-word and sentence-based proposed by the Arab polymath al-Ṣafadī.[21] He claims that before the time of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (i.e. before ca. 850), translators operated on a word-by-word-basis, replacing each Greek word with its Arabic equivalent. Ḥunayn and his successors read whole sentences and rendered their semantic content, thereby preserving the meaning of the texts.[22] An examination of the Arabic translation of the *Metaphysics*, produced by one of the most productive pre-Ḥunayn translators, Usṭāṯ (otherwise unknown, fl. probably during the first half of the ninth century), flatly contradicts al-Ṣafadī's claims.[23] The degree of modulation in evidence in earlier translations is on the whole even *higher* than in later translations. Thanks to the activities of Ḥunayn and his associates, a complete inventory of technical terms in different disciplines evolved and became standard; additionally, the language of their translations conformed to contemporary literary tastes—which in turn facilitated the acceptance of both terminology and texts by their scholarly audience.[24] In a way, it would be more appropriate to describe the translation movement as progressing towards a higher degree of translational restriction—turning al-Ṣafadī's scheme upside down.[25] The rig-

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[20] Badawī (1968, p. 24f). On the problems associated with translating the Qurʾān and the history of Qurʾān translations, cf. Hartmut Bobzin's article "Translations of the Qurʾān" in *EQ*, vol. 5, p. 340–358.

[21] Mattock (1989, p. 74) observes: "The frequent citing of this passage illustrates quite a common phenomenon: if a quotation is useful, it will become authoritative by virtue of sheer frequency of repetition." It has become something of a *topos* in studies of the Greek-Arabic translation movement; whatever an author may think about its validity, s/he has to discuss it.

[22] E.g. Walzer (1962d, p. 116, 118f).

[23] This point has been convincingly argued by Endress (1973, p. 154 and 1989, p. 110f), Mattock (1989, p. 74) and Gutas (1998, p. 142).

[24] Endress (1989, p. 110f).

[25] The Syriac translation movement went through a similar development; see Brock (1983). However, the Syriac methodology was explicitly developed in reaction to the need for higher precision in the rendering of religious source texts after the major christological conflicts of late antiquity. Any comparison between these two translation phenomena might therefore be of limited value. The parallel development towards translations that attempted to mirror the source text in ever greater detail in both Greek-Syriac and Greek-Arabic translations is also noted by Hugonnard-Roche (1991b, p. 201) and Gutas (1998, p. 142).

orous stylistic standards of Ḥunayn's and later translations left their mark on scholarly writings which adopted a number of stylistic characteristics introduced during the translation movement.[26]

Al-Ṣafadī's statement is absurd not only because it contradicts the evidence of extant translations. It also contradicts linguistic common sense: due to the substantial structural differences between Greek and Arabic, divergences between source and target text were unavoidable and automatically render any description of early translations as "word by word-renderings" meaningless.[27] As far back as the late sixth century, translators themselves were aware of the need to balance their desire to reproduce the source text as precisely as possible and the necessity to stay within the semantic and syntactical boundaries of the target language.[28]

The discussion of al-Ṣafadī's remarks and scholarly positions on the "quality" of translations exemplifies a wider problem: a misleading concept of translation. As noted above, "translation" is often understood as the transfer of an unchanging semantic content from one language into another, an oversimplification that frequently prevents satisfactory explanations for the translational problems encountered in the Greek-Arabic translation movement. At the same time, however, "language" is often regarded with some suspicion: the obvious translation problems encountered in the products of the Greek-Arabic translation movement serve as evidence that "language" (specifically Syriac and Arabic) is an inflexible semantic system *unsuited* to convey terms and ideas from one linguistic and cultural system to another. Frequently cited examples include the mismatch between terms across languages, cultural and religious notions that influence the reading of texts or sometimes even vague claims about the incompatibility of the Arabic language with certain types of philosophical reasoning.

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[26] Endress (1989, p. 121). In his comparison of translations of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* α by Usṭāṯ and Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, Mattock (1989, p. 73) credits the latter with greater consistency in style and terminology while the former suffers from a primitive technical vocabulary, eccentricities of syntax and a "general unevenness of quality".

[27] Cf. Endress (1989, p. 110).

[28] At the end of a Syriac translation dated to the end of the sixth century, the translator writes: "This [treatise] was translated and interpreted from Greek into Syriac word for word without alteration in so far as possible, so as to indicate, not just the sense, but, by its very words, the words of the Greek; and for the most part not one letter has been added or subtracted, *provided the requirements of the language have not hindered this*" (Brock 1983, p. 9f, my emphasis).

The history of Greek-Arabic translations

Translating Aristotle's *Rhetoric* into Arabic was part of a wider process of cultural exchange that led to the adaptation and transformation of large parts of Greek learning to fit the unique religious, intellectual, political and social circumstances of Islamic culture. It is almost impossible to understand the significance of the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* outside this historical and intellectual context. Our first task will be to trace the history, motivations and consequences of the so-called "translation movement", a sustained translation effort which spanned ca. two centuries and resulted in the translation from Greek into Syriac and Arabic of the bulk of the Greek philosophical and scientific literature that had become accessible to Arabic-speaking scholars following the conquest of large areas of the Middle East and North Africa by Muslim armies in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The following survey of translations, translators and issues of translation history is far from complete.[29] Its (more modest) aim is twofold: firstly, to present some background information about the history of Greek-Arabic translations to help us contextualize the Arabic *Rhetoric* and, secondly, to describe how various scholars have attempted to explain the occurrence of the translation movement in the first place and how these explanations included an ever widening range of historical factors.

From the very beginning of the study of the Greek-Arabic translation tradition, scholars were fascinated by the role Muslims played in preserving and passing on parts of the Greek philosophical and scientific heritage to the Latin West: the "continuity" of Western thought was regarded as crucial for the study of the translations and the Arabic scientific and philosophical writings they inspired. At least in part, the translations and the Islamic philosophical traditions based on them derived their value from being part of a larger tradition, from preserving rather than extending and developing Greek philosophical thought and deserved attention "for this reason alone".[30] The emphasis on the transmission rather than as-

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[29] Other, much more accomplished scholars have already given as detailed accounts of the Greek-Arabic translation history as is possible at this stage. Among the more comprehensive ones are Endress (1987) and Gutas (1998). Goulet (1989–), supplemented by Goulet (2003), is an indispensable guide to the Syriac and Arabic translation tradition of Aristotelian works. The most comprehensive and up-to-date bibliographical resource on Islamic philosophy including translations and related texts is Daiber (1999).

[30] E.g. Richard Walzer (1962b, p. 2, 7f), one of the founding fathers of Greek-Arabic studies, who was one of the most important exponents of this perspective.

similation and development of Greek science in the Islamic tradition was, however, tempered by two factors: firstly, an appreciation of the role of a scholar's historical circumstances, personal priorities and philosophical background. Modern commentators are fully aware that their historical judgments are necessarily relative, given that any understanding of the past can only proceed from their individual historical situation and experience.[31] Secondly, an awareness of the achievements of Arabic translators and Muslim philosophers who, with the help of translated texts, created whole new disciplines—e.g. Islamic philosophy—together with the language to discuss philosophical and scientific ideas.[32]

The impact of the Greek-Arabic translations and the subsequent re-translations of Arabic texts into Latin on the respective receiving cultures was immense. In addition to reviving Greek learning, the translations were instrumental in the very formation of Islamic culture.[33] Their impact was so tremendous that they have been been likened to the European Renaissance.[34] In spite of the obvious differences between these two processes of cultural transformation—for one, on the Muslim side, it would be inappropriate to talk of a "recovery" of a cultural heritage that had been lost—the term conveys a sense of the rapid influx of new ideas and the upsurge in philosophical and scientific activities it brought about.[35] Its reach was not limited to those disciplines that were newly established on the basis of translated texts, e.g. philosophy and the natural sciences. In

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[31] Walzer (1970, p. 8f).

[32] Among others, Walzer (1962a, p. 11) described it as a " 'productive assimilation' of Greek thought by open-minded and far-sighted representatives of a very different tradition and thus a serious attempt to make this foreign element an integral part of the Islamic tradition."

There is no doubt that the Arabic translation tradition can be a very useful tool for the study of Greek literature. In the case of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the Arabic translation was helpful in clarifying issues of textual transmission and even confirm some hypothetical readings of the Greek original; cf. Bottin (1975, 1977).

[33] Rosenthal (1965, p. 28) writes: "Ein neues Lebensgefühl, eine geistige Ausrichtung, wie sie zuvor dem Islam fast unbekannt gewesen und nur rudimentär in ihm angelegt war, wurde geboren und damit das, was wir islamische Kultur nennen, erst eigentlich geschaffen."

[34] Cf. Rosenthal (1965, p. 28, 30). Rosenthal's student Joel Kraemer (1992, p. VII) defines the term "renaissance" in an Islamic context as "a classical revival and cultural flowering within the soil of Islamic civilization" and explains that "[t]he principal expression of this renaissance was a philosophical humanism that embraced the cultural and philosophical heritage of antiquity as a cultural and educational ideal."

[35] Cf. Kraemer (1992, p. 1), who adds that each cultural flowering in history which has been labelled a "renaissance" was based on a different set of ideas and texts: "Each epoch selects and fashions its own antiquity" (p. 4).

spite of sometimes open hostility from some quarters, the knowledge de-
rived from Greek texts permeated almost every field of Islamic thought.[36]

Part of the creative achievement of the translators was to devise the very
language with which to express the ideas and theories they were translat-
ing into Arabic.[37] As the results amply demonstrate, the Arabic language
proved to be an ideal medium for the development e.g. of a philosophical
terminology which in some cases became the model for technical terms
in Western languages through the medium of Latin translations. Often,
their precision even surpassed that of the original Greek texts.[38]

In addition to creating a powerful technical language suitable for sci-
entific and philosophical research and preserving Greek texts (even today,
Arabic translations represent an important source of manuscript evidence
for Greek writings), the Greek-Arabic translation movement sent a much
more fundamental message that transcends the narrow confines of par-
ticular cultures and historical periods:

> its significance lies in that it demonstrated for the first time in history
> that scientific and philosophical thought are international, not bound to a
> specific language or culture.[39]

Once it had been passed on to Muslim scholars, Greek scientific and
philosophical literature was not just passively transmitted to western,
Latin-speaking scholars from the eleventh-century onward. Even before
the systematic efforts in the West to find and translate Greek original
texts that were a hallmark of the Renaissance, Latin translators had in-
troduced their audience to those versions of Greek texts that had passed

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[36] "La pénétration de la pensée grecque fut immense dans tous les domaines de la
pensée arabe, même dans ceux où la résistance fut la plus vive: philologie, jurisprudence,
et théologie. Le miracle grec a été reconnu par tous" (Badawī, 1968, p. 13).

[37] Even before the translation movement got under way, scholars had begun to create
or systematize Arabic terminologies in other subjects. To cite but a few examples, Zafar
Ansari (1972, p. 299f) has demonstrated the existence of a complex and precise legal
terminology around the middle of the second century AH. Some fascinating examples
for subtle terminological distinctions in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, a comprehensive handbook of
legal rulings by the Medinese jurisprudent and founder of the eponymous *maḏhab* (legal
tradition or "school of law"), Mālik ibn Anas (d. 795), can be found in Dutton (2002,
p. 40). For *kalām*, i.e. theology or, more specifically, the religious science that devises
discursive arguments to defend religious doctrines, Richard Frank (1994) has shed light
on the early development of a highly technical and systematic set of terms by analyzing the
evolution of the phrase *lam yazal* ("was/has been from eternity") in Muslim theological
discourse. See also Louis Gardet's article "ʿIlm al-kalām" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*,
second edition (Gibb 1954–2005, henceforth *EI²*), vol. 3, p. 1141–1150.

[38] Cf. the remarks by Walzer (1968, p. 102–106).

[39] Gutas (1998, p. 192).

through the filter of Arabic translation and Islamic reception, together with parts of the commentary tradition built on those Arabic versions. These translations helped define the textual and theoretical corpus we know as the "Greek heritage". This form of cultural influence manifested itself not only through the recovery of works lost in the West. Of equal importance was the transmission of several apocryphal texts that colored the entire reception of Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy throughout the Middle Ages.[40]

Numerous studies of the translation movement, its history and its products have made abundantly clear that the Greek-Arabic translations are more than a mere episode in the history of philosophy and the sciences. Also, they are not the exclusive domain of philologists and students of literature. The impact the translations had on all branches of learning in the Islamic world, their political motivations and implications across two centuries (and beyond) and their sheer pervasiveness under the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs in the late eighth and early ninth century document their relevance for the historian as much as the literary scholar and the linguist.

Translation history

Thanks to one and a half centuries of historical and philological research, the historical outlines of the "translation movement", its development and its protagonists are fairly well known. Details, however, are harder to discern; our information about the output of specific translators is limited and a number of extant translations, including the Arabic *Rhetoric*, have so far resisted attempts to identify their author and historical context.

One important impediment remains the lack of reliable bibliographical and biographical sources. The *Risālah* (*Epistle*) of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 870) is one of the most valuable sources for the chronology of translations and authors. It is extant in two diverging recensions and was—as Ḥunayn himself admits—written from memory.[41] Later bibliographical authorities such as the *Fihrist* (*Catalogue*) of the Baghdad bookseller Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Nadīm (fl. 987)[42] and biographical collections such as the *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ* (*History of philosophers*) by the histo-

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[40] Cf. Badawī (1968, p. 8f, 12).

[41] Bergsträsser (1925, p. 1). The *Risālah* was edited and translated into German on the basis of a single manuscript by Bergsträsser (1925) with additions and corrections from a second manuscript in Bergsträsser (1932). See also Meyerhof (1926) and Strohmaier (1991).

[42] Edited by Flügel (1871–1872) and translated into English by Dodge (1970).

rian ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf al-Qifṭī (d. 1248)[43] and the *ʿUyūn al-ʾanbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-ʾaṭibbāʾ* (*The Sources of Reports on the Classes of Physicians*) by the historian Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah (d. 1270)[44] did not always quote their sources correctly. Further complicating the situation are translations credited to the wrong author by copyists who wanted to improve their sales. In many cases, translated texts also show traces of several *layers* of modifications such as collation(s) and subsequent revision(s). We are often hardly able to determine the share different translators, collators, scholars and copyists had in shaping some of the extant translations.[45]

The philological analysis of numerous translations at least allows us to assign specific texts to one of the several groups of translators who worked in close proximity during one or another stage of the translation movement. Thus, in tracing the sequence of events of the Greek-Arabic translation movement, it makes more sense to concentrate on what one commentator has called "complexes" of translators or of texts linked by a common subject matter instead of applying a purely chronological approach. Since each of these complexes operated with its own set of stylistic and terminological conventions, they are much easier to distinguish than individual translators.[46] The following historical sketch of the translation movement will concentrate on such "complexes" or groups of translators.

Richard Walzer, whose classification we will follow, distinguished four such groups during the course of the translation movement. The first operated until the accession of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 813–833). Information about its members is scarce; we know little more than their names. The second group spanned the reigns of al-Maʾmūn and his successor al-Muʿtaṣim (r. 833–842). Among others, they produced the translations commissioned by the philosopher al-Kindī. The third such group, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and his associates in Baghdad, was the mainstay of the translation movement from the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim well into the first half of the tenth century. Thereafter, a fourth group of translators centered around a succession of Christian Aristotelian philosophers in Baghdad continued to produce new translations in the tenth and eleventh centuries. For their source texts, they relied almost exclusively on Syriac versions of Greek works originating from the circle of Ḥunayn.[47]

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[43] Edited by Lippert (1903).
[44] Edited by Müller (1884) and Riḍā (1965).
[45] Endress (1989, p. 106ff).
[46] Cf. Gutas (1998, p. 141f, 149f).
[47] Walzer (1970, p. 32, 35). We will discuss the role of translations from Greek into Syriac below.

The members of these groups shared three characteristics. Firstly, their geographical focus: most, if not all translators worked in Baghdad, the political and intellectual center of the ʿAbbāsid state, except those few who were already active before the foundation of the city in the year 762. Secondly, their religious affiliation: a majority of the dozens of translators we know of were Christians. Finally, their linguistic and educational background: for all we know, the Christian translators were largely a product of the church-based Christian educational system that continued to function under Muslim rule. The native language of the various Christian communities from which most of the translator hailed was Syriac.

Before we turn to the groups of translators listed above, we will first delineate the character and role of the Syriac translation tradition for the subsequent translations of Greek literature into Arabic. To get a better understanding of the environment in which the Greek-Arabic translation movement arose and flourished, we will then discuss the beginnings of these translation efforts and in particular the theories that have been suggested to explain why translation became such a prominent phenomenon shortly after the rise of the ʿAbbāsid caliphal dynasty in the middle of the eighth century.

The Syriac translation precedent

In pre-Islamic Palestine, Syria and Iraq, Greek learning was mainly transmitted through the various Christian churches of the area. Many of the Christian scholars trained in the convents and churches that were part of the local educational system(s) were familiar enough with Greek to read Greek literature in the original but their native language was Syriac, a dialect of Aramaic that had become the dominant language of scholars and merchants in the "Fertile Crescent" in the wake of the spread of Christianity. The doctrinal conflicts between local churches and the Byzantine authorities which led to the establishment of several independent denominations with parallel ecclesiastical hierarchies and educational systems deepened the rift between local communities and the secular and religious authorities in Constantinople.[48] With few exceptions, Syriac became the language of instruction in local schools and convents where a growing number of monolingual speakers of Syriac received their training. To acquaint them with the body of theological and also secular texts

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[48] Syriac also served as the language of liturgy in these new church organizations; cf. Brock (1977, p. 422 and 1999, p. 157ff).

that made up the curriculum in these schools, Syriac translations were needed. Starting with the New Testament, a vast amount of mostly theological literature was translated into Syriac from the third century onward. Secular translations are attested as early as the fourth century and side by side with the bulk of patristic writings, a steady (if much less prominent) stream of secular texts was rendered into Syriac.[49]

The Syriac translation precedent provided both a body of Syriac translations and the know-how and translational expertise that the Arabic translators of the eighth to tenth centuries could fall back on. They operated in a multilingual environment in which translation was a routine method of transmitting information, both orally and in writing. Also, the Arabic translators worked with a textual corpus which had been established long before they started translating it into Arabic: it represented the syllabus of Greek learning as taught and transmitted in Syriac long before the Islamic conquest of the area in the seventh century.

At the time of the Islamic conquest, the centers of Greek scholarship in the eastern part of the Roman Empire and western Persia were Edessa, Nisibis, Seleucia (near Ctesiphon) and Gundīšāpūr (all of them dominated by Nestorian denomination) and Antioch and Amida (predominated by the rival Jacobite denomination). Secular sciences like philosophy, rhetoric, grammar, mathematics, astronomy, music and medicine were taught alongside religious subjects.

Philosophical studies were dominated by Aristotle, especially logic.[50] The body of Greek-Syriac philosophical translations constituted a substantial part of the "Greek philosophy" Muslim readers were familiar with; it consisted largely of the canon assembled by the philosopher Porphyry (d. 305) and other Neoplatonic commentators of his age and taught in the larger cities of the Byzantine East, including Alexandria, Gaza and Beirut. It included most of the works of Plato and Aristotle and a number of later commentaries and summaries.[51] Among other benefits, Syriac intermediaries of Arabic translations had an important role to play in the practical day-to-day operations of translators: they could either be substi-

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[49] Brock (1977, p. 422). Among the secular texts translated and commented on by Syriac scholars, Aristotle's *Organon* played a particularly prominent role; cf. Hugonnard-Roche (2007), esp. p. 282–288.

[50] Badawī (1968, p. 15f) and also Daiber (2001, p. 336–343) with a sketch of the reception of Aristotelian logic in Syriac.

[51] Cf. Walzer (1970, p. 13). Endress (1990, p. 244) emphasizes the exceptional contribution of the translators associated with the Kindī-circle (see below) in establishing the (Neoplatonically tinged) "Aristoteles Arabus" of Islamic philosophy.

tuted for a missing Greek source or used to cross-check and collate Greek and other Syriac manuscripts of the same text.[52]

The relevance and range of secular Greek texts translated into Syriac and their contribution to and importance for the Greek-Arabic translation movement are still debated.[53] When assessing the role of Syriac translations for the Arabic translation tradition, we should keep in mind that the number of Syriac translations of scientific and philosophical texts known to us only tell us part of the story: many Syriac scholars and translators routinely consulted Greek sources which were not translated but read in Greek and used in writing commentaries on other texts.[54] Reducing the influence of Syriac translators to the (relatively small) number of attested translations tends to obscure the importance and consequences of this indirect transmission.

In addition, the Syriac scholarly tradition was still alive by the time the first Greek-Arabic translations were produced in the second half of the eighth century, particularly in Edessa, one of the most prominent centers of Greek scholarship.[55] At the very least, the activities of Syriac scholars at this point in time suggest that the Syriac scholarly infrastructure—monasteries with their schools and libraries—was still to some extent functional and could have given the first generations of Greek-Arabic translators access to scientific and philosophical scholarship and to Greek texts and Syriac translations.[56]

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[52] Walzer (1945–1946, p. 168, 171).

[53] For a pessimistic view, see Gutas (1998, p. 138). Henri Hugonnard-Roche (e.g. 1987, p. 3 and 1990, p. 133f), who concentrates on the tradition of logical texts and translations, tends to see its role in a more positive light. The tradition of rhetorical learning in Syriac and possible influences of the Syriac version of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* has been studied by John Watt (1993a, 1995b, 1998).

[54] Hugonnard-Roche (2007, p. 283f) cites the example of George, Bishop of the Arabs (d. 724). His commentaries on Aristotelian works clearly demonstrate that he was familiar with commentaries produced in the school of the Neoplatonic philosopher Ammonius of Alexandria which, to our knowledge, were never translated into Syriac.

[55] Drijvers (1995) gives a concise overview of our knowledge about the history of the "School of Edessa" and its impact.

[56] Cf. Hugonnard-Roche (2007, p. 290f) and, on the continued existence of the Syriac scholarly tradition up to and beyond the accession of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty in 750, Conrad (1999). Brock (2007, p. 299ff, 305f) points out that the ongoing activities of Syriac monk-scholars in numerous monasteries attest to the existence of well-stocked libraries long after the Muslim conquest. He cites interesting manuscript evidence, e.g. for continuing scholarly work at the monastery of Qartmin as late as the ninth century.

The beginnings of the translation movement

The task of reconstructing the earliest history of translation into Arabic is closely linked with that of determining the intellectual and political factors that generated the need for translation and sustained the practice for more than two centuries. A number of basic historical facts are well established: translation (mostly oral) and the transmission of information between the various languages of the new Islamic state must have been a regular occurrence ever since the conquests of the seventh century brought large areas inhabited by non-Arabic speakers under Muslim control. Of the languages spoken by the new subjects in the formerly Byzantine and Persian territories, three were of particular importance: Greek (in Egypt and the urban centers of Syria and Mesopotamia), Aramaic (in Syria and Mesopotamia) and Persian (in Persia). The "Arabization" of the areas under Muslim control that had been heavily impacted by late antique Hellenism was a long, drawn-out process and the number of Persian and Greek administrative terms that entered into the Arabic language attests to the importance of non-Arabic speaking administrators and the extent of cultural exchanges in the early period of Islamic expansion.[57] However, evidence for the systematic collection and translation especially of Greek scientific and philosophical literature only emerges in the second half of the eighth century. The ʿAbbāsid caliphs of the first half of the ninth century, in particular the celebrated al-Maʾmūn and his successor al-Muʿtaṣim, are credited with instituting state sponsorship of translation and related scientific activities.

Less well established than these historical facts are the motivations of the various people involved, the translators, scientists, philosophers and, most of all, the rulers who took such an active interest in promoting translation. In this section, while tracing the development of the early

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[57] Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 416). Lutz Richter-Bernburg (1989, p. 46) emphasizes the reciprocal influence of Hellenism and local cultures. The cultural environment of early theologians and translators bore traces of indirect and direct Greek influences, it was an amalgamation growing out of a variety of cultural and intellectual roots. In the context of social and political thought, Louise Marlow (1997, p. 44f) stresses the wide diffusion of "Hellenism" in local cultures in Syria and Egypt and states that the influence of "Hellenism" was not restricted to urban environments but adapted to local rural traditions as well. She concludes that "[t]he assimilation of Hellenism into the culture of the eastern Mediterranean in the course of the sixth and seventh centuries foreshadowed the permeation of Islamic thought by Classical Greek and Neoplatonic social ideas". Michael Morony (1984, p. 7ff) presents several theoretical models for cultural exchange and transmission to back up and explain evidence for cultural diffusion in Iraq after the Islamic conquest.

Greek-Arabic translations as reconstructed by various modern scholars, we will survey in some detail their answers to this key question: how and why did systematic Greek-Arabic translations arise? As we will see, they built on and extended each others' increasingly complex theories about the origins of the Greek-Arabic translation movement.

That translators received support and encouragement from the political elite of the late eighth and early ninth century, notably from the caliphs al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim, is abundantly attested in Arabic sources. In the 1950s, Richard Walzer maintained that apart from their alleged sympathies for the theological doctrines of the *muʿtazilah*,[58] the reasons for their remarkable and long-lived interest in Greek science and philosophy were unclear.[59]

To add to existing explanations for the support of the authorities for translation, Franz Rosenthal examines the political background of the translation movement. He maintained that already before the rise of Islam, there existed a certain degree of cultural contact between the Arabian Peninsula and the cities of Palestine and Syria, mainly through the medium of caravan trade. According to Rosenthal, Hellenism quickly became the chief cultural force in these areas and (somewhat later) in the

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[58]   A theological school originating in the first half of the eighth century which defined itself by its belief in five key doctrines: the oneness of God; the justice of God; the promise of paradise for repentant sinners and, conversely, the threat of eternal hellfire for those Muslims who die unrepentant; the status of a sinning Muslim as a *fāsiq* ("evildoer") which puts him between the believer (*muʾmin*) and the unbeliever (*kāfir*); the Qurʾānic obligation of every Muslim to "command the good and forbid the evil" (*al-ʾamr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-naḥī ʿan al-munkar*). Cf. D. Gimaret's article "Muʿtazila" in *EI²*, vol. 7, p. 783–793.

[59]   Walzer (1962a, p. 3, 6). The alleged link between al-Maʾmūn's policies and the theological doctrines of the *muʿtazilah* have been called into question by more recent research. John Nawas (1994, p. 616f) presents a concise and clear discussion of the reasons for al-Maʾmūn to promulgate the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾān and institute—a few years later and just months before his death in 833—the *miḥnah*, the prosecution of legal and theological scholars rejecting this doctrine. He shows that al-Maʾmūn's alleged sympathies for the *muʿtazilah* cannot be conclusively proven from our sources. Dimitri Gutas (1998, p. 28f, 161, 189–92) agrees that the support of the ʿAbbāsids must have been politically motivated and maintains that al-Maʾmūn consciously instrumentalized the *muʿtazilah* for political ends. As to the reasons for the introduction of the *miḥnah*, Josef van Ess (1965–1966, p. 92–96) attributes it to al-Maʾmūn's desire to unify the Muslim community. It had been torn apart by years of persecution of the proto-šīʿī movements who supported various pretenders against the ʿAbbāsid dynasty. He also notes the influence of *muʿtazilī* theologians at his court and his claim that the caliphal office should provide the community with both political and spiritual leadership—similar to the claims of the various leaders of the ʿAlid movements the ʿAbbāsid authorities fought against. Cf. also Crone and Hinds (1986, p. 94, 96) and Martin Hinds' thorough discussion in the article "Miḥna" in *EI²*, vol. 7, p. 2–6.

Arabian Peninsula.[60] But the influence of Greek science and philosophy remained muted for some time. Under the first caliphal dynasty of the expanding Islamic polity, the Umayyads (661–750), the adoption of Greek thought was, as Rosenthal explains, considered inopportune: the ongoing political and military conflict with the Byzantine empire and the promotion of "Arabism", i.e. the attempt of the conquering Arab tribes to hold on to their native cultural traditions and prevent assimilation by the older, established and more sophisticated cultures of the Byzantium and Persia, fueled the resistance against the indiscriminate adoption of ideas, texts and other cultural artifacts that had become abundantly available. According to Rosenthal, this resistance occurred even though the Umayyad government, in order to ensure the continuance of government in the newly conquered territories, depended on the services of Byzantine administrators who had stayed on in the formerly Byzantine provinces of the Islamic state:[61] Arabic replaced Greek only from ca. 680 as the chief medium of administrative communication.

   The caliphs of the dynasty that succeeded the Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsids (750–1258), were not affected by any politically motivated anti-Hellenistic resentment.[62] On the contrary, their accession after several years of civil war proved auspicious for translation into Arabic. Due probably to their "Persian"[63] background, the first attested translations of the ʿAbbāsid period were possibly produced on the basis of Indian and Iranian sources. Rosenthal conjectures that the first information on Aristotle might have reached an Arabic-speaking audience via Pahlavi translations or abridgements. An additional powerful incentive to make Greek knowledge available was the necessity to study Christian theological arguments for apologetic ends and to obtain argumentative tools for theolog-

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[60]   Marlow (1997, p. 46) speculates about the emergence of an independent Arabo-Hellenistic "sub-culture" in the course of pre-conquest Arab migration into Syria. On the linguistic level, Greek influences were felt long before the beginning of systematic translation activities. Greek terms infiltrated the Arabic language even before the rise of Islam and left their mark on the very vocabulary of the Qurʾān itself; cf. Andrew Rippin's article on "Foreign Vocabular" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* (henceforth *EQ*), vol. 2, p. 226–237.

[61]   The implied "cultural control" exerted by the Greek administrators and their backers that supposedly nipped any translation effort in the bud cannot be reconciled with the evidence for the oral diffusion of ideas emphasized by Versteegh (1980, p. 10f) and supported by Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 417) and Gutas (1998, p. 16, 23).

[62]   Rosenthal (1965, p. 13ff).

[63]   On the composition and motivations of the so-called "Persian faction", the alliance of Persianized Arabic tribes and other ethnic and linguistic groups in eastern Persia who backed the ʿAbbāsid takeover, cf. Gutas (1998, p. 28f).

ical disputes among Muslims.[64] Rosenthal also notes the chronological coincidence between the translation movement, supported by the ʿAbbāsid court, and the predominance of religious scholars associated with the *muʿtazilah* which was adopted as the official theology of the court during the reign of al-Maʾmūn.[65]

Apart from the possible political reasons outlined above, Rosenthal identifies a more general cultural factor for the success and longevity of the translation movement: the Qurʾānic concept of *ʿilm*, posited by the Prophet as the crucial factor for religious observance and a righteous life.[66] In his opinion, the quasi-religious zeal for the acquisition of knowledge betrayed by the breadth and seriousness of the translation effort was inspired in part by personal piety, at least on the side of its patrons and sponsors.[67]

The Islamic Middle East also offered the necessary human resources to initiate the translation movement: the bilingual, sometimes even trilingual Syriac translators who had inherited both their translation experience and a number of crucial texts from their own, church-based scholarly tradition. The concentration of the translation movement in Baghdad led to the situation that most translators knew Syriac better than Greek (if they knew it at all): before the Muslim conquest, Mesopotamia had been part of the Persian empire. Persian was the language of the Persian administrators while a majority of the population spoke dialects of Aramaic or Arabic. Unlike formerly Byzantine areas such as Syria where Greek continued to be spoken for some time, Greek speakers were few in and around Baghdad. Ḥunayn's knowledge of Greek and that of some of the associates of his "school" was probably the exception, not the rule.[68] The linguistic limitations of some early translators were all too obvious, but that did not necessarily turn out to be a disadvantage: they were unen-

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[64] Rosenthal (1965, p. 17f). The author frequently stresses the overwhelmingly practical orientation of the Greek-Arabic translations, i.e. its concentration on material which could be put to practical use, e.g. in Rosenthal (1940, p. 392): "The æsthetic enjoyment of the texts translated, and the unselfish pleasure merely in possessing what the Ancients had possessed, and in regaining their own words as they were spoken by them, are lacking. What was sought was nothing else but the contents and the substance of the texts, the practically and theoretically realizable knowledge they offered".

[65] The role of the *muʿtazilah* and its relation to both the court and the translation movement is still debated, see our discussion above and Ivry (1974, p. 22–34).

[66] Cf. his interpretation of the Qurʾānic usage of the root ʿ–l–m (Rosenthal, 1970, p. 28–32).

[67] Rosenthal (1965, p. 17f).

[68] Rosenthal (1965, p. 19, 21). Endress (1997, p. 48f) rejects the notion of "school" and the degree of organization and cohesion it implies.

cumbered by the niceties of Arabic literary style and free in their attempts
to render source texts into Arabic.[69]

Thus, under the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs, key conditions for the ini-
tiation of systematic translation from Greek and Syriac into Arabic were
met: there was a demand for translated texts; strong motivations to spend
the requisite time and resources to meet it; and the manpower to do the
actual work. Rosenthal reckons that the first translations were produced
around the year 800. He rejects claims about translations allegedly pro-
duced before this time, e.g. of an alchemical work by a certain Iṣṭifān
commissioned by the Umayyad prince Ḫālid, son of the Umayyad Caliph
Yazīd I. (r. 680–83), as a later invention; another alleged very early Ara-
bic translation of the Syriac medical encyclopedia of Ahrun (fl. 610–640)
ascribed to a certain Māsarǧawayh may also be apocryphal.[70] In his opin-
ion, the available evidence suggests little beyond the fact that the earliest
translations were restricted to practical subjects, especially medicine and
alchemy. If translations were produced at all in the Umayyad period, they
might not have been more than short notes for private purposes or oral
information provided by the numerous native speakers of Greek still avail-
able in Syria.[71]

With a growing amount of documentary evidence, accounts of the
early history of Greek-Arabic translation such as Rosenthal's and Walzers'
which concentrated on political factors gave way to more comprehensive
theories that took into account social and economic circumstances. Also,
the role of translation before the inauguration of a systematic Greek-
Arabic "translation movement" was reappraised. Gerhard Endress points
to the coexistence of different cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups as a
key element in the reception of the Greek and Iranian heritage already
in Umayyad times. It was characterized not only by explicit translations
of texts but also by frequent oral communication between exponents of
different cultures. During this period, Arabic gradually became the *lin-
gua franca* and accelerated this process.[72] According to Endress, informal

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[69] Rosenthal (1965, p. 22f).

[70] Cf. Baumstark (1922, p. 189) who refers to Müller (1884, vol. 1, p. 109).

[71] Rosenthal (1965, p. 15f). On the basis of additional evidence, later authors have
pushed back Rosenthal's date by about half a century; cf. p. 27 below.

[72] Endress (1997, p. 416f). Paul Kunitzsch (1976, p. 118f) connects the linguistic assim-
ilation of the conquered territories to the rise of "Middle Arabic", a form of the Arabic
language derived from the classical ʿarabīyah of the Muslim rulers but heavily influenced
by the linguistic and conceptual contributions of the various subject populations, account-
ing for the extraordinary flexibility of this language and its suitability for translation. The

exchanges and discussions between exponents of different cultures were probably limited to what he terms "popular" and "parascientific" subjects, especially alchemy,[73] but they nevertheless exerted an important influence on the subsequent development of the natural sciences.[74]

In his explanation of the birth of the translation movement, Endress lists three key factors which converged to initiate the large-scale translation efforts we witness in the ninth and tenth centuries: on the linguistic level, the displacement of the languages of the Middle East (chiefly Greek, Aramaic and Persian) through growing "Arabization"; on the social and cultural level, the social promotion of the *mawālī*,[75] the assimilation of Arabs and non-Arabs in the aftermath of the ʿAbbāsid takeover and the concomitant growth in prestige of the *mawālī*'s cultural heritage; and on the political level, the necessity of cultural appropriation for the advancement of Islamic culture and the generous support these appropriation efforts received from the authorities.[76]

Like Rosenthal, Endress dates the beginning of a systematic translation movement to the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century. He connects it with the foundation of the so-called *ḫizānat al-ḥikmah* ("Repository of Wisdom", the predecessor of the *bayt al-ḥikmah*, "House of Wisdom") by the caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 786–809), apparently the

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sources and emergence of this type of Arabic has been studied, among others, by Blau (1967, 1999).

[73] Endress' categorization of alchemy as "parascientific" does not do justice to a field which has seen its share of serious scientific attention. In the case of the famous physician and scientist Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 923), Sarah Stroumsa (1999, p. 92) maintains that his "interest in alchemy was part and parcel of his scientific quest" and that his alchemy was "thoroughly experimental, and he clearly regarded it as belonging to the scientific study of the world."

[74] Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 418).

[75] Pl. of *mawlā*, a term that denotes various kinds of legal relationships between a client and a patron. In our context, it means "client" or "protégé", more specifically converts to Islam among the populations of the territories conquered by Islamic armies in the seventh and eighth centuries who had to secure the protection of an Arab Muslim clan or tribe and be assimilated into the tribal structure of early Islamic society to become Muslims. Cf. Patricia Crone's article "Mawlā" in *EI²*, vol. 6, p. 874–882.

[76] Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 418). Kraemer (1992, p. 287) stresses the role of contemporary bureaucrats (*kātib*, "scribe", pl. *kuttāb*) with a Persian cultural background and notes that "[t]he early *kuttāb* were deeply immersed in the transmission of the ancient Persian and Greek legacies to the world of Islam during the first wave of translation activity". Heinrichs (1969, p. 40f) points out that the first and most obvious source for the administrative know-how of the *kuttāb* and their educational ideal was what he termed the "legacy of the destroyed Sasanian empire"; translations from Pahlavi, he claims, started already in the second quarter of the eighth century and formed the basis for the literature and cultural attitudes of the scribal class.

first institution solely devoted to the transmission and study of the scientific heritage. It marked the start of the most productive period of translation, reaching its peak under the reign of his successor al-Maʾmūn.[77] With the latter, the ḫizānat al-ḥikmah was allegedly extended to a full-fledged academic institution and supported by a staff of bookbinders, scribes and scholars[78] studying an ever-growing number of scientific subjects. Even philosophical works, ostensibly without any practical value, were translated. According to Endress, the reason was to be found in the theological predilections of al-Maʾmūn who sanctioned the rational exegesis of the Qurʾān and the sunnah[79] to strengthen the defence of the Islamic brand of monotheism.[80] Since, according to Gutas, the range of scientific and philosophical writings transmitted through the Greek-Syriac translation tradition was limited,[81] Greek sources were consulted already at an early stage of the translation movement for a broader knowledge of Greek thought, a process which involved the outlay of vast sums of money and the efforts of numerous scholars and translators. With growing demands on the skills of the translators and the correctness of translations, older translations were subjected to scathing criticism.[82]

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[77] Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 421).

[78] Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 423) bases his claim about the supporting staff at the *bayt al-ḥikmah* on a quotation from Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* that mentions a bookbinder among its members (cf. Flügel 1871–1872, p. 10): *Ibn Abī al-Ḥarīš wa-kāna yuǧallid fī ḫizānat al-ḥikmah li-l-Maʾmūn*, "Ibn Abī al-Ḥarīš used to bind books in the 'Repository of Wisdom' of al-Maʾmūn". Due to the scarcity of evidence for the functions and structure of the *bayt al-ḥikmah*, its role for the translation movement is still debated. Noting the absence of clear evidence for an act of foundation by Hārūn al-Rašīd or al-Maʾmūn, Gutas (1998, p. 54ff, 58f) maintains that it was a library, possibly already established a generation earlier by the caliph al-Manṣūr (r. 754–775) and responsible for the housing of documents and translations relating to the history and culture of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia (226–651) which ended with the conquest of the Persian empire by Muslim armies. Under al-Maʾmūn, it appears to have been a place for astronomical and mathematical activities (in tune with al-Maʾmūn's alleged "rationalist" orientation). While apparently not directly connected to the translation movement—it is not mentioned in Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Risālah*—it fostered a climate that supported translation and gave the translation activities, even if only indirectly, a semi-official veneer.

[79] The body of reports about the sayings and actions of the Prophet Muḥammad.

[80] Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 423). Nawas and Gutas take a less charitable view of the caliph's motives, see Nawas (1994, p. 624) and Gutas (1998, p. 54, 82f) on al-Manṣūr and al-Maʾmūn.

[81] Gutas' pessimistic views on the importance of the Greek-Syriac translation movement will be discussed below.

[82] Not just by fellow translators and scholars but also other leading intellectuals of the time, e.g. the famous al-Ǧāḥiẓ. More on his take on the Greek-Arabic translation activities at the end of this chapter.

In conscious opposition to previous, more philologically oriented approaches, Dimitri Gutas stresses the social dimensions of the translation movement and claims that it can only be sufficiently explained as a *social* phenomenon. Lasting two centuries and involving huge expenditures covered by a diverse group of supporters ranging from merchants to rulers, "it was not the pet project of any particular group in the furtherance of their restricted agenda." The rigorous scientific standards of the translators and the longevity and quasi-programmatic approach of the translation movement across generations express "a social attitude and the public culture" of early ʿAbbāsid society and cannot be accounted for by stressing one particular factor at the expense of others: neither the scholarly pursuits of Syriac Christians nor the philanthropic tendencies of a handful of "enlightened rulers" conclusively explain the translations; no single faction or class can be identified as the primary backer of the movement. The necessary funding was provided by a group of people cutting across all religious, ethnic and linguistic lines.[83]

In his account of the political, social and economic developments which paved the way for the initiation and rapid growth of translation activity, Gutas stresses three fundamental factors:

Firstly, the integration of Egypt, the Fertile Crescent, Persia and parts of India into a single political and economic space following the Muslim conquests facilitated trade and increased agricultural productivity, especially in the former border zone in Mesopotamia, generating wealth for landowners and merchants and raising the general standard of living. Innovative goods such as paper could propagate quickly, scholars from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds could travel freely and exchange knowledge, thereby creating a pool of scientific expertise drawn from different sources. Their multilingualism allowed for the transmission of knowledge without translation.[84]

Secondly, the shift of the capital to Baghdad encouraged a more positive attitude to Greek secular learning: influenced by the anti-Hellenistic and anti-secular bias of contemporary Byzantine theological disputes, the Christian administrative elite serving the Umayyads in Damascus was not prepared to support the adoption of Hellenistic secular thought whereas the Christian denominations in Iraq, themselves victims of theological strife with Byzantine orthodoxy, had a less negative view of Hellenistic learning. Paradoxically, the transfer of power from Syria to the east pre-

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[83] Gutas (1998, p. 2, 7).
[84] Gutas (1998, p. 12ff, 16).

served a substantial portion of the classical learning that had largely been consigned to (temporary) oblivion in contemporary Byzantine intellectual circles.[85]

Thirdly, the influence of pre-ʿAbbāsid translation activities on the translation movement made itself felt in a number of different ways. Gutas takes a pessimistic stance on the role of Syriac translations and notes that the share of secular texts translated from Greek into Syriac before the Greek-Arabic translation movement was rather small.[86] Even if Syriac scholars contributed their skills to the translation movement, its initiative, direction and management emanated from the context created by early ʿAbbāsid society.[87] Greek-Arabic translations in Umayyad times were limited to politically and economically relevant documents, conditioned by the practical necessities of administration. Still, *ad hoc* oral translations were a necessity and daily occurrence in the multilingual environment of Umayyad Syria.

In addition to the source languages already mentioned, there were also translations from Sanskrit which apparently took place during the earliest phase of the translation activities. They seem to have focused on astronomical material; some of the texts were probably transmitted through Persian intermediaries.[88] Pahlavi texts, partly based on Greek sources, fall into several groups. Some early Greek-Pahlavi translations were commissioned by Persian rulers and justified on the basis of a theological premise, i.e. that all knowledge was ultimately derived from the *Avesta*, the most important collection of Zoroastrian religious texts. Their relevance lies less in the (comparatively small) amount of texts translated but in the "culture of translation" they documented; according to Gutas, it survived until the ʿAbbāsid era. In the period of Umayyad decline in the 730s and 40s, politically motivated translations into Arabic appeared: sponsored by Persian groups or individuals to further their political interests, especially in connection with the activities of ʿAbbāsid propagandists who undermined the authority of the Umayyads, astrological material was

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[85] Gutas (1998, p. 17f, 20), echoing Rosenthal who, as we have seen above, already pointed out the differing attitudes of Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid rulers and courtiers to Greek knowledge.

[86] Unlike Hugonnard-Roche (1989a, p. 7), who reminds his readers of the high esteem Ḥunayn expressed for at least a part of the translations into Syriac by the prolific translator, philosopher and physician Sergius of Rēšʿaynā (d. 536). The logical tradition in particular was deeply influenced by earlier Syriac translations of the relevant Greek texts (cf. Hugonnard-Roche 1989b, p. 3 and 1987, p. 205).

[87] Gutas (1998, p. 20ff).

[88] Gutas (1998, p. 23ff).

consciously used to connect Sasanian imperial ideas with the ʿAbbāsid "ideology", serving as an important element of their political justification.[89]

Gutas traces the beginnings of a *systematic* translation movement back to the reign of the second ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, a generation earlier than Endress and Rosenthal. With the adoption of Sasanian imperial ideology[90] as part of his political creed and his support for the translation of astrological works that were used to justify ʿAbbāsid rule as the inevitably ordained successors to the dynasties of the Middle East, he secured the continued loyalty of the above-mentioned Persian faction that had helped sweep the dynasty to power.[91] His choice of court functionaries and administrators reflected his ideological preoccupations: they were to a large extent drawn from a pool of Persian or Persianized subjects subscribing to the same imperial worldview that was at the heart of his ʿAbbāsid ideological "program".[92]

The reign of al-Manṣūr's son al-Mahdī (r. 775–785) witnessed the first translation of Aristotle's *Topics*, commissioned by the caliph himself. It signaled the increasing significance of religious polemics as a driving force for translation: with the rise of active proselytism in the course of the ʿAbbāsid revolution and the growing need to defend the ʿAbbāsid interpretation of faith against Christians, Jews, Manichaeans and others, the demand for more sophisticated argumentative techniques for Muslim apologists became more and more pressing. Numerous translations of the *Topics* attest to its importance for inter-faith debates and its role in the conflict with religious and political opponents. The translations of Aristotle's *Physics* answered a sudden need to study cosmological issues. These came to prominence through theological debates engendered by the conflict between Muslim apologists and the different strands of heresy subsumed under the term *zandaqah*, i.e. Manichaeism, Bardesanism and

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[89] Gutas (1998, p. 25ff).

[90] For a summary of his thinking on the ideological underpinnings of early ʿAbbāsid rule and its sources, cf. Gutas (2001).

[91] Gutas (1998, p. 28f, 46, 49f).

[92] Gutas (1998, p. 53). His sustained emphasis on political motivations during the initial phase of the Greek-Arabic translation movement tends to obscure some of the other important factors at work during this period. Research into the history of mathematics and astronomy in the Muslim world has thrown light on the connection between religion and the growing interest for Greek mathematics and astronomy, e.g. for the determination of prayer times and direction and the regulation of the lunar calendar; for a concise overview, cf. King (1990). On the basis of numerous sources, Ragep (2001) makes a very good case for the reappraisal of the relation between religion and science in the field of astronomy.

Marcionism.[93] Moreover, cosmology was a vital part of the astrological worldview so important to the ʿAbbāsids, their partisans and their courtiers.[94]

The civil war between the sons of Hārūn al-Rašīd, the murder of the older brother al-Amīn (r. 809–813) and the accession of al-Maʾmūn plunged the ʿAbbāsid state into a severe crisis of legitimacy.[95] Al-Maʾmūn was confronted with a number of political and religious interpretations of Islam fostered by the climate of debate his predecessors had allowed to flourish in their attempt to accommodate and co-opt ideological dissenters. To wrest religious authority from these centers of power and centralize them in the person of the caliph and a theological elite dependent on him, al-Maʾmūn instituted the *miḥnah* in the year 833.[96] His efforts to recover religious authority were paralleled by his financial, political and military reforms aimed at centralization and match remarkably well his alleged emulation of the policies of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, Ardašīr I. (r. 224–242).

The translation movement offered al-Maʾmūn support for both objectives, i.e. centralization and proselytism. His upbringing could have been another reason for his fervent support for the translation movement: it took place in an environment that regarded translation as useful, even necessary. His stint as governor in Marw, the capital of the eastern Persian province of Ḫurāsān, only strengthened this attitude by bringing him into contact with the land-owning provincial elite which subscribed to Sasanian imperial values and the appreciation of translation it fostered. In the field of foreign policy, al-Maʾmūn amplified the conflict against the Byzantines to justify his accession and to bolster his Islamic credentials and instigated a propaganda campaign depicting the Byzantines as unbelievers—*qua* Christians—and unworthy—*qua* intellectually inferior to the ancient Greeks: anti-Byzantinism as philhellenism.[97]

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[93]   The term *zandaqah* was used both as a pejorative term for Manichaeism and, more generally, all kinds of heresy and unbelief. Cf. François de Blois' article "Zindīḳ" in *EI²*, vol. 11, p. 510–513.

[94]   Gutas (1998, p. 67, 69ff).

[95]   Tayeb El-Hibri (1995, p. 364) argues that the blow the dynasty's prestige and legitimacy suffered in the wake of the regicide helps to explain al-Maʾmūn's subsequent autocratic tendencies, including the institution of the *miḥnah* and the adoption of the title *ḫalīfat Allāh* ("vicegerent of God") instead of the customary *ḫalīfat rasūl Allāh* ("vicegerent of *the Prophet* of God").

[96]   Gutas (1998, p. 75ff, 82). Cf. n. 119 on p. 33 on some of the politico-religious issues at stake during the *miḥnah*.

[97]   Gutas (1998, p. 80, 83f).

The education of the *kuttāb*, the administrative officials, was to be fashioned along Sasanian lines as well. This included a mastery of theoretical fields like mathematics and their practical application in timekeeping, engineering, surveying etc.—thereby contributing to the expansion of the translation movement and explaining the prominence, in its early stages, of mathematics on the one hand and astronomy and agriculture on the other.[98] After its initiation, the widening and intensification of translation activities beyond the needs of imperial policy was due also to the interests of scholars themselves. After the scientific "community" in Baghdad had reached a "critical mass", scientists started to figure prominently as patrons for translations. The development of mathematics over and above the practical needs of administrators can be interpreted as an example of translators and scientists interacting in the furtherance of their subject. Medicine, a prominent field of translation from the very beginning, profited from commissions by the famous families of physicians; their fame (and pecuniary rewards) rested on a scientific expertise that had to be continually extended by means of research and translation.[99] In the case of astrology, the demand for translations expressed by ʿAbbāsid caliphs to further their dynastic claims spread to the political class who absorbed the cultural attitudes of their rulers. According to Gutas, similar developments can be discerned for a number of scientific fields in which translations would spawn research which in turn would generate demand for further translation activities.[100]

Philosophy, too, received its share of attention: al-Kindī commissioned translations of numerous philosophical works. He wanted to advance knowledge with the help of the most scientifically and methodically rigorous discipline available, i.e. philosophy, and attempted to integrate his philosophical approach into the religious and theological discussions of his time. His use of translated texts exemplified an attitude apparently widespread among contemporary scholars in Baghdad and beyond.[101]

Even though some religious and/or ethnic groups seem to have participated more actively in the translation movement than others, its flourishing was due to the joint effort of all groups involved. While active support and participation was restricted to the affluent and powerful, its

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[98] Gutas (1998, p. 111f, 115).

[99] Gutas (1998, p. 16ff).

[100] Gutas (1998, p. 108ff). Cf. also Rashed (1989, p. 208) on the mutual inspiration of research agendas and translations.

[101] Gutas (1998, p. 120). Al-Kindī and the translators working for him will be discussed below.

effects "trickled down" to the literate but less well-off strata of society: translated texts were available to anybody with the means to employ a scribe to copy manuscripts—as indicated by the wide diffusion of scientific literature listed in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*.[102]

Turning to the translators and their background, Gutas presents an outline for the development of translation expertise that, as we have seen, squarely contradicts received wisdom about the seminal role of Syriac scholars in the beginning of the translation movement.[103] He notes that since the earliest translations from Greek had to be commissioned by the authorities from high-ranking Christian clerics, experts in Greek-Arabic translation were obviously hard to come by at the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid era. Competence and supply of translators increased only with growing demand. Their lack of sophistication and poor style attest to the fact that the sponsors of early translations were, at least in the beginning, willing to put up with a comparably low level of stylistic quality due to high demand. In addition, even though early translators could fall back on older Syriac versions and translation methods, these were, due to the completely different motivation and methodologies involved in the Greek-Syriac translation tradition and the limited range of translated texts, of little help. Their often poor quality (a frequent complaint in Ḥunayn's *Risālah*) further diminished their usefulness.

Gutas concludes that Greek culture did not exactly flourish in Syriac monasteries prior to the rise of Islam and that the small number of qualified Syriac-speaking scholars could certainly not satisfy contemporary demand for translation experts.[104] The translation standards re-

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[102] Gutas (1998, p. 134f). Although the translation movement, as Gutas points out, rested on many shoulders, the aims of different groups in supporting translators and commissioning texts were many and varied. Apart from genuine scientific and political interests, social advancement could have figured prominently (cf. e.g. Gutas 1998, p. 130f). Also, religio-political factors probably directly influenced the direction of the translation movement. Endress (1997, p. 48) refers to the correspondences between certain translators and the political and religious background of their sponsors; Montgomery (2007, p. 449) hints at links between religious (*šīʿī*) tendencies of the sponsors of the translation movement and their interest in philosophical, particularly Neoplatonic material.

[103] Gutas' opinion is corroborated by Brock (1982, p. 25) who acknowledges that the number of Greek secular texts translated into Syriac was relatively small. On the other hand, the large number of Greek technical terms that were "acculturated" and became part of the Syriac vocabulary of science and philosophy suggests that their influence—irrespective of the potentially small amount of texts translated—was substantial and lasting.

[104] Gutas (1998, p. 137f). As we have seen above on p. 17, Gutas' verdict needs to be qualified: the supposedly small number of relevant texts translated into Syriac and available to

quired by rich sponsors and the amount of money they were willing to
pay quickly improved the translators' proficiency: translation, especially if
competently done, was a lucrative business. Not only growing experience
but improved knowledge of Greek furnished better translations; increas-
ing linguistic abilities in turn were fostered by the high demand and the
money at stake in translation.[105]

The Kindī-circle

By the time the philosopher al-Kindī around the mid-ninth century, the
"infrastructure" of translation was firmly in place. The collection of Greek
and/or Syriac manuscripts for translation was put on a semi-official foot-
ing early on. In addition to visits to Syriac monasteries and their libraries,
translators such as al-Biṭrīq (fl. in the second half of the eighth century),
Sallām al-Abraš (fl. during the reign of Hārūn al-Rašīd, 786–803), Ḥu-
nayn ibn Isḥāq and Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. 912) traveled to former centers of
Greek learning. Official missions were sent across the Byzantine border
to buy texts, e.g. one equipped by the caliph al-Maʾmūn or another by
the wealthy Šākir brothers around the same time. Others were collected
as reparations after border conflicts.[106] This put at al-Kindī's disposal not
just a number of translations but allowed him actively to commission a
group of translators working in Baghdad during his lifetime to produce
new ones.[107]

Arabic translators is not a very good indicator of the true influence of the Syriac scholarly
tradition. Thanks to fact that many of them were able to read Greek, Syriac scholars
did not need translations to access large parts of the Greek philosophical and scientific
heritage (cf. Watt 1995a, p. 64f). Through their commentaries and their own philosoph-
ical and scientific writings, Arabic translators had at least indirect access to some of this
material. Also, Syriac scholarly activity did not die down immediately after the Muslim
conquest. On the contrary, we have evidence for the continued existence of some of the
Syriac schools well into the eighth century; cf. Hugonnard-Roche (2007), esp. p. 290f,
and Conrad (1999).

[105] Gutas (1998, p. 139, 141).

[106] Badawī (1968, p. 16f).

[107] The philosopher Abū al-Walīd ibn Rušd (d. 1198) refers to a translation of Aristo-
tle's *De caelo* into Arabic allegedly carried out by al-Kindī. Like previous authors, Endress
(1966, p. 106f) rejects the claim that al-Kindī translated any text himself, as he did not
know Greek. Among the translators he sponsored were Usṭāṯ who translated the larger
part of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and Ibn Nāʿimah al-Ḥimṣī who translated a collection of
Neoplatonic metaphysical material that became known as the *Theology of Aristotle*. Ac-
cording to Endress, all of the so-called "translations of al-Kindī" mentioned in various
sources were in fact produced for him by others and belong to the output of an earlier
generation of translators—which also explains why Ibn Rušd repeatedly complains about
their deficiencies.

There is also evidence for revisions of older translated texts: the deficiencies in Arabic of most of the Syriac-speaking translators necessitated later revisions and corrections. This practice seems to have become widespread by the time of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and continued afterwards.[108] Al-Kindī himself apparently revised some translations, albeit probably only in matters of style and vocabulary. Even though few early translations are extant and we have little evidence to assess his role in the early development of the Arabic scientific and philosophical terminology, we find in later literature many of the terms he adopted from translations at his disposal (or even coined himself in his own works).[109]

The creation of Arabic terminologies was one of the crucial achievements of the older translators working with al-Kindī. They were the first to tackle many philosophical and translatological issues in the medium of the Arabic language.[110] To illustrate the terminological problems faced by philosophers, Endress cites the well-known example of the absent copula and the headaches it gave translators working on metaphysical, especially ontological texts. Several terms and even whole groups of expressions, derived from different Arabic roots, were coined in the course of the earliest stage of translation activities and competed against each other.[111]

According to Endress, what set al-Kindī and his circle apart from earlier and also later groups of scholars was their full-fledged philosophical "program" of research founded on philosophical tenets al-Kindī took from Greek sources: philosophy defines the aims of science in an Islamic soci-

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[108] Badawī (1968, p. 25f). On the basis of his findings from the translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* α by Usṭāṯ, James Mattock (1989, p. 101) also maintains that successive revisions were accepted and common practice.

[109] Badawī (1968, p. 29–32).

[110] Cf. Endress (1973, p. 192f).

[111] Endress (1989, p. 135f). The fascinating problem of the missing copula and its consequences for translators and Muslim philosophers has been studied by numerous modern scholars, e.g. Afnan (1964, p. 29f, 89f), Kahn (1972) and Shehadi (1975): the Arabic language lacks a direct equivalent to the Greek auxiliary verb εἶναι. Of its many meanings, those of attribution ("A is green" [i.e. has the attribute "grenness"]), identity ("A is B" [i.e. is identical to B]) and existence ("A is" [i.e. exists]) figure prominently in philosophical discourse, e.g. in logic, epistemology and ontology. Arabic translations of philosophical texts attest to the ingenuity with which the translators created a whole new terminology to replicate the exact meaning of the term whenever it occured in their source texts. But often enough, they misunderstood it or encountered ambiguities they were unable to resolve.

Whereas the terminology of most disciplines created or affected by the translation phenomenon had reached a high level of consistency by the end of the ninth century, Endress (1989, p. 140) explicitly excludes philosophy and notes its lack of terminological standardization.

ety and at the same time points the way and provides a methodology to accomplish them.[112] One of the key elements of this philosophical "program" of the Kindī-circle[113] was the extraction of theological elements of Platonism, surviving only on the fringes of the late Hellenistic philosophical traditions in Gnostic and Hermetic "subcultures", as a religion for intellectuals.[114] To that end, al-Kindī portrayed philosophy as part of a universal ḥikmah (as mentioned in the Qurʾān)[115] by explaining its consistency with revealed religion and, following Hellenistic Platonism, elaborating the concept of blissful rational contemplation as the perfection of man.[116]

Due to government support and generous funding by the urban elites for translators and the "Hellenistic movement", its exponents—al-Kindī among them—found themselves in active competition with traditionists (ʾahl al-ḥadīṯ)[117] and rational theologians (mutakallimūn)[118] for the backing of the authorities.[119] All sides claimed equal command of the Arabic language and knowledge of the sacred scriptures and traditions and

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[112] Cf. especially Endress (1994).

[113] Already broached in Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 429 and 1990, p. 239).

[114] Endress (1997, p. 64). Considering al-Kindī's desire to reconcile revealed and philosophical truths, this can only mean that he intended it as a more "intellectually" attractive description of truths expounded by revelation: a psychological soteriology.

[115] The term ḥikmah plays an important role in Qurʾānic diction. It means "wisdom", specifically a form of wisdom that implies higher spiritual truths. We find it either in isolation (2:269, 16:125, 17:39, 31:12, 33:34, 38:20, 43:63 and 54:5) or in combination with al-mulk, "power" (2:251) or, most prominently, al-kitāb, "scripture" (2:129, 151, 231; 3:48, 81, 164; 4:54, 113; 5:110 and 62:2). Cf. A.-M. Goichon's article "Ḥikma" in EI², vol. 3, p. 377f.

[116] For the key role of the concept of ḥikmah in al-Kindī's philosophy, cf. Hugonnard-Roche (1991b). Carmela Baffioni (1989) traces the history of the term and its use in philosophical literature. For a comparison of the use of ḥikmah by al-Kindī and the contemporary author of the anonymous Liber de causis, a collection of Neoplatonic material derived chiefly from Proclus' (d. 485) Elementatio theologica and Plotinus' (d. 270) Enneads, see D'Ancona Costa (1995, p. 176f). In his article on the meaning of ḥikmah in early Islamic philosophy, Jean Jolivet (1991) maintains that al-Kindī's adoption of the term in his philosophical and scientific writings illustrates his attempt to establish common criteria for "right" and "wrong" in all scholarly fields. Mathematics prescribe the methods of argumentation; ḥikmah represents the shared truth criteria.

[117] Collectors and transmitters of reports about the sayings and actions of the Prophet Muḥammad.

[118] Cf. n. 37 above.

[119] Endress (1997, p. 44f). In his comprehensive and carefully argued article "Miḥna" in EI², vol. 7, p. 2–6, Martin Hinds argues that one of its aims was to rein in popular ḥadīṯ enthusiasts; the caliph's interests coincided with those of prominent adherents of the muʿtazilah who insisted on the primacy of the Qurʾān as the source of Islamic religious and legal doctrine at the expense of ḥadīṯ.

vied for mastery in literary expression. Parallel to the various interests and affiliations of their sponsors, translators themselves fell into different, sometimes overlapping communities.[120]

After the reign of al-Maʾmūn in 833 and, 15 years later, the end of the *miḥnah*, the persecution of theologians whose beliefs conflicted with his alleged sympathies with the *muʿtazilah*,[121] Greek sciences fell out of favor—the aggressive religious policies inaugurated by al-Maʾmūn and upheld by his successors al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Wāṯiq (r. 842–847) had unleashed a reaction that threatened the stability and cohesion of the state and ultimately discredited the Greek sciences so vigorously promoted by them.[122]

In this contentious climate, the single most important driving force behind al-Kindī's activities seems to have been the need of scientists for a justificatory "ideology" "to safeguard their position in an Islamic society" in the face of competition from theologians. While wishing to aid rationalist *mutakallimūn* to defend reason against the traditionists, he nevertheless rejected their claim to superior explanation and explicitly extols the reasoning of Greek philosophy in comparison to the deficiencies of contemporary exegesis of the scripture. Aided by the previous Hellenization of *kalām*, "philosophy was to join forces with the defenders of Islam" against Greek *gnōsis* and *zandaqah*, dualist Manichaean gnosticism and Mazdakism.[123] The ultimate aim: to raise the prestige of the "scientific community" and to bolster its Islamic credentials.[124] Scientists,

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[120] Endress (1997, p. 48f) points out that these groups were "definitely ... not 'schools' ... but groups held together by various bonds of origin, scientific orientation and, most important, by their patrons".

[121] Cf. above, p. 19.

[122] Endress (1987, vol. 2, p. 429). His account of the impact of the *miḥnah* on the standing of the "Greek sciences" leaves the impression that, after its failure, they were immediately relegated to the fringes of the Islamic scientific enterprise. But they had already left their mark on "traditional" Islamic scholarship and continued to influence the dominant theological and legal discourses (Endress, 1987, vol. 2, p. 401).

[123] The term *zandaqah* was also often used by opponents of certain *šīʿī* beliefs which, according to Montgomery (2007, p. 456), were a key element of ninth-century religious, political and intellectual debates and also influenced the course of the Greek-Arabic translation movement.

[124] Endress (1997, p. 65). About the justificatory dimension of al-Kindī's "program", Endress writes in an earlier publication: "Le philosophe devient idéologue de la communauté scientifique et se prépare à la défendre en proclamant l'identité de ses convictions avec les objectifs de la communauté religieuse. Pour établir la philosophie dans la société islamique, al-Kindī invoque les autorités qui avaient donné à sa tradition scientifique la méthode, l'expression et l'orientation spirituelle [sc. Plato and Aristotle]" (Endress, 1990, p. 239).

al-Kindī was convinced, were better equipped to defend rationalism and faith by virtue of their superior methods and rationality.[125]

The circle of translators working with and for al-Kindī differed markedly from the earlier translators of the late eighth and early ninth centuries also in their ethnic and cultural background. The latter, consisting mostly of people from Christian Aramaic clans from southern Iran and Iraq, were allied with early astronomers and astrologers with a decidedly Iranian bias. These, in turn, were close to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the ruling class. The slightly later Kindī-circle, on the other hand, comprised people with a Byzantine or Hellenized Near Eastern background. The unique feature of this group seems to have been its focus on philosophical translations, readily explainable by the philosophical interests of the circle's mentor al-Kindī.[126] Philosophy served as a weapon in the hand of Hellenized scientists to validate and vindicate their intellectual contribution. Greek philosophy vied against Iranian court etiquette and princely ethics, Greek science competed against Iranian know-how.[127]

Without the pioneering work of al-Kindī and his circle, Endress concludes, none of his successors would have been conceivable. He helped fashion an Arabic philosophical language without which future generations of translators and philosophers would have been "speechless". Al-Kindī and his circle started the linguistic process that equipped the Arabic language with the tools for cross-cultural communication, an instrument "to give names to the principles of being and the condition of man" common to both Islamic and Western philosophers.[128]

Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and his associates

The next group or "generation" of translators represented the fully mature stage of the Greek-Arabic translation movement. Their methodological accomplishments are linked mainly with the name of the head of the group (or even "school" as it is occasionally but misleadingly called), Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq. He is routinely singled out for his exemplary mastery of all three languages involved in the translation process (Greek, Syr-

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[125] Endress (1997, p. 65ff, 75).

[126] Connecting the philosophical bent of the Kindī-circle to the wider sphere of contemporary discourses, Endress (1997, p. 49) emphasizes the competition between traditionist and rationalist factions, signalling "the rise of a philosophical rationalist discourse as opposed to the traditionist discourse of the ʿulūm islāmiyya".

[127] Endress (1997, p. 50).

[128] Endress (1997, p. 76).

iac, Arabic) and his stylistic and terminological superiority compared to earlier translators.

Apart from producing his own translations, Ḥunayn is credited with the revision of existing texts.[129] Moreover, tools like glossaries and dictionaries helped to improve the quality of translations at the time and imposed a standard terminology and phraseology that could not be ignored by subsequent generations of translators and scholars.[130]

In his *Risālah*, a treatise listing his and other translators' Syriac and Arabic translations of the works of the Greek physician Galen (d. 200), Ḥunayn described his method of establishing a source text before producing a translation: he collated a Greek text from all available manuscripts and, in the case of texts extant in only a single manuscript, postponed translation until he had secured more manuscripts.[131] We can be more or less certain that the methodological standard established by Ḥunayn was followed by those translators who learned their craft from and closely collaborated with him, chiefly his son Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 910) and his nephew Ḥubayš ibn al-Ḥasan (d. ca. 890). Modern scholars have disagreed as to whether they were also applicable to later translators; if so, we have little evidence to prove it.[132]

Thanks to the work of previous translators, Ḥunayn already had a wide variety of technical terms and phrases at his disposal and could freely choose between them. One important detail that is often overlooked in tracing the development of the Greek-Arabic translation movement is the fate of those older translations that Ḥunayn revised or even replaced with better texts: they did not simply disappear. Some of them were superseded by superior translations from Ḥunayn's workshop, some were merely revised and presumably retained much of their "archaic" terminology and phraseology. But some of them seem not to have attracted Ḥunayn's or his colleagues' attention at all and remained throughout the translation movement and beyond the "canonical" or even only translations for certain texts. Older translations, even those for which more recent versions became available, continued to be read.[133]

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[129] Endress (1966, p. 98f).

[130] Endress (1989, p. 104ff).

[131] Cf. Bergsträsser (1925, p. 5/arabic).

[132] Cf. Walzer (1962d, p. 116), qualifying his earlier, more optimistic stance (e.g. in 1962a, p. 6ff) and Badawī (1968, p. 18f).

[133] The decision-making process of translators—what to translate, what to revise, what to ignore—was undoubtedly influenced by numerous factors including fortuitous ones such as lack of time or personal preferences and tastes of individual translators.

Thus, the reception of Greek thought in the Islamic world as well as the development of a technical terminology in the disciplines covered by the translation movement seems to have been characterized not so much by a succession of terminological systems and textual versions exhibiting a linear growth in quality. Rather, coexistence and competition between terms and texts with changing patterns of sub- and co-ordination on the part of the reading public seems to have been the norm. Extrapolating the collation of manuscripts and the comparison between older and newer translations as well as processes of revision as described in Ḥunayn's *Risālah* into the work of subsequent generations of translators, the resulting model of translation history suggests a convergence towards a "median" text incorporating traces of all versions available to the author with the number of "source texts", i.e. Greek and/or Syriac versions and various extant Arabic translations, proliferating over time. At the same time, the terminology may have converged towards a standard enforced by the statistical distribution and the diffusion of a "preferred" set of terms not only via translations, but also a growing number of word lists, glossaries and later dictionaries.[134] Nevertheless, due to the coexistence of old and new texts and terminologies throughout the history of the translation movement and beyond, complete standardization could not be achieved—and was perhaps not even desired.

The Baghdad Aristotelians

In hindsight, the final phase of the Greek-Arabic translation movement seems one of decline: the standardization of methodology and terminology for most subjects was achieved by the time of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and his circle. Thereafter, translation activities fell off: virtually all important works of the late Hellenistic canon of scientific and philosophical works (but not literary prose and poetry) had been translated. While during the tenth century a group of translators continued to work in cooperation with the Christian Aristotelian philosophers of their time, e.g. Abū Bišr Mattā, ʿĪsā ibn Isḥāq ibn Zurʿah (d. 1008) and Ibn Suwār (d. 1017), the era of translation came, with very few exceptions, to a close after the end of the tenth century.[135]

Those translations that were still being produced were apparently based exclusively on previous Syriac translations instead of the Greek origi-

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[134] On the translators' tools, see, among others, Endress (1989, p. 106).
[135] Rosenthal (1965, p. 22f).

nals:[136] knowledge of Greek was no longer part of a translator's required qualifications. Like the Islamic philosophers such as al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) and Ibn Rušd, their knowledge of Greek philosophy was derived from translations. For later Aristotelian studies and Islamic philosophy however, the texts provided by the circle of Ḥunayn and the revised translations and commentaries by these same Aristotelian scholars in Baghdad connected with Abū Bišr Mattā and Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 974) were of the greatest importance.[137]

The most impressive document to emerge from the activities of these later translators is the *Organon* manuscript which contains the Arabic *Rhetoric*. It will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. At this point, suffice it to say that it highlights not just their activities as translators—some of the translations gathered in the manuscript were produced by the Baghdad Aristotelians themselves, albeit on the basis of Syriac rather than Greek source texts—but also their role as compilers and commentators. Even though their work may seem less pioneering than that of their predecessors, their achievement is no less important for the Islamic philosophical tradition. They pulled together the available translations, collated and corrected them, linked them with available commentaries and produced a comprehensive panorama of the logical knowledge available to them.

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[136] Badawī (1968, p. 18f).
[137] Walzer (1970, p. 32, 35).

CHAPTER TWO

THE ARABIC VERSION

Manuscript and dating

Among other treasures, the manuscript ar. 2346 at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris contains the unique extant Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[1] In spite of the importance of the manuscript, there is no comprehensive codicological description including information on its binding etc.[2] With the exception of the *Rhetoric*, none of the individual texts contains any information that could help us date the manuscript. Of its history, next to nothing is known before the year 1738 when it was acquired by the French consul in Cairo, Benoît de Maillet. Somewhat later, we find it in the French royal library; it is sometimes still quoted with its old shelfmark (ancien fonds no. 882a).[3]

The Arabic *Rhetoric* in this manuscript forms part of a collection of Arabic translations of the entire Aristotelian corpus of logical writings, the *Organon*. It was compiled at the end of the tenth century by the philosopher Abū al-Ḫayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār, also known as Ibn al-

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[1] Cf. Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. ii–iv). The text has been edited by Badawī (1959) and Lyons (1982). The former was reviewed by Anawati (1959–1961a); the latter by Heinrichs (1984), who commented in some detail on Lyons' reconstruction of the transmission history, and Wansbrough (1984). More recently, Panoussi (2000, p. 238–247) compiled a list of some of the deficiencies of both editions, concentrating on Badawī's text. In his discussion of the shortcomings of Lyons' edition, he suggests a number of emendations based on the Greek version and the Syriac translation Panoussi claims was used by the collator of the Arabic text.

[2] A number of scholars have given descriptions of the manuscript which focus on its contents, among them Margoliouth (1897, p. 376f) and (in more detail) Georr (1948, p. 183–200) and Hugonnard-Roche (1992). See also the remarks by Badawī (1948–1952, vol. 1, p. 20–32), and Stern (1956, p. 41–44). Its catalogue entry (de Slane, 1883–1895, p. 411, no. 2346) notes that it consists of 380 paper folios measuring 30 by 43 cm with 21–25 lines of text per page. The author of the catalogue already pointed out that some parts of the text were very difficult to decipher. The deterioration of the manuscript continued throughout the twentieth century, prompting the Bibliothèque Nationale to withdraw it from circulation. At this point, the only way to consult the manuscript is a microfilm produced in 1978 which unfortunately often cuts off the marginal notes (cf. Lyons 1982, vol. 1, p. xiii and Panoussi 2000, p. 233f).

[3] Hugonnard-Roche (2001, p. 21, n. 5); additional information in Tkatsch (1928, vol. 1, p. 142f).

Ḥammār, a student of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī.[4] Ibn al-Nadīm has the highest regard for his achievements:

[هو] من افاضل المنطقيين ممن قرأ على يحيى بن عدي في نهاية الذكاء والفطنة
والاضطلاع بعلوم اصحابه[5]

The translations in this manuscript cover the entire period of Greek-Arabic and Syriac-Arabic translation activities: for the *Categories* and *De interpretatione*, the editor chose translations by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 910), the son of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and a highly regarded member of his circle; the *Poetics* and the *Posterior Analytics* were rendered into Arabic by Abū Bišr Mattā, one of the most prominent "Baghdad Aristotelians"; Porphyry's *Isagoge* and the *Topics* were based on versions by another close collaborator of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, Abū ʿUṯmān Saʿīd ibn Yaʿqūb al-Dimašqī (d. after 914), the *Prior Analytics* on a pre-Ḥunayn translation by a certain Taḏārī.[6] The *Sophistical Refutations* appear in three different versions: an old text, attributed to Ibn Nāʿimah al-Ḥimṣī, a translator associated with the Kindī-circle; one by Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī; and another version by his student Ibn Zurʿah, both leading members of the second generation of Baghdad Aristotelians of the tenth century.

In his account of the history of the manuscript which was bound together from texts written by different scribes at different times,[7] Khalil Georr distinguishes five text groups: firstly, the *Rhetoric* in a copy by Abū ʿAlī ibn al-Samḥ (d. 1027), a translation which Georr dates back to the beginning of the ninth century; secondly, the *Poetics*, date and copyist unknown; thirdly, the *Categories*, *De interpretatione* and Porphyry's *Isagoge*, all executed in a large, perfectly readable hand and accompanied by numerous notes and comments; fourthly, the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* and the first five books of the *Topics*, written in different hands but at the

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[4] Ibn al-Nadīm mentions his activities in the fields of philosophy, medicine etc. and credits him with a number of translations on various subjects from Syriac into Arabic (Flügel, 1871–1872, p. 265).

[5] Flügel (1871–1872, p. 250), translated by Dodge (1970, vol. 2, p. 632): "He is one of the best of the logicians who studied under Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī, having the greatest intelligence, comprehension, and ability for the sciences of his associates."

[6] Identified by Kraus (1934, p. 3) and Walzer (1962c, p. 68) as the Melkite bishop of Ḥarrān, Ṯābit Abū Qurrah (d. 826). In his discussion of this and other theories about Taḏārī's identity, Lameer (1994, p. 3ff) conclusively demonstrates that none of them can be reconciled with the evidence and suggests that the person in question is a certain Taḏārī ibn Basīl Aḫī Isṭifān, the brother of another translator (Isṭifān) who worked with Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq.

[7] Cf. Tkatsch (1928, vol. 1, p. 141).

same time and consecutively paginated; and, finally, the three remaining books of the *Topics* and three different versions of the *Sophistical Refutations*, also written by different hands but simultaneously: several scribes worked on sections of the same work and different hands reappear in all four texts.[8]

This diversity is matched by differences in the quantity of marginal notes in the manuscript: the editor's interest in the texts varied widely—at least as far as we can judge from the number and contents of his notes. Each text had its own specific history before being collected and written into the manuscript we now have.[9] Compared to the generous amount of glosses and notes in the margin of e.g. the *Prior Analytics*, Georr notes the relative scarcity and shortness of such notes in the *Rhetoric*, a fact that even a cursory examination of the manuscript confirms.

In the Arabic *Rhetoric*, the large majority of marginal notes consist of glosses and explanations of single terms and variants (often introduced with *yaʿnī*, "that is" or "it means") and are, according to Georr, later additions. The copyist furthermore refers in several places to variants, both in another Arabic version and in the Syriac text.[10] Also in the margins of the text, we frequently find *hamzah*-shaped markings, often on the inside of the page. In one of the notes at the end of the text, the copyist reproduces Ibn al-Samḥ's explanation of these markings which he placed next to lines in which he encountered problematic terms or phrases, particularly those he could not explain on the basis of the second Arabic version he claims to have used or the Syriac text that was his last resource.[11] The huge majority of notes is in black ink and by the same hand but there is a number of notes in red ink (allegedly by the same scribe) and some in black that are clearly in a different hand.[12]

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[8] Georr (1948, p. 184f). Other scholars have suggested different groupings, e.g. Hugonnard-Roche (2001, p. 22), who divides the manuscript into two groups of texts: firstly, the books of the "standard" *Organon* (including the *Isagoge*), copied in similar ways. They are all followed by three successive colophons: the first, written by same hand as the text itself, marks its end while the second and third, written by different hands which remain the same across the various books, document the source of the copy and the collation process. All of these books are explicitly connected with Ibn Suwār. Secondly, the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* which are not codicologically connected with Ibn Suwār and do not have the same colophon structure. They are linked with Ibn al-Samḥ. Stern (1956, p. 41) already noted that the *Rhetoric* probably formed and independent volume which was then bound into the beginning of Paris ar. 2346.

[9] Hugonnard-Roche (1991a, p. 193ff, 208f).

[10] Georr (1948, p. 188).

[11] Cf. Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. iif).

[12] Cf. also Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. vi–xiii).

Commending the philological acumen of the people involved in col-
lecting and annotating the texts in the *Organon* manuscript, Walzer sug-
gests that the notes were part of an effort to recover a version of the
text that was as close and faithful as possible to Aristotle's original.[13] In
his analysis of the annotations and marginal comments contained in the
translation of the *Prior Analytics*, Hugonnard-Roche on the other hand
concludes that they were not intended as an exercise in textual criticism
but illustrate Ibn Suwār's and later readers' concern with understand-
ing the *logical* content of the text. He notes that the rather periphrastic
Taḏārī-translation of the *Prior Analytics* chosen by the editor would have
offered ample opportunity for criticism and correction when compared to
the translations produced by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and his son. The glosses
and annotations provided by Ibn Suwār and other logicians perusing the
manuscript illustrate their "logical" concerns, their efforts to understand
and incorporate the logical content of the text into their own thinking.[14]
Hugonnard-Roche's interpretation is based on a text that was much more
thoroughly annotated than the *Rhetoric*; for an understanding of the notes
added to our text, Walzer's emphasis on philological accuracy seems a
much better fit.

The history of the Arabic translation of the *Rhetoric* in this manuscript
remains obscured by the lack of later sources that could help to ascribe it
to a specific translator or period. According to the notes we find after the
colophon at the end of the anonymous translation (f. 65v), it was copied
from a manuscript belonging to the Aristotelian scholar and logician Ibn
al-Samḥ in 1027, the year of his death. Like Ibn al-Ḫammār, Ibn al-Samḥ
was a student of Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī and belonged to the circle of Christian
Aristotelians.[15] The copyist of the manuscript carefully transcribed Ibn
al-Samḥ's own notes as he found them in his source manuscript. In two
longer excurses appended to the translation, Ibn al-Samḥ describes his
procedure in collating the text. Since the first one gives us valuable in-
formation about his philological methods and the texts available at the
time, it deserves to be quoted in full:

هذا الكتاب لم يبلغ كثير من قرأ صناعة المنطق الى درسه ولم ينظر فيه ايضا نظرا شافيا
فلذلك ليس يوجد له نسخة صحيحة او معنى مصحّح ما ووجدت له نسخة بالعربية
سقيمة جدا جدا، ثم قد وجدت له نسخة اخرى بالعربية اقل سقما من تلك فعولت

على نسخ هذه النسخة من هذه النسخة الثانية ومهما وجدته في النسخة الثانية
من غلط كنت ارجع فيه الى تلك النسخة، فان وجدته صحيحا اثبت ما اجده فيها
على الصحة، وان وجدته سقيما ايضا رجعت فيه الى نسخة سريانية، فاذا وجدته
صحيحا اثبته عربيا بحسبها وان وجدته سقيما اثبته على سقمه وعلّمت على السطر
الذي هو فيه علامة هي هذه ء، وقابلت على هذه النسخة واجتهدت ان لا يقع في
المقابلة بها شيء من الغفل، فليعلم جميع ذلك ان شاء الله وله الحمد حق حمده.[16]

Taking a somewhat defective Arabic copy as his starting point, Ibn al-Samḥ applied corrections on the basis of another, even less dependable Arabic copy and a "sound" (ṣaḥīḥah) Syriac version. According to Lyons, the copyist of Ibn al-Samḥ's manuscript added another note to the effect that he compared a certain passage (1477b11) with "the Greek" (al-yūnānī)[17] and found the manuscript's reading to be correct. These notes suggest that at this stage of the transmission process, even a relatively prominent exponent of the Aristotelian tradition in Baghdad who had been taught by the best philosophers of his time had access only to a relatively small sample of texts due to what he claims was a lack of scholarly interest in the *Rhetoric*. As we will see in the fourth chapter on the Arabic commentary tradition, his statement is somewhat at odds with the substantial philosophical activity surrounding the *Rhetoric* in the ninth

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[16] "[N]ot many students of the art of logic have arrived at a study of this book or have investigated it satisfactorily. For that reason, there is not to be found any sound copy or anything that has been corrected. I did find an Arabic copy that was very defective indeed and then I found another Arabic copy less defective than the first. I relied upon this second copy in my transcription of this version and where I found a mistake in the second copy I had recourse to that (other) version. If I found it given correctly there, I would copy down what I found in that version in its correct form, but if I found that it was defective there, too, I would check back on the point to a Syriac manuscript. If I found the (Syriac) manuscript reading to be sound, I would produce an Arabic version to match it, but if it was defective, I would enter it, defective as it was, and mark the line in which it occurs with the following sign [here, the copyist wrote out a *hamzah*-shaped character]. I have checked over this copy and done my best to see that there has been no carelessness. Let all know this, if God wills and to him be His due of praise."

This version of the note was reconstructed and translated by Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. iif) who also signals the variants between his reading and those of Badawī and Georr (none of which substantially change the meaning of the note). Panoussi (2000, p. 236ff) relies largely on Lyons, both for his reading and his translation.

[17] The emendation *al-suryānī*, "the Syriac", suggested by Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. iv), agrees with the information in the two previous notes which do not mention any Greek version as part of the collation process. On the other hand, we are not in a position categorically to exclude the use of a Greek text even as late as the eleventh century just on the basis of the (widely held) notion that the knowledge of Greek had more or less disappeared by that time.

and early tenth century: some of the most prominent "students of the art of logic" read and commented on it.

The note above and the second one describing (in less detail) the collation process are not the only ones appended at the end of the *Rhetoric*; there is a second set at the end of the text and in the margin of the same folio which apparently deals with the translation's provenance. Only partly legible, these notes contain several dates and names which offer ample room for speculation. We will discuss them in detail below.

Another important source of information is Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. The entry on the *Rhetoric* in his chapter on Aristotle's works reads as follows:

الكلام على ريطوريقا ومعناه الخطابة يصاب بنقل قديم وقيل ان اسحق نقله الى العربي
ونقله ابراهيم بن عبد الله، فسّره الفارابي ابو نصر رأيت بخط احمد بن الطيّب هذا
الكتاب نحو مائة ورقة بنقل قديم[18]

The second translator mentioned in this passage, Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh (al-Dimašqī),[19] puts in two more appearances. On the preceding page of Flügel's edition of the *Fihrist*, he is credited with the partial translation of another Aristotelian work, the eighth book of the *Topics*. The second reference in the *Fihrist*'s entry on Alexander of Aphrodisias contains another piece of information:

وقال ابو زكرياء انه التمس من ابراهيم بن عبد الله فصّ سوفسطيقا وفصّ الخطابة
وفصّ الشعر بنقل اسحق بخمسين دينارا فلم يبعها واحرقه وقت وفاته[20]

The first note lists two, probably even three Arabic translations of the *Rhetoric*: an "old" one (*naql qadīm*), confirmed by a note written by Aḥmad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Saraḫsī (d. 899);[21] one by Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh

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[18] Flügel (1871–1872, p. 250); translation: "An account of (the work) *Rīṭūrīqā*, which means 'Rhetoric':—it is found in an old translation; it is said that Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn translated it into Arabic and it was translated by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh. Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī wrote a commentary on it. I have seen in the handwriting of Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib (a note to say): 'this book is about 100 pages (long) in the old version'" (Lyons, 1982, vol. 1, p. i).

[19] He is credited with numerous scientific works in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (Flügel 1871–1872, p. 244, 249f, 252f, translated by Dodge 1970, vol. 2, p. 588, 600, 1010). His version of the eigth book of the *Topics* has survived and forms part of our manuscript.

[20] Flügel (1871–1872, p. 253): "Abū Zakariyāʾ [Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī] said that he offered fifty gold coins ... to Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh for a copy of the Sophistici, a copy of the Oratory [Rhetoric], and a copy of the Poetry [Poetica], as translated by Isḥāq, but he would not sell them. At the time of his death he burned them." (Dodge, 1970, vol. 2, p. 609)

[21] Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Saraḫsī was a student of al-Kindī and himself a noted philosopher. After a distinguished carrer as teacher, boon

and one by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn. As the passive *qīla* indicates, Ibn al-Nadīm knows the latter two versions only from hearsay.

The second note, on the plausible assumption that *bi-naql Isḥāq* refers to all the texts listed by Ibn al-Nadīm, would confirm the existence of Isḥāq's translation of the *Rhetoric*. While explicitly ascribing the *faṣṣ* of the *Poetics* to Isḥāq, however, the reference can be read in several ways: Isḥāq could have been the author of one or both of the *Sophistical Refutations* and the *Rhetoric* or of none of these two. The note does not throw any more light on the role of Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh. It would be rash either to identify the text of the *Rhetoric* mentioned in this context with the translation by Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh listed in the first note or with the earlier version by Isḥāq. Ibrāhīm could have been involved in various capacities: as translator, corrector or perhaps only as the owner of the text in question.

This leaves us with three translations, two of which must have been into Arabic.[22] In fact, Ibn al-Nadīm does not mention any Syriac version at all. Badawī and Heinrichs date the "old" translation the early eigth century and identify it as the text in our manuscript; Lyons agrees with Badawī who refers to the quality of the translation as falling short of the standards established by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and later translators.[23]

There is a consensus on the early, probably Umayyad date of the *Rhetoric* and its identification with Ibn al-Nadīm's "old" version. Arguments for the discussion have been drawn from three sources: notes contained in our manuscript, the testimony of the *Fihrist* and judgements about the purportedly poor quality of the translation. Before accepting these conclusions, we should ask how strong the evidence actually is.

There are some obvious problems with Ibn al-Nadīm's account: his only first-hand experience seems to have been with the "old" translation. The Isḥāq-translation and that by Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh was known to him only from reports from an unnamed source; his authority for the "old" version is a comment about its length by Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Saraḫsī.[24]

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companion and confidant of the later Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid (r. 892–902), he was imprisoned and died shortly afterwards; the reasons for his fall from grace and death are unclear (cf. Rosenthal 1943, p. 25–39). Apart from original works on various subjects, he produced a number of abridgements and short commentaries on Aristotelian works (cf. Flügel 1871–1872, p. 261f and Dodge 1970, vol. 2, p. 626ff).

[22] Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. i) persuasively argues that Ibn al-Nadīm's readers would, unless otherwise specified, always assume a translation to be Arabic.

[23] Cf. Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. i), Heinrichs (1969, p. 51) and Kassel (1971, p. 90f). According to Gutas (1993, p. 252f), *naql qadīm* was a technical term for pre-Ḥunayn translations.

[24] Peters (1968, p. 28) interprets Ibn al-Nadīm's note as evidence for a copy *made* by

While it seems justified to accept al-Saraḥsī's remark as confirmation for the existence of an "old" version, Ibn al-Nadīm's testimony leaves much unsaid. A reconstruction of the translation history of the *Rhetoric* into Arabic cannot trust in his words alone.

The notes in the margin and body of the manuscript also pose problems. Successive scholars have tried to make sense of the partly illegible text and offered readings and interpretations which determined their reconstruction of the text's history. The progressive deterioration of the manuscript in the course of the twentieth century has made the notes even harder to read. In the following paragraphs, we will limit our discussion to the readings proposed by Lyons, Stern, Georr and Badawī[25] together with my own examination of a microfilm copy of the manuscript.

Lyons reconstructs eight notes,[26] which are below the text towards the bottom of f. 65v (nos. 1–3 below) or in the left margin of the folio (4–8). Their placement on the page is as follows: notes 1–3 are written one after another in separate lines at the end of the text. On the left margin, note 5 is the topmost, followed by note 8 about midway down the page. We find notes 6, 4 and 7 (in this sequence) in the left margin of the bottom third of the page. As previous commentators have pointed out, some of them are exceedingly difficult to make out, especially on microfilm. My observations are therefore tentative at best.

The various notes seem to be written in different hands. This is most obvious in the case of notes 6 and 7 as compared to notes 4, 5 and 8 (which seem to be by the same scribe). Except for note 3, those at the bottom of the page are harder to decipher; my suspicion is that all of them are written in yet other hands, even though notes 2 and 3 could have been added by the same scribe. The microfilm gives no indication that any differently-colored inks were used except for parts of note 4 (see below).

Ibn al-Ṭayyib or another of al-Kindī's followers: "this copy of the *vetus* made by one of his pupils suggests that the *Rhetorica* was also studied in the circle of al-Kindī; in whose translation is not known."

His claim about the copy's origin is very difficult to verify; Peters' suggestion that the *Rhetoric* was known to and studied by members of the Kindī-circle sounds more promising. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 461) presents the material pertaining to writings on the *Rhetoric* ascribed to al-Kindī and his contemporary Muḥammad ibn Mūsā (d. 873). The translation's relation to the output of the Kindī-circle will be studied in the following chapter. For a succinct presentation of the available material on the Kindī-circle's interest in the *Rhetoric*, see Montgomery (2006, p. 99ff).

[25] Badawī (1959).

[26] Cf. Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. ivff).

The first three notes are below Ibn al-Samḥ's *explicit* on f. 65v:

(١) [...] سنة ثلاثة (؟؟) وتسع و[...] ثلثين لاسكندر بن فيلبس[27]

It is impossible to draw any information from this all but illegible passage. The next note is more informative:

(٢) للشيخ ظفر بن منصور بن [يوحنا] في التاريخ [...] عشر وهي سنة [...] ثلثماية وثلثين للاسكندر[28]

Badawī proposes a different reading:

نسخ ظفرت منصور بن [...] في التاريخ [...] وهي سنة ثلثماية وتسع وثلاثين للاسكندر[29]

Assuming that an *ʾalf* ("thousand") is missing, this note would put us in the year 1339 of the Seleucid calendar; a concrete date which fits well into the reconstruction of the history of the text: 1339 equals 1027 CE, the year of Ibn al-Samḥ's death. Unfortunately, neither of the lacunae would be a suitable place for an addition. His discussion of this note suggests that there is no gap where we would expect the *ʾalf*, viz. between *sanah* and *ṯalāṯumiʾah*. Without it, the date becomes incomprehensible.

(٣) بلغت مقابلته في التاريخ [...][30] سنة ثماني عشرة واربع ماية لهجرة سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم[31]

The note gives the same date 418 AH, which corresponds to the year 1027 CE.[32]

Stern reads the first notes somewhat differently. He does not mention the first and presents the text Lyons assigns to notes 2 and 3 as a single comment:

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[27] "[In] the year three (??) [...] and nine and [...] thirty according to the reckoning of Alexander, son of Philip". Square brackets indicate conjectures and manuscript damage.
    Badawī can only identify the words *tisʿūn* and *li-l-Iskandar ibn Fīlibus*. The ascription *li-Iskandar ibn Fīlibus* refers to the Seleucid calendar, the first year of which began in autumn 312 BCE.

[28] "For the *šayḫ* Ẓafar ibn Manṣūr ibn [Yūḥannā] at the date [...] ten and that is the year [...] three hundred and thirty according to the reckoning of Alexander".

[29] "Manuscripts were acquired [by] Manṣūr ibn [...] at the date [...] and that is the year three hundred and thirty-nine according to the reckoning of Alexander".

[30] Badawī: الذي.

[31] "Its collation was achieved at the date [...] [in] the year four hundred and eighteen after the *hiǧrah* of our lord Muḥammad, praise be upon him".

[32] *Muqābalah* means "collation", "comparison" or also "correction"; cf. Gacek (2001, p. 112, s. v. *q–b–l*).

... ظفر بن منصور بن ... في التاريخ وهي سنة الف ثلثمائة وتسع وثلثين للاسكندر
في التاريخ الذي سنته ثماني عشر واربع مائة لهجرة سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه
وسلم[33]

According to Stern's reading, the phrase *balaġat muqābalah*, placed at the
beginning of note 3 by Lyons, belongs in the the margin of the manu-
script, right after *li-l-Iskandar*. He explains that it should not be joined
to the following line and be linked to the second date (as Lyons assumes),
but continues the previous line and follows right after the first date. He
maintains that it refers to the copying of the manuscript at the time of
the first date, not to a collation at a later point. Interestingly, Stern is able
to make out in the manuscript (which in this place is badly damaged) the
ʾalf missing in both Lyons' and Badawī's second note. Hence, according
to his reading, both dates identical.[34]

His claim that notes 2 and 3 belong together is plausible, should they
indeed refer to the same date in different calendar systems; however, as I
have mentioned above, my inspection of the microfilm left some doubts
whether they were written in the same hand.[35]

(٤) بلغت المقابلة من النسخة التي بخط ابي علي ابن[36] الشيخ[37] ووقع التصحيح
بحسبها ولله الحمد سنة[38] تسع[39] ومايتين[40]

Going back in time, we are now in the year 209 (or 207), apparently

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[33] "... Ẓafar ibn Manṣūr ibn ... at the date which is the year one thousand and three
hundred and thirty-nine according to the reckoning of Alexander at the date of which
the year was four hundred and eighteen after the *hiǧrah* of our lord Muḥammad, praise
be upon him".

[34] Stern (1956, p. 42f).

[35] Given the sorry state of the manuscript, the date of the consultation by these various
scholars must have substantially influenced their respective readings and, based on it, their
views on the history of the manuscript and the Arabic *Rhetoric*. As far as we know, Lyons'
edition is based on a transcript produced in 1959 (cf. Lyons, 1982, vol. 1, p. xiii). He was
preceded by Stern who must have consulted the manuscript in or before 1956 and also
relied on a second examination of the colophon by George Vajda (Stern, 1956, p. 43, n. 1,
3). Georr must have seen the manuscript before the publication of his monograph on the
Syriac and Arabic versions of Aristotle's *Categories* (Georr, 1948). The first Western scholar
to study the colophon to the *Rhetoric* was Margoliouth (1897, p. 377). He still found a text
he described as "easily legible, except where the paper is damaged". Unfortunately, he did
not include a transcript of these invaluable notes in his article.

[36] Badawī: بن.

[37] Georr: emended to بن السمح.

[38] Georr: om. ولله الحمد, cont. لسنة.

[39] Badawī: سبع.

[40] "The collation was achieved from the manuscript which was in the hand of Abū ʿAlī

AH. This marginal note has been variously interpreted: Stern and Georr want to emend the name to read Ibn al-Samḥ which would invalidate the reading of the year and, given that the date is indeed corrupt, possibly duplicate information already contained in note 3., i.e. the fact of Ibn al-Samḥ's collation.[41] The term *taṣḥīḥ* can refer to a number of activities, among them a "correction" on the basis of the abovementioned manuscript or even the production of an edition.[42] Georr contends that the name has been changed through diacritical points in a different handwriting and proposes the same emendation. The microfilm reveals that the diacritics Stern and Georr claim to be later additions are indeed somewhat bigger than the diacritics in the rest of the note. Additionally, the dots above the letters *š* and *ḫ* seem to be in a slightly different color than the remainder of the note.

Lyons doubts the necessity of such an intervention and maintains that the person in question is someone other than Ibn al-Samḥ. Read this way, note 4 can be interpreted as an indicator for yet another stage in the transmission of the text, a collation that took place in either 824/5 or 822/3 CE. But without any corroborating evidence, all this, as Lyons reminds us, "must remain mere speculation".

Some even more interesting scraps of information are to be found in the four remaining notes, written on the margin of the same manuscript page. The first one reads:

<div dir="rtl">

(٥) [...] هـذه الـنسخة عـن⁴³ نسخة كانت بخط ابي العباس بحسب الطاقة والاجتهاد [لسنة] ثلثماية وعشرين⁴⁴

</div>

Another date, 320 AH (932 CE), and another name, Abū al-ʿAbbās. With Stern, one might argue that this snippet, written in the left margin of the page, was copied from Ibn al-Samḥ's manuscript.[45] On the other hand, it seems odd that it was added in the margin like a later addition rather than integrated into the notes at the end of the text body where the scribe quoted the colophon from Ibn al-Samḥ's text.

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ibn al-Šayḫ and the correction [or edition] on the basis of it [sc. the manuscript in the hand of Abū ʿAlī] took place—thanks be to God—[in] the year two hundred and nine."

[41] Stern (1956, p. 43), Georr (1948, p. 189).

[42] Cf. Gacek (2001, p. 82, s. v. ṣ–ḥ–ḥ).

[43] Badawī: على.

[44] Badawī: ستمائة وعشرة. The note translates as "this copy from a copy which was [written] in the hand of Abū al-ʿAbbās to the best of his abilities [lit. 'according to the ability and effort'] [(in) the year] three hundred and twenty".

[45] Stern (1956, p. 42f).

<div dir="rtl">

(٦) طالع فيه ابراهيم الدمشقي اليوسفي ١١٣[46]

</div>

According to this note, a certain Ibrāhīm al-Dimašqī al-Yūsufī "studied" the text.[47] More interesting than al-Dimašqī's activities is the number 113 written, strangely enough, as a number instead of being written out as a date. Lyons cautiously approves Stern's interpretation: the earliest year given in these notes, i.e. 113 AH (731 CE), could be taken as the actual date of translation. This would place the *Rhetoric* at the very beginning of the Greek-Arabic translation activities. With no other evidence to start from than the aforementioned set of notes, Lyons' carefully worded conjectures have not yet been challenged. Heinrichs finds the argument behind Lyons' dating not entirely persuasive but still maintains that an Umayyad-era translation remains a distinct possibility.[48]

The last two notes do not add any significant information to our account so far. A certain ʿAbd al-Faqīr Muṣṭafā studied the text at an unspecified date and the manuscript ended up in the library of a Cairene named ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĪsā in the year 509 AH (1115 CE). They read as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

(٧) طالع فيه العبد الفقير [مصطفى] بن […][49]

</div>

<div dir="rtl">

(٨) ملك عبد الله بن عيسى القاهرة سنة تسعا وخمسماية[50]

</div>

As we have seen, the elaborate argument behind the Umayyad dating of the translation of the *Rhetoric* proposed by Lyons and others rests on a number of assumptions and conjectures, beginning with their reconstruction of the notes discussed above. Choosing to overlook several of their inconsistencies, some of which can be clearly seen in their conflicting interpretations of the notes,[51] Stern's and Lyons' account remains at

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[46] "Ibrāhīm al-Dimašqī al-Yūsufī studied it [in] 113". Georr omits the number even though it is clearly visible on the microfilm of the manuscript and placed right beneath the note in a way that suggests that they belong together.

[47] The verbal noun *muṭālaʿah* can also refer to notes produced during study; cf. Gacek (2001, p. 93, s. v. *ṭ–l–ʿ*).

[48] Heinrichs (1984, p. 313).

[49] "ʿAbd al-Faqīr [Muṣṭafā] ibn [...] studied it". The letters visible in what Lyons marked as the second lacuna seem to form at least two words, possibly additional parts of the name. Neither Badawī nor Georr quote this note.

[50] Badawī: om. القاهرة, cont. تسع. Translation: "Property of ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿĪsā, Cairo, [in the] year five hundred and nine".

[51] We should again remind ourselves that their variant readings and interpretations could have been caused by the deterioration of the manuscript.

least highly attractive: it provides a framework for the history of the text and, most importantly, limits the translation timeframe.

Part of its attractiveness lies in the fact that it would place the text *before* the translation activities collectively classified as the Greek-Arabic translation movement which, according to Dimitri Gutas, did not begin in earnest before the ʿAbbāsid revolution.[52] It could have preserved traces of a stage in translation techniques and terminological remnants antedating the later, more systematic translation efforts. These considerations should be addressed in any attempt to date our text.

With Ibn al-Nadīm and internal "metatextual" evidence thus weakened, there is only one more source to turn to for the verification of an early date: the translation itself, its formal and textual features. These will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Apart from the translation date, the structure and style of the text can shed some light on another, equally important question of text history: the involvement of a Syriac intermediary. As will be seen below, findings from our translation have been drawn on to argue both for and against the mediating role of a Syriac text in the transmission of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* to the Islamic world.

The Syriac translation tradition

In our historical sketch in the previous chapter, we have seen that the history of the Arabic translations is intimately linked to the preceding Syriac translation tradition. The reception of the *Rhetoric* in Syriac was in turn bound up with the transmission of Aristotle's logical writings, the *Organon*. Contrary to present-day perceptions, both Aristotle's *Poetics* and his *Rhetoric* were seen as an integral part of the *Organon* by Arabic observers—whence its inclusion in our manuscript which represents, in the words of Dimitri Gutas, "a one-volume encyclopedia of the history of Arabic logic in Baghdad for over a century".[53] How did the *Rhetoric* come to be seen as a "logical" treatise and how did this classification influence its transmission into Syriac and Arabic?

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[52] Cf. Gutas (1998, p. 23f).

[53] Gutas (1998, p. 147). The classification of the *Rhetoric*—as a logical work in the Arabic tradition and, together with his ethical writings, as part of practical philosophy in the Latin tradition—constitutes a key difference between the reception in the Islamic world and the Latin West during the Renaissance; cf. Rapp (2002, vol. 1, p. 296). On the theory of the "poetical" syllogism, cf. Schoeler (1983).

Aristotle's own remarks about the closeness of the *Rhetoric* to the art of
dialectic on the one hand[54] and politics on the other certainly facilitated
the process of assigning the work to the logical arts; this classification
was "formalized" around the fifth century by the late antique commen-
tators who added it to the *Organon*.[55] It was well established in the late
Alexandrian tradition, possibly by the time of the Neoplatonic philoso-
pher Ammonius (of Alexandria, d. 517 or 526);[56] his pupil Simplicius (fl.
ca. 530) already takes it for granted.[57] Statements by these commentators
show that both the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* were assumed to describe types of
fallacious reasoning, an idea that was taken up and elaborated by Muslim
philosophers such as al-Fārābī.[58] In several of his works, the philosopher
expressed contemporary ideas about the classification of the logical dis-
ciplines and justified the "logical" relevance of the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*
with a variety of arguments, some of which directly reflect late antique
thinking about the status and contents of these two books. They de-
pended on a view of Aristotle's *Organon* which assigned specific roles to
each of its components: the first two treatises introduced the basic build-
ing blocks of reasoned speech, i.e. terms (in the *Categories*) and propo-
sitions (in the *De interpretatione*). On this basis, Aristotle developed a
general theory of rational argumentation in his *Prior Analytics*: the *syllo-
gism*. Subsequent treatises described specific applications of the theory of
syllogistic reasoning, namely demonstrative or scientific arguments in the
Posterior Analytics and dialectic reasoning in the *Topics*. The remaining
three books of the *Organon* dealt with flawed or inferior types of rea-

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[54] *Rhetoric* 1354a1. Cf. Brunschwig (1996) on the similarities and differences between
the *Rhetoric* and the central Aristotelian work which discusses the theory and practice of
dialectics, the *Topics*.

[55] Würsch (1991, p. 1).

[56] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 168ff).

[57] Heinrichs (1969, p. 105f). Walzer (1962e, p. 133ff) traces the classification of the
Poetics and the *Rhetoric* as logical treatises in the Alexandrian commentary tradition.

[58] Cf. Boggess (1970, p. 86–89) and Black (1990, p. 1f). The latter source is fundamental
for the history of the "logical" interpretation of the two books in antiquity and medieval
Islam. The author traces the history and philosophical implications of the inclusion of the
Rhetoric and *Poetics* in the *Organon* under the (somewhat opaque) label "context theory".
The verdict of most of her reviewers was unqualifiedly positive; cf. Rosemann (1991),
Leaman (1992), Ormsby (1992) and Würsch (1994).

In his carefully argued and detailed review, Lameer (1993) criticizes some of the philo-
sophical arguments and textual evidence Black cites to support her central claim claim
that Muslim philosophers devised their own theory about the logical relevance of the
Rhetoric and *Poetics* instead of, as Lameer suggests, taking it for granted since it was part
of the very same body of late antique commentary sources from which they derived large
parts of their interpretation of Aristotle's logical works.

soning which do not result in incontrovertible truths such as sophistical arguments (*Sophistical Refutations*) and rhetorical and poetical reasoning (*Rhetoric* and *Poetics*).[59]

The study of rhetorical reasoning was not just intended to identify and avoid it as a defective, pseudo-logical form of argument, it also served a number of positive purposes: firstly, as al-Fārābī explained, some problems are not amenable to be solved by any of the logical methods that lead to absolute certainty, they can only be argued effectively with lesser methods of reasoning such as rhetorical proofs. Secondly, rhetorical and poetical reasoning play an important role in education, e.g. during those stages in which students do not yet understand methods of reasoning that lead to certainty. Rhetorical proofs and poetic images, he claimed, are constructed on the model of the latter or can at least potentially be transformed into valid proofs. Finally, different audiences require philosophical truths to be couched in different terms corresponding to their level of comprehension: there is an elite of the "initiated", properly trained in philosophy, who understand syllogistic proofs whereas rhetorical arguments and poetic images are proper for "the masses". The methods described in the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* are appropriate for "uninitiated" students who have not been exposed to philosophy and are therefore still incapable of understanding higher forms of logical reasoning.[60]

The classification of the two works as belonging to logic is an integral part of the Islamic philosophers' understanding of Aristotle and his works: al-Kindī presents it in his treatment of the order and relevance of the Aristotelian corpus in his *Risālah fī kammīyat kutub Arisṭū*.[61] It plays a decisive role in a number of works by al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd and left its mark also in scientific encyclopedias and the bio-bibliographical literature.[62] The value of a theory of philosophical rhetoric and poetics and the link between these disciplines on the one hand and logic on the other, however, was not obvious to every contemporary observer. In his *al-Maṯal al-sāʾir fī ʾadab al-kātib wa-l-šāʿir*, the historian ʿAlī ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 1233) thoroughly rubbished Ibn Sīnā's theories of poetry and rhetoric presented in his *Kitāb al-šifāʾ* (*The Cure*), a multi-volume exposition of all fields of philosophy. Ibn al-Aṯīr reserved particular scorn

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[59] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 487).

[60] Galston (1988, p. 207ff).

[61] *On the Quantity of the Books of Aristotle*, edited by Guidi and Walzer (1940) and Abū Rīdā (1950–1954, vol. 1, p. 362–374) and translated into English by Rescher (1963); cf. also Jolivet (2004).

[62] Black (1990, p. 2).

for the idea that rhetorical and poetic texts do or should conform to the structure of logical syllogisms.[63]

Obviously, the assignment of the *Rhetoric* to the field of logic had a huge impact on its translation and interpretation: almost without regard to the relevance of its subject matter to the study of literature, the text was relegated to the field of philosophical inquiry.[64] Commentators and translators from late antiquity to Islamic philosophers such as Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd expended a considerable amount of energy on discovering the "logical" relevance of both the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. Translations and commentaries eloquently testify to their immense efforts to match the text to their preconceptions.

The previous Syriac reception of the *Rhetoric* was equally affected by the late antique interpreters and their insistence on the book's logical af-filiation. Potentially, Syriac translation(s) of this text and the other com-ponents of the *Organon*, not to mention kindred texts such as summaries and commentaries, would have been an obvious transmission channel for this and other ideas.[65] To assess the likelihood of a Syriac intermediary for the Arabic *Rhetoric*, we will now turn to the history of the Syriac translation tradition.

Strikingly, evidence for the existence of rhetorical literature in Syriac seems to be exceedingly sparse. Apart from a Syriac translation of the *Rhetoric* of uncertain date (more on which below), the first conspicuous example of a rhetorical text appears relatively late: a rhetorical treatise by Antony of Tagrit, placed in the ninth century by the prolific scholar and writer Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) and epitomized in Jacob (or Severus) bar Šakko's (d. 1241) *Book of Dialogues*.[66] Antony's work was apparently not influenced in any way by Aristotle's *Rhetoric* but already exhibits the same link between rhetoric on the one hand and political life on the other that was to be such a prominent element in al-Fārābī's rhetorical

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[63] al-Ḥūfī and Ṭabānah (1959–1962, vol. 2, p. 5f), quoted and translated by Heinrichs (1969, p. 110f).

[64] Heinrichs (1969, p. 103f, 106).

[65] On the basis of the correspondence of the Nestorian Catholicus Timothy I (d. 823), Berti (2007) illustrates the relegation of the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* to Aristotle's *Organon* in the Syriac philosophical tradition.

[66] Cf. Watt (1987) on Antony's *Rhetoric* and possible Greek and Latin sources for his theory of rhetorical figures; Watt (1995a, p. 65f) lists some of the finer points of Antony's rhetorical thought which he inherited mostly from Hellenistic rhetorical authorities in-stead of the classical Greek rhetorical literature. His work, the only of its kind in Syriac literature, intended to be a guide to the practice of rhetoric rather than its theory; cf. Baumstark (1922, p. 278).

thought.[67] Watt notes an apparent lack of interest in rhetorical learning in Syriac writings but also maintains that rhetorical concepts were assimilated continuously into Syriac literature between the fourth and the ninth centuries and explicitly singles out theological works, particularly the sermon genre, as a fertile ground for the application of rhetorical knowledge.[68]

Logical texts, on the other hand, found a receptive Syriac audience. The importance of logic was recognized early on, e.g. by the sixth-century scholar Sergius of Rēšʿaynā who maintained that it was an indispensable tool for the study of philosophy and science.[69] Not only that, theologians soon realized that it could be forged into a powerful weapon against dissenters and heretics.[70] Studies of Greek logic were undertaken mainly in the seventh century in the monastery of Qennešrīn under the influence of Severus Sēbōḫt (d. 667). His pupils, Athanasius of Balad (d. 686) and Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) and Jacob's friend and student George, Bishop of the Arabs, were among the most important translators of the *Organon* into Syriac.[71] A glance at the known translations of and commentaries on Aristotle's logical works shows that late antique Syrian scholars concentrated their efforts on three key texts: the *Categories*, *De interpretatione* and the *Prior Analytics*. In addition, they translated and commented on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, often added to the *Organon* as a general introduction to Aristotelian logic.[72]

Contemporary interest in logic was not just limited to secular (philosophical and scientific) learning; much more importantly, theological studies, specifically the need for a conceptual framework to formulate and debate theological doctrines, provided a motivation to study logic outside the small circles of scholars engaging in philosophical and scientific research.[73] Many theological scholars of the time were also trained physi-

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[67] Watt (2005, p. 9f). He also speculates that al-Fārābī's ideas on the political role of rhetoric could have been inspired by the Christian Baghdad Aristotelians who were the heirs of the same tradition that inspired Antony of Tagrit, a topic he treats in more detail in Watt (1995b); cf. also Watt (1993b) on further parallels between Antony and al-Fārābī.

[68] Watt (1994, p. 244, 246ff). For examples of indirect transmission of rhetorical and rhetorico-political concepts into Syriac and then on into Arabic literature, cf. Watt (1995a, p. 67f, 71–75).

[69] Hugonnard-Roche (1991b, p. 187f).

[70] Cf. Würsch (1991, p. 5).

[71] Hugonnard-Roche (1990, p. 138).

[72] Cf. Brock (1993, p. 3–7).

[73] The theological dimension of logical studies found one of their most vivid expressions in the introduction to a commentary to the *Prior Analytics* by George, Bishop of

cians. Since logic was an integral part of the medical curriculum at late antique schools (e.g. in Alexandria), there was a certain demand for the translation of logical texts into Syriac. The connection between theological, medical and logical studies was so close that we often find the same scholars translating both theological and logical writings.[74]

Apart from the works listed above, the *Rhetoric* also seems to have received some attention in Syrian scholarly circles: in a seventh-century letter to a fellow scholar, Yaunan the Periodeutēs,[75] Severus Sēbōḫt refers to some problems discussed in the *Rhetoric*. According to Lyons, his remarks might not help us to identify a Syriac source for our Arabic translation but they provide at least some evidence for the existence of a Syriac version as early as the seventh century.[76] If not for any other reason, the *Rhetoric* may have been translated because it was regarded as a logical work and part of the *Organon*.

Taking a closer look at the letter, however, Gerrit Reinink establishes that the problems Severus examines all relate to logic, in particular to Yaunan's understanding of issues treated in *De interpretatione* and in the *Prior Analytics*. No reference is made to the *Rhetoric*, not even in Severus' answer to Yaunan's question regarding the arrangement of Aristotle's logical works.[77] The evidentiary value of Severus' scholia to the *Rhetoric* has been called into question by Heinrichs who cites the existence of Arabic notes and smaller writings on the *Poetics* even before its translation by Abū Bišr Mattā and argues that we do not have any conclusive evidence for Syriac translations of the *Rhetoric* or the *Poetics* prior to the rise of Islam.[78] To underline the need for new sources on the question of an early Syriac translation of the *Poetics*, he presents two conflicting arguments, both of which apply equally well to the *Rhetoric*: firstly, the inclusion of both the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* into the *Organon*, firmly established in the Alexandrian tradition since at least the beginning of the sixth century, could have been introduced into Syriac scholarly circles by Sergius of Rēšʿaynā who studied in Alexandria. Assuming that Syriac translators

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the Arabs, in which he outlines a complex web of symbolical correspondences between philosophy and theology; cf. Daiber (2001, p. 340).

[74] Cf. Rescher (1964, p. 16).

[75] In the Syrian churches, the *periodeutēs* was an itinerant priest who inspected the rural clergy for the local bishop.

[76] Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. i).

[77] Reinink (1983, p. 101ff).

[78] Heinrichs (1969, p. 126). There is sufficient evidence to show that a Syriac translation of the *Poetics* at least must have existed in the second half of the eighth century, cf. Berti (2007, 312f) and Schrier (1997).

and philosophers, as much as their later Arabic-speaking counterparts, endeavoured to have the entire *Organon* at their disposal in spite of their problems in understanding the subject matter of both works, it is not unlikely that the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* were at some point translated into Syriac.

Secondly, on the other hand, the study of the *Organon* in Christian schools was for religious reasons apparently restricted to certain parts of the corpus which could have excluded both texts from the early wave of translations of logical texts.[79] This phenomenon, which has a direct bearing on the Syriac reception of the *Rhetoric*, deserves some attention.

Several Muslim historians and physicians have preserved reports about the alleged transmission of philosophical and medical learning from late antique Alexandria to Islamic Baghdad. This group of purportedly historical accounts, called the "Alexandria to Baghdad" narrative, is extant in different versions transmitted in sources written between the tenth and the thirteenth century. The most famous, reported in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's *Ṭabaqāt al-ʾaṭibbāʾ*,[80] is quoted on the authority of the philosopher al-Fārābī. He traces the history of philosophical instruction down from the time of Aristotle (d. 332 BCE) to the lifetime of his own teacher Yuḥannā ibn Ḥaylān. The element of the story we are interested in and that also forms part of the other versions of the narrative is the assertion by al-Fārābī that sometime after the advent of Christianity (which, he claims, led to the cessation of philosophical teaching in the city of Rome), the Christian authorities stepped in and reformed the philosophical curriculum in Alexandria: they restricted the teaching of logic by removing those parts of the *Organon* from the official curricula which they considered "harmful" to Christianity, including everything that followed after the discussion of the assertoric syllogism in the *Prior Analytics*.[81] This meant that parts of the *Prior Analytics* (after the seventh chapter of Book One) and the *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations* in their

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[79] Heinrichs (1969, p. 114f).

[80] Müller (1884, vol. 1, p. 134f), translated into English by Rosenthal (1992, p. 50f). This particular version of the narrative has been commented on by numerous scholars. For the most recent and comprehensive interpretation and a detailed discussion of previous attempts to understand the report, cf. Gutas (1999) who is the main source for my own remarks.

[81] As Daiber (2001, p. 334) notes, there never was an ecclesiastical decree restricting logical teaching in Alexandria. Given the relatively peaceful co-existence of Christians and pagans in contemporary Alexandria, such an intervention would have been highly unlikely. On the Christian teaching tradition in Alexandria, its institutional structure and its historical background, cf. van den Broek (1995).

entirety, called "the part that is not studied" by al-Fārābī, were not offi-
cially taught any more. He adds that this restriction was lifted only after
the Muslim conquest; more specifically, he credits his own teacher and
his generation with expanding logical teaching to include the neglected
texts.[82] None of the extant reports mentions the *Rhetoric* or *Poetics* but it
would not be too far-fetched to assume that they were also affected: con-
sidered part of the *Organon*, late antique scholars listed them right after
the *Sophistical Refutations* in their registers of Aristotle's logical writings.

The historicity of al-Fārābī's account (and that of the other versions of
the report) is debatable[83] but he is not our only evidence for a change in
logical teaching in late antique Alexandria. In a twelfth-century treatise
on syllogistics, the scientist and logician Aḥmad ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 1153)
refers to the branches of logic that follow the assertoric syllogism as "the
part which is not read", a label he ascribes to late antique Alexandrian
scholars. Also, Pines points to the existence of Syriac manuscripts which
only contain the first seven chapters of Book One of the *Prior Analytics*
and maintains that the text was not translated into Syriac in its entirety
before the ninth century—i.e. only with the advent of the Arabic-Greek
translation movement.[84] The Syriac commentary tradition also reflects
the distinction between the first chapters of the first book and the rest
of the text: already at the time of the sixth-century translator and com-
mentator Prōbā, commentaries of the *Prior Analytics* stopped after the
seventh chapter of Book One. The shortened *Prior Analytics* also found
its way into Arabic logical literature: at the very beginning of the Arabic
logical tradition, the *kātib* (court official) and translator Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ
(d. 756) penned a paraphrase of Aristotelian logic which also stops with
Prior Analytics I.7, informing the reader that this is the end of the book.[85]

On the basis of a thorough analysis of all versions of the narrative

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[82] Gutas (1999, p. 183f).

[83] As is the extent to which Syriac and early Arabic logical literature reflect any limi-
tations on the texts which were studied and commented upon; there is also no evidence
for it in the Greek sources which formed the basis for the Syriac reception. If anything,
the noticeable focus of Syriac and early Arabic scholars on the first seven chapters of
Book One of the *Prior Analytics* more likely resulted from practical considerations, e.g.
the fact that these chapters presented a self-contained discussion of the three types of
syllogisms which were most useful as instruments in contemporary theological debates
and the justification of church dogma; cf. Daiber (2001, p. 334f).

[84] Pines (1996, p. 127f).

[85] On this interesting text which had long been assumed to be translated from Persian,
see Hein (1985, p. 41–46) and Lameer (1994, p. 11f). It has been edited by Dānēš-Pāžūh
(1978).

(which differ on some important details), Gutas isolates two distinct developments that were conflated by the sources of the various "Alexandria-to-Baghdad" reports: the first one, affecting the *Greek* teaching tradition, is a reform of the Greek medical and logical curriculum in Alexandria in the sixth century. In an effort to streamline medical education, certain texts (including a number of treatises of the *Organon*) were not officially taught any more but could still be studied in private. The second, two centuries later, concerned *Syriac* logical teaching and involved its expansion to include those texts that had not officially been taught before. The confusion of the different versions of this narrative centers on which texts exactly where taught in which tradition (Greek or Syriac) in the course of medical and logical training.[86] The relegation of some texts to "what was not read/studied" left its traces in the Syriac and (at least at its beginning) the Arabic translation and commentary tradition: we know of several Syriac translations and commentaries for each of those texts that were officially taught but virtually none for the rest.[87] If we take the same to apply to the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* (and it has to be repeated that the above evidence is indirect at best), the case for an early Syriac translation of the *Rhetoric* would look very weak indeed.

So far, all we can say with some assurance is that Syriac authors were probably acquainted with the text but that does not require the existence of written or textual knowledge. As it is, the only reliable witness for the existence of a Syriac translation—which we are not in a position to date—is the Arabic *Rhetoric* itself. There are two types of evidence that have been derived from the Arabic translation: Ibn al-Samḥ's marginal notes referring to a Syriac version; and terminological features of the translation that point to a Syriac source text. We will look at both of them in turn.

Like the other translations of logical works included in our manuscript, the *Rhetoric* contains several marginal notes which seem to indicate the existence of a Syriac version. These notes are partly anonymous and most of them, due to their re-translation into Arabic by Ibn Suwār or some other commentator, cannot be identified and assigned to concrete translations or authors, but they are sufficient to confirm the existence of a Syriac version at the time of the eleventh-century collator of the text, Ibn al-Samḥ.[88]

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[86] Gutas (1999, p. 184ff).
[87] Cf. the lists compiled by Brock (1993).
[88] Hugonnard-Roche (1991a, p. 195) and Watt (2005, p. 7).

John Watt's research on the major Syriac compendium of Aristotelian philosophy, Bar Hebraeus' *Butyrum sapientiae* (*Cream of Wisdom*), has opened up a new perspective on the question of a Syriac intermediary for the Arabic *Rhetoric*. The *Butyrum*, completed shortly before its author's death in 1286, covers the entire sweep of Aristotelian philosophy including the *Rhetoric*. In the first section of the book which deals with logic, Bar Hebraeus takes up the writings of the *Organon* according to the canonical sequence established in late antiquity and adopted by Muslim philosophers, starting with Porphyry's *Isagoge* and ending with Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. He mainly paraphrases the corresponding sections of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-šifāʾ*, supplementing it with material from additional sources. The section on the *Rhetoric* consists of a paraphrase which depends both on Ibn Sīnā and the text of the Arabic *Rhetoric*. Where Bar Hebraeus only paraphrases the translation (e.g. sections of the text which Ibn Sīnā passes over), he remains very close to the Arabic translation: indeed, closer to the Arabic version than to any Greek text we know. On the other hand, he often transcribes Greek terms where the Arabic translation (and also Ibn Sīnā) use genuinely Arabic equivalents. Assuming that the Syriac text contained in the *Butyrum* was not translated from the Arabic version (a very unlikely possibility), these findings can be explained in two different ways: either the Arabic translation was effected on the basis of the Syriac version or both the Arabic and Syriac *Rhetoric* were produced from very similar Greek source texts. A combination of the two explanations would also be plausible: the Arabic translator, working from the Greek, may have consulted the same Syriac version which was subsequently used in Bar Hebraeus' *Butyrum*. Whatever the case, the evidence from the *Butyrum* suggests that a Syriac translation of the *Rhetoric* antedates Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq since it is at least as old as—if not older than—the Arabic translation.[89]

The terminology of the Arabic *Rhetoric* is the second important source of information about a potential Syriac intermediary. In his remarks on some of the quirks of the text, Malcolm Lyons takes the existence of such an intermediary more or less for granted.[90] His position on the existence and use of a Syriac translation in the production of our Arabic version has found widespread acceptance.[91] In support of a Syriac *Vorlage*, Es-

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[89] Cf. Watt (2005, p. 8, 22–29).
[90] Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. i, xvi); cf. also Panoussi (2000, p. 234) for examples of translated terms that, according to the author, strongly suggest a Syriac source text.
[91] Cf. Würsch (1991, p. 8).

tiphan Panoussi cites the evidence of transcribed names, some of which, he claims, can only be explained on the basis of a Syriac source text.[92] As convincing as the evidence may look, it is far from conclusive. Syriacisms can have entered a text at different stages of translation and transmission. In the case of the *Rhetoric*, Ibn al-Samḥ's collation procedure is as likely a source for the alleged Syriac terminology as the translator himself.[93] Even if a closer analysis of the Arabic *Rhetoric* should uncover more evidence for a Syriac intermediary, Fritz Zimmermann's advice still applies:

> We must bear in mind that a Christian translator accustomed to Syriac routines of literary expression might commit Syriacisms even when translating from Greek. Only in very special cases does a peculiar turn of phrase in a Graeco-Arabic text point unequivocally to a Syriac substratum.[94]

In the end, the textual evidence may be sufficient to make a Syriac intermediary "likely", but it does not amount to conclusive proof. Irrespective of Watt's arguments for a Syriac translation of the *Rhetoric* antedating Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and its potential role in the production of our Arabic version, the contribution of the Syriac translators to the Aristotelian rhetorical tradition in the Islamic world seems negligible beyond faint echoes and vague influences. Was this because the *Rhetoric* was relegated to "what was not read" in late antique educational institutions? We have no way to tell.

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[92] Cf. Panoussi (1989, p. 196ff, 200). He also speculates about the existence of a Pahlavi intermediary between the Greek source text and the Syriac translation.

[93] Heinrichs (1984, p. 313f), echoed by Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 1, n. 2) and Watt (2005, p. 7). An instructive example for the role given to Syriacisms in arguing for a Syriac intermediary of an Arabic translation is Dunlop et al. (2005, p. 104–107). Dunlop compiles an impressive list of transcribed names in the Arabic *Nicomachean Ethics* which, he claims, originated from a Syriac text. At the end, he acknowledges that the role of a Syriac source text is difficult to demonstrate, only to maintain that it was "evident" since at the time this translation was produced, the use of Syriac intermediaries was a common occurrence.

[94] Zimmermann (1986, p. 114).

CHAPTER THREE

COMPARING GREEK AND ARABIC

INTRODUCTION

Now that we have shed some light on the background of the Arabic *Rhetoric* as an individual translation and as part of a wider translation tradition that links Greek, Syriac and Arabic cultures, we are in a better position to approach its text. Our focus will be on two questions: firstly, what can it tell us about the process of translation and the methods of the translator? And secondly, how can it help us supplement and specify our historical knowledge about the Greek-Arabic translation tradition and the position of the *Rhetoric* as part of this tradition?

Instead of the entire text of the Arabic translation of the *Rhetoric*, the following analyses (including the subchapters on translation methods, terminology and phraseology) only cover a sample amounting to about one sixth of the work. A study of such a substantial part of the *Rhetoric* will provide enough data to extrapolate findings and apply them to the rest of the text. Additionally, concentrating on a limited portion of the work enables us to apply a wider range of analytical methods and allows us to evaluate and consolidate a range of results which we can then compare to relevant data from other translations.

One decisive advantage of the slice of text we haven chosen, the first half of Book Three of the *Rhetoric*, is its manageable size. Also, it represents a more or less self-contained and sustained discussion of a single subject: the role and use of style in speech. The book falls into three parts with subdivisions: the introduction (Chapter 1), the treatment of $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\varsigma$, i.e. word choice and sentence structure (Chapters 2–12) and Aristotle's discussion of $\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\varsigma$, the arrangement of the parts of a speech (Chapters 13–19). Thus, the first half (which we will focus on) consists of the introduction and Aristotle's account of $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\varsigma$. The Arabic text at our disposal is somewhat shorter than the Greek source: due apparently to a missing leaf, the Arabic translation breaks of at 1412a17 and recommences at 1415a4,[1] cutting off Chapter 12 and the much of Chapter 11.

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[1] Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. xiii).

From a comparative perspective, Book Three shares an important part of its subject matter and terminology with the *Poetics*, which the sample we will examine below explicitly refers to. The *Poetics*, extant in a translation produced by Abū Bišr Mattā, belongs to a later stage of the Greek-Arabic translation activities than the *Rhetoric* and provides an interesting insight into the development of the vocabulary of literary theory. Moreover, it helps us to appreciate the problems both our translator[2] and Abū Bišr Mattā in the early tenth century had to face while attempting to translate the wealth of literary quotations liberally sprinkled over both the discussion of Greek stylistic phenomena contained in the first half of Book Three of the *Rhetoric* and corresponding passages in the *Poetics*.[3]

The procedure we will follow in this chapter consists of the following steps: in the first part, we will concentrate on the introduction to Book Three of the *Rhetoric*, contrasting the Greek source text with the Arabic translation and an English rendering of the Arabic version.[4] This English translation aims to reflect the structural and terminological features of the Arabic text as closely as possible. Each of the subdivisions we will identify, labelled "texts" and "sections", will be prefaced with a short sketch of its contents and the structure of the arguments pursued in the Arabic version.[5] In addition to terminological and syntactic phenomena, we will comment on textual problems.

[2] References to "the translator" should not be construed as glossing over problems of authorship, redaction and instances of correction and addition to the translated text. The translation we find in the Paris manuscript is anonymous and contains glosses, notes and additions by later readers. In addition, it might have undergone modifications at the hand of collators and copyists. "The translator" only serves as a shorthand for a long process of translation and tradition possibly involving several scholars.

[3] For a study of literary quotations in the *Rhetoric* and their handling by the translator, see Lyons (2002). None of the quotations Lyons examines occur in the sample we will analyse in depth below.

[4] The introduction corresponds to the first chapter of Book Three (1403b6–1404a39) according to the chapter divisions introduced by George of Trebizond in the fifteenth century, which in most cases represent relatively self-contained logical units (Kennedy, 1991, p. 13).

[5] Both the terminology for textual units as well as elements of our approach are inspired by a set of text analytical tools developed by Basil Hatim and Ian Mason. They define a *text* as "a coherent and cohesive unit, realized by one or more than one sequence of mutually relevant elements, and serving some overall rhetorical purpose" (Hatim and Mason, 1990, p. 178). Whereas *elements* as the smallest rhetorically relevant unit (roughly coinciding with clauses or sentences) and *sections* (made up of one or more elements) only provide building blocks and cannot in themselves fully express rhetorical purposes (they only contribute to their formulation), *texts* represent rhetorically "'complete" parts of linguistic phenomena.

At the same time, we will attempt to reconstruct the argumentative structure of both versions and identify sources of disagreement between them. In addition, we will analyse the translator's handling of a sample of Greek connective particles which, in the absence of graphical clues for the argumentative structure of the text, guided him in tracing and remodeling the arguments of the Greek text in his translation.

Secondly, we will introduce a comparative perspective by contrasting the first half of Book Three of the *Rhetoric* and a number of other translations spanning several phases of the Greek-Arabic translation movement, examining several terminological and lexical issues across the texts.

As we will see in our discussion of the Arabic translation, the translator had a hard time recreating Aristotle's arguments. In some places, mistranslations lead to substantial reshuffling and restructuring of the reasoning contained in the source text. The proposed analysis of the Greek and Arabic versions of the *Rhetoric* involves reconstructing the structure and sequence of arguments in the Arabic translation and its comparison with the structure of the Greek source. The resulting divisions frequently disagree with what we assume to be the argument and structure of the Greek text, exposing an important source of disagreements between the two versions.

The application of this approach to our sample serves several purposes. It allows us to retrace the argumentative steps Aristotle takes by isolating discrete arguments and determining their structure, clarifying which points Aristotle wants to make and how he goes about making them. Together with the findings of a similar analysis of the Arabic translation, the insight into the logical structure of both versions form an important step in translation analysis and assessment. They signal structural differences and divide the sample into smaller units for an in-depth analysis of semantical and syntactical disparities between source and target text. Evidence collected during this comparative step points towards strengths and weaknesses of the translator's methods. It provides information about his motivation, the cultural and intellectual background and linguistic abilities he brought to bear on the *Rhetoric*. Lastly, it suggests the influence of external factors such as stylistic expectations of his audience and political and theological considerations on his work. This cultural contextualization must, however, remain tentative due to factors such as potential scribal interventions and the vagaries of textual transmission.

Hatim's and Mason's model is explicitly geared towards the analysis of translations and their comparison with source texts.

Some qualifications

Before we focus our attention on the Greek and Arabic texts, we would like to point out some of the factors influencing and sometimes impeding the extraction of a coherent set of arguments from the Arabic translation.

Firstly, as we will see below, the translator deals with a work that often overstrains his linguistic abilities. In many places, an obscure subject matter and the abundance of references to an unfamiliar literary background seriously undermine his understanding of the text.[6] His degree of comprehension of certain passages often corresponds to the size of his basic translation unit.[7] Where he encounters problems, he translates isolated phrases and even words, imitating the Greek word order as closely as possible. Yet, we find instances of perfectly straightforward passages which do not seem to accord with the halting literalness of its Arabic translation.[8] Placed under these constraints, the overall argument of the Greek text is the least of the translator's concerns. It is mostly this factor which effectively prevents him from accurately reconstructing the source text's reasoning and reproducing it in his translation.

Secondly, his manuscript(s) posed their own problems—scribal mistakes, the state of repair of the material, the quality of other translations (if any) he consulted to establish and/or verify his source text. Taken together with the translation issues and oversights we find in the Arabic version, they complicate his and our task even further. It is therefore not surprising that the translation frequently fails to reproduce Aristotle's line of thought. On the contrary, the true surprise is the amount of information our translator is able to relay under these difficult circumstances.

Thirdly, how could he be expected to make sense of the purported "logical" content of the *Rhetoric*? Not only does the textual tradition and its specific problems stand in his way, he has to contend with philosoph-

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[6] Renate Würsch (1991, p. 6f) notes the changing focus of education in late antiquity away from literature and rhetoric towards the more practically minded *Bildungsideal* of the ἰατϱοσοφιστής, the philosophically educated physician. Owing to the scholarly concerns of late antiquity and probably due to the existence of a highly developed Arabic literary tradition, classical Greek literature genres such as drama or poetry did not figure on the translator's list of priorities.

[7] A translation unit is the smallest translated textual unit of a text, e.g. the single word in so-called "literal" translation or sentences or even larger-scale divisions in "meaning-based" translation. The applicability of categories such as "word-by-word" or "literal" versus "meaning-based" or "free" translation in the case of languages as structurally different from each other as Arabic and Greek will be discussed below.

[8] A good example of literalism forced on the translator by his unfamiliarity with the subject under discussion would be Section 4 of Text II, cf. below p. 89.

ical problems beyond his reach. This becomes more apparent when we consider the later Islamic reception of the work: as we will see in the next chapter, brilliant philosophical minds such as al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd grappled with the relation between the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* and the remaining writings of the *Organon*.

In what follows, we present the Greek text according to the edition prepared by Rudolf Kassel,[9] followed by the Arabic translation edited by Malcolm Lyons[10] and my English translation of the Arabic text.[11] The English rendering reflects the wording and structure of the Arabic as closely as possible. All three versions are divided into parallel smaller, numbered passages. The system we have employed is similar to the arrangement John Mattock devised for his comparison of samples from different translations of Aristotle's *Metaphysics α*.[12]

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TEXT COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS

Text I: Aspects of speech

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The first text contains the introduction to the subsequent discussion of specific aspects of speech in Texts II and III. In Section 1, we find a list of aspects of speech: πίστεις (*al-taṣdīqāt*), λέξις (*al-ʾalfāẓ*) and πῶς χρὴ τάξαι/τάξις (*naẓm ʾaw nasaq*) are named in turn. Section 2 reminds the reader of previous discussions of the aforementioned aspects, concentrating on πίστεις (*al-taṣdīqāt*). It is treated in more detail in Elements 2.1f. Somewhat abruptly, 2.3 introduces ἐνθυμήματα (*al-tafkīrāt*), a category not mentioned in the preceding list.

Section 3 proposes λέξις (*al-lafẓ wa-l-maqālah*) as the subject of the following passage. After a remark on the insufficient attention previously paid to λέξις in Element 3.1, its importance is explained in 3.2.

Throughout Text I, the Greek and Arabic versions remain close to each other, down to the very word order. The translator obviously had no problem translating the passage, even if he seems to have been less than consistent with his terminology (e.g. in translating περὶ τὴν λέξιν first as *allātī tustaʿmal fī al-ʾalfāẓ* and then as *fī al-lafẓ wa-l-maqālah*).

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[9] Kassel (1976).

[10] Lyons (1982). The punctuation marks have been reproduced as they appear in both editions.

[11] In the footnotes, I have added Lyon's translation of problematic passages.

[12] (Mattock, 1989). Here and in the glossaries, variant readings refer to Badawī (1959), Margoliouth (1897) and Sālim (1967).

Section 1: Three central factors of speech

(1) Ἐπειδὴ τρία ἐστὶν ἃ δεῖ πραγματευθῆναι περὶ τὸν λόγον, (2) ἓν μὲν ἐκ τίνων αἱ πίστεις ἔσονται, (3) δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὴν λέξιν, (4) τρίτον δὲ πῶς χρὴ τάξαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου,

(١) قال ارسطوطاليس انّ الاتي ينبغي ان يكون القول فيهنّ على مجرى الصناعة وثلاث، (٢) احداهن الإخبارات[13] من ايّ الأشياء تكون التصديقات، (٣) والثانية ذكر الاتي تستعمل في الألفاظ، (٤) والثالثة ان كيف ينبغي أن ننظم او ننسق اجزاء القول .

(1) Aristotle said: that which we have to discuss according to the arrangement of the art[14] [falls into] three [parts], (2) the first of which is the explanations about which things the confirmations derive from, (3) and the second is the account of the things that are utilized in expressions, (4) and the third: how we should organize or arrange the parts of speech.

(1)–(2) The referent for the plural enclitic *hunna* is the preceding relative pronoun *allātī*, which the translator uses strikingly often (in this case to translate the neuter plural) where one would expect the singular. As will be seen, the translator regularly uses feminine plural to render Greek neuter plural. Apart from some amplifications, probably necessitated by Aristotle's terseness (e.g. the substitution of περὶ τὴν λέξιν with *ḏikr allātī tustaʿmal fī al-ʾalfāẓ*), and the placement of the nominal predicate at the end of the introductory main clause, the passage presents a literal and at the same time highly readable and stylistically apt translation.

Section 2: Previous discussion of these factors

Element 2.1: Previous discussion of "confirmations"

(1) περὶ μὲν τῶν πίστεων εἴρηται, (2) καὶ ἐκ πόσων, (3) ὅτι ἐκ τριῶν εἰσι, (4) καὶ ταῦτα ποῖα, (5) καὶ διὰ τί τοσαῦτα μόνα.

(١) فامّا التصديقات فقد قيل فيها (٢) وبيّن [على][15] كم وجه تكون، (٣)

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[13] Sālim and Badawī: الاخبار; Badawī adds من.

[14] Lyons: "(1) which should be discussed in accordance with art." The phrase *ʿalā maǧrā al-ṣināʿah* apparently corresponds to περὶ τὸν λόγον.

[15] Lyons marks problematic readings with asterisks; his editorial markings have been adopted throughout the text.

وانّها تكون من ثلاثة اوجه، (٤) وايّ الوجوه تلك، (٥) ومن اجل ايّ شيء تكون
كلّها، وهل هي هذه فقط،

(1) Concerning the confirmations, they have been discussed (2) and
it has been clarified in how many forms they come, (3) (and) that
they come in three forms, (4) (and) what forms these are, (5) and
on account of which thing they all are, and whether they are these
only,[16]

(5) The phrase διὰ τί τοσαῦτα μόνα has been expanded, perhaps to present
both possible interpretations of the Greek passage: the (indirect) question
why there are only three ʾawǧuh ("forms") of taṣdīqāt, and an explanation
that accounts for their existence.

<div style="margin-left:2em">1403b10–13
171/7–10</div>

Element 2.2: Excursus on the sources of "confirmations"

(1) ἢ γὰρ τῷ αὐτοί τι πεπονθέναι οἱ κρίνοντες, (2) ἢ τῷ ποιούς τινας
ὑπολαμβάνειν τοὺς λέγοντας, (3) ἢ τῷ ἀποδεδεῖχθαι πείθονται πάντες.

(١) فانّها تكون امّا بان يعتري الحكّام هذا النحو من الألم (٢) وامّا بان يظنّ
بالمتكلّمين انّهم بهذه الحال، (٣) وامّا بان تثبت بالتثبيت المقنع لهم جميعا .

(1) and they come [into being] either through this sort of suffering
befalling those who decide [lit. "the judges"], (2) or through it being
thought that the speakers are in that state, (3) or through them
[sc. al-taṣdīqāt] being confirmed in a manner which persuades them
all.[17]

(1) Lyons suggests that the reading ἢ γὰρ τοιοῦτο (τι) πεπονθέναι might
be behind the apparent amplification contained in the Arabic translation,
which adds hāḏā al-naḥw.
(1)–(3) The translator misinterprets the subject, πείθονται πάντες, which
occurs at the very end of this long period; he attaches it to the third clause,
interpreting οἱ κρίνοντες as the subject of the first clause, τοὺς λέγοντας as
the logical subject of the passive construction of the second and finally
πάντες as the subject of the third.

<div style="margin-left:2em">1403b13ff
171/10ff</div>

Element 2.3: Previous discussion of "considerations"

(1) εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα πόθεν δεῖ πορίζεσθαι. (2) ἔστι γὰρ τὰ
μὲν εἴδη τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων, (3) τὰ δὲ τόποι.

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[16] Lyons: "(5) because of what they all are and whether they are these alone."
[17] Lyons: "(3) in a way which convinces them all."

(١) ثمّ قيل ايضا من اين يـنبغي ان تـلتمس الـتفكيرات (٢) وانّ مـنها انواعا
للتفكيرات (٣) ومنها مواضع .

(1) Furthermore, it has also been discussed from where the considerations should be derived; (2) and that there are species of thoughts (3) and topics (conventions? occasions?).

(1) The translation of ἐνθυμήματα with *al-tafkīrāt* might aim for its root meaning "thought" or "argument".[18] As a technical term in Aristotelian logic, it denoted a non-demonstrative argument drawn from probable premises, something that could be called "consideration".[19] Conveniently, *al-tafkīr* covers both meanings of "thought" and "consideration". One of the scribes and collators of the manuscript added the unhappy gloss *al-usṭuqussāt* ("the elements") in the margin on the occasion of an earlier occurrence of the term (146/6).

Section 3: The discussion of "expression"

Element 3.1: "Expression" still to be discussed…

<div style="text-align:right">1403b15
171/13</div>

(1) περὶ δὲ τῆς λέξεως ἐχόμενόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν.

(١) وقد [حضر][20] موضع القول في اللفظ والمقالة،

(1) This is the place to discuss expression and speech;

(1) Aristotle's application of the term λέξις is not entirely unproblematic. In general, it denotes *how* something is expressed in contrast to λόγος, *what* is expressed. George Kennedy notes the use of the word in the Greek text to express the general notion of how thought is put into words or the more specific concept of word choice. He adds that translation has to vary

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[18] The use of the II. form to denote a logical procedure is, as Würsch (1991, p. 24) explains, a common phenomenon. Examples in our text are e.g. *taṣdīqāt* for πίστεις, *taṯbīt* for ἀποδεῖξαι or δηλῶσαι or *al-taḥqīq ʾaw al-tafhīm* for σημεῖα.

[19] Aouad and Rashed (1997, p. 71, n. 49) note that *ḍamīr* became the "standard" translation in the later philosophical tradition, e.g. Ibn Sīnā.

M. F. Burnyeat (1996, p. 91, 96) has persuasively argued that συλλογισμός as a technical term should be understood as "valid argument" instead of "syllogism", which necessarily evokes the technical apparatus of syllogistics; hence, Aristotle's linking ἐνθυμήματα with συλλογισμός should not be read as a syllogistic category, e.g. an abbreviated syllogism or one based on probable instead of necessary premises.

[20] Badawī: ونظر instead of [حضر] وقد. In Hermannus Alemannus' Latin translation, we find *instat locus dicendi* ("[there] follows the place of speaking"), translating *mawḍiʿ* literally. *Instat* suggests that Lyons' reading is more probable than Badawī's.

with the context; in his own translation, he prefers to retain the Greek term and leave its interpretation to the reader.[21]

In our text sample, we find that *maqālah* and *lafẓ* seem to be used interchangeably. Interestingly, synonymic expressions such as *al-lafẓ wa-l-maqālah* in this passage invariably contain the singular *lafẓ*, whereas single-word renderings of λέξις are framed as either *maqālah* or the plural *ʾalfāẓ*, never the singular *lafẓ*.[22]

Element 3.2: …because speech varies in effect according to its "expression"

(1) οὐ γὰρ ἀπόχρη τὸ ἔχειν ἃ δεῖ λέγειν, (2) ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ταῦτα ὡς δεῖ εἰπεῖν, (3) καὶ συμβάλλεται πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ φανῆναι ποιόν τινα τὸν λόγον.

(١) فانّه ليس يكفي بان يكون الذي ينبغي ان يقال عتيدا، (٢) بل[23] يحتاج باضطرار الى ان يقال ذلك على ما ينبغي، (٣) وممّا يشاكل التثبيت ان يكون بهذا[24] النحو من الكلام دون هذا.

(1) for it is not sufficient that that which is to be spoken be at hand, (2) but it is absolutely necessary that this is spoken according to what should be, (3) and [of the things in] which proof shares [is] that it should be from one kind of speech and not another.[25]

(1)–(3) In the Greek text, the reasoning behind Aristotle's stress on the importance of λέξις appears to fall into two distinct arguments with the second subordinate to the first: 1.) one has to know how to say something and 2.) all this (the Greek πολλὰ either refers to the entire previous clause ταῦτα ὡς δεῖ εἰπεῖν or is adverbial) contributes to give the speech a certain appearance or effect. The translator might have noticed the residual ambiguity and dissolved it (and subtly changed the text's meaning) by subordinating both arguments to the main clause: *yaḥtāǧ … ʾilā ʾan yuqāl ḏālika ʾalā mā yanbaġī, wa-mimmā yušākil…* His paraphrase of this

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[21] Kennedy (1991, p. 216).

[22] Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. xxx) quotes *maqūlah*, *maqūl* and *maqūl wa-kalām* as the corresponding renderings of λέξις in Abū Bišr Mattā's translation of the *Poetics*, illustrating the fact that the two translations belong to different stages in the terminological development of the translation phenomenon.

[23] Margoliouth, Sālim: بل بل.

[24] Badawī: om. ب.

[25] Lyons: "(3) and it accords with demonstration that it should follow this manner of speech rather than that." The status of this passage is somewhat ambiguous: it might introduce λέξις as the subject of the following remarks or list it as one more necessary element of the art of rhetoric.

not entirely unproblematic passage nevertheless manages to convey its meaning fairly well.

(3) The main clause introduced by *mimmā* can be read in two different ways, depending on the vocalization of *al-taṯbīt*. Reading it as nominative (as we have done above), the sentence invites the following comments: the middle συμβάλλεται is read as passive, whereas the subject πόλλα seems to have been dropped; to make up for the missing subject, the translator introduces *al-taṯbīt*, which he takes to be the topic of the passage, continuing on from Element 2.3. The pronominal suffix referring back to the subject one would expect after the conjunction ʾanna was apparently suppressed.

Reading *al-taṯbīt* as an accusative, *mā* becomes the sentence's subject and renders πολλὰ, *al-taṯbīt* translates τὸν λόγον and *al-naḥw min al-kalām* has to be interpreted as an explanatory amplification of ποιόν τινα. The only drawback of this interpretation is the awkward position of *al-taṯbīt*, which in my opinion strongly suggests the first explanation; it would have felt more in tune with the second version if *al-taṯbīt* would have been placed inside the conjunctional clause. In this case, we would end up with a slight modification in the passage's meaning: the Greek version notes in general terms the influence of how something is said on the way it is being understood, whereas the Arabic version claims that some ways of speaking are more appropriate for proof (*al-taṯbīt*) than others. Lyons' assumption that *al-taṯbīt* is somehow derived from πρὸς τὸ φανῆναι (a passive aorist infinitive of φαίνομαι) is not entirely convincing; it would be more plausible if the Greek text contained an active infinitive. Moreover, φαίνομαι has been translated with any number of Arabic equivalents such as *qīla*, *ruʾiya*, *ẓahara*, *ẓunna* or *imtaḥana*; *ṯabbata* is not one of them and, surprisingly and in spite of his own suggestion, did not even merit inclusion into Lyons' own glossary under the entry φαίνομαι.

Text II: The subject of "delivery"

Compared to the relatively clear-cut structure of Text I, it is much harder to impose any conceptual unity on Text II apart from the fact that, for the most part, it deals with the subject of *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*, the meaning of which will be discussed below on p. 78. Part of the confusion can be traced to mistranslations in key passages and a thorough re-structuring of the Aristotelian text through conjunctions and connectors. It will become obvious that our translator had only an imperfect grasp of the text's meaning and resorted to word-for-word translation in many places.

According to my reconstruction, Text II falls into six separate sections. At the beginning, we find a second list of three aspects of speech: the sources of persuasion in Element 1.1, λέξις in 1.2 and a third, unnamed aspect in 1.3.

In Section 2, we are introduced to the subject of *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*, an "art" or "craft" which was only developed recently (2.1) and first used by poets (2.2). The text then explains the importance of the subject for rhetoric and poetry in Element 2.3 and mentions Glaukon of Teos as an authority in 2.4.

After this excursus on the historical background of *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*, we learn about one of its important practical aspects, the voice, in Section 3. The passage explains its connection to emotions (Element 3.1) and lists several factors of vocal practice (3.2).

The following section, no. 4, suffers from the translator's misunderstanding of the term τὰ ἆθλα ("contests", "prizes"). Both in the Greek and the Arabic version, it concludes the first part of the text's treatment of *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*.

In the next section, the references to the subject we are dealing with are sometimes oblique enough to undermine its thematic unity. At the beginning (Element 5.1), we read that a "craft" of *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh* has not yet been developed. The reason, as 5.2 explains, is the late invention of λέξις, *maqālah*. Moreover, 5.3 adds, the subject is "burdensome". What looks like a straightforward, if somewhat obscure argument is cut short in Element 5.4 with a series of apparently disjointed observations, starting with the relation between rhetoric and "opinion". Element 5.5 states that delivery (the Greek term λέξις covered this sense as well) requires care. The following three elements (5.6ff) introduce an argument for the rejection of emotional appeals in speech, enjoining the reader to contend about things themselves and, puzzlingly, "stratagems" (*ḥīlah*). The passage closes with the conclusion that emotional appeals and rhetorical tricks "corrupt" the listener.

The final section is somewhat easier to follow. Its subject is λέξις (*maqālah*), which here means both "expression" and "delivery". It is, we read in Element 6.1, a necessary part of all teaching and influences the clarity of speech (6.2). A mistranslation in Element 6.3 causes the translator to claim that *maqālah* should be used to appeal to listeners' "imagination". After noting in 6.4 that serious subjects such as geometry are not practised with the help of *maqālah*, the text states that it employs "acting" to achieve its aims (6.5). The topic of acting re-occurs after a

short digression on the theoretical treatment of *maqālah* (6.6): it is contrasted with the "stratagem" of *maqālah*. The former is classified as "natural", the latter as "artificial". What purports to be an argument for this claim—a master of *maqālah* becomes a "contestant" (6.8)—is again due to a mistranslation of the Greek term τὰ ἆθλα. The confusion sown in the preceding sections ruptures the connection between this and the last element (6.9), which argues that speeches derive their efficacy from *maqālah* rather than thought.

Section 1: A second list of central factors of speech

Text II starts with a second introductory passage that again lists three topics which have already been or are still to be discussed. While functionally covering the same ground as Text I, the list of issues it introduces is not identical to the first one. The Greek source was the main culprit for some of the problems of the Arabic text.[26] One of the main reasons for the apparent rift between Books One and Two on the one hand and Book Three on the other is the history of the work: the *Rhetoric* was put together from two formerly independent works, i.e. a "manual" of rhetoric (τέχνη ῥητορική) comprising the first two books of the *Rhetoric* and an independent treatise on style (περὶ λέχεως). It probably took place during Andronicus of Rhodes' redaction of Aristotle's writings in the first century BCE.[27]

In Element 1.1, we read about the sources of persuasion as the first element of our list. The second subject mentioned in 1.2, still to be discussed, is its (perhaps referring to the *'iqnāʿ* of the previous section) stylistic arrangement. Element 1.3 should contain the third item on Aristotle's list; due to our translator's decision to interpret the adverb οὔπω as the starting point of the next section, however, it slips off the list.

Element 1.1: The first factor—the "sources of persuasion"   1403b18ff
171/17–19

(1) τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐζητήθη κατὰ φύσιν, (2) ὅπερ πέφυκε πρῶτον, (3) αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα (4) ἐκ τίνων ἔχει τὸ πιθανόν.

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[26] This is not the only example of the text's somewhat lax dealings with triadic lists, which are frequent in the *Rhetoric*. Brunschwig (1996, p. 47f) cites among others the lack of congruence between the tripartite division of πίστεις contained in Chapters 2 and 3 of Book One.

[27] Cf. Würsch (1991, p. 8) and Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 451f). For a recent, thorough discussion of the link between the parts of the *Rhetoric*, their history and dating, see Rapp (2002, vol. 1, p. 178–193).

(١) فامّا تلك الأولى فقدّمنا النظر فيها على مجرى الطبيعة، (٢) لانّها متهيّأة في الطباع لان تكون اوّلا، (٣) اعني ان ننظر في الأمور أنفسها، (٤) من اين يكون الإقناع فيها،

(1) Concerning those first [matters], we have already put forward our investigation of them according to the order of nature (in the context of nature), (2) because it [sc. *tilka al-ʾūlā*] is shaped by nature to come [into existence] first, (3) I mean that we investigate things themselves, (4) from whence their persuasive force derives,

(1) The adverb πρῶτον is translated as a substantive, disregarding the impersonal passive verb ἐζητήθη. The entire passage has been rendered personal (*qaddamnā, nanẓur*).

(2) Taking τό in (1) to be the article of the aforementioned πρῶτον, the translator loses the referent of the following relative pronoun ὅπερ. Its translation as *li-ʾanna* suggests that he might have had its absolute use (equivalent to διόπερ) in mind.

(3) The redesignation of τό keeps interfering with the translator's rendering of the text. Deprived of the subject of the sentence, he fails to identify τὰ πράγματα as the nominal predicate belonging to τό. While the structure of the Greek sentence is lost, he manages to salvage some of its sense by amplifying it to an appositional clause which seemingly refers to the entire preceding passage. In spite of the confusion engendered by the unclear referent of the *ʾaʿnī*-clause, it becomes clear that the subject of investigation at this point is the source of persuasive force.

(1)–(4) Unsurprisingly, our translator operates on the assumption that his text is a stringent whole. His attempt to coordinate the tacked-on transition between Books Two and Three and subsequent arguments by referring to *tilka al-ʾūlā* leaves the following structure unconnected; it is not at all clear what *tilka al-ʾūlā* refers to. He might try to connect it to the previous clauses (*ʿalā mā … wa-mimmā*). On the other hand, he might go straight back to the first list (1403b6ff = 171/1–4). In this case, *tilka al-ʾūlā* would be equivalent to the first element of that list, viz. *min ʾayy al-ʾašyāʾ takūn al-taṣdīqāt*. This point will be discussed in greater detail below.

1403b20
171/19f

Element 1.2: The second factor—"expression"

(1) δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ταῦτα τῇ λέξει διαθέσθαι.

(١) وامّا الثانية، فوضع ذلك في اللفظ او المقالة،

(1) and concerning the second [matter], the place of that is in expression or speech,

(1) To clarify the connection between this passage and the contents of the rest of the *Rhetoric*, one of the readers or copyists of the manuscript (possibly Ibn al-Samḥ himself) saw fit to insert a longer marginal note on *al-ṯāniyah* referring to issues discussed in the first two books. It reads:

ينبغي ان تعلم انه اخبر عن الوجه الاول في المقالتين الاوليتين اعني من اين تؤخذ
التصديقات وانه يخبر عن الوجهين الاخرين في هذه المقالة وهما حيلة الالفاظ
والنظام اي النسق في التاليف

You should know that he [sc. Aristotle] discussed the first kind [sc. *min ʾayy al-ʾašyāʾ takūnu al-taṣdīqāt*, cf. Section I.1 on p. 67] in the first two books, I mean from where the confirmations are taken, and that he discusses the two other kinds [sc. *allātī tustaʿmal fī al-ʾalfāẓ* and *kayfa yanbaġī ʾan nanẓim ʾaw nansuq ʾaǧzāʾ al-qawl*, cf. text I.1 on p. 67] in this book, I mean the stratagem of expressions/style and the structure, i.e. the arrangement in composition

The note refers to the first list of issues appearing in Text I. Its author perceived the apparent rift between Text I and Text II as keenly as our translator and might have felt compelled to help the translator bridge it. He adds a twist to the discussion of the two triads of rhetorical issues by relating them to the triad of books making up the *Rhetoric*.

Element 1.3: The third factor (which remains unnamed)

1403b21
171/20–172/1

(1) τρίτον δὲ τούτων, (2) ὃ δύναμιν μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην,

(١) وامّا الثالثة فهي هذه، (٢) ولها قوّة عظيمة،

(1) and concerning the third [matter], it is these (things), (2) and it has an immense power,

(1) According to Lyons, the Arabic translation suggests that the translator read τοῦτο instead of τούτων. This would explain the Arabic version, which interprets that pronoun as the predicate of the subject τρίτον. With subject and predicate thus identified, the translator did not need to look further for the rest of the clause, which happens to contain the true predicate ἐπικεχείρηται and an apposition specifying the referent of the subject, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν. For him, the sentence ends after the relative clause

ὃ δύναμιν μὲν ἔχει μεγίστην. This oversight caused numerous problems for his understanding and translation of the subsequent text.

After following the structure of the Greek text faithfully in the course of Text I and most of the first section of Text II, the versions begin to drift apart. The Greek text continues the list of important aspects of speech in the next passage, while on the Arabic side, the list is cut short before the translator reaches the third item on Aristotle's roster. In the Arabic version, the missing item becomes the starting point for the next section. (1) The pronoun *hāḏihī* remains without a referent. It does not appear helpful to interpret it as a cataphoric reference to the following *ḥīlah*, this would seem rather far-fetched in view of the intervening *ġayr ʾanna*. Alternatively, we would have to go back as far as Element 2.3 of Text I (on p. 68 above) for a suitable referent. In the margin of the folio, *fa-hiya hāḏihī* was glossed as follows:

في هي [sic] هذه اي النظام، لان النظام ايضا من حيلة الالفاظ

> This is that, i.e. the arrangement, because the arrangement also belongs to the stratagem of expressions/style

As with the previous note, its author attempts to reconcile the lists in Sections I.1 and II.2 by simply matching them. Unfortunately, the lists are not identical. Whereas it might be tempting to equate ἐκ τίνων αἱ πίστεις ἔσονται ("whence the proofs derive") with ἐκ τίνων ἔχει τὸ πιθανόν ("from what their persuasive force derives") and the difference between [τὸ] περὶ τὴν λέξιν ("what deals with style") and τὸ ταῦτα τῇ λέξει διαθέσθαι ("what deals with arrangement by style") seems to be one of degree rather than substance, it requires some ingenuity to identify πῶς χρὴ τάξαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου ("how one should arrange the parts of speech") with τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ("what deals with acting"). But the translator has already paved the way for his identification of those items with his translation of the last component of the second list—as we have seen, a simple scribal mistake such as substituting τοῦτο for τούτων might have allowed him to drop the crucial element τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν, which would have stood in the way of a synchronization of both lists.

Some of the translator's misunderstandings seem to be based on his belief in the identity of both lists, a belief he shares with the author of the marginal note. His attempt to merge the lists fails not only on account of the obvious problem he has with their respective third items. Equating the first items on both lists requires him to eradicate a distinction both

Aristotle and the translator are careful to maintain, that between πίστις and πιθανόν, reproduced in the Arabic text as *taṣdīq* and *ʾiqnāʿ*.[28]

(1) The list discussed above also illustrates some aspects of the translator's treatment of Greek particles. Aristotle structures his enumeration of issues with the particles μέν as the introductory particle and δέ as marker for subsequent elements of the list. The translator replicates and emphasizes this structure with the use of *ʾammā … fa*-constructions, introduced with *fa* for the first item and connected with *wa* for subsequent items.

Section 2: "Delivery" in speech

Apart from the structural mismatch caused by the translator's decision to detach ὑπόκρισις from its position at the end of the list above, the next passage does not particularly suffer from the problems introduced in the translation of Section 1. The straightforward Greek account has been closely matched in terms of word order, but is plagued by a number of lexical problems starting with our translator's puzzling rendering of ὑπόκρισις (*al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*). In Element 2.1, we learn about the late development of the "art" or "stratagem" of *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*, explained in 2.2 with its recent appearance in literary genres such as tragedy and rhapsody. Its relevance for rhetoric and poetry is stressed in 2.3; Element 2.4 relates in a very general way previous theoretical treatments of the subject and refers to Glaukon of Teos.

Element 2.1: The discussion of "delivery" is a recent phenomenon

1403b21f
172/1f

> (1) οὔπω δ' ἐπικεχείρηται, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

> (١) غير انّ الحيلة[29] في الأخذ بالوجوه لم تبتدئ[30] ان تظهر بعد،

> (1) but the stratagem in the taking of faces had not begun to appear yet,

(1) Having concluded the previous section, i.e. the list of rhetorical issues, the translator now expects a structural hint pointing to the beginning of a new argument. He assumes δέ to be the marker he is looking for (it might indeed be read as marking a departure from the μέν … δέ-construction, referring back to τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον in 1403b18 = 171/17) and signals his readers in the strongest possible terms—*ġayr ʾanna*—that a new stage

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28   For the meanings of and differences between the terms, cf. Würsch (1991, p. 14–20).

29   Badawī: الجبلة ("natural disposition").

30   Margoliouth, Sālim, Badawī: لمن يبتدئ.

in the argument has been reached. Unfortunately, he disrupts the Greek
text's structure by severing the passage quoted above from its place in
the list and using it as an introduction to the following section on *al-
ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*. The Greek text lacks such an introductory passage; after
presenting the list of speech aspects, it proceeds directly to an excursus
on the subject of the third element of the list, ὑπόκρισις.

    The appearance of *ġayr ʾanna* at this point strongly indicates the trans-
lator's reliance (lacking any structural elements such as punctuation or
paragraphing in his manuscripts) on certain Greek particles to trace the
text's logical structure—even where the Greek version does not support
the resulting restructuring of the text's argument.[31] The consequences of
the modifications introduced by the translator are substantial: shorten-
ing the first section of Text II, the translator has to leave the third item
on the list of speech aspects open. The passage excised from the first
section is appended to the second section and serves as an introduction
to the subject matter of the subsequent discussion. The smooth transi-
tion between both sections of the Greek text, which depends on the clear
identification of the third list element as the subject of the following ar-
gumentation, is lost. After the incomplete list, the reader of the Arabic
version is abruptly confronted with *al-ʿaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*, a topic seemingly
unrelated to the preceding text.

(1) The insertion οὔπω δ' ἐπικεχείρηται (Lyons gives οὔπω δ' ἐπικεχείρηται,
which is not attested in the variants listed in Kassel's edition) ends up
as the beginning of a new period, whose subject is τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.
Lyons notes that ἐπικεχείρηται in the Arabic translation comes out as a
form of ἐπιφαίνομαι rather than ἐπιχειρέω. The modification introduced
by cutting off οὔπω δ' ἐπικεχείρηται, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν from the previous
section makes itself felt: taking the passage as an independent main clause,
the translator inadvertently shifts the focus from what has not yet been
discussed in the *Rhetoric* to discussions going on in the field of rhetoric
as a whole.

(1) This is the first encounter in this chapter with the expression *al-
ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*, used to render ὑπόκρισις. The problems of the Arabic
expression and the ambiguous status of the Greek source term warrant a
short digression.

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[31] Daiber (1980, p. 36f) mentions the opposite tendency in the translation of the *Placita
philosophorum* and other texts: neglecting certain particles because of their marginal se-
mantic content. Both the translator of the *Placita* and the *Rhetoric* often ascribe to particles
a purely emphatic function.

Translating *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh* literally, as we have done throughout, as "the taking of faces", it seems to imply both neutral aspects of "dressing up" and "masquerading" implicit in theatrical performances and negative aspects such as "mimicking" and "deception". As such, it might only stress connotations already inherent in ὑπόκρισις interpreted as "acting".

The verb ὑποκρίνομαι initially signified "explain" or "interpret" and "answer"; consequently, the derived substantive ὑπόκρισις could mean "answer" in the Ionian dialect.[32] The *nomen agentis*, on the other hand, was almost exclusively used for "actor". It is probably derived from the initial meaning "explain" instead of "answer": the actor "explains" or "interprets" the work he performs. An actor's most important activity was the "declamation" of a text. Unsurprisingly, the art of "delivery" also belongs to the field of rhetoric. Figuratively used, ὑποκρίνομαι was applied e.g. to describe human existence as "acting" on the stage of life. Negative connotations were not far: the stage is a dream world, the actor a swindler. In this context, the verb could also mean "pretend" and "feign". Interestingly enough, in spite of its documented use in such a negative sense, ὑποκρίνομαι remained in classical usage a *vox media* without negative moral connotations. The negative sense acquired prominence only in Byzantine literature under the influence of Christian usage inspired by the New Testament.

In contrast to classical literary habits, ὑποκρίνομαι occurs in both the literature of the Jewish diaspora and the New Testament exclusively in its pejorative sense. In Jewish texts, it denotes "blasphemy" in the form of the renunciation of God and his laws. The ὑποκριτής is not the "hypocrite" who pretends to be someone other than he is, he is "godless" without any pretence to the contrary. The step from "actor" to "blasphemer" is not immediately obvious and cannot be conclusively traced in the available sources. On the basis of the scant evidence provided by Jewish, Zoroastrian and Greek texts, Ulrich Wilckens ventures the following explanation:

> Wer böse ist, spielt die Rolle des Bösen. Er verstellt sich, indem er sich aus einem Gerechten, der er nach dem Gesetz Gottes sein sollte, zu einem Frevler macht. ... Diese Verstellung ist eo ipso böser Trug, Widerstreit gegen die Wahrheit Gottes. Wieso freilich dieser als *Schauspielerei* bezeichnet werden konnte, bleibt gleichwohl rätselhaft.[33]

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[32] This and the following paragraphs draw extensively on the detailed and highly informative article on the term and its cognates in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Friedrich, 1969, vol. 8, p. 558–569).

[33] Friedrich (1969, vol. 8, p. 565).

Additionally, he assumes that the rejection of actors and acting by pious Jewish circles as blasphemous heathen institutions and the incorporation of that sentiment into early canon law could have played a role. Actors might have been perceived as prominent perpetrators of blasphemous acts tolerated by heathen authorities.

In the New Testament, the meaning "hypocrite" gains prominence. Whereas ὑπόκρισις and ὑποκριτής are still applied according to Jewish usage, they now frequently denote "insincerity" and "hypocrisy". The new use of the word is a striking feature especially in the Gospel according to Matthew; it is evident most prominently in the speech against the Pharisees, in which they are repeatedly singled out for their insincerity: Οὐαι [δὲ] ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί (Mat. 23/13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29).

"Hypocrisy" and perhaps even more generally "evildoing" might have been the meanings our translator had in mind when he read ὑπόκρισις. In addition to its apparent moral overtones, the Arabic phrase al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh seems to reveal an awareness of the theatrical meaning of ὑπόκρισις, i.e. the "wearing of masks". His negative view on "the taking of faces", not only perceptible in the connotations we are tempted to impute to his puzzling translation, will become clearer in the course of this analysis. In view of the opprobrium reserved for actors and acting in pious Jewish and Christian circles, we should not expect to find a more casual attitude to such a disreputable activity in this translation.[34] It should be noted that, contrary to these medieval precedents, the expression ʾaḫaḏ waǧhan nowadays means "to acquire a good reputation".

On the margin of the manuscript, we find the following gloss pertaining to al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh:

الحيلة بالوجوه ما يكون من الحيلة في تصديق القول بالصوت والصمت والتمثّل بالاشكال المختلفة

> The stratagem with the faces belongs to the stratagem in the confirmation/corroboration of speech with the voice, silence and the imitation of different forms

Undoubtedly, what the author of the note describes is acting. Assuming that he understood what our translator wanted to relay with the strange

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[34] The *Poetics*, translated into Arabic by the Nestorian Abū Bišr Mattā ibn Yūnus, offers a similar example of later Greek usage "contaminating" the Arabic translation: the translator's choice of the term *munāfiq* reflects New Testament rather than Aristotelian usage.

expression *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*, it is entirely possible that the translator himself and parts of his audience were able to draw the same conclusion. The fact that the need for a gloss was felt nevertheless indicates that some readers might have found the concept difficult to understand.[35]

Element 2.2: "Delivery" was first applied by the poets

1403b22ff
172/2–5

(1) καὶ γὰρ εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ῥαψῳδίαν ὀψὲ παρῆλθεν. (2) ὑπεκρίνοντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον.

(١) واِنّما فعلوا ذلك في الطراغوديّات والرفسوديّات أخيرا، (٢) وقد كانوا يستعملون الأخذ بالوجوه في الطراغوديّات، اعني الفيوئطي،[36] في تلك الأولى .

(1) and they did it in the tragedies and rhapsodies only recently, (2) and they used to employ the taking of faces in the tragedies, I mean the poets, in these first [matters].

(1) *Ṭrāġūdīyāt* was (falsely) glossed as follows: *al-ṭrāġūdīyāt šibh al-ʾarāǧīz li-l-Rūm wa-ka-ḏālika al-qūmūdīyāt* ("tragedies for the Rūm are similar to Raǧaz-poems, the same applies to comedies").[37]

(1) The expression ὀψὲ παρῆλθεν (subject: "it", i.e. ὑπόκρισις) has been changed to *fa-ʾinna-mā faʿalū ... ʾaḫiran* (subject: "they", i.e. the creators of *al-ṭrāġūdīyāt wa-l-rafsūdīyāt*). The influence of this paraphrase on the meaning of the passage seems to be very slight.

(2) Again, the adverb τὸ πρῶτον has been misunderstood (cf. 1403b18 = 171/17); the addition of the preposition *fī* allows the translator to fit the phrase into his text.

(2) Both the singular form *al-fyūʾiṭī* for the Greek plural οἱ ποιηταί and the fact that the word is transcribed instead of being translated (as done in the Arabic *Poetics*) comes as something of a surprise. There is no precedent for this and the other transcriptions for οἱ ποιηταί and related terms we

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[35] To illustrate the various uses of *taṣdīqāt* in our text, Würsch (1991, p. 24) proposes a number of renderings depending on its use from the perspective of the *speaker* on the one hand and the *hearer* on the other. The somewhat unwieldy German equivalent she arrives at, *Glaubhaftmachung*, i.e. "make something believed or believable", fits in perfectly well with the understanding the author of the note had of the effects of *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh*: to make something believed or believable with the help of acoustic or gesticular hints—in a word, to *act*.

[36] Hermannus translates *ipse poete* ("the poets themselves").

[37] For the *raǧaz*-metre and the often ironic and coarse poetry associated with it, the *ʾurǧūzah*, cf. Wolfhart Heinrich's article "Radjaz" in *EI²*, vol. 8, p. 375–379. In his translation of the *Poetics*, Abū Bišr identifies it in a similar vein as *hiǧāʾ*, a genre of satirical poetry. For this and other misunderstandings caused by the translators' and philosophers' ignorance about drama and theater, cf. Heinrichs (1969, p. 108f).

find throughout the Arabic *Rhetoric*. They might echo Syriac terminology transcribed from the original Greek terms.[38]

(1)–(2) The passage's problems arise for the most part from our translator's determination to imitate as closely as possible the surface structure of the Greek text. It could be argued that with his structural lapse in the preceding section and his inability to understand the meaning of ὑπόκρισις, he chose a literal translation as the safest course of action. Apart from his desire to retain the Greek word order (which he has to suspend anyway at the beginning of the clause to render the Greek verb παρῆλθεν), there seems to be no compelling reason for transforming the subject οἱ ποιηταί into an apposition to the implicit subject of *fa'alū*. The use of *'a'nī*, however, suggests that he recognized οἱ ποιηταί as nominative.

1403b24ff   *Element 2.3: The relevance of "delivery" for rhetoric and poetry*
172/5f

(1) δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ περὶ τὴν ῥητορικήν ἐστι τὸ τοιοῦτον (2) ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τὴν ποιητικήν.

(١) فهو معلوم انّ هذا يكون في الريطوريّة ايضا (٢) مثل ما هو في الفيوئيطيّة،[39]

(1) It is known that this comes [about] in rhetoric too, (2) just as it occurs in poetics,

(1) The transcription *al-rīṭūrīyah* might be taken to indicate that the translator was uncertain about its meaning. Its first occurrence at the beginning of the first book of the *Rhetoric* (1/3) prompted the scribe or collator to add the gloss *ṣinā'at al-ḫaṭābah* on the margin of our manuscript. That our translator probably at least partly understood the term is amply illustrated by his choice of the term *balīġ* for both ῥήτωρ and ῥητορικός in 85/20 = 1379a2 and 119/19 = 1388b18. The situation was similar at the time of Ibn al-Nadīm, who knew the term, but glossed it for a less widely-read audience: *al-kalām 'alā rīṭūrīqā wa-ma'nā-hu al-ḫiṭābah*.[40]

Renate Würsch maintains that the term *Rhetoric*, denoting Greek and more specifically Aristotelian rhetoric, was—on the basis of the Syriac

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[38] I am indebted to Fritz Zimmermann for pointing out the oddity of the transcription and its possible Syriac roots.

[39] At the time of Abū Bišr Mattā's translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, transcriptions such as *fyū'iṭīyah* had been substituted with derivatives of the root *š–'–r*.

[40] Flügel (1871–1872, p. 250). S. A. Bonebakker (1970, p. 75f) notes the distinction between the terms *balāġah* and *ḫiṭābah* in Arabic literature. The former is derived from the verb *balaġa*, "to reach", and the term is interpreted as the art of "reaching a listener" in conveying one's idea or "reaching perfection" in style and content of a text. The latter term, translated as "oratory", exclusively denotes the "spoken word" in public addresses.

rendering—at first transcribed as *rīṭūrīqā*. This is indeed the term we find not only in the *Fihrist*'s note on the translation[41] but also in the title of Ibn Sīnā's early treatise on the subject, *Kitāb al-maǧmūʿ ʾaw al-ḥikmah al-ʿarūḍiyah fī maʿānī kitāb rīṭūrīqā*.[42] But it is not the transcription we find thrice in the Arabic text of the *Rhetoric* itself, which gives us *rīṭūrīyah* (7/10, 172/6 and 172/22). This and her unquestioning acceptance of Lyons' stance on the question of a Syriac intermediary throws some doubt on her claims about the terminological development away from a purportedly Syriacized transcription towards the genuinely Arabic expression *ḫiṭābah*.[43] The regular use of the transcribed term might therefore be consistent with the assumption that its meaning was supposed to be known to a sufficiently well educated readership.

Element 2.4: Glaukon's contribution to the development of "delivery" 1403b26f
172/6ff

(1) ὅπερ ἕτεροί τινες ἐπραγματεύθησαν (2) καὶ Γλαύκων ὁ Τήϊος.

(١) فانّه وان كان اناس آخرون قد تكلّفوا القول في هذا، (٢) لكنّ غلوقون خاصّة قد فعل، لانّه كان اولى بذلك .

(1) and even though other people have taken on the burden of discussing this [matter], (2) (but) Glaukon in particular did so, because he was [a] more appropriate [person] for it.[44]

(1) The combination *fa-ʾinna-hu wa-ʾin* provides an example of our translator's occasionally idiosyncratic use of connectors unmotivated by the Greek text.

(2) Instead of the more appropriate *wa*, the translator's *lākinna* highlights Glaukon's contribution in the field (which the translator in all likelihood did not know anything about). The same can be said about the amplifications he subsequently introduces (*ḫāṣṣatan faʿala, li-ʾanna kān ʾawlā bi-ḏālika*). There is no basis in the Greek text for this intervention. Lyons proposes that ὁ Τήϊος has been corrupted to a form of ἄξιος. Another possible explanation would be to read *ʾawwalan* instead of *ʾawlā*; the resulting amplification would at least not sound as strong as the first reading, but it would raise the question why the translator dropped ὁ Τήϊος altogether.

Occasional deletions of Greek textual elements occur here and there in the Arabic *Rhetoric*. In addition to removing isolated words (e.g. 1410a22:

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41 Flügel (1871–1872, p. 250).
42 Cf. the following chapter on Ibn Sīnā's (and others') commentaries on the *Rhetoric*.
43 Cf. Würsch (1991, p. 9f).
44 Lyons: "(2) for he had a better right to that."

ἔλεγχος), the text sometimes drops short phrases (e.g. 1407a19f: τοῦτο δ᾽
ἐστὶν ἐν πέντε) or even whole passages (e.g. 1409b2ff: καὶ ὅτι αἰεί τι οἴεται
ἔχειν ὁ ἀκροατὴς τῷ ἀεὶ πεπεράνθαι τι αὐτῷ; τὸ δὲ μηδὲν προνοεῖν εἶναι μηδὲ
ἀνύειν ἀηδές).

Section 3: The role of the voice in "delivery"

The text now embarks on an excursus on the role of the voice and aspects
of its use in *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*. Remarking on its importance and its
connection to emotions in Element 3.1, it then lists three aspects of voice
and its use in 3.2. Faced with a number of technical terms related to
acoustical phenomena, the translator chose the field of music as his source
for Arabic equivalents.

1403b27f   *Element 3.1: The voice and emotions*
172/8ff

> (1) ἔστι δὲ αὐτὴ μὲν ἐν τῇ φωνῇ, (2) πῶς αὐτῇ δεῖ χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον
> πάθος,

> (١) فمن ذلك ما يكون بالصوت، (٢) وهذا ممّا ينبغي ان يستعمل عند كلّ واحد
> من الآلام،

> (1) and among that [sc. *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*] is that which comes
> [about] through the voice, (2) and this belongs to what should be
> used[45] with each one of the affections,

(2) An interesting feature of our translation is the unconventional appli-
cation of the proposition *ʿinda* to render πρός; it sometimes seems to take
the place of *li* or *bi*. Here, it carries the intelligent implication of "on the
occasion of".

1403b28–32   *Element 3.2: Musical aspects of voice*
172/10–14

> (1) οἷον πότε μεγάλη καὶ πότε μικρᾷ καὶ μέσῃ, (2) καὶ πῶς τοῖς τόνοις,
> (3) οἷον ὀξείᾳ καὶ βαρείᾳ καὶ μέσῃ, (4) καὶ ῥυθμοῖς τίσι πρὸς ἕκαστα.
> (5) τρία γάρ ἐστι περὶ ἃ σκοποῦσιν. (6) ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶ μέγεθος ἁρμονία
> ῥυθμός.

> (١) واحيانا[46] ينبغي ان تستعمل[47] الكبرى واحيانا الصغرى والوسطى، (٢)

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[45] Lyons: "(1) part of this is what comes about through the voice, (2) that being one
of the things which should be used."

[46] Sālim, Badawī: فاحيانا.

[47] Sālim, Badawī: يستعمل.

<div dir="rtl">

وكالذي يستعمل في الهاديات،[48] (٣) اعـني الحادّة[49] الثقيلة والوسطى (٤)
وشيء من الـنغم او الـنبرات، (٥) فانّ الاتي فيها يهزلون او [يحـ...]ون ثلاث،
(٦) وهنّ العظم والتوفيق والنبرة .

</div>

(1) and sometimes one should employ the loud and sometimes the
soft and the medium, (2) and it is like that which is used in the
camel-driver songs, (3) I mean the high-pitched, the deep and the
medium,[50] (4) and some of the tones (sounds) and the stresses (in-
tonations/cadence); (5) for those about which they speak lightly or
... [consist of] three [things], (6) and they are magnitude and adap-
tation and interval.

(2) The term *hādiyāt* is unclear; it might be derived from the verb *hadā*,
the "driving of camels with songs". The semantically related root *ḥ–d–w*
might offer some help: according to Fadlou Shehadi, the humming or
singing to camels matching the animal's movement, called *ḥudāʾ* (derived
from the verb *ḥadā*, "to lead" or "drive on camels"), was connected to the
discovery that animals respond to vocal music.[51] Amnon Shiloah places
the genre at the very beginning of the history of Arabic music.[52] Sālim's
and Badawī's reading *al-hādimāt* ("the destroying") seems to make even
less sense.

(1)–(6) We encounter numerous musical terms in this passage (e.g. *naġm*,
nabrah, *ḥādd*, *ṯaqīl*). This observation is shared by the author of a gloss
to *al-ṣuġrā wa-l-wusṭā*, who comments on the margin of the text: *kull
hāḏā min ʾasmāʾ al-naġm fī al-mūsīqā* ("all of these are terms for [kinds
of] melodies in music").

A second gloss comments on *šayʾ min al-naġm*. It reads:

<div dir="rtl">

مثل الرحمة والغضب وكما يرفعه[53] يخفض الصوت وبغضبه يرفع الصوت وما اشبه
ذلك

</div>

Such as compassion and anger just as it raises it (according to Lyons' read-
ing: "in compassion") the voice is lowered and in anger the voice is raised
and what is similar to that

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48 Sālim, Badawī: الهادمات.

49 Badawī: الجادة [او] ("the serious [sc. voice] or").

50 Or, in view of the missing connector *wa* between *al-ḥāddah* and *al-ṯaqīlah*: "the
high-pitched and deep, and the medium".

51 Shehadi (1995, p. 60).

52 Shiloah (1995, p. 5f).

53 Lyons: برحمة.

The musical references in this short passage allow us some insight into our translator's handling of culturally problematic terms and warrants closer attention.

The central term and subject of this section of the text is ἡ φωνή from the preceding passage, the "tone" or "sound", especially the sound of a voice. The translator chose an Arabic term with a very similar semiotic range, ṣawt, which also covers both vocal and more general acoustic phenomena: "sound", "voice", occasionally even "song".[54] Aristotle proceeds to list basic volume levels, using the neutral terms μεγάλη, μικρά and μέση. Each of these generic expressions signifies qualitative or quantitative degrees of size for both concrete and abstract objects. The same holds true for their Arabic counterparts, al-kubrā, al-ṣuġrā and al-wusṭā. The referent of the Greek adjectives is clearly ἡ φωνή; puzzlingly, the translator associates the masculine term ṣawt with feminine adjuncts.

The confusion is only partly dispelled by the first marginal gloss quoted above, it identifies two of the three expressions in question as technical terms belonging to the theoretical field of mūsīqā. While Shiloah insists on a clear differentiation between the fields of musical theory, labelled mūsīqā in adaptation of the Greek μουσική, and practised art music, ġinā᾽, Shehadi notes that at least as early as the Iḫwān al-ṣafā᾽,[55] the terms were used interchangeably. In addition, al-Kindī used it in several treatises on theoretical aspects of music.[56] It is in this sense that we encounter mūsīqā in Ǧābir ibn Ḥayyān's writings.[57] He defines the term as follows:

الموسيقى انّما هو مساواة بين الصوت بالنغمة وقرع الوتر في زمانه وكيفية صوته جزئا جزئا

al-mūsīqā is simply harmony between the voice, the melody and the plucking of the string in its time/rhythm and the quality of its sound, part after part

To learn it, one has to master a variety of fields:

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[54] Shiloah (1995, p. 15).

[55] "Brethren of purity", a tenth- and eleventh-century group of philosophers of uncertain identity and origin. They left a body of writings on philosophy and the sciences that is know under the title Rasā᾽il Iḫwān al-ṣafā᾽, Epistles of the Brethren of Purity and was heavily influenced by Neoplatonism.

[56] Cf. Shiloah (1995, p. 59) and Shehadi (1995, p. 7).

[57] Most of the works ascribed to him probably date from the ninth and tenth century; even the dates of his life are unclear, he apparently flourished around the mid-eighth century. Cf. Paul Kraus' and Martin Plessner's article "Djābir b. Ḥayyān" in EI², vol. 2, p. 357ff.

ليس يمكن احد ان يعلم الموسيقى الأ بعد علم العروض والتصريف، وعلم النغم
والإيقاع، وعلم الشعر وصنعته، والمعرفة بالاوزان الهوائية[58]

> One is only able to learn *al-mūsīqā* after [mastering] the science of prosody
> and correct grammatical expression and the science of the [musical] note[s]
> and rhythm and the sciences of poetry and its creation and the knowledge
> of (airy?) metres

Obviously, the author of the gloss understands the terms *al-kubrā*, *al-ṣuġrā* and *al-wusṭā* in a technical sense; perhaps the translator also wanted them to be understood that way.

The next musical term in the passage is ὁ τόνος. The Greek expression denotes a voice's "pitch accent", which is then specified with three adjuncts again referring back to ἡ φωνή, i.e. ὀξεῖα (with an *acute* accent), βαρεῖα (with a *grave* accent) and μέση (with a *circumflex* accent). On the Arabic side, we find the word *al-hādiyāt* (discussed above) and the adjuncts *al-ḥāddah*, *al-ṯaqīlah* and *al-wusṭā*, referring to *al-hādiyāt*. The status of these terms is unclear; for example, we encounter *al-ḥādd* as the name of the last and highest string of the *ʿūd*,[59] whereas the term *al-ṯaqīl* is used in the names of several rhythmic modes listed by al-Kindī.[60] Given the problems we have in discovering the origins of these words as technical terms, it might be worthwhile to return to their non-technical meaning: classifying certain types of singing as "vivacious" (*ḥādd*), "serious" (*ṯaqīl*) or "intermediate" (*ʾawsaṭ*) would make perfect sense.

The paraphrase *šayʾ min al-naġm ʾaw al-nabarāt* for the plural form of ῥυθμός, possibly caused by his omission of πρὸς ἕκαστα and his reading of τισι without an accent, sufficiently illustrates the translator's predicament. Introduced by the phrase *šayʾ min*, he throws together two terms which have—except for the fact that they are both musical terms—not much to do with each other.[61] Today as well as in the time of the Umayyad caliphs, *al-nabrah* denotes musical *intervals*. In his *Kitāb al-ʾaġānī* (*Book of Songs*), Abū al-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967) employed the term in this sense and quoted Ibn Surayǧ (d. 726), who used the word in a similar way.[62] Farmer traces the historical development of the terms *naġmah* and *naġam*, which are alternately used with the meaning "note", e.g. by authors mentioned

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[58] Both passages quoted by Jéhamy (1999, vol. 2, p. 1469).

[59] A pear-shaped string instrument similar to a lute.

[60] Cf. Shiloah (1995, p. 111, 120) and Farmer (1929, p. 111).

[61] In his translation of the *Poetics*, Abū Bišr Mattā chooses a different "musical" term, *laḥn* (Lyons, 1982, vol. 1, p. xxx).

[62] Farmer (1929, p. 70, 73).

in the *Fihrist* such as al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. 791) and al-Kindī, or with the meaning "mode" or with both meanings, e.g. by Abū al-Faraǧ in the *Kitāb al-ʾaġānī*, by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīhi (d. 940) in the *Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd* (*Book of the Unique Necklace*) or in the *Risālat Iḫwān al-ṣafāʾ* (*Treatise of the Brethren of Purity*). The *Kitāb al-ʾaġānī* also lists its use in the sense of "melody" in the title of a book by Yūnus al-Kātib (d. 765).[63] Its modern use covers the more general notions of "melody" or "sound".

In spite of its apparent greater semantic flexibility, the translator settles for the less suitable *nabrah* to render the second occurrence of ῥυθμός in this passage. The remaining Greek expressions, μέγεθος and ἁρμονία,[64] have been translated literally as *ʿiẓam* and *tawfīq*. To the best of my knowledge, neither belongs specifically to the field of musical theory.

In sum, both versions profess to discuss the use of voice, but the Greek text discusses pronunciation in *speech*, the Arabic text qualities of *vocal music*. The speech-related concepts in the Greek version, e.g. accents and pitch, do not have suitable Arabic equivalents. They are part and parcel of Greek phonology and could not but be misunderstood or mistranslated. The peculiar translation of the above passage testifies therefore either to the lack of understanding on the part of the translator or his attempt to transpose the subject matter into categories accessible to his readers. Given the terminological overlap between descriptions of voice in speech and singing, music must have suggested itself as the natural choice for terms in this rather unsuccessful attempt at acculturation.

Frequently, our translator's treatment of *realia*, terms and concepts specific to the source culture (excluding proper names), betrays a lack of background knowledge. This is a problem that frequently affects his translation. Encountering such technical terms, he more often than not resorts to transliteration or synonymic transposition, i.e. the employment of doublets intended to cover as much semantic ground as possible.[65] His translation of ῥυθμός and ἁρμονία are cases in point: ῥυθμός is rendered with the doublet *al-naġm wa-l-nabarāt*, musical terms which fail to reproduce the semantic scope of the Greek term; this also applies to the second occurrence of ῥυθμός, translated with the shorthand *al-nabrah*.

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[63] Cf. Farmer (1929, p. 51, 70–75, 105, 127, 148, 205).

[64] It could be argued that the poetic harmony treated in the *Poetics* stresses a slightly different aspect of this concept than the *Rhetoric*, explaining the terminological differences between the texts. Abū Bišr Mattā uses *naẓm*, *ʾiqāʿ* and, most often, *taʾlīf*, perhaps in order to underline the formal and structural slant of Aristotle's usage. For μέγεθος, the *Poetics* uses the more specific term *ṭūl* (Lyons, 1982, vol. 1, p. xxviii, xxx).

[65] On the interesting phenomenon of doublets and their interpretation, cf. p. 147.

(5) To explain the puzzling occurrence of *yaḥzilūn* where one would expect *yanẓurūn* or some such expression, Lyons suggests that the translator might have read *σκώπτουσιν* instead of *σκοποῦσιν*. In spite of various reconstruction attempts, the missing word indicated by the lacuna (...) has not been conclusively identified. It is tempting to fill it with the term *yaǧiddūn*, evoking the polarity of *ǧidd* ("earnest") and *hazl* ("jest").

Section 4: Competent delivery helps winning "contests"

After the translator's slip at the beginning of Section 2, both versions remain in step with each other, at least up to this point. Section 4 starts off with a serious mistranslation, apparently caused by a lack of cultural background knowledge. Aware of his problem, the translator proceeds with extreme caution for the rest of the section, resorting to as literal a rendering as he could possibly produce. The result is a sequence of disjointed clauses that must have been more or less incomprehensible to contemporary readers.

(1) *τὰ μὲν οὖν ἆθλα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων οὗτοι λαμβάνουσιν,* (2) *καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖ μεῖζον δύνανται νῦν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί,* (3) *καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγῶνας* (4) *διὰ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τῶν πολιτειῶν.*

(١) فامّا ذوو المنازعة فيأخذون ذلك من المنازعات والمزاولات، (٢) فمهما كانوا هنالك اقوى واقدر، كذلك يكونون هاهنا، اعني ذوو الأخذ بالوجوه من الفيوئطيّين، (٣) وكالذي يكون في المنازعات الفيوليطيّة (٤) لصعوبة تلك الفيوليطيّة،

(1) and concerning those that engage in dispute, they use this in disputes and contests; (2) and as they were more potent and powerful there, so they are the same [sc. *'aqwā wa-'aqdar*] here, I mean such poets as take faces,[66] (3) and it is like that which occurs in political disputes (4) because of the difficulty of these politics,[67]

(1) The term *ἆθλα* has been wrongly understood as "contestants". According to Lyons, *τὰ μὲν οὖν ἆθλα* has apparently been read by the translator as *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀθληταί*; cf. also 1404a17 below. Ignoring the Greek

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[66] Lyons: "(2) and whenever they are stronger and more powerful there, the same is true of them here, I mean the actors from amongst the poets."

[67] Many basic terms such as *πολιτικός* and *πολιτεία*—for which later translations use genuine Arabic equivalents—are transcribed in our text. They could be interpreted as indicators for an early translation date, preserving a state of translation technique antedating the establishment of a stable terminology and the composition of translation tools such as word lists and glossaries.

subject οὗτοι, the translator uses the phrase as the subject of the first clause. Aware of the difficulty of this passage, the translator modeled his translation of its remainder as closely as possible on the Greek word order, compounding the confusion engendered by the mistranslation of τὰ ἆθλα. In spite of his efforts, he fails to make any sense of this section.

(2) As before, the author attempts to emulate the Greek word order and, in order to accommodate the position of the subject οἱ ὑποκριταί at the end of the clause beginning with καὶ καθάπερ, paraphrases it in an ʾaʿnī-excursus. The possibility that the clause's subject may be confused with the previous clause's ḏawū al-munāzaʿah forces him to insert the rather cryptic ka-ḏālika yakūnūn hāhunā. Again, the author feels compelled to imitate the original as closely as possible in places where he cannot grasp its meaning.

(2) The comparative sense of the expression μεῖζον δύνανται νῦν τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ ὑποκριταί is lost with the translator linking τῶν πολιτειῶν to the subject οἱ ὑποκριταί as a genitive object.

(4) In his translation of the term μοχθηρία with ṣuʿūbah, the word μόχθος ("labour", "pain") seems to have misled our translator.

(4) Lyons states that the Arabic transcription al-fyūlīṭīyah at the end of the passage points towards πολιτειῶν instead of πολιτῶν (as he and Spengel assume) as the translator's reading of his manuscript. Kassel and Freese, the editor of the Loeb edition of the *Rhetoric*, opt for πολιτειῶν.[68] This would mean that the general abstract al-fyūlīṭīyah mistranslates the more specific Greek term, further confirmation for the problems the translator had in understanding the text.

Section 5: The "craft" of the "taking of faces"

One of the conspicuous features of this long and complicated passage is the fact that its subject is at no point explicitly spelled out. Before we can start to sum up the passage's content, we have to pause for a moment to establish that subject.

The Greek text presents the reader with exclusively pronominal references to the elusive theme; in Arabic, operating with only two grammatical genders instead of three, the reader has to deal with an even higher degree of ambiguity. Looking more closely at the pronominal references in Section 5, we find that the subject of the passage is referred to several times with the enclitic feminine singular hā and once, at the beginning of

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[68] Freese (1994, p. 346).

the section, with *ḏālika*. The enclitica cover instances in which the subject of the Greek clause is contained in the verbal expression but needs to be made explicit in the Arabic version. *Ḏālika*, on the other hand, was used to render αὐτῶν. The situation is complicated by the conjunction *ġayr ʾanna*, which indicates transitions between arguments and textual sections. Apart from the problems caused by the use of pronomina in the Arabic version, the following facts emerge: the subject of the passage remains unclear; after being referred to by *ḏālika*, the translator switches his references to the expression *al-ṣināʿah ʾaw al-ḥīlah fī ḏālika* (the anchor for the enclitica). We can only speculate that the topic of the preceding section, i.e. *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*, is the referent of *ḏālika* and, mediated by the circumscription *al-ṣināʿah ʾaw al-ḥīlah fī ḏālika*, the enclitic pronouns.

Establishing the topic is, however, not the only problem in this section. In Element 5.1, we are informed that the "art" or "stratagem" (our translator refuses to resolve the ambiguity of the term τέχνη with its positive and negative connotations by rendering it into the doublet *al-ṣināʿah ʾaw al-ḥīlah*, reproducing both aspects of the Greek expression) of "that", i.e. *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*, was developed late due to the late invention of artifice in speech (5.2). The translator now switches to *al-ḥīlah*, emphasizing negative aspects such as "artifice" and "trickery".

The next element (5.3) opens a string of arguments with a proposition that, due to our translator's idiosyncratic use of connectors, is almost impossible to reconstruct. The puzzling occurrence of *ḥīna* in 5.4 cannot be reconciled with the Greek text and undermines any attempt to make sense of the passage. Without a major intervention in the Arabic text, we have to proceed on the assumption that the translator wanted to indicate that, firstly, "artifice", correctly understood, constitutes a burdensome and negative aspect of speech and that, secondly, "artifice" is somehow geared towards *conjecture* and *opinion* (in contrast to established knowledge). Conjecture and opinion are then identified in Element 5.4 as the subject matter of rhetoric.

Elements 5.5–5.8 offer what purports to be arguments for this proposition, strung together by repeated occurrences of *li-ʾanna*: 5.5, a highly literal and garbled version of the lucid reasoning contained in the Greek text, states that "it", possibly referring to speech (*maqālah*), not only has to be done correctly, but carefully as well—the connection to the preceding proposition is, to put it mildly, tenuous—while 5.6 maintains that one should employ only "speech" (*kalām*; the meaning of this prescription will be discussed below) and refrain from manipulation, qualified by

5.7, an exhortation to dispute only about the things themselves. In Element 5.8, he concludes his notes on the *ḥīlah* of *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh* with an appeal to disregard the apparent effectiveness of rhetorical trickery.

The whole argument seems to fail on account of two factors: unable to grasp the reasoning of his Greek source, probably due to both lexical and syntactical problems, our translator imitates the Greek word order of doubtful passages, obscuring rather than clarifying Aristotle's thinking; secondly, his hesitation to spell out the subject matter of the passage clearly illustrates his own failure to identify it. Part of the problem was the Greek terminology: the translator had to deal with terms such as τέχνη, λέξις and λόγος which even Aristotle sometimes failed to distinguish properly and whose meaning our translator obviously only partly understood.

1403b35f
172/18f

Element 5.1: A "craft" was not yet developed…

(1) οὔπω δὲ σύγκειται τέχνη περὶ αὐτῶν,

(١) غير انّ الصناعة او الحيلة في ذلك لم تركّب بعد،

(1) but the art or stratagem in this had not yet been composed,

(1) As in 1403b21 = 172/1, the translator picks out δέ as a structural marker signalling the beginning of a new argument and translates it with the strong adversative conjunction *ġayr ʾanna*. The opposition may be stronger than the Greek source warrants. The translator could have been misled by the appearance of οὔπω, which figures in the aforementioned passage as well.

(1) The translator does not seem to be aware that τέχνη also means a concrete written "manual" in addition to the abstract category of "craft". From this point onward, we sense a shift in the texts' attitude. The Greek text talks neutrally about an "art" or "treatise" dealing with "acting" (ὑπόκρισις). The use of the doublet *al-ṣināʿah ʾaw al-ḥīlah* points towards the translator's awareness of the multivalence of the Greek term. He nevertheless decides to put a potentially negative slant on the discussion by subsequently choosing the term *al-ḥīlah* ("stratagem").

The negative impression suggested by the choice of *al-ḥīlah* is strengthened by the translator's rendering of ὑπόκρισις, *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*. The meaning and relevance of this expression have been discussed above. The terminological choices the translator has made at this point do not seem to have any influence on the argumentative structure of the text, but they exert considerable influence on other terminological and structural deci-

sions down the line. A handful of translation decisions early in the text, two of which we find in the passage above, give the discussion a flavour that inexorably pulls the translator away from Aristotle's text and tells us more about his own ideas and preconceptions than about Aristotle's intentions.

Element 5.2: …because "delivery" only matured recently 1403b36
172/19f

(1) ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν λέξιν ὀψὲ προῆλθεν.

لانّ الحيلة في المقالة ايضا انّما [بلغت]69 اخيرا، (١)

(1) because the stratagem in speech as well only matured recently,

Element 5.3: … and because the subject is "burdensome" 1403b36f
172/20f

(1) καὶ δοκεῖ φορτικὸν εἶναι, (2) καλῶς ὑπολαμβανόμενον.

وكانّها شيء من التثقيل (٢) اذا اجيد اخذها، (١)

(1) and it is as if it [sc. al-ḥīlah] is something that overwhelms70 (2) when taken (used?) correctly,71

(1) In the translator's opinion, the phrase καὶ δοκεῖ marks the start for a new argument in his current train of thought which ultimately leads to his rejection of rhetorical trickery. He notes the efficiency of rhetorical devices but maintains that, since delivery is directed towards mere "opinion" and "conjecture", its use is fraudulent and improper (cf. below p. 94f).

(1) Both expressions *min al-taṯqīl* and its Greek counterpart φορτικόν stress the essentially negative character of delivery, but whereas Aristotle belittles it, the translator overemphasizes it by introducing the notion of "trouble" and "burden". The term *taṯqīl* might also stress the moment of imposition of impressions and emotions on an audience implied by the expression *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*. It is tempting to read the translation of φορτικόν as evidence for the shift in attitude between the Greek and Arabic versions. With a range of perhaps more appropriate single-word translations at his disposal, the translator still decides to use the somewhat unwieldy expression *šayʾ min al-taṯqīl*. In the light of some more

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69 Badawī: صنعت.

70 The term φορτικόν is the only occasion for Abū Bišr in the translation of the *Poetics* to transcribe instead of translate a word that has been straightforwardly rendered in our text (cf. Lyons, 1982, vol. 1, p. xxxi).

71 Lyons: "(2) when it is taken well/properly".

obvious examples for our translator's attitude in the text below, it is a distinct possibility that his choice at this point is already influenced by his own reading of the text's stance towards ὑπόκρισις.

(2) Translating *ʾiḏā ʾuǧīd ʾaḫḏu-hā*, our author apparently misses the non-literal use of ὑπολαμβάνω at this point and opts for a more literal translation which is unfortunate from a stylistic point of view and further obscures the meaning of an already obscure clause.

Element 5.4: Rhetoric is bound up with "opinion"

(1) ἀλλ' ὅλης οὔσης πρὸς δόξαν τῆς πραγματείας (2) τῆς περὶ τὴν ῥητορικήν,

(١) ولكن حين تكون كلّها مصروفة الى الظنون او الآراء (٢) التي هي من شأن الريطوريّة

(1) but since all of it is directed at conjectures or [individual] views
(2) which are of the matter of rhetoric[72]

(1) With his rendering of ἀλλά with *wa-lākin*, our translator schematically substitutes Greek conjunctions and particles in a way that obfuscates the relation between sentences and arguments.

(1) The unexpected appearance of the causal conjunction *ḥīna* suggests that the translator had problems reconstructing the flow of argument. According to his translation, the *ḥīna*-clause is causally and perhaps temporally linked to the previous clause. The Greek text does not indicate any such relation; on the contrary, the clause introduced by ἀλλά partly refutes the idea that the treatment of delivery is unimportant.

(1) The translator fails correctly to identify the elements of the Greek sentence and misunderstands their function. Following the Greek word order, he removes the genitive object τῆς πραγματείας from its referent ὅλης οὔσης and attaches it as a relative clause to δόξαν. In his version, not "the whole business of rhetoric"[73] is connected with "opinion" or "appearance" but "opinion" and "appearance" *become* the business of rhetoric. The translator's negative stance towards aspects of rhetoric such as "acting" taints his perception of the entire subject.

(2) The imitation of the Greek word order by placing the relative clause *allatī hiya min šaʾn al-rīṭūrīyah* at the end of the passage next to *al-ẓunūn ʾaw al-ʾārāʾ* introduces an ambiguity which could have been avoided by

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[72] Lyons: "(1) but since it is all turned to ideas or thoughts (2) which are the concern of rhetoric."

[73] Kennedy (1991, p. 218).

placing it nearer to the verb; as it is, *allatī* is read as referring to *al-ẓunūn ʾaw al-ʾārāʾ*. The epistemological pessimism our translator professes in regard to rhetoric becomes more prominent; the ambiguities in the Greek text mentioned above allow him to read his perspective into it and serve to strengthen his belief in the essentially negative verdict Aristotle returns on the merits of rhetoric and its capacity to access truth.

Element 5.5: "Delivery" requires diligence

(1) οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντος (2) ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἀναγκαίου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιητέον,

(١) ليس على انّه قد⁷⁴ يجب لها ان تفعل ذاك⁷⁵ مستقيما او بعدل، (٢) ولكن كالذي قد يضطرّ اليه في العناية والجدّ،

(1) it is not the case that it [sc. *al-ṣināʿah ʾaw al-ḥīlah*] must do that correctly or justly, (2) but it is like that which one is obliged to do with carefulness and earnestness/serious effort,[76]

(1) The first half of this passage illustrates the density of the Greek text: the Arabic rendering of the three words οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντος comprises no less than twelve words.

Element 5.6: Appealing to emotions is inappropriate in speech…

(1) ἐπεὶ τό γε δίκαιον μηδὲν πλείω ζητεῖ περὶ τὸν λόγον (2) ἢ ὡς μήτε λυπεῖν μήτ᾽ εὐφραίνειν.

(١) لانّ من العدل الاّ يفحص عن شيء اكثر من الكلام البتّة (٢) والاّ يستعمل التفريح ولا التحزين

(1) because justness requires that one seeks nothing more than speech alone (2) and that the evocation of joy or sorrow are not to be employed[77]

(1) *Kalām* here apparently contrasts to *ḥīlah*, perhaps representing *true* words instead of *deceptive* speech; the second category appears in the next passage: λυπεῖν and εὐφραίνειν, i.e. the use of emotions.

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74 Omitted by Badawī.

75 Badawī: ذلك.

76 Lyons: "(1) not because it has to do that correctly or rightly, (2) but like one who is compelled to it (or: that which one is compelled to do) in respect of concern and seriousness."

77 Lyons: "(1) since it is right that one should not investigate anything more than speech at all, (2) and that one should not employ what causes joy or sorrow."

(2) In spite of his usual careful attention to the Greek word order, our translator here switches the positions of λυπεῖν and εὐφραίνειν.

(1)–(2) The phrase περὶ τὸν λόγον has been construed as ἐκ τοῦ λόγου; according to the Arabic text, al-taḥzīn and al-tafrīḥ belong to the devices employed in speech. Aristotle on the other hand warns against entertainment or offence as purpose or prominent feature of speech, the end of which should always be to present an argument.

Reflecting on the treatment of emotional appeals in speech in the *Rhetoric* as a whole, it does not come as a surprise that the translator should feel obliged to clarify his understanding of this slightly ambiguous passage. As Jacques Brunschwig has pointed out, Aristotle accepted such an appeal only as long as it was based on the speech itself—i.e. by certain arguments—instead of extraneous means—e.g. by producing weeping children, gesturing, crying etc.[78] What stuck with the Arabic translator was the general impression that emotional appeals were placed beyond the pale of legitimate rhetorical procedures.

1404a5ff
173/2ff

Element 5.7: …because it should be confine to the things themselves

(1) δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, (2) ὥστε τἆλλα ἔξω τοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι περίεργά ἐστιν.

(١) لأنّه انّما ينبغي لهم ان يتنازعوا في الأمور انفسها والحيل، (٢) وكلّ ما كان خارجا من التثبيت فهو من ذوات المؤاربة،

(1) because they should only dispute about the things themselves[79] and the stratagems, (2) whereas all that is extraneous to proof belongs to deceptive things,

(1) Lyons explains the double rendering of αὐτοῖς as both *la-hum* and *ʾanfusi-hā* with the assumption that the translator either found the word twice in his text or imputed to it a double sense, i.e. he might have wished to resolve the syntactical ambiguity of the pronoun by offering both possible constructions.

(1) The term *al-ḥiyal* is not found in the Greek text; it was perhaps intended as an explanatory amplification of τἆλλα. Alternatively, the translator may want to suggests that rhetorical devices belong to the subject matter of rhetorical disputes (*tanāzuʿ*). In this case, the term *al-ḥiyal* might be read as an amplification of τοῖς πράγμασιν: to argue about

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[78] Brunschwig (1996, p. 46).
[79] Lyons: "(1) it is proper for them … in the affairs themselves."

πϱάγματα might, in his view, include contending "over" or "with" ḥiyal. This reading would oblige us to accept that the translator substantially modified Aristotle's proposition by either allowing the use of both "facts" and "stratagems" in an argument or by naming both as the *subject matter* of disputes—in a dispute, both facts and rhetorical procedures can become bones of contention—while Aristotle only wanted facts to count. In spite of its apparent far-fetchedness, the reading has several factors in its favor: in addition to the position of the term in the sentence and Lyons' punctuation, which groups *al-ḥiyal* with *al-ʾumūr ʾanfusi-hā*, it is clear that, according to our translator, *al-ḥiyal* are not "extraneous to proof": as Elements 5.1 and 5.2 state, a *ḥīlah* of "acting" and of "speech", both important factors in argumentation, have been late to develop.

(2) The phrase *ḏawāt al-muʿārabah* stresses the note of moral disapproval which plays a less prominent role in the more neutral Greek term. Πεϱίεϱγα can mean "elaborate" as well as "superfluous" (neutral) or even "meddling" (negative). The translator's choice for an Arabic term seems to have been influenced by his negative judgement on rhetorical manipulation. The Greek text facilitates the introduction of such interpretations with its wealth of ambiguous and semantically rich terms. Our translator again renders the neuter plural πεϱίεϱγα as feminine plural; his lack of consistency in the translation of neuter plural terms can be seen in his handling of τᾱλλα, which he renders as *kull mā*.

Element 5.8: Rhetorical devices corrupt the audience

(1) ἀλλ' ὅμως μέγα δύναται, (2) καθάπεϱ εἴϱηται, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκϱοατοῦ μοχθηϱίαν.

(١) غير انّه قد يقدر بهنّ على[80] العظائم، (٢) كالذي قد تفعل[81] تلك المحزنات[82] في تخييب[83] السامع،

(1) although it is often possible to [achieve] great things with them, (2) such as the effect which these distressing things often have of dissatisfying/deceiving [better: "corrupting"] the listener;[84]

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[80] Margoliouth, Sālim, Badawī: عن.

[81] Badawī: يفعل.

[82] Lyons ventures the conjecture المخبرات ("these experiences"). Together with his suspicion that the translator read a form of ἐμπειϱία instead of εἴϱηται, this could explain the disappearance of Aristotle's interjection καθάπεϱ εἴϱηται.

[83] Lyons suggests the plausible emendation تخبيث ("corruption").

[84] Lyons: "(1) but because of these one is able to do great things, (2) like what is done by those distressing things in disappointing the hearer."

(1) Since ἀλλά is normally translated as *wa-lākin(na)*, the occurrence of *ġayr ʾanna-hu* seems surprising. How unusual it really is can only be answered on the basis of a larger text sample.[85]

(1) The use of feminine plural pronouns to render neuter plural is a recurring feature of our translation. The referent here is *ḏawāt al-muʿārabah*. For the translator's use of feminine plural pronouns, cf. above p. 67.

(2) To make sense of a sentence he misunderstood, our author added *qad tafʿal al-muḥazzināt* as an explanatory amplification. His reading turns Aristotle's reasoning upside down: he suggests that the use of rhetorical devices "corrupts" an audience whereas Aristotle clearly places the responsibility for the effectiveness of rhetorical trickery on the *pre-existing* corruption of the audience.

The essentially negative character of rhetorical means of persuasion has now been firmly established. In spite of the degree of misunderstanding the Arabic version betrays at this point, the translator follows the direction he has taken early on and stresses the negative consequences of devices which fall outside the scope of rational argument. They are, as we have read in the preceding passage, *ḏawāt al-muʿārabah*, the use of which leads to "corruption" (*taḫbīṯ*) of the listener.[86]

On the basis of our reading of the preceding passage, we seem to be confronted with two categories of rhetorical devices, i.e. the "stratagems" (*ḥiyal*) on the one hand, which form an important part of rhetoric and which can become the objects of a dispute (together with the facts of a given case) and on the other hand those devices which do not belong to rhetorical argumentation. Their use is, in spite of their effectiveness, strongly discouraged. The distinction the translator introduces here is not derived from the Greek text, but a result of a combination of translation problems and his interpretation of the Greek text. While the second category of devices does not figure again in our sample, the translator does not conceal his suspicions about the first category, the *ḥiyal*. Whether legitimate or not, he continues to view rhetorical devices with a wary eye.

(2) The edited Greek text helps us to avoid the trap our translator has fallen into by placing a comma between εἴρηται and διά. In the translation, the insertion καθάπερ εἴρηται is not recognized (according to my reading of the text, it is used to mark the beginning of the following section) and the verb apparently read as ἐργάζεται, explaining the appearance of *tafʿal*.

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[85] In our sample, *ġayr ʾanna* occurs twice more, each time translating an adversative δέ: 1403b21 = 172/1 (p. 77) and 1403b35 = 172/18 (p. 92). Cf. below p. 135.

[86] Our reading is based on Lyons' emendation *taḫbīṯ*.

It is then used as the predicate of the clause resulting from the conflation of καθάπερ εἴρηται and διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ μοχθηρίαν.

Section 6: "Expression" and "delivery"

The terminological confusion caused by the Greek text carries over into this section. Aristotle discusses λέξις, which here includes not only *style* of speech, but its *delivery* as well. The translator continues to refer to λέξις as *maqālah*. After the first element which connects his subsequent remarks on the subject with his previous notes on *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*, he refrains from explicitly repeating it in Elements 6.2ff.

Starting in 6.1 by subsuming the "taking of faces" under *maqālah*, the text claims that some small but necessary aspect of speech is in "all teaching"; this could mean that either the teaching of any subject employs speech to a certain degree—a truism—or that, more specifically, *maqālah* should play a role in the teaching of rhetoric. It then states in Element 6.2 that the shape of proof (*taṯbīt*) has an influence on its clarity. Depending on the reading imposed on the damaged place indicated by asterisks, the text proceeds to argue that speech (*al-qawl*) should be moulded in a way that is advantageous to *ḏālika al-šayʾ*, possibly proof, to address the listeners' "imagination". The mistranslation of ἀλλά leads to a statement which stands in marked contrast to the Greek text: it advises the reader to fashion speech in order that either the speech (interpreting *ka-ʾanna-hu* as referring to *al-qawl*) or the intended proof (with *ka-ʾanna-hu* denoting *al-taṯbīt*) appeal directly to the listeners' "imagination" (*mutaḫayyal ʾaw mutawahham*), adding in Element 6.4 that nobody would practice geometry in this way.

The following element (6.5) claims that this stratagem, whenever it occurs, works by *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*. It does not dispel the mounting sense of confusion, equally felt by the translator who keeps stringing on word after word, burying the overall argument he seems unable to grasp.

With the "historical" sketch in Element 6.6, we reach firmer ground. The translator, still stepping gingerly through a minefield of unfamiliar terms, correctly identifies the passage as a short reference to previous theoretical treatments of his subject. It is unclear whether he was able to understand the title of Thrasymachos' work as a metatextual reference to another text or interpreted it simply as his area of expertise.

The following change of topic appears as abrupt in the Arabic translation as it does in the Greek source. Now that Aristotle explicitly lists the concepts he wants to attend to, the translator has to follow suit and name

his subjects. In Element 6.7, he calls *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh* a "natural" (*ṭabīʿī*) and "non-artificial" (*ġayr ṣināʿī*) activity. Artifice in speech, on the other hand, is "artificial" (*ṣināʿī*). From this premise, he concludes in 6.8 that those mastering this *ḥīlah* are—again mistranslating ἆθλα—"contestants" (*munāziʿīn ʾaw muǧāhidīn*) and similar to rhetoricians who are obliged to employ *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*. Viewed in isolation, this deduction does not make any sense—if we are not prepared to assume that *munāziʿ* and *muǧāhid* evoked some meaning in this context.

Before it embarks on an account of the history of style (*maqālah*) in Text III, the Arabic text appends a note (Element 6.9) that has, thanks to the confusion of the preceding paragraphs, lost its connection to the previous discussion of delivery and *al-ʾaḫḏ bi-l-wuǧūh*. Whereas Aristotle argued that written speeches (when read out) derive their effectiveness from style rather than argumentative consistency and validity in order to support his main argument about the importance of style in speech, the remark has lost that relevance in the translation. Without the main line of thought it is intended to support, it stands isolated at the end of a rather confused and confusing text.

<div style="margin-left:2em">1404a8f
173/6f</div>

Element 6.1: "Expression" and "delivery" are necessary in teaching

(1) τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς λέξεως ὅμως ἔχει τι μικρὸν ἀναγκαῖον ἐν πάσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ.

(١) فهٰذا ممّا قد يكون بالمقالة . (٢) وفي المقالة شيء يسير اضطراريّ[87] في كلّ تعليم .

(1) this, then, belongs to what often comes about through speech, (2) and in speech there is something small [and] necessary in all teaching.[88]

(1) The clause *fa-hāḏā mimmā qad yakūn bi-l-maqālah* is another addition not found in the Greek text. Lyons proposes the reading τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς λέξεως οὕτως. ἔχει τε μικρὸν ἀναγκαῖον (τε) as a possible way out. The passage marks the transition from Aristotle's previous discussion of delivery (ὑποκριτική) to a short note on λέξις, here including delivery as well.
(2) The cataphoric position of the prepositional object *fī al-maqālah* before the sentence's subject imitates the Greek text.

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[87] Badawī: اضطراره. With his reading, the passage would translate "(2) And in speech, there is something that is small in necessity [i.e. unimportant] in all teaching."

[88] Lyons: "(1) this is one of the things that happen through speech (2) and in speech there is something small and necessary."

Element 6.2: Clarity varies with "expression" and "delivery"

(1) διαφέρει γάρ τι πρὸς τὸ δηλῶσαι ὡδὶ ἢ ὡδὶ εἰπεῖν.

(١) وقد يختلف التثبيت فيما بين[89] ان يكون كذا او كذا،

(1) And proof often differs as has been made clear that it is like this or like that;

(1) The translator specifies the Greek infinitive εἰπεῖν as only meaning proof (*taṯbīt*). With *taṯbīt* as the referent of the conjunctional clause after *ʾan yakūn*, it becomes obvious that he has modified the meaning of the whole sentence: according to his version, it is not the way of speaking which makes a difference in terms of clarity, but the way of demonstration, i.e. the arrangement of arguments instead of the arrangement and choice of words and sentences as intended by Aristotle.

Element 6.3: "Expression", "delivery" and the "imagination"

(1) οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ᾽ ἅπαντα φαντασία ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀκροάτην.

(١) فقد ينبغي ان يقال[90] القول بنحو [افاد][91] ذلك الشيء كأنّه متخيّل او متوهّم عند السامع،

(1) furthermore, that which is spoken should be said in a way that expresses this matter as if it were something processed by the fantasy or imagination of [lit. "in"] the listener,

(1) The puzzling addition *bi-naḥw [ʾafāda] ḏālika al-šayʾ* might be intended to amplify the previous, more specific statement. The qualification inserted by Aristotle (οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτον) seems to have been dropped. Lyons assumes the translator reading τοῦτο instead of οὐ.

(1) Perhaps triggered by the appearance of φαντασία in this and γεωμετρεῖν in the next section and the complex syntactic structure of the passage, the translator leaves the tracks of Aristotle's text and, by ignoring the intervening καί and conflating the two predicates φαντασία ... ἐστί and πρὸς τὸν ἀκροάτην [ἐστίν], presents us with an argument all of his own. While

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[89] Lyons' reading *bayn* would force us to accept *taṯbīt* as translation of δηλῶσαι, an unconvincing suggestion. The latter was used to cover a number of Greek terms, mostly those derived from different forms of δείκνυμι/δεῖξις or πείθω. Conversely, forms of the verb δηλόω were rendered in our sample with the verbs *bayyana*, *ʾawḍaḥa*, *dalla* and *ʾanāra*.

[90] Sālim, Badawī: om. ان يقال.

[91] Sālim, Badawī: من.

Aristotle concludes his short note on λέξις in the sense of "expression" by claiming that its purpose is to affect an audience and that it is consequently not suited for subjects as self-evident and incontrovertible as geometry, the translator advises the reader to appeal to his listeners' imaginative faculty; the information given in the sort of speeches he envisages are non-intuitive and have therefore to be processed by the listeners' imagination. The connection between this statement and the following section on the teaching of geometry is as smooth as in his source text: in both versions, geometry is not taught with the help of "expression" because the latter appeals to φαντασία. Geometrical knowledge does not need to be channeled through people's imagination: it is already self-evident.

The translator's choice to render φαντασία gives us some hints about the text's chronological relation to other translations. As Rüdiger Arnzen points out, later translations (after Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq) introduce a distinction between φαντασία as a process of simple reproductive imagination ("bloß reproduzierender Vorstellung"), translated as ḫayāl, and one of imagination that abstracts through visualization ("durch mentale Visualisierung abstrahierender Vorstellung"), translated as wahm, i.e. a mental faculty that actively operates on mental images.[92] The terminology of the Kindī-circle was less subtle: most texts use wahm or tawahhum for φαντασία or φάντασμα in spite of the connotations those terms carried ("speculative" or "false opinion", "deceptive imagination" or "hallucination"). Al-Kindī himself preferred (perhaps for this reason) the transcription fanṭāsiyā, also found in Usṭāṯ's translation of the *Metaphysics*. With and after Ḥunayn, the translators settled for taḫyīl or taḫayyul instead of wahm or tawahhum.[93] The *Rhetoric* chose what Arnzen calls a "Mittelweg", the doublet mutaḫayyal ʾaw mutawahham.

Several explanations come to mind: conscious choice, which situated him at the terminological crossroads between the Kindī-circle and Ḥunayn's group; on the other hand, it would be equally possible to interpret it as the result of a revision by a later translator or perhaps a gloss that has made its way into the text at some point. In that case, we would probably expect the gloss to be added *after* the term to be glossed rather than before it. Without wanting to make too much out of a detail that could

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[92] Arnzen (1998, p. 75).

[93] Arnzen (1998, p. 113). Heinrichs (1978, p. 261f) adds that from early translations to the Ḥunayn tradition and afterwards, ḫ–y–l was commonly employed to translate φαντάζομαι with taḫayyul becoming the stock translation for φαντασία. The root w–h–m on the other hand was often used in pre-Ḥunayn translations and later transformed into a purely psychological term.

have been caused by any number of random factors, it is tempting use this and other phenomena we will discuss below to classify the translation as belonging to the output of the Kindī-circle.

(1) *ʿInda* relays only a part of the meaning of πρός here. It does not convey the affective meaning ("intended to affect") but brings out the consequences of the affect "in" the listener's mind by suggesting a physical relation between *mutaḫayyal ʾaw mutawahham* and *al-sāmiʿ*.

Element 6.4: Nobody practices geometry in this way

<div style="text-align:right">1404a12
173/10f</div>

(1) διὸ οὐδεὶς οὕτω γεωμετρεῖν διδάσκει.

<div style="text-align:right">،وليس من احد يهندس او [...] بهذا النحو (١)</div>

(1) and there is nobody who engages in geometry or ... in this manner,

(1) Badawī's suggestion *yafʿal* for the gap after *yuhandis* is probably out of place in what seems to be one of our translators numerous double expressions connected with *ʾaw*. Lyons opines that the translator read γεωμετρεῖ ἢ διδάσκει instead of γεωμετρεῖν διδάσκει, which would let us expect *tuʿallim*. A near-synonym of *yuhandis* may be more likely.

The distinction between knowledge that has to be taught by appealing to the imaginative faculty and immediately self-evident knowledge is a shared motif in both philosophical traditions.[94] The importance of "geometrical" knowledge comes to the fore in al-Fārābī's dictum on the merits of various forms of knowledge, contained in his *Faḍīlat al-ʿulūm wa-l-ṣināʿāt* (*Excellence of the sciences and crafts*). He distinguishes between three criteria which are, separately or in combination, characteristic for "supreme" knowledge (*faḍīlat al-ʿulūm wa-l-ṣināʿāt*): an exalted subject matter, incontrovertible proofs or the extent of benefits it provides. Geometry falls into the second category: *wa-ʾammā mā yafḍul ʿalā ġayri-hi li-stiqṣāʾ al-barāhīn fī-hi fa-ka-l-handasah* (Jéhamy, 1998, p. 943).

Element 6.5: "Expression" and "delivery" employ "acting"

<div style="text-align:right">1404a12f
173/11f</div>

(1) ἐκείνη μὲν οὖν ὅταν ἔλθη (2) ταὐτὸ ποιήσει τῇ ὑποκριτικῇ,

<div style="text-align:right">،لكن تلك الحيلة اذا وردت (٢) فانّها ستفعل هذا بالأخذ بالوجوه (١)</div>

(1) but this [sc. "stratagem"], when it occurs, (2) will have such an effect through the taking of faces.

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[94] Barnes (1995, p. 25) stresses the role geometry played for Aristotle as a model for other fields of knowledge.

(1) Throughout our sample, the Greek οὖν is translated as ʾammā … fa or just fa. Lākinna seems out of place, the more so since οὖν here only marks the next stage of argument without implying any adversative relationship.
(1) The fronting position of tilka al-ḥīlah is again due to our author's preference for closely matching word order between Greek and Arabic.
(2) In his translation, Kennedy gives the dative τῇ ὑποκριτικῇ (somewhat unusually) a comparative sense. More natural would be the option our translator chose, a straightforward instrumental or sociative dative. Lyons adds that the translator apparently read τοῦτο instead of ταὐτό and interpreted τῇ ὑποκριτικῇ as an instrumental dative qualifying ποιήσει.

1404a13ff
173/12ff

Element 6.6: Previous discussions of "expression" and "delivery"

(1) ἐγκεχειρήκασι δὲ ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον περὶ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν τινες, (2) οἷον Θρασύμαχος ἐν τοῖς ἐλέοις.

(١) وقد يبدأ[95] اناس بان يقولوا فيها شيئا بعد شيء، (٢) كمثل قول ثرسوماخوس في ذوات الهمّ.

(1) and people would begin to say this and that about it [sc. al-ḥīlah], (2) like the treatise of Thrasymachos on what causes anxiety (what makes one concerned).

(1) The adverbial ἐπ᾽ ὀλίγον seems to have been wrongly translated as šayʾ baʿd šayʾ.
(2) Here as in other cases when Aristotle quotes another work, it is not entirely clear if the translator understood the phrase ἐν τοῖς ἐλέοις correctly as a metatextual reference to a concrete work (and only translates the title to give his readers an idea of the treatise's content) or if he merely interpreted it as a more general reference to a subject Thrasymachos wrote about.

1404a15f
173/14f

Element 6.7: "Acting" is natural, "expression" and "delivery" artificial…

(1) καὶ ἔστι φύσεως τὸ ὑποκριτικὸν εἶναι, (2) καὶ ἀτεχνότερον, (3) περὶ δὲ τὴν λέξιν ἔντεχνον.

(١) ثمّ الأخذ بالوجوه طبيعيّ، (٢) وهو بزيادة غير صناعيّ،[96] (٣) فامّا الحيلة في المقالة فصناعيّة،

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[95] Margoliouth, Sālim: يبدي. The translation would then be "(1) and people expressed [it] by saying this and that about it".

[96] Margoliouth, Sālim, Badawī: طباعي ("natural"); this does not seem to be in line with the sense of the passage.

(1) Furthermore, the taking of faces is natural, (2) and it is in addition non-artificial; (3) as for stratagem in speech, it is artificial,[97]

Element 6.8: …because their master becomes a "contestant" 1404a16ff
173/15–18

(1) διὸ καὶ τοῖς τοῦτο δυναμένοις γίγνεται πάλιν ἆθλα, (2) καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ῥήτορσιν.

(١) ولذلك ما صار الذين يقدرون على هذا يكونون انّما[98] منازعين او مجاهدين،

(٢) كالذي يوجد عليه هؤلاء الريطوريّون الذين يستعملون الأخذ بالوجوه .

(1) and therefore those who are able to [do] this could not but become contestants or contenders,[99] (2) just as that which is found to happen to these rhetoricians who employ the taking of faces.

(1) As in Section 4, the translator misunderstood the term ἆθλα, a mistake we already noticed in 1403b32 on p. 89. I doubt his translation made much sense to his audience. Unfortunately, the logical connection between this and the following passage depends on a correct understanding of the term and its relation to γίγνεται … τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ῥήτορσιν: prizes are won in contests, in which speeches are normally delivered orally on the basis of a written manuscript—whereas the listener might have found it difficult and tedious to follow an intricate argument he may have been able to comprehend in reading, he appreciated stylistic competence in oral presentation.

Without the clues provided by the Greek text, the next passage appears to be isolated and unconnected to the preceding discussion; moreover, the reader of the Greek text readily understands Aristotle as talking about written speeches which are orally delivered. The Arabic text might have suggested that written speeches as such (i.e. even when privately read) worked on the basis of style rather than argument, a claim diametrically opposed to Aristotle's proposition.

Element 6.9: …and because speech is effective through them 1404a18f
173/18f

(1) οἱ γὰρ γραφόμενοι λόγοι μεῖζον ἰσχύουσι (2) διὰ τὴν λέξιν ἢ διὰ τὴν διάνοιαν.

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[97] Lyons: "(1) as for the device used in speech, it is artificial." The somewhat awkward term "artificial" (*ṣināʿī*) refers to something that is brought about by a "craft", a learned and trained ability instead of a "natural talent" (termed *ṭabīʿī* by the translator), which can be utilized without prior training.

[98] Badawī: اما .

[99] Lyons: "(1) those who are able to do this are competitors or contestants."

(١) فانّ الكلام الذي يكتب قد يكون اقوى (٢) من أجل المقالة لا من اجل المعنى .

(1) Furthermore, speech which is written down is often more powerful (2) on account of the style (or "what is said"/"the words"), not on account of the meaning.[100]

Text III: The subject of "style"

With Text III, our task becomes somewhat easier. Dealing with the history and development of style (*maqālah*), it presents an account first of the beginnings of poetic style in Section 1 and proceeds to outline the changing stylistic preferences of contemporary tragedians and poets in Section 2, wrapping up the chapter with a mention of relevant material in the *Poetics* in Section 3. The number and severity of lexical and syntactical problems decrease sharply. Relatively straightforward exposition as that contained in Text III poses less of a challenge to our translator than the involved theoretical argumentation pursued in the preceding text.

Section 1: The development of "style"

The first section deals with the invention of style (*maqālah*). In Element 1.1, the contribution of poets as pioneers of style, more specifically poetic style, is noted. The text then (1.2) identifies the "mimetic" (*mumaṯṯil ʾaw mušabbih*) properties of words and the voice as sources for the development of arts concerned with style such as rhapsody and rhetoric, listed in Element 1.3.

1404a19f
173/20f

Element 1.1: Poets were the first to create their own "style"…

(1) ἤρξαντο μὲν οὖν κινῆσαι τὸ πρῶτον, ὥσπερ πέφυκεν, οἱ ποιηταί.

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[100] The term *maʿnā* was adopted early on to denote various forms of mental phenomena and activities such as σημαίνω (Usṭāṯ, *Metaphysics*), λόγος and νόημα (Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, *De anima*), πρᾶγμα (Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, *De Interpretatione*) or θεώρημα (Abū ʿUṯmān al-Dimašqī, *Topics*). Interestingly, it was not normally used to render διάνοια: the term of choice from Usṭāṯ onward was a form of *ʿaql* (Afnan, 1964, p. 112, 115). In his translation of the *Poetics*, Abū Bišr departs from the majority usage in favor of *ḏihn* (Lyons, 1982, vol. 1, p. xxviii).

In his study of the use of *maʿnā* in Arabic grammatical literature, Richard Frank (1981, p. 314–319) identifies four meanings of *maʿnā*: firstly, the "intent of the sentence"; secondly, the "referent" of a noun or verb; thirdly, the "semiotic equivalent" of a word, phrase or sentence, i.e. its "interpretative rephrasing or analysis (*al-taʾwīl*)"; and fourthly, the "content or conceptual significate" of a word, phrase or sentence. The translator's use falls under the first category.

(١) وكـان الـذيـن ابـتدؤوا¹⁰¹ بتحريك تلك الـتي الأولى على مجرى الطبيعة الفيوئطيّين،¹⁰²

(1) And those who began with moving those [things] which are first in natural order[103] were the poets,

(1) The translator's rendering of the metaphorical κινῆσαι with *taḥrīk* drops the metaphorical meaning of the Greek term and probably did not much to help his readers understand what Aristotle was getting at.

(1) To retain the Greek word order, the translator paraphrased the Greek verb with *kāna* and two interlocking relative clauses. He then attempted to accommodate both Arabic grammar and Greek word order by transforming the subject οἱ ποιηταί into a nominal predicate after *kāna* and added a relative pronoun to fill the subject slot. The position of the phrase *'alā maǧrā al-ṭabī'ah* invites two interpretations: it could either be an adjunct to *al-fyū'iṭīyīn*—"they, according to nature, began to move those things which were first"—or, as Lyons suggests, it modifies *tilka allatī al-'ūlā*: "they began to move those things which were, according to nature, first."

Assigning *'alā maǧrā al-ṭabī'ah* to *al-fyū'iṭīyīn* suggests that the poets were somehow "naturally endowed" to "move" this first matter; in the second case, this matter would be first "by nature". It is not clear at all what this "first matter" could be. Without any conclusive identification of the phrase's referent, it seems prudent to follow Lyons' lead and connect *'alā maǧrā al-ṭabī'ah* to *tilka allatī al-'ūlā*.

(1) As before (1403b18 = 171/17, 1403b24 = 172/5), the adverb τὸ πρῶτον has been translated as an object to κινῆσαι. It is tempting to interpret this and the other occurrences of *tilka al-'ūlā* as references to the first element of the two lists at the beginning of our sample (e.g. Section I.1 on p. 67 and Element II.1.1 on p. 73): the sources of persuasion. That would mean that the translator did not regard the distinction between *taṣdīq* and *'iqnā'* as sufficiently important to warrant separate translations. In view of his consistency and diligence in reproducing variations in Aristotle's terminology, this would be surprising.

The problems with the adverbial τὸ πρῶτον are foreshadowed in Element II.1.1; in the sentence (1) τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐζητήθη κατὰ φύσιν, (2) ὅπερ πέφυκε πρῶτον, (3) αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, both readings (adverbial and objective) make sense. The similarities between this passage and

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[101] Margoliouth, Sālim: ابتدوا, translating as "And those who expressed by moving".

[102] Sālim, Badawī: الفيوئطيّون.

[103] Lyons: "(1) to move those things that are first in accordance with nature."

subsequent occurrences of τὸ πρῶτον may have been a strong incentive to stick to the translational choice made at that point. In the course of his reinterpretation of τὸ πρῶτον, the translator apparently misreads ὅπερ for ὥσπερ and transforms the adverbial phrase ὥσπερ πέφυκεν into a relative clause dependent on τὸ πρῶτον.

An additional consequence of his consistent reinterpretation of τὸ πρῶτον as an object and a reference to the aforementioned list is the emergence of an independent network of references only loosely based on the Greek text. In conjunction with his consistently negative interpretation of rhetoric and its procedures, one can begin to consider the translation a quasi-independent work, based on motifs of the Greek source, expressing ideas that, inadvertently or not, seem to have originated with the translator rather than his source text.[104]

Apart from outright mistranslations or problems of understanding, other factors may have played a role in the development of his understanding of the text.[105] As Peter Adamson has argued in the case of the *Theology of Aristotle*, whose adaptor worked in an intellectual environment suffused with a variety of philosophical ideas derived from Plotinus, Plato, Aristotle and their commentators,[106] the translator may have unconsciously or intentionally adapted the translation to different sources, e.g. the negative assessment of rhetoric and poetics expressed in several of Plato's dialogues.[107]

1404a20ff
173/21–
174/1f

Element 1.2: …because of the "mimetic" nature of words and voice

(1) τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα μιμήματά ἐστιν, (2) ὑπῆρξε δὲ καὶ ἡ φωνὴ πάντων μιμητικώτατον τῶν μορίων ἡμῖν.

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[104] Aristotle's own attitude is, as Jonathan Barnes (1995, p. 260–263) remarks, more complex. On the one hand, he operates on the assumption that aspects of rhetoric can be neutrally treated as an "art" with its own set of technical precepts; on the other hand, he seems to envisage a "philosophical" rhetoric purified from less respectable ingredients such as emotional appeals.

[105] Pierre Hadot (1995, p. 75f) notes the role of misunderstandings and mistranslations not only as a source for sometimes very elaborate exegetical work in an attempt to bring a text into line with the commentator's expectations. They can and often enough were the occasion for "important evolutions in the history of philosophy. In particular, they have caused new ideas to appear."

[106] Adamson (2001, p. 212f).

[107] His views are most forcefully expressed in the *Gorgias* (e.g. Socrates' unflattering definitions, 462b8–463c7) and the *Phaidros* (e.g. the claim that contemporary rhetoric dealt in appearances instead of truth, 272d2–273c5). For an analysis of the passage and a good summary of Plato's criticism of contemporary rhetoric, cf. Rapp (2002, vol. 1, p. 212–223).

(١) فانّ الأسماء قد تكون ممثّلة[108]   (٢) والصوت ايضا قد يكون مشبها[109]   او ممثّلا عندنا لكلّ جزء من الأجزاء،

(1) for the words [lit. "nouns" or "names"][110] are often representa-tive[111] (2) and the voice as well creates likenesses and representations for us for each of the parts,

(2) The comparative meaning conveyed by ὑπῆρξε ... πάντων μιμητικώτατον τῶν μορίων seems to have been lost in translation. The translator interprets πάντων ... τῶν μορίων as genitive object to μιμητικώτατον, as well as misunderstanding the term τῶν μορίων. *Mušab-bih ... li-kull ǧuzʾ min al-ʾaǧzāʾ* might be misconstrued as "representing" or "representative for all the limbs". Moreover, the superlative sense of μιμητικώτατον is lost.

(2) The ambiguous status of *ʿinda-nā*—relating either to *mušabbih ʾaw mumaṯṯil* ("*for* us") or to the following *li-kull ǧuzʾ* ("*our*")—might have been avoided by appending the personal pronoun to *ʾaǧzāʾ*. The position of *ʿinda-nā* strongly suggest that it belongs to *mušabbih ʾaw mumaṯṯil*.

Element 1.3: Thus, the arts were born

<div style="text-align:right">1404a22f
174/2f</div>

(1) διὸ καὶ αἱ τέχναι συνέστησαν, (2) ἥ τε ῥαψῳδία καὶ ἡ ὑποκριτικὴ καὶ ἄλλαι γε.

(١) وعن ذلك حدثتا الصناعات، (٢) اعني الرفسوديّة والابقراطيّة وسائر الاخر،

(1) and in consequence the arts came to be, (2) I mean rhapsody and acting and all of the others,

(2) *Ibūqrāṭīyah* as a transcription of ὑπόκρισις occurs only once in the whole translation. Why the translator should have felt the need to tran-scribe a term he on other occasions confidently translates as *al-ʾaḫd bi-l-wuǧūh* remains to be explained, particularly since contemporaries would probably have read it as "Hippocratic", a reference to the Greek physician Hippocrates of Cos (d. ca. 370 BCE). Perhaps the translator desired to mark rhetoric in the context of this list of τέχναι as a discipline specific to Greek culture.

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[108] Margoliouth, Sālim, Badawī: المنقل ("the annoying").

[109] Badawī: مشتهي ("desiring"/"longing").

[110] Cf. Frank (1981, esp. p. 277–286) on the terminology of grammatical literature.

[111] Abū Bišr Mattā translates μίμησις (i.e. the Syriac equivalent *meddamyānūṯā*) in most cases with the doublet *tašbīh wa-muḥākāt* (cf. Heinrichs, 1978, p. 256). The connection between μίμησις and its derivatives and the Arabic root *š–b–h* seems to have been com-monplace from the very beginning of the translation movement.

Transliterations and synonymic transposition seems to be the transla-
tor's favorite strategy when in doubt about a term's meaning. Interpreted
in a more favorable light, the use of transliterations could point towards
our author's cautious approach: rather than taking the risk of unwittingly
modifying the meaning of the text through indiscriminate translation
of technical terms into doubtful Arabic equivalents, he might have con-
sciously chosen to retain transliterated Greek terms—perhaps to emulate
the high degree of literality of late Syriac translations or to give his trans-
lation a "scientific" flavour in keeping with the elevated subject matter.

Section 2: Poetic "style"

Poetic style is the subject of the following section, starting with an appre-
ciation of its effect. Earning their reputation through its application, po-
ets are credited with the invention of a specifically "poetic", i.e. "adorned"
(*muzayyan 'aw muzaḫraf*), style in Element 2.1; Gorgias' influence is ex-
plicitly mentioned. The impact of that style on the undiscerning is out-
lined in 2.2. In the following element, riddled with problems, the text
seems to state that the audience's approval is misplaced and that the afore-
mentioned stylistic adornments would be more appropriate for other gen-
res. The terseness of Aristotle's wording and especially the interjection
δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ συμβαῖνον perplexed our translator sufficiently to render this
section almost unreadable.

The following elements (2.4f) read deceptively easily. Unfortunately,
our translator stumbles over a preposition and translates Aristotle's state-
ment into its complete opposite: in his version, artists dropped colloquial
elements from their works. Aristotle on the other hand means to say that
everything that went *against* the grain of colloquial expression was dis-
carded. Reaching the end of the chapter, the translator is back on track
again and adds in Element 2.6 that the imitation of poetic style now looks
ridiculous. Finally, as Section 3 states, the matter does not have to be dis-
cussed any further; the reader should turn to the relevant portions of the
Poetics for a more detailed treatment.

1404a24ff   *Element 2.1: Poets and "style"*
174/3–6

> (1) ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγοντες εὐήθη (2) διὰ τὴν λέξιν ἐδόκουν πορίσασθαι
> τὴν [δὲ] δόξαν, (3) διὰ τοῦτο ποιητικὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο λέξις, (4) οἷον ἡ
> Γοργίου.

(١) فانّ الفيوئطين¹¹² قد كانوا يتكلّمون بالبسيطة او العاميّة (٢) ويظنّون انّهم يكتسبون المدح من قبل المقالة . (٣) وبهذا كانت تكون تلك الألفاظ الأولى فيوئطيّة، (٤) كمثل كلام جرجياس .

(1) for the poets used to talk in simple or common [expressions][113]
(2) and they thought that they earned acclaim on account of their speech. (3) And through this, those first words became poetic, (4) such as the speech of Gorgias.

(3) Without modifying the general meaning of the clause, the translator paraphrases the apparently unambiguous phrase διὰ τοῦτο ποιητικὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο λέξις; Aristotle talks about the emergence of poetical style, our translator about the fact that "those" (*tilka*) first words became poetic. Lyons suggests inserting a ἡ between ποιητική and πρώτη to bring Greek and Arabic into line again.

Element 2.2: Poetic "style" still valued

<div style="text-align:right">1404a26f
174/6ff</div>

(1) καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων (2) τοὺς τοιούτους οἴονται διαλέγεσθαι κάλλιστα.

(١) ثمّ الآن أيضا قد يظنّ كثير من الذين لا أدب لهم (٢) انّهم مصيبون حين ينطقون بهذا النحو من الكلام مزيّنا او مزخرفا .

(1) Furthermore, even now many of those who have no education[114] often assume (2) that they hit the mark when they speak with this kind [of speech] in an ornamented or adorned way.[115]

(2) The enclitic pronoun *hum* could refer both to *alladīna lā ʾadab la-hum* or the poets discussed before.
(2) The pronominal reference at the end of the passage seems to have been read as τὸν τοιοῦτον instead of τοὺς τοιούτους, referring to "speech" instead of "speakers". Furthermore, the translator expands the terse pronominal expression by reminding his readers of the kind of speech the speakers referred to use: *muzayyan ʾaw muzaḫraf*.

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[112] This is probably a scribal mistake; Lyons proposes the emendation فيوئطين.

[113] Lyons: "(1) talking in simple or common language."

[114] According to Afnan (1964, p. 91), *ʾadab* and its derivatives came into use at an early date to denote various forms of παιδεύω; Usṭāṯ already translates ἀπαιδευσία as *qillat ʾadab* and ἀπαίδευτοι as *ʿalā ġayr ṭarīqat al-ʾadab*. Introduced by early *kuttāb*, the term *ʾadab* was virtually ignored by al-Kindī but later taken up by al-Fārābī and became an established philosophical term.

[115] Lyons: "(1) they think (2) that they achieve their aim when they use this type of speech, ornamented or adorned."

(1) To appreciate the disagreement between Greek and Arabic caused by the adverbial phrase *muzayyanan ʾaw muzaḫrafan*, we have to look back to the preceding section for the referent of *hāḏā al-naḥw min al-kalām*. There, we are told that the poets used to employ "simple" or "common" expressions. Here, we learn that poets can apply those very expressions in an "ornamented" and "adorned" way—a surprising transformation. Aristotle, on the other hand, only informs us that a florid style such as that of Gorgias is still widely admired by the uneducated.

Element 2.3: Its trappings are more appropriate for other "styles"

> (1) τοῦτο δ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν, (2) ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέρα λόγου καὶ ποιήσεως λέξις ἐστίν. (3) δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ συμβαῖνον.

> (١) وليس يجوز هذا (٢) الاّ لأصناف أخر من الكلام سوى الفيوئطيّة، (٣) اعني ان يكون الوصف بألفاظ كائنة ما كانت،

> (1) and this is not permissible (2) except for other types of speech apart from the poetic, (3) I mean that the description takes place with whatever words occur.[116]

(1)–(2) After a stretch of structurally matching passages from Element 1.2 to 2.2, we have reached another serious divergence. The substantial modifications found in this and the following passages begin with the translator misreading the double genitive λόγου καὶ ποιήσεως belonging to λέξις, perhaps, as Lyons suggests, on the basis of a reading such as ἑτέρου λόγου.

(3) The translator compounds his error by misunderstanding the phrase δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ συμβαῖνον, which he attaches as a comment to the previous passage. He consequently overlooks the fact that Aristotle at this point introduces his reason for the claim that the style of speech and poetry are not the same and misses the context in which the following notes on conversational and poetic style are placed. As we can see, the translator ends up with a substantially different text structure and—as we will find out below—a conclusion which directly contradicts Aristotle's reasoning.

Element 2.4: Poetic "style" should not be applied

> (1) οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τὰς τραγῳδίας ποιοῦντες (2) ἔτι χρῶνται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, (3) ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τετραμέτρων εἰς τὸ ἰαμβεῖον

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[116] Lyons: "(1) this is not permissible (2) except for other branches of speech apart from poetry, (3) I mean that a description should be given in whatever words occur."

μετέβησαν (4) διὰ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτο τῶν μέτρων ὁμοιότατον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων,

(١) ولا هم اذا صنعوا الطراغوديّات ايضا (٢) يستعملون هذا النحو بعينه، (٣) وكما صنعوا في الوزن المربّع (٤) ليكون شبيها بتلك الأوزان الأخر، كذلك صنعوا في الطراغوديّات ايضا،

(1) When they compose tragedies also, (2) they do not (should not) use this sort [of speech] itself. (3) As they composed in tetrameters [lit. "the quartered meter"], (4) so that it can be similar to those other meters, so they composed in tragedies as well;[117]

(1) The causal connection established by the Greek γάρ in the next clause disappears in the Arabic version, perhaps due to the problems the translator had with the previous phrase which expressly introduces the following passage as an argument for Aristotle's previous claim.

(3) The next passage beginning with *wa-ka-mā ṣanaʿū* presents several problems. Ἀλλά is not expressed in the Arabic version, thereby distorting the relationship between this and the previous clause. The phrase εἰς τὸ ἰαμβεῖον disappears and the intransitive verb μετέβησαν is mistakenly translated as *ṣanaʿū*.

(4) The problems caused by the previous clause become obvious in the phrase *li-yakūn šabīhan bi-tilka al-ʾawzān al-ʾuḫar*. To force some sense into the otherwise meaningless clause, our translator resorts to drastic measures. The key element τῷ λόγῳ is discarded; to make up for his excisions, our translator adds the explanation *ka-ḏālika ṣanaʿū fī al-ṭrāġūdīyāt ʾayḍan*, which leads him further away from the Greek text. In the process, the superlative ὁμοιότατον is reduced to the positive *šabīh*. According to Lyons, the apparent disappearance of εἰς τὸ ἰαμβεῖον could be due to its substitution by *ka-ḏālika ṣanaʿū fī al-ṭrāġūdīyāt ʾayḍan*.

The resulting translation falls into disjointed pieces of argument, strung together by the generic connector *wa* which the translator substitutes for the more specific Greek particles.

Element 2.5: Poets have dropped conversational speech

1404a32–35
174/13–16

(1) οὕτω καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων [ἀφείκασιν] (2) ὅσα παρὰ τὴν διάλεκτον ἐστιν, (3) οἷς δ' οἱ πρῶτον ἐκόσμουν, (4) καὶ ἔτι νῦν οἱ τὰ ἐξάμετρα ποιοῦντες, ἀφείκασιν.

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[117] Lyons: "(3) as they composed in tetrameters, (4) in order that this should be like those other meters, so they composed in tragedies also."

(١) فإنّهم تركوا من الأسماء او الألفاظ (٢) مهما كان من الكلام الجاري (٣) [ممّا]
قد كان الأوائل يزيّنونه ويزخرفونه . (٤) ثمّ الذين يصنعون[118] الأوزان المسدّسة الآن
ايضا قد[119] تركوا مثل ذلك .

(1) for they have abandoned of nouns and expressions (2) whatever belonged to current speech[120] (3) such as that which their predecessors used as ornament and adornment. (4) Moreover, those who compose hexameters now also have dropped [what is] like that.

(1) The new start indicated by *fa-ʾinna-hum* does not correspond to the Greek οὕτω which merely continues the previous argument.

(2) By mistranslating the preposition παρά, which means "from" only in conjunction with a genitive, the translator reverses the meaning of the passage. Aristotle credits later composers of tragedies with dropping whatever did *not* belong to colloquial speech.

(3) Πρῶτον continues to cause trouble. To interpret *al-ʾawāʾil* as an adverb would correspond better to the Greek text, even though one would expect *ʾawwalan*; it might on the other hand represent an idiosyncratic use of the plural (instead of *al-ʾawwalūn*, which would be the appropriate form to denote people). Lyons refers to the emendation οἱ πρῶτοι, proposed by Roemer,[121] to support this reading. The translator, determined *not* to read πρῶτον as an adverb, might have chosen to read a nominative plural instead of having to contend with an object he could not fit in.

(3) Of the two roots our translator uses for ἐκόσμουν, *z–y–n* has made its way into the Arabic *Poetics*: Abū Bišr uses *zīnah* for κόσμος in the narrow sense of "literary ornament". Another occurrence of κόσμος, denoting "harmonious order" or "arrangement", is translated as *ǧamāl wa-ḥusn*, a doublet which conveys the æsthetic component of the term.[122]

(1)–(3) The translator has found a firm footing again. Unfortunately, the fresh start after *fa-ʾinna-hum*, which translates οὕτω, interrupts the flow of argument.

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1404a35f
174/16ff

Element 2.6: Conclusion—poetic "style" risible

(1) διὸ γελοῖον μιμεῖσθαι τούτους (2) οἱ αὐτοὶ οὐκέτι χρῶνται ἐκείνῳ τῷ τρόπῳ.

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118 Badawī: يستعملون ("they employ").
119 Badawī: om. قد.
120 Lyons: "(2) whatever is derived from common speech."
121 Cf. Kassel (1976, p. 148).
122 Lyons (1982, vol. 1, p. xxix).

(١) فالاقتداء اذا بهؤلاء ممّا يستحقّ ان يضحك منه (٢) اذا كانوا هم انفسهم
قد[123] لا يستعملون هذا النحو

> (1) Further, therefore the imitation of these [poets] belongs to that
> which deserves to be laughed at (2) since they themselves did not
> use this type [of speech]

(1) *Mimmā yastaḥiqq ʾan yuḍḥak min-hu*: an elaborate paraphrase for
γελοῖον which correctly expresses the word's meaning. The *fa … ʾiḏan*-
construction might have been chosen to capture the sense of διό.
(2) The following relative clause of the Greek text has been transformed
into a conditional *ʾiḏā*-clause in order to explain the causal relation to
mimmā yastaḥiqq ʾan yuḍḥak min-hu.

Section 3: This has been dealt with in the *Poetics*   1404a36–39
                                                                        174/18–21

> (1) ὥστε φανερὸν (2) ὅτι οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα περὶ λέξεως ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, (3)
> ἀκριβολογητέον ἡμῖν, (4) ἀλλ' ὅσα περὶ τοιαύτης οἵας λέγομεν. (5) περὶ
> δ' ἐκείνης εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς.

(١) كي يكون معلوما (٢) انّه ليس جميع ما يمكن ان يقال في الألفاظ (٣)
ينبغي لنا ان نتكلّم فيه، (٤) ولكن قدر ما نتكلّم فيه عن[124] ذلك . (٥) فامّا ذلك
[الآخر][125] فقد انبأنا عنه في الفيوئطيّة .

> (1) so that it becomes clear (2) that not all that can be said concerning
> style (3) has to be discussed by us, (4) but [only] to the extent that
> we are speaking of it here.[126] (5) As to that other [matter], we have
> already discussed it in the *Poetics*.

(1) *Kay* renders the Greek ὥστε incorrectly; ὥστε here serves to conclude
the whole preceding discussion of style. In the Greek text, there is no
indication of causation suggested by the Arabic *kay*.
(5) The mention of the *Poetics* at the end of this section has apparently
been correctly understood as a metatextual reference.

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123 Badawī: om. قد.
124 Badawī: من.
125 Badawī: النحو ("the type"/"sort").
126 Lyons: "(4) but to the extent to which we are discussing that."

Findings

Even in this relatively short sample of text, we find numerous instances of structural modifications. According to their impact, we can group them into two categories:

Firstly, modifications which have a direct and immediate influence on the structure of the passage they occur in and the following text; "local" changes, so to speak. The most prominent examples discussed above consists of either syntactical or lexical problems, i.e. the translator misinterprets syntactical features of the Greek text or misreads or mistranslates specific Greek words.

Secondly, modifications which do not necessarily lead to an immediate restructuring of the corresponding Arabic text, but affect the translator's attitudes on issues dealt with in the *Rhetoric* and guide long-term structural decisions which only become obvious at a later point. The condemnation of rhetorical practices belongs to this category.

Both phenomena are equally instrumental in shaping the Arabic version: whereas the former group of modifications tends immediately to affect the sense of the text and is therefore readily identifiable, the latter leads not only to the introduction of an explicit stance only alluded to or even nonexistent in the source text (e.g. the translation's views on rhetorical devices and acting), it subtly informs the process of reconstructing the Greek text's arguments in a way which allows the translator to apply his preconceptions in the first place.

Before we turn to a discussion of formal aspects of the text, we will summarize the content of our text sample and determine where the translation diverges from the Greek text.

For Text I, our task is simple: the translator reproduces the list of aspects of speech Aristotle presents and follows him in explaining some points relating to two of them, "confirmations" and "thoughts" (or "considerations"). Both versions then introduce "expression" and argue for its importance for the present discussion.

On the subject of "delivery", which is the focus of Text II, the texts start to disagree: we find the first two items of the second list of aspects of speech, "persuasion" and "expression", in both texts. The Greek version, however, adds "delivery" as the third important factor; the translation, on the other hand, detaches this bit of information and assigns it to the following passage, leaving the third item unnamed.

Apart from disrupting the list, the disagreement does not have any

more serious immediate consequences: the Arabic text only starts its treatment of delivery slightly earlier than the Greek text, which passes on to its account of delivery in the following passage. Both texts agree that delivery was first used by poets and that it is relevant for both poetry and rhetoric, concluding the section with a reference to Glaukon of Teos.

Next, the role of "voice" in delivery is discussed. The translator follows Aristotle's lead and relates the connection between voice and emotions and outlines technical aspects of the use of voice. A mistranslation leads him to change the subject to competence in delivery and its role in "contests". The Greek text adds a note on the function of voice and delivery in contests.

The versions converge again in the next section, which deals with delivery. The Greek text, however, uses the neutral term "craft" in relation to delivery, whereas we find the negatively connoted term "stratagem" on the Arabic side. In what follows, the texts explain that the craft or stratagem of delivery has not yet been worked out owing to the late development of expression. Aristotle claims that this is due to the subject's "vulgarity", while the translator calls it "troubling" or "burdensome". The use of different terms in this context strengthens the impression that the Greek and Arabic texts have a different attitude to this aspect of speech. Finally, both versions note the relation between rhetoric on the one hand and personal "opinion" on the other. The translator introduces a noticeable shift in meaning by making opinion the object, if not the aim, of rhetoric while Aristotle only points out the relation between them.

The translation again falls into line with the Greek text by reminding its readers of the need for diligence in delivery and by enjoining them to eschew emotional appeals in speech in favor of facts. In the following passage, the texts diverge once more: Aristotle explains that demonstration should be effected only through facts. The translator claims that one should argue about facts *and* rhetorical procedures.

Both texts conclude by stressing the negative side of fraudulent rhetorical means. A mistranslation leads to two very different thoughts: Aristotle finds the reason for the effectiveness of rhetorical tricks in the audience's "corruption". The translator on the other hand identifies rhetorical trickery as the very reason for the audience's corruption.

Next, the texts shift the discussion to the subject of expression and delivery (which in our sample both versions fail clearly to distinguish). Its necessity for teaching is noted. Aristotle then records its influence on the clarity of speech, whereas the Arabic text slightly departs from

his reasoning and maintains that "demonstration", not speech in general, varies in clarity according to differences in expression and delivery.

In the next passage, we encounter a more serious divergence: Aristotle categorizes expression and delivery as a form of outward show; the translator directs the reader to appeal to his listeners' "imaginative faculty", apparently motivated by the opposition between non-intuitive and self-evident knowledge. Why the translator decides to introduce these issues becomes clear in the following passage, which refers in both versions to "geometry" as not being taught by rhetorical means.

Both texts then establish the relation between delivery and "acting". Mentioning together with Aristotle previous treatments of expression and delivery, the translator classifies acting as "natural" and expression and delivery (on the Greek side) or the "stratagem" of it (on the Arabic side) as "artificial". The translator apparently refers to the distinction between *ṭabʿ* and *ṣināʿah* in Arabic literary theory discussed above (cf. the note on p. 105).

Another mistranslation causes some trouble in the following two passages. According to Aristotle, expression and delivery help winning "contests" owing to the fact that the oral presentation of written speeches is successful thanks to expression and delivery rather than the cogency of its reasoning. The translator claims that someone mastering it becomes a "contestant". He then misinterprets the reference to written speeches and disrupts the logical connection between the two passages.

Text III, which discusses "style", proves to be more manageable for the translator. He is able to replicate Aristotle's reasoning much more closely than before. On the development of style, both texts credit poets with its invention, explaining their pioneering role with the "mimetic" character of words and the voice. This was, according to Aristotle and the translator, the basis for the birth and development of the arts.

After explaining that poets acquire fame through their specific style and that this style is valued among the uneducated, the versions drift apart again. Aristotle distinguishes between poetic and prose style, the translator states that "adornment" would be more appropriate for other styles than the poetic and adds that "description" in speech should be effected with expressions which are "at hand", i.e. commonplace and not far-fetched.

What the translator interpreted as the continuation of the discussion of poetic style constitutes an independent passage in the Greek version which maintains that prose genres prefer "conversational" language to

poetic style. Having attached this stretch of text to the preceding passage, the Arabic version misses the logical connection between this and the previous passage and merely remarks that other styles are now preferred over the poetic.

While the Greek text continues its argument about the respective merits of prose and poetic style, the translator begins a new passage which explains that "conversational" speech, which poets allegedly used before to adorn their works, was subsequently dropped. Several misunderstandings lead him to a conclusion which contrasts sharply to Aristotle's ideas.

Both texts converge again by concluding that poetic style cannot be taken serious. Finally, both refer to the more detailed discussion of style in Aristotle's *Poetics*.

Studying the respective texts' line of thought, we can conclude that, firstly, the translator seriously strives to capture and replicate Aristotle's reasoning: he does not *intentionally* modify the source text's content. Due to a number of problems he had with the text, he diverges at several points from the Greek version, only quickly to return to its train of thought. The resulting accumulation of mistranslations and misunderstandings, however, makes itself felt throughout as an additional factor in the translator's interpretation of the text.

Secondly, neither the Greek nor the Arabic text present a fully structured and cogent "argument" in the strict sense: both alternate between purely explanatory passages analysing concepts or describing relations between them and short argumentative stretches setting out their reasons for adopting a certain idea or justifying their position on certain concepts. Argumentation is clearly a minor issue in both versions: the main thrust of Aristotle, followed as faithfully by the translator as his source text and his abilities allowed, was *didactic*. The role of style and delivery in speeches is to be expounded from a position of authority, not dialectically argued against some imaginary exponent.

While Aristotle formulates his account of the rhetorical craft from the position of a teacher who sets out to synthesize and improve on what he saw as flawed theories of rhetoric, the translator takes the authority of the text for granted *qua* Aristotle's authorship. This leaves no room for arbitrary interventions on his part in the first place and supports our contention that any modification the translator happens to introduce cannot have been intentional: they must be the result of technical problems (the quality of his manuscripts, scribal mistakes etc.) or his apparent lack of experience in handling a text as demanding as the *Rhetoric*.

Sources for structural mismatches

To illustrate the problems the translator had with Aristotle's style and his terse and difficult syntax, we will take a closer look at a few examples of syntactical and lexicological problems from the part of our text sample we have not analysed in detail above. We will start with an instance of misreading and mistranslation of single terms or expressions and then take a closer look at different types of syntactical problems.

Turning to the subject of "urbanities" (τὰ ἀστεῖα), Aristotle makes the following remark (1410b6f = 198/20f):

> ἐπεὶ δὲ διώρισται περὶ τούτων, πόθεν λέγεται τὰ ἀστεῖα καὶ τὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντα λεκτέον.

> ومن اجل انّا قد حددنا هذه وفصّلناها فقد ينبغي ان نخبر من اين توجد المقالات الحسان المنجحات .

The intervening καί between τὰ ἀστεῖα and τὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντα has disappeared, the translator conflates both terms into the compound *al-maqālāt al-ḥisān al-munǧiḥāt*. By combining two distinct topics into one, the translator causes some slight structural confusion; the reader could miss the switch from one topic to the next in the following discussion.

One frequent source for syntactical mismatches is the translator's problem with segmenting the text into sentences and clauses. Lacking graphical means for the division of the Greek text, he has to rely on certain particles and connectors and on his comprehension of the text.

On the subject of good prose style, Aristotle stresses the importance of ordinary language as a stylistic tool (1404b24f = 176/5ff):

> κλέπτεται δ' εὖ, ἐάν τις ἐκ τῆς εἰωθυίας διαλέκτου ἐκλέγων συντιθῇ. ὅπερ Εὐριπίδης ποιεῖ

> وهذا قد يغرّ ويخيّل امرؤ بلفظ من الكلام الجاري المتعوّد فيركّب ذلك كالذي فعل اوريفدس

The clause border modern editors have indicated between συντιθῇ and ὅπερ has slipped one word to the left. Misunderstanding Aristotle's metaphorical use of κλέπτεται, the translator ends up with a rather cryptic statement. One factor in his reading of κλέπτεται, as we have seen above, may have been his negative attitude to rhetorical procedures.

In his subsequent remarks on the character of metaphors and epithets, Aristotle observes (1405a10f = 177/11f):

δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπίθετα καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς ἁρμοττούσας λέγειν. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάλογον.

وانّما ينبغي ان يقال ايضا من الموضوعات والتغييرات ما كان مشاكلا، وان يكون ذلك بالمضادّات

The new main clause after τοῦτο is subordinated to *yanbaġī*, the δεῖ of the previous Greek clause. The missing connector in the Greek text, which should have alerted the translator to the beginning of a new sentence, is added.

In Aristotle's notes on the derivation of metaphorical expressions, we find the following sentence illustrating several translation problems (1405b15ff = 179/18–21):

ἄμφω μὲν γὰρ τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ αἰσχρόν σημαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ᾗ καλὸν ἢ οὐχ ᾗ αἰσχρόν. ἢ ταῦτα μέν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον.

فقد ينبغي هاهنا ان يضع ابدا كليهما، اعني الذي [يدلّ] على الحسن و على القبيح، وان لم يكن الحسن والقبيح، فالذي بالأكثر والأقلّ.

The confusion apparent here is in part caused by translation problems encountered prior to this quotation. The translator reacts by paraphrasing: Aristotle's assertion about words used in the construction of metaphorical expressions is shaped into a directive for their construction; the antecedent of the elliptical conditional structure after ἢ ταῦτα μέν is amplified and negated, perhaps on account of the repeated negation οὐχ ᾗ καλὸν ἢ οὐχ ᾗ αἰσχρόν.

Elliptical expressions prove to be major stumbling blocks on more than one occasion. Failing to supply the element left out in the Greek version, the translator has a hard time making any sense of the sentence in question. In this example, contained in the chapter on the appropriateness of stylistic devices, Aristotle warns against deceiving the listener by emphasizing certain words with facial expressions and vocal clues (1408b5ff = 191/7ff):

λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐὰν τὰ ὀνόματα σκληρὰ ᾗ, μὴ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ [καὶ τοῖς] ἁρμόττουσιν.

وذلك فيما ازعم لا يستعمل الأسماء الشديدة وغير الشديدة، او في مثل [ذاك] في الصوت والوجه على حسب ما يشاكل

The translator misses the conditional construction after ἐάν and misreads the predicate σκληρά as an adjectival adjunct to τὰ ὀνόματα, making up

for the missing predicate by adding *yustaʿmal*. Additionally, he puts the clause border between μή and καί. The negation is then read as an elliptical substitute for the opposite of τὰ ὀνόματα σκληρά. The second Greek clause, resting on the elliptical predicate μὴ [ἔσται], cannot be satisfactorily translated on the basis of the translator's reading; he appends its remainder to the previous clause with the connecting phrase *ʾaw fī miṯl [ḏāka]*, perhaps an amplification of καί in the Greek text. The result is an extended paraphrase rather than a translation and fails to reproduce the sense of the Greek version.

One reason for the translator's tendency to redistribute the phrases he encounters into smaller syntactical units may have been Aristotle's occasionally complicated syntax style. One instructive example occurs at the end of a passage on the rhythm of speech (1409a21ff = 194/11–14):

> ὅτι μὲν οὖν εὔρυθμον δεῖ εἶναι τὴν λέξιν καὶ μὴ ἄρρυθμον, καὶ τίνες εὔρυθμον ποιοῦσι ῥυθμοὶ καὶ πῶς ἔχοντες, εἴρηται.

> وقد ينبغي ان يستعمل في الوزن مقال حسن النبرات وليس ذاك السخيف . فامّا اناس فيجعلون الوزن كلّه حسن النبرات . امّا النبرات وبايّة حال تكون في الأوزان، فقد قيل .

The long and complex conjunctional clause framed by ὅτι and εἴρηται has been split into three independent sentences introduced by *wa-qad*, *fa-ʾammā* and *ʾammā* respectively. What should have been a unified reminder of issues already treated in previous chapters of the *Rhetoric* becomes a string of coordinate propositions. According to the Arabic version, only the last part, i.e. *al-nabarāt wa-bi-ʾayyat ḥāl takūn fī al-ʾawzān*, has been discussed before.

In the following example, both clause border and connector pose a problem. At the start of Aristotle's discussion of "urbanities" and "popular sayings" (τὰ ἀστεῖα καὶ τὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντα), we find the following reasoning (1410b9–12 = 198/23–199/3):

> ἀρχὴ δ' ἔστω ἡμῖν αὕτη. τὸ γὰρ μανθάνειν ῥᾳδίως ἡδὺ φύσει πᾶσίν ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα σημαίνει τι, ὥστε ὅσα τῶν ὀνομάτων ποιεῖ ἡμῖν μάθησιν, ἥδιστα.

> ويكون البدو فيه هذا انّ يسر التعليم لذيذ عند كلّ احد والأسماء فقد تبين عن شيء، فمهما كان من الأسماء يفعل التعليم فهو لذيذ .

The translator misses the pause after αὕτη, remodelling the following passage into a subordinate conjunctional clause. Apart from the struc-

turally irrelevant disappearance of the adverbial φύσει, he furthermore
"downgrades" the coherence of Aristotle's syllogistic argument by trans-
lating the strongly resultative connector ὥστε with the weaker *fa*.

Insertions and comments interspersed in the text are another source
of confusion. Without graphical hints as to the relation of comments
to the surrounding text such as the καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον of the next
example, it can become extremely difficult to identify the appropriate syn-
tactical relations. We are in the middle of Aristotle's treatment of similes
(1410b17f = 199/7ff):

> ἔστι γὰρ ἡ εἰκών, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, μεταφορὰ διαφέρουσα
> προθέσει. διὸ ἧττον ἡδύ, ὅτι μακροτέρως.

> والمثال على ما قد وصفنا من قبل . فامّا التغييرات التي تختلف في الفروتاسيس فهي
> لذلك اقلّ لذاذة، لانّه تكون اطول

Here, the comment καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον has been applied only to the
portion of the clause occurring before it; the rest (μεταφορὰ διαφέρουσα
προθέσει) now becomes an independent main clause. The consequence of
the statement punctuated by our comment, which Aristotle applies to the
entire proposition from ἔστι to προθέσει, only relates to the second portion
in the Arabic text after *fa-ʾammā al-taġyīrāt*.

The next two examples are part of a passage listing reasons for the pop-
ularity of rhetorical devices. The first instance deals with style (1410b28f
= 199/21f):

> κατὰ δὲ τὴν λέξιν τῷ μὲν σχήματι, ἐὰν ἀντικειμένως λέγηται

> وامّا اللفظ والمقالة فانّ شكله ان يكون بالخلاف

The second instance treats word choice (1410b31f = 199/24):

> τοῖς δ᾽ ὀνόμασιν, ἐὰν ἔχῃ μεταφοράν

> وفي الأسماء ايضا تغيير

Both examples depend on the antecedent providing the predicate of each
list member, τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐδοκιμεῖ. Again, the translator is stumped by the
Greek text's elliptical style. Without an appropriate predicate, he has to
work with what he finds in both passages. In both cases, he additionally
drops the conditional particle ἐάν. He conflates the two clauses of the first
example into an *ʾammā … fa*-construction and, in the second example,
reads the optative ἔχῃ as indicative and uses it as the missing predicate for
the clauses.

It is obvious that the translator has expended a lot of energy to understand and transfer Aristotle's reasoning as faithfully as possible. In spite of the high level of linguistic competence he demonstrates in many places in the text, several stylistic and syntactic phenomena he encounters overstrain his abilities. In a number of cases, Aristotle's terseness and his tendency to make full use of the syntactic flexibility of the Greek language are the most likely explanation for the translation failures we find in the Arabic version. A second factor is ambiguities and even outright mistakes caused by the Greek manuscript tradition, e.g. the lack of graphical markers to delimit sentences or larger textual units and of course scribal lapses. It is equally obvious that the translator sometimes does not let grammatical and syntactical obstacles stand in the way of the interpretation he has placed on the source text once he has made up his mind about the syntactical makeup and meaning of the passage he is translating.

The use of connectors and particles

Comparing the argument structure of the Greek and Arabic versions and highlighting translation issues the translator had to cope with, we found that he relied on a relatively small number of connectors and particles to comprehend and reconstruct Aristotle's thinking. Considering the importance of argument-structuring particles such as γάρ, μέν and δέ for the translation process and their role in clarifying logical relations between clauses, sentences and larger textual units, it is time to have a closer look at Greek particles and the way the translator employed the resources of the Arabic system of connectors and particles to replicate them.

The task of re-creating the argumentative subtleties achievable through competent use of Greek particles in Arabic is by no means an easy one. We will have to investigate whether the translator was aware of and able to deal with their semantical and functional flexibility. They can be used in a variety of contexts to express a wide range of logical and syntactic relationships. Handling them calls for a thorough understanding of both the Greek and Arabic system of connectors and particles and a high degree of flexibility and translational variation—unlike semantically less varied items such as nominal and verbal phrases, particles and connectors are not suited for schematic approaches such as word-by-word translation or the constant substitution with one and the same Arabic term.

Structural particles

Structural particles[127] are an ubiquitous feature of the Greek language. Almost every sentence in a Greek text is connected to the previous sentence by means of such a particle. They share one basic feature that sets them apart from most other particles: in grammatical terms, they are *postpositives*, i.e. they cannot occur as the first word of a sentence or phrase.[128] There are of course more structural particles than the four we chose for closer scrutiny, γάρ, δέ, μέν and οὖν. Taken together, however, they cover a majority of occurrences of structural particles in our text and provide us with a representative sample of Greek particles and their treatment by the translator.

In functional terms, they serve two basic purposes. Firstly, they connect grammatical and textual elements of equal weight, i.e. phrase to phrase, clause to clause or even argument to argument. Secondly, they introduce nuances of tone and emphasis affecting those elements. As such, they verbalize and underline logical connections between elements which in other languages sometimes may only be indicated by variations of tone and voice (in declamation), hence their significance for the translation process.[129]

Not the most frequent but certainly the most prominent and one of the most important structural particles for translation purposes is γάρ. It expresses what Denniston terms the "confirmative" aspect of connection. Out of the eight distinct uses of γάρ (which, as he points out, are sometimes closely related), we are interested mainly in the following:

1. "confirmatory" and "causal", giving the ground for belief or the motive for action;
2. "explanatory", explaining a preceding clause:[130] this use of structural particles could be interpreted as a more general form of the causal type;

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[127] This category is equivalent to what Denniston (1954, p. xliii–l) calls "connecting particles".

[128] As with many phenomena of Greek grammar, this rule is not without exceptions, cf. Denniston (1954, p. lviii–lxi).

[129] Denniston (1954, p. xxxix) notes that this emphasis often "cannot be appropriately translated into a modern language". As we will see below, this often applies to our translation as well. To illustrate the emphatic function of particles, Denniston points to parallels in musical notation: "the particles may be compared to the marks of expression in a musical score, which suggest interpretation rather than dictate it."

[130] Denniston (1954, p. 58).

3. "anticipatory", the order of arguments is reversed and the γάϱ-clause precedes instead of follows the clause it explains:[131] a positional variation of the explanatory type;

4. "progressive", mainly in answers, marking the transition to a new point in an argument with the speaker either suggesting a new hypothesis after discarding the one previously discussed or concluding one topic and progressing to another.[132]

Except in combination with μέν or τε for intensification, γάϱ invariably occurs as the second word in a sentence.[133]

Compared to other particles, the translational variation for γάϱ in the Arabic *Rhetoric* is relatively small. Out of nearly 137 occurrences on the Greek side of our sample, 34 (not counting mistranslations, deletions and paraphrases) are translated with a combination of ʾinna with or without pronominal enclitics, mostly preceded by *fa* (27 times), rarely *wa* (3 times). The translation thus corresponds closely to the first three uses of γάϱ listed above, the presentation of a *reason* for a preceding clause or argument, e.g. as in 1404b18ff = 175/18–176/1:

καὶ μὴ δοκεῖν λέγειν πεπλασμένως ἀλλὰ πεφυκότως. τοῦτο γὰϱ πιθανόν

ولا يظنّ انّهم يقولون بالفيوئطيّة ولكن بالموافقة، فانّ ذلك مقنع

Less frequently, we find γάϱ translated as simple *fa* (20 times) or *wa* (17 times). The causal use of the particle in the first example and its explanatory character in the second have been somewhat reduced in translation by the use of *fa* and *wa*, respectively; whereas *fa* captures part of the causal relation expressed by the first γάϱ in the following example, the second has been rendered as what Reckendorf terms an "erläuternde Beiordnung" (1406a5f = 181/3f):[134]

καὶ «κυανόχϱων τὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἔδαφος». πάντα γὰϱ ταῦτα ποιητικὰ διὰ τὴν δίπλωσιν φαίνεται.

ويسمّي قعر البحر قاني اللون، فكلّ هذه فيوئطيّة لانّهنّ مضاعفات.

In 18 cases, the causal component of γάϱ seems prominent enough to the translator to warrant the strong translation *li-ʾanna*. Its use in this case

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131 Denniston (1954, p. 68).
132 Denniston (1954, p. 81).
133 Cf. Denniston (1954, p. 95).
134 Reckendorf (1977, p. 316, 324).

is purely causal and not much different from other examples in which it has been rendered as *fa-/wa-ʾinna*; the translator might have considered the argument important enough to add some emphasis (1408b30f = 192/17–193/1):

διὸ ῥυθμὸν δεῖ ἔχειν τὸν λόγον, μέτρον δὲ μή. ποίημα γὰρ ἔσται.

فقد ينبغي لذلك ان يكون الكلام [بـ]نبرات وامّا بوزن فلا، لانّ الوزن فيوئطي

Another frequent translation is *qad* (15 times) with the *muḍāriʿ* (imperfect/present tense) in combination with either *fa* (8 times) or *wa* (7 times). The following two examples can be found at 1407b5 = 187/8ff and 1410b21ff = 199/13ff:[135]

τέταρτον, ὡς Πρωταγόρας τὰ γένη τῶν ὀνομάτων διῄρει, ἄρρενα καὶ θήλεα καὶ σκεύη. δεῖ γὰρ ἀποδιδόναι καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς.

فعلى نحو ما قسم فروطاغوراس اجناس الأسماء [ذكرا ومؤنثا] ووسطا بين ذلك . فقد يحتاج ايضا الى استعمال تلك المقولات ...

διὸ οὔτε τὰ ἐπιπόλαια τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων εὐδοκιμεῖ (ἐπιπόλαια γὰρ λέγομεν τὰ παντὶ δῆλα, ...)

ولذلك ما لا ينجح ايضا الذين يقولون التفكيرات السخيفة، وقد اعني بالسخيفة تلك التي هي مكشوفة بيّنة لكلّ احد

A comparison of these two examples with the two instances of γάρ translated only with *fa* or *wa* above reveals distinct parallels: in the first case, we find *fa* as the vehicle for the explanatory function of γάρ; in the second, *wa* introduces a parenthetical explanation for a term, explicitly marked by the use of the verb *ʾaʿnī*. It is very difficult to decide which purpose *qad* fulfils in our examples above apart from mere emphasis.

Usually, the particle *qad* has two main functions: together with *perfect* forms of the verb, it reinforces the conclusiveness of an action completed in the past. It moreover stresses the "factuality" of that action in accordance with or against previously held expectations. Together with *imperfect* forms of the verb, it either limits the scope of a proposition, e.g. *qad yaṣduq* = "he (sometimes or often) tells the truth" or simply emphasizes the verb.[136] Additionally, Georg Graf quotes several examples of a "facti-

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[135] On the meaning of this construction, cf. Reckendorf (1977, p. 301f).

[136] Cf. Reckendorf (1977, p. 301f). Wright (1967, p. 286) lists "sometimes" or "perhaps" as possible English equivalents, noting its use to indicate rarity or paucity on the one hand (*li-l-taqlīl*), but on the other hand also frequency (*li-l-takṯīr*).

tive" use of *qad* with imperfect verbal forms from early Christian Arabic literature.[137]

The translator uses *qad* very frequently. Interestingly enough, the main use, i.e. *qad* with the perfect, occurs only in about a quarter of cases: out of 128 instances of *qad* followed by a verb, only 34 appear in conjunction with a perfect form. 15 of these instances occur in the context of literary quotes Aristotle uses for illustration, most of which have been translated as literally as possible. There remains a surprising 94 instances of *qad* in conjunction with imperfect verbal forms. As we will see below, *qad* plays an important role in the translation of other Greek particles as well.

Less frequent translations for γάρ in our sample are *wa-/fa-ʾammā … fa* (5 times), *wa-ḏālika ʾanna* (4 times) and *wa-/fa-ʾinna-mā* (twice). In addition, we find isolated renderings such as *ṯumma* and *lākinna*. Compared to other particles, the number of instances in which γάρ has been left untranslated is comparably small (5 times).

So far, we can draw the following conclusions: the importance of the particle γάρ is borne out by the small range of lexical variation in the Arabic version. Except for a small number of isolated translation variants, most cases are covered by just five Arabic equivalents. In addition, non-translation happens so rarely that it seems, unlike other particles we will treat below, to be regarded as too important by the translator to be ignored. He moreover pays special attention to the particle's causal connotations: in a number of cases, they are stressed with the strong Arabic connector *li-ʾanna*. Looking at the distribution of *fa* and *wa*, either as isolated translation of γάρ or used in combination with the other Arabic renderings, we notice a strong tendency to use *fa* (58 cases) instead of *wa* (30 cases); while not exclusively causal in character, *fa* provides added stress on progression in temporal, spatial or logical relations.

Greek complements to γάρ such as μέν (7 instances) and τε (4 instances) seem to have a negligible influence on the translator's procedure. In combination with μέν, appositional γάρ retains its explanatory character but ceases to function as a conjunction.[138] Since the phrase's semantic content remains the same, the grammatical difference between single γάρ and the collocation μὲν γάρ does not prompt the translator to differentiate between the two.

With γάρ at one end of the semantic and functional spectrum of particles insofar as it fulfils a function that has to be made explicit in the

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[137] Graf (1905, p. 34).
[138] Denniston (1954, p. 67).

translation and cannot be ignored, μέν belongs to the other end of the spectrum. In isolation, it serves to emphasize and affirm an idea or focus attention on it. This function is especially prominent in the combination μὲν οὖν.[139] Occurring mostly in conjunction with a following δέ, its main purpose is to introduce the first element in a list of balanced or contrasted items.[140] These items always have to be structurally parallel; the terms, phrases or larger units connected by a μέν ... δέ-construction also have to be of equal grammatical weight. As a consequence, μέν in such a construction does not connect the element it relates to to any preceding grammatical or syntactical item: it looks forward to the next instance of δέ as its necessary complement. As Denniston points out, the strength of the contrast indicated by a μέν ... δέ-construction can vary substantially between the poles of mere coordination and strong antithesis.[141]

Both μέν and δέ can occur with or, more frequently, without article. In spite of slightly differing translations, the construction's function remains the same: to present disjunctively parallel or contrasting items of equal (grammatical) weight.[142] In addition, μέν can be complemented by other particles. We have already seen that, in combination with γάρ, any independent semantic or functional role μέν might play in isolation is, apart from general emphasis, absorbed by the semantically and functionally more potent γάρ. Accordingly, Arabic translations of the cluster μὲν γάρ do not show any difference to translations of solitary instances of γάρ.

Out of 83 instances of μέν in our sample, 10 appear in combination with an article; they will be treated below. Of the remaining 73, 8 occur in conjunction with γάρ, 19 in conjunction with οὖν. The most frequent translation for the remaining instances of μέν is, interestingly enough, omission: 16 times, the particle has been ignored altogether. The following example taken from the beginning of our sample shows how the translation of the corresponding instances of δέ has been toned down accordingly. Here, the μέν ... δέ-set expresses coordination instead of an antithetical relationship between clauses. Μέν is dropped, the two instances of δέ rendered as *wa* (1403b7f = 171/2ff):

ἓν μὲν ἐκ τίνων αἱ πίστεις ἔσονται, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὴν λέξιν, τρίτον δὲ πῶς χρὴ τάξαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου

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[139] Denniston (1954, p. 359).
[140] This use is called "preparatory" by Denniston (1954, p. 369).
[141] Denniston (1954, p. 370).
[142] Denniston (1954, p. 370f).

احداهن الاخبارين من ايّ الأشياء تكون التصديقات، والثانية ذكر الاتي تستعمل في الألفاظ، والثالثة ان كيف ينبغي ان ننظم او ننسق اجزاء القول .

Combinations of *'inna* follow in second place (7 times), preceded equally frequently by *wa* or *fa*. The translator has been at pains to explicate the logical structure by supplying particles and amplifications where the Greek version prefers a more succinct phrasing. The example shows the translator using *fa-'inna* to separate the preceding point from the co-ordinated list Aristotle presents in this passage. In this and other cases, it would probably be more appropriate to interpret *fa-'inna* as a device introduced by the translator to distinguish the entire μέν ... δέ-construction; this would mean that he does in fact omit μέν and, correctly recognizing the coordination expressed by the construction, render δέ as *wa* (1407b29ff = 188/15f):

ἐὰν μὲν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἦ αἰσχρόν, τοὔνομα λέγειν, ἐὰν δ' ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, τὸν λόγον.

فانّه ان كان قبيحا في الصفة فينبغي ان يستعمل الاسم وان كان قبيح الاسم ان يذكر الصفة

Next is the translation *wa* with 5 instances. Similar to ignoring the particle, *wa* sheds any specific structural content μέν might impart and narrows its meaning to its connective function. In this example, recurrent and interlocking μέν ... δέ-constructions have caused some slight confusion: the translator marks a new argumentative step between μέν and the following δέ, which is emphasized and rendered as *wa-'ammā*. One possible interpretation for the apparent rift between μέν and δέ in this example could be the translator's expectation that a reader would supply the missing *'ammā* at the beginning of the passage and thereby reinstate the coordinative sense it has in the Greek version (1410a26f = 198/3f):

καὶ ἀρχὴ μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἡ δὲ τελευτὴ τὰς ἐσχάτας συλλαβάς

والمبادئ فيها تكون ابدا [بالأسماء] وامّا النهايات فتكون بالمقاطع

Independent instances of μέν have been translated with *'ammā ... fa*-constructions only three times. Its relatively infrequent use for isolated μέν contrasts with its more prominent role in translating μέν in conjunction with γάρ or οὖν, which we will examine below (1403b9f = 171/5f):

περὶ μὲν τῶν πίστεων εἴρηται, καὶ ἐκ πόσων, ὅτι ἐκ τριῶν εἰσι

فامّا التصديقات فقد قيل فيها وبيّن [على] كم وجه تكون وانّها تكون من ثلاثة
اوجه

Less frequent are translations such as solitary *fa* and combinations of
qad and *ṯumma* (3 instances each) or *ʾinna-mā* (1 case). Cases of μέν in
conjunction with γάρ have already been discussed; we now turn to the
cluster μὲν οὖν.

   In isolation, οὖν as a structural particle has several functions: it em-
phasizes an action or thought, it indicates temporal or argumentative
progression or introduces the result of a preceding argument.[143] In our
sample, isolated instances of οὖν are rare; out of 28 examples, 18 take the
form of the cluster μὲν οὖν. In combination with μέν, the particle sheds
its resultative meaning and functions as a transitional connector, stresses
a prospective μέν or underlines an affirmative μέν.[144] In translation, it is
substituted remarkably often with *ʾammā*-phrases (9 times). In this ex-
ample, the progression to a new stage signalled by the phrase is replicated
with an *ʾammā … fa*-construction (1403b32f = 172/14f):

τὰ μὲν οὖν ἆθλα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων οὗτοι λαμβάνουσιν

وامّا ذوو المنازعة فيأخذون ذلك من المنازعات والمزاولات

Decidedly less common are translations with *wa* (twice) and singular in-
stances of e.g. *lākinna* or *wa-ḏālika ʾanna*. Without μέν, οὖν has been
variously translated as *fa* (5 times) and combinations of *ʾinna* (3 times)
and *ʾammā* (twice); the translator's renderings reflect the transitional and
progressive sense of the isolated particle (1404b1 = 174/22):

ἔστω οὖν ἐκεῖνα τεθεωρημένα,

فلنجعل القول هاهنا في الاتي هنّ في تعلّم هذه الحيلة

Only once in our sample does οὖν take on its second function as an adverb
of time. The translator rises to the occasion (1410b9 = 198/23):

εἴπωμεν οὖν καὶ διαριθμησώμεθα.

فلنذكر الآن هذا ونقول فيه

As with combinations of μέν and γάρ, the particle οὖν seems to have next
to no influence on the way the translator works with μέν. In semantic
and functional terms, he probably regards οὖν as even weaker than μέν, its

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[143] Denniston (1954, p. 418, 425f).
[144] Denniston (1954, p. 470–478).

function reduced to a general form of (weak) emphasis he could not or does not see fit to replicate in Arabic.[145]

The remaining group of instances of μέν are occurrences of ὁ μέν followed by ὁ δέ. Functionally, ὁ μέν and its complement are similar to their use without articles: they structure lists of equivalent items, this time by taking on the role of pro-forms denoting the items themselves.[146] Out of 10 occurrences, 4 are covered by the isolated translations *tilka, min-hu, dālika al-naḥw* and *wa-ʾammā ʾanna*. The rest is accounted for by combinations of *baʿḍ* and the use of *ḏāka* (1406a13 = 181/12f):

ἐν δὲ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν ἀπρεπέστερα, τὰ δὲ, ἂν ᾖ κατακορῆ, ἐξελέγχει

وامّا في الكلام فبعضهنّ لا تحسن البتّة وبعضهنّ ان كنّ معلومة يقيّدن

The translator is able to distinguish between the particles in the sentence and to identify and translate their different use (1405a24f = 178/8f):

ταῦτα δ' ἄμφω μεταφορά, ἡ μὲν εὐπαινόντων ἡ δὲ τοὐναντίον.

فهذاني كلاهما [تغيير]، فامّا ذاك فللمستدنّسين بالمذمومات، وامّا هذا فضدّ ذلك .

As we can see above, the translator regards μέν mostly as a marker for a generic step or a transition in an argument or, in combination with other particles, an indicator of emphasis. Arabic equivalents are varied, it is even left untranslated in a number of cases. In conjunction with other particles, it is mostly ignored in favor of the semantically stronger complement. Together with οὖν, it seems to constitute part of a group of particles signaling temporal and/or argumentative transition and progression. They are without a fixed Arabic equivalent and can be rendered into almost every Arabic particle which marks an argumentative step without specifying the nature—e.g. causal, temporal, adversative—of the connection between two elements. Unfortunately, the translator loses sight of one important function of μέν in the process: while in itself not connecting backwards, it in most cases signals the beginning of a new cluster of elements hinging on μέν and subsequent instances of δέ.

Both in terms of its frequency and its functional variety, δέ is by far the most important structural particle. Apart from its role in μέν ... δέ-constructions discussed above, it can be used as a "copulative" particle

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[145] According to Denniston (1954, p. 472), it could be argued that μέν is no more "essentially connected" with οὖν than it is in the former combination with γάρ and that, for μὲν οὖν, "the transitional force ... resides in οὖν alone".

[146] Denniston (1954, p. 370f).

connecting clauses and sentences ("and"/"also") (Denniston's "continua-
tive" function); as an "adversative" connector ("but") or, in apodoses, as
"affirmative" particle ("therefore"/"in fact"). The first two uses are what
interests us most. In the words of Denniston , "[a]s a connective, δέ de-
notes either pure connexion ... or contrast ... with all that lies between".[147]

Owing to its importance and functional variety, δέ occurs very often in
our sample. Even though the particle has, like μέν, been translated with 10
different Arabic terms and phrases—not counting its nominalized form
and omitting mistranslations, paraphrases and deletions—, most appear-
ances can be accounted for with just a small number of Arabic equivalents.
Out of 185 instances, roughly one third (60 occurrences) has been substi-
tuted with simple *wa*. In this example, both instances of δέ serve a purely
coordinating function between clauses and are accordingly rendered as *wa*
(1405a10ff = 177/11ff):

δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπίθετα καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς ἁρμοττούσας λέγειν. τοῦτο δ᾽
ἔσται ἐκ τοῦ ἀνάλογον. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπρεπὲς φανεῖται

وانّما ينبغي ان يقال ايضا من الموضوعات والتغييرات ما كان مشاكلا، وان يكون
ذلك بالمضادّات، والاّ فانّه يرى غير جميل

In the next example, the μέν ... δέ-structure has been slightly flattened to
fa followed by two instances of *wa* (1405b30ff = 180/14f):

ἀντὶ μὲν χρυσίου χρυσιδάριον, ἀντὶ δ᾽ ἱματίου ἱματιδάριον, ἀντὶ δὲ
λοιδορίας λοιδορημάτιον

فيقول مكان الذهب ذهيبا ومكان الثوب ثويبا ومكان الشتيمة شتيما

The emphasis on a sequence or list of items called for in many instances
of μέν ... δέ-constructions is provided by the second most important trans-
lation covering the second third of instances of δέ (59 occurrences), i.e.
combinations of *'ammā*, especially *'ammā ... fa*-structures (49 cases). The
second enumeration of aspects of speech in the first chapter of our sample
provides a good example for the translator's treatment of such lists. The
introductory μέν is accentuated by *fa*, the following parallel *'ammā ...
fa*-structures are added with connecting *wa* (1403b18–21 = 171/17–172/1):

τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐζητήθη κατὰ φύσιν, ὅπερ πέφυκε πρῶτον, αὐτὰ
τὰ πράγματα ἐκ τίνων ἔχει τὸ πιθανόν. δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ταῦτα τῇ λέξει
διαθέσθαι. τρίτον δὲ τούτων

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[147] Denniston (1954, p. 162).

فامّا تلك الأولى فقدّمنا النظر فيها على مجرى الطبيعة، لانّها متهيّأة في الطباع لان تكون اوّلا، اعني ان ننظر في الأمور انفسها، من اين يكون الإقناع فيها، وامّا الثانية، فوضع ذلك في اللفظ او المقالة، وامّا الثالثة فهي هذه

Added emphasis, here at the beginning of a chapter introducing a new subject, is achieved through addition of ʾinna. The translator takes his clue not exclusively from the Greek sentence, which would suggest a less pronounced transition than the structure he employs. It seems as if he wants to stress the thematic progression beyond what Aristotle himself saw fit (1408a10f = 189/13f):

τὸ δὲ πρέπον ἕξει ἡ λέξις, ἐὰν ᾖ παθητική τε καὶ ἠθική

فامّا اللفظ او المقالة فانّها تكون جميلة اذا كانت مضلّلة خلقيّة

In third place follows qad (24 times), preceded almost exclusively by wa (21 times) rather than fa (twice). As we have seen on p. 127, qad with the muḍāriʿ can both qualify an action expressed with the verb or emphasize it. It does not directly translate the particle but conveys its emphatic component and works in combination with the preceding connector and the following verb. The following quote not only illustrates the use of qad related to δέ, it also contains all the occurrences of ʾimmā … fa-constructions standing in for δέ in our sample (1408a16–19 = 189/20–23):

παθητικὴ δέ, ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ ὕβρις, ὀργιζομένου λέξις, ἐὰν δὲ ἀσεβῆ καὶ αἰσχρά, δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ εὐλαβουμένου καὶ λέγειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπαινετά, ἀγαμένως, ἐὰν δὲ ἐλεεινά, ταπεινῶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὁμοίως.

وقد ينتفع بالمقالة امّا اذا كانت بالعار والمنقصة فللغضب وامّا بالإثم والشنعة فللتوقّي والتعسير وامّا بالمدائح فللاستدراج وامّا بالمضادّ فللهمّ او الجزع، وكذلك سائر الأخر

Solitary fa plays only a minimal role in translating δέ (14 times). Adding up occurrences of wa and fa in isolation or in combination with other terms translating δέ, we arrive at a proportion of ca. 3:1 in favor of wa (wa 124 times, fa 45 times). The translator seems to regard the purely connective function of δέ as its most important feature. This does not, however, automatically mislead him into ignoring other aspects of δέ altogether. In the following example, he detects the affirmative and causative connotations of δέ and translates accordingly. Explaining the characteristics of periodical style, the text concludes (1409b1f = 195/7f):

ἡδεῖα δ' ἡ τοιαύτη καὶ εὐμαθής,

فالذي هو بهذه الحال قد يكون لذيذا يسير التعليم

Outright non-translation is an option the translator chooses comparatively rarely. The majority of cases occur in contexts which prove to be problematic to the translator and which he chooses to treat by way of paraphrase rather than word-by-word translation.

As we have seen above, the copulative aspect of δέ, which is most prominently displayed in the combination δὲ καί, is in a small number of cases reproduced with *ṯumma*. This example is drawn from the first chapter; Aristotle lists the aspects of speech already discussed elsewhere (1403b13f = 171/10f):

εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, πόθεν δεῖ πορίζεσθαι.

ثمّ قيل ايضا من اين ينبغي ان تلتمس التفكيرات

Of the remaining translations of δέ—*ʾinna* (7 times), *lākinna* (5 times), *ʾimmā* (4 times), *ʾinna-mā* (3 times) and *ġayr ʾanna* (twice)—*lākinna* and *ġayr ʾanna* merit some attention. Both strongly reflect the adversative sense of δέ and substantiate our claim that the translator is well aware of the multifunctional nature of δέ and the need to modulate his translation according the context. The first example again illustrates the high level of grammatical competence our translator brings to bear on the text. The second δέ and the following γάρ are translated with semantically strong terms to bring out their respective strong adversative and causal overtones (1406b24f = 183/23-184/1):

χρήσιμον δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, ὀλιγάκις δέ. ποιητικὸν γάρ.

وما انفع المثال في الكلام ايضا ولكن ينبغي ان نقلّ استعماله لانّه [فيوئطي]

The connector *ġayr ʾanna* has been discussed before in the structural analysis of the first chapter of Book Three (cf. p. 77); except for the two appearances in the first chapter, it does not occur again in the entire sample. We have already noted that in both cases, *ġayr ʾanna* disrupts the argumentative structure of the Greek version. Its coincidence with the negative adverbial particle οὔπω followed by δέ, both times correctly rendered as *lam ... baʿd*, might be accidental; nevertheless, this might have played a role in prompting the translator to introduce *ġayr ʾanna* in spite of its negative impact (1403b21f = 172/1f and 1403b35f = 172/18f):

οὔπω δ᾽ ἐπικεχείρηται, τὰ περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

غير انّ الحيلة في الأخذ بالوجوه لم تبتدئ ان تظهر بعد

οὔπω δὲ σύγκειται τέχνη περὶ αὐτῶν

غير انّ الصناعة او الحيلة في ذلك لم تركّب بعد

In the case of nominalized δέ, the situation is similar to that of nomi-
nalized μέν. The translator's preferences on its 8 occurrences are again
for combinations of ba'ḍ (3 times), followed by hāḍā and kaḍā (twice
each) and a single instance of hiya. The following example is especially
intriguing and deserves to be quoted in full: Aristotle discusses the com-
plementary character of connecting particles in general and μέν and δέ
in particular, something the translator comprehends well enough in his
practical work but which he fails to grasp when he finds it explained in
his source. As we can see, he does not realize that Aristotle discusses the
alternation of μέν and δέ (1407a20–23 = 185/16–186/2):

πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς συνδέσμοις, ἂν ἀποδιδῷ τις ὡς πεφύκασι πρότεροι καὶ
ὕστεροι γίγνεσθαι ἀλλήλων, οἷον ἔνιοι ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ὁ μὲν καὶ ὁ ἐγὼ
μὲν ἀπαιτεῖ τὸν δέ καὶ τὸν ὁ δέ.

واوّل الوجوه في ذلك ما قد استعمل في رباطات المنطقيّة، اذا المتكلّم جاد بها على
ما هي متهيّأة ان تكون عليه في التقدّم والتأخّر، [بعضها من] بعض، فانّ منها ما
[...] بعده، كقولك امّا ذاك وامّا انا، فهذا يقتضي كذا وكذا.

In general, the particle δέ is less frequently omitted than μέν and seems
to show a slightly smaller range of variation in terms of its Arabic equiv-
alents. Nevertheless, the translator seems to regard it as part of a class of
generic particles which in many cases leave the exact relation between the
connected elements unspecified.

    With few exceptions, δέ remains without Greek complements (or is
at least translated as an isolate) and only rarely undergoes translational
modifications due to its being combined with semantically stronger par-
ticles. The slight degree of variation away from standardized renderings,
i.e. combinations of wa, fa, 'inna, 'ammā and 'immā, can be explained by
the translator's correct identification of overtones inherent in the specific
context of the particle in the source text. He is in most cases able to detect
the particle's adversative or conjunctive aspect (e.g. in lists as opposed to
adversative arguments) and chooses his Arabic counterpart accordingly.

    Some of the stronger equivalents (most prominently ġayr 'anna) un-
derline the importance of structural particles such as γάρ, μέν and δέ for
the translator in his attempt to understand the argumentative flow of the

source text and adequately to reproduce the relations between Aristotle's arguments.

The frequency of μέν ... δέ-structures and their evident importance for Aristotle's argumentative procedure might hold the key to the confusing case of *ġayr ʾanna*: in a highly structured text such as the *Rhetoric*, replete with instances of independent μέν and δέ and frequent μέν ... δέ-constructions, the translator was probably extremely tempted to interpret adjacent instances of both particles as belonging to such a construct, especially where he had problems grasping a passage's meaning which, properly understood, would have enabled him to interpret the particles correctly. Thus, he may have related both occurrences of δέ he puzzlingly translated with *ġayr ʾanna* to previous instances of μέν as part of what he saw as an expansive μέν ... δέ-construction.

MORPHOLOGY AND TERMINOLOGY

In this subchapter, we will switch to a comparative perspective and study how a number of Greek terminological and morphological features have been handled across different Greek-Arabic translations. The issue we will discuss illustrates particularly well a recurrent translatological problem of the Greek-Arabic translation movement: the treatment of affixes and compounds in a language that does not offer comparable morphological mechanisms. The substantially different morphological systems of Greek and Arabic represent just one of a class of "systemic" dissimilarities affecting translations between Greek, Arabic and Syriac. In the case of compounds and affixes, their frequency in Greek texts irrespective of subject matter and their independence of specific terminologies make them particularly suitable for a comparison across translated texts on a wide variety of topics. Apart from their relevance for the creation of Arabic terminologies in different fields, a closer examination of this and related phenomena improves our understanding of translation methods, their differences and development over time in various texts.

A (relatively modest) sample of five Arabic translations of Greek scientific and philosophical texts covering different stages of the Greek-Arabic translation activities will serve to supplement the information we have gathered from the *Rhetoric* and to contextualize our findings with the help of evidence from other texts. The texts in question are as follows:

The Arabic translations of three of Aristotle's zoological works, i.e. the *History of Animals*, *Generation of Animals* and *Parts of Animals*, formed part

of a collection usually called *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (*Book of Animals*). It was the work of a single translator which Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* identifies as Yaḥyā (or Yuḥannā) ibn al-Biṭrīq. We have already encountered this translator, a close contemporary and collaborator of the philosopher al-Kindī.[148] While Ibn al-Nadīm's identification has been discredited, the editors of the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* have been unable to come up with an alternative name.

Drossaart Lulofs and Brugman, who consider the available bio- and bibliographical information insufficient to identify the translator, quote Gerhard Endress on the similarities between the language of the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and translations by Usṭāṯ.[149] Citing the diligence the latter usually applied to his task, they dismiss the idea that he was the translator of a text characterized by numerous deviations from the Greek source and frequent instances of literalism, amplification, deletion and paraphrase.[150] On the basis of a more detailed comparison of the textual evidence, they rate the translation as the work of a beginner compared to Usṭāṯ's mastery. Taken together with the striking similarities between the translations, they venture two hypotheses: the translation was either the work of an inexperienced Usṭāṯ at the beginning of his career or of a member of the same group of translators, applying that group's set of shared characteristics and formulae.[151]

Remke Kruk suggests a third possibility: while perhaps not member of the same group of translators, the author of the translation shares a similar background and received his training in the same surroundings. Its primitive style and conspicuous Syriacisms point to a Syriac-speaking Christian living in the first half of the ninth century. She rejects his identification with Ibn Nāʿimah al-Ḥimṣī, another member of the Kindī-circle; in spite of some resemblances between the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and a translation of Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* ascribed to Ibn Nāʿimah, the differences between the two translations are too glaring to be ignored. She also disagrees with the ascription of the text to a much later translator and member of the Baghdad Aristotelians, Ibn Zurʿah, made on the basis of a note in the *Fihrist*. Ibn Zurʿah's substantial competence as a translator is inconsistent with the numerous problems posed by the *Kitāb*

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[148] The parts corresponding to the *Generation* and the *Parts of Animals* have been edited by Drossaart Lulofs and Brugman (1971) and Kruk (1979). The latter edition was reviewed by Mattock (1980).

[149] Endress (1966, p. 133ff.).

[150] Drossaart Lulofs and Brugman (1971, p. 2ff.).

[151] Drossaart Lulofs and Brugman (1971, p. 10).

al-ḥayawān.[152] Finally, she questions the necessity of a Syriac intermediary which Drossaart Lulofs and Brugman had taken for granted: apart from a strong influence of Syriac on the language of the translator, the apparent Syriacisms of the text do not help in identifying the translator. Her conclusion is negative: the question of authorship remains unresolved.[153] The analysis of the translation's language, however, does not leave us completely empty-handed: its undeveloped technical vocabulary, inconsistent rendering of basic Aristotelian philosophical terms and the prominence of grammatical features belonging to Middle Arabic prompt her to place the text in the first half of the ninth century.[154]

The second text, the *Placita philosophorum*, was translated slightly later. It is a doxographical compendium on the Presocratics falsely ascribed to the historian and philosopher Plutarchus of Chaeroneia.[155] Again, the *Fihrist* is our first source of information. It credits Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, a Syrian Christian of Greek extraction and contemporary of al-Kindī and Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, with the work and commends his translation competence and excellent command of the Arabic language.[156] Daiber cites a number of reasons why the testimony of Ibn al-Nadīm can be trusted: in addition to similarities to other translations ascribed to Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, the text's terminology suggests a high degree of proximity to Ibn al-Biṭrīq and his colleagues and to al-Kindī, putting him close to the the Kindī-circle.[157] The resulting dating of the translation towards the mid-ninth century fits in well with Qusṭā's authorship.[158] Additionally, some of his terminology is easy to explain with his Christian background while the recurring Syriacisms of the text tally well with his knowledge of Syriac.[159]

The third text is the translation of twenty propositions from Proclus Diadochus' *Institutio* or *Elementatio theologica*.[160] While anonymous and in

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[152] Kruk (1979, p. 19).

[153] Kruk (1979, p. 22f).

[154] Kruk (1979, p. 30).

[155] The authorship of the source text for this translation is discussed in Mansfeld and Runia (1997, p. 121–125). On the value of the translation (and its edition and translation into German by Daiber 1980) for the reconstruction of the ancient doxographical tradition, cf. p. 152–161. Daiber's edition was favorably reviewed by Kunitzsch (1982), Jolivet (1983) and Strohmaier (1983).

[156] Daiber (1980, p. 3f).

[157] On the members, motivations and products of this group, cf. Endress (1997).

[158] Daiber (1980, p. 5, 7ff).

[159] Daiber (1980, p. 10ff, 14).

[160] Endress (1973) with a handful of additions and corrections suggested by Browne (1984).

parts ascribed to the much younger translator Abū ʿUṯmān al-Dimašqī (d. ca. 900), it has been associated with an older colleague of Qusṭā ibn Lūqā who also authored the translations of the zoological texts listed above, Ibn al-Biṭrīq. On the basis of a thorough analysis of the secondary sources and the text itself, Gerhard Endress tentatively assigns the translation to Ibn al-Biṭrīq; as with all such ascriptions, the evidence is not conclusive, but the text can at least safely be included among the output of the Kindī-circle.[161]

The fourth text, Themistius' commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*, poses less of a problem in terms of its authorship. According to the manuscript heading, the version edited by Malcolm Lyons represents the second translation of the Greek text produced by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (d. 910).[162] The testimony of the *Fihrist*, while ambiguous, seems to point in the same direction. It credits Ḥunayn with a Syriac translation of Aristotle's *De anima* and his son Isḥāq with the subsequent Arabic translation of the Syriac text and apparently that of Themistius' commentary as well.[163] Strong resemblances between Isḥāq's translation of *De anima* and the language of the commentary confirm this theory; in addition, Lyons notes the text's high translation standards and its clarity.[164]

Finally, another translation usually ascribed to Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn is the Arabic version of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.[165] Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* is out most important witness for his authorship. In his entry on Aristotle's ethical works, he refers to a "Book of Ethics" (*Kitāb al-ʾaḫlāq*) and a commentary by Porphyry, translated by Isḥāq.[166] The parallel report by the later historian Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 1248), while largely agreeing with Ibn al-Nadīm, credits Isḥāq's father Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq with the translation. The author of the recent edition of the text, Douglas Dunlop, sides with Ibn al-Nadīm, arguing that he is the earlier and better authority and that Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn is known for his translations of philosophical texts whereas his father made his name mostly with translations of medical

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[161] Cf. Endress (1973, p. 190ff).

[162] Lyons (1973). In his review, Manfred Ullmann (1977b, p. 133) cautiously endorses Lyons' ascription.

[163] Lyons (1973, p. viiff).

[164] Lyons (1973, p. x, xii). For additional background information on the commentary and the reception of Aristotle's *De anima* in general, see Frank (1958–1959) and Gätje (1971).

[165] Dunlop et al. (2005).

[166] The *Fihrist* passage (Flügel, 1871–1872, vol. 1, p. 252) is ambiguous and could be read to mean that Isḥāq was the translator either of the commentary or the "Book of Ethics"—or both.

works.[167] Irrespective of the association of this text with father or son, there is a consensus that it is the product of the mature phase of the Greek-Arabic translation movement.

In sum, our sample consists of five translations, three of them emanating from the circle of al-Kindī during the early decades of the ninth century and two produced toward the end of the century by one of the most prominent members of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's so-called "school" of translators, Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn. In comparing the handling of specific aspects of these texts, the following qualifications apply:

Except for the relevant part of the *Rhetoric*, for which we have compiled an exhaustive index, we rely on the thoroughness of the respective editors. Regarding the amount of references, both Daiber and Drossaart-Lulofs/Brugman and to a smaller extent Kruk offer ample material for comparison. The zoological translations edited by Drossaart Lulofs and Brugman and by Kruk form part of a collection of Aristotelian zoological works collectively translated by the same person or group of persons, enabling us to examine their terminology in conjunction. Endress' edition of the *Institutio theologica* comes with a detailed Greek-Arabic glossary which also often provides information about the context of key terms.

In spite of the sharp criticisms leveled against it by its reviewer Manfred Ullmann,[168] the—admittedly incomplete—index for Lyons' edition of the Themistius-paraphrase still seems to be substantial enough to warrant its inclusion. The glossary of Dunlop's edition of the *Nicomachean Ethics* is, as the author freely admits, very selective and only covers key philosophical terms. Unfortunately, its selectivity greatly reduces its value for the sort of statistical analysis of the texts' terminology attempted below.

Likewise, the editors had different ideas about the shape of their indices, resulting in different degrees of normalization and standardization of index items. Fortunately, this poses not much of a problem for us: those aspects of terminology and morphology we survey are independent of technical terminology employed and subjects treated in our texts and remain unaffected by normalization. Additionally, even if the sample of terms supplied by the indices does not cover the entire terminology of given texts, it constitutes a representative terminological cross section large enough to yield pertinent data.

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[167] Dunlop et al. (2005, p. 26f).
[168] Ullmann (1977b, p. 134) questions the usefulness of a glossary that is incomplete and operates exclusively with unvocalized Arabic roots; worse, Lyons ignored the context of lemmata and did not include information about the phraseology of the text.

In spite of our efforts to collect as large a terminological sample as possible, the amount of data on which we base the discussion of this and other textual aspects remains comparably small. Both the size of the sample and the way we operate with it certainly do not qualify as proper statistical procedure. On the other hand, what we intend to present are readily perceptible tendencies and trends, not precise statistical facts.

On a more general note, terminological comparisons between translations such as ours will always be beset by substantial problems. Remke Kruk warns of the hazards of identifying a text's translator on the basis of an analysis of its vocabulary and explains that a text's wording was often changed by copyists in line with their personal preferences.[169] This also applies to a certain extent to less specific characteristics such as a text's assignment to certain periods of translation activity. While Kruk was able to verify some of the characteristics of the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* with the help of a second manuscript, her note of caution is even more appropriate for our study of the Arabic *Rhetoric*, extant in only a single manuscript.[170]

Negative composites

A *privativum* or the Greek negative composite is a pervasive morphological phenomenon frequently occurring in Greek prose irrespective of its formal character and its subject matter. As a prefix of nominal, verbal and adjectival forms, it expresses opposition or negation.

To translate *α privativum*, Arabic offers a considerable number of lexical and syntactic instruments. They can be roughly classified as follows:

- Terms denoting the direct opposite of the negated word or a semantically loosely related term expressing the absence or deficiency of a given property, thus dispensing with the need for a particle to indicate negation.

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[169] Kruk (1979, p. 23).
[170] Kruk echoes the cautionary remarks by Helmut Gätje (1971, p. 32), who lists a number of important issues that affect analyses of a text's terminology as a basis for ascriptions. Conscious or unconscious linguistic variation on the part of a translator, developments in his translation technique and terminological practice and variations in the character of a translator's source texts leading to changes in his language can cause substantial problems. In addition to these "personal" causes for linguistic variation, technical factors can influence the terminological configuration of a text: modifications introduced by later translators, problems related to false ascriptions in secondary literature and other issues can make the identification of a text's translator difficult, if not impossible. More often than not, the evidence only allows negative verdicts: we can only exclude candidates rather than name an author.

- The negation particles *lā* and *laysa*. According to their combination with either nouns, verbs or adjectives, they fall into several sub-classes, the most prominent of which are *lā* with indicative verbs and *lam* with verbs in the apocopate; *lā* in absolute negation; *lā* or *laysa* with the preposition *bi* and *lā* or *laysa* with adjectives or participles.
- Periphrastic expressions with *ġayr* and nouns, adjectives or, most prominently, participles.
- Periphrastic expressions with terms other than *ġayr*, e.g. nouns such as *ʿadam* or participles such as *mufāriq*.

As we have seen above in the case of the *Rhetoric*, doublets[171] are a regular occurrence. This also applies to the other translations in our sample.[172] Unsurprisingly, they occur in the context of negated terms, too. It is not, however, the case that negation particles are shared between elements of doublets, they can be mixed or even dropped from the second element. Since we are interested in the frequency of certain particles and translation methods, each single element of a doublet is counted separately according to the negation method employed.

Our text sample from Book Three of the *Rhetoric* contains 28 unique Greek negative composites, translated with 45 unique Arabic renderings. We thus arrive at a term:translation ratio of ca. 1:1.6. Compared to the term:translation ratio of the entire terminological sample, which has 200 terms translated into 433 unique Arabic equivalents, the *Rhetoric*'s ratio is substantially lower than the average of ca. 1:2.2.

Taking negated doublets into account, we arrive at 50 negated terms, distributed over the four basic types of negation as follows: 16 occurrences or 32% for *lā*, 5 occurrences or 10% for *laysa*, 13 occurences or 26% for *ġayr* and 16 occurrences or 32% for opposites. The *lā* group in turn consists mainly of *lā* and *lam*+verb (7 times), *lā*+adjective or participle (3 times), two absolute negations, two *bi-lā* constructs and, interestingly, the only true "compound" we find in our terminological sample:

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[171] Or *Synonymhäufungen* ("synonym clusters"), a somewhat more precise term coined by Gerhard Endress (1973, p. 155): the translation of a Greek term with two or more semantically related Arabic terms. The phenomenon has recently been discussed by Thillet (1997), who has assembled a wide range of examples from different stages of the translation movement.

[172] With the apparent exception of Dunlop et al. (2005); this does not mean that the translation contained no double renderings at all, only that the key terms Dunlop chose to include were not translated with such doublets.

al-lāzamanīyāt.[173] There is not a single case of periphrastic expressions constructed with terms other than *lā*.[174]

We now have an outline of translation practices regarding *α privativum* in our sample of Book Three of the *Rhetoric*. The next step is to study the other translations in our sample and to compare the data.

The largest slice of our terminological sample comes from the *Generation of Animals* and the *Parts of Animals*. With 78 unique Greek terms to 165 unique Arabic equivalents, the texts display a ratio of Greek to Arabic terms of 1:2.1, close to the average of 2.2.

Doublets push the number of negated Arabic terms to 186, shared between the categories as follows: paraphrases and opposites, found 82 times in both texts together, account for 44% of all negated terms. Compared to the other texts whose respective shares come in between 30% and 33%, this represents a significant divergence. With only 48 occurrences and a quota of 26%, *lā* comes in a distant second. The proportion of *ġayr*, the smallest group of terms with 25 items, amounts to a mere 13%. Thus, we find not only the smallest portion of *lā* of all texts; in addition, the share of *ġayr* amounts to not more than half of what the two texts with the next highest rates, the *Rhetoric* and the *Placita*, contain. On the other hand, the quota of *laysa*, which features 31 times in the zoological texts and accounts for 17% of the negated terms, far outstrips the respective shares in the other texts, which come in at 10%, 1% and 9%.

The zoological books rely primarily on verbal expressions, which make up three quarters of the 48 instances in the *lā* category. Absolute negations follow with only 7 out of 48 occurrences, the remaining 5 instances consisting of various other types. Opposites stand out as the largest group inside the category of paraphrases and opposites. With 39 out of 82 members of the category, they cover 21% of the entire sample of negated expressions in the zoological books. Their proportion is virtually identical to that in the *Placita* at 21% and significantly lower than the respective count for the *Rhetoric* at 32%.

The *Placita philosophorum* features the same number of unique Arabic equivalents as the *De anima* (112) but a lower number of unique Greek terms (66). The resulting ratio of 1:1.7 is lower than the average but similar to the *Rhetoric*. As we will see, these are not the only parallels between the *Placita* and the *Rhetoric*.

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[173] "Non-temporal"; it translates the adjective ἄκαιρος, "ill-timed" or "unseasonable".

[174] For some examples of different translation methods applied to negative composites, cf. Panoussi (1989, p. 198f).

Due to a number of doublets, the actual count of negated Arabic terms reaches 123, distributed in a manner very similar to the *Rhetoric*. With 43 occurrences, *lā* covers 35% of the sample. Paraphrases and opposites follow with 35 items, yielding 29%. With 32 occurences and 26%, *ġayr* ranks third. Last is *laysa*, appearing 11 times (9% of the recorded cases). The similarity to the distribution of the same categories in our *Rhetoric* sample stands out: the respective shares for it are 32%, 32%, 26% and 10%.

A breakdown of the paraphrase category reveals that opposites account for 25 out of 35 items. The resulting percentage of 21% falls short of the corresponding 32% for the *Rhetoric*; furthermore, the remaining 10 items are made up of structures such as nominal or adjectival *ʾiḍāfah*-constructions which do not figure at all in the *Rhetoric*'s treatment of negative composites. Similarly, the constructions listed under the rubric *lā* show conspicuous dissimilarities. With 15 out of 43 occurrences, verbal combinations with *lā* and *lam*—the mainstay of the same category for the *Rhetoric*—play an important role; absolute negations, however, which rarely occur in the *Rhetoric*, account for the majority of cases (20 out of 43). The remaining 8 items cover several other constructions such as *lā* with adjective or participle or *bi-lā*.

The number of Greek negative composites listed in the glossary of the *Institutio theologica* is comparatively small (20). Adding up the Arabic equivalents, we arrive at 45 unique terms, resulting in a comparably high ratio of 1:2.25 Greek to Arabic terms.

The breakdown of the Arabic terminology is as follows: *lā* accounts for 30 negative composites or 65.2%, the largest proportion of all the texts. There are no translations involving *laysa*; the proportion of *ġayr*, used nine times (15.2%), is similar to that we observed in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. Opposites make up the remainder of the small terminological sample, they occur 9 times (19.6%).

In almost half of the 30 cases in which *lā* is used to render the negations, it occurs in conjunction with a verb (14 times or 46.7%). Absolute negations make up 36.7% (11 occurences) of the *lā* category, *bi-lā* is used twice (6.7%) and *lā* with an adjective or participle accounts for the remaining 3 cases (10%).

The Themistius-text includes substantially more unique negated Greek terms than our sample of the *Rhetoric*. The 86 words in question have been translated into 112 unique Arabic phrases. The rate of 1.3

Arabic to each Greek term is thus significantly lower than the average and the quota we arrived at for the *Rhetoric*.

Including an additional term contained in the single doublet used to translate a negated term, the 113 Arabic counterparts are spread across four of our groups, i.e. *lā* with 33 items (29%), *ġayr* with 42 items (37%), 20 opposites (18%) and 17 paraphrases in conjunction with elements other than *ġayr* (15%). An important difference between this text and the *Rhetoric* is the virtual absence of *laysa*, which accounts for only one translation of *α privativum*. The share of *laysa* has been inherited by *ġayr*, which takes up a percentage almost one and a half times higher than that of the *Rhetoric*.

Taking a closer look at occurrences of *lā*, we notice additional discrepancies: most prominent here are absolute negations, which account for almost two thirds of the 33 items (19 cases). Verbal constructions with *lā* and *lam* play a significantly less important role (9 cases). Likewise, opposites occur less frequently at only 18% (20 items) as opposed to the *Rhetoric*'s 32%. Conversely, we find a commensurately higher share of non-*ġayr* paraphrases, absent in the *Rhetoric*, which account for 17 translations (15%).

Thanks to its short and selective glossary, the sample of negative composites from the *Nicomachean Ethics* only contains 7 Greek terms with 20 Arabic equivalents. The resulting ration of 1:2.86 puts it somewhat outside the range of the other texts, as do the numbers in the detailed breakdown of the negations covered by the index. Since the sample is too small and unrepresentative for any useful analysis of the methods employed to translate *α privativum*, it will not be used below.

The numbers in context

The first thing we notice about this data is the wide discrepancies between term/translation ratios between texts: the *Rhetoric* comes in at the lower end of the surveyed texts; earlier translations seem to offer a larger variety of renderings to terms, whereas later ones are apparently somewhat more restricted. The *Institutio theologica* and the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, probably the earliest in the group of texts we are comparing with the *Rhetoric*, exhibit the widest range of translations for a number of central technical terms. In the former, we find words such as ἄπειρος translated by seven and ἀμερής by five different Arabic words and phrases, the latter displays an equally wide range of equivalents e.g. for ἄγονος (9 different renderings),

ἀδιόριστος (8) or ἀπεψία (6). At the same time, both texts show the highest incidence of doublets in translating Greek negative composites.

Seen in isolation, the marked prominence of doublets is not sufficient to establish relative dates of texts. They can on the one hand indicate a certain terminological immaturity of texts: the translator supplies two terms where he himself is unable to make a binding decision for a suitable Arabic term. On the other hand, they might point to a higher degree of translational sophistication: the translator employs two terms in order to transmit the semantic scope of a Greek expression as fully as possible.[175] In the case of a high degree of variation in the translation of specific terms, we can assume that the text hails from an early stage in the translation phenomenon in which the technical terminology had not yet been standardized and unified. To find this phenomenon side by side with a high incidence of doublets lends some credibility to the assumption that texts combining these two phenomena belong to an early stage of the Greek-Arabic translation movement.

Comparing the texts in our sample in terms of the quota of the different translational alternatives for negative composites, we can draw the following (very tentative) conclusions:

We find that the use of uninflected *laysa* as negation particle equivalent to *lā*, which Graf and Blau identify as one characteristic of Middle Arabic,[176] loses ground from its high point of 16% in the zoological texts, registering at only 9% in the *Placita* and virtually disappearing by the time Isḥāq translated Themistius' *De anima*-commentary. The apparent development between these translations might be read to support the scholarly consensus about the sophistication of translation techniques and the linguistic quality of the translations produced by members of the circle associated with Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq which, with the help of competent native speakers of Arabic and a general increase in the linguistic experience of the translators, has succeeded in weeding out some of the more objectionable grammatical phenomena introduced by Aramaic and Syriac

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[175] Daiber (1980, p. 30) tentatively interprets such doublets as symptoms for the translator's uncertainty in the handling of certain terms. Kruk (1979, p. 24) refrains from qualitative judgments and maintains that they served to emphasize a term or to specify its meaning. According to Endress (1973, p. 155), doublets are evidence for a translator's attempt to cover as many shades of meaning as possible for a Greek term for which there was no satisfactory Arabic equivalent. For a comparative analysis of the occurence of doublets in the translations of Proclus-texts, see p. 155–162. More recently, Pierre Thillet (1997) has discussed this phenomenon in some detail and developed a taxonomy of doublet types on the basis of examples pulled from a large variety of translated texts.

[176] Cf. Graf (1905, p. 41), Blau (1982, p. 104).

usage. The *Institutio theologica* on the other hand does not seem to op-
erate with *laysa* at all and apparently contradicts this seemingly clear-cut
trend.

Together with the depreciation of *laysa*, we observe a marked rise in the
use of translations relying on *ġayr*. Its share in the overall sample of trans-
lated negative composites grows from 13% in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and
15% in the *Institutio theologica* to 26% in the *Placita philosophorum*, reach-
ing 37% in the Themistius-commentary. Parallel to the growing impor-
tance of *ġayr*, we notice a gradual decline in the use of other periphrastic
expressions. Accounting for 44% of cases in the zoological works, they
drop to a share of slightly less than a third at the time of the *Placita*-
translation and remain at that level in the Themistius-text.

If we consider phrases negated by *lā* or *lam*, we find even more evidence
for a directional development in the treatment of *α privativum*. In each
of the texts, verbal phrases and absolute negations make up the bulk of
phrases negated with either *lā* or *lam*. Both the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the
Institutio theologica show a marked preference for verbal phrases, account-
ing for three quarters of all translations for the former and almost half in
the latter. Their share then sinks continually to only slightly more than
a quarter in the Themistius-translation. Conversely, the quota of abso-
lute negations grows from a mere 15% to 47% in the *Placita* and 58% in
the *De anima*-commentary with the notable exception of the *Institutio
theologica* in which they account for ca. 37% of all phrases negated with
lā.

The situation is somewhat different for opposites and the various types
of paraphrases. Opposites as translations for Greek negated terms are a
prominent feature of all our texts. They cover 48% of all expressions sub-
sumed under the opposites/paraphrases-section in the zoological texts.
They play an equally important role in the latest text, Themistius' *De
anima*, accounting for 54% of the items in the same category. Their
share peaks, though, in the *Institutio theologica* (100%) and the *Placita*
(71%). The remarkable prominence of opposites is accompanied by an
equally conspicuous difference between the texts regarding the distribu-
tion of noun+noun transcriptions, the second largest group of phrases
in the category under consideration. While the difference between the
Kitāb al-ḥayawān (27%) and the Themistius-text (24%) is too small to
detect any significant developments between the texts, those texts stand
in stark contrast to the *Institutio theologica* and the *Placita* with its pal-

try respective share of 0% and of 9% for the same type of noun+noun paraphrases.

Where does the *Rhetoric* fit into all of this? Starting with the ratio between unique Greek terms and unique Arabic translations, we have seen that the *Rhetoric* is situated at the lower end of the sample, between the *Placita* and the text with the lowest ratio, the Themistius-commentary. The breakdown of translation alternatives for α *privativum* reveals a number of similarities between the *Rhetoric* and the *Placita philosophorum*: both rely mainly on combinations of *lā* and *lam* with verbs with shares of 32% for the former and 35% for the latter on the one hand and opposites/paraphrases with shares of 32% and 30% respectively on the other. For both groups of renderings, the *Rhetoric* falls between the *Placita* and the *De anima*-commentary. Unlike the latter, however, the *Rhetoric* has not yet shed *laysa* and uses it to translate 10% of the Greek terms under consideration, almost on par with the *Placita* with its share of 9%.

Looking again at instances of phrases negated with *lā* and *lam*, we discover that the *Rhetoric* does not always conform to the precedent set by the *Placita*. Absolute negation, a feature that becomes widespread over the period marked by our set of text, plays a comparatively small role in the *Rhetoric* with a rate of only 13%, even lower than but very similar to the lowest limit of our comparative sample marked by the zoological works (15%). The quota of verbal constructions for our text, which amounts to 44%, is closest to the *Institutio theologica* (47%); at the same time, it places the *Rhetoric* between the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* at 75% and the *Placita* at 37%. Interestingly enough, the puzzling peaks in the distribution of the two most important classes of the opposites/paraphrases-category we have found in the *Placita*, i.e. opposites and noun+noun paraphrases, reoccur even more extremely in the *Rhetoric* and the *Institutio theologica*. In both texts, the entire category consists of occurrences of opposites and excludes any form of paraphrase altogether, somewhat similar to the findings in the *Placita* (71% and 9%, respectively).

If we accept the relative dating of the texts in our comparative sample as it emerges from internal evidence and bio-bibliographical sources and if we accept that the findings presented above, which in some cases tally surprisingly well with the datings and which place the texts on a temporal scale starting with the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the *Institutio theologica*, progressing to the *Placita philosophorum* and culminating in Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's translation of the *De anima*-commentary, re-inforce and supplement that dating pattern, we are now in a position to use our compar-

ative data from the *Rhetoric* to situate it tentatively on that chronological scale. The respective numbers for the *Rhetoric* oscillate around the data provided by the *Placita*, falling more often on the side of the Themistius-text than the zoological treatises. On the basis of the remarkable number of similarities between both texts in their handling of negative composites, we are tempted to place it in both temporal and geographic proximity to the *Placita*-translation.

Both our findings and their interpretation, however, still depend very much on the quality of the data we have used and the wide variations in the subject matter and terminology of the texts. The numbers we pulled from the *Institutio theologica* are a case in point: the terminological sample is substantially smaller than that of the other texts and possibly not representative. This might explain why it sometimes seems to contradict the findings from the other translation ascribed to the same person, the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. Also, again echoing the concerns expressed by Kruk and Gätje about using such terminological evidence to argue for the dating of a text, it could be argued that terminology was often subjected to manipulations by later readers and copyists. The relative dating proposed above therefore cannot be more than a hypothesis to be checked against other textual and extra-textual evidence. This will be our next task.

Transcription of proper names

Transcription in the Arabic *Rhetoric*

Thanks to Aristotle's habit of illustrating his discussion with abundant quotes from philosophy and literature, our sample contains its fair share of proper names. The extent of the material allows us to characterize the transcription methods of the translator of the *Rhetoric* as follows:

The translator dealt with proper names and some technical terms with the help of a "standard" transcription. The relative scarcity of exceptions suggests that he either took great care with his transcription or, more likely, that he applied pre-existing and widely used transcription standards:

- $\gamma \Rightarrow \dot{g}$: Γλαύκων $\Rightarrow$ *ġlawqūn*; but: *ǧurǧiyās* (Γοργίας)

- $\delta \Rightarrow d$: Δημοσθένης $\Rightarrow$ *dīmūstānis*

- $\theta \Rightarrow \underline{t}$: Θρασύμαχος $\Rightarrow$ *ṯrasūmāḫūs*

- $κ \Rightarrow q$: Δημοκράτης $\Rightarrow$ *dīmūqrāṭīs*

- $π \Rightarrow f$: Περικλῆς $\Rightarrow$ *firaqlīs*

- $σ \Rightarrow s$: Σοφοκλῆς $\Rightarrow$ *sūfuqlīs*

- $τ \Rightarrow ṭ$: Ἀριστοφάνης $\Rightarrow$ *arisṭūfānīs*; but: *tīlāfūs* (Τήλεφος), *mīltiādīs* (Μιλτιάδης), *al-tatīl* (ὁ Θετταλός)

- $χ \Rightarrow ḫ$: Ἀχιλλεύς $\Rightarrow$ *aḫīlūs*; but: *kabriyūs* (Χαβρίος)

The phonetic quality of the letter ξ, compounded of the distinct phonemes [k] and [s], gives rise to different transcriptions: ξ $\Rightarrow$ *sḫ* (Εὔξενος $\Rightarrow$ *Ūsḫīnūs*) or *ḫ* (Ξέρξης $\Rightarrow$ *Aḫsīras*) or *ks* (Ἀναξανδρίδης $\Rightarrow$ *Anaksāndrīdūs*).

Interestingly enough, the transcription is invariably based on the nominative form of the name (or in some cases flawed reconstructions of it). The accuracy with which the translator identified the correct form is remarkable; together with the generally consistent transliteration of consonants, it points towards a high level of experience and routine.

The *spiritus asper* is uniformly suppressed, e.g. Ἡράκλειτος $\Rightarrow$ *Irāqlīṭūs* or *Iraqlīṭus*, Ἡρόδοτος $\Rightarrow$ *Iruduṭus* or Ὅμηρος $\Rightarrow$ *Ūmīrūs*. According to Hans Daiber, the phonetic difference between *spiritus asper* and *lenis* had disappeared in the fifth century, explaining its inconsistent transcription or sometimes outright deletion in Syriac (where it is often transcribed as *h*) and Greek sources.[177]

Some terms undergo a certain degree of Arabization. Most prominent are two procedures: the addition of *tāʾ marbūṭah* to feminine placenames and the use of Arabic plural forms or paraphrases to denote people. Examples for the former phenomenon are Ἑλλάς $\Rightarrow$ *Alāḍah* or *Alādah*, Αἴγινα $\Rightarrow$ *Aǧīnah* or Σικελία $\Rightarrow$ *Siqīlīyah*. Our section of the *Rhetoric* also has an example for the transposition of the Greek adjective Μελανιππίδης, derived from the name Μελάνιππος, with the corresponding Arabic mechanism to derive adjectives from nouns, the *nisbah*, resulting in the transcription *Mīlānīfī*.

In a number of cases, the translator deviated from this pattern, e.g. by using *Isṭāmānah* instead of the previous form *Isṭāmūs* for τὰ Ἴσθμια or the "unarabized" form *ʾŪbūā* for Εὔβοια.[178] On the other hand, the translator shows remarkable competence in other places: in the case of *ʾahl al-Buwūṭīyah*, he reconstructs the appropriate placename from οἱ Βοιωτοί,

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[177] Daiber (1980, p. 45).

[178] Incidentally, the voiced pronunciation of β as represented by the Arabic *w* reflects post-classical and modern Greek usage.

leading him to the "proper" Arabized form. Moreover, the use of *tāʾ mar-būṭah* does not depend on obvious markers such as the feminine endings of the a-declination, e.g. Σαλαμίς ⇒ *Salaminah*, even though the awkward consequences of appending the *tāʾ marbūṭah* to Σαλαμίς forces him to compromise and add the suffix to the word stem.

To translate names of persons or peoples, the translator opted for paraphrase more often than outright "pluralization". Thus, we encounter numerous expressions on the lines of *ʾahl Bābil* for Βαβυλώνιοι, *ʾahl Sāmūs* for Σάμιοι or, as quoted before, *ʾahl al-Buwūṭīyah* for οἱ Βοιωτοί. This apparently also applies to singular adjectives such as Δημόκριτος ὁ Χῖος ⇒ *Tāūqrīṭus alladī min ʾahl Kiyūs*[179]—in marked contrast to cases like Ἡρόδοτος Θούριος, confidently rendered as *Iruduṭūs al-Tūrī* and Λάκων ἢ Θετταλός, which becomes *al-raǧul al-Qūnī wa-l-Tatīl*. Where we encounter plural forms such as Ἀθηναῖοι ⇒ *al-Aṭīnīyūn* or *al-Laqdaminūn* for Λακεδαιμόνιοι, they seem to point to prior knowledge on the part of the translator: there is no obvious reason to Arabize the Athenians and Spartans to the exclusion of all other Greeks appearing in our text except the fact that they are names one would in all likelihood encounter in many different Greek scientific and philosophical texts and therefore familiar enough to be assimilated.

In spite of his diligence, our translator frequently misses the mark. In a curious case of cross-linguistic "reverse engineering", he analyses a Greek term into supposed Arabic article and word body: Λάκων becomes *al-Qūnī*; the adjective Θούριος is treated in analogue manner and, interpreting the ι at the end of the stem as a *nisbah*, appears as *al-Tūrī*. Simple misreadings or manuscript problems might be the source of translations such as εἰς Ἀχαϊκούς ⇒ [*Alqiyādilṭūs*] and Δημόκριτος ⇒ *Tāūqrīṭus* or the transcription *Fūsīfus* for Σπεύσιππος. This particular reading does not need to be as unusual as it looks at first sight, later translations (e.g. the *Nicomachean Ethics*) sometimes transcribe the name as *Asfūsifus*. More common are derivations based on flawed nominative forms. Examples range from *Fīrāā* for Πειραιεύς to *Aḫīlūs* in place of Ἀχιλλεύς.

A handful of names appear over and over again. In spite of their frequency, their transcription sometimes varies, even if they are repeated in close proximity to each other. The city of Σηστός, transcribed as *Sīsīṭus*, changes to *Sīsṭūs* only a few words down the line. Πολύευκτος is introduced as *Fūlūdiqṭūs*, only to become *Fūliqṭūs* a short while later. The

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[179] The substitution of Θεόκριτος for Δημόκριτος suggests a misreading of the Greek source text.

transliterations of Εὔξενος, *Ushīnūs* and *Ūsīhīnūs*, are only one line apart in Lyons' edition. Non-standard transcriptions such as these (which occur only twice in our sample) could be regarded as rare cases of misreading or perhaps carelessness. They are not that rare, though. According to Lyons' reading, Ἀλκιδάμας occurs once as *Alqīdāmīs*, once as *Alqīdāmās* and twice as *Alqīdāmas*. We find slightly less variation in the case of Κηφισόδοτος, appearing once as *Qīfisūdūṭūs* and twice as *Qīfisādūṭūs* (read once by Sālim and Margoliouth as *Qīfisūdūdūṭūs*). For Γοργίας, we find *Ǧurǧiyās* four times and only once *Ǧurǧās*. The position of these vocalic variations in the middle of words indicates that they are not caused by varying case endings in the source text. This is borne out by a look at the original: the names cited above are transcribed from nominative forms, even where the Greek term is in a different case. The most likely reason for the variations, it seems, would be a combination of inattention on the part of the translator and scribal mistakes.

Or would it? The dwindling of quantitative differences between some vowels such as *o* and *ω* in postclassical Greek meant that they were frequently confused—with consequences not just for Greek manuscripts, but also translations based on them. In addition, the phonemic values of *υ*, *η* and *ι* became less and less distinguishable before and around the time Arab translators started to work with Greek texts.[180] These and other features of the postclassical pronunciation they most likely learned during their training or from contemporary informants could also have influenced their reading of the Greek sources and caused the seeming inconsistencies in the transcription of Greek vowels.

Also, it is not inconceivable that the translators, for the most part native speakers of a Semitic language with a consonantal alphabet (Syriac) who were working in another such language with a consonantal alphabet (Arabic) regarded the consonantal skeleton of a transcribed word, its *rasm*,[181] as more important than its vowel structure. If we simply posited that fluctuations in the vowels of transcribed terms illustrate a supposed lower standard of translation and a general lack of meticulousness by an older, less experienced group of translators, we would be hard pressed to explain the fact that those fluctuations occur with similar frequency in later, allegedly "better" translations, including those that form part of our comparative sample of texts discussed below.

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[180] Daiber (1980, p. 43f).

[181] Among other things, the term *rasm* denotes a stroke or line produced with a pen and, by extension, the shape of the unvocalized word (Gacek, 2001, p. 55, s. v. *r–s–m*).

The peculiar transcription *Ǧurǧiyās* deserves some attention. As we have seen, Greek γ is invariably transliterated with Arabic *ġ* except in the case of Γοϱγίας. Occurrences of the name in the *Rhetoric* outside our sample conform to this transliteration; apart from one variant (*Ǧāūrǧiyas*, 207/15), we find two more instances of the usual *Ǧurǧiyās* at 218/10 and 222/8. The very occurrence of a transcription that ignores rules our translator so stringently adheres to together with the relative stability of the transcription—we noted in the preceding paragraph that the name is more immune to graphological mishaps than other frequently occurring names—invites the assumption that our translator had access to translations or word lists in which the name *Ǧurǧiyās* appeared in this particular form. In this context, transliterations of other proper names which are part of the translators' daily bread and butter such as Πλάτων could be revealing. Unfortunately, we only come across his name three times in the entire Arabic translation of the *Rhetoric*, once as *Aflāṭūn* (75/22), once as *Flāṭun* (153/8) and a third time as *Flāṭūn* (184/9).

Another interesting phenomenon should be mentioned in passing: in one place, the Greek adjective Ὀλυνθιακός is correctly transposed into the corresponding noun: περὶ τὸν Ὀλυνθιακὸν πόλεμον is paraphrased as *al-ḥarb allatī kāna bi-Ulūnṭūs*.

Our short survey of transcribed terms and names in the Arabic *Rhetoric* has given us enough evidence to establish that our translator applied a consistent and transparent system of consonantal transliteration, taking Greek nominative forms as his starting point. On the other hand, many transliterated names exhibit a high degree of variation in their vocalic structure, possibly obscuring their relation for contemporary readers. These imprecisions aside, on the basis of the findings presented above, it looks more and more unlikely that the Arabic version of the *Rhetoric* dates back to the earliest days of the Greek-Arabic translation tradition. The evidence strongly suggests that our translator applied a pre-existing system of transliteration and a set of stock transcriptions of proper names. It has to be seen if this claim is borne out by findings on other aspects of translation methodology.

The comparative perspective

In his article on the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *History of Animals*, Johannes den Heijer adds an important qualification to Zimmermann's warning against the interpretation of so-called Syriacisms in transcrip-

tion:[182] he maintains that, rather than the interference of spoken Aramaic on the language of the translations, the most likely source for the retention of transcriptions based on Syriac models was the translators' familiarity with Syriac texts, replete with transcribed Greek words.[183] With this in mind, we will now turn to the question of how our translation fits into the transcription practices of the other translations in our sample.[184]

Den Heijer classifies transcription alternatives as either following the Syriac example or innovating in line with the Arabic phonetic system.[185] In the *History of Animals*, traditionally ascribed to Ibn al-Biṭrīq,[186] den Heijer finds evidence for both conservatism and innovation: with one exception, Greek π is transcribed as *b*, its nearest phonetical equivalent. The "conservative" rendering would have been *f*, the etymological and visual counterpart of Syriac *p*; since the pronounciation of *f* is not suitable to render π, it was subsequently supplanted by *b*.[187] Thus, the *Rhetoric*, in marked contrast to the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, consistently follows the conservative line.[188] This cannot be said for the *Placita philosophorum* which, with few exceptions, adopts *b* as the standard transcription for π. One exception is the name Πλάτων. Possibly due to the weight of translational precedents, it is invariably transcribed with an *f*, irrespective of other variations (i.e. the lengthening and shortening of vowels or the addition of auxiliary ʾalif at the beginning). Historical precedents are probably not at the root of the transcriptions for much less prominent names such as Πλούταρχος (*Flūṭarḫus*) and Πυθέας (*Fūṭāʾas*). Such precedents might be influencing the translator's choice only in the case of Πυθαγόρας (*Fūṭāġūras*). One is still tempted to explain this seeming inconsistency to a certain fluidity of transcription procedures preceding the standardization of transcription, committing future translators to use *b* as the fixed equivalent for π.

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[182] Cf. Zimmermann (1986, p. 114).

[183] den Heijer (1991, p. 104).

[184] Endress (1973) does not contain transcribed names. The only transcription we find is *qāṭāfasīs*, used twice for κατάφασις (cf. p. 148 for examples from *De caelo*).

[185] His analysis is based on the ideas of Rudolf Macúch (1982) and Joshua Blau (1967).

[186] For a discussion of Ibn al-Nadīm's ascription, cf. below p. 138.

[187] den Heijer (1991, p. 101).

[188] Hans Daiber (1980, p. 17) maintains that there is no need to posit an Aramaic intermediary to explain the substitution of π with Arabic *f*. He argues with the different graphemic inventories of Greek and Arabic: the lack of an Arabic grapheme corresponding to π/[p] forced the translators to choose betwen either *b* and *f*. This nevertheless does not invalidate den Heijer's suggestion that the choice for *f* over *b* in spite of the latter's relative phonetic proximity to π can be more easily explained on the basis of Syriac precedents.

But does our sample really support a hypothetical standardization away from *f* and toward *b*? The Themistius-commentary, considerably younger than the translations discussed above, stands out on account of its consistency in transcribing π as *f*—the alleged "conservative" choice. Even though this text is in all likelihood the product of the same translator who is responsible for the Arabic version of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, their transcription methods often differ. For π, the latter text alternates between *b* (13 occurrences) and *f* (10 occurrences), sometimes even for the same name, e.g. Νεοπτόλεμος (*Nāūftūlāmūs, Nāūbṭūlāmūs*) or Σπεύσιππος (*Asfūsifus, Asbūsibūs*).[189] On the basis of this—admittedly limited—sample, we are not in a position to posit a straightforward development of the transcription of π from *f* to *b*.

The translator of the *Rhetoric* takes a less conservative stance in his treatment of Greek χ. As den Heijer explains, Syriac translators customarily rendered it as Syriac *k*, covering the phonetic value of χ with the conditional aspirated pronunciation [x] of the Syriac letter. The etymological equivalent of Syriac *k*, however, is Arabic *k*, which only offers one pronunciation, [k]. Traditional transcription on Syriac lines would still render χ via Syriac *k* with Arabic *k*; the alternative, leaving the well-trodden paths of Syriac translators, is *ḫ*, which also happens to reflect the letter's medieval and modern Greek pronunciation. Regarding χ, our translation sample, with the one exception mentioned above, prefers *ḫ* to *k*, similar to the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*.[190] As before, the *Placita* reveals a higher degree of inconsistency than the *Rhetoric* and the zoological works. Together with the preponderant transcription *ḫ*, the text has two cases transcribing χ as *š*: Ἀρχέλαος (*Aršilāūs*) and ὁ Χῖος (*min ʾahl Šiyus*).

Again, it seems inappropriate to ascribe the transcriptions to the prominence of the names and their frequent appearance in this guise in Syriac or Arabic texts. Fritz Zimmermann explained the occurrence of *š*

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[189] One of the fascinating aspects of the Arabic translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* is that the ten books of the Greek original have been supplemented by an eleventh book that the medieval editor of the manuscript inserted between Books Six and Seven. In Dunlop et al. (2005, p. 55–62), Dunlop discusses the formal features and contents of this additional treatise and suggests that it might have been derived from Porphyry's commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*. He also points out the prominent terminological and stylistic differences between this book and the rest of the text and concludes that it could have been the product of a translator other than that of the remainder of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. To avoid terminological contamination between these two different constituents of the Arabic text, I have taken into account only the terminological and stylistic data from the *Nicomachean Ethics* "proper" ascribed to Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn.

[190] den Heijer (1991, p. 102).

in the *Theology of Aristotle* and the translation of Aristotle's *Sophistical Refutations* (ἐντελέχεια ⇒ *anṭalāšiyā* and Ἀχιλλεύς ⇒ *Ašilūs*) in geographical terms: they are linked to another collaborator of the Kindī-circle, Ibn Nāʿimah al-Ḥimṣī, a Syrian by birth; the local Syrian pronunciation of χ in certain combinations might be behind this transliteration.[191] However, in this and other cases of transcriptions which seem to conflict with our expectations, the phonetic differences between classical and medieval Greek offer a much more straightforward explanation. Among others, Hans Daiber pointed out that *š* faithfully reflects the contemporary pronunciation of χ when preceded by ε or ι.[192] As well as time and progress in translation methods, the linguistic, geographical and cultural background of a translator and, of course, his own translation experience have a direct bearing on his transcription practices. Finally, both the *De anima*-commentary and the *Nicomachean Ethics* use *ḫ* for χ.

The customary Syriac transcription of Greek γ, *g*, again offers two different pronunciations, palatal [g] and velar [ɣ], corresponding to Arabic *ǧ* and *ġ*, respectively.[193] Whereas the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* opts for *ġ* throughout, the *Rhetoric*, as seen above, prefers *ġ* while keeping *ǧ* in the case of *Ǧurǧiyās*.[194] The *Placita* largely conforms to the standard usage but we find a number of exceptions. Names such as Αἰγὸς ποταμοί, Διογένης, Ἐπιγένης and Σταγειρίτης are not sufficiently important and frequent in other translations to warrant special treatment. Their transcription might therefore again be due to the translator's inconsistency, in marked contrast to the Themistius-commentary and the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which employ *ġ* without exception. These findings disagree with the rule laid down by Georg Graf on the basis of a Christian Arabic manuscript from the end of the ninth century: he claimed that γ occuring before ι, η and ε would be transcribed with *ǧ*, otherwise as *ġ*.[195]

Greek τ and χ are normally rendered as *ṭ* and *q*. Both straightforwardly reflect the adherence to Syriac modes of transcription in the face of the phonetically more suitable candidates *t* and *k*. In the first case, the Syriac translators choose Syriac *ṭ* over *t* because of *t*'s conditional pronunciation [θ]; in the second case, Syriac *k* is equally unsuitable thanks to its alternative pronunciations [k] and [x].[196] It still appears on one occa-

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[191] Zimmermann (1986, p. 114), Macúch (1982, p. 18f).
[192] Daiber (1980, p. 41f).
[193] Cf. Macúch (1982, p. 18).
[194] den Heijer (1991, p. 102f).
[195] Graf (1905, p. 12).
[196] den Heijer (1991, p. 103).

sion in the zoological treatises, Θρᾷκες for *Itrākīyah*. The word is also one of two examples for θ, usually transcribed as *ṭ*, substituted with *t*. Apart from the three examples for occurences of *t* for τ cited above, the *Rhetoric* as well as the *Placita* conform to this pattern. Again, we find two examples for non-standard transcriptions for τ utilizing *t* and even *ḍ* (*ibn Māḍun* for ὁ Μέτωνος), but they are drowned out by the overwhelming frequency of the standard variety *ṭ*. Additionally, the single occurrence of *ḍ* might be blamed on a scribal mistake or a damaged spot in the Greek text; *ḍ* being employed as the *Placita*'s stock transcription for δ suggests that he could have read δ in this place as well. Conversely, θ is rendered as *ṭ* with *t* occuring in two places.

The impression of a certain carelessness is strengthened by these and other exceptions in his treatment of κ. In addition to the standard *q*, we find *k* on three occasions. With matchless consistency, the *De anima*-commentary and the *Nicomachean Ethics* opt for *ṭ* to transcribe τ. In its transcription of κ, both consistently uses *q* with the exception of three occurrences of *k* (out of a total of 38) in the latter. In both translations, θ is invariably substituted with *ṭ*.

As with the *Rhetoric*, the letter ξ poses something of a problem for the authors of the other translations in our sample. Its composition from two distinct phonemes forces them to adopt several two-letter renderings, none of which is consistently employed. In the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, *ks* is the preferred transcription. The only two exceptions in the *Parts of Animals*, *Anaqsaġūrās* in place of Ἀναξαγόρας and *Nāqsūs* for Νάξος, might be due to scribal errors. This curious treatment of ξ is the preferred variant in the *Placita* which has only one variant with *ks* instead of *qs*: *Ksānūfānis* for Ξενοφάνης. The translator of the Themistius-commentary and the *Nicomachean Ethics* consistently transcribes ξ with *ks*.

The two remaining important consonants treated differently at different stages of the Greek-Arabic translation movement are δ and σ. In the *Rhetoric*, Greek δ is uniformly transcribed as *d*. The *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* displays an even greater degree of consistency than the *Rhetoric* which switches in its transcription of Ἑλλάς from *Alādah* to *Alāḍah*. The very slight graphical difference between the two Arabic versions, differentiated only by a diacritical dot, could have been due to misreading or scribal mistake. The rule is reversed in the *Placita* which transcribes δ with *ḍ*, reflecting the spirantized post-classical pronunciation of the letter.[197] The alternative *d* occurs in three transcriptions. As for σ, we find it consistently

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[197]   Cf. Daiber (1980, p. 40).

transcribed as *s* in the *Rhetoric*. The zoological treatises also have *s* as the standard transcription, departing from it only in the *Generation of Animals* by varying the transcription twice in a single word: Λέσβος, *Lāzbūṣ*. At least the first of them can be explained by contemporary Greek pronunciation: before voiced β, σ was also voiced.

The *Placita* follows the example set by the *Rhetoric* with an unusual degree of consistency. In the case of the *De anima*-commentary, its usual thoroughness is not substantially diminished by the only transcription exceptions we find in the text. While using *d* throughout the text to render δ, in one place the translator transcribes Εὔδημος with *Ūḏīmus*. We only find *d* in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. For σ, the regular transcription in both texts is *s*—with some interesting exceptions: Ὅμηρος becomes *Ūmīruš* in the *De anima*-commentary and, with some variation of the vowel structure, the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Πυθαγόρας is transcribed as *Fūṯāġūraš* in the former, the latter uses *Fūṯāġūrīšīyūn* for Πυθαγόρειοι. Both are well-known names; their unorthodox form in these markedly consistent texts strongly suggests scribal intervention or the influence of other texts. This would have to be borne out by a comparison of several translations from the period, an undertaking beyond the scope of the present study. In addition, the *Nicomachean Ethics* has two more examples of non-standard transcriptions of σ, e.g. the interesting *Ẓāṭūrūs* for Σάτυρος and *Ṣūlun* for Σόλων.

The following table contains our findings so far (letters in brackets represent exceptions):

	Rhetoric	*Kitāb al-ḫ.*	*Placita*	*De anima*	*Nic. Ethics*
Items	80	34	130	27	134
γ	*ġ* (*ǧ*)	*ġ*	*ġ* (*ǧ*)	*ġ*	*ġ*
δ	*d* (*ḏ*)	*d*	*d* (*ḏ*)	*d* (*ḏ*)	*d*
θ	*ṯ*	*ṯ* (*t*)	*ṯ* (*t*)	*ṯ*	*ṯ*
κ	*q*	*q* (*k*)	*q* (*k*)	*q*	*q* (*k*, *f*)
ξ	*ḫ* (*sḫ*, *ks*)	*ks* (*qs*)	*qs* (*ks*)	*ks*	*ks*
π	*f*	*b*	*b* (*f*)	*f*	*b*, *f*
σ	*s*	*s* (*z*, *ṣ*)	*s*	*s* (*š*)	*s* (*š*)
τ	*ṭ* (*t*)	*ṭ*	*ṭ* (*t*, *d*)	*ṭ*	*ṭ*
χ	*ḫ* (*k*)	*ḫ* (*k*)	*ḫ* (*š*)	*ḫ*	*ḫ*

While not overly useful in isolation to help us resolve the dating issue, this information can assist us in grouping texts and clarifying relations be-

tween them. Thus, the table shows that in terms of transcriptional consistency, the translation of Themistius' *De anima*-commentary and, with the exceptions noted above, the *Nicomachean Ethics* tower head and shoulder over the rest of the texts. They are clearly the product of a translator who consciously strives for consistency and was in all probability trained in an environment which put great store on it. The *Placita philosophorum* on the other hand displays a remarkable degree of inconsistency. As will be seen below, its transcription problems do not end with numerous exceptions in the rendering of individual letters. The translators of the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the *Rhetoric* occupy the middle ground between these extremes. The number and character of exceptions to transcription rules do not detract from the overall coherence of their respective products.

Ignoring the exceptions for a moment, the agreement between all texts in their choice of Arabic equivalents for Greek letters is striking. In spite of possible interference by oral or written Syriac (and potentially Greek) usage, the consensus on a standardized system of transcription seems to emerge very early on. In our list, we note disagreement on the choice of Arabic equivalents only for two letters, δ and π.[198] The choice between *b* and *f* to substitute π has been discussed above; considering the purportedly "traditional" variety *f* chosen by Isḥāq in favor of the allegedly more "modern" *b* which has to be qualified anyhow in light of the transcription methods applied in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, we cannot but agree with den Heijer who doubts the validity of claims about a translation's age or a possible Syriac *Vorlage* on the basis of transcription methods.[199]

As is the case with the *Rhetoric*, the transcription of names does not only consist in uniformly substituting a Greek letter with an Arabic one. Translators take a few more steps to fit names into schemata familiar to their Arabic-speaking audience. Two procedures which are employed equally in all translations we have been looking at so far are the derivation of transcriptions from nominative forms of the names in question—with varying degrees of success and consistency in different texts.[200] Another phenomenon which has been mentioned above is the suppression of the *spiritus asper*. In our entire translation sample, we only find two exceptions to this rule: in the *Generation of Animals*, the *nomen gentis* ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης

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[198] The letter ξ with its two phonetic components did not lend itself easily to transcription standardization; our sample does not provide us with enough information to identify *ks* as the definitive rendering.

[199] den Heijer (1991, p. 109).

[200] Cf. Daiber (1980, p. 18f).

was rendered into *min Hiraqlah*; in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, one of the three occurrences of the name Ἡράκλειτος is transcribed as *Hiraqliṭus*.

Several names are directly translated into their Arabic equivalent. An example we find in three out of our translations is Αἴγυπτος, uniformly reproduced as *miṣr*. Αἰθίοψ is matched in the *Generation of Animals* quite fittingly with *ḥabašī*, while the *Placita* generalizes the term into *zanǧ* after correctly translating Αἰθιοπία with *ʾarḍ al-ḥabašah*. In the same text, we find the names of Greek gods substituted with their corresponding planet name, e.g. Ἄρης (*al-mirrīḫ*), Ἀφροδίτη (*al-zuharah*, also found in the *Nicomachean Ethics*) or Κρόνος (*zuḥal*). Others are both translated and transcribed, e.g. Ἑρμῆς, whom we encounter as *Irmīs* and *ʿuṭārid*, or Ζεύς, transcribed as *Zāūs* (or *Zūs* and *Diyā* in the *Nicomachean Ethics*) and translated into *al-muštarī*.[201]

One translation Daiber discusses in some detail is *ḥunafāʾ* for οἱ Δαναοί. He traces it back to the identification of Greeks with pagans in Christian discourse until the rise of Byzantium and transmitted to Syriac Christian circles. Consequently, we often find the term Ἕλληνες translated into Syriac as *ḥanpē* (pagans). Daiber interprets *ḥunafāʾ* as one more piece of evidence for Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's authorship of the *Placita*-translation.[202] It has to be added, however, that Qusṭā shared the Christian outlook implicit in this term with any number of Christian Syriac translators.

One issue that apparently was not resolved in the earlier translations is the handling of feminine (place) names (or other terms the translators took to be feminine). Unfortunately, the Themistius-text does not offer any comparative material except for one occurrence of Σικελία, which

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[201] Equating Greek gods with their corresponding planets was a frequent practice of translators, e.g. to "defuse" the polytheistic contents of their source text; cf. Strohmaier (1968, esp. p. 135f). Walbridge (1998) lists other strategies employed by Muslim writers to deal with references to Greek gods in philosophical and scientific works. Although they did not pose any substantial spiritual threat anymore, some scholars felt the need to explain such incidences in works that were too useful for them to dismiss out of hand as the scribblings of polytheists (p. 402f).

[202] Daiber (1980, p. 10). Some background information on *ḥanīf* can be found in W. Montgomery Watt's article "Ḥanīf" in *EI²*, vol. 3, p. 165f. The translator's use of the term is very much at odds with its Islamic usage: in the Qurʾān, it denotes "monotheists" (particularly Abraham) as opposed to "idolaters", *mušrikūn*. The *ḥanīf* is understood to be a true monotheist and a predecessor of the Muslims, with which he shares a "pure monotheism". In Islamic literature, it retains this meaning and is occasionally used as the equivalent of *muslim*. Christian literature employed the term as a polemical appellation of Muslims; its interpretation as "heathen" or "pagan" stems from its Syriac cognate *ḥanpē* which has the same meaning. In some Aramaean circles, the word was often used for people with a Hellenistic education. Both aspects of "paganism" and "Hellenistically educated" were probably intended in the *Placita*.

is transcribed as *Siqilīyah* with final *tā' marbūṭah*. The name was in all likelihood familiar to the translator and even before the actual conquest of Sicily, the island had been known under its fully Arabized name. The *Nicomachean Ethics*, on the other hand, exclusively operates with non-arabized transcriptions such as *'ahl Aṭīniyā* for Ἀθηναῖοι, *'ahl Sqūtiyā* for Σκύθαι and even *al-'Aḫlāq al-nīqūmāḫiyā* for Ἠθικά Νικομάχεια.

In the earlier texts, we find both the semi-Arabization obtained by adding *tā' marbūṭah* and an "unassimilated" transcription with final *ā*. In addition to the findings for the *Rhetoric* discussed above, both varieties occur in the zoological texts in contexts which indicate a certain degree of insecurity in handling geographical references. A few examples, first of "unassimilated" transcriptions: terms such as *min Qrūṭūniyā* are straightforwardly derived from the corresponding noun ὁ Κροτωνιάτης, likewise *Arqādiyā* (Ἀρκαδία) and *Ubūā* or *'Ūbūā* (Εὔβοια). The situation is less clear in the case of Σαυροματικά, which the translator apparently misunderstands as a place name and transcribed as *Sawrumāṭā*. The *nomen gentis* Σκύθαι is transcribed as *Isqūtiyā* or translated as *Turk*. Arabized transcriptions occur more frequently, e.g. *Itrākīyah* (Θρᾶκες), the aforementioned *min Hiraqlah* (ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης) or *Lūbīyah* (Λιβύη). In the *Placita*, both varieties coexist without any clear preference for one or the other. The names of countries appear in both guises: we read *Briṭanyā* for Βρεττάνια as well as *Īṭālīyah* for Ἰταλία. The criterion at work here does not seem to be the degree of familiarity of a given name with more widely known names appearing in an Arabized form; we would be hard pressed to come up with an explanation for the transcription *Arābiyā* for Ἀραβία, a placename one would have thought familar enough to be translated rather than transcribed. Daiber cites several reasons for the apparent inconsistencies in the *Placita*'s transcription system: lapses of the translator or mistakes of scribes, the difficulties of reproducing certain sounds with the Arabic graphemic inventory and perhaps the translator's attempt to take the different phonetic situation of the contemporary Greek κοινή into account.[203]

With the notable exception of Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn's translation of the *De anima*-commentary, each text is affected by two other types of transcription lapses. The first concerns the derivation of placenames from adjectives. Similar to the *Rhetoric*, they are present in both the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the *Placita*. Whereas the number of cases seems to be rather small in the zoological works, they are a regular feature of the *Placita*,

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[203]   Cf. Daiber (1980, p. 17, 19).

e.g. *min ʾahl Qīṭis* for ὁ Κιτιεύς, *min ʾahl Aqrāġantinā* for Ἀκραγαντῖνος or *min ʾahl Miliṭīyah* for ὁ Μιλήσιος. In the case of Ἰωνικός, the translator cleverly avoids the pitfalls of geographical ignorance and nonchalantly describes them as *firqat al-yūnānīyīn*.[204] Even though it is ascribed to the same translator who worked on the *De anima*-commentary, the *Nicomachean Ethics* is not entirely free from such lapses. Examples are *ʾahl Mīlasūs*, derived from Μιλήσιοι and *Sifūniyūwā* from Σικυώνιοι.

The second type of transcription lapse consists of wrongly derived nominative forms of placenames, a problem that affects the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the *Placita* to the same degree. Thus, we read *Aṭīnās* for Ἀθῆναι or *Bīrīmūs* for Πέρινθος in the *Generation of Animals* and *Aʾīḏūn* for Αἰδωνεύς or *ʾahl Sāmiyā* for οἱ Σάμιοι in the *Placita*.

The last aspect of transcription is its consistency, in its repeated rendering of names across each text. Again, the Themistius-text is almost uncannily precise in its handling of names. We do find variants even here but they confirm Isḥāq's transcriptional reliability instead of detracting from it: the variant *Arisṭū* occurs only once compared to seven occurrences of the standard *Arisṭūṭālīs*. The standard transcription for Σωκράτης, *Suqrāṭ*, appears no less than ten times, its variant *Suqrāṭīs* only once. Δημόκριτος is transcribed four times as *Dīmuqrīṭus* and only once as *Dīmuqrāṭus*. The exactitude of Isḥāq's work is thrown into even sharper relief when we consider the relative fluidity of vowels: the switch between short and long vowels to replace their Greek counterparts is common in the other translations. Isḥāq, on the other hand, works with an established set of stock transcriptions. It is therefore very tempting to explain transcriptions in the *De anima*-text which do not conform to Isḥāq's standard with transmission problems.

In terms of its terminology and consistency, the *Nicomachean Ethics* differs to some degree from the *De anima*-commentary: whereas the Themistius-commentary relies on *Arisṭūṭālīs* as its transcription of choice with only one variant, this very variant is standard in the *Nicomachean Ethics* which uses *Arisṭū* throughout (16 occurrences). The same applies to the two transcriptions for Σωκράτης, *Suqrāṭ* (preferred in the *De anima*-commentary) and *Suqrāṭīs* (3 out of 4 occurrences in the *Nicomachean Ethics*). Above, we have seen that this translation also alternates between *b* and *f* in its transcription of π, leading to variant transcriptions for one and the same name. Lastly, like the Themistius-text, this translation displays a certain flexibility in the use of long vowels to reproduce Greek vowels.

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204 Interestingly, *yūnānī* is originally derived from the term Ἴωνες, the Ionians.

In sum, it is remarkably less consistent in its transcription methods than the *De anima*-commentary.

The variability of transcription is somewhat higher in the zoological texts. Out of 34 unique personal and placenames in the *Generation* and *Parts of Animals*, 11 appear in more than one form in the Arabic text. Most of them only consist of small variations in the vowel structure of words, e.g. *Andrūnīqūs* and *Andrūnīqus* for Ἀνδρόνικος. A few involve more substantial mutations, e.g. *Irūduṭūs*, *Irudūṭūs* and *Yirūdūṭūs* for Ἡρόδοτος. Interestingly enough, such variations do not play a role in the *Placita*; whatever one might think about other aspects of the translator's transcription system, his consistency in regard to this particular detail is exemplary.

Endress mentions the transcription rules applied in all three Arabic versions of Aristotle's *De caelo* only in passing.[205] Unfortunately, it is not clear whether the information he provides applies equally to all three versions in spite of their age difference. While in general similar to the transcription system we found in the *Rhetoric*, the texts alternate between *b* and *f* for Greek π. Δ, especially in the second version (which Endress identifies as a revision by Ibn al-Biṭrīq of his own earlier translation), becomes both *d* and *ḏ*—another reflection of the two possible pronunciations of Syriac *d*, [d] and [ð]. Moreover, the translators sometimes transcribe the grammatical form they find in their text instead of "normalizing" them to their respective nominative forms. It is difficult to draw any safe conclusions from our author's preference for nominative forms. Two hypotheses spring to mind: instead of choosing the easier solution of transcribing the form as he found them in his source, he expends some effort to reconstruct the nominative as his starting point—perhaps an indicator of a more careful attitude to his task. Moreover, his more or less competent references to nominative forms might indicate a higher level of linguistic knowledge and/or translation experience.

Returning to the issue we began with, the comparative position of the Arabic *Rhetoric* in terms of the transcription of technical terms and names, we have to admit that even with a thorough characterization of the transcription system of this and other texts—at least as small a sample as we have studied—we are not necessarily better prepared to answer the two key questions: when did our translation come into being and what was the language of the source text? Unable to demonstrate any necessary link between transcription practices on the one hand and source languages and

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[205] Endress (1966, p. 73f).

translation dates on the other hand, we have to consider both in isolation for the time being.[206]

THE TERMINOLOGY

In addition to the marginal notes (discussed above)[207] which contain important information for dating the translation, its purported deficiencies and its allegedly ancient terminology are regularly cited to support a very early translation date.[208] Most commentators confine themselves to general remarks about the text's defects and allegedly undeveloped terminology which seems to correspond only too well with the dating suggested by the marginal notes.

In what follows, we will examine a terminological sample drawn from the *Rhetoric* and compare it to the control group of translations we already consulted, i.e. the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, the *Institutio theologica*, the *Placita philosophorum*, the *Nicomachean Ethics* and Themistius' *De anima*-commentary.

As in the previous subchapters, a number of qualifications apply. Firstly, the differences in the indices put certain restrictions on our comparative data. Especially quantitative data on the distribution of translation variants is not always included. Secondly, the texts deal with a wide variety of subjects and necessarily display substantial differences in vocabulary. The sample therefore does not only contain examples for rhetorical or philosophical terms but a wider sample of terms with varying fields of application. The glossaries of the Proclus-text and the *Nicomachean Ethics* in particular were less helpful than expected. Their subject matter and the relative shortness of the *Institutio theologica* sharply limit the terminological data available from these texts.

For purposes of dating and terminological comparison, our sample is undoubtedly quite small. What we have is three texts from the same translation tradition, i.e. the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, the *Institutio theologica* and the *Placita philosophorum*, all of them produced in the so-called Kindī-circle,

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[206] Unfortunately, the two most important dictionaries devoted to the language of the Greek-Arabic translations, Gerhard Endress' and Dimitri Gutas' *A Greek and Arabic lexicon: materials for a dictionary of the mediæval translations from Greek into Arabic* (Endress and Gutas, 1992–) and Manfred Ullmann's *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Ullmann, 2002–), cannot help us with transcriptions: at this point, neither traces Greek proper names.

[207] Cf. p. 50.

[208] A representative sample of quotes can be found in Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 455f).

and two translations prepared by the son of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, the *Nicomachean Ethics* and Themistius' commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*. While sufficient for a number of general observations, the indices of the last text unfortunately contains the least amount of information. Quantitative relations between different renderings of a single Greek term are not indicated. Moreover, the apparent translational consistency suggested by the pairing of one Arabic for one Greek term might not entirely be due to superior lexical tools and better training available to members of Ḥunayn's circle; Lyons' tendency to normalize index items could have led to the exclusion of translations other indices list separately.

To reduce the impact of the indices' different approaches, we will focus only on the most obvious findings. A more detailed terminological survey including a large number of texts from different periods of the Greek-Arabic translation phenomenon is still lacking. We hope that the inclusion of some additional relevant information from Gutas' and Endress' *GALex*[209] and Ullmann's *WGAU*[210] will fill some of the unavoidable gaps in this terminological survey.

Any attempt to use terminology for dating purposes relies on certain assumptions about terminological development. One of them presupposes an evolution from high terminological volatility towards a stable and less varied set of translations for technical terms. A second hypothesis posits the gradual substitution of transcribed terms and calques from Syriac in a process of continuous "Arabization". At the end of it, we find the highly detailed and specialized terminology of Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd. Both claims and the more basic idea that we can distil any information about terminological developments from extant texts in the first place in spite of the problems associated with textual history and manuscript traditions are open to criticism. While it seems prudent to view conclusions drawn from the evidence we are dealing with with a sceptical eye, we are not convinced that generations of scribes and well-meaning commentators have entirely eradicated traces of earlier terminological and phraseological strata in an attempt to "modernize" texts which did not seem to conform to contemporary grammatical and terminological standards.

On the contrary, except for attempts at improving on some of the more obvious stylistic and grammatical idiosyncrasies of earlier translations, I would hold that there probably never was any systematic attempt to

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[209] *Greek and Arabic Lexicon*, Endress and Gutas (1992–).
[210] *Wörterbuch zu den griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungen des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Ullmann (2002–), together with its first supplement (Ullmann 2006, henceforth *WGAU Suppl.*).

manipulate translations short of re-translation, i.e. older versions, even though their deficiencies were acknowledged,[211] continued to circulate in spite of their shortcomings unless supplanted by newer, improved translations. Without denying the influence of copyists, commentators and readers on the form of the text as it has reached us, I am very hesitant to give up one of the few tools we have to classify and date texts.

We will now review the issues brought up by a terminological comparison. They relate mainly to degrees of terminological variation and continuity of terms across texts.

Comparison

The first conspicuous phenomenon we encounter is the high degree of terminological variation in the *Rhetoric*. Striking examples are the Greek terms ἀνάλογος, δῆλος and παράδειγμα. In the first case, the translator relies mainly on participles and verbal nouns derived from the root *ʿ–d–l* such as *muʿādalah*, *iʿtidāl*, *mutaʿādil* and *muʿtadil*. We moreover find several collocations: *ʿalā wazn wa-miqdār*, *ʿalā wazn ʾaw al-martabah*, *istiwāʾ al-maqādīr wa-ʿtidālu-hā* and *muʿādalah wa-wazn*. This proliferation of renderings contrasts with the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* which employs forms derived from the verb *lāʾama* and the participle *muwāfiq*. The vocabulary of the *Placita* is even more limited: the translator confines himself to the phrase *ʿalā tilka al-munāsabah* and *munāsib*, both forms from the same stem of the root *n–s–b*. With the *De anima*-commentary, the range of equivalents becomes again somewhat more varied: *naẓīr*, *qiyāsī*, *mušākil*, *fī qiyās* and *mā nāba ʿan* serve to translate forms of ἀνάλογος.

The contrast between the *Rhetoric* and the other texts is more pronounced in their respective treatment of the adjective δῆλος. The *Rhetoric* operates with a wide range of terms and roots. Most prominent are expressions based on the roots *b–y–n* and *w–ḍ–ḥ*: we find the verbs *bayyana*, *tabayyana* and *istabāna* together with the collocations *bayyin wāḍiḥ* and its inverse *wāḍiḥ bayyin* as well as *istabāna wa-waḍaḥa*. The second root is represented by the participle *wāḍiḥ* and the verb *ʾawḍaḥa*. Participles from different roots are for example *muḥaqqaq*, *maʿlūm* and *ẓāhir*; we also encounter several other collocations (*makšūf bayyin*, *maʿlūm wāḍiḥ*), the verb *istaḫbara* and the phrase *bi-lā šakk*. The zoological treatises display some of the terminological richness of the *Rhetoric*: the Arabic equivalents the

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[211] Cf. some of Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's acerbic remarks on the merits of his predecessor's Arabic and Syriac translations. Especially Sergius of Rēšʿaynā is repeatedly taken to task for his allegedly poor performance (Bergsträsser, 1925, p. 5f, 7f).

translator has chosen are *mabsūṭ*, *mabsūṭ maʿrūf*, *ẓāhir*, *bayyin* and, again, the verb *istabāna*. The Proclus-translation, in which forms of δῆλος only occur twice, translates it with the collocation *bayyin wāḍiḥ* and, in conjunction with the particle δή, departs from the precedents set by the other translations by choosing *lā muḥālah ʾiḏan*. The *Placita*-translation has the verb *ẓahara* and its active participle *ẓāhir*, whereas the verbs *bayyana* and *tabayyana* are the preferred Arabic renderings for δῆλος in the *De anima*-commentary. As we can see, the concentration on a single root for the translation of the word δῆλος apparently takes place already in the Kindī-circle. To appreciate the remarkable difference between the *Rhetoric* and the other texts, we have to keep in mind that the Greek term in question is less a semantically restricted technical term than a non-technical adjective with a fairly wide field of application. This example suggests that the tendency towards a less flexible translational approach seems to set in at a relatively early date for a number of terms.

Our last example is παράδειγμα. The terminological proliferation evident in the *Rhetoric* is reduced to a single term, *miṯāl*, in the remaining translations. Interestingly enough, this Arabic translation which has been adopted as the standard rendering of παράδειγμα in our entire sample is conspicuously absent from the *Rhetoric*. Its translator tries his hand at several translations: aside from single-word renderings such as *burhān* and *dalālah*, he displays a marked preference for collocations such as *taṯbīt ʾaw waṣf* and *dalālāt wa-burhānīyāt*. Neither of them seems to satisfy him; the use of doublets suggests that he might have felt unsure about the exact meaning of παράδειγμα and/or its use in the *Rhetoric*.

Terminological proliferation is not a phenomenon unique to the *Rhetoric*. We find examples for terms with a wide range of Arabic renderings in one text compared to less variation in the other translations in each of the texts we are studying. They are, nevertheless, less frequent than in the *Rhetoric* and, more importantly, the differences between the texts are less pronounced in those cases. Two prominent examples in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* are the compound ὁμογενής and the noun πέρας. The former is paraphrased with *mutasāwī fī al-ǧins* in the *Rhetoric*. The *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* uses different paraphrases, we find *šabīh bi-ǧinsi-hi*, *munāsib bi-l-ǧins*, *muttafiq bi-l-ǧins* and *nāsib bi-l-ǧins*. With the *Placita*, translations move away from paraphrases towards single-word translations, in this case *mušābih* and *muǧānis*. The *De anima*-commentary reduces the pool of available translations to one term, *muǧānis*. Apart from its interest as an example of gradual decline of terminological variation, the transla-

tors' respective handling of ὁμογενής illustrates a second characteristic of terminological development between the texts: the assimilation of a loan word, in this case ǧins, into the morphological apparatus of the Arabic language.

The term πέρας in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* represents another interesting example of a text leaving the terminological mainstream for a completely different solution. Except for the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, the term is unanimously translated as *nihāyah*. The translator of the zoological treatises, on the other hand, experiments with terms such as *ʾāḫir*, *maḥdūd* and *ġāyah*, singly and in combination (*ġāyāt wa-ʾawāḫir*).

Apart from some of the negative compounds discussed above, the *Institutio theologica* offers few examples for conspicuous terminological variation. Whether due to its subject matter (and limited vocabulary), its comparative shortness or some other reason, the terminology of the text is remarkably stable. Even the few instances of variation—e.g. ἄπειρος, which is translated in seven different ways across the text—mostly consist of choosing different nominal and verbal forms rather than verbal roots, in this case *n–h–y*: it is translated with phrases such as *lā nihāyah la-hu*, *lā muntahā la-hu*, *lā ntihāʾ la-hu*, *ġayr ḏī nihāyah* or verbal forms such as *lā yatanāhī*. Of the 20 occurrences of the term, only one departs from this pattern (*lā ġāyah la-hu*). In its use of the root *n–h–y*, the *Instututio theologica* follows the examples set by previous translations. Translations of the adjective ἀμερής, of which there are four, rely equally on forms derived from the roots *q–s–m* and *ǧ–z–ʾ*: *lā yaqbal al-qismah wa-lā al-taǧziʾah*, *lā yataǧazzaʾ*, *lā yanqasim* and *lā ǧuzʾah la-hu*. The second of these two roots predominates also in the other two translations in which the term ἀμερής occurs, the *Placita* and the Themistius-commentary. These two are the only examples of Greek terms in the *Institutio theologica* with more than three different translations.

Prominent instances of terminological variation in the *Placita philosophorum* are also relatively hard to come by. In fact, the degree of restraint the translator practices with his vocabulary is even higher across the range of terms included in our terminological sample than that displayed by the later *De anima*-commentary. Where we find an apparently wider range of renderings of a Greek term, it turns out to be variations of a single root. The adjective λογικός has been translated as *manṭiqī* in both the *Rhetoric* and the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. The *De anima* prefers *nuṭqī* and *nāṭiq*. All of them are found in the *Placita* too, which has *nuṭq* and *qūwat al-nuṭq* in place of λογικός as well as *nuṭqī*, *nāṭiq*

and *manṭiqī*. The root *n–ṭ–q*, moreover, was employed exclusively for a small number of terms derived from the noun λόγος such as ἄλογος and λογικός: the root has, at least in the *Placita philosophorum*, become the standard source for very specific technical terms.

The *Nicomachean Ethics* contains a noticeably higher proportion of terms with a variety of Arabic equivalents. One remarkable example is the word λόγος for which the translator picked forms from no less than eight different roots. In order of their frequency, they are *n–ṭ–q* (*nuṭq*, 5 times), *f–k–r* (*fikrah*, 5 times), *m–y–z* (*tamyīz*, 3 times), *k–l–m* (*kalimah*, 3 times), *q–w–l* (*qawl*, twice) and one occurrence each for *'–q–l* (*'aql*), *'–l–m* (*'ilm*) and *q–y–s* (*qiyās*). However, such variability should not come as a surprise. Firstly, it is matched by some of the other translations, most prominently the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the *Placita* which also rely on a large number of verbal roots to translate λόγος. Secondly (and more importantly), the term λόγος has such a wide semantic range that it would be very strange *not* to a correspondingly wide variety of Arabic translations. On the contrary, it would reflect badly on the competence of a translator if he attempted to reduce the diverse meanings of the term to one or two Arabic roots in the interest of terminological uniformity.

There are few suitable examples of terminological variation in the *De anima*-commentary. Its slightly higher degree of terminological flexibility compared to the *Placita* only becomes obvious when we look at terms with just one Arabic translation in the *Placita*. For a number of them, Isḥāq uses two or even three equivalents. The noun φωνή is such a term. Its standard translation, *ṣawt*, already appears in the *Rhetoric* in addition to the less frequent *lafẓ*. While the other two texts rely exclusively on *ṣawt*, the *De anima*-commentary again takes up *lafẓ* as a minor equivalent for φωνή and varies its main translation *ṣawt* to *taṣwīt*.

We have seen that if there is a tendency towards a reduction of variety in the translation of numerous terms in our sample, it seems not particularly pronounced. While some earlier translations apparently already exercise some restraint in terms of terminological variation, the *Nicomachean Ethics* seems to buck the trend to some degree by introducing a level of terminological variation that contrasts with the terminological economy of the *De anima*-commentary. According to our findings, the fault line between terminologically promiscuous and fastidious texts cannot be drawn between pre-Ḥunayn translations on the one hand and those produced by one of Ḥunayn's associates on the other. In terms of their degree of variation, it would be more appropriate to group Isḥāq's translation of

the Themistius-commentary together with the *Placita philosophorum* and set them apart from the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. The *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Institutio theologica* would fall somewhere between those texts. Before we determine the *Rhetoric*'s place in this schema, it seems worthwhile to assemble the numerical distribution of terminological variants for a number of terms in our texts in a table.

	Rhet.	*K. al-ḥ.*	*Inst.*	*Placita*	*Nic. Eth.*	*De an.*
ἄδηλος	9	3	–	3	–	2
ἀληθής	7	2	–	1	–	2
ἀνάλογος	11	4	–	2	–	5
ἀπόδειξις	4	1	–	1	1	1
ἁρμόττω	10	2	–	1	–	2
γλῶττα	4	1	–	1	–	1
δῆλος	15	5	2	2	–	2
διάνοια	5	1	–	2	2	2
δόξα	6	2	–	2	3	1
ἕξις	5	2	–	1	3	1
μέγεθος	16	4	1	3	–	4
ὀρθός	9	6	–	2	2	1
παράδειγμα	5	1	–	1	–	1
πάσχω	22	7	5	3	–	3
πείθω	10	1	–	1	–	1
ποιητικός	7	4	2	2	–	3
σαφής	5	2	–	2	–	1
στοιχεῖον	5	1	–	2	–	1
τέχνη	5	1	–	1	2	1
ὑπερβολή	6	4	–	1	2	1
φανερός	15	7	3	3	–	4

Given the relative infrequency of terms with a higher degree of variation in the *Placita*, the *De anima* and to some extent the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Rhetoric* clearly stands out. Even in comparison with the least terminologically consistent member of our control group, the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, the *Rhetoric* still displays a remarkably high degree of variation. If we would associate terminological variation with an early stage in terminological development or with a lack of technical sophistication on the part of the translator, we would have to classify the text as either a very early product of the Kindī-circle (to which we have tentatively assigned

the *Rhetoric*) or as a text antedating the efforts of al-Kindī and his team
of translators altogether.

The results of this short survey can also serve as another reminder of
how difficult it is to assign translations to translators or argue for a certain
dating on the basis of terminological evidence. To compare terminological
samples from texts that deal with such a wide range of subjects is always
problematic, because very few technical terms are sufficiently unambigu-
ous in their meaning and field of application. The Arabic translation of
the *Nicomachean Ethics* is a good example for a text in which technical
terms are transposed onto a very different terrain. Matching these terms
inevitably smacks of comparing apples and oranges.

In addition, the criterion of terminological variation in different texts
has its own set of problems. First of all, it is not always true that less
variation can be used as an indicator for a better translation (and/or one
produced at a later stage of the Greek-Arabic translation activities). Ignor-
ing for the moment the possibility of terminological interference by later
readers and copyists, terminological variation can sometimes be a mark
of a *better* translator. To convey the nuances of a text, it is often *neces-
sary* to pick and choose from a range of possible Arabic roots and forms.
Operating with eight different roots to translate λόγος, the translator of
the *Nicomachean Ethics* demonstrates a much better grasp of the language
than one who would attempt to cut back on terminological choices in this
case. There are of course some technical terms with a sufficiently small
semantic range for which less terminological variation can be a measure
for translational competence but they have to be carefully distinguished
from a number of multivalent terms (such as λόγος) for which the opposite
is true.

In the case of the term λόγος, the variety of translations we found in
the *Nicomachean Ethics* is outnumbered not by *Rhetoric* which already
displays a wide range of Arabic renderings but the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. In
addition to collocations (*kalimah wa-mablaġ al-ʿaql*), it makes use of a
wide variety of terms derived from an equally wide range of roots: *ğawāb*,
ḫalṭah, *ḏikr*, *ṣawāb*, *ṭalab*, *ʿaql*, *ʿilm*, *qawl*, *maʿnā*, *qiyās*, *kalimah*, *kalām*,
mulāʾim and *nawʿ*. Other examples of terms unspecific enough to require
several renderings in both earlier and later texts are διαιρέω, εἶδος, κύριος,
μέγεθος, πάθος, σῶμα, τρόπος and φανερός.

To shed some more light on the relations between our texts, we will
now examine evidence for terminological continuity, exemplified by a

sample of technical and non-technical terms and their respective Arabic equivalents:

αἰσθάνομαι, αἴσθησις: Translated in all texts (except the *Institutio* in which they do not occur) with both forms I and IV of the root *ḫ–s–s*. The *Rhetoric* adds *ša'ara* on one occasion to translate the verb, the noun is rendered once with the collocation *al-ḥiss wa-l-mu'āyanah* in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the more specific expression *'ālāt al-ḥiss* in the *Placita*.[212]

αἰτία, αἴτιος: The texts switch between *'illah* and *sabab*, both of which already occur in the *Rhetoric*. Whereas the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* remains undecided between the two alternatives, the *Institutio* and the *Placita* come down on the side of *'illah* and the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *De anima* prefer *sabab*.[213] Thus, at least in our sample, there seems to be a tendency of older translations to opt for *'illah* whereas later ones largely rely on *sabab*. Additional evidence confirms this hypothesis: *'illah* is the preferred translation in the group of early translations Endress studied and compared with the *Institutio theologica*.[214]

ἀριθμός: With *'adad* as the standard translation across the sample,[215] the only variations we find are the collocation *'adad wa-nihāyah* in the *Rhetoric* and the nouns *'iddah* in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and *'iḥṣā'* in the *De anima*.[216]

γένος: All our texts opt for *ǧins*.[217]

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[212] Cf. also *WGAU*, p. 84 and *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 77.

[213] Comparing several translations ascribed to Ibn al-Biṭrīq, Arnzen (1998, p. 151) records the following findings: the second translation of Aristotle's *De caelo* (Endress, 1966) employs *'illah* except for one example of *'illah wa-sabab*; the pseudo-Galenic *In Hippocratis de septimanis commentarium* also uses *'illah* with one occurrence of *'illah wa-sabab* and two cases of *sabab*; the anonymous *De anima*-paraphrase has only *'illah*. A last text, the translation of Aristotle's *Meteorology*, displays enough deviations in terminology and phraseology to doubt Ibn al-Biṭrīq's authorship but it clearly belongs to the output of the Kindī-circle; it uses *'illah* as well.

[214] Cf. Endress (1973, p. 141ff) and, for additional examples from Galen, *WGAU*, p. 84 and *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 78. The *GALex*, vol. 1, p. 57 also records some periphrastic renderings involving *min 'aǧl* in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*.

[215] Except in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, where the term does not appear.

[216] Cf. *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 166.

[217] The term *ǧins* is the preferred rendering in two of Arnzen's Ibn al-Biṭrīq-translations as well, the *De caelo* and the *De anima*-paraphrase. The *Meteorology* has one occurrence each of *ǧins*, *ṣinf* and *naw'*, pseudo-Galen uses *ǧins* twice and possibly *ṣinf* on two other occasions (Arnzen, 1998, p. 152). The term does not occur in the *Institutio theologica*. Cf. also *WGAU*, p. 177f with numerous examples and *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 240.

δύναμις: Aside from the main translation *qūwah* which is the preferred choice in the *Institutio theologica*, the *Placita*, the *Nicomachean Ethics* (with one exception where it is translated as *ʾaʿwān*) and the *De anima*, the *Rhetoric* introduces *qudrah* and *ǧund* and the doublets *qūwah ʾaw bās* and *qūwah wa-qadr*. In the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, *qūwah* occurs on one occasion as part of the collocation *qūwah wa-stiṭāʿah*. Already in the *Rhetoric*, the conflict between *qūwah* and nouns derived from the root *q–d–r* seems more or less settled in favor of the former.[218]

ἐνέργεια: The *Rhetoric* offers both *fiʿl* and *faʿʿāl* with a marked preference for the latter. The decision between both terms seems to be in the balance in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*; the remaining two texts drop *faʿʿāl* and concentrate exclusively on *fiʿl*. The *Institutio* also has the collocation *al-fiʿl wa-l-ʿamal*.[219]

θεῖος, θεός: In the majority of cases, these terms are translated by either the definite *Allāh* or the indefinite *ʾilāh*.[220] The *Rhetoric* on one occasion uses the interesting expression *rūḥānī* which we also find in a number of early translations, e.g. the *Institutio theologica*. There, it translates both θεοί and ἀσώματος; it occurs in the same places in other early translations such as the body of Proclian texts examined by Endress. He links the appearance of the term *rūḥānī* in earlier translations with the Christian Syriac (and perhaps also Qurʾānic) usage.[221] The *Placita* in which both Greek words appear in more technical contexts than the *Rhetoric* eschews *Allāh* in favor of *ʾilāhī* for θεῖος and more specific phrases such as *al-ǧawhar al-ʾilāhī* or *al-ʾumūr al-ʾilāhīyah*; *Allāh* nevertheless figures as translation for θεός. The *Nicomachean Ethics* relies on two main translations for θεός, *al-ʾilāh* (also in the plural *ʾālihah*) and *Allāh* with two occurrences of the term *al-mutaʾālihūn* ("those who are deified" or "deify themselves"), apparently in order to circumvent the theological problems caused by translating the plural τούς θεούς.[222] In the *De*

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[218] The *GALex* gives an example from Galen's *In Hippocratis de officina medici* which translates the term with the doublet *qūwah wa-ʾaṭar*. Cf. also *WGAU*, p. 208f and *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 296f.

[219] Cf. on this doublet Endress (1973, p. 156). For more examples from medical texts, cf. *WGAU*, p. 243 and *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 355f.

[220] Numerous examples for these translations are recorded in the *GALex*, vol. 1, p. 307–316.

[221] Cf. Endress (1973, p. 127–131).

[222] Cf. Dunlop et al. (2005, p. 144, n. 97).

anima-commentary, we find both *Allāh* for θεός and *'ilāhī* for θεῖος, together with *samawī* for the latter.[223]

λογικός: As we have seen above, this adjective is rendered as *manṭiqī* in both the *Rhetoric* and the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. Remaining committed to the root *n–ṭ–q*, the *Placita* and *De anima* display more variation by picking different terms derived from the same root: *qūwat al-nuṭq*, *nuṭq*, *nuṭqī*, *nāṭiq* and *manṭiqī* in the former and *nuṭqī* and *nāṭiq* in the latter text.[224]

λογισμός: The preference of renderings based on the root *n–ṭ–q* for terms derived from λέγω/λόγος has its exceptions. This expression, which does not appear in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, is translated as either *fikr* (*Placita* and *De anima*) or alternately as *fikrah* or *fikr* (*Rhetoric* and *Nicomachean Ethics*).[225]

νοῦς: Already in the *Rhetoric*, we find *'aql* as the standard translation which remains the exclusive term in all our texts. The *Institutio theologica* stands out, because νοῦς has both a psychological and a theological component. While *'aql* remains the standard translation, proposition 167 also uses terms derived from the root *'–l–m*, e.g. *'ālim*, *'ilm* or *ḏū al-'ilm*.[226] This terminological continuity is broken by an occurrence of *fahm* in the *Rhetoric*.[227]

ὄνομα: We find the same unanimity in respect to the term ὄνομα. The *Rhetoric* uses the only non-standard translation, the collocation *ism 'aw lafẓ*, in addition to the main translation *ism*.[228]

παράδειγμα: Except for the *Rhetoric*, every text uniformly substitutes παράδειγμα with *miṯāl*. In what can perhaps be described as continuous experimentation, the *Rhetoric* uses *burhān*, *dalālah* and the collocations *taṯbīt 'aw waṣf* and *dalālah wa-burhānīyah*. The text's

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[223] In addition to terms derived from the root *'–l–h*, the *GALex* has *'abadī* (vol. 1, p. 10f). Cf. also *WGAU*, p. 292 and *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 458f, 460.

[224] The glossaries of the *Institutio theologica* and the *Nicomachean Ethics* do not have any entries for this term.

[225] Cf. also *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 638.

[226] Cf. Endress (1973, p. 138–141) for a discussion of the usage of the *Institutio theologica* and the rest of his comparative sample; he explains the partial deviation of the translator as an ad-hoc terminological decision on the basis of the context of this particular section of the text.

[227] The more technical sense with which it is used in Galen's *De anatomicis administrationibus* has been rendered as *ḏihn*, cf. *WGAU*, p. 438.

[228] Again, there are no entries for the *Institutio* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Cf. also *WGAU Suppl.*, p. 774f.

translation for the adjective παραδειγματώδης, *burhānī*, might in-
dicate the translator's preferences in his apparently inconclusive
search for a satisfactory translation. The term chosen by the other
texts, *miṯāl*, also occurs in the *Rhetoric*, but as one of several transla-
tions for εἰκών. *Miṯāl* is moreover the standard rendering for εἰκών
in the *De anima*. We also encounter it in the *Placita*, which has
ṣūrah, *miṯāl* and *timṯāl* for εἰκών.[229]

πείθω: This is one of the terms which best illustrate the differences in
terminological variation between the *Rhetoric* and the other texts.
Each of them relies on derivatives of the root *q–n–ʿ*: the *Kitāb
al-ḥayawān* has *qanaʿa*, the *Placita* *ʾaqnaʿa* and the *De anima* uses
the noun *qanāʿah*. Forms of the same root figure prominently in
the *Rhetoric* as well—we encounter *ʾaqnaʿa*, *ʾiqnāʿ* and *muqniʿ* and
phrases such as *faʿala al-ʾiqnāʿ* and *tawallā al-ʾiqnāʿ*. Additionally,
the text features more "exotic" renderings such as *ṯabbata*, *šafaʿa*,
qabila or collocations, e.g. *ʾaḏḏana ʾaw ʾaqnaʿa* or *qabila ʾaw ntahā
ʾilā*.[230]

πέρας: One example of a term rendered more variably in a translation
other than the *Rhetoric*. The *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* has *ʾāḫir*, *maḥdūd*
and *ġāyah* in addition to the doublet *ġāyāt wa-ʾawāḫir* whereas the
rest of the texts restrict themselves to the use of *nihāyah*, plus an
occurrence of *ṭaraf* in the *De anima*.[231]

ποιητής: The development from transcription to translation can be seen
in the handling of this term. In Book Three of the *Rhetoric*, it is
transcribed as *fyūʾiṭī*;[232] *šāʿir* occurs in the other two books. Both
the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the *Placita* use *šāʿir*, while the *De anima*,
in keeping with its different subject matter, has the more general
fāʿil: the ποιητής in question is a maker of all sorts of things, not
just poetry.[233]

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[229] The term does not occur in the *Institutio* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

[230] There is no entry for the term in the glossaries of the *Institutio* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

[231] This term is also absent from the *Institutio* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*. The *WGAU*, p. 513 has *ʾāfāq* (a common translation, cf. *GALex*, vol. 1, p. 234) and *ʾaqṣā* from the two translations of Galen's *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*. There are also numerous examples for the more common renderings derived from the root *ʾ–ḫ–r*, cf. *GALex*, vol. 1, p. 118f.

[232] See above for the potential significance of the transcription as a marker for a Syriac source.

[233] No entries for the *Institutio* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

στέρησις: Apart from the *Rhetoric*'s single use of *ʾiʿdām* in Book Three, the standard rendering of the term in all our texts is *ʿadam*.[234]

στοιχεῖον: For the translator of the *Rhetoric*, the standard translation *ʾusṭuquss* is only one of a number of possibilities, the most prominent of which seems to be *ḥarf*. We find it separately or in collocations such as *ḥarf ʾay ʾusṭuqussah*, *ḥarf wa-ʾaṣl*, *ʾusṭuquss ʾaw ḥarf* and *al-ḥurūf wa-l-hiǧāʾ*. With the exception of the *Placita* which has a single occurrence of *ʿunṣur*, *ʾusṭuquss* is the standard translation in the remaining texts.[235]

σύνθεσις: The term (which does not appear in the *Institutio*, the *Placita* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*) has been translated as *tarkīb* throughout.[236]

σχῆμα: The translational consensus for this term seems to emerge early on, *šakl* is the rendering of choice for each text. Slight variation is introduced by the doublets *hayʾah wa-šakl* (*Rhetoric*) and *šakl wa-ṣūrah* (*Kitāb al-ḥayawān*). The one occurrence of *šakl* in the *Nicomachean Ethics* is supplemented by one occurrence of *tašakkul*.[237]

τέχνη: As with some of the other terms, the *Rhetoric* already contains all the Arabic renderings which become standardized in other texts. Aside from the expressions *mihnah*, *ḥīlah* and *ṣināʿah*, it provides the collocation *ṣināʿah ʾaw/wa-ḥīlah*. The *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* opts for *mihnah*, the other texts favor *ṣināʿah*.[238]

φαντασία: To translate φαντασία, the *Rhetoric* employs expressions derived from different roots, most prominently *ḫ–y–l* and *w–h–m*, e.g. *taḫayyul* and *wahm* and the doublets *mutaḫayyal ʾaw mutawahham* and *taḫayyul ʾaw tawahhum*. We also find a single occurrence of

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[234] Except the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

[235] The examples compiled in *GALex*, vol. 1, p. 218f and 227 and in the *WGAU*, p. 640 also have *ḥarf*, *ʾusṭuquss* and *ʾaṣl*.

[236] Cf. *WGAU*, p. 657 and *GALex*, vol. 1, p. 291.

[237] According to Arnzen's sample, the *De caelo* and the *De anima*-paraphrase also employ *šakl*. In the *Meteorology*, the translator renders the term twice as *ǧins* and adds one occurrence each of the doublet *šakl wa-hayʾah* and the noun *qadr* (Arnzen, 1998, p. 156). The term does not appear in the *Institutio*. Examples from medical texts in *WGAU*, p. 663 show that *šakl* was the predominant translation also in this field.

[238] Ibn al-Biṭrīq's translations are slighly more consistent, he uses *ṣināʿah* in all texts compared by Arnzen. In the *Meteorology*, it is collocated with *mihnah* to *mihnah wa-ṣināʿah*; in the *De anima*-paraphrase, both *ṣināʿah* and *ṣanʿah* appear (Arnzen, 1998, p. 156). No occurrence of the term is listed in the glossary of the *Institutio*. The *WGAU*, p. 673 lists some examples from the *Sententiae* of Menander which were translated with *mihnah*, *ṣināʿah* and once with *ḥīlah*.

šahwah. The choice between the roots *ḫ–y–l* and *w–h–m* is settled in favor of the former in the *Placita* and the *De anima* (φαντασία does not occur in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*). Both texts use the verbal noun of the V. form introduced in the *Rhetoric* together with *taḫyīl* (*Placita*) and *ḫayālah* (*De anima*).[239] Interestingly, the *Nicomachean Ethics* prefers the transcriptions *fanṭāsiyā* and *fanṭāsiyāt* (3 occurrences) to the more regular terms *taḫayyul* and *yataḫayyal* (a single occurrence each).[240]

φύσις: A standard term for φύσις apparently only emerges with Ḥunayn and his associates, Isḥāq replaces the relative profusion of renderings in the other three texts with the single expression *ṭabīʿah* in the *De anima*. A certain degree of variation is still observable, though, the *Nicomachean Ethics* alternates between *ṭabīʿah* and *ṭabʿ*. The term *ṭabīʿah* already figures in the *Rhetoric*, but is accompanied by the form *ṭibāʿ* and included in the collocation *ṭabʿ ʾaw ṭabīʿah*. The *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* favors *ṭibāʿ* and, infrequently, *ḥāl* and *taqwīm*. In the *Institutio*, we find *ṭabīʿah* as the preferred translation with one occurrence of *ǧawhar*. The *Placita* uses both *ṭabʿ* and *ṭabīʿah*.[241] Part of the reason for the apparent terminological instability is the range of contexts in which φύσις occurs. Adverbial uses such as φύσει and κατὰ φύσιν are frequent in Aristotle's writings and widen the scope of the word's application far beyond its use as a technical term of natural philosophy.[242]

φωνή: The terminological consensus focuses on *ṣawt* already at the time of the *Rhetoric*, the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the *Placita*-translation. The second rendering in use in the *Rhetoric*, *lafẓ*, is again taken up in the *De anima*-commentary together with *taṣwīt*.[243]

ψυχή: *Nafs* is the standard translation ψυχή in each of our texts.[244] Greek

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[239] So also in Galen's *De elementis*, cf. *WGAU*, p. 722.

[240] The treatment of the term in translations produced in the Kindī-circle and later texts is discussed on p. 102.

[241] According to David Pingree and Syed Nomanul Haq, the authors of the article "Ṭabīʿa" in *EI²* (vol. 10, p. 25–28), the terms *ṭabīʿah*, *ṭibāʿ* and *ṭabʿ* are functional equivalents in Islamic science, philosophy and theology.

[242] Arnzen records *ṭabīʿah* for each of the three texts he credits Ibn al-Biṭrīq with. The *Meteorology* mostly uses *ṭabīʿah* as well, but also has *kiyān* (twice) and *māddah* (once). We also find four occurrences of *ṭabʿ* without attestable Greek equivalents (Arnzen, 1998, p. 157). The *WGAU*, p. 750f has numerous examples from the medical literature which operate with translations such as *ṭabīʿah*, *ǧawhar* and also *ṭibāʿ*.

[243] Neither the *Institutio* nor the *Nicomachean Ethics* have entries for this term.

[244] As it is for the Arabic translator of Menander's *Sententiae*, cf. *WGAU*, p. 785.

terms derived from ψυχή, e.g. ἄψυχος and ἔμψυχος, emphasize the role of *nafs* and the root *n–f–s*: we encounter negations such as *lā nafs la-hu* in each text for the first of these two terms. The *Rhetoric* adds some variation with phrases such as *bi-lā nafsānīyah* and *ġayr al-nafsānī*. The second term is translated as *ḏū al-nafs* in the *Rhetoric*, the remaining translations shift to the V. form and employ *mutanaffis*. The abstract noun *nafsānīyah* remains in use throughout the time covered by our sample, it figures equally in the earlier *Institutio* and the later *Nicomachean Ethics*.

Overall, we noticed a very high degree of terminological variation in the *Rhetoric* not only with derivatives from a single root; its translator often experiments with a number of different roots to translate Greek terms in different contexts. A certain amount of terminological proliferation is also evident in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*; it decreases once more in the *Institutio* and is absent in the *Placita* and *De anima*, while playing only a secondary role in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Interpreting these results, we will have to make allowances for the fact that not all of the terms we have examined are technical terms with a restricted field of application.

Bearing this qualification in mind, we still have to conclude that the results do not support a developmental schema of increasing terminological discipline leading from the *Rhetoric* via the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, the *Institutio* and the *Placita* towards the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *De anima*. What we arrive at is a group of texts deploying a very restricted set of renderings for the terms we have studied (the *Placita*, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, although with some qualifications, and the *De anima*), one text displaying an extremely high degree of variation in its terminology (the *Rhetoric*) and two texts falling between those two poles (the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* and the *Institutio*).[245]

In spite of its apparent terminological inconsistency, numerous standard terms are anticipated by the *Rhetoric*, often mixed with translations which were dropped in other texts. In many cases, we notice complete agreement between the *Rhetoric* and the other texts, even though the former is often less consistent in the application of terminological standards. The *Rhetoric* substantially departs from the terminology of the other translations on only a few occasions; the same phenomenon is, at least to a certain degree, also evident in the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*.

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[245] The classification of the last text is for the reasons listed above—specialized subject matter, restricted vocabulary, relative shortness—only tentative.

The transition from transcription to translation of technical terms is not a very prominent feature of the terminological sample under consideration. If we add evidence from other terms not included (i.e. those not occuring in all of our texts), it is more conspicuous in the *Rhetoric* than in any other text.

If we adopt the (problematic) assumption that degrees of terminological variation indicate chronological stages in the evolution of the translation movement, we have to conclude that the *Rhetoric* represents a level of terminological development that precedes not only the *Institutio*, the *Placita*, the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *De anima*, but clearly also the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*. Apparently unguided by the compass of a fully developed terminology, the translator moves through his difficult source text with a fair amount of experimentation. The fact that he surprisingly often settles for translations that are part of the standardized terminology of other texts suggests that he was probably not entirely helpless: the *Rhetoric* in all likelihood marks not the beginning of terminological evolution for the majority of the Greek terms we have studied but represents an already highly developed stage of it. Moreover, the parallels in vocabulary we have found between the *Rhetoric* and the other translations produced in the Kindī-circle strongly suggest more than pure coincidence.

In sophistication and consistency, it clearly cannot compete with the *Institutio* or the polished *Placita*-translation, let alone the much superior texts ascribed to Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn. Even the *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* with its frequent inconsistencies and occasional terminological lapses is overall a better translation. Before rashly condemning the translator of the *Rhetoric*, however, we should remember that he tried his hand at a very difficult text. We can only speculate how much additional problems such as the condition of his Greek manuscript(s) or the quality of whatever Syriac translation he might have consulted complicated his task. Keeping these factors in mind, the evidence seems to confirm our previous hypothesis that the *Rhetoric* belongs to the output of the Kindī-circle (cf. p. 150). My initial chronological placement of the *Rhetoric* in proximity of the *Placita*-translation is, however, not borne out by our results. On the basis of the evidence we have collected so far, it seems more prudent to limit ourselves to the more general claim that the translation belongs to the output the Kindī-circle without attempting to place it in a relative chronology of translations produced by members of this group.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RECEPTION OF THE ARABIC TRANSLATION

INTRODUCTION

Although crucial for the process of transmitting knowledge from one culture to another, the translation of a text is only a first step. Sometimes, for a variety of reasons, the process stalls and translations leave little or no traces in the literature of the target culture: new ideas do not address the concerns of contemporary readers; the original author or the contents of a text are regarded as alien or suspected of challenging or undermining native traditions; or a translation is simply too flawed or obscure to attract any attention. To some degree, all of these points applied to the Arabic *Rhetoric*. The text discussed issues that clearly lay outside the cultural frame of reference of its audience—there was no immediately obvious Islamic equivalent to the rhetorical genres Aristotle discussed. At the same time, the *Rhetoric* was associated with the field of logic, one of the domains of the philosophers and as such highly suspect in the eyes of many scholars of the time. It also encroached on the nascent field of Islamic rhetoric, *balāġah*. Lastly, its very obscurity and translational deficiencies limited its appeal.

In spite of these substantial problems, the Arabic *Rhetoric* found an audience and was read, commented on and incorporated into Islamic philosophical, scientific and even theological thought. Interestingly enough, this text, which had not been as extensively commented on in antiquity as most other Aristotelian writings, experienced quite a renaissance in the Islamic tradition.[1] As we will see, the cornerstone of this reception process was less the translated text itself than a number of commentaries written by the major philosophical figures of the tenth to twelfth centuries, al-Fārābī (d. 950), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) and Ibn Rušd (d. 1198). To understand their procedure, the character of the commentaries they produced and the impact they had on subsequent Islamic scholars and their use of Aristotelian rhetoric, we introduce this chapter with a few remarks on the forms Arabic philosophical commentaries took.

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[1] Aouad and Rashed (1997, p. 43f).

The art of writing philosophical commentaries and the different forms involved were transmitted to Muslim philosophers by way of the same tradition that gave them the original texts: late antique Hellenism. Mostly uninterrupted by the Muslim conquests of the seventh century, the Christian educational system in Syria where the (mostly Christian) translators of antique philosophical and scientific works were schooled also preserved the texts and methods of the Greek scholars of Alexandria and other centers of scientific and philosophical teaching. Thus, the translators and, through them, later philosophers and scientists inherited a centuries-old system of reading and interpreting such texts.[2] For two important reasons, however, the character of and terminology for commentary genres remained in flux throughout the period we are looking at: firstly, logic (which included rhetoric) was taught outside formal educational institutions which would have enforced a certain level of standardization in terms of terminology and genre; and, secondly, without the restrictions imposed by a rigidly enforced tradition, philosophers were unencumbered by precedents and experimented freely with different literary forms. Therefore, while we are still able to discern a number of relatively stable genres of commentary writings, they frequently overlap and are often known by different names.[3]

Among the Arabic writings on the *Rhetoric*, these are the most important genres we encounter:

- The *Long Commentary*, often called *šarḥ* (or, more generically, *tafsīr*), a genre that ranges from long, detailed commentaries closely following the wording of the original text to shorter, paraphrasing interpretations.[4]
- The *Medium Commentary* or *talḫīṣ*, an exposition of the subject matter of a text, later understood to mean a summary. Dimitri Gutas points out that the difference between this genre (especially in the understanding of Ibn Rušd, who frequently uses this and related terms) and the *ǧawāmiʿ* ("summary", see below) is one of purpose rather than form: the former denotes an exposition (purpose), the latter a compact summary (form). This explains why Ibn Rušd occasionally uses both terms for the same text.[5]

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[2] Cf. Gutas (1993, p. 43f).

[3] Gutas (1993, p. 31f,).

[4] Cf. Gutas (1993, p. 33ff).

[5] Gutas (1993, 38–43).

- The *abridgement*, often called *muḫtaṣar*, a textual genre of variable length that largely adheres to the wording of the original text. The boundaries between a short *šarḥ* and a *muḫtaṣar* are not always obvious; most of the time, the label was applied by later scholars trying to categorize the writings of the commentators.[6]
- The *Short Commentary* or *ǧawāmiʿ*, at first used only in connection with the works of Galen and later in a more general fashion for short verbatim extracts or summaries of works.[7]

In addition to explicit commentaries in these and other forms, the Arabic *Rhetoric* has left its imprint on a substantial number of original writings on subjects as varied as rhetoric, political theory, literary criticism and even theories of prophecy. The following survey will concentrate on some of the most important figures in the Muslim reception of the Arabic *Rhetoric* and its subsequent transmission into other languages, specifically Hebrew and Latin. It is arranged by centuries, concentrating on the works of the major philosophical authorities of the day and tracing their influence on their contemporaries and successors.

THE NINTH CENTURY: FIRST ENCOUNTERS

The evidence presented in the previous chapters indicates that the Arabic translation of the *Rhetoric* was a product of the ninth century, possibly the work of a translator belonging to or at least working around the same time as the members of the so-called "Kindī-circle". The members of this loosely-knit group of translators, focusing mostly on philosophical texts, produced the corpus of Arabic translations used by the philosopher al-Kindī.[8]

In spite of the similarities between the Arabic *Rhetoric* and the translations of the Kindī-circle and the likelihood of a link between its author and the translators sponsored by al-Kindī, however, the works of the latter give us no reason to think that he knew of the translation (or an Arabic epitome of the text) or was even much interested in it. Commentaries on or summaries of the *Rhetoric* or on an alleged antique commentary on the *Rhetoric* by Alexander of Aphrodisias (d. early third century)[9] he was

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[6] Gutas (1993, p. 35f).
[7] Gutas (1993, p. 37f).
[8] For an in-depth study of this circle, its members and their role in the formation of Islamic philosophy, see Endress (1997).
[9] Cf. Goulet (1989, vol. 1, p. 125–139 and 2003, p. 61–70).

credited with[10] had been identified long before Rescher's time as misreadings of a manuscript of al-Qifṭī's *Ta'rīḫ al-ḥukamā'* caused by a misplaced leaf.[11] There is no evidence to support the idea that another treatise mentioned in the bio-bibliographical sources entitled *Risālah fī ṣifāt al-balāġah* (*Treatise on the characteristics of eloquence*) had anything to do with the subject matter of the *Rhetoric*.[12]

If anything, al-Kindī's interest in logic was secondary and always subordinated to his other philosophical and scientific interests.[13] The very perfunctoriness of his remarks on the *Rhetoric* in a short treatise on the number and contents of Aristotle's works[14] demonstrates that he had little (if any) knowledge about the work above and beyond its name and a rough idea of its contents.[15]

The bio-bibliographical sources record another potentially relevant but unfortunately lost text by a close contemporary of al-Kindī, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, entitled *Kitāb ʿalā māʾiyat al-kalām* (*On the Essence of Speech*). Its author was one of the famous Banū Mūsā, three brothers who became generous sponsors of translations and scientific research in ninth-century Baghdad. The interpretation of the book's title is disputed and does not necessarily refer to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, even if the historian al-Qifṭī mentions his activities in collecting works on "logic" (to which the *Rhetoric* was thought to belong).[16] Equally unconfirmed is the existence of a handful of other potentially relevant texts: commentaries on (or better: summaries of) the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* among the corpus of ninth to tenth-century treatises associated with the alchemist, physicist and philosopher Abū Mūsā Ǧābir ibn Ḥayyān (d. ca. 815).[17]

The little evidence we have about the contents and even existence of these and other allegedly "rhetorical" writings suggests that in the ninth century, knowledge of the *Rhetoric* was still limited. Extant texts (such as al-Kindī's *Risālah fī kammīyat kutub Arisṭū*) and the titles of other,

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[10] E.g. by Nicholas Rescher (cf. 1963, p. 45 and 1964, p. 110).

[11] Cf. Steinschneider (1960, p. 84, 86, 87, 88), quoted by Heinrichs (1969, p. 107) and Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 461).

[12] Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 4).

[13] A fact Rescher (1963, p. 45) freely acknowledges.

[14] His *Risālah fī kammīyat kutub Arisṭū* mentioned above.

[15] He lists the book as the "seventh of the books on logic" and translates the (transcribed) title of the *Rhetoric* as "persuasive speaking". According to al-Kindī, It dealt with oratory, especially the three types of "persuasion" applied in courts of law, public assemblies and in "praise and blame as they go together in eulogy" (Rescher, 1963, p. 53, 57).

[16] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 461) and Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 4).

[17] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 461), Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 4).

lost works we know of strongly suggest that the Arabic translation of the *Rhetoric* was not yet available. Whatever the case, the study of Aristotelian rhetoric began in earnest only with the appearance of al-Fārābī a generation later.[18]

THE TENTH CENTURY: LAYING THE FOUNDATION

Considering the lack of evidence for the availability of the Arabic translation or any serious study of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* before his time, al-Fārābī's role in the reception history of the text was of paramount importance. As we will see, his writings inspired the other two key commentators of the text, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd, either by suggesting interpretations that they adopted and extended or by serving as a foil to present their own rhetorical and logical thought. Unlike the reception of other components of the *Organon*, that of the *Rhetoric* was not mediated through or facilitated by extant late antique commentaries. Its readers could not rely on the help of generations of commentators in their attempt to understand its sometimes obscure language and overcome its frequently substantial translational problems. Al-Fārābī alone deserves credit for making this text accessible to future generations of Islamic scholars and initiating the process of study and appropriation of the *Rhetoric*.[19]

Even though rhetorical concepts played an important role in many of al-Fārābī's writings, especially those dealing with his political thought and his theory of prophecy, we find the most sustained discussion of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in two central works: the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* (*Book of Rhetoric*)[20] and in a part of what seems to have been a Long Commen-

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[18] An interesting example for a relatively early Arabic text that was strongly influenced by the Arabic *Rhetoric* is the so-called *Kitāb al-fawāʾid al-šiʿrīyah*, the *Book of Poetic Gleanings*. Ascribed to Alexander of Aphrodisias and allegedly translated by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, the short text forms part of a collection of writings attributed to Alexander. Zimmermann (1994b) analysed the text and concluded (p. 318) that it is most likely an Arabic compilation from Arabic sources by an author who had access to the Arabic *Rhetoric*; its style also resembles that of the translation.

[19] So also Grignaschi (1968, p. 176).

[20] There are a number of editions and translations. A first edition and French translation by Langhade (1968, reviewed by Vajda 1969) was replaced only three years later by an almost identical edition (Langhade and Grignaschi, 1971) combining the edition and French translation of the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* with an edition of the *Didascalia* (see below). It was positively reviewed several times by Gätje (1972), Najjar (1973), Vajda (1973), Zimmermann (1974) and Ullmann (1977a). In addition to Langhade's edition, we also have editions by Sālim (1976) and, more recently and as part of a collection of al-Fārābī's logical writings, Dānēš-Pažūh (1988–1990, vol. 1, p. 456–492).

tary on the *Rhetoric*, extant only in a Latin translation, the *Didascalia in Rethoricam Aristotilis ex glosa Alpharabii*.[21]

The first of these two rhetorical texts, the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah*, consists of a commentary on a small sub-set of the *Rhetoric*. Following the sequence of the second chapter of Book Two of the source text (with a number of references to other passages of the *Rhetoric*), it presents al-Fārābī's ideas on a number of key rhetorical concepts.[22] In this chapter, Aristotle summarizes the contents of the *Rhetoric*, paying particular attention to issues of argument and proof. The limited scope of the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* together with the ambiguity of the information provided by the bio-bibliographical literature has led some scholars to believe that the extant text is incomplete.[23] This assumption has been laid to rest by recent research; the current consensus is that the book is a complete and self-contained treatise.[24]

Limiting himself to this part of the work at the expense of the remainder of the *Rhetoric* might have been dictated by the philosopher's desire to concentrate on the aspects of the text that were of particular relevance to him, namely logical matters and the theoretical basis of rhetorical proof. In this regard, the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* closely resembles other texts in a group of al-Fārābī's logical works on the *Organon* sometimes called the "Bratislava series" after one of the extant manuscripts in which they were collected. In spite of a number of formal differences between these treatises, they share a pronounced emphasis on the logical principles explained in the respective source texts and their theoretical roots—while downplaying Aristotle's remarks on the practical application of these principles. Thus, in the case of the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*, al-Fārābī concentrated on those chapters in which the principles of rhetoric and poetry are explained while more or less ignoring the bulk of the texts which dealt with their application.[25]

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[21] Edited by Langhade and Grignaschi (1971). Thanks to a number of excellent articles on the reception of the *Rhetoric* by Maroun Aouad, we need not rehearse the often confusing bio-bibliphical evidence for al-Fārābī's rhetorical writings. Langhade and Grignaschi (1971, p. 126–131) and Grignaschi (1972, p. 45–60) have collected the relevant textual material which has been untangled and extensively discussed by Aouad (1998b, p. 170–173). His arguments for the existence of a Long Commentary on the *Rhetoric* seem entirely convincing.

[22] Aouad (1992, p. 135). See Aouad (1992, p. 136–143) for a parallel comparison of the contents of the second chapter of Book One of the *Rhetoric* and the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah*.

[23] E.g. Langhade and Grignaschi (1971, p. 9f, 23).

[24] The case has been convincingly argued by Aouad (1992, p. 134–143).

[25] Galston (1988, p. 198f, 201f).

Instead of merely re-stating Aristotle's ideas, however, al-Fārābī expands the discussion with a number of notions that are either only implicit in or not at all part of Aristotle's exposition.[26] One of his central concerns is the concept of *bādi' al-ra'ī al-muštarak* ("immediate, common opinion").[27] Apparently, the systematic use al-Fārābī made of it not only allowed him to resolve some of the textual difficulties of the admittedly often obscure Arabic *Rhetoric*, it also helped him answer two central questions posed by the text itself and by the Alexandrian commentators: firstly, what role or position does Aristotle assign to the the art of rhetoric, especially compared to dialectics? And, closely related to the first question, what was the role of the *Rhetoric* in the *Organon*?[28]

In spite of the terminology used by some scholars,[29] the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* seems to be both *more* and *less* than a commentary: more, insofar as a summary of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* serves the author as a backdrop for elaborating his own, often independent thinking about rhetoric; less, insofar as it is limited to a small portion of the Aristotelian source text.

The genre of the second text, the *Didascalia in Rethoricam Aristotilis*, is much easier to pinpoint.[30] Only extant in Latin, it consists of several parts: an introductory section that discusses the nature of rhetoric and lists its divisions and a commentary section that quotes the Arabic version of the very beginning of the *Rhetoric* (1354a1–4): a general commentary and then a detailed, phrase-by-phrase commentary.[31] The introductory section is in all probability identical to the so-called *Ṣadr li-kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* (*Prologue to the Book of Rhetoric*) listed in the bio-bibliographical sources.[32]

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[26] Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 5).

[27] I.e. those shared opinions and unexamined notions a majority of people would immediately and unquestioningly assent to. Maroud Aouad deserves ample credit for demonstrating its importance for al-Fārābī and later philosophers and tracing its development during the history of Islamic philosophy in numerous publications. The centrality of this concept in the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* becomes immediately obvious in his comparison between its text and the relevant passages of the *Rhetoric* (Aouad, 1992, p. 136–143).

[28] Aouad (1992, p. 180).

[29] E.g. Galston (1988, p. 193), who classifies the text as a Short or Middle Commentary.

[30] The text is extant in a single manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. latin 16097. It was edited together with the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* by Langhade and Grignaschi (1971). Cf. above, p. 185, n. 20 for information on the reviews. A "conflated excerpt" was printed in Venice in 1481 and 1515 under the title *Declaratio compendiosa per viam divisionis Alfarabii super libris rethoricorum Aristotilis* (Boggess, 1971, p. 227f, 235).

[31] Boggess (1971, p. 236) and Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 5).

[32] Aouad (1998b, p. 174f) and Langhade and Grignaschi (1971, p. 127); it was already tentatively identified as such by Steinschneider (1869, p. 59).

The text is the product of Hermannus Alemannus (fl. 1240–1256), a Latin translator specializing in Arabic versions of Aristotelian texts (among others, he is the creator of the Latin version of the Arabic *Rhetoric*) and Arabic commentaries, and was published around 1256. We now know that it is just the beginning of a Long Commentary on the *Rhetoric*, unfortunately lost in Arabic.[33] Only recently, Arabic fragments of the Prologue have come to light in a work by the Cairene physician Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān (d. 1061 or after 1068),[34] to be discussed below. We also know that al-Fārābī's commentary broke off before the end of Book Three of the *Rhetoric*: in a note at the end of chapter nine of Book Three of his Latin translation of the Arabic *Rhetoric*, Hermannus writes: *Huc pervenit glosa Alpharabii*.[35]

The importance of this lost commentary must have been immense. In his writings on the *Rhetoric*, Ibn Sīnā explicitly refers to it in a way that demonstrates his knowledge and use of the full text. Ibn Rušd also undoubtedly used the commentary, even though he does not refer to al-Fārābī by name.[36] He does, however, allude to commentaries he consulted in his own research in the colophon to Book Three of his own Middle Commentary on the *Rhetoric*, particular one by a commentator he deemed "satisfactory" (*man yurtaḍā min al-mufassirīn*). Aouad has shown that this "satisfactory" commentator is none other than al-Fārābī, whose Long Commentary must have been one of Ibn Rušd's most important sources.[37] We will return to Ibn Rušd's commentary below.

Al-Fārābī's efforts to make Aristotle's *Rhetoric* accessible to his contemporaries and to integrate rhetorical concepts and ideas into his own philosophical thought thoroughly transformed the reception process. What is more, the *Rhetoric* started to leave its imprint also outside the limited circles of philosophical experts. Among the works which exemplify a growing contemporary interest in Hellenistic rhetoric in the tenth century, two stand out: the *Kitāb al-burhān fī wuǧūh al-bayān* by the Arab *šīʿī* theologian Isḥāq ibn Wahb al-Kātib (fl. during the first half of the tenth century) and the *Kitāb al-saʿādah wa-l-ʾisʿād*, frequently ascribed to the Persian *sunnī* theologian and philosopher Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-ʿĀmirī (d. 992).

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[33] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 464f).
[34] Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 5), Goulet (2003, p. 220).
[35] Langhade and Grignaschi (1971, p. 131).
[36] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 464).
[37] Cf. Aouad (1998a, p. 91–98, 113).

Unfortunately, we know next to nothing about the life of the first author, Ibn Wahb. His family seems to have had connections to ʿAbbāsid rulers and we find some of his ancestors among the officials at the caliphal court.[38] His treatise, the *Kitāb al-burhān*, was often attributed to the ninth-century literary critic Qudāmah ibn Ǧaʿfar (d. 873);[39] it contains an extensive discussion of rhetoric, style and the prerequisites and accomplishments required of state officials and represents a striking synthesis of Greek philosophy on the one hand and *šīʿī* and *sunnī* religious thought on the other. It is both strongly influenced by and very critical of a ninth-century text similarly focussed on rhetoric and style in philosophical and theological contexts, the *Kitāb al-bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (*Treatise on Clarity and Clarification*) by the celebrated littérateur al-Ǧāḥiẓ.[40] Ibn Wahb's work is replete with references to Aristotelian texts, especially the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*, but also the *Topics*.[41] It gives us a glimpse not just of a particular stage of the early reception of the *Rhetoric* in particular and Aristotelian philosophy in general; also, Ibn Wahb's writings (like the next work discussed below) speak of an intellectual climate in which scholars were able freely to appropriate whatever source they deemed suitable to support their particular philosophical or theological argument while constantly reminding their audience of the universal value of logical and rhetorical knowledge.[42]

As suggested above, the identity of the author/compiler of the *Kitāb al-saʿādah*, which used to be listed among the works of the philosopher al-ʿĀmirī, is still disputed.[43] The only information provided by the single

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[38] Maṭlūb and Ḥadīṯī (1967, p. 37–40), Ḍayf (1965, p. 95f).

[39] Edited by Maṭlūb and Ḥadīṯī (1967). For an exhaustive discussion of the evidence against Qudāmah's and for Ibn Wahb's authorship, see p. 19–28. The editor of Qudāmah's most important work on literary criticism, the *Kitāb naqd al-šiʿr*, Bonebakker (1956, p. 17f), notes that the *Kitāb al-burhān* shows no sign of being influenced by this or other works written by Qudāmah, even though they discuss a number of literary issues in a similar way (examples on p. 18ff).

[40] Cf. *EI²*, supplement, p. 402 with additional sources; Maṭlūb and Ḥadīṯī (1967, p. 28f); and Gutas (1998, p. 132 and n. 34). Montgomery (2006) is an excellent introduction to the *Kitāb al-bayān*, focussing on its reception of rhetorical thought and the historical and intellectual context of the text and its author.

[41] Cf. Ḍayf (1965, p. 101f); see p. 96–101 for an outline of the book's contents.

[42] Aouad (1998a, p. 153).

[43] The arguments for an against al-ʿĀmirī have been summarized and evaluated by Wakelnig (2006, p. 35–39). Like another eminent authority on al-ʿĀmirī and his thought, Everett Rowson (1988, p. 15ff), she remains sceptical: while not implausible, the evidence cited in favor of al-ʿĀmirī is insufficient to establish his authorship of the *Kitāb al-saʿādah* beyond reasonable doubt.

manuscript of the work is what purports to be the name of the author, a
certain Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Ḏarr, otherwise unknown. Assuming that
he is not identical with al-ʿĀmirī, the contents of the *Kitāb al-saʿādah*
at least suggest that he lived at around the same time and came from a
similar educational and intellectual background.[44]

The *Kitāb al-saʿādah* is an anthology of theological, historical and
philosophical material in six parts. The first two deal with ethics, the
next two with politics and the last two contain aphorisms on a range of
topics, e.g. the proper conduct of state functionaries or more general ad-
vice on the proper forms of religious and intellectual life.[45] Unlike the
Kitāb al-burhān, this text does not present a structured argument; rather,
it consists of a compilation of snippets from a range of sources which
have a bearing on the ethical or political issues under discussion.[46] This
is exactly what the author himself had in mind—in one place, he explic-
itly states that he wants to present the opinions of different peoples side
by side to demonstrate how little disagreement there is between them.[47]

Given its subject matter and the compilatory and comparative bent
of its author, the book is a veritable treasure trove of quotations from
a considerable number of Greek-Arabic translations, most prominently
the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Rhetoric*. Since quotations are not always
clearly marked and an exhaustive analysis of the *Kitāb al-saʿādah* is still
lacking, we are not yet in a position to assess the range and character of
its sources, including the question whether its author used any commen-
taries on the latter.[48] It is clear, however, that the number of quotations
in the book considerably exceeds those already signaled in the secondary
literature. The *Rhetoric* is quoted and referenced four times; very likely,
there are many more unreferenced quotations.[49] In addition, the book
antedates the manuscript of Aristotle's *Organon* that is our only source
for the complete text of the Arabic *Rhetoric* and is therefore the earliest
known witness for the translation.[50]

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[44] There are two editions of the book, one a facsimile of a transcript taken by Minovi
(1336 AH), the other a printed version by ʿAṭīyah (1991). Both are based on the only extant
manuscript in Dublin, ms. Chester Beatty no. 3702.

[45] Pohl (1997, p. 201).

[46] Dunlop et al. (2005, p. 19) call it "a collection of material rather than a fully digested
philosophical work".

[47] Lacroix (1989, p. 167f), citing Minovi (1336 AH, p. 324).

[48] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 462f).

[49] Pohl (1997, p. 211ff) compares three such quotations with the text of the Arabic
Rhetoric and shows that the author of the *Kitāb al-saʿādah* used the same translation.

[50] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 462f).

The interest of the *Kitāb al-saʿādah wa-l-ʾisʿād* lies not so much in its creative use of those sources —its author prefers to present the texts side by side and let them speak for themselves rather than to comment, let alone indulge in philosophical innovation. Together with the *Kitāb al-burhān*, it is the product of the period immediately following the zenith of Greek-Arabic translation activities. Like the somewhat earlier works of al-Kindī, they are both representatives of a first wave of texts illustrating the appropriation of translated material and its combination with Islamic religious and literary traditions. Greek philosophy and Islamic religious literature are not the only sources the author draws on: the *Kitāb al-saʿādah* is also the first known literary work that draws equally freely on Persian and Greek wisdom literature.[51]

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: ELABORATION AND EXTENSION

For the eleventh century, the bio-bibliographical literature records a flurry of activity around Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Mere titles is all we have in many cases. Among the scholars credited with writings on the *Rhetoric* are the Andalusian logician and mathematician Ibn Badr (d. ca. 1020), who allegedly penned a series of summaries on the "Eight Books" of logic, including the *Rhetoric*, but excluding the *Poetics*.[52] Less certain are both the range of writings and even identity of another author of an alleged series of summaries on Aristotelian logic, this time on the "Seven Books". It is unclear whether the "Seven" include the *Rhetoric*;[53] moreover, the identity of its author, Ibn al-Ḥayṯam, has yet to be established: of the two scholars known under the name, he has long been identified as the noted mathematician and scientist of the same name (d. 1039), but recent scholarship sees in him a less well-known contemporary of the mathematician, the philosopher and physician Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥayṯam (born around 965).[54]

Until quite recently, the philosopher, theologian and physician Abū al-Farağ ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043) was credited with a Long

[51] Pohl (1997, p. 206f).

[52] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 462); Aouad (2002, p. 4f).

[53] Rescher (1964, p. 145) thinks they do not whereas Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 462) seems to agree with the earlier opinion of Steinschneider (1960, p. 78), who listed the *Rhetoric* as one of the works summarized by this author.

[54] Goulet (2003, p. 221). For the opposite view (that the entries in the *Fihrist*, the *Taʾrīḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, the *ʿUyūn al-ʾanbāʾ* and other such works refer to one and the same person), see Sabra (1998).

Commentary on the *Rhetoric*, known to (and criticized by) both Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd.[55] Besides an entry in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's *Ṭabaqāt al-ʾaṭibbāʾ*, another important source for information about the work are two extant logical commentaries by the same author on the *Isagoge* and *Categories*.[56] On closer examination, however, it turns out that the only tangible piece of evidence for the existence of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Long Commentary on the *Rhetoric* is its mention in the *Ṭabaqāt al-ʾaṭibbāʾ*—the rhetorical doctrines discussed in the Long Commentaries on the *Isagoge* and the *Categories* do not necessarily refer to another Long Commentary on the *Rhetoric*, but seem to be drawn from Greek sources (summaries rather than the full text of the *Rhetoric*) or are his own, original ideas.[57] Since this alleged Long Commentary probably never existed, its identification with the "unsatisfactory commentary" referred to by Ibn Rušd in his own Middle Commentary on the *Rhetoric* is also very much in doubt.[58] Equally in doubt is the existence of a second text by Ibn al-Ṭayyib on the *Rhetoric*, a summary similar to those that complemented his other Long Commentaries. The evidence for such a summary is even slimmer than that for the existence of the Long Commentary itself.[59]

According to our (scant) information, all three of these authors wrote what could be termed "conventional" commentaries, if not on the *Rhetoric*, then at least on some of the other texts of the *Organon*. From their titles, we can infer that they usually took the form of summaries, paraphrases or lemmatized commentaries that fit the scheme of Short, Middle and Long Commentaries. The boundaries between these genres start to blur with the philosopher Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn Sīnā. As part of the Aristotelian *Organon*, the *Rhetoric* plays a role in all of Ibn Sīnā's writings on logic,[60] but he reserved his most extensive discussions of rhetorical is-

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[55] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 462).

[56] Aouad and Rashed (1997, p. 49–57) list the relevant passages.

[57] For a discussion of the evidence, cf. Aouad and Rashed (1997, p. 58–62).

[58] Aouad and Rashed (1999, p. 98f).

[59] Rescher (1964, p. 155) and Gyekye (1979, p. 20) base their argument for the existence of the summary exclusively on the proven existence of such summaries for other logical texts on which Ibn al-Ṭayyib wrote a Long Commentary. Having discredited the evidence for the Long Commentary itself, Aouad and Rashed (1997, p. 58f) add that none of the bio-bibliographical and other sources contain even a hint of information on such a text which could support Rescher's and Gyekye's claim.

[60] Some of his works have not yet been edited and might contain additional relevant material; cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 468f), where the author also discusses the rhetorical section of Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-naǧāt* (*The Salvation*) and concludes that they do not qualify as a "commentary". See also Aouad (1999a) on rhetorical concepts, especially concerning rhetorical syllogisms, in his late *Kitāb al-ʾišārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt* (*Pointers and Reminders*).

sues for two larger works which cover the entire breadth of philosophy
as it was known from the Aristotelian tradition. The first and earlier of
the two is the *Ḥikmah al-ʿarūḍiyah* (*Philosophy for ʿArūḍī*, also known as
Kitāb al-maǧmūʿ, *The Compilation*) in which he comments on Aristo-
tle's *Rhetoric* in two chapters entitled *Fī maʿānī kitāb rīṭūrīqā*[61] and *Fī
al-ʾaḥlāq wa-l-infiʿālāt*.[62] Years later, during what has been termed the
"mature period" of his philosophical activities,[63] he his voluminous ex-
position of all branches of philosophy, the *Kitāb al-šifāʾ*, starting with
logic; among them, the chapter entitled *al-ḥaṭābah*[64] contains the most
extensive presentation of Ibn Sīnā's thought on the *Rhetoric*.

Even though they are separated by another chapter (on the *Poetics*) in
the unique Uppsala manuscript, the two chapters *Fī maʿānī kitāb rīṭūrīqā*
and *Fī al-ʾaḥlāq wa-l-infiʿālāt* belong together.[65] They form part of the
first section of the *Ḥikmah al-ʿarūḍiyah* which deals with Aristotle's log-
ical corpus. The book, allegedly commissioned by a neighbor of the then
only twenty-one year old Ibn Sīnā, is considered his first work[66] and at-
tempts to cover systematically all branches of Aristotelian theoretical phi-
losophy.[67] Together, the two chapters on rhetoric only cover part of the
contents of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: the first sums up Book One (except the
last chapter), the second those of Book Two which deal with the passions
and their manipulation by orators.[68] The wording of the two chapters
makes it clear that the text relies on the same translation used by al-
Fārābī before him and Ibn Rušd after him.[69] But unlike al-Fārābī (and, as
we will see, Ibn Rušd), Ibn Sīnā does not single out the second chapter of

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[61] "On the meanings of the Book of Rhetoric", edited by Sālim (1945); the edition was
reviewed by Anawati (1954).

[62] "On natural dispositions and affections of the soul", edited and translated into French
by Rémondon (1954).

[63] Gutas (1988, p. 102).

[64] "Rhetoric"; the chapter (or rather, book) was edited by Sālim (1954); so far, we
only have a translation of the first of four parts into German, prepared by Würsch (1991,
p. 140–174). In his detailed and positive review, Aouad (1993) suggests a number of im-
provements and corrections for the translation itself and Würsch's introduction and dis-
cussion of Ibn Sīnā's rhetorical thought. Cf. also Aouad (1997a) and Goulet (2003, p. 221).

[65] As Gutas (1988, p. 89) indicates in his table of contents of the work; cf. also Goulet
(1989–, vol. 1, p. 467).

[66] Anawati (1957, p. 171). Gutas (1988, p. 87) calls it "the first medieval philosophical
summa which can be said to have signaled the beginning of scholastic philosophy".

[67] See Gutas (1988, p. 87–93) on the sequence of subjects, the sources and the relation
of the work to the other writings of Ibn Sīnā.

[68] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 467), Gutas (1988, p. 89).

[69] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 467) and Würsch (1991, p. 11).

Book One for special treatment; rather, his concise summary of the parts of the *Rhetoric* that could be put to immediate practical use by Islamic orators resembles something of a handbook or manual of rhetoric.[70]

The relevant chapters of the *Kitāb al-šifāʾ*, on the other hand, cover the entire text of the *Rhetoric*.[71] Ibn Sīnā wrote the *Šifāʾ* following a request by his students in Hamaḏān to rewrite those of his books that were inaccessible to them because they had been lost or were in the hands of scholars in remote places. Instead of merely reproducing these texts, i.e. writing the sort of commentaries which his students expected, Ibn Sīnā decided to create a "running exposition" of all fields of philosophy "according to his own opinion". Thus, the work represents a break with the late antique commentary tradition and its forms on which philosophical writings on Aristotelian texts had been modeled so far.[72]

Structurally, the *Šifāʾ* follows a similar path as the *Ḥikmah al-ʿarūḍīyah*: its first part discusses logic with the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* relegated to the end.[73] The section on *al-ḫaṭābah* (rhetoric) falls into four parts (called *maqālāt*). The first one is a free discussion of the contents of the first two chapters of Book One of the *Rhetoric*; it clearly shows the influence of al-Fārābī's similar discussions in the *Didascalia* and his *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah*. However, Ibn Sīnā restructures the material and develops a number of new ideas and interpretations, especially on the theory of the *enthymeme*.[74] The other three parts cover the remainder of the *Rhetoric*. Formally, they are more akin to a conventional Middle Commentary: Ibn Sīnā paraphrases or directly quotes and then explains passages of the *Rhetoric*.[75] However, the author frequently intervenes to restructure the text and insert his own interpretations. The composition of a separate *maqālah* with his commentaries on the first two chapters of Book One together with his remarks on the connection between rhetoric and logic is a prime example for this tendency.[76]

While he uses the same Arabic version of the *Rhetoric* as everyone else, Ibn Sīnā's attitude is quite critical. He frequently corrects passages that

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[70] Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 6).

[71] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 467).

[72] Gutas (1988, p. 101f).

[73] For an outline of the subjects and texts treated in the *Šifāʾ*, see Gutas (1988, p. 102).

[74] Cf. Würsch (1991, p. 12, 109). For a summary of the contents of the first part of the section on rhetoric, see p. 133–139. In another publication, Würsch (1993) describes and compares Ibn Sīnā's and Ibn Rušd's concepts of the *enthymeme*.

[75] Würsch (1991, p. 12, 109, 132); Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 468).

[76] Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 6).

make no sense or contradict what he considers to be Aristotle's "true" ideas.[77] He does not quote other sources, even though he obviously knew (and used) al-Fārābī's commentaries.[78] Their treatment of the *Rhetoric* turns out to be quite different—for one, al-Fārābī is not at all interested in the practical aspects of rhetoric.[79] Given his re-arrangement of the text, criticisms and corrections of the translation and deviations from the formal framework of the late Alexandrian commentary tradition, it is not unlikely that Ibn Sīnā's rhetorical section in the *Kitāb al-šifāʾ* is the "unsatisfactory commentary" referred to by Ibn Rušd.[80]

A generation later, the pioneering work of al-Fārābī on logic in general and the *Rhetoric* in particular was taken up again by the Cairene physician Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Riḍwān.[81] Among the numerous works he is credited with in the bio-bibliographical literature, there are several texts on logic.[82] For our purposes, the most interesting one is his *Kitāb fī al-mustaʿmal min al-manṭiq fī al-ʿulūm wa-l-ṣanāʾiʿ* (*On what is used from logic in the sciences and arts*).[83] In the form of a manual, the book covers the entire *Organon* with separate chapters dealing with each of its components (including Porphyry's *Isagoge*).[84] Ibn Riḍwān's purpose is eminently practical: as the title of the book suggests, he wants to identify and explain those parts of logic and logical concepts that are relevant to the sciences and arts. According to the author, the *Rhetoric* in particular should be read and used not only by philosophers, but also scholars in Islamic disciplines such as *balāġah* and Islamic law. This is an idea we already find in Ibn Wahb's *Kitāb al-burhān* discussed above: both authors stress in sim-

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[77] Würsch (1991, p. 120–127) has collected a sample of evidence for Ibn Sīnā's use of the same Arabic *Rhetoric* that is still extant. For examples of his corrections, see p. 114–117; there is also a concordance of the Arabic *Rhetoric* and all four *maqālāt* on rhetoric on p. 218f.

[78] Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 468).

[79] Langhade and Grignaschi (1971, p. 24ff) with a useful summary of the contents of the rhetorical section of the work.

[80] This, at least, is the conclusion of Aouad and Rashed (1999, p. 113) based on their detailed discussion of the evidence (p. 98–113). For additional information on Ibn Sīnā's rhetorical thought, see Würsch (1993) and Aouad (1997a, 1999a).

[81] On the biographical details, cf. Schacht and Meyerhof (1937, p. 12f) with additions by Dietrich (1982, p. 7f).

[82] Aouad (1998b, p. 180f).

[83] The *Kitāb fī al-mustaʿmal* has not yet been edited. It is extant in the Escorial in Madrid, ms. Derenbourg no. 649, fol. 173v–202v. Aouad (1998b) has edited the chapter on rhetoric (f. 200r–201r); in addition, he has compiled, translated and analyzed rhetorical material from other parts of the book in Aouad (1997b, 1998a), including a comparison of the relevant passages with al-Fārābī's *Didascalia*.

[84] Aouad (1998b, p. 182f).

ilar terms the universal benefit of rhetorical knowledge which transcends the narrow limits of Hellenistic *falsafah*.[85]

In addition to the short chapter on rhetoric, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* plays an important role in the rest of the *Kitāb fī al-mustaʿmal*. Textual similarities and verbatim parallels between the frequent rhetorical quotes in the book and al-Fārābī's *Didascalia* demonstrate its importance for Ibn Riḍwān.[86] In fact, those passages of the book which correspond closely with the Latin text represent the only known Arabic fragments of al-Fārābī's Long Commentary on the *Rhetoric*, more specifically the *Ṣadr* or "Prologue".[87] However, Ibn Riḍwān also used his sources to develop rhetorical doctrines which differ profoundly from those of al-Fārābī or any other of the Arabic commentators.[88] These differences make it unlikely that the *Kitāb fī al-mustaʿmal* was derived from the full text of the Long Commentary of which the *Didascalia* represents only the Prologue. More likely, Ibn Riḍwān made extensive use only of this Prologue (which might already have circulated as a separate text) while adding his own ideas.[89] His treatment of the subject matter of the *Didascalia* left some traces in later philosophical literature, e.g. a letter by the Andalusian physician and philosopher Abū Bakr al-Ṣāʾiġ ibn Bāǧǧah (d. 1139) to his friend and student Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Imām.[90]

The twelfth century: the return to Aristotle

With Ibn Bāǧǧah, we are already in the twelfth century, dominated by the towering figure of Abū al-Walīd ibn Rušd, the Averroes of the Latin tradition. As the example of Ibn Bāǧǧah shows, however, he is not the only Islamic scholar of this century who showed an interest in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and his other logical writings. In his *Kitāb al-muʿtabar fī al-ḥikmah*, the philosopher and physician Abū al-Barakāt Hibat Allāh ibn Malkā al-Baġdādī (d. after 1165)[91] devotes a chapter to rhetorical syllogisms which heavily depends on Ibn Sīnā's treatise *Fī maʿānī kitāb rīṭūrīqā*.[92] He

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[85] Cf. Aouad (1998a, p. 149–155, esp. 153).

[86] Aouad (1998b, p. 169f).

[87] Aouad (1998b, p. 207f).

[88] Aouad (1997b, p. 163).

[89] Aouad (1998b, p. 216).

[90] Aouad and Rashed (1999, p. 91f and n. 21).

[91] On Abū al-Barakāt, his works and philosophical thought, cf. Shlomo Pines' article "Abū al-Barakāt" in *EI²*, vol. 1, p. 111ff.

[92] The chapter can be found in Abū al-Barakāt (1357–1358 AH, vol. 1, p. 269–276).

often quotes it verbatim but introduces some interesting terminological variations.[93]

Two works by Ibn Rušd on Aristotelian rhetoric are extant: his Middle Commentary on the *Rhetoric*[94] and his Short Commentary (or *ǧawāmiʿ*).[95]

The Short Commentary formed part of a whole series of such commentaries on the various works of the *Organon* which concentrate on the theoretical principles of the logical subject matter discussed in each work. This "textual context" helps explain why the emphasis of the *ǧawāmiʿ* on the *Rhetoric*, written before 1159, is the relevance of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*

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[93] Cf. Goulet (2003, p. 221f); see Würsch (1991, p. 11, 63, 77, 79, 217) for examples of quotations and close correspondences between both authors.

[94] Cf. Goulet (2003, p. 222). Before the first complete edition of the Middle Commentary, a part of Book One was edited by Lasinio (1875–1878); Sallam (1952) edited and translated Book Three into English. The first full edition was the work of Badawī (1960); in his (mostly uncritical) review, Anawati (1959–1961b) follows Badawī in wrongly claiming that Ibn Rušd used a translation of the *Rhetoric* other than the extant Arabic version. This and the later edition by Sālim (1967) have now been replaced by the magisterial edition and French translation prepared by Aouad (2002).

[95] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 469). Together with the Short Commentaries on the *Topics* and *Poetics*, it was edited and translated into English by Butterworth (1977) on the basis of several manuscripts in which the Arabic text was transcribed with Hebrew letters. The verdict of its many reviewers seemed to depend on their own background and approach to Ibn Rušd and the Aristotelian commentary tradition: more philologically and logically minded scholars such as Badawī (1979–1980) and Zimmermann (1979) dismissed it, pointing to the numerous misreadings and flaws of the (reconstructed) Arabic text and its underlying Hebrew transcription. Those interested in the political and philosophical dimensions of the Short Commentaries such as Berman (1981), Gueguen (1978), Harvey (1980), Motzkin (1981) and Vajda (1979) viewed it in a more positive light without ignoring some of its shortcomings. Leaman (1980) took the editor and other interpreters of Arabic philosophical texts to task for their tendency to view philosophical works mostly as expressions of the conflict between philosophers on the one hand and Muslim theologians on the other while ignoring a much more straightforward reading of the texts as genuine contributions to largely philosophical debates such as the purpose and procedures of Aristotelian logic.

Schoeler (1980) commented in some detail on some of the editor's flawed notions about the inclusion of the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* among the *Organon* (p. 295f); the classification of syllogisms (p. 296f); and the methods of persuasion and their alleged origin in al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* (p. 297-300). Finally, similar to Leaman (1980), he criticizes the editor's claim that the relation between politics, philosophy and religion, especially Ibn Rušd's alleged critique of dialectical theology, is the central issue discussed in the three Short Commentaries (p. 300f).

Several years later, the publication of an edition of Ibn Rušd's Middle Commentary on the *Poetics* (Butterworth, 1996) occasioned the most vociferous attack yet on the scholarly merits of the editor's approach. Gutas (1990) faults him for inexact translation, idiosyncratic terminological choices and ignoring large parts of the secondary literature on the texts he is translating. In Gutas' opinion, these flaws render this and other editions and translations by the editor completely worthless for scholarly purposes.

for the wider field of logic. The (relatively short) text focuses on the second chapter of Book One of the Arabic *Rhetoric*, reading it through the lense of al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah*. Like the latter, it explains the theoretical principles of rhetoric while at the same time determining its position and rank in comparison to other logical disciplines. Its relative independence from the text of the *Rhetoric* suggests that Ibn Rušd wrote it while still under the influence of al-Fārābī and before he then returned to the Aristotelian text itself and interpreted it afresh.[96] As for the other commentaries on the *Rhetoric* discussed above, Maroun Aouad has shown the importance of the concept of *bādiʾ al-raʾī al-muštarak* in rhetorical arguments, inherited from al-Fārābī, also for this Short Commentary.[97]

Completed in 1175, almost twenty years after the Short Commentary, the Middle Commentary shows how Ibn Rušd emancipated himself from the Arabic commentary tradition and developed a more "Aristotelian" understanding of the *Rhetoric* and other Aristotelian works he commented on later in his life. Like his Short Commentary, it is part of a series of commentaries covering the entire *Organon*.[98] Thanks to its relative closeness to Aristotle's rhetorical thought, some scholars have even suggested that the Middle Commentary, allegedly devoid of innovative ideas, "slavishly" followed Aristotle's text.[99] Recent scholarship, especially the publications of Maroun Aouad, has prepared the way for a more nuanced appreciation of this work. Formally, Ibn Rušd follows the conventions of a Middle Commentary: instead of quoting and then explaining the Arabic *Rhetoric* line by line, he directly explains the intention of the author, i.e. he concentrates on the sense of the text rather than its wording. This does not keep him from quoting the *Rhetoric* where suitable in unmodified or modified form; thus, his procedure somewhat resembles that of Ibn Sīnā in the *Šifāʾ*, except that Ibn Rušd's interventions are less fre-

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[96] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 469) and Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 7). In addition to listing the correspondences between the Arabic *Rhetoric* on p. 276f, Aouad (1994, p. 293–298) shows how closely Ibn Rušd followed the sequence of al-Fārābī's thought with a synoptical presentation of the text of the Short Commentary, the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* and the Arabic *Rhetoric*. Ibn Rušd's shift away from the Islamic philosophical tradition and back to the "original" Aristotelian teaching has been persuasively argued by Schoeler (1980).

[97] Cf. Aouad (1994). See also al-Šannūfī (1999) on one of the key questions the concept was designed to answer, the distinction between dialectics and rhetoric in Aristotle's logical system and its interpretation by Ibn Rušd.

[98] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 470) and Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 7). The date of the commentary, its sources and methodological underpinnings are discusses in detail in Aouad and Rashed (1999, p. 84–91) and especially Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 9–50).

[99] Cf. e.g. Thillet (1978, p. 105f).

quent and radical.[100] The differences between the Middle Commentary and al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* are more pronounced. Ibn Rušd follows the structure of the *Rhetoric* in its entirety while al-Fārābī develops his own, creative rhetorical thought (much of which has no equivalent in Aristotle's text) on the basis of a small sample of the Arabic *Rhetoric* that matches with his main concern: logic and the role rhetoric plays in it.[101]

Like his predecessors, Ibn Rušd relies on Ibn al-Samḥ's text of the *Rhetoric*, i.e. the extant Arabic version—only that the text he had at his disposal was apparently superior to that which was incorporated in the *Organon* manuscript now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Also, his text, while derived from the same source as the extant translation, is perhaps closer to the version read and translated into Latin by the thirteenth-century German translator Hermannus Alemannus.[102] Apart from a number of minor divergences, the main difference between these two texts is their length: the text used by both Ibn Rušd and later by Hermannus Alemannus for his Latin translation of the *Rhetoric* is slightly shorter, an *exemplar decurtatum* that lacks chapters 15–17 of Book Two.[103]

Apart from the translation, Ibn Rušd also made use of several commentaries on the *Rhetoric*, chiefly those of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. In a revealing note in the colophon at the end of Book Three of his Middle Commentary, the author mentions that for one part of the commentary, he could not refer to any commentary "by the satisfactory commentator" (*li-man murtaḍā min al-mufassirīn*). This offhanded remark tells us a number of things: firstly, that he did use other commentaries in the first place; secondly, that there must have been at least two, one by the "satisfactory" commentator, one by another commentator who apparently did not pass muster.[104] The wording of the passage also tells us that the commentaries in question must have been at least Middle Commentaries, if not Long ones. Above, we have already identified these two commen-

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[100] Aouad (1994, p. 263f). Aouad (1999b) has compared the different methods of commenting on the text in Ibn Rušd's Short and Middle Commentary.

[101] Cf. Langhade and Grignaschi (1971, p. 26). Thillet (1978) also discusses some of the similarities and differences between the two texts.

[102] Cf. Goulet (1989–, p. 470); as mentioned above, the previous editor Badawī (1960) and his reviewer Anawati (1959–1961b, p. 262) still erroneously thought that the commentary was based on a different translation, supposedly by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn or (Badawī's preference) Ibrāhīm al-Dimašqī. They are mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* and in the marginal notes in the manuscript of the *Rhetoric*, respectively.

[103] Corresponding to 1390b14–1391b7; cf. Aouad (2002, p. 2). On the problem of the *exemplar decurtatum*, cf. also Bottin (1975).

[104] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 470).

taries: the "satisfactory" commentator al-Fārābī and his Long Commentary on the *Rhetoric* found Ibn Rušd's approval, Ibn Sīnā's chapter on rhetoric in his *Kitāb al-šifāʾ* did not.[105]

Many scholars have attempted to clarify Ibn Rušd's understanding of rhetoric and its purpose in relation to political philosophy.[106] Butterworth sums up Ibn Rušd's idea of rhetoric as an art of persuasion on any given subject aimed at the masses or those who are unwilling or unable to follow the complicated reasonings of the philosophers.[107] We have encountered some of the key differences between Aristotle's and Ibn Rušd's understanding of rhetoric before, e.g. Ibn Rušd's view of rhetoric as a logical art; the requirement that an orator has to be a competent logician and even philosopher; the requirement that an orator has to have political knowledge exceeding that of an audience which thinks in terms of received, unexamined opinions; and, finally, his idea that an orator has to be a master of theoretical knowledge in addition to his practical skills emphasized by Aristotle.[108]

Beyond the twelfth century

The writings of Ibn Rušd marked the peak of the reception of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in Arabic. For all we know, the number of works concerned with Aristotelian rhetoric fell off after his death. In addition, they referred not to the text of the *Rhetoric* itself anymore. Instead, most post-Ibn Rušd writings on rhetoric merely summarized previous Arabic commentaries by al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rušd with varying degrees of addition and adaptation.[109]

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[105] For a survey and a thorough analysis of the evidence, see Aouad and Rashed (1999, p. 91–113).

[106] E.g. Blaustein (1992), who examines the role of political considerations in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and Ibn Rušd's Midde Commentary and the consequences this has for the scope of rhetoric and the rhetorical means that an orator can employ in communicating with the masses.

[107] E.g. Butterworth (1992, p. 187). See the rest of the article for the author's interpretation of Ibn Rušd's political philosophy as expressed in his Middle Commentary and his commentary on Plato's *Republic*.

[108] Butterworth (1998, p. 228). These differences, the author claims, put Ibn Rušd's idea of rhetoric much closer to a Socratic (or Platonic) idea of speech and action (p. 240). For a discussion of various doctrinal points, cf. Aouad (1994, 1996), especially the central role of the concept of *bādiʾ al-raʾī al-muštarak* in his Middle Commentary, and Goulet (2003, p. 111f). Würsch (1993) concentrates on the development of the theory of certain types of *enthymemes* from Aristotle to Ibn Sīnā and then Ibn Rušd.

[109] Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 8).

Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭumlūs (d. 1223), an Andalusian physician and logician, was a close contemporary and perhaps also student of Ibn Rušd.[110] He is the author of a *Madḫal ʾilā ṣināʿat al-manṭiq* (*Introduction to the art of logic*) in several parts, the largest of which consists of a *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah*.[111] This chapter on rhetoric is a detailed summary based mostly on Ibn Rušd's Middle Commentary which Ibn Ṭumlūs occasionally quotes verbatim.[112] In addition to its indebtedness to Ibn Rušd, whose Short and Middle Commentaries figure prominently, the *Madḫal* relies on several previous summaries and commentaries, namely al-Fārābī's work of the same title and Ibn Sīnā's rhetorical parts of the *Šifāʾ*. The author skillfully combines the strands of the previous reception of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in a synthesis that is in this form unprecedented in the Arabic rhetorical tradition.[113] Interestingly, like Ibn Rušd before and Hermannus Alemannus after him, Ibn Ṭumlūs also used the shortened *exemplar decurtatum* of the Arabic *Rhetoric*.[114]

The rhetorical treatises of the physician and philosopher Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī (d. 1231), also known for a number of other writings on Aristotelian philosophy,[115] are not extant. Several suggestive book titles listed by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah amply document his interest in the rhetorical tradition, both Aristotelian and Islamic. On the basis of our available, albeit scant information, they have been interpreted as more or less extensive summaries.[116]

A little later, the physician and theologian Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288) made extensive use of al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* for the chapters on rhetoric in his *Kitāb šarḥ al-wurayqāt*.[117] Finally, the rhetorical chapters of Ibn Sīnā's *Šifāʾ* were the source of an anonymous and undated philosophical text extant in a manuscript now at the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha.[118]

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[110] Cf. Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 8) and Goulet (2003, p. 223). Our information about his life, especially his relations with Ibn Rušd, depends on the few hints he drops in his various writings, studied by Elamrani-Jamal (1997).

[111] The *Madḫal* was edited by Assín (1916), re-printed in 2000 by the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University Frankfurt. Aouad (2006) has prepared a separate edition and French translation of the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* which I have not been able to consult.

[112] Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 211f) lists the correspondences between the Middle Commentaries and the *Kitāb al-ḫaṭābah* of Ibn Ṭumlūs' *Madḫal*.

[113] Goulet (2003, p. 223).

[114] Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 2).

[115] E.g. Neuwirth (1976).

[116] Cf. Rescher (1964, p. 189ff) and now Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 7).

[117] Cf. Max Meyerhof's short article "Ibn al-Nafīs" in *EI²*, vol. 3, p. 897f.

[118] Cf. Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 8).

The Latin afterlife

While the interest in Aristotelian rhetoric in the Muslim world apparently leveled off during the thirteenth century and authors turned exclusively to well-established commentaries instead of the text of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* itself, it did not seem to die out completely. Further north, however, the reception of the *Rhetoric* only began during the thirteenth century. Until the mid-twelfth century, scholars in the Latin West only knew those Aristotelian logical works which had been translated by Boethius (d. 524 or 525), i.e. the *Categories*, *De interpretatione*, the *Prior Analytics*, *Topics* and Porphyry's *Isagoge*. Starting around 1150, new Aristotelian sources became available in substantial numbers, first Greek, then Arabic.[119]

The reception and assimilation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* before the creation of William of Moerbeke's (d. 1286) complete translation from Greek around the year 1270 happened in several stages. During the earliest of these, represented by Dominicus Gundissalinus (fl. ca. 1150) in Spain and Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) in Germany, scholars became aware of the Arabic tradition of the *Rhetoric* through secondary sources, mainly al-Fārābī's *Kitāb ʾiḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm* (*The enumeration of the sciences*). This short treatise, known since the end of the twelfth century, had been translated twice into Latin under the title *De scientiis*, first by John of Seville (fl. eleventh century)[120] and then by Gerhard of Cremona (d. 1187).[121] The secondary literature also familiarized Latin scholars with the notion of the "enlarged" *Organon* including the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*.

During the next stage, represented by Roger Bacon (d. 1294) and his *Opus maius*, we find the first mention of the text of the *Rhetoric* itself (i.e. the translation of Hermannus Alemannus mixed with material from al-Fārābī's *Didascalia*).[122]

We know little about the life of the translator: he was born possibly in 1202; in the mid-thirteenth century, he apparently worked in Toledo, at least according to notes in his translations which put him there in 1240

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[119] Kummerer (1989, p. 19). See Green (1994) on the various strands of rhetorical thought which existed before the re-introduction of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in the West and how they influenced the translation, transmission and interpretation of the Latin *Rhetoric*.

[120] Johannes Hispalensis or Hispaniensis de Luna. On his translations, cf. Steinschneider (1956, p. 40–50).

[121] A prolific translator of both Greek and Arabic literature, cf. Steinschneider (1956, p. 16–32).

[122] The text Hermannus used consists ot the same *exemplar decurtatum* available to Ibn Rušd, a product of the textual tradition of which the extant Arabic translation forms part, but it represents an earlier, superior version (Aouad, 2002, vol. 1, p. 9).

and 1256. He is probably the same person as the later bishop of Astorga in Leon between 1266 and his death in 1272. His translation method apparently involved a second person and seemed to have been word-for-word from an intermediary oral translation into the Castilian vernacular given by an Arabic speaker who translated the Arabic text, also word for word.[123] To make sense of the many obscure passages of the Arabic *Rhetoric*, Hermann occasionally inserts translated passages derived from al-Fārābī's Long Commentary (of which, as we have seen, the *Didascalia* formed the Prologue), the relevant chapters of Ibn Sīnā's *Šifāʾ* and Ibn Rušd's Middle Commentary.[124]

Even though Bacon was in direct contact with Hermann, he never directly quotes neither the Latin translation of the *Rhetoric* nor the *Didascalia* which he might not have read; on the contrary, he deplores the fact that both the *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, allegedly the "two best books on logic", were unavailable to a Latin-speaking audience.[125] The only texts he quotes are al-Fārābī's *ʾIḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, parts of Ibn Sīnā's *Šifāʾ* and the logical part of al-Ġazālī's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifah* (*The Intentions of the Philosophers*), known to him in a Latin translation entitled *Logica al-Gazeli*[126] by the same John of Seville who was responsible for one of the translations of al-Fārābī's *ʾIḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*.[127]

Roger Bacon's writings mark a key stage in the reception of the *Rhetoric* in Latin: it had just become available, but had not been integrated into the university curricula. Rhetoric as a scholarly discipline was already established before the first Latin translation of the *Rhetoric*; like much of post-Aristotelian rhetoric in antiquity, it relied much more on Cicero and Quintilian than on the (relatively neglected) Aristotelian text.[128] A first, thirteenth century translation from the Greek which may have antedated Hermannus' version had been more or less ignored. William of Moerbeke's translation (which was used extensively by Thomas Aquinas) only became available around 1270 but quickly replaced the Arabo-Latin text which in fact never made its way into the universities.[129] Considering its deficiencies and obscurity, some of it undoubtedly just a product of

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[123] Kummerer (1989, p. 27f).
[124] Cf. Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 9) and Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 468). Boggess (1971, p. 239–244, 246f) lists quotations from Ibn Rušd.
[125] Dahan (1998, p. 65).
[126] Steinschneider (1956, p. 45).
[127] Cf. Rosier-Catach (1998, p. 110f).
[128] Cf. Dahan (1998, p. 66).
[129] Rosier-Catach (1998, p. 97) and Kummerer (1989, p. 25).

the shortcomings of its Arabic source, it does not come as a surprise that Hermannus' translation was quickly abandoned.[130]

More successful than the Latin translations of the Arabic *Rhetoric* were those of Ibn Rušd's Middle Commentary on the *Rhetoric*. After getting a taste of the commentary in the form of passages quoted in Hermannus' translation of the *Rhetoric*, Latin scholars received the full text through a Hebrew translation by Todros Todrosi of Arles (fl. in the fourteenth century), finished in 1337, which served as the source of a Latin translation produced by Abraham of Balmes (d. 1523). It was frequently printed during the Renaissance.[131] Ibn Rušd's Short Commentary was translated into Hebrew at least twice, once by Jacob ben Maḥir in the thirteenth century; also, there was a sixteenth-century Latin translation.[132] With these texts and the subsequent Latin commentaries written on the *Rhetoric*, we leave the history of the Arabic translation and reception of Aristotelian rhetoric.

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[130] Rosier-Catach (1998, p. 102).
[131] Cf. Goulet (1989–, vol. 1, p. 471) and Aouad (2002, vol. 1, p. 9).
[132] Harvey (1980, p. 616f).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

Having reached the end of the reception of the Arabic *Rhetoric* and the Islamic philosophical tradition by Latin Renaissance scholars, it is time to look back and assess our results. What do we now know of the Arabic *Rhetoric*? Did our approach avoid some of the problems described in the first chapter? We will confine ourselves to a general outline; details can be found in the respective chapters.

The division of the text into smaller units has uncovered a number of structural and rhetorical differences between the Greek and the Arabic versions of the *Rhetoric*. In some cases, they decisively influence the translator's understanding of a passage as well as his interpretation of other ideas and arguments in the Greek text. Especially longer and intricate stretches of argumentation cause the two texts to diverge: translation issues and misinterpretations reinforce each other and occasionally led to translations which have little in common with the Greek.

Structural discrepancies were, as we have seen, not only caused by problematic translations or technical issues such as damaged manuscripts. Preconceived notions played an important role in the translator's reading of the Greek text. Accordingly, structural modifications fall into two groups: those that have an immediate and obvious impact on a given passage and those which predispose the translator to a specific interpretation of terms or ideas while not necessarily leading to immediate modifications. The former are very often caused by syntactical and stylistic phenomena, e.g. the segmentation of the continuous text into sentences and clauses; Aristotle's often elliptical and terse style; or by technical difficulties such as misreadings and manuscript problems. The necessity to simplify intricate, longer syntactical structures in the process of translation also influenced the Arabic target text. Finally, parenthetical insertions in the Greek text proved to be a major stumbling block for the translator.

A more general factor impacting the translator's reading of the *Rhetoric* is his belief in the consistency and coherence of his Greek source.[1] His

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[1] The translator's trust reflects the attitude of many antique commentators, cf. Hadot (1995, p. 73f).

attempt to reconcile the two lists of important aspects of speech he finds
in Sections I.1[2] and II.1[3] led to substantial structural divergences between
the Greek and Arabic texts. Key terms such as $\varphi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$ seem to have
triggered interpretive schemata such as the contrast between *tawahhum*
and *taḫayyul* on the one hand and *handasah* on the other (cf. above p. 101).

In sum, the structural analysis suggests that not only the Greek text
but also the translator's preconceptions affected his work. Often enough,
the Aristotle's prose was simply beyond the translator's grasp. On occa-
sion, he had to resort to extremely close imitations of the Greek text's
word order in an attempt to squeeze some sense out of a passage. This
happened frequently when extensive background knowledge about Greek
literature, history and geography was required to understand the text.
This knowledge was often not available to the translator. In combina-
tion with other issues, his unfamiliarity with much of the subject matter
discussed in the *Rhetoric* caused substantial departures from the Greek
text, e.g. in his puzzling argument about "acting" and "contestants" in
Elements II.6.7f.[4] Metaphorical expressions were often translated liter-
ally meaning of such phrases, resulting in statements which must have
confused both the translator and his readers. On occasion, he resorted to
paraphrase or outright deletion to cope with difficult passages.

Lack of background knowledge or the obscure subject matter de-
manded considerable creativity and flexibility. In one case, the translator
transposed Aristotle's excursus on the use of the voice in speech into the
field of music which he could expect his audience to be more familiar with
than aspects of the Greek accent system.[5]

In spite of his troubles, he nevertheless proved himself comparably
adept at handling complex syntactical constructions and creatively adapt-
ing Aristotle's demanding text for an Arabic-speaking audience. Where
he failed, we have not only the translator's linguistic competence or the
deficiencies of his sources to blame. He was equally often defeated by the
difficult subject matter, the complicated structure and language of the
text and the wide range of literary material it contains.

To cope with these challenges, he had to rely even more on the only
formal markers of argumentative progression in the Greek text, particles.
As we have seen, he displayed a remarkable subtlety and flexibility in

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[2] On p. 67.
[3] On p. 73.
[4] On p. 104f.
[5] Cf. Section II.3, p. 84.

uncovering the complex network of connectors and structural particles the Greek version is dotted with. Even so, some constructions eluded him: overlapping μέν ... δέ-constructions and clusters of particles as well as structures connecting distant textual elements marked the limits of his syntactic grasp.

In his handling of morphological features of the Greek language, specifically negative composites, the translator used the full range of instruments the Arabic language put at his disposal. In comparison to the other translations we have examined, the *Rhetoric* displays an average degree of terminological consistency; in terms of its treatment of negated terms and its coherence, the text exhibits numerous similarities with the translation of the *Placita philosophorum*.

Transcription is another field in which the *Rhetoric* shows a remarkable degree of consistency, notwithstanding some variation in the vocalic structure of many names. While features of the transcription system applied in different translations are ill suited to help us date a text, they at least reflect similarities in the approach taken by different translators and assists us in grouping translations. In comparison with the control group of texts, it becomes obvious that the translator of the *Rhetoric* applied a fully developed and consistent system of transliteration.

In terms of its terminology, the *Rhetoric* stands out, thanks to its high degree of variation in the translation of Greek technical terms. In spite of such apparent inconsistencies, the *Rhetoric* already contains the very range of expressions which became standardized in subsequent translations. This circumstance suggests once more that the text did not emerge in a terminological and methodological vacuum. Where we detect problems, e.g. in his frequent recourse to doublets, the explanation is often found in ambiguities in Aristotle's own terminology. Moreover, doublets do not necessarily point to a translator's lack of sophistication: they may also reflect his desire for terminological precision or illustrate his efforts in making the text more comprehensible for his audience.

Our analysis took only a small number of textual features and a small comparative sample of translations into account. On the basis of the findings outlined above, we are not in a position make a positive judgement about its translator(s). However, it provides us with enough material to place the text in close proximity to the Kindī-circle. The evidence clearly does not support an early, eighth century dating but suggests a translation date sometime in the first half of the ninth century. Whichever member or associate of the Kindī-circle took on this task, it shows the mark of a

comparatively inexperienced translator who had problems not only with the language of the *Rhetoric* but also with the cultural background required to understand it.

Conceptual issues loomed large in our historical survey of the Greek-Arabic translation movement, e.g. the subtle and not so subtle influence of preconceived notions about the nature of language and the translation process. Among them were the effects of what we have called the "philological outlook" such as a tendency to look at translations outside their historical and intellectual context. Also prominent was the problematic status of oral transmission, the transfer of information (terms, phrases, ideas) through alternative channels which preceded or took place alongside the systematic written translation of entire texts.

It hardly bears repeating that translation is a process that involves much more than the transfer of content from one medium into another. It depended (and depends) on many variables such as a translator's education and experience, his cultural background, contemporary intellectual, religious and political circumstances, the distinctive features of source and target language, the character of the source text and the quality of the material (manuscripts etc.) available to the translator.

On the linguistic level, echoes of the translators' struggle with complex Greek syntactic constructions and its complicated verbal system can be heard in each extant translation, especially the *Rhetoric*. In spite of such problems, the translators, sometimes together with their revisers, made masterly use of the abundant resources provided by Syriac and Arabic to produce readable and understandable texts.

In addition to linguistic issues, the translators had to bridge an entire millenium and to understand and convey ideas originating in a cultural context which could not have been further removed from their contemporary concerns. Their task was alleviated to a certain degree by the vestiges of Greek and Byzantine scholarly institutions still active at the time of the Islamic conquest, e.g. Syrian educational institutions. Scholars trained in such institutions transmitted the core of the texts which formed part of the late antique scholarly curriculum and translated a number of central works into Syriac. While some of this textual heritage made its way into the hands of the Arabic translators, readings and interpretations of these texts had undergone major changes. The effect of Neoplatonic thought on the commentary tradition is one factor which had a substantial impact on the translators' understanding of their texts. Their concerns had moreover been shaped by their Christian faith. These and other factors

left their mark on the translations produced in the course of the Greek-Arabic translation movement.

The way the *Rhetoric* was understood by the translator and Islamic philosophers is a good example of the impact of interpretations inherited from translated literature. The classification of the *Rhetoric* as a logical treatise was a given and the text was translated and read in this light.

This and other aspects of a translator's work have the potential to change substantially the way we look at Greek-Arabic translations. The decisions translators took during their work were considerably more complex than to pick one of two basic approaches ("literal" or "free") and then to select suitable Arabic equivalents for a given Greek word or phrase. A great many of these decisions were involved in the production of a translation, some of them conscious, some taken unconsciously on the basis of their education, training and experience and a host of other factors guiding their judgement.

The complexity of this process calls for a reconstruction and appreciation of as many of these factors as possible in order to understand the resulting text as fully as the available information allows. It also calls for a rethinking of simplifying categories of translation such as mistranslation, translational competence etc., all of which depend on outdated concepts of language and translation. What we are beginning to learn is that the texts produced during the Greek-Arabic translation movement are *independent literary facts*: they are based on Greek and/or Syriac source texts but they often enough put forward arguments and make points which differ from what we would expect on the basis of our carefully collated and thoroughly annotated and researched Greek editions.

This is not to absolve the translator or scribe from their lapses. On the contrary, these often enough marred the process of translation and transmission—something the translators themselves were acutely aware of—and have to be pointed out as such. It is, however, to raise our awareness of the constraints under which translators were working and to increase our appreciation for the admirable results they produced under often adverse conditions.

Even more importantly, it is to emphasize the status of translations as *literary creations in their own right*. What we perceive as a fault and misunderstanding might and, in all probability, will have been read as a valid idea or argument by contemporary readers. It could have made its way into contemporary discussions and writings and developed a life of its own, independent of the translation it was derived from. Any aware-

ness of a translation's shortcomings which might have cautioned readers tends to be lost once these ideas have successfully "escaped" into the intellectual world. Thus, however inadequate we consider a translation, it was probably read and understood as a substantial contribution to specific literary traditions. This phenomenon is akin to the appearance and utilization of spurious texts or whole groups of texts and the influence they had on several disciplines and subjects of Islamic thought. Probably the most prominent example of such texts are pseudo-Aristotelian writings, chiefly the *Theology of Aristotle*, which had such a formative impact on Islamic philosophy and theology.[6]

The distinction between "literal" and "free" translations frequently mentioned above proved to be particularly persistent in the secondary literature. Its attractiveness for the Greek-Arabic translation movement is obvious: firstly, it offers two mutually exclusive categories to classify translations both qualitatively and, according to several commentators, chronologically and secondly, its authoritative status as a distinction originating inside Islamic discourse on translation is assured by the testimony of al-Ṣafadī. We have seen that, quite apart from the question of its applicability to the translations he so confidently writes about, his claims cannot be corroborated by any authoritative source contemporary to and familiar with the translation movement. It had come to a close three centuries before al-Ṣafadī's death.[7]

What, then, do we mean when we talk about "literal" translation? A synonym frequently used in the context of early Greek-Arabic translations is "word-for-word" or *verbum-e-verbo* translation: the linear substitution of a source language word with a target language word. This typology of translation has a long and venerable history.[8] Considering the case of a "literal" translation between cognate languages such as French and Italian, it works reasonably well: the process of mechanical substitution of one French term for an Italian one will, owing to the high degree of syntactic similarity between the languages and semantic congruity between terms, lead to a text that is comprehensible, even though it probably would, in the eyes of a native speaker, not make for a very pleasant read or necessarily convey the same set of meanings.

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[6]　Cf. Zimmermann (1986, 1994a), Adamson (2001) and Taylor (1986).

[7]　Similar sentiments have been expressed by Gutas (1998, p. 142).

[8]　Brock (1991, p. 143) records the role of the distinction in the classical and late Greco-Roman world. A short sketch of the history of the concept *translation* can be found in Gerzymisch-Arbogast (1994, p. 11ff). For a concise discussion of this and other basic categories of translation and translation studies, cf. Hatim and Mason (1990, p. 1–20).

Things are substantially more complicated between unrelated languages such as Greek and Arabic. Mechanical substitution fails not only on account of widely differing syntactic and stylistic standards. Also, the assumption of terminological congruity fails us most of the time. Thus, word-for-word transposition, were it possible, would result in texts which were not only unreadable but incomprehensible. Obviously, it does not make much sense to posit a clear-cut distinction between literal and free translations in the context of the Greek-Arabic translation movement. We can, however, still talk about relative degrees of literalness as long as we specify what feature of a source text has been reproduced "literally". The *Rhetoric* contains numerous examples of relatively close imitations of the source text's word order. We have already pointed out that this specific form of "literalness" coincides with passages which the translator apparently has not understood very well, if at all.

Without its counterpart, it does not make sense to talk about "free" translations as well: however early or flawed a translation from Greek to Syriac or Arabic may appear to us, it must by necessity be "free" to qualify as a translation in the first place, to relay *meaning* from one linguistic medium into another.

The resources which translators used in understanding and translating texts comprised not only obvious elements such as their Syriac Christian background and ability to draw on the collective experience embodied in the Greek-Syriac translation tradition or their training with other translators and their access to source texts and other Arabic translations. They lived in a cultural milieu that was suffused with ideas and concepts from a variety of sources.[9] Diffusion relied only in part on written texts and was probably often achieved through oral communication. Ideas, theories, even certain terms were offered on the intellectual marketplace of the time and either accepted or discarded. Some of the material brought into circulation by these processes of diffusion found its way to the translators and influenced their reading of texts: it suggested interpretations, offered parallels and might even have provided some of their terminology. That is to say, attempts to reconstruct influences on a translator's output on the basis of written texts without acknowledging the potential impact of non-textual diffusion leads to numerous problems: it invites misleading

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[9] (Morony, 1984, p. 10) reminds us that Iraq in particular was a region which, on account of its cultural diversity, had a decisive influence on the shaping of early Islamic civilization: "Iraq was a place of cultural creativity and a center for cultural diffusion. Changes that were taking place there make the region unique during late antiquity but characteristic of Islamic civilization".

reconstructions of translation traditions, gives rise to flawed chronological classifications and it deprives us of an important factor which can help to explain terminological decisions and interpretations.

The translation of the *Rhetoric*, even though obviously an early product of the translation movement, already shows a surprising degree of consistency and standardization in areas such as transcription and terminology. Without evidence for a preceding *textual* tradition from which standards such as these could have been derived, oral diffusion of concepts and terms should not be excluded as a potential source for this kind of lexical and linguistic knowledge.

In addition to these more general considerations, some methodological issues associated with the study of Greek-Arabic translations have emerged in the course of this study.

The first one has, thanks to the healthy scepticism of more recent research, lost some of its urgency, i.e. the tendency to construct sweeping generalizations and elaborate historical reconstructions on the basis of a handful of sources. The most striking example for this tendency is the subject of the *bayt al-ḥikmah*, its history, structure and role in the translation movement. As tempting as it is to detect traces of something comparable to modern research institutions behind the scant references in our sources, the material is simply not trustworthy and substantial enough to allow any such inferences.

The second one is more complex and harder to resolve: the identification of "Syriacisms" and other evidence for alleged Syriac intermediaries, an important part of translation analysis ever since the beginnings of systematic research into the Greek-Arabic translation tradition. In some cases, the Syriac origins of an Arabic translation can be plausibly suggested on the basis of philological criteria and the evidence provided by marginal notes and/or information derived from secondary sources. In other cases, we do not have corroborating evidence outside the texts themselves. The interpretation of often ambiguous textual findings quickly becomes a guessing game: there are a number of different explanations for the existence of Syriacisms, e.g. a translator's deficient command of Arabic; contaminations introduced by later scribes and commentators; misreadings and defects of manuscripts transmitted through the ages; or—finally—the sought-after Syriac source text used by a translator for the production of an Arabic version. Where corroboration from outside sources is not forthcoming, it is possible to cite any number of them to

explain the terminology and phraseology of a given text *without* having to posit a hypothetical Syriac source.

Nevertheless, the existence of a Syriac intermediary as the source for specific translations instead of a Greek text seems to be the default choice for some commentators. The *Rhetoric* is a good example for the interpretation of textual and secondary evidence influenced by the *expectation* of a Syriac intermediary. The mere reference to a Syriac translation in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* in combination with alleged Syriacisms in the text of the *Rhetoric* have led Lyons to assume as a matter of course rather than proof that the translation was produced on the basis of a Syriac text. This assumption has not been borne out by our text analysis. The marginal notes in the manuscript which refer to a Syriac version do not indicate more than the use of a Syriac version of uncertain date in the *collation process* of the extant manuscript. While it does not conclusively prove the central role of a Syriac source in the translation process, it at least corroborates the testimony of Ibn al-Nadīm regarding the existence of such a Syriac *Rhetoric* (or parts of it).

As with many a generalization we encounter in the secondary literature, the only possible course of action seems to be to present the sources as we have them, to evaluate their relevance and to interpret them with caution. In the end, agnosticism probably serves us better than speculation.

Are there, apart from thorough philological analyses and a comprehensive study of all available sources to establish the context of specific texts, any additional instruments which could help us to add to and improve our knowledge about Greek-Arabic translations? I think there are.

The study of the translation movement is one of the fields in which the conscientious application of philological methods has enabled us to make the most out of a relatively small collection of extant texts and scattered references in the bio-bibliographical literature. After careful philological analysis combined with a meticulous examination of secondary sources and the various translation fragments distributed over a vast amount of philosophical and non-philosophical literature, we are able to draw a surprisingly detailed picture of the history of the translation movement, its exponents and methods. Without the work of the authors whose writings we have explored in the first chapter, our understanding of the translation movement would still be in its infancy.

Chronologically parallel to the activities of these and other scholars in the field, translation as a more general phenomenon of linguistic and cultural exchange has been the focus first of linguistics and, since the early

1970s, the independent discipline of translation studies. Even though substantial amounts of research in this field have focused on modern translation between related languages, some of the concepts and analytical methods developed in translation studies can be fruitfully applied to the Greek-Arabic translation movement.

One important addition to our analytical equipment is the ability to analyse and compare textual units which fall outside the scope of philological analysis, i.e. units larger than a sentence. Since we are, in the context of Greek-Arabic translation, mostly dealing with sources which do not give us any graphical indications for such larger units, we have to divide the text according to semantic criteria. The model applied in this study to a sample from Book Three of the *Rhetoric* is one such approach. A text is split up into smaller units along lines drawn by the rhetorical purpose[10] of a text and the steps an author or translator takes to achieve this purpose. The division of texts into rhetorical units allows us to retrace the rhetorical structure of a source text and a translation, compare them and identify such modifications as occurred in the process of translation. The resulting insight into the way a stretch of text is rhetorically organized and the way rhetorical purposes are given expression and arranged provides us with a wealth of comparative data: how does the translator render discrete arguments? Does he understand and accurately reproduce relations between arguments? Does he perceive standard figures of persuasion and successfully transfer their rhetorical import, if not their actual structure? Does he grasp the overall rhetorical purpose of a text and bring it out in his translation? As we have seen, these modifications can be serious enough to alter substantially the meaning of the Arabic version.[11]

In addition to the ability to study higher-level textual units, text linguistics and translation studies could provide our field with a number of other helpful methodical tools. The division of texts as demonstrated in our sample is only a preliminary step: in a second analytical stage which we have not undertaken in this study, argumentative relations between textual units would be examined to identify patterns which in turn would lead to the classification of a text sample according to "text types", e.g. "argumentation" or "exposition". Without going into further detail, it

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[10] In this paragraph, the term "rhetorical" is used in its technical meaning in the field of translation studies. Hatim and Mason (1990, p. 243) define "rhetorical purpose" as "The overall intention of a text producer, as instantiated by the function of a text, e.g. to narrate, to counter-argue". To employ a technical term used in speech-act theory, it denotes a text's "illocutionary force" (Hatim, 1997, p. 118f).

[11] Cf. above p. 124.

is obvious that this approach would afford the study of the translation movement an additional classificatory matrix which could play a role in text comparisons. Moreover, it would help us to identify cross-cultural differences between text type structures and their influence in the process of translation between Greek, Syriac and Arabic. On a more general level, the introduction of methods developed in the context of text linguistics and translation studies would act as a powerful antidote against simplified conceptions of translation such as those we have encountered in the course of this study.

GLOSSARY

The following indices are based on the section of the *Rhetoric* we have analysed in some depth in the third chapter, i.e. the first half of Book Three which corresponds to 1403b6–1412a16 in Kassel's edition of the Greek text and 171/1–204/3 in Lyons' Arabic edition. Omissions, mistranslations and damaged sections of the manuscript have complicated things a bit; terms without any identifiable equivalent in the other version as well as obvious mistranslations have, with few exceptions, been excluded. Arabic nouns and participles with articles are reproduced with it in both indices.

For the highly frequent Greek terms αὐτός, γίγνομαι, δεῖ, ἔχω, εἴρω, λέγω, ποιέω, χράω and χρήσιμος, the index contains only a representative selection of occurences to avoid repetition. For a discussion of some of the central Greek philosophical terms and their terminological development across several Greek-Arabic translations, see p. 173–179.

Greek-Arabic

A

Greek	Reference	Arabic
ἀάω	12a1 ἆσαι	مسحوا [1] 203/11
ἀγαθός	05a15, b23 τοῦ βελτίονος	أفضل 177/18, 180/6
	05b29 τὸ ἀγαθόν	الخير 180/13
	08a4 ἀγαθῶν	في الخيرات 189/7
	11b26 τὸν ἀγαθόν	الصالح 202/22
ἀγαμένως	08a18 ἀγαμένως	للاستدراج [2] 189/22
ἄγαν	06b8 ἄγαν	جدّ 183/7
	06b11 ἄγαν	جدّا 183/11
ἀγανακτέω	11a7f ἠγανάκτει	جعل يتعسّر 200/12
	11a11f ἠγανάκτει	جعل يمتعض 200/17
ἡ ἀγκύρα	12a14 ἀγκύραν	الكلّوب 204/2

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[1] The translator misunderstood Aristotle's quotation.
[2] The translator misunderstood Aristotle's quotation.

Greek	Reference	Arabic
ἀγνοέω	10b24 ἀγνοούμενά ἐστιν	لم يفهم 199/16
ἀγνώς	10b12 ἄγνωντες	مجهولة خفيّة 199/3
ἄγνωστος	08b27 ἀγνώστων	خفي مشكل 192/15
ὁ ἀγρός	10a28 ἀγρόν	الخراج 198/5
ἄγω	11a22 ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν	لزوم الصمت 201/8
ὁ ἀγών	03b32 τῶν ἀγώνων	المنازعات والمزاولات 172/15
	03b34 τοὺς … ἀγῶνας	المنازعات 172/17
	09b35 τοὺς … ἀγῶνας	وقائع 196/16
ἀγωνίζομαι	04a5f ἀγωνίζεσθαι	يتنازعوا 173/2
ἄδηλος	07b15 ἄδηλον	لا ندري 187/20
	07b17 ἄδηλον	ليس بيّنا 187/23
ἀδικέω	05a26 τὸν ἀδικήσαντα	ظلم … من 178/10f
	05a27 ἀδικῆσαι	ظلم 178/11
	12a13 τὸ ἀδικούμενον	المظلوم 204/1
ἡ ἀδολεσχία	06a34 τὴν ἀδολεσχίαν	بالهذو 182/14
ἀηδής	08b27 ἀηδές	ليس بلذّي 192/15
	09a31 ἀηδής	غير لذيذ 195/1
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι	11a9 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους	الاثينين[3] 200/14
	11a11 Ἀθηναίων	الاثينيّون 200/16
τὸ ἆθλον	03b32 τὰ … ἆθλα	ذوو المنازعة 172/14
	04a17 ἆθλα	منازعين أو مجاهدين 173/16f
Αἴγινα	11a14 τὴν Αἴγιναν	اجينة 201/1
τὸ αἴνιγμα	05b1 τῷ αἰνίγματι	الرمز 179/4
αἱρέω	08b25 αἱρεῖται	شرّف 192/11
αἰσθάνομαι	07b21 τὸ … αἰσθόμενος	أحسست 188/5
ἡ αἴσθησις	05b19 αἰσθήσει	الإحساس 179/23
Αἰσίων	11a25 Αἰσίων	اسيون 201/11
τὸ αἶσχος	05b8 αἶσχος	[القبح] 179/11
αἰσχρολογέω	05b10 αἰσχρολογεῖν	يتكلّم بالقبيح 179/3
αἰσχρός	05b16 αἰσχρόν	القبح 179/20
	05b22 [ἀπὸ] αἰσχροῦ	[من الأمور] الرديئة 180/5
	06b10 αἰσχρῶς	بشرّة 183/10
	06b17 αἰσχρόν	ما أقبح 183/16
	06b18, 07b29, 30 αἰσχρόν	قبيحا، 183/17, 188/14

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3 Badawī: الاثينيين.

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	06b18 αἰσχρόν	قبيح 183/18
	08a17 αἰσχρά	[ب]الشنّة 189/21
	10a13 αἰσχρῶς	مفتضحين 197/11
ἡ αἰσχύνη	06a29 τὴν ... αἰσχύνην	عورة 182/8
αἰσχύνομαι	08a35 αἰσχυνόμενος	استحياء 190/18
	11b7 αἰσχυνθέντες	استحيى 202/3
ἡ αἴτησις	05a19 αἰτήσεις	مسألة 178/1
ἡ αἰτία	06a7 αἰτία	العلل 181/5
ἡ αἰχμή	12a1 αἰχμή	السيف 203/12
ἄκαιρος	06a11 ἀκαίροις	اللازمنيّات 181/10
ἡ ἀκμή	11b28 τὴν ἀκμήν	ذوات الزهرة أو البهجة 203/2
ἀκολουθέω	10a2 τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας	الذين تبعوا 196/20
τὸ ἄκος	08b1 ἄκος	الصحّة والحقيقة 191/2
ἀκούω	06a27 τῶν ἀκουόντων	السامعين 182/6
	08a23, 35 ὁ ἀκούων	السامع 190/3, 18
ἀκριβής	08b31 ἀκριβῶς	محقّقة 193/1
ἀκριβολογέο- μαι	04a37 ἀκριβολογητέον	ينبغي ... أن نتكلّم 174/19f
ὁ ἀκροατής	04a8 τοῦ ἀκροατοῦ	السامع 173/6
	04a12, 09b19, 32 τὸν ἀκροατήν	السامع، 173/10, 195/21، 196/13
	07a36 οἱ ἀκροαταί	الذين يسمعون 186/19
	08a25 τοὺς ἀκροατάς	السامعين 190/5
	08a33 οἱ ἀκροαταί	السامعين 190/15
	08b5 [ὁ ἀκροατής]	السامع 191/7
	08b14 τοὺς ἀκροατάς	السامع 191/17
ἀληθής	08a21 ἀληθῶς	يقول الحقّ 190/1
	08b3 ἀληθές	حقّ 191/4
Ἀλκιδάμας	06a1 Ἀλκιδάμας	القيداميس 181/2
	06a18 τὰ Ἀλκιδάμαντος	أقاويل [القيداماس] 181/18
	06b11 Ἀλκιδάμας	القيدامس 183/11
ἄλλος	08a19 τῶν ἄλλων	سائر الأخر 189/23
	10b29 τοῖς ἄλλοις	الآخرون 199/23
ἀλλότριος	04b23f αἱ ... ἀλλότριαι	غريبا 176/5

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	10b32 ἀλλότϱιαν	غريبا أو مهملا 199/25
ἄλυϱος	08a7 ἄλυϱον	لا [معزفيّة] 189/9
	08a9 ἄλυϱον	غير معزفي 189/12
ἄμα	10b24 ἄμα	من ساعته 199/17
ἀμαϱτάνω	05a27 ἀμαϱτάνειν	أساء 178/11
	05a27 ἀμαϱτάνοντα	أساء 178/11
τὸ ἀμάϱτημα	07b1 ἀμάϱτημα	الخطأ 187/1
ἡ ἀμαϱτία	05a31 ἀμαϱτία	خطأ 178/16
ὁ ἀμύντωϱ	05b23 ὁ ... ἀμύντωϱ	الذي أثار 180/6
ἀμύνω	05a21 ἀμύντον	غير أديب 178/4
ἀμφίβολος	07a32 ἀμφιβόλοις	المشكّكات والمتصرّفات 186/14
	07a37 ἀμφιβόλα	المشكّكات 186/20
ἀναβάλλω	11b14 ἀναβαλλόμεθα	نريهم 202/11
ἡ ἀναβολή	09a25 αἱ ... ἀναβολαί	فيه تلبّثا 194/17
	09b25 ἀναβολῇ	[التلبّث] 196/6
	09b27 ἀναβολάς	تلبّثا 196/8
	09b29 ἀναβολή	التلبّث 196/10
	11b15 ἡ ἀναβολή	الريث 202/11
ἀναγκαῖος	04a3 ἀναγκαίου	يضطرّ 172/24
	04a9 ἀναγκαῖον	اضطراري 173/7
	07a25 τοῦ ἀναγκαίου	يضطرّ 186/5
ἡ ἀνάγκη	03b16 ἀνάγκη	يحتاج باضطرار 171/15
	09a24, b19 ἀνάγκη	ينبغي 194/15, 195/22
	10a25 ἀνάγκη	لا بدّ 198/2
	10b20 ἀνάγκη	من الاضطرار 199/11
ἄναιμος	06b9 ἄναιμα	فيه دم⁴ 183/9
ἀναισχυντέω	12a3 τὸ ἀναισχυντεῖν	الاستحياء والوقاحة 203/14
	12a6 ὁ ἀναισχυντῶν	الذي لا يستحي 203/17
	12a6 τὸν ἀναισχυντούμενον	الذي لا يستحيا منه 203/17f
ἡ ἀναλογία	11a1 κατ' ἀναλογίαν	المعادلة أو التكافؤ 200/6
	11b3f, 12a4f κατὰ ἀναλο-γίαν	المعادلة 201/21, 203/16
ἀνάλογος	05a11 τοῦ ἀνάλογον	المضادّات 177/12

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⁴ According to Lyons, the word was apparently misread as ἔναιμα.

	06b31 τοῦ ἀνάλογον	استواء المقادير واعتدالها 184/8
	07a14 τοῦ ἀνάλογον	المعادلة والوزن 185/11
	08a8 ταῖς ἀνάλογον	المعادلة 189/11
	08a11 ἀνάλογον	معتدلة 189/14
	08a12 τὸ … ἀνάλογον	الاعتدال 189/14
	08b4 τοῖς ἀνάλογον	المتعادلة 191/6
Ἀναξανδρείδης	11a18 Ἀναξανδρείδου	انكساندريدوس[5] 201/5
Ἀνδροτίων	06b27 Ἀνδροτίων	اندروطيون 184/3
ὁ ἀνήρ	05b1, 10a36 ἄνδρα	رجلا 179/5, 198/13
	05b2 ἀνέρι	رجلا 179/5
	08a28, 28, 09b28 ἀνήρ	الرجل 190/9, 9, 196/9
	10a36 ἄνδρα	رجلا 198/13
	11b26 ἄνδρα	الرجل 202/22
ἀνθρώπινος	06b12 ἀνθρωπίνου	الناس 183/12
ὁ ἄνθρωπος	06a35 οἱ … ἄνθρωποι	الناس 182/16
	07b17 ἄνθρωποι	الرجل 187/22
	11b19f τῶν ἀνθρώπων	الناس 202/17
ἀνταποδίδωμι	07a15 ἀνταποδιδόναι	نجعل 185/10
	07a23 ἀνταποδιδόναι	يحاذي 186/3
ἡ ἀντίθεσις	10a22f ἀντίθεσις	الموضوعة بالخلاف 197/20
	10b1 ἀντίθεσιν	موضوعا بالخلاف 198/15
	10b3 ἀντιθέσεις	موضوعات بالخلاف 198/17
	10b36 ἀντιθέσεως	الوضع بالخلاف 200/4
	11b1 ἀντίθεσιν	الوضع بالخلاف 201/19
ἀντίκειμαι	09a12 ἀντικείμενα	يضادّ أحدهما الآخر 194/3
	09b35 ἀντικειμένη	المخالفة 196/17
	10a6 ἀντίκειται	[مخالف] 197/2
	10a22 τῶν ἀντικειμένων	المتضادّات 197/19
	10b29 ἀντικειμένως	بالخلاف 199/22
	10b30f ἀντίκειται	خلاف 199/23
ἡ ἀντίκρουσις	09b22 τὴν ἀντίκρουσιν	الصدمة المخالفة 196/2
Ἀντίμαχος	08a1f Ἀντιμάχου	انطيماخوس 189/4
ἀντίμιμος	06a29f ἀντίμιμον	الاقتداء المنكوس 182/9
Ἀντισθένης	07a9 Ἀντισθένης	انطيسثانيس 185/5

5   Margoliouth, Sālim: انكساندرينوس.

ἀντισπάω	09b21 ἀντισπασθῇ	لكيما يسلموا من الألم 196/1
ἀντίστροφος	09a26f ταῖς ἀντιστρόφοις	كرور 194/17
	09b27 τῶν ἀντιστρόφων	الكرور 196/8
ἄνωθεν	12a15 τῷ ἄνωθεν	إلى أسفل 204/3
ἀνώνυμος	05a36 τὰ ἀνώνυμα	التي لا أسماء لها 179/2f
	05b2 ἀνώνυμον	غير ذي اسم 179/6
	06a35 ἀνώνυμον	غير مسمّى 182/17
ἄξιος	05a30 κατ' ἀξίαν	ذو قدر 178/15
	10a32 ἄξιος	تتأهّل 198/9
	10a33 ἄξιος	مستو 198/10
	11a31 ἄξιον	ينبغي 201/17
ἀξιόω	10a8f ἠξιώθησαν	بلغوا 197/5
τὸ ἀξίωμα	04b4 ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα	مجاوزة للقدر الذي يستوجب 175/1f
ἀπαίδευτος	04a27 τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων	الذين لا أدب لهم 174/7
ἀπαιτέω	07a22 ἀπαιτεῖ	يقتضي 186/2
ἀπαρτάω	07a24 ἀπαρτᾶν	يباعد 186/4
ἄπειρος	08a4 ἄπειρον	غير ذي حدّ أو نهاية 189/7
	08b28 τὸ ἄπειρον	الذي لا يتناهى 192/15
	09a31 τὸ ἄπειρον	لا يتناهي 195/2
ἀπέραντος	08b26 ἀπέραντον	لا يتناهي 192/13
	09b2 τῷ ἀπεράντῳ	الذي لا يتناهي 195/9
ἀπίθανος	06b14 ἀπίθανα	غير مقنع 183/14
	08b10 ἀπίθανον	مقنعة[6] 191/13
	08b22 ἀπίθανον	غير مقنع 192/8
ἀποδείκνυμι	03b12 τῷ ἀποδεδεῖχθαι	التثبيت المقنع 171/10
	04a6 τοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι	التثبيت 173/4
ἀπόδειξις	09a28 ἀπόδειξις	تبيّن 194/14
ἀποδέχομαι	08b18 ἀποδέχονται	يقبل 192/2
ἀποδίδωμι	07a20 ἂν ἀποδιδῷ	جاد 185/18
	07a25 ἀποδιδόναι	المحاذات 186/5
	07b8 ἀποδιδόναι	استعمال 187/9
	07b19 ἀποδιδόναι	يستعمل 188/2
ἀποκάμπτω	09b23 οἱ … ἀποκάμπτον-	الذين [يميلون] 196/4

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6 The α privativum has not been translated.

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ἀποκόπτω	09a19 ἀποκόπτεσθαι	تقطع 194/9
ἡ ἀπόλαυσις	10a6 ἀπόλαυσις	اللهو 197/2
ἀπολαύω	10a5 ἀπολαῦσαι	اللهو 197/2
ἀπολείπω	09b22 ἀπολείπεσθαι	الترك أو المفارقة 196/3
	09b23f ἀπολείπουσι	[يتجاوزون] 196/5
ἀπόλλυμι	10a13 ἀπώλοντο	هلكوا 197/10
	11a2 ἀπολομένην	الذين هلكوا 200/7
ἡ ἀπρέπεια	06a33 τῇ ἀπρεπείᾳ	غير ما يجمل 182/12
ἀπρεπής	04b15 ἀπρεπέστερον	أقلّ أو أنقص 175/14
	05a12 ἀπρεπές	غير جميل 177/13
	06a13 τὰ ... ἀπρεπέστερα	لا تحسن البتّة 181/12f
	06b6 ἀπρεπεῖς	ما ليس بجميل 183/4
	07b29 ἀπρεπές	قبيحا أو غير جميل 188/14f
ἄπων	04b11 τῶν ἀπόντων	البعيدات 175/11
ἀργός	10a29 ἀργόν	القراح 198/6
	10a36 ἀργόν	بطّالا 198/13
ἡ ἀρετή	04b2 ἀρετή	فضيلة 174/23
	04b37 ἡ ἀρετή	فضيلة 176/19
	11a33 τῇ ἀρετῇ	فضيلتهم 201/18
ἄρης	07a17 ἄρεως	المرّيخ 185/14
ὁ ἀριθμός	08b28 ἀριθμῷ	عدد ونهاية 192/16
	09b5, 7 ἀριθμόν	عددا 195/10, 13
τὰ ἀριστεῖα	10a8 τῶν ἀριστείων	المراتب العظيمة 197/5
Ἀριστοφάνης	05b30 Ἀριστοφάνης	ارسطوفانيس[7] 180/13
ἡ ἀρμονία	03b31 ἀρμονία	التوفيق 172/14
	08b33 ἀρμονίας	التوصيل 193/4
ἀρμόττω	04b13 ἀρμόττει	يستولي ويليق 175/12
	05a11 ἀρμοττούσας	كان مشاكلا 177/12
	07a25, b19f, 09a12, b30 ἀρμόττει	يشاكل, 186/5, 188/3, 196/11, 194/3
	08a26 ἡ ἀρμοττούσα	يلزم أو يشاكل 190/7f
	08b7 ἀρμόττουσιν	يشاكل 191/9
	08b11 μάλιστα ἀρμόττει	أوفق 191/15

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7 Badawī: ارسطوفانس.

	08b19 ἥϱμοσεν	يشاكل 192/3
ἄϱϱην	07b7 ἄϱϱενα	[ذكرا] 187/8
ἄϱϱυθμος	08b22 ἄϱϱυθμον	غير ذي وزن ولا عدد 192/7
	08b26 τὸ … ἄϱϱυθμον	الاورا(ط)مون 192/13
	09a22 ἄϱϱυθμον	السخيف 194/12
ὁ ἀϱτιασμός	07b3 τοῖς ἀϱτιασμοῖς	الأعداد 187/3
ἄϱτιος	07b3 ἄϱτια	الزوج 187/3
ἀϱχαῖος	09a26 ἀϱχαίων	القدماء 194/17
	09a27 ἡ ἀϱχαία	القديمة 194/18
ἡ ἀϱχή	07a19 ἀϱχή	بدو 185/16
	07a38 ἀϱχήν	رياسة 187/1
	07b16 τῇ ἀϱχῇ	فاتحة 187/21
	09a11 τῆς ἀϱχῆς	البدو 194/2
	09a12, 10a25 ἀϱχῇ	البدو 194/3f, 198/2
	09a36 ἀϱχήν	بدوه 195/6
	10a9 τὴν ἀϱχήν	سلطان 197/6
	10a26 ἀϱχή	المبادئ 198/3
	10a28 ἀϱχῇ	المبادئ 198/5
	10b2 αἱ … ἀϱχαί	مبادئ 198/16
	10b9 ἀϱχή	البدو 198/23
Ἀϱχίδαμος	06b30 Ἀϱχίδαμον	ارخدامس 184/7
	06b31f Ἀϱχίδαμος	ارخيداموس[8] 184/9
Ἀϱχύτας	12a12 Ἀϱχύτας	ارخوطيس 203/25
ἄϱχω	04a19 ἤϱξαντο	ابتدؤوا 173/20
	09a10 ἀϱχόμενοι	ابتدؤوا 194/1
	09a13 ἄϱχει	بدوه 194/4
	09a16 ἄϱχουσι	يبتدئ 194/6
ἀσαφής	06a34 τὸ ἀσαφές	الغامض 182/14
	06b8 ἀσαφές	خفيّة 183/8
	07a30 ἀσαφές	ليس … محقّقا 186/10
	07b21 ἀσαφῆ	خفيًا 188/5
ἀσεβής	08a17 ἀσεβῆ	الإثم 189/21
ἄσημος	05a35 ἀσήμοις	القبيحة 178/19
ἀστεῖος	10b7 τὰ ἀστεῖα	المقالة الحسان 198/21

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8 Badawī: ارخداموس.

	10b16 ἀστεῖον	حسنا 199/7
	10b20 ἀστεῖα	الحسان 199/11
	11b21 τὰ ἀστεῖα	اسطيون حسنا 202/18
ἀσύνδετος	07b39 ἀσύνδετα	بلا [رباط] 189/2
ἀτελής	09a18 ἀτελής	ليس كلاما 194/8
ἄτεχνος	04a16 ἀτεχνότερον	بزيادة غير صناعي 173/14f
ἄτιμος	05a23 ἄτιμον	غير شريف 178/7
ἀτυχέω	10a7 ἀτυχεῖν	لا ينجحون 197/4
αὐθάδης	06b23 αὔθαδες	الإقدام 183/1
αὐξάνω	11b12 αὔξειν	التكبير أو التعظيم 202/8
αὐτοκάβδαλος	08a12 αὐτοκαβδάλως	بالتكذيب 189/15
ἀφαιρέω	11a14 ἀφελεῖν	يفردوا 201/1
ἀφανίζω	11a2f ἠφανίσθαι	فقدوا 200/7
ἀφελής	09b13 ἀφελής	غير منفرج 195/16
	09b16 ἀφελή	لا ينفرج 195/18
ἄφετος	11b29 ἄφετον	ينزل أو يسوّغ 203/3
ἀφίημι	04a33, 35 ἀφείκασιν	تركوا 174/13, 16
	09a7 ἀφετέοι	متروكة 193/17
ἄφρων	10a8 τοὺς ἄφρονας	الحمق 197/4
ὁ Ἀχαϊκός	07b34 Ἀχαϊκούς	[القيادلطوس] 188/20
Ἀχιλλεύς	06b21, 24 τὸν Ἀχιλλέα	اخيلوس 183/21, 22
ἄχορδος	08a6 ἄχορδον	لا زفنية ولا رقصيّة 189/9f[9]
ἄψυχος	11b10 τὸ ἄψυχον	الذي لا نفس له 202/5
	11b32 τὰ ἄψυχα	بلا نفسانيّات 203/7
	12a7 τῶν ἀψύχων	غير النفسانيّات 203/19

B

οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι	05b30 τοῖς Βαβυλονίοις	أهل [بابيل] 180/14[10]
βαδίζω	05a1 τὸ βαδίζειν	يمشي 177/2
βάρβαρος	10a14 τοῖς βαρβάροις	الأجنبيّين 197/11
βαρύς	03b30 βαρείᾳ	الثقيلة 172/12
ὁ βασιλεῦς	06a23 βασιλεῖς	مشورات 182/2
ὁ βίος	06b12 βίου	معاش 183/12

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[9] Lyons suspects that the translation of the term is based on the reading ἄχορον.

[10] Badawī: بابل.

	08a29 τῷ βίῳ	العالم 190/10
ἡ βλάβη	11b20 βλάβη	مضرّة 202/17
βοάω	11a27 βοῆσαι	تصرخ 201/13
βοηθέω	11b5 βοηθήσοντας	ينتفع 202/1
ἡ βοήθημα	05a7 ἐξ … βοηθημάτων	المنافع 177/9
οἱ Βοιωτοί	07a3 Βοιωτούς	أهل بووطيّة 184/18f
	07a4 τούς Βοιωτούς	أهل بووطيّة 184/20
βούλομαι	05a15 βούλῃ	أردت 177/17
	09a32 βούλονται	يتشوّق 195/2
	10a6 βουλομένοις	المشتاقين 197/2
βραχύκωλος	09b31 βραχύκωλοι	التي صغرت وصولها 196/12
βραχύς	09a14 βραχεῖαι	مفصّلة 194/5
	09a16 βραχεῖαι	منفصلة 194/6
	09a18 ἡ … βραχεῖα	المتقلّص 194/7
ὁ βωμός	12a13 βωμόν	المذبح 203/25

Γ

ἡ γαῖα	11b35 γαίη	الأرض 203/11
τὸ γάλα	06a12 γάλα	اللبن 181/11
ὁ γάμος	11a19 τὸν γάμον	المتزوّجات 201/6
γελοῖος	04a35 γελοῖον	ما يستحقّ أن يضحك منه 174/17
	06a33 τὸ γελοῖον	يضحك منه […] 182/13
	06b6 τὸ γελοῖον	ما يضحك منه 183/5
τὸ γένος	05a15 γένει	الجنس 177/18
	05a17 τῷ … γένει	الجنس 177/21
	07b1 τῶν γενῶν	أجناس 187/2
	07b7 τὰ γένη	أجناس 187/8
	08a27 γένει	جنس 190/8
	08a27 γένος	الجنس 190/8
	10b15 τοῦ γένους	الجنس 199/6
ὁ γέρων	05a14 γέροντι	الشيخ 177/16
	08a28 γέρων	الشيخ 190/9
γεωμετρέω	04a12 γεωμετρεῖν	يهندس أو […] 173/10

	06b30 γεωμετρεῖν	المهندس 184/7
ἡ γῆ	05b36 τῆς ... γῆς	الأرض 180/20
γιγνώσκω	06b34 γιγνώσκοντι	يبصر 182/15
τὸ γῆρας	10b14 τὸ γῆρας	الشيخوخة 199/5
γίγνομαι	05b34 γίνεται	تكون من ... أوجه 180/18
Γλαύκων ὁ Τήϊος	03b26f Γλαύκων ὁ Τήϊος	غلوقون 172/7
ἡ γλῶττα	04b28 γλώτταις	اللغات 176/10
	06a7 γλώτταις	الألسن واللغات 181/6
	06b2 αἱ ... γλῶτται	الألسن أو اللغات 182/21
	10b12 αἱ ... γλῶτται	اللغات 199/3
γνώριμος	10a20 γνωριμώτατα	أحرى أن تعرف 197/17
	10a21 μᾶλλον γνώριμα	بزيادة معلومة 197/18
ἡ γνῶσις	10b14 γνῶσιν	علم 199/5
	10b24 ἡ γνῶσις	يكون معروفا 199/17
Γοργίας	04a26 ἡ Γοργίου	جرجياس 174/6
	05b37, 08b20 Γοργίας	جرجياس 181/1, 192/5
	06b8f Γοργίας	جرجياس[11] 183/9
	06b14f Γοργίου	جرجياس 183/14
ὁ γραφεύς	09a20 τὸν γραφέα	الكاتب 194/10
γράφω	04a18 γραφόμενοι	الذي يكتب 173/18
	07b11f τὸ γεγραμμένον	الكلام المكتوب 187/14
γυμνάζω	10b8 τοῦ γεγυμνασμένου	مدرّبا 198/22
γυμνικός	09b34f γυμνικούς	النجدة أو الحذق 196/16
ἡ γυνή	07b36 τῆς γυναικός	الامرأة 188/2
	08a28 γυνή	المرأة 190/9

Δ

δάκνω	06b28 δάκνειν	نهشت 184/5
	06b34 δάκνει	تؤذي 184/11
ὁ δᾳδοῦχος	05a20 δᾳδοῦχον	[...] أي صاحب الكلام 178/3f
	05a22 δᾳδοῦχον	صاحب المصباح 178/5f
τὸ δάπεδον	11b34 δαπεδόνδε	القاع العميق 203/10

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[11] Badawī: جرجياس.

δείκνυμι	10b8 δεῖξαι	التثبيت 198/22
δεινός	10a35 δεινόν	شرّ 198/13
ἡ δεῖξις	08a26 ἡ ... δεῖξις	تستبين 190/6
δεσμός	06b27f τῶν δεσμῶν	وثاق 184/4
	06b29 ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν	من وثاقها 184/6
δέχομαι	07a2 δέχεται	يأكلون 184/18
δέω	11a23 δεδεμένον	قيّده 201/8
δῆλος	03b24, 04b35, 07a12 δῆλον	معلوم 172/5, 176/17, 185/8
	05a37 δῆλον	محقّقا 179/3
	10b23 τὰ ... δῆλα	مكشوفة بيّنة 199/14f
δηλόω	04a10 τὸ δηλῶσαι	فيما بيّن 173/8
	07b31 δηλοῦν	يوضح 188/16
	08b36 δηλοῖ	يدلّ 195/8
	11b13 δηλοῖ	ينيران 202/10
ὁ δημιουργός	06a26 δημιουργός	الفاعل 182/6
Δημοκράτης	07a7 Δημοκράτης	ديموقراطيس 185/2
Δημόκριτος	09b26 Δημόκριτος	ثاوقريطس 196/7
ὁ δῆμος	06b35, 07a5 τὸν δῆμον	العامّة 184/13, 185/1
	11a7f τὸν δῆμον	السوقة 200/13
Δημοσθένης	07a5 Δημοσθένης	ديموسثانس 185/1
διαβαίνω	07a38 διαβάς	عبر 186/21
διαβάλλω	04b21 διαβάλλονται	يلفّون 176/1
ἡ διαίρεσις	09b15 τῇ διαιρέσει	فصوله أو أقسامه 195/17
διαιρέω	07b7 διῄρει	قسّم 187/8
	09b14 διῃρημένη	منفصل 195/17
	09b32f διῃρημένη	مفصّلة 196/14
διαΐσσω	12a1 διέσσυτο	ركّز 203/12
ὁ διαιτητής	12a13 διαιτητήν	النصب 203/25
διακόπτω	09b9 διακόπτεσθαι	يتقاطعان 195/15
διαλέγω	04a27 διαλέγεσθαι	ينطقون 174/7
	04b34 διαλέγονται	ينطقون 176/15
	07b9 διαλεχθεῖσα	قالت 187/10
	07b23, 24, 08a1 διαλεχθείς	تكلّمت 188/7, 9, 189/3
ἡ διάλεκτος	04a33 τὴν διάλεκτον	الكلام الجاري 174/14
	04b11 τὴν διάλεκτον	المنطق 175/11

	04b24f διαλέκτου	الكلام الجاري 176/6
διαλύω	11b13f διαλυόμεθα	نتراخي 202/10
ἡ διάνοια	04a19, 10b27 τὴν διάνοιαν	المعنى 173/19, 199/20
	09b8 τῇ διανοίᾳ	المعنى 195/14
	10b26 ἡ διάνοια	الفكر 199/18
ἡ διαπτυχή	07b35 διαπτυχαί	ذوات وجهين 188/21
διαριθμέω	10b9 διαριθμησώμεθα	نقول 198/23
διαστίζω	07b13 διαστίξαι	موضع التنقيل 187/17
	07b14 τὰ ... διαστίξαι	التنقيل 187/18
	07b18 διαστίξαι	يتّصل 187/23
διαφέρω	04a9f, 05b19 διαφέρει	يختلف 173/7, 180/1
	06b20 διαφέρει	يختلفان 183/20
	06b26 διαφέρουσαι	أقرب وأخصّ 184/2
	09a11 διαφέρειν	اختلاف 194/2
	10b18 διαφέρουσα	تختلف 199/8
	12a15 διαφέρει	مختلفان 204/3
ἡ διδασκαλία	04a9 διδασκαλίᾳ	تعليم 173/7
δίδωμι	05b24 ἐδίδου	يعطيها 180/8
	05b26 ἔδωκεν	غلب 180/10
	11a6 δοῦναι	يتنصّل 200/11
	11b20 διδόασιν	نغرم 202/16
διέχω	12a12 διέχουσι	نافعة 203/24
ὁ διθυραμβο-ποιός	06b1f τοῖς διθυραμβοποιοῖς	الذين يصنعون الوزن الذي يسمى [ديثورامبو] 182/19f
ὁ διθύραμβος	09a25 τοῖς διθυράμβοις	الذي يكون في وزن الدثرامبو 194/16
δίκαιος	04a4 τὸ ... δίκαιον	العدل 172/24
	04a5 δίκαιον ... αὐτοῖς	ينبغي لهم 173/2
	11b21 δικαία	عادلة 202/17
τὸ δικαστήριον	10a17 τῷ δικαστηρίῳ	مجلس الحكومة 197/14
Διονύσιος	05a32 Διονύσιος	ديانوسيوس 178/17
ὁ διονυσοκόλαξ	05a23 διονυσοκόλακας	الجرابزة 178/7
Διόνυσος	07a16 Διονύσου	المشتري 185/13
διορίζω	10b6 διώρισται	حدّدنا ... وفصّلناها 198/20

διορύττω	10a11f διορύξας	حفر 197/8
διπλόος	04b29 διπλοῖς	المضاعفة 176/11
	05b35 διπλοῖς	المضعّفة 180/19
	06a30f διπλοῦν	مضاعف 182/9
	06a36 τοῖς διπλοῖς	المضعّفات 182/16
	06b1 διπλῆ	المضعّفة 182/19
	08b10 διπλᾶ	المضاعفة 191/14
ἡ δίπλωσις	06a6 τὴν δίπλωσιν	مضاعفة 181/4
δοκέω	04a24 ἐδόκουν	يظنّون 174/4
	04b19 δοκεῖν	يظنّ 175/18
	08b3, 23 δοκεῖ	يظنّ 191/4, 192/8
ἡ δόξα	04a2 δόξαν	الظنون أو الآراء 172/21f
	04a25 τὴν ... δόξαν	المدح 174/4
ὁ δοῦλος	04b14 δοῦλος	غليم 175/15
δύναμαι	03b33 μεῖζον δύνανται	[كانوا] أقوى وأقدر 172/15f
	04a7 δύνανται	يقدر 173/4
	04a17 τοῖς ... δυναμένοις	الذين يقدرون 173/16
	05a4 δύνανται	قادرة على 177/5
	11a22 δύνασθαι	يقدر 201/8
ἡ δύναμις	03b21 δύναμιν	قوّة 172/1
	05b18 τῇ δυνάμει	القوّة 179/23

E

τὸ ἔαρ	11a3 τὸ ἔαρ	الربيع 200/8
ἐγχειρέω	04a13 ἐγκεχειρήκασι	يبدأ 173/12
τὸ ἔδαφος	06a5 τὸ ... ἔδαφος	قعر 181/3
ἐθέλω	05b25 οὐκ ἤθελε	كان كالمتكرّه 180/9
ἔθω	04b24 τῆς εἰωθυίας	المتعوّد 176/6
	06a15 τὸ εἰωθός	الجاري المتعوّد 181/15
τὸ εἶδος	03b14 τὰ ... εἴδη	أنواعا 171/11
	04b27 εἴδη	أصناف 176/9
	05a3 εἴδη	أنواع 177/4
	08b1 τῶν εἰδῶν	الأنواع 191/2
	09a11 εἴδη	نوعان 194/3

εἰκάζω	06b30 εἴκαζεν	[يشبّه] 184/7
	07a7, 10 εἴκασε	يشبّه 185/2, 5
ἡ εἰκών	06b20, 24, 10b17 ἡ εἰκών	المثال 183/20, 23, 199/7
	06b26f εἰκόνες	المثال 184/3
	07a11 εἰκόνας	المثل 185/7
	07a13 εἰκόνες	مثال 185/9
	07a13, 10b16 αἱ εἰκόνες	المثل 185/9, 199/6
	11b7 τὴν εἰκόνα	صنم 202/4
	11b9 ἡ εἰκών	الصنم 202/5
	12a7 ταῖς ... εἰκόσιν	المثل 203/18
ἡ εἰρήνη	10b30 τὴν ... εἰρήνην	السلم 199/22
	10b31 εἰρήνη	السلم 199/24
	11b15 ἡ ... εἰρήνη	الصلح 202/12
εἴρω	09a24 εἰρομένην	مفصّلة أو مقطّعة 194/15
	09a27 εἰρομένη	المفصّلة 194/18
	09a29 εἰρομένην	المفصّل 194/21f
	09a34 ἡ ... εἰρομένη	المفصّل 195/4
ἡ εἰρωνεία	08b20 εἰρωνείας	مزاح أو هزل 192/5
ἡ ἐκκλησία	11a29f [ἐκκλησίας]	التوافي جموعا 201/15
ἐκχέω	11a26 ἐξέχεαν	ستهراق 201/12
ἐκλύω	09a33 ἐκλύονται	ينقطع 195/3
ἐλαχύς	10a32 ἐλαχίσταις	مقلّا 198/8
τὸ ἐλεγεῖον	05a33 τοῖς ἐλεγείοις	بيت الإيغاس [12] 178/17
ἐλεεινός	08a19 ἐλεεινά	بالمضادّ 189/22
ὁ ἔλεος	04a15 τοῖς ἐλέοις	ذوات الهمّ 173/14
ἡ ἐλευθερία	11a34 τῆς ἐλευθερίας	حرّيّة 201/18
ἐλεύθερος	11b29 [ἐλεύθερον]	منسوبا إلى الحرّيّة أو الكرم 203/4
Ἑλλάς	11a5 τὴν Ἑλλάδα	الاذة 200/10
	11a27, 33 τὴν Ἑλλάδα	الادة 201/13, 17
ἑλληνίζω	07a19 τὸ ἑλληνίζειν	تعلّم اليونانيّة 185/16
Ἑλλήσποντος	10a11 τὸν ... Ἑλλήσποντον	أليس بونطوس [13] 197/7f
ἡ ἐλπίς	10a32 ἐλπίσιν	بالأمل 198/9
ἐμβάλλω	07b22 ἐμβάλλειν	تدخّل 188/6

[12] Badawī: الاليجيس.
[13] Badawī: emend. الالاسبونطوس.

ἔμμετρος	08b21 ἔμμετρον	ذي وزن و... عدد 192/7
Ἐμπεδοκλῆς	07a35 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς	امفيدوقليس 186/18
ἔμψυχος	11b10 ἔμψυχον	ذي النفس 202/5f
	12a2 ἔμψυχα	ذوي الأنفس 203/13
ἐναντίος	05a12 τὰ ἐναντία	المضادّات 177/13
	05a17 τὰ ἐναντία	المتضادّات 177/20
	05a25 τοὐναντίον	ضدّ ذلك 178/9
	07a32 τἀναντία	على الإضداد 186/15
	07b28 τὸ ἐναντίον	ضدّ ذلك 188/13
	07b36 τοὐναντίον	ضدّ ذلك 188/23
	09a15 ἐξ ἐναντίας	خلاف هذا 194/5f
	09b2 τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν	على خلاف ما 195/8f
	09b36 ἐναντίον	المضادّة 196/18
	10a1 τοῖς ἐναντίοις	المضادّة 196/19
	10a20 τἀναντία	المتضادّات 197/17
ἐνδέχομαι	04b36 ἐνδέχεται	يقدر 176/18
ἡ ἐνέργεια	10b36 ἐνεργείας	الفعّال 200/4
	11b28, 33 ἐνέργειαν	الفعّال 203/1, 8
	11b28, 29 ἐνέργεια	الفعّال 203/2, 3
	11b30 ἐνέργεια	فعّال 203/5
	12a4 ἐνέργεια	فواعل 203/15
	12a9 ἡ ... ἐνέργεια	الفعل 203/21
ἐνεργέω	11b26, 12a3 ἐνεργοῦντα	فواعل 202/21, 203/14
ἔνθεος	08b19 ἔνθεον	بمنزلة النبأ 192/4
ἐνθουσιάζω	08b14 ἐνθουσιάσαι	ينبّئ 191/17
	08b17 ἐνθουσιάζοντες	على جهة النبأ 192/2
τὸ ἐνθύμημα	03b13 τὰ ἐνθυμήματα	التفكيرات 171/11
	03b14, 10b22, 28 τῶν ἐνθυ-μημάτων	التفكيرات، 171/11، 199/13, 21
	10b20 ἐνθυμήματα	التفكيرات 199/12
ὁ ἐνιαυτός	11a3 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ	من دور السنة 200/8
ἔντεχνος	04a16 ἔντεχνον	صناعيّة 173/15
ἐξαιρέω	11a3f τις ... ἐξέλοι	مخرجا أخرج 200/8
ἐξαλάττω	04b8 τὸ ... ἐξαλλάξαι	التبديل والتغيير 175/7
	04b31 ἐξαλάττει	تبدّل 176/12
	06a15 ἐξαλάττει	تبدّل 181/14

ἐξάμετρος	04a34 τὰ ἐξάμετρα	الأوزان المسدّسة 174/16
ἐξαριθμέω	10b2f ἐξηρίθμηνται	أحصي 198/16
ἔξειμι	11a10 ἐξιέναι	[نلتوي] 200/15
ἔξεστι	07a11 ἔξεστι	ينبغي 185/7
ἐξελέγχω	06a14 ἐξελέγχει	معلومات 181/13
ἡ ἕξις	08a27 ἕξει	[قنية] 190/8
	08a29 ἕξεις	الهمّة 190/10
	08a30 καθ᾽ ἅπασαν ἕξιν	في كلّ همّة من الهمم 190/11
	08a31 τῇ ἕξει	الهمّة 190/13
ἐξίστημι	08b23 ἐξίστησιν	يراد به التعجيب 192/9
ἐξωτέρω	09b23 ἐξωτέρω	إلى خارج 196/4
ἔοικα	04b23 ἔοικεν	يتشبّه 176/5
	06b33 ἐοίκασι	عدل 184/11
	06b36 ἔοικε	يشبهون 184/15
	07a2 ἐοικέναι	يشبهون 184/17
	10a21 ἔοικε	مشبهة 197/18
ἐπαινετός	08a18 ἐπαινετά	بالمدائح 189/22
ὁ ἔπαινος	08b14 ἐπαίνοις	[بذوات] المدح 191/18
ἐπεμβάλλω	06a34f ἐπεμβάλλῃ	تزيّد فيه أو نقص منه 182/14f
ἐπιβουλεύω	04b20 ἐπιβουλεύοντα	الغشّ والمغبون 176/2
Ἐπίδαυρος	11a11 Ἐπίδαυρον	افيدارووس[14] 200/16
ἐπίδηλος	06a20 ἐπιδήλοις	المعلوم 181/20
ἐπιεικής	05b5 ἐπιεικεῖς	المجازة 179/8
	11a16 τῶν ἐπιεικῶν	الأحرار 201/2
ἐπιζεύγνυμι	07b35 ἐπιζευγνύναι	تزاوج 188/21
	10a1 ἐπέζευγται	التي ... مقرونة 196/18
ἡ ἐπίθεσις	05b22 τὰς ἐπιθέσεις	الموضوعات 180/5
ἐπίθετος	05a10 τὰ ἐπίθετα	الموضوعات 177/11
	05b21, 06a11, 07b31f τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις	الموضوعات, 180/4 181/9, 188/18
	06a19 τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις	الأسماء الموضوعة 181/19
	06a31 ἐπίθετον	موضوع 182/10
	08b11 τὰ ἐπίθετα	الموضوعة 191/14

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14 Badawī: افيداروس.

ἡ ἐπιθυμία	06a30 τὴν ... ἐπιθυμίαν	الشهوة 182/9
ἡ ἐπιμέλεια	04a3 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν	العناية والجدّ 172/24
ἐπίπεδος	07b27f ἐπίπεδον	السطح 188/12
ἐπιπόλαιος	10b21 τὰ ἐπιπόλαια	التفكيرات السخيفة 199/14
	10b22 ἐπιπόλαια	السخيفة 199/14
	10b33 ἐπιπόλαιον	بالإهمال 200/1
ἐπισκοτέω	06a35 τῷ ἐπισκοτεῖν	الغامض 182/15
ἐπιτάφιος	11a31 τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ	ذكر المواراة 201/16f
τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα	06b11 ἐπιτείχισμα	سور 183/11
ἐπιφέρω	08a7 ἐπιφέρουσιν	يأتون 189/10
Ἐπίχαρμος	10b3f Ἐπίχαρμος	افيخارموس 198/18
ἐπιχειρέω	03b21f ἐπικεχείρηται	تظهر 172/2
ὁ ἐποποιός	06b2 τοῖς ἐποποιοῖς	الذين يصنعون الوزن الذي يسمّى افي 182/21f
τὸ ἔργον	04b3 τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον	عمله 175/1
	07b14 ἔργον	موضع عمل 187/19
ἐρυθροδάκτυλος	05b21 ἐρυθροδάκτυλος	قرمذيّة الأصابع 180/3
ἔρχομαι	04a13 ἔλθῃ	وردت 173/11
	07b9 ἐλθοῦσα	جاءت 187/10
	07b10 οἱ ἐλθόντες	الذين جاؤوا 187/13
	10a18 ἐλθόντες	وردوا علينا 197/15
ἡ ἐσθής	05a14 ἐσθής	البزّة 177/17
ἔσχατος	10a24 τὰ ἔσχατα	أواخر 198/1
ἑτερόφθαλμος	11a5 ἑτερόφθαλμον	ذات عين واحدة 200/10
εὐανάγνωστος	07b11 εὐανάγνωστον	ممّا تسهل قراءته 187/14f
εὐανάπνευστος	09b14f εὐανάπνευστος	يسهل التنفّس 195/17
Εὔβοια	11a9 Εὔβοιαν	أوبوا 200/15
εὐδοκιμέω	05b1 τῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι	الذي ينجح 179/4
	07a12 εὐδοκιμῶσιν	ينجح 185/7
	08a7 εὐδοκιμεῖ	يظنّ ... حسنا 189/10f
	10b7 τὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντα	المنجحات 198/21
	10b22, 27 εὐδοκιμεῖ	ينجح 199/13, 21
	11a1 εὐδοκιμοῦσι	تنجح 200/5
	12a7 εὐδοκιμούσαις	المنجحات 203/18
εὐήθης	04a24 εὐήθη	البسيطة والعاميّة 174/4

Greek	Citation	Arabic
ἡ εὔθυνα	11a6 εὐθύνας δοῦναι	يتنصّل من دينه 200/11
	11a8 τὰς εὐθύνας ... δοῦναι	[يكشفوا عدّات] 200/13
	11b20 ἡ ... εὔθυνα	الغرم 202/17
	11b20 εὐθύνας	الغرم 202/17
εὔκαιρος	08a36 τὸ ... εὐκαίρως	في الوقت الموافق 191/1
	08a36 μὴ εὐκαίρως	[في الوقت] غير الموافق 191/1
εὐλαβέομαι	05b32 εὐλαβεῖσθαι	نتوقّى 180/16
	08a18 εὐλαβουμένου	التوقّي 189/21
	11a28f εὐλαβεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε	أحذّر 201/14
εὐμαθής	09b1 εὐμαθής	يسير التعليم 195/8
	09b4 εὐμαθής	يسير [التعلّم] 195/9f
εὐμνημόνευτος	09b4f εὐμνημόνευτος	يسهل حفظه 195/10
	09b6 εὐμνημονευτότατον	يحفظ أكثر من جميع 195/11
Εὔξενος	06b30 Εὐξένῳ	اوسخينوس 15 184/7
	06b31 ὁ Εὔξενος	اوسيخينوس 16 184/9
εὔογκος	08a12 περὶ εὐόγκων	ترتفع إلى قول العظائم 189/15
Εὐριπίδης	04b25 Εὐριπίδης	اوريفدس 17 176/7
	05a29 Εὐριπίδου	اورفيدس 18 178/13
εὔρυθμος	09a21, 23 εὔρυθμον	حسن النبرات 194/11f, 12f
εὔστοχος	12a12 εὐστόχου	الذي يحسن أن يتوخّي الغرض 203/24f
εὐσύνθετος	06a36f εὐσύνθετος	يركّب 182/17
εὐσύνοπτος	09b1 εὐσύνοπτον	ذا قدر معتدل 195/7
εὐτελής	08a13 εὐτελῶν	الخسائس 189/16
	08a13 εὐτελεῖ	الدني 189/16
εὐφραίνω	04a5 εὐφραίνειν	التفريح 173/2
	07a10 εὐφραίνει	يسرّ 185/6
εὔφραστος	07b12 εὔφραστον	ممّا يسهل تفسيره 187/15

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15 Badawī: emend. اوخسينوس.
16 Badawī: emend. اوسينوس.
17 Badawī: اوريفدس.
18 Badawī: اوريفدس.

εὐφυής	10b8 τοῦ εὐφυοῦς	ركينا 198/22
τὸ ἐφόδιον	11a12 τὰ ἐφόδια	عدّة 200/18
εὔχομαι	05a18 εὔχεσθαι	يتضرّع 177/21
	05a18 εὐχόμενον	يتضرّع 177/21
ἔχω	03b16 τὸ ἔχειν	يكون ... عتيدا 171/14
	04a3 ἔχοντος	يجب لها 172/23
	05b13 ὁμοίως ἔχον	شبيه 179/17
	07a33 μηθὲν ... ἔχωσι	أعوذهم 186/15
	08a2 ἐξ ὧν μὴ ἔχει	بما ليس أو بالمعدوم 189/4f
	09a3 εἶχον	يقدرون 193/11
	09a4 ἐχόμενος	يلزم أو يشاكل 193/15
	09b2 τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν	على خلاف ما 195/8f

Z

ζάω	10a16 ζῶντας	الأحياء 197/12
	10a34 ζῶντα	في حياته 198/11
	12a9 ζῶντα	أحياء 203/21
ζητέω	03b18 ἐζητήθη	قدّمنا النظر 171/17
	04a4 ζητεῖ	يفحص 173/1
	10b19 ζητεῖ	تتشوّق 199/11
	10b23 ζητῆσαι	يفحص 199/15

H

ἡ ἡδονή	06a27 τῆς ... ἡδονῆς	اللذّة 182/6
ἡδύς	05a8 τὸ ἡδύ	اللذيذة 177/9
	05a32 ἡδείας ἢ σημεῖα	لم [تقرّ] بالتحقيق أو التفخيم 178/16
	09b1 ἡδεῖα	لذيذا 195/8
	09b1 ἡδεῖα	[لذيذا] 195/8
	10a19 ἡδεῖα	لذيذة 197/17
	10b10 ἡδύ	لذيذ 199/1
	10b12 ἥδιστα	لذيذ 199/3
	10b18 ἧττον ἡδύ	أقلّ لذاذة 199/9
ἡ ἥδυσμα	06a19 ἡδύσματι	اللذيذة 181/19

Greek	Reference	Arabic
ἠθικός	08a11 ἠθική	خلقيّة 189/14
	08a25 ἠθική	الخلقيّات 190/6
τὸ ἦθος	08a31 τὸ ἦθος	الخلقيّة 190/13
ἥκω	08b24 ἥξει	يأتي 192/10
ἡ ἡλικία	08a27 καθ' ἡλικίαν	مثل السنّ 190/8
ἡμιόλιος	09a6 ὁ ἡμιόλιος	نصف الكلّ 193/15f
ὁ ἡμίονος	05b25f εἰς ἡμιόνους	بالبغال 180/10
ἡ ἤπειρος	10a10 τῆς ἠπείρου	البرّ 197/7
Ἡράκλειτος	07b13f τὰ Ἡρακλείτου	187/18 [اراقليطوس][19]
	07b14 τὰ … Ἡρακλείτου	ارقليطس 187/18
Ἡρόδοτος	09a27f [Ἡροδότου]	اردطوس[20] 194/18
ἠῷος	08b32 ὁ … ἠῷος	اليارايقيّة 193/3
ἡ ἡσυχία	11a22 ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν	لزوم الصمت 201/8

Θ

Greek	Reference	Arabic
ἡ θάλαττα	06a5, 10a9, 10f τῆς θαλάτ-της	البحر 181/3, 197/6, 7
θαυμαστός	04b11 θαυμασταί	العجيبة 175/11
Θεοδάμας	06b30 Θεοδάμας	اوبيموس[21] 184/6
τὰ Θεοδέκτεια	10b2 τοῖς Θεοδεκτείοις	أقاويل ثاودقطوس 198/17
Θεόδωρος	04b22 Θεοδώρου	ثاودورس 176/3
ὁ θεός	05a22 περὶ θεόν	ما يتنسّك به لله 178/6
	11b12 ὁ θεός	الله 202/9
θερίζω	06b10 ἐθέρισας	حصدتها 183/10
ὁ Θετταλός	08a29 Θετταλός	الثتيل[22] 190/10
[ὁ Θούριος]	09a28 Θουρίου	الثوري 194/19
θεωρέω	04b1 τεθεωρημένα	لنجعل القول 174/22
	04b27f τεθεώρηται	بيّن 176/9
	12a12 θεωρεῖν	معرفة 203/24
θῆλυς	07b8 θήλεα	[مؤنّثا] 187/9
θνήσκω	06b33 τοὺς τεθνεῶτας	الموتى 184/10
θορυβέω	08a25 θορυβοῦντες	يقلّقونهم 190/5

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[19] Hermannus Alemannus transcribes "Abruclitis".

[20] Margoliouth, Sālim: ارودطوس, Badawī: اروطوس.

[21] Badawī: [ثيوداموس].

[22] Om. Badawī.

Θρασύμαχος	04a14 Θρασύμαχος	ثرسوماخوس 173/12
	09a2 Θρασυμάχου	ثرسوماخوس 193/10
ἡ θυγάτηρ	05b27 θύγατρες	بنات 180/11
	05b27f θυγατέρες	بنات 180/12
	11a18f τῶν θυγατέρων	العذارى 201/5

I

ἰαμβεῖος	06b3 [τοῖς ἰαμβείοις]	الوزن الذي يسمّى ايامبو 183/2
	08b35 ἰαμβεῖα	الوزن اليامبقي 193/5f
	09b9 τὰ ... ἰαμβεῖα	اليامبو 195/15
ὁ ἴαμβος	08b33 ὁ ... ἴαμβος	اليامبيقيّة 193/4
ἴδιος	07a31 ἰδίοις	الأهليّة الخاصّة 186/12
	10a14 ἰδίᾳ	في الخاصّ 197/11
	10b30 ἰδίοις	أقاربهم 199/23
τὸ ἴδος	06a20 ἰδρῶτα	العرق 181/20
	06a21 τὸν ὑγρὸν ἰδρῶτα	الرطوبة 182/1
Ἰδριεύς	06b27 Ἰδριέα	ايدران 184/4
ἱκετήριος	11b7 τὴν ἱκετηρίαν	الشفاعة 202/3
τὸ ἱματιδάριον	05b31 ἱματιδάριον	ثويبا 180/15
τὸ ἱμάτιον	05b31 ἱματίου	الثوب 180/15
ὁ ἵππος	05b27 ἵππων	الخيل 180/11
τὰ Ἴσθμια	06a21 Ἴσθμια	استموس 182/1 [23]
οἱ Ἰσθμίοι	06a22 τῶν Ἰσθμίων	استامانة 182/1
Ἰσοκράτης	08b15 Ἰσοκράτης	ايسقراطيس 191/19
	11a30 Ἰσοκράτης	ايسيقراطوس 201/15
ἴσος	04b4 ἴσως	بالحرى 175/2
	07b28 ἴσον	المتساوي 188/12
	10a24 ἴσα	متساوية 197/21f
ἵστημι	10a33 σταθῆναι	تقوم 198/10
	11b35 ἵσταντο	كانوا قيّاما 203/11
ἡ ἱστορία	09a28 ἱστορίης	الحديث 194/14
ἰσχυρός	06b35 ἰσχυρῷ	قوي 184/13
ἰσχύω	04a18f μεῖζον ἰσχύουσι	يكون أقوى 173/18f

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[23] Badawī: اسثمايوس.

Ἰφικράτης	05a20, 11a10, b2 Ἰφικράτης	ايفيقراطيس ,178/2 200/15, 201/19

K

καθίστημι	09b35 καταστησάντων	الذين ثبّتوا 196/16
καθοράω	09a32 καθορᾶν	ينقضي 195/3
κακός	05a16 ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων	من الحقيرات 177/19
	05b17 ἧττον	[بـ]الأقلّ 179/21
	05b29 τὸ κακόν	الشرّ 180/13
	06a17 κακόν	[باطلا] 181/17
	06b10 κακῶς	بشرّ 183/10
	08a5 κακῶν	الشرور 189/7
	08b12 κακόν	شرّ 191/16
	09b28 κακά	شرّا 196/9
	09b28 κακά	الشرّ 196/9
	09b29 κακίστη	الشرّ 196/10
	10a13 κακῶς	محمودين 197/10 [24]
	10a34 κακῶς	أسواء الذكر 198/12
	10a35 κακῶς	أسواء الكتب 198/12
κακουργέω	04b39 κακουργεῖ	الحيل والخديعة 177/1
καλέω	05a24, 26 καλοῦσι	يسمّون 178/7, 10
	11a24 ἐκάλει	يسمّي 201/9
Καλλίας	05a20 Καλλίαν	قلياس 178/2
	05a20f ὁ δέ [sc. Καλλίας]	اقلياس 178/4 [25]
τὸ κάλλος	05b6 κάλλος	حسن 179/9
	05b14 κάλλιον	أفضل 179/18
	11b16 πολὺ κάλλιον	أفضل ... جدّا 202/13f
καλός	03b37 καλῶς	أجيد 172/20
	04a27 κάλλιστα	مزيّنا أو مزخرفا 174/8
	05b6 καλῶν	الجميل 179/9
	05b16 καλόν	الحسن 179/20
	05b18 ἀπὸ καλῶν	من الحسن 179/22
	06b12 καλόν	الجيّدة 183/12

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[24] Perhaps misread by the translator as καλῶς.

[25] Badawī: emend. قالياس.

κάμνω	09a33 κάμνουσι	يصيبهم 195/4
ὁ καμπτήρ	09a32 τοῖς καμπτῆρσιν	الانعطاف 195/3
τὸ καπηλεῖον	11a24 τὰ καπηλεῖα	حانوت المطعم 201/11
κατακορής	06a13 κατακορῇ	يقيّدن 181/13
καταλείπω	10a4 κατέλιπον	تركوهم 197/1
καταλύω	07a38 καταλύσει	أتلف 187/1
καταπλήττω	08a25 καταπλήττουσι	يعجّبون 190/5
καταστρέφω	09a26 κατεστραμμένην	فيه ... كرورا 194/17
	09a34f κατεστραμμένη	الكرور 195/5
καταφεύγω	12a13f καταφεύγει	يلجأ 204/1
τὸ κάτοπτρον	06b13 κάτοπτρον	المرآة 183/12
κείρω	11a32 κείρασθαι	تجزّ شعرها 201/17
κελεύω	11a15 ἐκέλευε	أمر 201/1
	11a28f εὐλαβεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε	أحذر 201/14
ὁ κῆρυξ	08b24 τῶν κηρύκων	المنادي 192/11
Κηφισόδοτος	11a5 Κηφισόδοτος	قيفيسادوطوس 200/10
	11a23 Κηφισόδοτος	قيفيسودوطوس 201/9
	11a28 Κηφισόδοτος	قيفيسادوطوس[26] 201/14
κινδυνεύω	11b9 κινδυνεύοντος	أحدث ... هولا وذعرا
		202/4f
ὁ κίνδυνος	11b5 τοὺς κινδύνους	الأهوال 202/1
	11b5 τοῖς κινδύνοις	الأهوال 202/2
κινέω	04a20 κινῆσαι	بتحريك 173/20
	12a8 κινούμενα	افترقوا 203/21
ἡ κίνησις	12a9 κίνησις	حركة 203/21
Κλεοφῶν	08a15f Κλεοφῶν	قلاوفون 189/18
κλέπτω	04b24 κλέπτεται	يغرّ ويخيّل 176/5
	05a28 τὸν κλέψαντα	من سرق 178/11
	05a31 κέκλεπται	على اللصوص 178/15
	08b5 κέκλεπται	يخيّل 191/7
κοινός	07b20 οὐ κοινόν	ليس عامّا 188/4
	07b21, 08b1 κοινόν	عامّ 188/5, 191/2
	10a15 κοινῇ	العامّ 197/12
	10b30 κοινήν	العامّ 199/22
κολλάω	05b2 κολλήσαντα	خلّل 179/5

κολοβός	09a18 κολοβόν	قصيرا 194/8
κορδακικός	08b36 κορδακικώτερος	أكثر [مدحا أو …] 193/8
κοσμέω	04a34 ἐκόσμουν	يزيّنونه ويزخرفونه 174/15
	05a14f κοσμεῖν	تحسّن 177/17
ὁ κόσμος	08a14 κόσμος	بالتهيأة 189/17
ἡ κραυγή	05a33 κραυγήν	صرخة وكشيشا 178/17f
ἡ κρεμάθρα	12a14 κρεμάθραν	المعلاق 204/2
κρίνω	03b11 οἱ κρίνοντες	الحكّام 171/8
Κροῖσος	07a38 Κροῖσος	قريسوس 27 186/21
ἡ κτῆσις	10a6 κτήσει	[المال] 197/3
ὁ κύκλος	07a35 κύκλῳ	بالكرة 186/18
	07b27 κύκλον	الدائرة 188/12
τὸ κυνίδιον	06b27f τοῖς … κυνιδίοις	الجراء 184/4
	06b33 τοῖς κυνιδίοις	الكلاب 184/11
κύριος	04b6 τὰ κύρια	المستولية 175/4
	04b31 τὸ … κύριον	المستولية 176/14
	04b35 τοῖς κυρίοις	المستوليات 176/16
	05a2 κύρια	مستوليتان 177/3
	05b11f κυριώτερον	المستولي 179/15
	10b12f τὰ … κύρια	المحقّقة 199/3
ὁ Κύων	11a24 ὁ Κύων	قيون 201/10
τὸ κῶλον	09b13f κώλοις	الوصل 195/16
	09b17, 10a23 τὰ κῶλα	الوصول 195/19، 197/21
	09b32 κώλοις	الوصول 196/14
	09b36 τῷ κώλῳ	الوصل 196/17
	10a25 τὸ κῶλον	الوصول 198/1f
ἡ κωμῳδία	08a14 κωμῳδία	[قوموديّة] 189/17
ὁ κωμῳδοποιός	06b7 οἱ κωμῳδοποιοί	الذين يصنعون القوموديّات 183/6

Λ

ὁ λᾶας	11b34 λᾶας	الحجر 203/9
οἱ Λακεδαιμό-	11a4 Λακεδαιμονίων	اللقدمنون 28 200/9

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27 Margoliouth, Sālim: قولسوس.

28 Badawī: اللقدميون.

νιοι

ὁ Λάκων	08a28 Λάκων	[القوني] 190/9
λαμβάνω	03b32f λαμβάνουσιν	يأخذون 172/14
	05a9 λαβεῖν	أخذه 177/10
	05a28 λαβεῖν	أخذ 178/12
	05b5 λαβεῖν	استعمال 179/8
	10a9 ἔλαβον	استولوا 197/6
	10a28 ἔλαβεν	أخذت 198/6
λανθάνω	04b36 λανθάνειν	يضلّل ويغلّظ 176/18
	08b3 οὐ λανθάνει	لا يجهل 191/5
	08b8 λανθάνει	تغلط 191/11
	09a9 λανθάνειν	يجهل أو يغلط 193/19
λέγω	03b9, 13 εἴρηται	قيل 171/5, 10
	03b12 τοὺς λέγοντας	المتكلّمين 171/9
	03b15 εἰπεῖν	القول 171/13
	04a7 εἴρηται	يكون بالمقالة 173/6
	04a24 λέγοντες	يتكلّمون 174/4
	04a38 λέγομεν	نتكلّم 174/20
	04a38f εἴρηται	أنّا أنا 174/21
	04b7 εἴρηται	لخّصنا 175/6
	04b39 λέγω	قولك 177/2
	05a17 λέγω	قائل 177/20
	06a30 λέγοντες	[هم] نطقوا 182/12
	06b14 τὰ εἰρημένα	السبب الذي قيل 183/14
	07a31 λέγειν	الكلام 186/12
	07a34 λέγουσι	القول 186/17
	07a37 λέγωσιν	نطقوا 186/20
	07b2 λέγουσιν	يتكلّم 187/2
	08a12f λέγηται	قول 189/15
	08a31 λέγη	ينطق 190/12
	08b4 τὸν λέγοντα	المتكلّم 191/5
	08b5 λέγω	أزعم 191/7
	10b7 λεκτέον	ينبغي أن نخبر 198/20f
	11b31 λέγει	المقال 203/6
λείπω	09a1f λείπεται	[ناقص] 193/9
ἡ λέξις	03b8, 05b34 τὴν λέξιν	الألفاظ 171/3, 180/19

	03b15 τῆς λέξεως	اللفظ والمقالة 171/13
	03b20 τῇ λέξει	اللفظ أو المقالة 171/20
	03b36, 04a16 τὴν λέξιν	الحيلة في المقالة 172/19,
		173/15
	04a8 τῆς λέξεως	المقالة 173/7
	04a19, 24, b10, 09a24 τὴν λέξιν	المقالة 173/19, 174/5,
		175/9, 194/15
	04a26 λέξις	الألفاظ 174/5
	04a28 ἑτέρα ... λέξις	لأصناف أُخر 174/9
	04a37 λέξεως	الألفاظ 174/19
	04b1 λέξεως	المقال 174/23
	04b33 τὴν ... λέξιν	الكلام 176/13
	06a16 τὴν λέξιν	لفظا 181/15
	06b1 ἡ ... λέξις	الألفاظ 182/19
	07a19, b26 τῆς λέξεως	الألفاظ 185/15, 188/10
	08a10 ἡ λέξις	اللفظ أو المقالة 189/13
	08a17 λέξις	المقالة 189/20
	08a20 ἡ ... λέξις	الألفاظ 189/23
	08b21, 29, 09a34, b32 τῆς λέξεως	المقالة 192/7, 16,
		195/5, 196/14
	08b34 ἡ λέξις	التي يقول بها 193/5
	09a22 τὴν λέξιν	مقال 194/11
	09a27 ἡ ... λέξις	المقالة 194/18
	09a35 λέξιν	المقال 195/6
	09b5 ἡ ... λέξις	المقال 195/11
	09b14 λέξις	مقال 195/16
	10a20 ἡ ... λέξις	المقالة 197/16
	10b20 λέξιν	المقالات 199/12
	10b28 τὴν λέξιν	اللفظ والمقالة 199/21
Λεπτίνης	11a4 Λεπτίνης	لفطنس 200/9
λεπτός	07a9 τὸν λεπτόν	الطويل القضيف 185/5
λευκός	06a12 λευκόν	الأبيض 181/11
ὁ λέων	06b21 λέων	أسد 183/21
	06b22 λέων	أسدا 183/23
ἡ λήμη	11a15 τὴν λήμην	البحيرة 201/1
ὁ λῃστής	05a25 οἱ λῃσταί	اللصوص 178/9

Λικύμνιος	05b7 Λικύμνιος	ليقومانيوس 179/10
λιλαίομαι	12a11 λιλαιόμενα	بالدهن²⁹ 203/11
λίαν	09b31 λίαν	جدًّا جدًّا 196/12
ὁ λιβανωτός	07a9 λιβανωτῷ	بالأرزة 185/5
ὁ λίθος	06b34 τοὺς λίθους	[الحجارة] 184/12
	12a5 ὁ λίθος	الحجر 203/16
ὁ λιμήν	07b34 λιμένας	المرسيات 188/20
ὁ λογογράφος	08a34 οἱ λογογράφοι	كتبة الكلام 190/16f
ὁ λόγος	03b8 τοῦ λόγου	القول 171/4
	03b18, 04a4, 08b30 τὸν λόγον	الكلام 171/16, 173/1, 192/18
	04a18 οἱ ... λόγοι	الكلام 173/18
	04a28 λόγου	الكلام 174/9
	04b2 ὁ λόγος	الكلمة 174/24
	04b5 λόγῳ	كلاما 175/3
	04b14, 07a17 ὁ λόγος	الكلام 175/13, 185/15
	04b26 ὁ λόγος	القول 176/8
	04b33, 06a4, 09a6, 11b2 τῶν λόγων	الكلام 176/13, 181/3, 193/15, 201/20
	04b37 τοῦ ... λόγου	الكلام 176/19
	05a4f λόγοις	الكلام 177/6
	05a6 λόγῳ	القول 177/8
	05a7 ὁ λόγος	الكلام 177/8
	05b9 τὸ ... λόγον	الكلمة 179/12
	06a13, b24 λόγῳ	الكلام 181/12, 183/23
	06a36 ὁ λόγος	كلام 182/17
	07a13 λόγου	كلام 185/10
	07b17, 29 τοῦ λόγου	الكلمة 187/22, 188/14
	07b27 λόγῳ	الكلمة 188/11
	07b30 τῷ λόγῳ	في الصفة 188/15
	07b31 τὸν λόγον	الصفة 188/16
λοιδορέω	06b18 ἐλοιδόρησεν	عنّفها 183/19
τὸ λοιδορημά-τιον	05b32 λοιδορημάτιον	شتيمة 180/15
ἡ λοιδορία	05b32 λοιδορίας	الشتيمة 180/15

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²⁹ Expression misunderstood by the translator.

Λυκολέων	11b6 Λυκολέων	لوقالون 202/3
Λυκόφρων	05b35 Λυκόφρων	لوقفرون 180/19
	06a7f Λυκόφρων	181/6 [القيدامس][30]
	10a17 Λυκόφρονα	لوقافرون 197/13
λυπέω	04a5 λυπεῖν	التحزين 173/2
λύω	05b9 λύει	ينقّص 179/12
	06b29 λυθέντα	أطلقت 184/6

M

ἡ μάθησις	10b12 μάθησιν	التعليم 199/2
	10b14 μάθησιν	تعليم وعلم 199/5
	10b21 μάθησιν	تعليما 199/12
	10b26 μάθησις	تعليم 199/19
μαιμάω	12a2 μαιμώσα	لم يرث لابن أمّه[31] 203/12
μακρόκωλος	09b30 τοὺς μακροκώλους	الوصول الطوال 196/11
μακρός	06a11 μακροῖς	المطوّلات 181/10
	09a13 ἡ μακρά	بحرف طويل 194/5
	09a16 ἡ … μακρά	الطويل 194/6
	09a19 τῇ μακρᾷ	الطوال 194/9
	09b18 μακράς	طوالا 195/20
	09b22 τά … μακρά	الطوال 196/3
	09b25 αἱ μακραί	طوالا 196/6
	09b29 ἡ … μακρά	الطوال 196/11
	10b18 μακροτέρως	أطول 199/9
μάλα	05a9, 10b13, 11a1 μάλιστα	بزيادة، 177/10، 199/4، 200/5
	05a12f μάλιστα	أحرى أن 177/14
	05b12, 17, 07b3 μᾶλλον	بالأكثر 179/15، 21، 187/3
	05b12 ὡμοιωμένον μᾶλλον	يتشبّه جدّا 179/15f
	08b34 μάλιστα	أكثر من 193/6
	09a9 μάλιστα	بالحري 193/19
	09b7 μᾶλλον	لا سيّما ما كان 195/12f

30　Badawī: [القوفرون].

31　Expression misunderstood by the translator.

μαλακός	08b9 τὰ μαλακά	اللّينات 191/12
	08b9 μαλακῶς	لين 191/13
μανθάνω	10b10 τὸ ... μανθάνειν	التعليم 199/1
ὁ μάντις	07a37 τοῖς μάντεσιν	الذين يتكهّنون 186/19
	07b2 οἱ μάντεις	الكاهن 187/2
μάχομαι	07a4f τοὺς ... μαχομένους	يفني ... بالحرب 184/20
μέγας	03b21 μεγίστην	عظيمة 172/1
	03b28 μεγάλη	الكبرى 172/10
	04a7 μέγα	على العظائم 173/5
	04b31 τὸ μεῖζον	الذي هو أعظم أو أفخم
		176/12f
	05a30 μεῖζον	أمر كبير 178/14
	06a16 μεῖζον	المتّصلة والكثيرة 181/16
	06a20 μεῖζοσι	الكبار 181/20
	07a38 μεγάλη	عظيمة 187/1
	11b20 μεγάλας	العظيم 202/17
τὸ μέγεθος	03b31 μέγεθος	العظم 172/13
	09a36 μέγεθος	ذا قدر 195/7
Μελανιππίδης	09b27 Μελανιππίδην	ميلانيفي 196/8
μελετάω	11b11 μελετῶντες	يحتال 202/7
	11b12 τὸ ... μελετᾶν	الوصف 202/8
μέλλω	07b22 μέλλων	أردت 188/6
	07b22, 24 ἔμελλον	مزمعا 188/7, 9
	10b35 μέλλοντα	يتوقّعن 200/3
	11b15 μέλλοντα	واقعتان 202/11
τὸ μέλος	08a7 μέλος	اللحون 189/9
	08a9 μέλος	لحن 189/12
τὸ μέρος	03b7 τὰ μέρη	أجزاء 171/4
μέσος	03b29, 30 μέση	الوسطى 172/11, 12
	07b28 τοῦ μέσου	الوسط 188/13
	11b2f διὰ μέσων	وسط 201/20
	11b4 διὰ μέσου	الوسط 201/21
μεταβαίνω	04a31 μετέβησαν	صنعوا 174/10
μεταφέρω	05a36 μεταφέρειν	تغيّر 179/2
	12a10 μεταφέρειν	التغيير 203/22
ἡ μεταφορά	04b32 μεταφορά	التغيّرات 176/14

	04b34 μεταφοραῖς	التغيير 176/16
	05a3 μεταφορᾶς	التغييرات 177/5
	05a5 αἱ μεταφοραί	التغييرات 177/6
	05a9, 06b3 ἡ μεταφορά	التغيير 177/10, 183/2
	05a10, b17 τὰς μεταφοράς	التغييرات، 177/12
		179/21
	05a16 τὴν μεταφοράν	التغييرات 177/18
	05a24 μεταφορά	[تغيير] 178/8
	05a34 ἡ μεταφορά	تغيير 178/18
	05b4 μεταφοράς	التغييرات 179/8
	05b5, 06b6, 26, 07a13 μεταφοραί	التغييرات، 179/8، 183/4، 184/2، 185/9
	06b5, 08a8 ταῖς μεταφο-ραῖς	التغيير، 183/3، 189/11
	06b7 μεταφοραῖς	التغييرات 183/6
	06b20, 11a27f, b6, 30 μεταφορά	تغيير، 183/20، 201/13، 202/2، 203/6
	06b22 μεταφορά	بالتغيير والاختلاف 183/22f
	06b25 αἱ μεταφοραί	التغيير 184/2
	07a11 μεταφοράς	التغيير 185/7
	07a12 μεταφοραί	التغيير 185/8
	07a14 τὴν μεταφοράν	التغيير 185/10
	07b31, 11a26, b3, 8, 27 μεταφορά	التغيير، 188/17، 201/12، 20، 202/4، 22
	10b13 ἡ ... μεταφορά	التغيير 199/4
	10b17f μεταφορά	التغييرات 199/8
	10b31f μεταφοράν	تغيير 199/24
	10b35, 11b21 μεταφορᾶς	التغيير، 200/4، 202/18
	10b36 τῶν ... μεταφορῶν	التغييرات 200/5
	11b32, 12a5 τῆς μεταφορᾶς	التغيير، 203/7، 15
μετρέω	09b7f μετρεῖται	يوزن 195/13
μετρικός	09a7f μετρικοί	من طريق الأوزان 193/17
μέτριος	05b33 τὸ μέτριον	القصد 180/17
	06a16 τοῦ μετρίου	القصد 181/16
τὸ μέτρον	04a32, 08b34 τῶν μέτρων	الأوزان 174/12, 193/6

	04b12 τῶν μέτϱων	[الأوزان] 175/12
	05a8 τῶν μέτϱων	الموزون 177/8
	06b36 τὰ μέτϱα	أشعار 184/14
	08b27 μέτϱῳ	وزن 192/14
	08b30, 09a8 μέτϱον	وزن 192/18, 193/19
	09b6 τὰ μέτϱα	الكلام الموزون 195/12
	09b20 τὸ μέτϱον	باعتدال 196/1
ὁ μητϱαγύϱτης	05a20 μητϱαγύϱτην	ميطراغرطوس، أي فحل 178/3
	05a21 μητϱαγύϱτην	فحلا 178/5
ὁ μητϱοφόντης	05b22f ὁ μητϱοφόντης	[ميطروفنطيس] 180/5
μίγνυμι	04b21 τοὺς μεμιγμένους	الممزوجة بالغشّ 176/3
μικϱός	03b29 μικϱᾷ	الصغرى 172/11
	04a9 μικϱόν	يسير 173/7
	05a7 ἐλαττόνων	[الخسيسة] 177/9
	05b29, 07b1 ἔλαττον	يسير 180/13, 187/2
	06b20 μικϱόν	قليلا 183/20
	09b19 μικϱόν	القصار 195/20
	10b25 μικϱόν	قليلا 199/18
	11b11 μικϱόν	الصغير 202/7
Μιλτιάδης	11a10 Μιλτιάδου	ميلتياديس 200/15
μιμέομαι	04a35 μιμεῖσθαι	الاقتداء 174/16
τὸ μίμημα	04a21 μιμήματα	مثّلة 173/21
μιμητικός	04a22 μιμητικώτατον	مشبها أو مثّلا 174/1
μιμνήσκω	07a23 μέμνηται	يذكر 186/3
ὁ μισθός	05b24 μισθόν	الأجرة 180/8
μνημονεύω	09b7 μνημονεύουσι	يحفظه 195/12
Μοιϱοκλῆς	11a15 Μοιϱοκλῆς	موراقليس 201/2
μονόκωλος	09b17 τὴν μονόκωλον	ذات الشعبة الواحدة 195/19
τὸ μόϱιον	04a22 τῶν μοϱίων	لجزء من الأجزاء 174/2
	09b16 μόϱιον	الجزء 195/18
ἡ μοχθηϱία	03b35 τὴν μοχθηϱίαν	صعوبة 172/18
	04a8 τὴν ... μοχθηϱίαν	تخييب 173/6
ὁ μυλών	11a24 μύλωνας	بيت الطحّان 201/10
μύουϱος	09b18 μυούϱους	قصارا 195/20

N

ὁ ναύκληϱος	06b35 ναυκλήϱῳ	الملّاح 184/13
ὁ ναύτης	07a6 τοῖς ... ναυτιῶσιν	الملّاح 185/2
νέος	05a13 νέῳ	الغلام 177/15
ἡ νεότης	11a2 τὴν νεότητα	الأحداث 200/7
νικάω	05b24f ὁ νικήσας	الذي غلب 180/8
ἡ νίκη	11b19 νίκης	الغلبة أو النجاح 202/16
νομίζω	10b30 νομιζόντων	بشّر 199/23
ὁ νόμος	06a22 νόμους	السنن 182/2
	06a23 τοὺς ... νόμους	السنن 182/2
	06b12 τῶν νόμων	السنن 183/11
	10a12 νόμῳ	سنن 197/10
ἡ νόσος	11a22f πεντεσυϱίγγῳ νόσῳ	سورنغو نوس 201/8
ὁ νοῦς	11b12 τὸν νοῦν	العقل 202/9

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ξενικός	04b36 ξενικόν	غريبا 176/18
	05a8 τὸ ξενικόν	الغريبة 177/9
	06a15 ξενικήν	غريبا 181/15
ὁ ξένος	04b9 τοὺς ξένους	الغرباء 175/10
	04b11 ξένην	غريبا 175/11
	08b11 τὰ ξένα	الغريبة 191/14
Ξέϱξης	06a8 Ξέϱξην	اخسيرس [32] 181/7

O

ὁ ὄγκος	07b26 ὄγκον	معونة 188/10
ἡ ὁδός	11b2 ἡ ... ὁδός	طريق 201/20
ἡ Ὀδύσσεια	06b12 τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν	الكتابة الذي المال 183/12
οἶδα	08a34 οἶδεν	يعرف 190/17
	08a34 ἴσασιν	يعرفون 190/17
	10b13 ἴσμεν	معروفة ظاهرة 199/3f

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[32] Badawī: اخيرس.

οἰκεῖος	04b32 τὸ οἰκεῖον	الأهليّة 176/14
	04b35 τοῖς οἰκείοις	الأهليّات 176/16
	05b12 οἰκειότερον	جدّ أهلي 179/16
	08a31 οἰκεῖα	الأهليّة 190/12
	12a10 οἰκείων	أهليّات 203/23
ὁ οἰκέτης	10a14 οἰκέταις	عبيدا 197/12
οἴκοι	10a3 οἴκοι	في منازلهم 196/21
	10a3 οἴκοι	في مساكنهم 197/1
	10a18 οἴκοι	في بيوتكم 197/14
ὁ οἶνος	04b21 τοὺς οἴνους	الأشربة 176/2
οἴομαι	04a27 οἴονται	يظنّ 174/6
	10a30 ᾠήθης	ظننت 198/7
ὀϊστός	11b35 ὀϊστός	رمحه 203/10
ὀλίγος	05b24 ὀλίγον	القليلة 180/8
	07b10 ὀλίγα	القليل 187/12
ὅλος	07b1 τὸ ὅλως	في الكلّيّة 187/1
	07b11 ὅλως	الجملة 187/14
ὁ Ὀλυνθιακός	11a6f τὸν Ὀλυνθιακόν	بالونثوس [33] 200/12
Ὅμηρος	11b31 Ὅμηρος	اوميروس 203/7
τὸ ὄμμα	05b13, 10b33f, 11a28, b4, 6, 8f, 24, 25 πρὸ ὀμμάτων	نصب العين 179/17, 200/2, 201/14, 21f, 202/2, 5, 19, 20
ὁμογενής	07a15 τῶν ὁμογενῶν	متساوية في الجنس 185/12
ὁμοειδής	05a36 τῶν ὁμοειδῶν	المتقاربات في الصور 179/2
ὅμοιος	04a32 ὁμοιότατον	شبيها 174/12
	06b27 ὅμοιος	يشبه 184/4
	06b35, 07a6 ὅμοιος	يشبهون 184/13, 185/2
	07a3 ὅμοιοι	يشبهون 184/19
	07b6 ὅμοια	متشابهة 187/6
	08a19, 09b24 ὁμοίως	كذلك 189/23, 196/5
	08b18 ὁμοίως	شبيه 192/3
	08b24 τῷ ὁμοίῳ	المشاكل أو [المشابهة] 192/9f
	09a26 ὅμοιαν	يشبه 194/17
	09b26 ὅμοιον	[أيضا] بهذه الحال 196/6

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[33] Badawī: النثوس.

	10a24 ὅμοια	متساوية 198/1
	12a11 τὸ ὅμοιον	التشبيه 203/24
ὁμοιόω	05b12 ὡμοιωμένον μᾶλλον	يتشبّه جدًّا 179/15f
ὁμοιοτέλευτος	10b1 ὁμοιοτέλευτον	موافقا في النهاية 198/15
ὁμολογέω	08a34 ὁμολογεῖ	يقرّ 190/18
ὁμώνυμος	04b38 ὁμωνυμίαι	المتّفقات الأسماء 176/19
ὀνίημι	10a1 ὤνησαν	[نفعوهم] 196/19
τὸ ὄνομα	04a21, 08a30f, b6, 10, 10b11	الأسماء 173/21, 190/12,
	τὰ … ὀνόματα	191/8, 14, 199/1
	04a33 τῶν ὀνομάτων	الأسماء أو الألفاظ 174/14
	04b5, 27, 37f, 07b7, 10b11	الأسماء 175/3, 176/9,
	τῶν ὀνομάτων	20, 187/8, 199/2
	04b7 ὀνόματα	الأسماء 175/6
	04b26 ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημά-	الأسماء 176/8
	των	
	04b29 ὀνόμασι	الأسماء 176/10
	05b6f, 07b27 ὀνόματος	الاسم 179/10, 188/12
	05b35, 07a31, 10b31 τοῖς …	الأسماء 180/19, 186/12,
	ὀνόμασιν	199/24
	07b29, 10a34 ὄνομα	الاسم 188/14, 198/10
	07b30, 10a28 τὸ ὄνομα	الاسم 188/16, 198/4
	07b31 τῷ ὀνόματι	الاسم 188/16
	08a6 τὰ ὀνόματα	بأسماء 189/9
	08a14 τῷ … ὀνόματι	الاسم 189/16
	10a26 τὰ ὀνόματα	[بالأسماء] 198/3
	10a27 ὀνόματος	الاسم 198/4
ὀνομάζω	05a36f ὠνομασμένως	التسمية 179/3
	05b37 ὠνόμαζε	يسمّي 181/1
	07b10 ὀνομάζειν	قيل 187/12
	11a16 ὀνομάσας	[سمّى] 201/2
ὁ ὄνος	05b27 τῶν ὄνων	الحمير 180/12
ὀξύς	03b29 ὀξείᾳ	الحادّة 172/12
ὁράω	05b1 εἶδον	رأى 179/5
	07b20 τὸ … ἰδών	أبصرت 188/4
	10b34 ὁρᾶν	ننظر 200/2
ἡ ὀργή	08b15 ὀργῇ	الغضب 191/18

ὀργίζω	08a16 ὀργιζομένου	للغضب 189/21
	08b12 ὀργιζομένῳ	الغضبان 191/16
ὁ ὀρεύς	05b25 τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν	البغال 180/9
ὀρθός	04a3 ὀρθῶς	مستقيما أو بعدل 172/23
	07b10 ὀρθῶς	بالمشقّة 187/12
ὀρίζω	04b1 ὡρίσθω	نحدّ 174/23
ὁρμάω	09b20 ὁρμῶν	المجاز إلى المرسى 195/22
ὁ ὄρνις	06b17 ὄρνιθι	الطائر 183/16
ὁ ὄρος	09b20f ἔχει ... ὄρον	تكون كاملة 195/22
οὐρανομήκης	08b13 οὐρανόμηκες	الطويل الذهيب نحو السماء 191/16
ὁ οὐρανός	05b35f τὸν ... οὐρανόν	السماء 180/19
ὀχέω	07b9 ᾤχετο	سلف 187/11
ἡ ὄψις	05b19 τῇ ὄψει	المنظر 179/23

Π

παθητικός	08a10 παθητική	مضلّلة 189/14
	08a24 παθητικῶς	بالأَلميّات 190/3
	08b12 παθητικῶς	بالأَلميّة 191/15
τὸ πάθος	03b28 πάθος	الآلام 172/10
	05b2 τὸ πάθος	الألم 179/5
ὁ παιάν	09a3, 6 ὁ παιάν	الفاون 193/13، 16
	09a8 ὁ ... παιάν	فاون 193/18
	09a10 τῷ ... παιᾶνι	فاوون 194/1
	09a11 παιᾶνος	الفاون 194/3
τὸ παιδίον	07a2 τοῖς παιδίοις	الولدان 184/17
	08b25 τὰ παιδία	الصبيان 192/11
	10a30 παιδίον	طفل 198/8
ὁ παῖς	08a28 παῖς	الغلام 190/9
παιδεύω	08a32 πεπαιδευμένος	[ذو أدب] 190/15
ὁ πανηγυρικός	08b15 τῷ πανηγυρικῷ	الأخريّات 191/19
ἡ πανήγυρις	06a22 τὴν ... πανήγυριν	عيد 182/1
	09b34 τὰς πανηγύρεις	العيد 196/16
	11a31 ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν	الأعياد 201/16
ἡ παραγραφή	09a20f τὴν παραγραφήν	الكتابة 194/10

Greek	Citation	Arabic
παραιρέω	11a12 παρῃρῆσθαι	دعوا 200/18
παρακαλέω	11a8 παρακαλῶν	جعل يطلب 200/14
	11b5 παρακαλεῖν	يعزي 202/1
παράλιος	11a11 τὴν παραλίαν	ساحل البحر 200/17
παραλογίζομαι	08a20 παραλογίζεται	تضلّ وتغلط 189/24
παρατηρέω	05b33 παρατηρεῖν	نتوخّي 180/16
παρέρχομαι	03b23 παρῆλθεν	فعلوا 172/3
ἡ παρθένος	06b18 παρθένῳ	للعذراء 183/18
πάρισος	10b1 πάρισον	مساويا 198/15
ἡ παρίσωσις	10a23 παρίσωσις	التدافع 197/21
ἡ παρομοίωσις	10a24 παρομοίωσις	المضارعة 198/1
πάσχω	03b11 πεπονθέναι	يعتري ... من الألم 171/8
	04b10 πάσχουσι	يعتريهم 175/9
	07a36 πάσχουσιν	يغلطون 186/19
	08a32f πάσχουσι ... τι	[يعرض] ... شيء من الألم 190/15f
	10a35 ἔπαθες	نالك 198/13
	10b33 ποιεῖ πάσχειν	يصير إلى الألم 200/1
ὁ πατήρ	05b23 πατρός	من أبيه 180/7
παύω	09b21 παυσαμένου	الألم 196/1
πεζεύω	10a10 πεζεῦσαι	السير رجّالة 197/7
Πειθόλαος	10a17 Πειθόλαον	فيثولاوس 197/13
	11a13 Πειθόλαος	فيثولاوس 200/18
πείθω	03b12 πείθονται	تثبّت 171/9
Πειραιεύς	11a14, 15 τοῦ Πειραιέως	فيرا 200/20, 201/1
πελώριος	08b13 πελώριον	شجاعا 191/16
πεντεσύριγγος	11a22f πεντεσυρίγγῳ νόσῳ	سورنغو نوس 201/8
περαίνω	08b27 πεπεράνθαι	متناهيا 192/14
	08b28 περαίνεται	يتناهي 192/16
τὸ πέρας	09a33 τὸ πέρας	النهاية 195/4
περίεργος	04a7 περίεργα	من ذوات المؤاربة 173/4
περιέχω	07a31 τοῖς περιέχουσιν	الجميعة المحيطة 186/13
Περικλῆς	07a1 ἡ Περικλέους	[فري]قليس [34] 184/16
	11a1 Περικλῆς	فرقليس 200/6
	11a14 Περικλῆς	فيرقليس 201/1

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34 Badawī: بريقليس.

ἡ περίοδος	09a35 ἡ ἐν περιόδοις	التعاطف 195/5
	09a35 περίοδον	المتعاطف 195/6
	09b5 ἐν περιόδοις	المتعاطف 195/11
	09b8 τὴν περίοδον	العطف 195/14
	09b15 [ἡ περίοδος]	التعاطف 195/18
	09b18 τὰς περιόδους	الأعطاف 195/20
	09b25 αἱ περίοδοι	الأعطاف 196/5
	09b31 περίοδος	متعاطفة 196/13
	10b2 τῶν περιόδων	الأعطاف 198/16
περισσός	07b3 περισσά	الفرد 187/3
πέτομαι	06b15 πετομένη	تطير 183/15
	11b34 ἔπτατε	هزّ 203/10
πιθανός	03b20 τὸ πιθανόν	الإقناع 171/19
	04b20 πιθανόν	مقنع 176/1
	08a19f πιθανοί	مقنعة 189/24
πίπτω	11b35 ἐπιπτέσθαι	رمى 203/10
ἡ πίστις	03b7 αἱ πίστεις	التصديقات 171/3
	03b9 τῶν πίστεων	التصديقات 171/5
πλάττω	04b19 πεπλασμένως	بالفيوئطيّة 175/19
	08b22 πεπλάσθαι	مختلق 192/8
Πλάτων	06b32 τῇ Πλάτωνος	فلاطون 184/9
πλέω	10a10 πλεῦσαι	ركوب السفن 197/6f
τὸ πλοῖον	07a6 τοῖς πλοίοις	السفن 185/2
ποιέω	04a13 ποιήσει	ستفعل 173/12
	04a29 ποιοῦντες	صنعوا 174/10
	04a35 ποιοῦντες	الذين يصنعون 174/15
	04b3 ποιήσει	يستعمل 174/24
	04b35 εὖ ποιῇ	أجاد فعل 176/17
	05b22 ποιεῖσθαι	يضع 180/4
	07b32 πολλὰ ποιεῖν	الإكثار 188/18
	08a15 ποιεῖ	مقالة 189/17
	08b3 ὁ ποιεῖ τὸν λέγοντα	المتكلّم 191/5
	09b19, 23 ποιεῖ	تصيّر 195/20, 196/3
	10b33 ποιεῖ πάσχειν	يصير إلى الألم 200/1
τὸ ποίημα	06a31 ποίημα	مستوخما مستشنعا 182/10

	08b31 *ποίημα*	فيوئطي 193/1
ἡ *ποίησις*	04a28, b28 *ποιήσεως*	الفيوئطيّة 174/9, 176/9
	05a4 *ποιήσει*	على أن تفعل 177/5
	05a34 *τὴν ποίησιν*	الفيوئطي 178/18
	06a12, 07a34 *ποιήσει*	الفيوئطيّة 181/11, 186/17
	06a14 *ποίησις*	فوئطيّات 181/14
	08b18 *τῇ ποιήσει*	الفيوئطيّة 192/4
	08b19 *ἡ ποίησις*	الفيوئطيّة 192/4
ὁ *ποιητής*	03b24 *οἱ ποιηταί*	الفيوئطي 172/5
	03b33f, 06b36, 09a26 *τῶν ποιητῶν*	الفيوئطيّين 172/17, 184/14, 194/17
	04a20, 07b33 *οἱ ποιηταί*	الفيوئطيّين 173/21, 188/19
	04a24 *οἱ ποιηταί*	الفيوئطين 174/3
	04b39 *τῷ ποιητῇ*	الفيوئطيّة 177/1
	08a6 *οἱ ποιηταί*	الفيوئطيّون 189/8
	10b16 *τῶν ποιητῶν*	الفيوئطيّون 199/7
ποιητικός	03b25f *τὴν ποιητικήν*	الفيوئطيّة 172/6
	04a25 *ποιητική*	فيوئطيّة 174/6
	04a39, b8, 05a6 *ποιητικῆς*	الفيوئطيّة 174/21, 175/6, 177/6f
	04b4 *ἡ ... ποιητική*	الفيوئطيّة 175/2
	06a6 *ποιητικά*	فيوئطيّة 181/4
	06a32 *ποιητικῶς*	بالفيوئطيّة 182/12
	06a37f *ποιητικόν*	على حال الفيوئطيّة 182/18f
	06b10 *ποιητικῶς*	مقالة فيوئطيّة 183/10
	06b25 *ποιητικόν*	[فيوئطي] 184/1
	07b32 *τὸ ποιητικόν*	الكلام الفيوئطي 188/17
ὁ *πόλεμος*	10b30 *πόλεμον*	الحرب 199/23
	10b31 *πόλεμος*	الحرب 199/23
	11a2 *τῷ πολέμῳ*	الحرب 200/7
	11a6f *τὸν ... πόλεμον*	الحرب 200/12
	11a12, 11b18 *τοῦ πολέμου*	الحرب 200/18, 202/15
	11b14 *τοὺς πολέμους*	الحرب 202/10
	11b17 *τοῖς πολέμοις*	الحرب 202/13f

ἡ πόλις	06a22f τῶν πόλεων	المدائن 182/2
	10a12, 11a3, 11b10 τῆς πόλεως	المدينة 200/8, 197/10، 202/6
	11a25 τὴν πόλιν	المدينة 201/12
	11b19 αἱ πόλεις	المدائن 202/16
ἡ πολιτεία	03b35 τῶν πολιτειῶν	الفيوليطيّة 172/18
	06b32 τῇ πολιτείᾳ	الفيولطيّة 184/10
ὁ πολίτης	04b9f τοὺς πολίτας	أهل المدينة 175/10
	10a12 πολίτας	أهل المدينة 197/9
πολιτικός	03b34 πολιτικούς	الفيوليطيّة 172/17
Πολύευκτος	11a21 τὸ Πολυεύκτου	فولودقطوس ... فوليقطوس 201/7
πολύθυρος	07b34 πολύθυροι	كثيرة الأبواب 188/21
πολυπρόσωπος	05b35f τὸν πολυπρόσωπον	كثيرة الوجوه 180/20
πολύς	04a4, 10a3 πλείω	أكثر 196/21 ،173/1
	04a26, 07b12 οἱ πολλοί	كثير 187/16 ،174/7
	06a37 πολύ	بآكثر 182/18
	07a29 πολύ	كثير 186/9
	07a35 πολύ	كثيرا 186/18
	07b9f τὰ πολλά	الكثير 187/12
	07b22 πολλά	كلاما كثيرا 188/7
	07b32 πολλὰ ποιεῖν	الإكثار 188/18
	08a24 πολλοί	كثير من الناس 190/4
	08b34 τῶν πολλῶν	كثير من الناس 193/5
	09a29 πολλοί	كثيرا منهم 194/16
	10a9 πολύ	كثير منهم 197/6
	10a15 πολλούς	كثير 197/12
	11b16 πολὺ κάλλιον	أفضل ... جدّا 202/13f
	12a11 πολύ	جدّ 203/24
πονηρεύομαι	11a17 πονηρεύεσθαι	شرير 201/4
πονηρός	11a16 πονηρότερος	شرّ 201/3
πορεύω	05a1 τὸ πορεύεσθαι	يسير 177/2
	07b23, 24 πορεύεσθαι	أشخص 9 ،188/8
	08a1 πορευθείς	ذهبت 189/3
πορθέω	05a28 πορθῆσαι	أغار 178/12
πορίζω	04a25 πορίσασθαι	يكتسبون 174/4

ὁ ποριστής	05a26 ποριστάς	محتالين 178/10
ὁ πούς	11b30 ποσίν	أقدامهم 203/5
τὸ πρᾶγμα	03b19 τὰ πράγματα	الأمور 171/19
	04a6, 08a11 τοῖς πράγμασιν	الأمور 173/3, 189/14
	05b13, 09a30 τὸ πρᾶγμα	الأمر 179/16, 195/1
	06b9 τὰ πράγματα	الأشياء 183/9
	07b2 τοῦ πράγματος	الأمور 187/2
	08a20 τὸ πρᾶγμα	الشيء 189/23
	08a23 τὰ πράγματα	أمورا 190/2
ἡ πραγματεία	04a2 τῆς πραγματείας	من شأن 172/22
πραγματεύο- μαι	03b6 πραγματευθῆναι	القول 171/1
	03b26 ἐπραγματεύθησαν	تكلّفوا القول 172/7
πράττω	10b34 πραττόμενα	التي يفعلن 200/3
	11b3 τῶν ... πεπραγμένων	التي فعلت 201/20
πρέπω	04b4 πρέπουσαν	جميلة 175/2
	04b5 πρέπουσα	جميل 175/3
	04b17 τὸ πρέπον	مشاكلا 175/15
	04b31 τοῦ πρέποντος	الجميل 176/12
	05a14, 06a12 πρέπει	يجمل 177/16, 181/11
	08a10 τὸ ... πρέπον	جميلة 189/13
προαιρέω	07b21 προαιρῆται	يوقعوا 186/14
προεπιπλήττω	08b2f προεπιπλήττειν	يثب أو [يتوهّم] 191/4
ἡ πρόθεσις	10b18 προθέσει	الفروتاسيس 199/9
προλαμβάνω	08b24f προλαμβάνουσι	يسبقون 192/11
προοράω	09a33 προορῶντες	تقدّموا فنظروا 195/4
προσαγορεύω	05a32f προσαγορεύει	يسمّي 178/17
προσάπτω	12a4 προσῆψε	أضيفت 203/15
προσέρχομαι	03b36 προσῆλθεν	[بلغت] 172/20
προσέχω	08b23 προσέχειν	يحوّل لنا ... مليّا 192/9f
ἡ πρόσθεσις	05b3 πρόσθεσις	تقديم وضع 179/6
πρόσκειμαι	07b15 πρόσκειται	تميل 187/19
προσκτάομαι	10a3 προσεκτήσαντο	حفظوهم 196/21
προσορίζω	07b5 προσορίζονται	يحدّون أو يوقّتون 187/5
προσποιέω	07a33f προσποιῶνται	يروا أو يظهر 186/16
προσπταίω	09b19 προσπταίειν	السهو 195/21

	09b21 προσπταίειν	الغفلة أو السهو 196/2
τὸ πρόσωπον	08b6 τῷ προσώπῳ	الوجه 191/9
πρότερος	07a21 πρότεροι	التقدّم 185/19
	07b15 πρότερον	الأوّل 187/21
προτίθημι	07b21 προθείς	تتبعه 188/6
Πρωταγόρας	07b7 Πρωταγόρας	فروطاغوراس 187/8
ἡ πτῶσις	10a27 πτῶσις	تصاريف 198/4
	10a32 πτώσεις	التصريف 198/9
πτωχεύω	05a18 πτωχεύοντα	[طلب] 177/21
	05a18f πτωχεύειν	يطلب 178/1
ὁ πτωχομουσο- κόλαξ	05b37 πτωχομουσοκόλακας	الملّاق [الصديق] 181/1
πυκνός	06a11 πυκνοῖς	المتّصلات 181/10
	06a20 πυκνοῖς	المتّصلة 181/20
πωλέω	12a4 ἐπώλουν	يبيعونكم 197/14

Ρ

ῥᾴδιος	07b13 ῥᾴδιον	تسعر 187/17
	10b10 ῥᾳδίως	يسر 199/1
ἡ ῥαψῳδία	03b23 ῥαψῳδίαν	الرفسوديّات 172/3
	04a23 ἡ ῥαψῳδία	الرفسوديّة 174/2
τὸ ῥῆμα	04b6 ῥημά-των	الكلم 175/4
	04b26 ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημά- των	الأسماء 176/8
ῥητορικός	03b25, 04a2 τὴν ῥητορικήν	الريطوريّة 172/6، 22
	04b37 ῥητορικοῦ	الفيوطيطي 176/19
ὁ ῥήτωρ	04a18 τοῖς ῥήτορσιν	الريطوريّون 173/17
	07a7 τοὺς ῥήτορας	الريطوريّون 185/3
ῥοδοδάκτυλος	05b19f ῥοδοδάκτυλος	ورديّة الأصابع 180/2
ὁ ῥυθμός	03b30 ῥυθμοῖς	النغم أو النبرات 172/12
	03b31f ῥυθμός	النبرة 172/14
	08b29 ῥυθμός	النغمة أو النبرة 192/17
	08b30 ῥυθμόν	[ب]نبرات 192/18
	08b31 ῥυθμόν	النبرة 193/1
	08b32, 09a9 τῶν ... ῥυθμῶν	النبرات 193/3، 18

	09a1 ῥυθμός	نبرة 193/9
	09a21 τὸν ῥυθμόν	النبرة أو النغمة 194/10f
	09a24 ῥυθμοί	النبرات 194/13
ῥυπαίνω	05a25 ῥυπαινόντων	المستدنّسين بالمذمومات 178/8f

Σ

Σαλαμίς	11a32 Σαλαμῖνι	سلمنة 201/18
ἡ σαλπίγξ	08a9 τὴν σαλπίγγα	القرن أو البوق 189/12
οἱ Σάμιοι	07a1 Σαμίους	أهل ساموس 184/17
σαφηνίζω	04b36f σαφηνιεῖ	محقّق 176/18
σαφής	04b2 σαφῆ	يكون بالتعبير 174/23
	04b6 σαφῆ	محقّقة 175/4
	05a8 τὸ σαφές	المحقّقة 177/9
	06a35 τὸ σαφές	تبيّن 182/15
σεμνός	04b8 σεμνοτέραν	بزيادة الهيبة والحذر 175/8
	06b3 σεμνόν	التوقّي 183/1
	06b7 τὸ σεμνόν	محقّرة أو سوقيّة 183/7
	08a13 σεμνῶς	بالتوقّي 189/16
	08b32 σεμνός	[منتقصة] 193/3
ἡ σεμνότης	08b35 σεμνότητα	نتوقّي 193/6
σημαίνω	05b8 τῷ σημαινομένῳ	الذي [يعبّر] 179/11
	05b10 σημαίνει	يقول 179/14
	05b13 σημαίνει	يدلّ 179/17
	05b16 σημαίνουσιν	[يدلّ] 179/19
	10b11 σημαίνει	تبيّن 199/1
	11b26 σημαίνει	مع دلالتهنّ 202/21
	11b27 σημαίνει	يتبيّن 203/1
τὸ σημεῖον	04b2 σημεῖον	رسم 174/24
	04b33 σημεῖον	العلامة 176/14
	05a32 ἡδείας ἢ σημεῖα	لم [تقرّ] بالتحقيق أو التفخيم 178/16
	08a26 τῶν σημείων	الرسوم 190/7
	11b19 σημεῖα	أعلام 202/15

Σηστός	11a13 Σηστόν	سيسيطوس³⁵ ... سيسطوس 200/19f
Σικελία	11a25 Σικελίαν	سقيليّة 201/12
Σιμωνίδης	05b24 ὁ Σιμωνίδης	سيمونيدس 180/7
Σίσυφος	12a5 τὸν Σίσυφον	سيسيفوس 203/17
τὸ σκεῦος	07b8 σκεύη	وسطا بين ذلك 187/9
Σκίρων	06a8 Σκίρων	سقيرون³⁶ 181/8
σκληρός	08b6 σκληρά	الشديدة 191/8
	08b9 σκληρῶς	[بشدّة] 191/12
	08b9 τὰ σκληρά	الشديدات 191/13
σκοπέω	03b31 σκοποῦσιν	يهزلون أو [...]³⁷ 172/13
	05a13 σκοπεῖν	ننظر 177/14
σκυλεύω	06b33 οἱ ... σκυλεύοντες	الذين ... يسلبون 184/10
σκώπτω	05b30 σκώπτει	يزري 180/14
	09b26 ἔσκωψε	[ذمّ] 196/7
σολοικίζω	07b18f σολοικίζειν	لحن أو خطأ في الكلام 182/2
σοφιστικός	05b9 σοφιστικόν	السوفسطيّة 179/12
ὁ σοφιστής	04b38 τῷ ... σοφιστῇ	السوفسطيّة 176/20
Σοφοκλῆς	09b9 [Σοφοκλέους]	سوفقليس 195/15
σπένδω	11a10f σπεισαμένων	استولى ... واحتوّا 200/16
Σπεύσιππος	11a21 Σπεύσιππον	فوسيفوس 201/7
σπουδάζω	11a6 σπουδάζοντος	يبادر 200/11
στερέω	10a12f στέρεσθαι	يفقدوا 197/9
ἡ στέρησις	08a7 τῶν στερήσεων	الإعدام 189/10
τὸ στέρνον	12a1 στέρνοιο	صدره 203/12
στοχάζομαι	06a16 στοχάζεσθαι	يتوخّى 181/16
	10b35 στοχάζεσθαι	نتوخّي 200/3
συγγενής	05a35f τῶν συγγενῶν	المشاكلات 179/2
	05a37 συγγενές	بما هو أشكل 179/4
ἡ συγγνώμη	08b12 συγγνώμη	الصفح 191/15
τὸ σύγγραμμα	07b16 τοῦ συγγράμματος	كلامه 187/21

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³⁵ Badawī: اسيسيطوس.

³⁶ Om. Badawī.

³⁷ Mistranslation, perhaps due to the reading σκωπτοῦσιν.

σύγκειμαι	03b35 σύγκειται	ترکّب 172/19
	09b36 σύγκειται	مرکّبة 196/18
ἡ συλλαβή	05a31 ταῖς συλλαβαῖς	المقاطع 178/15
	10a27 τὰς ... συλλαβάς	المقاطع 198/4
	10a35 συλλαβῆς	المقاطع 198/13
ὁ συλλογισμός	10a21 συλλογισμῷ	السيلوجسموس 197/18
συμβαίνω	10a6f συμβαίνει	يعرض 197/3
συμβάλλομαι	03b17, 07b26 συμβάλλεται	يشاكل 171/16, 188/10
συμπαρανεύω	07a37 συμπαρανεύουσιν	تصرّفت معهم 186/20
συμπεριπατέω	09b24 [τοὺς συμπεριπα- τοῦντας]	الذين يمشون معهم 196/5
συνάγω	09b34 τῶν ... συναγόντων	اجتمعوا 196/15
ἡ συναγωγή	10a22 συναγωγή	تجمع 197/19
ὁ σύνδεσμος	07a20 τοῖς συνδέσμοις	الرباطات المنطقيّة 185/17
	07a24, 28 σύνδεσμον	رباطا 186/4, 9
	07a25, b37 συνδέσμου	رباط 186/4, 189/1
	07a28f σύνδεσμοι	الرباط 186/9
	07a30 τοῖς συνδέσμοις	الرباطات 186/11
	07b12f σύνδεσμοι	الرباطات 187/16
	07b38 ἄνευ ... συνδέσμου	غير المربوطة 189/2
	09a24f τῷ συνδέσμῳ	الرباط 194/16
ἡ σύνδρομή	11a29 τὰς συνδρομάς	التوافي 201/15
ἡ συνθήκη	11b16 τὰς συνθήκας	التعاقد على السلم 202/12f
συνίστημι	04a22f συνέστησαν	حدثت 174/2
	04b27 συνέστηκεν	رکّب 176/8
συντίθημι	04b25 συντιθῇ	يرکّب 176/6
	06b17 συντίθεται	ترکيب 185/15
ἡ συντομία	07b28 συντομίαν	الإيجاز 188/13
σύντομος	07b36, 39 συντόμως	الإيجاز 188/23, 189/2
συντρέχω	11a30 τοὺς συντρέχοντας	يتوافون 201/16
ἡ συνωνυμία	04b39 συνωνυμίαι	ذوات الاسم والحدّ [جميعا] 177/1f
συνώνυμος	05a2 συνώνυμα	ذوات الاسم والحدّ معا 177/3
τὸ σχῆμα	08b21 τὸ ... σχῆμα	شكل 192/7

	08b28f τοῦ σχήματος	شكل 192/16
	10b28f τῷ … σχήματι	شكله 199/21
σώζω	10a14 ἐσώθησαν	نجوا 197/10
τὸ σῶμα	06a28 τὸ σῶμα	البدن 182/8
	06a29 τοῦ σώματος	البدن 182/8

T

ταπεινός	04b3 ταπεινήν	حقيرة دنيّة 175/1
	04b5 ταπεινήν	الحقير 175/3
	04b6 ταπεινήν	حقيرة 175/5
	08a19 ταπεινῶς	للهمّ والجزع 189/22
τάττω	03b7 τάξαι	ننظّم أو ننسّق 171/4
ὁ τάφος	11a32 τῷ τάφῳ	قبور 201/17
ταχύς	10b21 ταχεῖαν	خفيفا 199/13
	11b31 ταχύ	الخفّة 203/6
τελειόω	09a31 τελειωθῇ	ينقض 194/22
	09b8 τετελειῶσθαι	منتهى 195/14
	09b14 ἡ τετελειωμένη	تامّ 195/16
τέλειος	11b27 τέλεια	يكمل 202/22
τελευτάω	09a14 τελευτῶσι	يتناهي 194/5
	10a16 τελευτήσαντας	الأموات 197/12
	11a32 τελευτησάντων	الذين هلكوا 201/18
ἡ τελευτή	09a11 τὴν τελευτήν	النهاية 194/2
	09a16 τελευτᾷ	يتناهي 194/6
	09a17 τελευτήν	المنتهى 194/7
	09a20 τὴν τελευτήν	المنتهى 194/9
	09a36 τελευτήν	آخره 195/6
	10a25 τελευτῆς	المنتهى 198/3
	10a26 ἡ … τελευτή	النهايات 198/4
	10a30 ἐπὶ τελευτῆς	باشتقاق الكلم 198/7
τὸ τέλος	09a30 τέλος	انقضاء 194/22
	09a31 τὸ … τέλος	النهاية 195/2
τὸ τέρμα	09b23 τοῦ τέρματος	الغاية 196/4
τετράγωνος	11b27 τετράγωνον	طاطراغونوس 202/22
τετράμετρος	04a31 τῶν τετραμέτρων	الوزن المربّع 174/12

	09a1 τὰ τετράμετρα	الوزن [الـ...] 193/8
	09a1 τὰ τετράμετρα	الأوزان المربّعة 193/9
τεύχω	09b28 τεύχει	يفعل 196/9
	09b28 τεύχων	يفعل 196/9
ἡ τέχνη	03b35 τέχνη	الصناعة أو الحيلة 172/18
	04a22 αἱ τέχναι	الصناعات 174/2
ὁ τεχνίτης	05a24 τεχνίτας	حذّاقا 178/8
Τήλεφος	05a28f ὁ Τήλεφος	طيلافوس 178/12
τίθημι	05b15 θετέον	ينبغي ... أن يضع 179/19
τίκτω	10a30f τετοκέναι	يولد لي 198/8
τίμιος	05a23 τίμιον	شريف 178/7
τλάω	08b16 ἔτλησαν	صبروا 192/1
τμητός	08b30 τμητά	[أفنانها] 192/17
ὁ τόνος	03b29 τοῖς τόνοις	الهاديات 172/11
ὁ τόπος	03b15 τὰ ... τόποι	موضع 171/12
τραγικός	03b22f τὴν τραγικήν	الطراغوديّات 172/3
	06b8 τραγικόν	الطراغوديّات 183/8
ἡ τραγῳδία	03b24, 04a29 τὰς τραγῳ-δίας	الطراغوديّات 172/4, 174/11
ἡ τριήρης	11a23 τὰς τριήρεις	السفينة ذات الثلاثة المجاذيف 201/9f
τρίτος	05b8 τρίτον	طرطعون 179/12
τὸ τρόπαιον	11b16 τὸ ... τρόπαιον	أعلام الغلبة 202/13
ὁ τρόπος	04a30 τὸν ... τρόπον	النحو 174/11
	04a36 τῷ τρόπῳ	النحو 174/18
	11b11 πάντα τρόπον	بكلّ جهة 202/7
τροχαῖος	08b36 ὁ ... τροχαῖος	طروخاوس 195/7
τροχερός	09a1 τροχερός	طروخاوس 195/9
τυγχάνω	07b2 τύχοι	يعرض الخطأ 187/2f
τύπτω	07b11 ἔτυπτόν με	يضربونني 187/13
ἡ τύχη	11b18 τύχης	السعادة 202/14

Υ

ἡ ὕβρις	08a16 ὕβρις	العار والمنقّصة 189/20f
ὑγρός	06a21 τὸν ὑγρὸν ἱδρῶτα	الرطوبة 182/1

ὑπάρχω	04a21 ὑπῆρξε	يكون 173/21
	10b25 ὑπῆρχεν	يكون 199/18
ὑπερήμερος	11a20 ὑπερημεροί	أقمن ... على ما أقام 201/6
ὑποδείκνυμι	04b25 ὑπέδειξε	أظهره 176/7
ἡ ὑπερβολή	06a32 τὴν ... ὑπερβολήν	[الـ... المفرط] 182/11
ὑπόκειμαι	08a11 ὑποκειμένοις	الموضوعة 189/14
ὑποκορίζομαι	05b28 ὑποκορίζεσθαι	التصغير 180/12
ὁ ὑποκορισμός	05b28f ὁ ὑποκορισμός	التصغير 180/12
ὑποκρίνομαι	03b23 ὑπεκρίνοντο	يستعملون الأخذ بالوجوه 172/4
ἡ ὑπόκρισις	03b22 τὴν ὑπόκρισιν	الحيلة في الأخذ بالوجوه 172/1f
	04a18 τὴν ὑπόκρισιν	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/18
ὁ ὑποκριτής	03b34 οἱ ὑποκριταί	ذوو الأخذ بالوجوه 172/16
	04b23 τῶν ἄλλων ὑποκριτῶν	أولئك الآخرين 176/4
ὑποκριτικός	04a13 τῇ ὑποκριτικῇ	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/12
	04a15 τὸ ὑποκριτικόν	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/14
	04a23 ἡ ὑποκριτική	الابقراطيّة 174/3
ὑπόκωφος	06b35 ὑποκώφῳ	أبكم لا يفقه 184/13f
ὑπομένω	10a2 τοὺς ὑπομείναντας	الذين صبروا 196/20
τὸ ὑπόμνημα	11b10 τὸ ὑπόμνημα	الذكر 202/6
ὑστερίζω	10b25 ὑστερίζει	يبطئ 199/18
ὕστερος	07a21 ὕστεροι	التأخّر 185/19
	07b15 ὕστερον	إلى الآخر 187/21
	10a9 ὕστερον	بأخيرة 197/6

Φ

Φαῖδρος	08b20 τῷ Φαίδρῳ	فادرس 192/6
φαίνομαι	03b17 τὸ φανῆναι	يكون 171/16
	05a12 φανεῖται	يرى 177/13
	05a13 φαίνεσθαι	تظهر 177/14
	06a18 φαίνεται	ترى 181/18
	08a14 φαίνεται	يكون 189/17

	10b16f φαίνεται	يرى 199/7
	12a3 φαίνεται	تقال 203/13
φανερός	04a36 φανερόν	معلوما 174/18
	06a14 φανερόν	ظاهرات 181/13
	08b7 φανερόν	معلوم 191/10
	12a11 φανερῶν	معروفات 203/23
ἡ φαντασία	04a11 φαντασία	متخيّل أو متوهّم 173/9f
φαῦλος	05a34 φαύλη	رديء 178/19
	05b20f φαυλότερον	أقبح من ذلك 180/3
	05b22 ἀπὸ φαύλου	من الأمور القبيحة 180/5
φενακίζω	07a35 φενακίζει	يضلّل 186/18
φέρω	05a15f φέρει	تأتي 177/17
	05b18 οἰστέον	ينبغي أن تؤخذ 179/21f
	08a6 φέρουσι	يأتي 189/8
φεύγω	07b36 φευκτέον	ينبغي أن يجتنب 187/6
φημί	05a29 φησί	يذكر 178/13
	07b16 φησί	يقول 187/22
	08a9 τὸ φάναι	[يقال] 189/12
	08b12 φάναι	يقال 191/15
	11a2, 16, 12a12 ἔφη	قال 200/6, 201/2, 203/25
	11a7, 12 φάσκων	يقول 200/12, 17
	11a9 ἔφη	يقول 200/14
	11a16 ἔφη	قال 201/2
	11b4f τὸ φάναι	قيل 202/1
	11b26 φάναι	يقول 202/21
	12a14 φαίη	قال 204/1
φθέγγομαι	08b17 φθέγγονται	بلغوا 192/2
	08b35 φθέγγονται	يقولون 193/5
τὸ φιδίτιον	11a25 τὰ ... φιδίτια	بيت الصديق 201/11
ἡ φιλία	08b15 φιλία	المحبّة 191/18
Φιλομήλα	06b17 Φιλομήλα	الفيلوميلا 183/16
φιλοπονέω	05a6f φιλοπονεῖσθαι	رغبتنا في التعب والعناء 177/7f
ἡ φιλοσοφία	06b11 τὴν φιλοσοφίαν	الفلسفة 183/11
	12a11 φιλοσοφίᾳ	الفلسفة 203/23

φοινικοδάκτυ-λος	05b20 φοινικοδάκτυλος	حمراء الأصابع 180/2f
φορτικός	04a1 φορτικόν	شيء من التثقيل 172/20
φρονέω	11b11 φρονεῖν	لتفكير 202/7
φρόνιμος	10a7 τοὺς φρονίμους	العقلاء 197/4
ἡ φύσις	03b19f κατὰ φύσιν	على مجرى الطبيعة 171/17
	04a15 φύσεως	طبيعي 173/14
	10a12 φύσει	بالطباع 197/9
φύω	03b19 πέφυκε	متهيّأة في الطباع 171/18
	04a20 πέφυκεν	على مجرى الطبيعة 173/20f
	04b19 πεφυκότως	بالموافقة 175/19
	07a21 πεφύκασι	متهيّأة 185/18
ἡ φωνή	03b27, 05b18 τῇ φωνῇ	الصوت 172/9, 179/22
	04a21 ἡ φωνή	الصوت 174/1
	04b22 ἡ ... φωνή	صوت 176/3
	05a34 φωναί	اللفظتين 178/18
	05a35 ταῖς ... φωναῖς	الألفاظ 178/19
	08b6 τῇ φωνῇ	في الصوت 191/9
τὸ φῶς	11b12 φῶς	نورا 202/9

X

Χαβρίας	11b6 Χαβρίου	كبريوس 202/3
χαίρω	05b26 χαίρετε	كان مسرورا 180/10f
χαλεπός	06b29 χαλεπόν	[أسيئت] وأشرّت 184/6
	10b32 χαλεπόν	يصعب 199/25
ὁ χαλκός	05b1 χαλκόν	بالنحاس الأحمر 179/5
χαλκοῦς	05a33 ὁ χαλκοῦς	النحاسي 178/17
	10a33 χαλκοῦς	النحاس 198/10
	10a33 χαλκοῦ	النحاس 198/10
	11b7f τὴν χαλκῆν	النحاس 202/4
Χάρης	11a6 Χάρητος	خاريس 200/11
	11b3 Χάρης	امتنان[38] 201/20
ἡ χελιδών	06b15 τὴν χελιδόνα	خطّافة 183/15

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[38] Name erroneously translated.

ὁ Χῖος	09b26 ὁ Χῖος	من أهل كيوس 196/7
χλωϱός	06b9 χλωϱά	يكرمون³⁹ 183/9
χϱάομαι	11b31 κέχϱηται	يستعملها 203/6
τὸ χϱῆμα	10a5 χϱημάτων	المال 197/2
χϱησιμολόγος	07b5 οἱ χϱησιμολόγοι	ذوو الكهانة والأنباء 187/4f
χϱονοτϱιβέω	06a37 τὸ χϱονοτϱιβεῖν	ليستمرّ على طول الزمان 182/17f
τὸ χϱυσιδάϱιον	05b31 χϱυσιδάϱιον	ذهيبا 180/15
τὸ χϱυσίον	05b31 χϱυσίου	الذهب 180/15
ὁ χϱώς	12a1 χϱόος	أجساده 203/11
χύδην	09b7 τῶν χύδην	منثّرا مفرّقا 195/13

Ψ

τὸ ψεῦδος	05b11 ψεῦδος	كذب 179/14
	10b3 ψευδεῖς	كواذب 198/17
τὸ ψήφισμα	11a10 τὸ Μιλτιάδου ψήφισμα	ناحية ميلتياديس 200/15
ψιλός	04b33 ψιλῶν	المرسل 176/13
ὁ ψόγος	08b14 ψόγοις	الذمّ 191/18
	11b19 τῷ ψόγῳ	هجاء 202/17
ὁ ψόφος	05b7 τοῖς ψόφοις	[...] أو التصريح 179/10f
ψοφώδης	06b2 ψοφώδεις	مبسّطة أو ممدّدة 182/20f
ἡ ψυχή	06a24, 26, 30 τῆς ψυχῆς	النفس 182/3, 5, 9
	08a21, 10b19 ἡ ψυχή	النفس 189/24, 199/11
	11b13 τῇ ψυχῇ	النفس 202/9
ψυχϱός	05b34 τὰ ... ψυχϱά	الأسماء الباردة 180/18
	06a18 ψυχϱά	باردة 181/18
	06a33 τὸ ψυχϱόν	البارد 182/13
	06b5 τὸ ψυχϱόν	الباردة 183/3
ὁ ψωμός	07a2 τὸν ψωμόν	الخبز 184/18

Ω

ὠνέομαι	10a19 ἐώνηται	بيعوا 197/15

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³⁹ Lyons suggests a confusion of two Syriac roots behind this translation.

ARABIC-GREEK

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04a23 ἡ ὑποκριτική	الابقراطيّة 174/3	ابقراطية
05b23 πατρός	من أبيه 180/7	أبو
05a15f φέρει	تأتي 177/17	أتي
08a6 φέρουσι	يأتي 189/8	
08a7 ἐπιφέρουσιν	يأتون 189/10	
08b24 ἥξει	يأتي 192/10	
08a17 ἀσεβῆ	الإثم 189/21	أثم
11a9 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους	الاثينون⁴⁰ 200/14	اثيني
11a11 Ἀθηναίων	الاثينيّون 200/16	
05b24 μισθόν	الأجرة 180/8	أجر
11a14 τὴν Αἴγιναν	اجينة 201/1	اجينة
09a12 ἀντικείμενα	يضادّ أحدهما الآخر 194/3	أحد
09a12 ἀντικείμενα	يضادّ أحدهما الآخر 194/3	
03b32f λαμβάνουσιν	يأخذون 172/14	أخذ
05a28 λαβεῖν	أخذ 178/12	
05b18 οἰστέον	ينبغي أن تؤخذ 179/21f	
10a28 ἔλαβεν	أخذت 198/6	
03b22 τὴν ὑπόκρισιν	الحيلة في الأخذ بالوجوه 172/1f	
03b23 ὑπεκρίνοντο	يستعملون الأخذ بالوجوه 172/4	
03b34 οἱ ὑποκριταί	ذوو الأخذ بالوجوه 172/16	
04a13 τῇ ὑποκριτικῇ	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/12	
04a15 τὸ ὑποκριτικόν	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/14	
04a18 τὴν ὑπόκρισιν	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/18	
05a9 λαβεῖν	أخذه 177/10	
09a36 τελευτήν	آخره 195/6	أخر
10a9 ὕστερον	بأخيرة 197/6	
04a28 ἑτέρα ... λέξις	لأصناف أخر 174/9	
04b23 τῶν ἄλλων ὑποκρι-τῶν	أولئك الآخرين 176/4	
07b15 ὕστερον	إلى الآخر 187/21	
08a19 τῶν ἄλλων	سائر الأخر 189/23	
10a24 τὰ ἔσχατα	أواخر 198/1	

⁴⁰ Badawī: الاثينيون.

Greek	Arabic	Lemma
10b29 τοῖς ἄλλοις	الآخرون 199/23	
07a21 ὕστεροι	التأخّر 185/19	
08b15 τῷ πανηγυρικῷ	الأخريّات 191/19	
06a8 Ξέρξην	اخسيرس 181/7 [41]	اخسيرس
06b21 τὸν Ἀχιλλέα	اخيلوس 183/21	اخيلوس
06b24 τὸν Ἀχιλλέα	اخيلوس 183/22	
04a27 τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων	الذين لا أدب لهم 174/7	أدب
08a32 πεπαιδευμένος	[ذو أدب] 190/15	
05a21 ἀμύντον	غير أديب 178/4	
06b34 δάκνει	تؤذي 184/11	أذى
04a7 περίεργα	من ذوات المؤاربة 173/4	أرب
06b30 Ἀρχίδαμον	ارخدامس 184/7	ارخدامس
06b31f Ἀρχίδαμος	ارخيداموس 184/9 [42]	
12a12 Ἀρχύτας	ارخوطيس 203/25	ارخوطيس
09a27f [Ἡροδότου]	اردطوس 194/18 [43]	اردطوس
07a9 λιβανωτῷ	بالأرزة 185/5	أرز
05b30 Ἀριστοφάνης	ارسطوفانيس 180/13 [44]	ارسطوفانيس
05b36 τῆς ... γῆς	الأرض 180/20	أرض
11b35 γαίη	الأرض 203/11	
07b13f τὰ Ἡρακλείτου	[اراقليطوس]187/18 [45]	ارقليطس
07b14 τὰ ... Ἡρακλείτου	ارقليطس 187/18	
06a21 Ἴσθμια	استاموس 182/1 [46]	استاموس
06a22 τῶν Ἰσθμίων	استامانة 182/1	
06b21 λέων	أسد 183/21	أسد
06b22 λέων	أسدا 183/23	
11b21 τὰ ἀστεῖα	اسطيون حسنا 202/18	اسطيون
11a25 Αἰσίων	اسيون 201/11	اسيون
06b2 τοῖς ἐποποιοῖς	الذين يصنعون الوزن الذي يسمّى افي 182/21f	افي
10b3f Ἐπίχαρμος	افيخارموس 198/18	افيخارموس

41   Badawī: اخيرس.
42   Badawī: ارخداموس.
43   Margoliouth, Sālim: اروطوس, Badawī: ارودطوس.
44   Badawī: ارسطوفانس.
45   Hermannus Alemannus transcribes "Abruclitis".
46   Badawī: اسثمايوس.

11a11 Ἐπίδαυρον	افيدارووس 200/16 [47]	افيدارووس
07a2 δέχεται	يأكلون 184/18	أكل
11a5 τὴν Ἑλλάδα	الادة 200/10	الادة
11a27 τὴν Ἑλλάδα	الادة 201/13	
11a33 τὴν Ἑλλάδα	الادة 201/17	
06a1 Ἀλκιδάμας	القيداميس 181/2	القيداميس
06a7f Λυκόφρων	[القيدامس] 181/6 [48]	
06a18 τὰ Ἀλκιδάμαντος	أقاويل [القيداماس] 181/18	
06b11 Ἀλκιδάμας	القيدامس 183/11	
07b34 Ἀχαϊκούς	[القيادلطوس] 188/20	القيادلطوس
03b11 πεπονθέναι	من الألم ... يعتري 171/8	ألم
03b28 πάθος	الآلام 172/10	
05b2 τὸ πάθος	الألم 179/5	
08a32f πάσχουσι ... τι	[يعرض] ... شيء من الألم 190/15f	
09b21 ἀντισπασθῇ	لكيما يسلموا من الألم 196/1	
09b21 παυσαμένου	الألم 196/1	
10b33 ποιεῖ πάσχειν	يصير إلى الألم 200/1	
08a24 παθητικῶς	بالأليّات 190/3	
08b12 παθητικῶς	بالأليّة 191/15	
05a22 περὶ θεόν	ما يتنسّك به لله 178/6	أله
11b12 ὁ θεός	الله 202/9	
11a6f τὸν Ὀλυνθιακόν	بالونثوس 200/12 [49]	الونثوس
10a11 τὸν ... Ἑλλήσποντον	أليس بونطوس 197/7f [50]	أليس بونطوس
12a2 μαιμώωσα	لم يرث لابن أمّه 203/12 [51]	أمّ
11a15 ἐκέλευε	أمر 201/1	أمر
03b19 τὰ πράγματα	الأمور 171/19	
04a6, 08a11 τοῖς πράγμασιν	الأمور 173/3, 189/14	
05a30 μεῖζον	أمر كبير 178/14	
05b13, 09a30 τὸ πρᾶγμα	الأمر 179/16, 195/1	
05b22 ἀπὸ φαύλου	من الأمور القبيحة 180/5	
07b2 τοῦ πράγματος	الأمور 187/2	

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47 Badawī: افيدارووس.

48 Badawī: [القوفرون].

49 Badawī: النثوس.

50 Badawī: emend. الالاسبونطوس.

51 Expression misunderstood by the translator.

08a23 τὰ πράγματα	190/2	أمورا	
07a35 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς	186/18	امفيدوقليس	امفيدوقليس
10a32 ἐλπίσιν	198/9	بالأمل	أمل
07b8 θήλεα	187/9 [مؤنّثا]	أنث	
06b27 Ἀνδροτίων	184/3	اندروطيون	اندروطيون
06a35 οἱ … ἄνθρωποι	182/16	الناس	أنس
06b12 ἀνθρωπίνου	183/12	الناس	
08a24 πολλοί	190/4	كثير من الناس	
08b34 τῶν πολλῶν	193/5	كثير من الناس	
11b19f τῶν ἀνθρώπων	202/17	الناس	
07a9 Ἀντισθένης	185/5	انطيسثانيس	انطيسثانيس
08a1f ἀντιμάχου	189/4	انطيماخوس	انطيماخوس
06b18 ἐλοιδόρησεν	183/19	عنّفها	أنف
11a18 Ἀναξανδρίδου	201/5 [52] انكساندريدوس	انكساندريدوس	انكساندريدوس
10a32 ἄξιος	198/9	تتأهّل	أهل
04b9f τοὺς πολίτας	175/10	أهل المدينة	
05b30 τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις	180/14 [53][بابيل] أهل		
07a4 τούς Βοιωτούς	184/20	أهل بووطيّة	
10a12 πολίτας	197/9	أهل المدينة	
04b32 τὸ οἰκεῖον	176/14	الأهليّة	
04b35 τοῖς οἰκείοις	176/16	الأهليّات	
05b12 οἰκειότερον	179/16	جدّ أهلي	
07a31 ἰδίοις	186/12	الأهليّة الخاصّة	
08a31 οἰκεῖα	190/12	الأهليّة	
12a10 οἰκείων	203/23	أهليّات	
11a9 Εὔβοιαν	200/15	أوبوا	أوبوا
06b30 Θεοδάμας	184/6 [54] اوبيموس	اوبيموس	اوبيموس
08b26 τὸ … ἄρρυθμον	192/13 مون)ط(الاورا	مون)ط(اورا	
04b25 Εὐριπίδης	176/7 [55] اوريفدس	اوريفدس	اوريفدس
05a29 Εὐριπίδου	178/13 [56] اورفيدس	اورفيدس	
06b30 Εὐξένῳ	184/7 [57] اوسخينوس	اوسخينوس	اوسخينوس

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[52] Margoliouth, Sālim: انكساندرينوس.

[53] Badawī: بابيل.

[54] Badawī: [ثيوداموس].

[55] Badawī: اوريفدس.

[56] Badawī: اوريفدس.

[57] Badawī: emend. اوخسينوس.

الكلمة	النص العربي	اليوناني
	اوسيخينوس [58] 184/9	06b31 ὁ Εὔξενος
أول	الأوّل 187/21	07b15 πρότερον
اوميروس	اوميروس 203/7	11b31 Ὅμηρος
ايامبو	الوزن الذي يسمّى ايامبو 183/2	06b3 [τοῖς ἰαμβείοις]
ايدران	ايدران 184/4	06b27 Ἰδριέα
ايسقراطيس	ايسقراطيس 191/19	08b15 Ἰσοκράτης
	ايسيقراطوس 201/15	11a30 Ἰσοκράτης
أيض	[أيضا] بهذه الحال 196/6	09b26 ὅμοιον
ايغاس	بيت الايغاس 178/17	05a33 τοῖς ἐλεγείοις
ايفيقراطيس	ايفيقراطيس 178/2	05a20 Ἰφικράτης
	ايفيقراطيس 200/15	11a10 Ἰφικράτης
	ايفيقراطيس 201/19	11b2 Ἰφικράτης

ب

الكلمة	النص العربي	اليوناني
بابيل	أهل [بابيل] [59] 180/14	05b30 τοῖς Βαβυλονίοις
بتّ	لا تحسن البتّة 181/12f	06a13 τὰ ... ἀπρεπέστερα
بحر	البحر 181/3, 197/6, 7	06a5, 10a9, 10f τῆς θαλάττης
	ساحل البحر 200/17	11a11 τὴν παραλίαν
	البحيرة 201/1	11a15 τὴν λίμνην
بدّ	لا بدّ 198/2	10a25 ἀνάγκη
بدء	يبدأ 173/12	04a13 ἐγκεχειρήκασι
	ابتدؤوا 173/20	04a19 ἤρξαντο
	ابتدؤوا 194/1	09a10 ἀρχόμενοι
	يبتدئ 194/6	09a16 ἄρχουσι
	بدو 185/16	07a19 ἀρχή
	البدو 194/2	09a11 τῆς ἀρχῆς
	البدو 194/3f, 198/2	09a12, 10a25 ἀρχῇ
	بدوه 194/4	09a13 ἄρχει
	بدوه 195/6	09a36 ἀρχήν
	البدو 198/23	10b9 ἀρχή
	المبادئ 198/3	10a26 ἀρχή
	المبادئ 198/5	10a28 ἀρχῇ

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58 Badawī: emend. اوخسينوس.
59 Badawī: يابل.

10b2 αἱ ... ἀρχαί	مبادئ 198/16	
11a6 σπουδάζοντος	يبادر 200/11	بدر
06a15 ἐξαλάττει	تبدّل 181/14	بدل
04b8 τὸ ... ἐξαλλάξαι	التبديل والتغيير 175/7	
04b31 ἐξαλάττει	تبدّل 176/12	
06a28 τὸ σῶμα	البدن 182/8	بدن
06a29 τοῦ σώματος	البدن 182/8	
10a10 τῆς ἠπείρου	البرّ 197/7	برّ
05b34 τὰ ... ψυχρά	الأسماء الباردة 180/18	برد
06a18 ψυχρά	باردة 181/18	
06a33 τὸ ψυχρόν	البارد 182/13	
06b5 τὸ ψυχρόν	الباردة 183/3	
05a14 ἐσθής	البزّة 177/17	بزّ
04a24 εὐήθη	البسيطة والعاميّة 174/4	بسط
06b2 ψοφώδεις	مبسّطة أو ممدّدة 182/20f	
10b30 νομιζόντων	بشّر 199/23	بشر
06b34 γιγνώσκοντι	يبصر 182/15	بصر
07b20 τὸ ... ἰδών	أبصرت 188/4	
10b25 ὑστερίζει	يبطئ 199/18	بطء
10a36 ἀργόν	بطّالا 198/13	بطل
06a17 κακόν	[باطلا] 181/17	
07a24 ἀπαρτᾶν	يباعد 186/4	بعد
04b11 τῶν ἀπόντων	البعيدات 175/11	
05b25 τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν	البغال 180/9	بغل
05b25f εἰς ἡμιόνους	بالبغال 180/10	
04a5 δίκαιον ... αὐτοῖς	ينبغي لهم 173/2	بغي
04a37 ἀκριβολογητέον	ينبغي ... أن نتكلّم 174/19f	
05b15 θετέον	ينبغي ... أن يضع 179/19	
05b18 οἰστέον	ينبغي أن تؤخذ 179/21f	
07a11 ἔξεστι	ينبغي 185/7	
07b36 φευκτέον	ينبغي أن يجتنب 187/6	
09a24, b19 ἀνάγκη	ينبغي 194/15, 195/22	
10b7 λεκτέον	ينبغي أن نخبر 198/20f	
11a31 ἄξιον	ينبغي 201/17	
06b35 ὑποκώφῳ	أبكمَ لا يفقه 184/13f	بكم
03b36 προσῆλθεν	[بلغت] 172/20	بلغ

08b17 φθέγγονται	بلغوا 192/2	
10a8f ἠξιώθησαν	بلغوا 197/5	
05b27 θύγατρες	بنات 180/11	بن
05b27f θυγατέρες	بنات 180/12	
12a2 μαιμώωσα	لم يرث لابن أمّه 203/12 [60]	
11b28 τὴν ἀκμήν	ذوات الزهرة أو البهجة 203/2	بهج
07b34 πολύθυροι	كثيرة الأبواب 188/21	بوب
08a9 τὴν σαλπίγγα	القرن أو البوق 189/12	بوق
10a11 τὸν ... Ἑλλήσποντον	أليس بونطوس 197/7f [61]	أليس بونطوس
07a3 Βοιωτούς	أهل بووطيّة 184/18f	بووطية
07a4 τούς Βοιωτούς	أهل بووطيّة 184/20	
05a33 τοῖς ἐλεγείοις	بيت الايغاس 178/17 [62]	بيت
10a18 οἶκοι	في بيوتكم 197/14	
11a24 μύλωνας	بيت الطحّان 201/10	
11a25 τὰ ... φιδίτια	بيت الصديق 201/11	
06a12 λευκόν	الأبيض 181/11	بيض
12a4 ἐπώλουν	يبيعونكم 197/14	بيع
10a19 ἐώνηται	بيعوا 197/15	
04a10 τὸ δηλῶσαι	فيما بيّن 173/8	بين
04b27f τεθεώρηται	بين 176/9	
10b11 σημαίνει	تبيّن 199/1	
06a35 τὸ σαφές	تبيّن 182/15	
09a28 ἀπόδειξις	تبيّن 194/14	
11b27 σημαίνει	يتبيّن 203/1	
08a26 ἡ ... δεῖξις	تستبين 190/6	
07b8 σκεύη	وسطا بين ذلك 187/9	
07b17 ἄδηλον	ليس بيّنا 187/23	
10b23 τὰ ... δῆλα	مكشوفة بيّنة 199/14f	

		ت
07b21 προθείς	تتبعه 188/6	تبع
10a2 τούς ἀκολουθήσαντας	الذين تبعوا 196/20	

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[60] Expression misunderstood by the translator.
[61] Badawī: emend. الالاسبونطوس.
[62] Badawī: الاليجيس.

الجذر	العربية	اليونانية
ترك	ترکوا ١٧٤/١٣، ١٦	٥4a33, 35 ἀφείκασιν
	ترکوهم ١٩٧/١	10a4 κατέλιπον
	الترك أو المفارقة ١٩٦/٣	09b22 ἀπολείπεσθαι
	متروكة ١٩٣/١٧	09a7 ἀφετέοι
تعب	رغبتنا في التعب والعناء ١٧٧/7f	05a6f φιλοπονεῖσθαι
تلف	أتلف ١٨٧/١	07a38 καταλύσει
تمّ	تامّ ١٩٥/١٦	09b14 ἡ τετελειωμένη

ث

الجذر	العربية	اليونانية
ثأر	الذي أثأر ١٨٠/٦	05b23 ὁ ... ἀμύντωρ
ثاودقطوس	أقاويل ثاودقطوس ١٩٨/١٧	10b2 τοῖς Θεοδεκτείοις
ثاودوروس	ثاودوروس ١٧٦/٣	04b22 Θεοδώρου
ثاوقريطس	ثاوقريطس ١٩٦/٧	09b26 Δημόκριτος
ثبت	تثبّت ١٧١/٩	03b12 πείθονται
	الذين ثبّتوا ١٩٦/١٦	09b35 καταστησάντων
	التثبيت المقنع ١٧١/١٠	03b12 τῷ ἀποδεδεῖχθαι
	التثبيت ١٧٣/٤	04a6 τοῦ ἀποδεῖξαι
	التثبيت ١٩٨/٢٢	10b8 δεῖξαι
ثتيل	الثتيل⁶³ ١٩٠/١٠	08a29 Θετταλός
ثرسوماخوس	ثرسوماخوس ١٧٣/١٢	04a14 Θρασύμαχος
	ثرسوماخوس ١٩٣/١٠	09a2 Θρασυμάχου
ثقل	الثقيلة ١٧٢/١٢	03b30 βαρεῖα
	شيء من التثقيل ١٧٢/٢٠	04a1 φορτικόν
ثلث	السفينة ذات الثلاثة المجاذيف ٢٠١/9f	11a23 τὰς τριήρεις
ثوب	الثوب ١٨٠/١٥	05b31 ἱματίου
	ثويبا ١٨٠/١٥	05b31 ἱματιδάριον
ثوري	الثوري ١٩٤/١٩	09a28 Θουρίου

ج

الجذر	العربية	اليونانية
جدّ	جدّ أهلي ١٧٩/١٦	05b12 οἰκειότερον
	العناية والجدّ ١٧٢/٢٤	04a3 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν
	يتشبّه جدًّا ١٧٩/15f	05b12 ὡμοιωμένον μᾶλλον

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⁶³   Om. Badawī.

06b8 ἄγαν	جدّ 7/183	
06b11 ἄγαν	جدّا 11/183	
09b31 λίαν	جدًّا جدًّا 12/196	
11b16 πολὺ κάλλιον	أفضل ... جدًّا 13f/202	
12a11 πολύ	جدّ 24/203	
11a23 τὰς τριήρεις	السفينة ذات الثلاثة المجاذيف 9f/201	جذف
05a23 διονυσοκόλακας	الجرابزة 7/178	جربز
04a26 ἡ Γοργίου	جرجياس 6/174	جرجياس
05b37 Γοργίας	جرجياس 1/181	
06b8f Γοργίας	جرجياس⁶⁴ 9/183	
06b14f Γοργίου	جرجياس 14/183	
08b20 Γοργίας	جرجياس 5/192	
06b27f τοῖς ... κυνιδίοις	الجراء 4/184	جرو
03b19f κατὰ φύσιν	على مجرى الطبيعة 17/171	جري
04a20 πέφυκεν	على مجرى الطبيعة 20f/173	
04a33 τὴν διάλεκτον	الكلام الجاري 14/174	
04b24f διαλέκτου	الكلام الجاري 6/176	
06a15 τὸ εἰωθός	الجاري المتعوّد 15/181	
11a32 κείρασθαι	تجزّ شعرها 17/201	جزّ
03b7 τὰ μέρη	أجزاء 4/171	جزأ
04a22 τῶν μορίων	لجزء من الأجزاء 2/174	
09b16 μόριον	الجزء 18/195	
08a19 ταπεινῶς	للهمّ والجزع 22/189	
12a1 χρόος	أجساده 11/203	جسد
04b1 τεθεωρημένα	لنجعل القول 22/174	جعل
07a15 ἀνταποδιδόναι	نجعل 10/185	
11a7f ἠγανάκτει	جعل يتعسّر 12/200	
11a8 παρακαλῶν	جعل يطلب 14/200	
11a11f ἠγανάκτει	جعل يمتعض 17/200	
10a17 τῷ δικαστηρίῳ	مجلس الحكومة 14/197	جلس
10a22 συναγωγή	تجمع 19/197	جمع
09b34 τῶν ... συναγόντων	اجتمعوا 15/196	
11a29f [ἐκκλησίας]	التوافي جموعا 15/201	
04b39 συνωνυμίαι	ذوات الاسم والحدّ [جميعا]	

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⁶⁴ Badawī: جرجياس.

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	186/13 الجميعة المحيطة	07a31 τοῖς περιέχουσιν
	195/11 يحفظ أكثر من جميع	09b6 εὐμνημονευτότατον
جمل	177/16, 181/11 يجمل	05a14, 06a12 πρέπει
	182/12 غير ما يجمل	06a33 τῇ ἀπρεπείᾳ
	187/14 الجملة	07b11 ὅλως
	175/2 جميلة	04b4 πρέπουσαν
	175/3 جميل	04b5 πρέπουσα
	176/12 الجميل	04b31 τοῦ πρέποντος
	177/13 غير جميل	05a12 ἀπρεπές
	179/9 الجميل	05b6 καλῶν
	183/4 ما ليس بجميل	06b6 ἀπρεπεῖς
	188/14f قبيحا أو غير جميل	07b29 ἀπρεπές
	189/13 جميلة	08a10 τὸ … πρέπον
جنب	187/6 ينبغي أن يجتنب	07b36 φευκτέον
	197/11 الأجنبيّين	10a14 τοῖς βαρβάροις
جنس	177/18 الجنس	05a15 γένει
	177/21 الجنس	05a17 τῷ … γένει
	185/12 متساوية في الجنس	07a15 τῶν ὁμογενῶν
	187/2 أجناس	07b1 τῶν γενῶν
	187/8 أجناس	07b7 τὰ γένη
	190/8 جنس	08a27 γένει
	190/8 الجنس	08a27 γένος
	199/6 الجنس	10b15 τοῦ γένους
جهد	173/16f منازعين أو مجاهدين	04a17 ἆθλα
جهل	191/5 لا يجهل	08b3 οὐ λανθάνει
	193/19 يجهل أو يغلط	09a9 λανθάνειν
	199/3 مجهولة خفيّة	10b12 ἀγνῶτες
جود	185/18 جاد	07a20 ἂν ἀποδιδῷ
	172/20 أجيد	03b37 καλῶς
	176/17 أجاد فعل	04b35 εὖ ποιῇ
	183/12 الجيّدة	06b12 καλόν
جوز	196/5 [يتجاوزون]	09b23f ἀπολείπουσι
	179/8 المجازة	05b5 ἐπιεικεῖς
	195/22 المجاز إلى المرسى	09b20 ὁρμῶν
	مجاوزة للقدر الذي يستوجب	04b4 ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα

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07b9 ἐλθοῦσα	جاءت 187/10	جيء
07b10 οἱ ἐλθόντες	الذين جاؤوا 187/13	

ح

11a24 τὰ καπηλεῖα	حانوت المطعم 201/11	حانوت
08b15 φιλία	المحبّة 191/18	حبّ
06b34 τοὺς λίθους	[الحجارة] 184/12	حجر
11b34 λᾶας	الحجر 203/9	
12a5 ὁ λίθος	الحجر 203/16	
04b1 ὡρίσθω	نحدّ 174/23	حدّ
07b5 προσορίζονται	يحدّون أو يوقّتون 187/5	
10b6 διώρισται	حدّدنا ... وفصّلناها 198/20	
04b39 συνωνυμίαι	ذوات الاسم والحدّ [جميعا]	

177/1f

05a2 συνώνυμα	ذوات الاسم والحدّ معا 177/3	
08a4 ἄπειρον	غير ذي حدّ أو نهاية 189/7	
03b29 ὀξείᾳ	الحادّة 172/12	
04a22f συνέστησαν	حدثت 174/2	حدث
11b9 κινδυνεύοντος	أحدث ... هولا وذعرا 202/4f	
11a2 τὴν νεότητα	الأحداث 200/7	
09a28 ἱστορίης	الحديث 194/14	
11a28f εὐλαβεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε	أحذّر 201/14	حذر
04b8 σεμνοτέραν	بزيادة الهيبة والحذر 175/8	
09b34f γυμνικούς	النجدة أو الحذق 196/16	حذق
05a24 τεχνίτας	حذّاقا 178/8	
07a23 ἀνταποδιδόναι	يحاذي 186/3	حذو
07a25 ἀποδιδόναι	المحاذات 186/5	
11a16 τῶν ἐπιεικῶν	الأحرار 201/2	حرّ
11a34 τῆς ἐλευθερίας	حرّيّة 201/18	
11b29 [ἐλεύθερον]	منسوبا إلى الحرّيّة أو الكرم	

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07a4f τοὺς ... μαχομένους	يفني ... بالحرب 184/20	حرب
10b30 πόλεμον	الحرب 199/23	
10b31 πόλεμος	الحرب 199/23	

Greek	Arabic	Root
11a2 τῷ πολέμῳ	الحرب 200/7	
11a6f τὸν ... πόλεμον	الحرب 200/12	
11a12, 11b18 τοῦ πολέμου	الحرب 200/18, 202/15	
11b14 τοὺς πολέμους	الحرب 202/10	
11b17 τοῖς πολέμοις	الحرب 202/13f	
09a13 ἡ μακρά	بحرف طويل 194/5	حرف
12a9 κίνησις	حركة 203/21	حرك
04a20 κινῆσαι	بتحريك 173/20	
04b4 ἴσως	بالحرى 175/2	حري
09a9 μάλιστα	بالحري 193/19	
05a12f μάλιστα	أحرى أن 177/14	
10a20 γνωριμώτατα	أحرى أن تعرف 197/17	
04a5 λυπεῖν	التحزين 173/2	حزن
07b21 τὸ ... αἰσθόμενος	أحسست 188/5	حسّ
05b19 αἰσθήσει	الإحساس 179/23	
06b10 ἐθέρισας	حصدتها 183/10	حصد
06a13 τὰ ... ἀπρεπέστερα	لا تحسن البتّة 181/12f	حسن
05a14f κοσμεῖν	تحسّن 177/17	
12a12 εὐστόχου	الذي يحسن أن يتوخّي الغرض 203/24f	
05b6 κάλλος	حسن 179/9	
05b16 καλόν	الحسن 179/20	
05b18 ἀπὸ καλῶν	من الحسن 179/22	
08a7 εὐδοκιμεῖ	يظنّ ... حسنا 189/10f	
09a21, 23 εὔρυθμον	حسن النبرات 194/11f, 12f	
10b7 τὰ ἀστεῖα	المقالة الحسان 198/21	
10b16 ἀστεῖον	حسنا 199/7	
10b20 ἀστεῖα	الحسان 199/11	
11b21 τὰ ἀστεῖα	اسطيون حسنا 202/18	
10b2f ἐξηρίθμηνται	أحصي 198/16	حصي
10a11f διορύξας	حفر 197/8	حفر
09b6 εὐμνημονευτότατον	يحفظ أكثر من جميع 195/11	حفظ
09b7 μνημονεύουσι	يحفظه 195/12	
10a3 προσεκτήσαντο	حفظوهم 196/21	
09b4f εὐμνημόνευτος	يسهل حفظه 195/10	
04a35 γελοῖον	ما يستحقّ أن يضحك منه	حقّ

174/17

08a21 ἀληθῶς | يقول الحقّ 190/1
08b3 ἀληθές | حقّ 191/4
08b1 ἄκος | الصحّة والحقيقة 191/2
05a32 ἡδείας ἢ σημεῖα | لم [تقرّ] بالتحقيق أو التفخيم

178/16

04b6 σαφῆ | محقّقة 175/4
04b36f σαφηνιεῖ | محقّق 176/18
05a8 τὸ σαφές | المحقّقة 177/9
05a37 δῆλον | محقّقا 179/3
07a30 ἀσαφές | ليس ... محقّقا 186/10
08b31 ἀκριβῶς | محقّقة 193/1
10b12f τὰ ... κύρια | المحقّقة 199/3
04b3 ταπεινήν | حقيرة دنيّة 175/1 | حقر
04b5 ταπεινήν | الحقير 175/3
04b6 ταπεινήν | حقيرة 175/5
05a16 ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων | من الحقيرات 177/19
06b7 τὸ σεμνόν | محقّرة أو سوقيّة 183/7
03b11 οἱ κρίνοντες | الحكّام 171/8 | حكم
10a17 τῷ δικαστηρίῳ | مجلس الحكومة 197/14
10a13 κακῶς | محمودين[65] 197/10 | حمد
05b27 τῶν ὄνων | الحمير 180/12 | حمر
05b1 χαλκόν | بالنحاس الأحمر 179/5
05b20 φοινικοδάκτυλος | حمراء الأصابع 180/2f
10a8 τοὺς ἄφρονας | الحمق 197/4 | حمق
03b16 ἀνάγκη | يحتاج باضطرار 171/15 | حوج
07a31 τοῖς περιέχουσιν | الجميعة المحيطة 186/13 | حوط
08b23 προσέχειν | يحوّل لنا ... مليّا 192/9f | حول
11b11 μελετῶντες | يحتال 202/7
06a37f ποιητικόν | على حال الفيوئطيّة 182/18f
09b26 ὅμοιον | [أيضا] بهذه الحال 196/6
11b5 τοὺς κινδύνους | الأهوال 202/1
11b5 τοῖς κινδύνοις | الأهوال 202/2
03b22 τὴν ὑπόκρισιν | الحيلة في الأخذ بالوجوه 172/1f
03b35 τέχνη | الصناعة أو الحيلة 172/18

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65   Perhaps misread by the translator as καλῶς.

Root	Arabic	Greek
	الحيلة في المقالة, 172/19, 173/15	03b36, 04a16 τὴν λέξιν
	الحيل والخديعة 177/1	04b39 κακουργεῖ
	محتالين 178/10	05a26 πορ ιστάς
حوي	استولى ... واحتوّا 200/16	11a10f σπεισαμένων
حيّ	استحيى 202/3	11b7 αἰσχυνθέντες
	الذي لا يستحيي 203/17	12a6 ὁ ἀναισχυντῶν
	الذي لا يستحيا منه 203/17f	12a6 τὸν ἀναισχυντούμενον
	الأحياء 197/12	10a16 ζῶντας
	أحياء 203/21	12a9 ζῶντα
	في حياته 198/11	10a34 ζῶντα
	استحياء 190/18	08a35 αἰσχυνόμενος
	الاستحياء والوقاحة 203/14	12a3 τὸ ἀναισχυντεῖν

خ

Root	Arabic	Greek
خاريس	خاريس 200/11	11a6 Χάρητος
خبر	ينبغي أن نخبر 198/20f	10b7 λεκτέον
خبز	الخبز 184/18	07a2 τὸν ψωμόν
خدع	الحيل والخديعة 177/1	04b39 κακουργεῖ
خرج	مخرجا أخرج 200/8	11a3f τις ... ἐξέλοι
	الخراج 198/5	10a28 ἀγρόν
	إلى خارج 196/4	09b23 ἐξωτέρω
	مخرجا أخرج 200/8	11a3f τις ... ἐξέλοι
خسّ	الخسائس 189/16	08a13 εὐτελῶν
خشّ	[الخسيسة] 177/9	05a7 ἐλαττόνων
خصّ	أقرب وأخصّ 184/2	06b26 διαφέρουσαι
	الأهليّة الخاصّة 186/12	07a31 ἰδίοις
	في الخاصّ 197/11	10a14 ἰδίᾳ
خطء	خطأ 178/16	05a31 ἁμαρτία
	لحن أو خطأ في الكلام 182/2	07b18f σολοικίζειν
	الخطأ 187/1	07b1 ἁμάρτημα
	يعرض الخطأ 187/2f	07b2 τύχοι
خطف	خطّافة 183/15	06b15 τὴν χελιδόνα
خفّ	الخفّة 203/6	11b31 ταχύ
	خفيفا 199/13	10b21 ταχεῖαν

06b8 ἀσαφές	خفيّة 183/8	خفي
07b21 ἀσαφῆ	خفيًّا 188/5	
08b27 ἀγνώστων	خفيّ مشكل 192/15	
10b12 ἀγνῶτες	مجهولة خفيّة 199/3	
05b2 κολλήσαντα	خلّل 179/5	خلّ
04a9f, 05b19 διαφέρει	يختلف 173/7, 180/1	خلف
06b20 διαφέρει	يختلفان 183/20	
10b18 διαφέρουσα	تختلف 199/8	
09a15 ἐξ ἐναντίας	خلاف هذا 194/5f	
09b2 τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν	على خلاف ما 195/8f	
10a22f ἀντίθεσις	الموضوعة بالخلاف 197/20	
09b2 τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν	على خلاف ما 195/8f	
10b1 ἀντίθεσιν	موضوعا بالخلاف 198/15	
10b3 ἀντιθέσεις	موضوعات بالخلاف 198/17	
10b29 ἀντικειμένως	بالخلاف 199/22	
10b30f ἀντίκειται	خلاف 199/23	
10b36 ἀντιθέσεως	الوضع بالخلاف 200/4	
11b1 ἀντίθεσιν	الوضع بالخلاف 201/19	
09a11 διαφέρειν	اختلاف 194/2	
09b22 τὴν ἀντίκρουσιν	الصدمة المخالفة 196/2	
09b35 ἀντικειμένη	المخالفة 196/17	
10a6 ἀντίκειται	[مخالف] 197/2	
12a15 διαφέρει	مختلفان 204/3	
08a11 ἠθική	خلقيّة 189/14	خلق
08a25 ἠθική	الخلقيّات 190/6	
08a31 τὸ ἦθος	الخلقيّة 190/13	
08b22 πεπλάσθαι	مختلق 192/8	
04a8 τὴν … μοχθηρίαν	تخييب 173/6	خيب
05b29 τὸ ἀγαθόν	الخير 180/13	خير
08a4 ἀγαθῶν	في الخيرات 189/7	
04b24 κλέπτεται	يغرّ ويخيّل 176/5	خيل [a]
08b5 κέκλεπται	يخبّل 191/7	
04a11 φαντασία	متخيّل أو متوهّم 173/9f	
05b27 ἵππων	الخيل 180/11	خيل [b]

د

07b22 ἐμβάλλειν	تدخّل 188/6	دخل
10b8 τοῦ γεγυμνασμένου	مدرّبا 198/22	درب
08a18 ἀγαμένως	للاستدراج[66] 189/22	درج
07b15 ἄδηλον	لا ندري 187/20	دري
11a12 παρῃρῆσθαι	دعوا 200/18	دعو
10a23 παρίσωσις	التدافع 197/21	دفع
05b13 σημαίνει	يدلّ 179/17	دلّ
05b16 σημαίνουσιν	[يدلّ] 179/19	
08b36 δηλοῖ	يدلّ 195/8	
11b26 σημαίνει	مع دلالتهنّ 202/21	
06b9 ἄναιμα	فيه دم[67] 183/9	دم
05a25 ἐυπαινόντων	المستدنَّسين بالمذمومات 178/8f	دنس
04b3 ταπεινήν	حقيرة دنيّة 175/1	دنو
08a13 εὐτελεῖ	الدني 189/16	
12a1 λιλαιόμενα	بالدهن[68] 203/11	دهن
11a3 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ	من دور السنة 200/8	دور
07b27 κύκλον	الدائرة 188/12	
05a32 Διονύσιος	ديانوسيوس 178/17	ديانوسيوس
06b1f τοῖς διθυραμβοποιοῖς	الذين يصنعون الوزن الذي يسمّى [ديثورامبو] 182/19f	ديثورامبو
09a25 τοῖς διθυράμβοις	الذي يكون في وزن الدثرامبو 194/16	
07a5 Δημοσθένης	ديموسثانس 185/1	ديموسثانس
07a7 Δημοκράτης	ديموقراطيس 185/2	ديموقراطيس
11a6 εὐθύνας δοῦναι	يتنصّل من دينه 200/11	دين

ذ

08a19, 09b24 ὁμοίως	كذلك 189/23, 196/5	ذا
12a13 βωμόν	المذبح 203/25	ذبح
11b9 κινδυνεύοντος	أحدث ... هولا وذعرا 202/4f	ذعر
05a29 φησί	يذكر 178/13	ذكر
07a23 μέμνηται	يذكر 186/3	
10a34 κακῶς	أسواء الذكر 198/12	

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[66] The translator misunderstood Aristotle's quotation.

[67] According to Lyons, the word was apparently misread as ἔναιμα.

[68] Expression misunderstood by the translator.

11a31 τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ	ذكر الموارات 201/16f	
11b10 τὸ ὑπόμνημα	الذكر 202/6	
07b7 ἄρρενα	[ذكرا] 187/8	
08b14 λόγοις	الذمّ 191/18	ذمّ
09b26 ἔσκωψε	[ذمّ] 196/7	
05a25 ἐυπαινόντων	المستدنّسين بالمذمومات 178/8f	
08a1 πορευθείς	ذهبت 189/3	ذهب
05b31 χρυσίου	الذهب 180/15	
05b31 χρυσιδάριον	ذهيبا 180/15	
08b13 οὐρανόμηκες	الطويل الذهيب نحو السماء 191/16	
04b39 συνωνυμίαι	ذوات الاسم والحدّ [جميعا] 177/1f	ذو
03b32 τὰ ... ἆθλα	ذوو المنازعة 172/14	
03b34 οἱ ὑποκριταί	ذوو الأخذ بالوجوه 172/16	
04a7 περίεργα	من ذوات المؤاربة 173/4	
04a15 τοῖς ἐλέοις	ذوات الهمّ 173/14	
05a2 συνώνυμα	ذوات الاسم والحدّ معا 177/3	
05a30 κατ' ἀξίαν	ذو قدر 178/15	
05b2 ἀνώνυμον	غير ذي اسم 179/6	
07b5 οἱ χρησιμολόγοι	ذوو الكهانة والأنباء 187/4f	
07b35 διαπτυχαί	ذوات وجهين 188/21	
08a4 ἄπειρον	غير ذي حدّ أو نهاية 189/7	
08a32 πεπαιδευμένος	[ذو أدب] 190/15	
08b14 ἐπαίνοις	[بذوات] المدح 191/18	
08b22 ἄρρυθμον	غير ذي وزن ولا عدد 192/7	
09a36 μέγεθος	ذا قدر 195/7	
09b1 εὐσύνοπτον	ذا قدر معتدل 195/7	
09b17 τὴν μονόκωλον	ذات الشعبة الواحدة 195/19	
11a5 ἑτερόφθαλμον	ذات عين واحدة 200/10	
11a23 τὰς τριήρεις	السفينة ذات الثلاثة المجاذيف 201/9f	
11b10 ἔμψυχον	ذي النفس 202/5f	
11b28 τὴν ἀκμήν	ذوات الزهرة أو البهجة 203/2	
12a2 ἔμψυχα	ذوي الأنفس 203/13	

ر

رأس	رياسة 187/1	07a38 ἀρχήν
رأى	يرى 177/13	05a12 φανεῖται
	رأى 179/5	05b1 εἶδον
	ترى 181/18	06a18 φαίνεται
	يروا أو يظهر 186/16	07a33f προσποιῶνται
	يرى 199/7	10b16f φαίνεται
	الظنون أو الآراء 172/21f	04a2 δόξαν
	المرآة 183/12	06b13 κάτοπτρον
ربط	بلا [رباط] 189/2	07b39 ἀσύνδετα
	الرباطات المنطقيّة 185/17	07a20 τοῖς συνδέσμοις
	رباطا 186/4, 9	07a24, 28 σύνδεσμον
	رباط 186/4, 189/1	07a25, b37 συνδέσμου
	الرباط 186/9	07a28f σύνδεσμοι
	الرباطات 186/11	07a30 τοῖς συνδέσμοις
	الرباطات 187/16	07b12f σύνδεσμοι
	الرباط 194/16	09a24f τῷ συνδέσμῳ
	غير المربوطة 189/2	07b38 ἄνευ ... συνδέσμου
ربع	الربيع 200/8	11a3 τὸ ἔαρ
	الوزن المربّع 174/12	04a31 τῶν τετραμέτρων
	الأوزان المربّعة 193/9	09a1 τὰ τετράμετρα
رتب	المراتب العاظيمة 197/5	10a8 τῶν ἀριστείων
رجل	رجلا 179/5, 198/13	05b1, 10a36 ἄνδρα
	رجلا 179/5	05b2 ἀνέρι
	الرجل 187/22	07b17 ἄνθρωποι
	الرجل 190/9, 9, 196/9	08a28, 28, 09b28 ἀνήρ
	رجلا 198/13	10a36 ἄνδρα
	الرجل 202/22	11b26 ἄνδρα
	السير رجّالة 197/7	10a10 πεζεῦσαι
رخي	نتراخي 202/10	11b13f διαλυόμεθα
ردء	رديء 178/19	05a34 φαύλη
	[من الأمور] الرديئة 180/5	05b22 [ἀπὸ] αἰσχροῦ
رسل	المرسل 176/13	04b33 ψιλῶν
رسم	رسم 174/24	04b2 σημεῖον
	الرسوم 190/7	08a26 τῶν σημείων

09b20 ὁρμῶν	المجاز إلى المرسى 195/22	رسو
07b34 λιμένας	المرسيات 188/20	
06a21 τὸν ὑγρὸν ἱδρῶτα	الرطوبة 182/1	رطب
05a6f φιλοπονεῖσθαι	رغبتنا في التعب والعناء 177/7f	رغب
03b23 ἐαψῳδίαν	الرفسوديّات 172/3	رفسودية
04a23 ἡ ἐαψῳδία	الرفسوديّة 174/2	
08a12 περὶ εὐόγκων	ترتفع إلى قول العظائم 189/15	رفع
08a6 ἄχορδον	لا زفنيّة ولا رقصيّة 189/9f[69]	رقص
03b35 σύγκειται	تركّب 172/19	ركب
04b25 συντιθῇ	يركّب 176/6	
04b27 συνέστηκεν	ركّب 176/8	
06a36f εὐσύνθετος	يركّب 182/17	
10a10 πλεῦσαι	ركوب السفن 197/6f	
06b17 συντίθεται	تركيب 185/15	
09b36 σύγκειται	مركّبة 196/18	
12a1 διέσσυτο	ركّز 203/12	ركز
10b8 τοῦ εὐφυοῦς	ركينا 198/22	ركن
11b35 ὀϊστός	رمحه 203/10	رمح
05b1 τῷ αἰνίγματι	الرمز 179/4	رمز
11b35 ἐπιπτέσθαι	رمى 203/10	رمي
05a15 βουλῇ	أردت 177/17	رود
07b22 μέλλων	أردت 188/6	
08b23 ἐξίστησιν	يراد به التعجيب 192/9	
11b14 ἀναβαλλόμεθα	نريثهم 202/11	ريث
11b15 ἡ ἀναβολή	الريث 202/11	
04a18 τοῖς ῥήτορσιν	الريطوريّون 173/17	ريطوري
07a7 τοὺς ῥήτορας	الريطوريّون 185/3	
03b25, 04a2 τὴν ῥητορικήν	الريطوريّة 172/6, 22	

ز

04a34 ἐκόσμουν	يزيّنونه ويزخرفونه 174/15	زخرف
04a27 κάλλιστα	مزيّنا أو مزخرفا 174/8	
05b30 σκώπτει	يزري 180/14	زري
08b5 λέγω	أزعم 191/7	زعم

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[69] Lyons suspects the reading ἄχορον behind the translation of the term.

08a6 ἄχορδον	لا زفنيّة ولا رقصيّة 189/9f [70]	زفن
07b22, 24 ἔμελλον	مزمعا 188/7, 9	زمع
06a37 τὸ χρονοτριβεῖν	ليستمرّ على طول الزمان 182/17f	زمن
06a11 ἀκαίροις	اللازمنيّات 181/10	
11b28 τὴν ἀκμήν	ذوات الزهرة أو البهجة 203/2	زهر
07b35 ἐπιζευγνύναι	تزاوج 188/21	زوج
07b3 ἄρτια	الزوج 187/3	
11a19 τὸν γάμον	المتزوّجات 201/6	
03b32 τῶν ἀγώνων	المنازعات والمزاولات 172/15	زول
06a34f ἐπεμβάλλῃ	تزيّد فيه أو نقص منه 182/14f	زيد
04a16 ἀτεχνότερον	بزيادة غير صناعي 173/14f	
04b8 σεμνοτέραν	بزيادة الهيبة والحذر 175/8	
05a9, 10b13, 11a1 μάλιστα	بزيادة 177/10, 199/4, 200/5	
10a21 μᾶλλον γνώριμα	بزيادة معلومة 197/18	
04a34 ἐκόσμουν	يزيّنونه ويزخرفونه 174/15	زين
04a27 κάλλιστα	مزيّنا أو مزخرفا 174/8	

س

08a19 τῶν ἄλλων	سائر الأخر 189/23	سأر
05a19 αἰτήσεις	مسألة 178/1	سأل
07a1 Σαμίους	أهل ساموس 184/17	ساموس
06b14 τὰ εἰρημένα	السبب الذي قيل 183/14	سبّ
08b24f προλαμβάνουσι	يسبقون 192/11	سبق
11a11 τὴν παραλίαν	ساحل البحر 200/17	سحل
09a22 ἄρρυθμον	السخيف 194/12	سخف
10b21 τὰ ἐπιπόλαια	التفكيرات السخيفة 199/14	
10b22 ἐπιπόλαια	السخيفة 199/14	
04a34 τὰ ἑξάμετρα	الأوزان المسدّسة 174/16	سدس
07a10 εὐφραίνει	يسرّ 185/6	سرّ
05b26 χαίρετε	كان مسرورا 180/10f	
05a28 τὸν κλέψαντα	من سرق 178/11	سرق
07b27f ἐπίπεδον	السطح 188/12	سطح

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70   Lyons suspects the reading ἄχορον behind the translation of the term.

11b18 τύχης	السعادة 202/14	سعد
07b13 ῥᾴδιον	تسعر 187/17	سعر
12a15 τῷ ἄνωθεν	إلى أسفل 204/3	سفل
07a6 τοῖς πλοίοις	السفن 185/2	سفن
10a10 πλεῦσαι	ركوب السفن 197/6f	
11a23 τὰς τριήρεις	السفينة ذات الثلاثة المجاذيف 201/9f	
06a8 Σκίρων	سقيرون 181/8 [71]	سقيرون
11a25 Σικελίαν	سقيليّة 201/12	سقيلية
10a3 οἴκοι	في مساكنهم 197/1	سكن
06b33 οἱ ... σκυλεύοντες	الذين ... يسلبون 184/10	سلب
10a9 τὴν ἀρχήν	سلطان 197/6	سلط
07b9 ᾤχετο	سلف 187/11	سلف
09b21 ἀντισπασθῇ	لكيما يسلموا من الألم 196/1	سلم
10b30 τὴν ... εἰρήνην	السلم 199/22	
10b31 εἰρήνη	السلم 199/24	
11b16 τὰς συνθήκας	التعاقد على السلم 202/12f	
11a32 Σαλαμῖνι	سلمنة 201/18	سلمنة
04a21, 08a30f, b6, 10, 10b11 τὰ ... ὀνόματα	الأسماء 173/21، 190/12، 191/8، 14، 199/1	سم
04a33 τῶν ὀνομάτων	الأسماء أو الألفاظ 174/14	
04b5, 27, 37f, 07b7, 10b11 τῶν ὀνομάτων	الأسماء 175/3، 176/9، 20، 187/8، 199/2	
04b7 ὀνόματα	الأسماء 175/6	
04b26 ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημά-των	الأسماء 176/8	
04b29 ὀνόμασι	الأسماء 176/10	
04b38 ὁμωνυμίαι	المتّفقات الأسماء 176/19	
04b39 συνωνυμίαι	ذوات الاسم والحدّ [جميعا] 177/1f	
05a2 συνώνυμα	ذوات الاسم والحدّ معا 177/3	
05a36 τὰ ἀνώνυμα	التي لا أسماء لها 179/2f	
05b2 ἀνώνυμον	غير ذي اسم 179/6	
05b6f, 07b27 ὀνόματος	الاسم 179/10، 188/12	
05b34 τὰ ... ψυχρά	الأسماء الباردة 180/18	

[71] Om. Badawī.

05b35, 07a31, 10b31 τοῖς... ὀνόμασιν	الأسماء 180/19, 186/12, 199/24	
06a19 τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις	الأسماء الموضوعة 181/19	
07b29, 10a34 ὄνομα	الاسم 188/14, 198/10	
07b30, 10a28 τὸ ὄνομα	الاسم 188/16, 198/4	
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[73] Badawī: بريقليس.

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04a28, b28 ποιήσεως	الفيوئطيّة 174/9، 176/9	
04a39, b8, 05a6 ποιητικῆς	الفيوئطيّة 174/21، 175/6، 177/6f	
04b4 ἡ ... ποιητική	الفيوئطيّة 175/2	
04b19 πεπλασμένως	بالفيوئطيّة 175/19	
04b39 τῷ ποιητῇ	الفيوئطيّة 177/1	
06a6 ποιητικά	فيوئطيّة 181/4	
06a12, 07a34 ποιήσει	الفيوئطيّة 181/11، 186/17	
06a14 ποίησις	فوئطيّات 181/14	
06a32 ποιητικῶς	بالفيوئطيّة 182/12	
06a37f ποιητικόν	على حال الفيوئطيّة 182/18f	
06b10 ποιητικῶς	مقالة فيوئطيّة 183/10	
08b18 τῇ ποιήσει	الفيوئطيّة 192/4	
08b19 ἡ ποίησις	الفيوئطيّة 192/4	
03b34 πολιτικούς	الفيوليطيّة 172/17	فيوليطي
03b35 τῶν πολιτειῶν	الفيوليطيّة 172/18	
06b32 τῇ πολιτείᾳ	الفيولطيّة 184/10	

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05b8 αἶσχος	[القبح] 179/11	قبح

05a35 ἀσήμοις	القبيحة 178/19	
05b10 αἰσχρολογεῖν	يتكلّم بالقبيح 179/3	
05b16 αἰσχρόν	القبيح 179/20	
05b22 ἀπὸ φαύλου	من الأمور القبيحة 180/5	
06b18, 07b29, b30 αἰσχρόν	قبيحا 15، 183/17، 188/14	
06b18 αἰσχρόν	قبيح 183/18	
07b29 ἀπρεπές	قبيحا أو غير جميل 188/14f	
05b20f φαυλότερον	أقبح من ذلك 180/3	
06b17 αἰσχρόν	ما أقبح 183/16	
11a32 τῷ τάφῳ	قبور 201/17	قبر
08b18 ἀποδέχονται	يقبل 192/2	قبل
04a7 δύνανται	يقدر 173/4	قدر
04a17 τοῖς ... δυναμένοις	الذين يقدرون 173/16	
04b36 ἐνδέχεται	يقدر 176/18	
09a3 εἶχον	يقدرون 193/11	
11a22 δύνασθαι	يقدر 201/8	
04b4 ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα	مجاوزة للقدر الذي يستوجب 175/1f	
05a30 κατ' ἀξίαν	ذو قدر 178/15	
09a36 μέγεθος	ذا قدر 195/7	
09b1 εὐσύνοπτον	ذا قدر معتدل 195/7	
03b33 μεῖζον δύνανται	[كانوا] أقوى وأقدر 172/15f	
06b31 τοῦ ἀνάλογον	استواء المقادير واعتدالها 184/8	
05a4 δύνανται	قادرة على 177/5	
03b18 ἐζητήθη	قدّمنا النظر 171/17	قدم
09a33 προορῶντες	تقدّموا فنظروا 195/4	
11b30 ποσίν	أقدامهم 203/5	
09a26 ἀρχαίων	القدماء 194/17	
09a27 ἡ ἀρχαία	القديمة 194/18	
05b3 πρόσθεσις	تقديم وضع 179/6	
06b23 αὔθαδες	الإقدام 183/1	
07a21 πρότεροι	التقدّم 185/19	
04a35 μιμεῖσθαι	الاقتداء 174/16	
06a29f ἀντίμιμον	الاقتداء المنقوس 182/9	
05a32 ἡδείας ἢ σημεῖα	لم [تقرّ] بالتحقيق أو التفخيم 178/16	قرّ

08a34 ὁμολογεῖ	يقرّ 190/18	
07b11 εὐανάγνωστον	ممّا تسهل قراءته 187/14f	قرأ
06b26 διαφέρουσαι	أقرب وأخصّ 184/2	قرب
10b30 ἰδίοις	أقاربهم 199/23	
05a36 τῶν ὁμοειδῶν	المتقاربات في الصور 179/2	
10a29 ἀεργόν	القراح 198/6	قرح
05b21 ἐρυθροδάκτυλος	قرمذيّة الأصابع 180/3	قرمذ
08a9 τὴν σάλπιγγα	القرن أو البوق 189/12	قرن
10a1 ἐπέζευγται	التي ... مقرونة 196/18	
07a38 Κροῖσος	قريسوس[74] 186/21	قريسوس
07b7 διῄρει	قسّم 187/8	قسم
09b15 τῇ διαιρέσει	فصوله أو أقسامه 195/17	
05b33 τὸ μέτριον	القصد 180/17	قصد
06a16 τοῦ μετρίου	القصد 181/16	
09a18 κολοβόν	قصيرا 194/8	قصر
09b18 μυούρους	قصارا 195/20	
09b19 μικρόν	القصار 195/20	
07a9 τὸν λεπτόν	الطويل القضيف 185/5	قضف
09a31 τελειωθῇ	ينقض 194/22	قضي
09a32 καθορᾶν	ينقضي 195/3	
07a22 ἀπαιτεῖ	يقتضي 186/2	
09a30 τέλος	انقضاء 194/22	
09a19 ἀποκόπτεσθαι	تقطع 194/9	قطع
09b9 διακόπτεσθαι	يتقاطعان 195/15	
09a33 ἐκλύονται	ينقطع 195/3	
05a31 ταῖς συλλαβαῖς	المقاطع 178/15	
10a27 τὰς ... συλλαβάς	المقاطع 198/4	
10a35 συλλαβῆς	المقاطع 198/13	
09a24 εἰρομένην	مفصّلة أو مقطّعة 194/15	
06a5 τὸ ... ἔδαφος	قعر 181/3	قعر
05b24 ὀλίγον	القليلة 180/8	قلّ
06b20 μικρόν	قليلا 183/20	
07b10 ὀλίγα	القليل 187/12	
10b25 μικρόν	قليلا 199/18	
04b15 ἀπρεπέστερον	أقلّ أو أنقص 175/14	

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[74] Margoliouth, Sālim: قولسوس.

05b17 ἧττον	[بـ]الأقلّ 179/21	
10b18 ἧττον ἡδύ	أقلّ لذاذة 199/9	
10a32 ἐλαχίσταις	مقلّاً 198/8	
08a15f Κλεοφῶν	قلاوفون 189/18	قلاوفون
09a18 ἡ ... βραχεῖα	المتقلّص 194/7	قلص
08a25 θορυβοῦντες	يقلّقونهم 190/5	قلق
05a20 Καλλίαν	قلياس 178/2	قلياس
05a20f ὁ δὲ [sc. Καλλίας]	اقلياس 178/4 [75]	
03b20 τὸ πιθανόν	الإقناع 171/19	قنع
03b12 τῷ ἀποδεδεῖχθαι	التثبيت المقنع 171/10	
04b20 πιθανόν	مقنع 176/1	
06b14 ἀπίθανα	غير مقنع 183/14	
08a19f πιθανοί	مقنعة 189/24	
08b10 ἀπίθανον	مقنعة[76] 191/13	
08b22 ἀπίθανον	غير مقنع 192/8	
08a27 ἕξει	[قنية] 190/8	قني
11b34 δαπεδόνδε	القاع العميق 203/10	قوع
03b9, 13 εἴρηται	قيل 171/5, 10	قول
07b9 διαλεχθεῖσα	قالت 187/10	
08a21 ἀληθῶς	يقول الحقّ 190/1	
10b9 διαριθμησώμεθα	نقول 198/23	
04b1 τεθεωρημένα	لنجعل القول 174/22	
08a12 περὶ εὐόγκων	ترتفع إلى قول العظائم 189/15	
04a7 εἴρηται	يكون بالمقالة 173/6	
10b7 τὰ ἀστεῖα	المقالة الحسان 198/21	
05b10 σημαίνει	يقول 179/14	
06b14 τὰ εἰρημένα	السبب الذي قيل 183/14	
07b10 ὀνομάζειν	قيل 187/12	
07b16 φησί	يقول 187/22	
08a9 τὸ φάναι	[يقال] 189/12	
08b12 φάναι	يقال 191/15	
08b34 ἡ λέξις	التي يقول بها 193/5	
08b35 φθέγγονται	يقولون 193/5	
11a2, 16, 12a12 ἔφη	قال 200/6, 201/2, 203/25	

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[75] Badawī: emend. قالياس.

[76] The α *privativum* has not been translated.

11a7, 12 φάσκων   يقول 200/12, 17

11a9 ἔφη   يقول 200/14

11a16 ἔφη   قال 201/2

11b4f τὸ φάναι   قيل 202/1

11b26 φάναι   يقول 202/21

12a3 φαίνεται   تقال 203/13

12a14 φαίη   قال 204/1

03b6 πραγματευθῆναι   القول 171/1

03b8 τοῦ λόγου   القول 171/4

03b15 εἰπεῖν   القول 171/13

03b26 ἐπραγματεύθησαν   تكلّفوا القول 172/7

04b26 ὁ λόγος   القول 176/8

04b39 λέγω   قولك 177/2

05a6 λόγῳ   القول 177/8

06a18 τὰ Ἀλκιδάμαντος   أقاويل [القيداماس] 181/18

07a34 λέγουσι   القول 186/17

08a12f λέγηται   قول 189/15

03b15 τῆς λέξεως   اللفظ والمقالة 171/13

03b20 τῇ λέξει   اللفظ أو المقالة 171/20

03b36, 04a16 τὴν λέξιν   الحيلة في المقالة 172/19,
          173/15

04a8 τῆς λέξεως   المقالة 173/7

04a19, 24, b10, 09a24 τὴν   المقالة 173/19, 174/5,
λέξιν   175/9, 194/15

04b1 λέξεως   المقال 174/23

06b10 ποιητικῶς   مقالة فيوئطيّة 183/10

08a10 ἡ λέξις   اللفظ أو المقالة 189/13

08a15 ποιεῖ   مقالة 189/17

08a17 λέξις   المقالة 189/20

08b21, 29, 09a34, b32 τῆς   المقالة 192/7, 16, 195/5,
λέξεως   196/14

09a22 τὴν λέξιν   مقال 194/11

09a27 ἡ ... λέξις   المقالة 194/18

09a35 λέξιν   المقال 195/6

09b5 ἡ ... λέξις   المقال 195/11

09b14 λέξις   مقال 195/16

10a20 ἡ ... λέξις	المقالة 197/16	
10b20 λέξιν	المقالات 199/12	
10b28 τὴν λέξιν	اللفظ والمقالة 199/21	
11b31 λέγει	المقال 203/6	
05a17 λέγω	قائل 177/20	
08a14 κωμῳδία	[قوموديّة] 189/17	قومودية
06b7 οἱ κωμῳδοποιοί	الذين يصنعون القوموديّات 183/6	
10a33 σταθῆναι	تقوم 198/10	قوم
11a20 ὑπερημεροί	أقمن ... على ما أقام 201/6	
11b35 ἵσταντο	كانوا قيّاما 203/11	
04a3 ὀρθῶς	مستقيما أو بعدل 172/23	
08a28 Λάκων	[القوني] 190/9	قوني
03b21 δύναμιν	قوّة 172/1	قوي
05b18 τῇ δυνάμει	القوّة 179/23	
06b35 ἰσχυρῷ	قوي 184/13	
03b33 μεῖζον δύνανται	[كانوا] أقوى وأقدر 172/15f	
04a18f μεῖζον ἰσχύουσι	يكون أقوى 173/18f	
06a13 κατακορῆ	يقيّدن 181/13	قيد
11a23 δεδεμένον	قيّده 201/8	
11a5 Κηφισόδοτος	قيفيسادوطوس 200/10	
11a23 Κηφισόδοτος	قيفيسودوطوس 201/9	
11a28 Κηφισόδοτος	قيفيسادوطوس [77] 201/14	
11a24 ὁ Κύων	قيون 201/10	قيون

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05a30 μεῖζον	أمر كبير 178/14	كبر
06a20 μεῖζοσι	الكبار 181/20	
03b28 μεγάλη	الكبرى 172/10	
11b12 αὔξειν	التكبير أو التعظيم 202/8	
11b6 Χαβρίου	كبريوس 202/3	كبريوس
04a18 γραφόμενοι	الذي يكتب 173/18	كتب
10a35 κακῶς	أسواء الكتب 198/12	
06b12 τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν	الكتابة الذي المال 183/12	

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[77] Margoliouth, Sālim: قيفيسودوطوس.

09a2of τὴν παραγραφήν	الكتابة 194/10	
08a34 οἱ λογογράφοι	كتبة الكلام 190/16f	
09a20 τὸν γραφέα	الكاتب 194/10	
07b11f τὸ γεγραμμένον	الكلام المكتوب 187/14	
04a26, 07b12 οἱ πολλοί	كثير 174/7, 187/16	كثر
05b35f τὸν πολυπρόσωπον	كثيرة الوجوه 180/20	
06a16 μεῖζον	المتّصلة والكثيرة 181/16	
07a29 πολύ	كثير 186/9	
07a35 πολύ	كثيرا 186/18	
07b9f τὰ πολλά	الكثير 187/12	
07b22 πολλά	كلاما كثيرا 188/7	
07b34 πολύθυροι	كثيرة الأبواب 188/21	
08a24 πολλοί	كثير من الناس 190/4	
08b34 τῶν πολλῶν	كثير من الناس 193/5	
09a29 πολλοί	كثيرا منهم 194/16	
10a9 πολύ	كثير منهم 197/6	
10a15 πολλούς	كثير 197/12	
04a4, 10a3 πλείω	أكثر 173/1, 196/21	
05b12, 17, 07b3 μᾶλλον	بالأكثر 179/15, 21, 187/3	
06a37 πολύ	بأكثر 182/18	
08b34 μάλιστα	أكثر من 193/6	
08b36 κορδακικώτερος	أكثر [مدحا أو ...] 195/8	
09b6 εὐμνημονευτότατον	يحفظ أكثر من جميع 195/11	
07b32 πολλὰ ποιεῖν	الإكثار 188/18	
05b11 ψεῦδος	كذب 179/14	كذب
10b3 ψευδεῖς	كواذب 198/17	
08a12 αὐτοκαβδάλως	بالتكذيب 189/15	
09a26 κατεστραμμένην	فيه ... كرورا 194/17	كرّ
09a26f ταῖς ἀντιστρόφοις	كرور 194/17	
09a34f κατεστραμμένη	الكرور 195/5	
09b27 τῶν ἀντιστρόφων	الكرور 196/8	
06b9 χλωρά	يكرمون[78] 183/9	كرم
11b29 [ἐλεύθερον]	منسوبا إلى الحرّيّة أو الكرم 203/4	
05b25 οὐκ ἤθελε	كان كالمتكرّه 180/9	كره

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[78]   Lyons suggests a confusion of two Syriac roots behind this translation.

كرو	بالكرة 186/18	07a35 κύκλῳ
كسب	يكتسبون 174/4	04a25 πορίσασθαι
كشّ	صرخة وكشيشا 178/17f	05a33 κραυγήν
كشف	[يكشفوا عدّات] 200/13	11a8 τὰς εὐθύνας … δοῦναι
	مكشوفة بيّنة 199/14f	10b23 τὰ … δῆλα
كفأ	المعادلة أو التكافؤ 200/6	11a1 κατ' ἀναλογίαν
كلّ	في كلّ همّة من الهمم 190/11	08a30 καθ' ἅπασαν ἕξιν
	نصف الكلّ 193/15f	09a6 ὁ ἡμιόλιος
	بكلّ جهة 202/7	11b11 πάντα τρόπον
	في الكلّيّة 187/1	07b1 τὸ ὅλως
كلب	الكلاب 184/11	06b33 τοῖς κυνιδίοις
	الكلّوب 204/2	12a14 ἄγκυραν
كلف	تكلّفوا القول 172/7	03b26 ἐπραγματεύθησαν
كلم	يتكلّمون 174/4	04a24 λέγοντες
	ينبغي … أن نتكلّم 174/19f	04a37 ἀκριβολογητέον
	نتكلّم 174/20	04a38 λέγομεν
	يتكلّم بالقبيح 179/3	05b10 αἰσχρολογεῖν
	يتكلّم 187/2	07b2 λέγουσιν
	تكلّمت 188/7, 9, 189/3	07b23, 24, 08a1 διαλεχθείς
	الكلمة 174/24	04b2 ὁ λόγος
	الكلم 175/4	04b6 ῥημάτων
	الكلمة 179/12	05b9 τὸ … λόγον
	الكلمة 187/22, 188/14	07b17, 29 τοῦ λόγου
	الكلمة 188/11	07b27 λόγῳ
	باشتقاق الكلم 198/7	10a30 ἐπὶ τελευτῆς
	الكلام 171/16, 173/1, 192/18	03b18, 04a4, 08b30 τὸν λόγον
	الكلام 173/18	04a18 οἱ … λόγοι
	الكلام 174/9	04a28 λόγου
	الكلام الجاري 174/14	04a33 τὴν διάλεκτον
	كلاما 175/3	04b5 λόγῳ
	الكلام 175/13, 185/15	04b14, 07a17 ὁ λόγος
	الكلام الجاري 176/6	04b24f διαλέκτου
	الكلام 176/13	04b33 τὴν … λέξιν
	الكلام 176/13, 181/3, 193/15, 201/20	04b33, 06a4, 09a6, 11b2 τῶν λόγων

04b37 τοῦ ... λόγου	176/19 الكلام	
05a4f λόγοις	177/6 الكلام	
05a7 ὁ λόγος	177/8 الكلام	
05a20 δαδοῦχον	178/3f أي صاحب الكلام [...]	
06a13 λόγῳ	181/12 الكلام	
07b18f σολοικίζειν	182/2 لحن أو خطأ في الكلام	
06a36 ὁ λόγος	182/17 كلام	
06b24 λόγῳ	183/23 الكلام	
07a13 λόγου	185/10 كلام	
07a31 λέγειν	186/12 الكلام	
07b11f τὸ γεγραμμένον	187/14 الكلام المكتوب	
07b16 τοῦ συγγράμματος	187/21 كلامه	
07b22 πολλά	188/7 كلاما كثيرا	
07b32 τὸ ποιητικόν	188/17 الكلام الفيوطي	
08a34 οἱ λογογράφοι	190/16f كتبة الكلام	
09a18 ἀτελής	194/8 ليس كلاما	
09b6 τὰ μέτρα	195/12 الكلام الموزون	
03b12 τοὺς λέγοντας	171/9 المتكلّمين	
08b3 ὁ ποιεῖ τὸν λέγοντα	191/5 المتكلّم	
08b4 τὸν λέγοντα	191/5 المتكلّم	
11b27 τέλεια	202/22 يكمل	كمل
09b20f ἔχει ... ὅρον	195/22 تكون كاملة	
07a37 τοῖς μάντεσιν	186/19 الذين يتكهّنون	كهن
07b5 οἱ χρησιμολόγοι	187/4f ذوو الكهانة والأنباء	
07b2 οἱ μάντεις	187/2 الكاهن	
03b16 τὸ ἔχειν	171/14 يكون ... عتيدا	كون
03b17 τὸ φανῆναι	171/16 يكون	
03b33 μεῖζον δύνανται	172/15f أقوى وأقدر [كانوا]	
04a7 εἴρηται	173/6 يكون بالمقالة	
04a18f μεῖζον ἰσχύουσι	173/18f يكون أقوى	
04a21 ὑπῆρξε	173/21 يكون	
04b2 σαφῆ	174/23 يكون بالتعبير	
05a11 ἁρμοττούσας	177/12 كان مشاكلا	
05b25 οὐκ ἤθελε	180/9 كان كالمتكرّه	
05b26 χαίρετε	180/10f كان مسرورا	
05b34 γίνεται	180/18 تكون من ... أوجه	

08a14 φαίνεται	يكون 189/17	
09a25 τοῖς διθυράμβοις	الذي يكون في وزن الدثرامبو 194/16	
09b7 μᾶλλον	لا سيّما ما كان 195/12f	
09b20f ἔχει … ὅρον	تكون كاملة 195/22	
10b24 ἡ γνῶσις	يكون معروفا 199/17	
10b25 ὑπῆρχεν	يكون 199/18	
11b35 ἵσταντο	كانوا قيّاما 203/11	
09b26 ὁ Χῖος	من أهل كيوس 196/7	كيوس

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06a11 ἀκαίροις	اللازمنيّات 181/10	لازمن
09a25 αἱ … ἀναβολαί	فيه تلبّثا 194/17	لبث
09b25 ἀναβολῇ	[التلبّث] 196/6	
09b27 ἀναβολάς	تلبّثا 196/8	
09b29 ἀναβολή	التلبّث 196/10	
06a12 γάλα	اللبن 181/11	لبن
12a13f καταφεύγει	يلجأ 204/1	لجأ
07b18f σολοικίζειν	لحن أو خطأ في الكلام 182/2	لحن
08a7 μέλος	اللحون 189/9	
08a9 μέλος	لحن 189/12	
04b7 εἴρηται	لخّصنا 175/6	لخص
06a27 τῆς … ἡδονῆς	اللذّة 182/6	لذّ
05a8 τὸ ἡδύ	اللذيذة 177/9	
06a19 ἡδύσματι	اللذيذة 181/19	
09a31 ἀηδής	غير لذيذ 195/1	
09b1 ἡδεῖα	لذيذا 195/8	
09b1 ἡδεῖα	[لذيذا] 195/8	
10a19 ἡδεῖα	لذيذة 197/17	
10b10 ἡδύ	لذيذ 199/1	
10b12 ἥδιστα	لذيذ 199/3	
10b18 ἧττον ἡδύ	أقلّ لذاذة 199/9	
08b27 ἀηδές	ليس بلذيّ 192/15	
08a26 ἡ ἁρμοττούσα	يلزم أو يشاكل 190/7f	لزم
09a4 ἐχόμενος	يلزم أو يشاكل 193/15	

11a22 ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν	لزوم الصمت 201/8	
06a7 γλώτταις	الألسن واللغات 181/6	لسن
06b2 αἱ … γλῶτται	الألسن أو اللغات 182/21	
05a25 οἱ λησταί	اللصوص 178/9	لصّ
05a31 κέκλεπται	على اللصوص 178/15	
04b28 γλώτταις	اللغات 176/10	لغو
06a7 γλώτταις	الألسن واللغات 181/6	
06b2 αἱ … γλῶτται	الألسن أو اللغات 182/21	
10b12 αἱ … γλῶτται	اللغات 199/3	
04b21 διαβάλλονται	يلفّون 176/1	لفّ
11a4 Λεπτίνης	لفطنس 200/9	لفطنس
03b8, 05b34 τὴν λέξιν	الألفاظ 171/3، 180/19	لفظ
03b15 τῆς λέξεως	اللفظ والمقالة 171/13	
03b20 τῇ λέξει	اللفظ أو المقالة 171/20	
04a26 λέξις	الألفاظ 174/5	
04a33 τῶν ὀνομάτων	الأسماء أو الألفاظ 174/14	
04a37 λέξεως	الألفاظ 174/19	
05a34 φωναί	اللفظتين 178/18	
05a35 ταῖς … φωναῖς	الألفاظ 178/19	
06a16 τὴν λέξιν	لفظا 181/15	
06b1 ἡ … λέξις	الألفاظ 182/19	
07a19, b26 τῆς λέξεως	الألفاظ 185/15، 188/10	
08a10 ἡ λέξις	اللفظ أو المقالة 189/13	
08a20 ἡ … λέξις	الألفاظ 189/23	
10b28 τὴν λέξιν	اللفظ والمقالة 199/21	
11a4 Λακεδαιμονίων	اللقدمنون[79] 200/9	لقدمن
10a6 ἀπόλαυσις	اللهو 197/2	لهو
10a5 ἀπολαῦσαι	اللهو 197/2	
05b35 Λυκόφρων	لوقفرون 180/19	لوقفرون
10a17 Λυκόφρονα	لوقافرون 197/13	
11b6 Λυκολέων	لوقالون 202/3	لوقالون
11a10 ἐξιέναι	[نلتوي] 200/15	لوي
06b6 ἀπρεπεῖς	ما ليس بجميل 183/4	ليس
07a30 ἀσαφές	ليس … محقّقا 186/10	
07b17 ἄδηλον	ليس بيّنا 187/23	

[79] Badawī: اللقدمينون.

07b20 οὐ κοινόν	ليس عامًّا 188/4	
08a2 ἐξ ὧν μὴ ἔχει	بما ليس أو بالمعدوم 189/4f	
08b27 ἀηδές	ليس بلذّي 192/15	
09a18 ἀτελής	ليس كلاما 194/8	
04b13 ἁρμόττει	يستولي ويليق 175/12	ليق
05b7 Λικύμνιος	ليقومانيوس 179/10	ليقومانيوس
08b9 μαλακῶς	لين 191/13	لين
08b9 τὰ μαλακά	اللّينات 191/12	

م

08a27 καθ' ἡλικίαν	مثل السنن 190/8	مثل
06b20, 24, 10b17 ἡ εἰκών	المثال 183/20, 23, 199/7	
06b26f εἰκόνες	المثال 184/3	
07a11 εἰκόνας	المثل 185/7	
07a13 εἰκόνες	مثال 185/9	
07a13, 10b16 αἱ εἰκόνες	المثل 185/9, 199/6	
12a7 ταῖς ... εἰκόσιν	المثل 203/18	
04a21 μιμήματα	ممثّلة 173/21	
04a22 μιμητικώτατον	مشبها أو ممثّلا 174/1	
06b2 ψοφώδεις	مبسّطة أو ممدّدة 182/20f	مدّ
04a25 τὴν ... δόξαν	المدح 174/4	مدح
08b14 ἐπαίνοις	[بذوات] المدح 191/18	
08a18 ἐπαινετά	بالمدائح 189/22	
08b36 κορδακικώτερος	أكثر [مدحا أو ...] 195/8	
04b9f τοὺς πολίτας	أهل المدينة 175/10	مدن
06a22f τῶν πόλεων	المدائن 182/2	
10a12 πολίτας	أهل المدينة 197/9	
10a12, 11a3, b10 τῆς πόλεως	المدينة 197/10, 200/8, 202/6	
11a25 τὴν πόλιν	المدينة 201/12	
11b19 αἱ πόλεις	المدائن 202/16	
06a37 τὸ χρονοτριβεῖν	ليستمرّ على طول الزمان 182/17f	مرّ
07b36 τῆς γυναικός	الامرأة 188/2	مرء
08a28 γυνή	المرأة 190/9	

07a17 ἄρεως	المرّيخ 185/14	مرخ
04b21 τοὺς μεμιγμένους	الممزوجة بالغشّ 176/3	مزج
08b20 εἰρωνείας	مزاح أو هزل 192/5	مزح
12a1 ᾆσαι	مسحوا[80] 203/11	مسح
05a1 τὸ βαδίζειν	يمشي 177/2	مشي
09b24 [τοὺς συμπεριπα-τοῦντας]	الذين يمشون معهم 196/5	
11a11f ἠγανάκτει	جعل يمتعض 200/17	معض
06b35 ναυκλήρῳ	الملّاح 184/13	ملح
07a6 τοῖς ... ναυτιῶσιν	الملّاح 185/2	
05b37 πτωχομουσοκόλακας	الملّاق [الصديق] 181/1	ملق
08b23 προσέχειν	يحوّل لنا ... مليّا 192/9f	ملو
11b3 Χάρης[81]	امتنان 201/20	منّ
06b33 τοὺς τεθνεῶτας	الموتى 184/10	موت
10a16 τελευτήσαντας	الأموات 197/12	
11a15 Μοιροκλῆς	موراقليس 201/2	موراقليس
06b12 τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν	الكتابة الذي المال 183/12	مول
10a5 χρημάτων	المال 197/2	
10a6 κτήσει	[المال] 197/3	
05a20 μητραγύρτην	ميطراغرطوس، أي فحل 178/3	ميطراغرطوس
05b22f ὁ μητροφόντης	[ميطروفنطيس] 180/5	ميطروفنطيس
07b15 προσκεῖται	تميل 187/19	ميل
09b23 οἱ ... ἀποκάμπτοντες	الذين [يميلون] 196/4	
09b27 Μελανιππίδην	ميلانيفي 196/8	ميلانيفي
11a10 τὸ Μιλτιάδου ψή-φισμα	ناحية ميلتياديس 200/15	ميلتياديس

ن

08b14 ἐνθουσιάσαι	ينبّئ 191/17	نبأ
04a38f εἴρηται	أنبأنا 174/21	
07b5 οἱ χρησιμολόγοι	ذوو الكهانة والأنباء 187/4f	
08b17 ἐνθουσιάζοντες	على جهة النبأ 192/2	
08b19 ἔνθεον	بمنزلة النبأ 192/4	

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80   Aristotle's quotation has been misunderstood.

81   Name erroneously translated.

03b30 ἐυθμοῖς	النغم أو النبرات 172/12	نبر
03b31f ἐυθμός	النبرة 172/14	
08b29 ἐυθμός	النغمة أو النبرة 192/17	
08b30 ἐυθμόν	[بـ]نبرات 192/18	
08b31 ἐυθμόν	النبرة 193/1	
08b32, 09a9 τῶν … ἐυθμῶν	النبرات 193/3, 18	
09a1 ἐυθμός	نبرة 193/9	
09a21 τὸν ἐυθμόν	النبرة أو النغمة 194/10f	
09a21, 23 εὔρυθμον	حسن النبرات 194/11f, 12f	
09a24 ἐυθμοί	النبرات 194/13	
09b7 τῶν χύδην	منثّرا مفرّقا 195/13	نثر
05b1 τῷ εὐδοκιμοῦντι	الذي ينجح 179/4	نجح
07a12 εὐδοκιμῶσιν	ينجح 185/7	
10a7 ἀτυχεῖν	لا ينجحون 197/4	
10b22, 27 εὐδοκιμεῖ	ينجح 199/13, 21	
11a1 εὐδοκιμοῦσι	تنجح 200/5	
11b19 νίκης	الغلبة أو النجاح 202/16	
10b7 τὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντα	المنجحات 198/21	
12a7 εὐδοκιμούσαις	المنجحات 203/18	
09b34f γυμνικούς	النجدة أو الحذق 196/16	نجد
10a14 ἐσώθησαν	نجوا 197/10	نجو
05b1 χαλκόν	بالنحاس الأحمر 179/5	نحس
10a33 χαλκοῦς	النحاس 198/10	
10a33 χαλκοῦ	النحاس 198/10	
11b7f τὴν χαλκῆν	النحاس 202/4	
05a33 ὁ χαλκοῦς	النحاسي 178/17	
04a30 τὸν … τρόπον	النحو 174/11	نحو
04a36 τῷ τρόπῳ	النحو 174/18	
11a10 τὸ Μιλτιάδου ψή-φισμα	ناحية ميلتياديس 200/15	
08b24 τῶν κηρύκων	المنادي 192/11	ندو
04a5f ἀγωνίζεσθαι	يتنازعوا 173/2	نزع
03b32 τὰ … ἆθλα	ذوو المنازعة 172/14	
03b32 τῶν ἀγώνων	المنازعات والمزاولات 172/15	
03b34 τοὺς … ἀγῶνας	المنازعات 172/17	
04a17 ἆθλα	منازعين أو مجاهدين 173/16f	

Greek	Arabic	Root
11b29 ἄφετον	ينزل أو يسوّغ 203/3	نزل
08b19 ἔνθεον	بمنزلة النبأ 192/4	
10a3 οἴκοι	في منازلهم 196/21	
11b29 [ἐλεύθερον]	منسوبا إلى الحرّيّة أو الكرم 203/4	نسب
03b7 τάξαι	ننظّم أو ننسّق 171/4	نسق
05a22 περὶ θεόν	ما يتنسّك به لله 178/6	نسك
12a13 διαιτητήν	النصب 203/25	نصب
05b13, 10b33f, 11a28, b4, 6, 8f, 24, 25 πρὸ ὀμμάτων	نصب العين 179/17, 200/2, 201/14, 21f, 202/2, 5, 19, 20	
09a6 ὁ ἡμιόλιος	نصف الكلّ 193/15f	نصف
11a6 δοῦναι	يتنصّل 200/11	نصل
11a6 εὐθύνας δοῦναι	يتنصّل من دينه 200/11	
04a27 διαλέγεσθαι	ينطقون 174/7	نطق
04b34 διαλέγονται	ينطقون 176/15	
06a30 λέγοντες	[هم] نطقوا 182/12	
07a37 λέγωσιν	نطقوا 186/20	
08a31 λέγη	ينطق 190/12	
04b11 τὴν διάλεκτον	المنطق 175/11	
07a20 τοῖς συνδέσμοις	الرباطات المنطقيّة 185/17	
05a13 σκοπεῖν	ننظر 177/14	نظر
09a33 προορῶντες	تقدّموا فنظروا 195/4	
10b34 ὁρᾶν	ننظر 200/2	
03b18 ἐζητήθη	قدّمنا النظر 171/17	
05b19 τῇ ὄψει	المنظر 179/23	
03b7 τάξαι	ننظّم أو ننسّق 171/4	نظم
03b30 εὐθμοῖς	النغم أو النبرات 172/12	نغم
08b29 εὐθμός	النغمة أو النبرة 192/17	
09a21 τὸν εὐθμόν	النبرة أو النغمة 194/10f	
06a24, 26, 30 τῆς ψυχῆς	النفس 182/3, 5, 9	نفس
08a21, 10b19 ἡ ψυχή	النفس 189/24, 199/11	
11b10 τὸ ἄψυχον	الذي لا نفس له 202/5	
11b10 ἔμψυχον	ذي النفس 202/5f	
11b13 τῇ ψυχῇ	النفس 202/9	
12a2 ἔμψυχα	ذوي الأنفس 203/13	

Greek	Arabic	Root
11b32 τὰ ἄψυχα	بلا نفسانيّات 203/7	
12a7 τῶν ἀψύχων	غير النفسانيّات 203/19	
09b14f εὐανάπνευστος	يسهل التنفّس 195/17	
10a1 ὤνησαν	[نفعهم] 196/19	نفع
11b5 βοηθήσοντας	ينتفع 202/1	
05a7 ἐξ ... βοηθημάτων	المنافع 177/9	
12a12 διέχουσι	نافعة 203/24	
06a34f ἐπεμβάλλῃ	تزيّد فيه أو نقص منه 182/14f	نقص
05b9 λύει	ينقّص 179/12	
04b15 ἀπρεπέστερον	أقلّ أو أنقص 175/14	
09a1f λείπεται	[ناقص] 193/9	
08a16 ὕβρις	العار والمنقّصة 189/20f	
08b32 σεμνός	[منتقصة] 193/3	
07b13 διαστίξαι	موضع التنقيل 187/17	نقل
07b14 τὰ ... διαστίξαι	التنقيل 187/18	
06a29f ἀντίμιμον	الاقتداء المنكوس 182/9	نكس
06b28 δάκνειν	نهشت 184/5	نهش
08b26 ἀπέραντον	لا يتناهي 192/13	نهو
08b28 τὸ ἄπειρον	الذي لا يتناهي 192/15	
08b28 περαίνεται	يتناهي 192/16	
09a14 τελευτῶσι	يتناهي 194/5	
09a16 τελευτᾷ	يتناهي 194/6	
09a31 τὸ ἄπειρον	لا يتناهي 195/2	
09b2 τῷ ἀπεράντῳ	الذي لا يتناهي 195/9	
08a4 ἄπειρον	غير ذي حدّ أو نهاية 189/7	
08b28 ἀριθμῷ	عدد ونهاية 192/16	
09a11 τὴν τελευτήν	النهاية 194/2	
09a31 τὸ ... τέλος	النهاية 195/2	
09a33 τὸ πέρας	النهاية 195/4	
10a26 ἡ ... τελευτή	النهايات 198/4	
10b1 ὁμοιοτέλευτον	موافقا في النهاية 198/15	
08b27 πεπεράνθαι	متناهيا 192/14	
09a17 τελευτήν	المنتهى 194/7	
09a20 τὴν τελευτήν	المنتهى 194/9	
09b8 τετελειῶσθαι	منتهى 195/14	
10a25 τελευτῆς	المنتهى 198/3	

11b13 δηλοῖ	ينيران 202/10	نور
11b12 φῶς	نورا 202/9	
11a22f πεντεσυρίγγῳ νόσῳ	سورنغو نوس 201/8	نوس
03b14 τὰ ... εἴδη	أنواعا 171/11	نوع
05a3 εἴδη	أنواع 177/4	
08b1 τῶν εἰδῶν	الأنواع 191/2	
09a11 εἴδη	نوعان 194/3	
10a35 ἔπαθες	نالك 198/13	نول

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11b19 τῷ ψόγῳ	هجاء 202/17	هجأ
03b29 τοῖς τόνοις	الهاديات 172/11	هدي
06a34 τὴν ἀδολεσχίαν	بالهذو 182/14	هذي
11a26 ἐξέχεαν	ستهراق 201/12	هرق
11b34 ἔπτατε	هزّ 203/10	هزّ
03b31 σκοποῦσιν	يهزلون أو [...] [82] 172/13	هزل
08b20 εἰρωνείας	مزاح أو هزل 192/5	
10a13 ἀπώλοντο	هلكوا 197/10	هلك
11a2 ἀπολομένην	الذين هلكوا 200/7	
11a32 τελευτησάντων	الذين هلكوا 201/18	
04a15 τοῖς ἐλέοις	ذوات الهمّ 173/14	همّ
08a19 ταπεινῶς	للهمّ والجزأ 189/22	
08a29 ἕξεις	الهمّة 190/10	
08a30 καθ' ἅπασαν ἕξιν	في كلّ همّة من الهمم 190/11	
08a31 τῇ ἕξει	الهمّة 190/13	
10b33 ἐπιπόλαιον	بالإهمال 200/1	همل
10b32 ἀλλότριαν	غريبا أو مهملا 199/25	
04a12 γεωμετρεῖν	يهندس أو [...] 173/10	هندس
06b30 γεωμετρεῖν	المهندس 184/7	
11b9 κινδυνεύοντος	أحدث ... هولا وذعرا 202/4f	هول
08a14 κόσμος	بالتهيأة 189/17	هيء
03b19 πέφυκε	متهيّأة في الطباع 171/18	
07a21 πεφύκασι	متهيّأة 185/18	

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[82] Mistranslation, perhaps due to the reading σκωπτοῦσιν.

04b8 *σεμνοτέραν*	بزيادة الهيبة والحذر 175/8	هيب

و

08b2f *προεπιπλήττειν*	يثب أو [يتوهّم] 191/4	وثب
06b27f *τῶν δεσμῶν*	وثاق 184/4	وثق
06b29 *ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν*	من وثاقها 184/6	
04a3 *ἔχοντος*	يجب لها 172/23	وجب
04b4 *ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀξίωμα*	مجاوزة للقدر الذي يستوجب 175/1f	
07b28 *συντομίαν*	الإيجاز 188/13	وجز
07b36, 39 *συντόμως*	الإيجاز 188/23، 189/2	
03b22 *τὴν ὑπόκρισιν*	الحيلة في الأخذ بالوجوه 172/1f	وجه
03b23 *ὑπεκρίνοντο*	يستعملون الأخذ بالوجوه 172/4	
03b34 *οἱ ὑποκριταί*	ذوو الأخذ بالوجوه 172/16	
04a13 *τῇ ὑποκριτικῇ*	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/12	
04a15 *τὸ ὑποκριτικόν*	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/14	
04a18 *τὴν ὑπόκρισιν*	الأخذ بالوجوه 173/18	
05b34 *γίνεται*	تكون من ... أوجه 180/18	
05b35f *τὸν πολυπρόσωπον*	كثيرة الوجوه 180/20	
07b35 *διαπτυχαί*	ذوات وجهين 188/21	
08b6 *τῷ προσώπῳ*	الوجه 191/9	
08b17 *ἐνθουσιάζοντες*	على جهة النبأ 192/2	
11b11 *πάντα τρόπον*	بكلّ جهة 202/7	
09b17 *τὴν μονόκωλον*	ذات الشعبة الواحدة 195/19	وحد
11a5 *ἑτερόφθαλμον*	ذات عين واحدة 200/10	
06a31 *ποίημα*	مستوخما مستشنعا 182/10	وخم
05b33 *παρατηρεῖν*	نتوخّي 180/16	وخي
06a16 *στοχάζεσθαι*	يتوخّى 181/16	
10b35 *στοχάζεσθαι*	نتوخّي 200/3	
12a12 *εὐστόχου*	الذي يحسن أن يتوخّي الغرض 203/24f	
12a2 *μαιμώωσα*	لم يرث لابن أمّه[83] 203/12	ورث
04a13 *ἔλθῃ*	وردت 173/11	ورد [a]
10a18 *ἐλθόντες*	وردوا علينا 197/15	

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[83] Expression misunderstood by the translator.

ورد [b]	ورديّة الأصابع 180/2	05b19f ῥοδοδάκτυλος
وري	ذكر الموارات 201/16f	11a31 τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ
وزن	يوزّن 195/13	09b7f μετρεῖται
	الأوزان 174/12، 193/6	04a32, 08b34 τῶν μέτρων
	الوزن المربّع 174/12	04a31 τῶν τετραμέτρων
	الأوزان المسدّسة 174/16	04a34 τὰ ἑξάμετρα
	[الأوزان] 175/12	04b12 τῶν μέτρων
	الذين يصنعون الوزن الذي يسمّى [ديثورامبو] 182/19f	06b1f τοῖς διθυραμβοποιοῖς
	الذين يصنعون الوزن الذي يسمّى افي 182/21f	06b2 τοῖς ἐποποιοῖς
	الوزن الذي يسمّى ايامبو 183/2	06b3 [τοῖς ἰαμβείοις]
	المعادلة والوزن 185/11	07a14 τοῦ ἀνάλογον
	ذي وزن و... عدد 192/7	08b21 ἔμμετρον
	غير ذي وزن ولا عدد 192/7	08b22 ἄρρυθμον
	وزن 192/14	08b27 μέτρῳ
	وزن 192/18، 193/19	08b30, 09a8 μέτρον
	الوزن اليامبقي 193/5f	08b35 ἰαμβεῖα
	الوزن [الـ...] 193/8	09a1 τὰ τετράμετρα
	الأوزان المربّعة 193/9	09a1 τὰ τετράμετρα
	من طريق الأوزان 193/17	09a7f μετρικοί
	الذي يكون في وزن الدثرامبو 194/16	09a25 τοῖς διθυράμβοις
	الموزون 177/8	05a8 τῶν μέτρων
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